

Juha J. Hiltunen

ANCIENT KINGS OF PERU

The Reliability of the Chronicle of Fernando de Montesinos;

Correlating the Dynasty Lists with Current Prehistoric

Periodization in the Andes

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Hakapaino Oy

Helsinki 1999

To my beloved parents

Laila and Pauli Hiltunen,

and my children of pride and joy

Linda, Tero, Juri, and Susanna

**Chaymanta cay runacuna chay pacha causaccuna
ca paypura aucanacuspa atinacuspalla
s<m causac carcancu cura canpacpas
sinchicunallacta rricocunallacta.**

These people, the ones who lived that era,
used to spend their lives warring on each other
and conquering each other. For their leaders,
they recognized only the strong and rich.

The Huarochiri Manuscript (ca. 1600)

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■ Preface and acknowledgements

I first became acquainted with Fernando de Montesinos some thirty years ago. His ideas were excitedly presented in Hans Baumann's book *Perun kultaa ja jumalia* (Gold and Gods of Peru, 1963), which I received as a 13th birthday gift from my parents. I used it as a reference source beside Rafael Karsten's *Inkavaltio ja sen kulttuuri* (A Totalitarian State of the Past..., 1946/1949), when I attended the national TV-quiz-show "Tupla tai kuitti" in competing with a topic "Incas" during the same year. I came off well up to the finals, until a few sticky questions concerning the Spanish chronicles dropped me. One of the questions was: "Who was Blas Valera?" I did not know then, though I must say that I have amended that default considerably up to present.

The Amerindian world has enchanted me since I was eight, and history was always my favourite subject at school. With this interest I am indebted to two inspiring schoolmasters, Mr. Heikki Aurell (Huutoniemi elementary school) and Mr. Raimo Teppo (Vaasa Lyceum). I grew up in Vaasa, a moderate-sized coastal town, where opportunities to learn about Indians were limited. Later our family moved to Turku, a sizable city with several universities. For many years I widened my knowledge by using university interlibrary loan services, without being formally a student. In 1979 I was able to obtain Montesinos' *Memorias Antiguas Historiales del Perú* (Hakluyt Society's English edition) as an interlibrary loan. Thenceforward my interest in the topic deepened, albeit many other focuses in Native American studies took up much of my time during the ensuing years. One such task was the writing of a historical novel on the Incas during 1980–85. This work, which I wrote in co-operation with Mr. Lasse Sirkiä, was never fully completed for publication, whereas concomitant background research increased my understanding of the Inca society considerably at that time.

I started to write down some of my thoughts on Montesinos in 1985 and began to read up on dynasties around the world. I corresponded my tentative ideas to Martti Pärssinen, who was doing research in the archives of Seville at that time. Albeit being somewhat cautious in his response, Pärssinen suggested to me to do more dynastic comparative research, and to find out relevant data for the archaeological dating of Wari culture, which I tried to link the Montesinian dynasties. These ideas attained more mature form only when I started to study Cultural Anthropology and American Studies at Helsinki University (in 1991). Completing my Master's in 1993, I already knew that my forthcoming dissertation would be related to Montesinos. In accordance with that subject, my M.A. thesis treated dynastic cross-cultural comparison and political propaganda. Thence I started aiming at a doctoral dissertation as a Cultural history graduate student in the University of Turku.

The next step forward was most important: I spent the academic year 1994–95 as a visiting scholar in the University of Texas at Austin. Beside invaluable contacts with many colleagues and eminent scholars in my field of research, the immeasurable resources of library services, making friends with many fine people, and a number of explorative trips to some eighteen States, I enjoyed my stay in USA/Texas/Austin with my heart and soul - not least for reasons of my hopeless devotion to country and western music and culture.

Soon after settling down at Austin, I got a clue from the Institute of Latin American Studies to contact Dr. Richard P. Schaedel, who would be the right person to guide me in my research. After meeting him in his office at the Department of Anthropology, and leaving an abstract of my topic for him to read, one week passed. I was auditing in Schaedel's class, when he asked me to have a talk with him. I was very pleased that he found my ideas sound, and that is how our co-operation and friendship started. During my stay in Austin we met at least once a week in his office and developed the ideas around Montesinos. I cannot say how much Dr. Schaedel's guidance has meant to me; his unselfish donation of time and dedication to my problems have been irreplaceable. Coincidentally, Brigitte Boehm de Lameiras who wrote a isolated scholarly article on Montesinos in 1987, was a former student of Richard Schaedel. Curiously enough, during the past 50 years the writings of Boehm de Lameiras and mine are the only extant scholarly contentions on the problem of Montesinos' veracity. And both of us have been advised by Dr. Schaedel in the University of Texas at Austin.

I presented a research paper on Montesinos at the 23rd Annual Midwest Conference on Andean and Amazonian Archaeology and Ethnohistory, held in the Chicago Field Museum in February 1995. This was a critical, important moment, and I was very pleased in finding my ideas well received by so many Andean experts. I got both encouragement, new ideas, and important contacts. I met there for the first time Drs. William Isbell (State University of New York, Binghamton), R. Tom Zuidema (University of Illinois, Urbana), Brian S. Bauer (University of Chicago), David L. Browman (Washington University in St. Louis), Susan Ramirez (De Paul University in Chicago) and many others with whom I had good, informative discussions. All these Andeanists, but particularly William Isbell and Gordon McEwan (The Denver Art Museum) have constantly given me valuable assistance and comments over these years, for which I express my most sincere appreciation. Moreover, the recent excavations in the Lucre Basin lead by Dr. McEwan have provided interesting new data for my ethnohistoric argumentation. It is appropriate then, that McEwan, as one of the leading experts in Wari archaeology, has been one of the external assessors of this thesis (beside Drs. R. Schaedel and T. McElwain).

I owe a special debt to Dr. Robert M. Crunden, who helped me in having visiting scholar status at the University of Texas (Austin). He had many friends in Finland where he was acting as a Bicentennial professor in the Renvall Institute (Helsinki University) in 1991–92. I was very sorry to hear of his death early in this Spring. I remember him with great gratitude.

I am also grateful to Raisa Simola, a Finnish visiting scholar from the University of Joensuu, who as a provisional Austinite helped me in getting better acquainted with the local lifestyle and academic routines. This familiarizing encompassed a course in learning to dance Texas two-step, for instance. I also have fond memories of many Finnish meetings arranged by the family of Viktor and Sirkka Kopponen at Dripping Springs, Austin. In these parties I had the pleasure to meet Dr. Frances Karttunen, Dr. Alfred Crosby, Mrs. Sirpa and Mr. Robert Harms, Mr. John McGill, Mrs. Minna Kempainen and many other interesting people, with whom I had good occasions to discuss and share ideas.

I had an opportunity to participate in several classes and seminars treating various Native American subject matters, while I was visiting UT at Austin. I wish to express my sincere appreciation to professors Richard P. Schaedel, Terence Grieder, Linda Schele, Brian Stross, Pauline Strong, Robert R. Robbins, Kris Villeela, Fred Valdez, and William Goetzmann, who allowed me to participate in their classes. Their lectures, seminars and personal communication have had a profitable and stimulating influence in my thinking. All of them have been very interested in my work, given encouragement, and helped me in many ways. In these classes I made friends with several graduate students, of whom Edwin Barnhart, Bon V. Davis, Juan Hernandez, and James Garrett evoke fond memories. These friends and colleagues, who generously shared their ideas and knowledge, have also contributed to my research.

I wish to acknowledge my deepest appreciation for Dr. Thomas McElwain (University of Stockholm) for his special help and contribution during the process of my research and writing of this thesis. He has given me intellectual stimulation and ideas for many years, improved my style and logic in professional writing, and contributed greatly to the thought of this book. He has also been a major language revisor of the manuscript text, in its two latest phases. Having a Native American ancestry and ethnological expertise, he possesses a specific deepgoing insight which I regard highly.

I am also indebted to Dr. John W. Smith from the University of Texas at Austin, who has kindly read and commented on an earlier version of my thesis text, suggested some language corrections, and provided also other helpful advice, which I gratefully acknowledged. As far as the manuscript improvement is concerned, the contribution of my supervisor, Dr. Schaedel, is significant too. He has patiently and meticulously read and revised all four manuscript drafts of my thesis, frequently corrected the language style and expression, and helped me in clarifying the content and various topics of this book. His editorial assistance has greatly helped me to improve the style and quality of this work. Whatever errors remain, are of course solely my own responsibility. The illustrations of this book are all drawn by myself. Fine arts and graphic works have always been my cherished hobby.

Beside the persons named above, several scholars have read early manuscript versions of this thesis, or portions from it. They have made helpful suggestions for improvement, lead me to some important sources of research, generously

shared with me their unpublished manuscripts, helped me to keep informed of recent developments, or given meticulous valuable criticism, which have saved me from many errors in fact or interpretation, and stimulated me to work toward a better treatise of this topic and thesis. Thence, I am grateful to, Keijo Virtanen, Reino Kero, and Kari Immonen, professors from the Turku University, whose expertise in the field of history has greatly widened my insights and improved my methodology. Moreover, I have received important comments from my colleague, Dr. Martti Pärssinen, whose viewpoints and interpretation, although inconsistent with mine sometimes, have provided me thoughtful ideas and aided in developing my arguments. Dr. Juha Sihvola, a historian from the Helsinki University, read and examined critically the third draft of this thesis. His criticisms and suggestions are gratefully acknowledged and taken into consideration. I also owe much to Dr. Terence Grieder from the University of Texas at Austin. I took his class and had frequently conversations with him during my stay in Austin. His generous help, encouragement, and comments on my work have been profitable. Other scholars, who have reviewed portions of the draft manuscript or my conference papers on Montesinos, are Drs. Tom R. Zuidema, Susan Ramirez, David L. Browman, Brian S. Bauer, Sabine Hyland, Lloyd Andersson, and William Sullivan. All them have been generous in their opinions, insights, and criticism, of which I am grateful. Comments of Dr. Sabine Hyland (Columbus State University, Georgia) have been particularly helpful and informative. Her recent studies have provided new data on Blas Valera and helped me to clarify certain aspects in Montesinos' person and works more precisely.

I wish to acknowledge the special guidance, collaboration, and encouragement which I have received from Dr. Simo Parpola (Helsinki University) over many years of my study and research. His intellectual ideas, constructive criticism, and sympathetic guidance have greatly promoted my thoughts and research work. Dr. Parpola supervised my Master's thesis and is also familiar with the content and implementation of this dissertation. His comments have been valuable here too. I have been fortunate in having him as my first instructor, mentor, and friend. Another scholar from the University of Helsinki, Dr. Timo Riiho (Centro Iberoamericano), has always been supportive for my work. Over the years he has given valuable help and guidance to me, for which I express my sincerest gratitude. In the University of Turku, Dr. Keijo Virtanen (presently the Rector) has constantly had confidence in my work. I truly appreciate all the support he has given me in my study and research.

I also wish to express my gratitude for the courteous assistance I have received from many friends and employees at the universities, libraries, bookstores, and museums, who have supplied me with information, given excellent service, and always been ready to lend their helping hand in my research. Therefore my gratitude especially extends to the personnel of Turku University library, Steiner Donnerska Institutet, Åbo Akademi University library, Centro Iberoamericano (Helsinki), Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura library, Helsinki University library, Museum of Ethnography (Stockholm),

Academic bookstore (Helsinki and Turku) and Turku Public library. However, the literary facilities of the University of Texas at Austin have been the most profound source of information in my research. Its world-famous Latin American Collection is an inexhaustible intellectual cornucopia, where I spent countless hours during my ten-month stay in Austin. The university main library (Perry-Castañeda) and Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center provided me excellent service too. I owe much to the help of librarian Mr. Antero Laiho particularly, who was many years in charge of Turku University interlibrary loan service. He was always patient and assiduous to carry out even the most complicated orders I left to him. Accordingly, I also wish to express my special thanks to Mrs. Paula Jalavisto, for her customary fine service in the university copy shop.

In relation to the accessibility of Montesinos' manuscripts, I owe a special thanks to historian Mrs. Mariá Carmen Martín Rubio in the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, of her informative help, and Mrs. Sonsoles Celestino, the director of Biblioteca Universitaria de Sevilla, who kindly and quickly responded to my need in having a microfilm copy of Montesinos' *Ms. Universitaria*.

The research presented in this work was conducted through the generous support of the following foundations below. Funds from Niilo Helanderin säätiö (30 000 FIM), Suomen Kulttuurirahasto (5 000 FIM), TOT-säätiö (10 000 FIM), Emil Aaltosen säätiö (40 000 FIM), and Amici-institute (4 000 FIM), permitted me to pursue research in USA. In addition, a donation (5 000 FIM) from Turun Suomalainen Yliopistoseura, provided important financial support to complete this research. I am grateful to all these foundations and institutions for their support, which has enabled me to carry through this research project. Over the years of my study I have also received substantial additional funding from my parents, Mrs. Laila and Mr. Pauli Hiltunen, to whom I owe a lasting debt of gratitude. Finnish Historical Society has accepted this book to be published in its series. This is a considerable financial contribution, as well as it is a warranty of quality. I am grateful for this favour, and my special thanks are extended to Mr. Rauno Endén, the director of Finnish Historical Society, who has kindly helped me in various stages of publication process. Correspondingly, I wish to thank Mrs. Maija Räisänen of her laborious makeup and layout work in transferring my text fitting into current computer format. In covering costs of publication, I want to acknowledge, that grants from the University of Turku (including Turun Yliopistoseura) have been most important too.

One might suppose that Latin American Studies are a novelty in Finland and Scandinavia. True, but not quite that much.

Perhaps the best known Scandinavian Andeanists of this century were two Swedish scholars, ethnologist Erland von Nordenskiöld (fieldtrips to Lowland South America in 1901–5, 1908–9, 1913–4) and his student Stig Rydén (archaeological fieldtrips to the Andes in 1932–33, 1938–39, and 1951–52). Another Swede, Åke Wedin, is famous of his dissertation *El concepto de lo incaico y las fuentes* (1966).

The pioneer Finnish scholar in this field was a renowned ethnologist Rafael Karsten, who made several field trips to Lowland South America and the Andes during 1911–35. His two best known works are *The Civilization of the South American Indians* (1926), and a book about the Incas mentioned above. After Karsten only Martti Pärssinen, an archaeologist, has proceeded to the Ph.D. level in working with pre-Columbian Andean topics in Finland. His dissertation, *Tawantinsuyu, The Inca State and Its Political Organization* (1992), comply largely with the functionalist-structural approach to its theme. I am following the steps of these scholars, but using a ethnohistoric viewpoint instead.

In addition to the persons and organizations mentioned above, several individuals have contributed directly or indirectly to my study. Some have through their work and my discussions with them left a lasting impact on my thinking. Others have given valuable marginal notes, or offered invaluable assistance in various ways during the years of my endeavour and research. Many of them have, consciously or unconsciously, provided tangible support and personal resources, which have been most helpful during the time when this book has been in preparation. And there are friends, who have been a constant source of ideas, inspiration, and faith. Hence, I wish to express my special thanks to Mrs. Yolanda Arrecis, Mrs. Deane M. Atkinson, Mr. Johann Brandt, Dr. Susan Dean-Smith, Mr. Heikki Eskelinen, Mr. Teijo Gunell, Mr. Simo Hankaniemi, Mr. Erkki Heiniö, Dr. Markku Henriksson, Mr. Ahti Hytönen, Mr. Riku Hämäläinen, Mrs. Inkeri Jaakkola, Mr. Arto Kaarma, Mr. Antti Kallio, Mr. Jukka Kanerva, Mrs. Leena Karenko, Mr. Harri Kettunen, Mrs. Eija Kämäräinen, Mr. Hannu Laaksonen, Mr. P.J. Lammi, Mrs. Marja and Mr. Martti Lehtimaa, Mr. Paul Lemberg, Mr. Antti Linnavirta, Mrs. Anja and Mr. Markku Lorenz, Mrs. Mary Maggi, Mr. Jouko Malmi, Mr. Timo Moberg, Mr. Rollie P. Morgan, Mrs. Leila Mustanoja, Dr. Martti A. Nyman, Mrs. Kirsti Pajari, Mrs. Anneli Pajunen, Dr. Jussi Pakkasvirta, Mr. Niilo Penttilä, Mr. Oscar A. Perez, Mr. Raino Puottula, Mr. Mika Rantanen, Mr. Jorge Salinas, Dr. Hannu Salmi, Dr. Jukka Salo, Mr. Kari Salenius, Dr. Matti Sarmela, Mrs. Anneli and Mr. Sakari Sarparanta, Mr. Seppo K. J. Tamminen, Mr. Jyrki K. Talvitie, Mrs. Rauni Tirri, Mr. Petri J. Tervo, Mr. Risto Vuoripalo, and Dr. Timo Vuorisalo.

Finally I want to acknowledge the longest standing debt in my career of research. I have been fortunate in having parents who always have been supportive for my work. Their constant emotional and financial support over the years have been most invaluable and meant more than I can say. Therefore I am proud that I can dedicate this book to Laila and Pauli Hiltunen, my beloved parents. Equally, I have extended this dedication to my children from two previous and present marriages, Linda, Tero, Juri and Susanna, who cheerfully and sincerely have approved their dad's involvement with Amerind studies. I want also give special thanks to my brother Hannu, sister Anne, and my beloved wife Marjo (herself a researcher too), whose insights and mental support I appreciate very much. As a matter of fact, Marjo's knowledge in Sociological

science has greatly helped me to clarify certain aspects in the theoretical framework of this study. And I thank her for her patience during the arduous process, which eventually led to completion of this dissertation.

Juha J. Hiltunen

in Turku, on June 30, 1999

just about four hundred years since

Don Fernando de Montesinos was born

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All illustrations (maps, tables, charts and graphs) are drawn by the author. Only exceptions are the graphic works on pages 277 and 352, which are illustrative reconstructions of

1. The interior main hall of *Coricancha*, the Inca temple of the sun (by Leone Matthis), and
2. Amauta (Wari) ruler from the Middle Horizon Andean antiquity (original bust refined and manipulated by the author).

Part one

The Nature of Historical
Research



■ I. Introduction

1. The problems and the goals of the study

The aim of this study is to re-evaluate the value of Fernando de Montesinos' chronicle as a source of historical information. The principal focus will be on ethnic traditional element incorporated in Montesinos' account: the dynastic traditions narrating events from the Pre-Incaic Andean past. This information is reflected upon, evaluated, and correlated with the current archaeological and other circumstantial evidence provided by modern research in the Andes.

Fernando de Montesinos was a Spanish cleric of the Baroque, who spent fifteen years in the Viceroyalty of Peru, and wrote down native histories and traditions. His chronicle, *Ophir de España* or *Memorias Antiguas y Historiales del Peru*, differs profoundly from all the other primary sources of the Andean native past. It provides an account of a long dynastic tradition predating the Incas, a historical narrative which is not mentioned elsewhere in full form.¹ The work contains other peculiarities too: 1) references to the writing skills of ancient Peruvians, and 2) a hypothetical reconstruction of a supposed descent of all Peruvian dynasties from Ophir (the great grandson of Noah) and the Armenians. These deviations from the other Spanish Andean chronicles are the principal reasons why Montesinos' work has generally been neglected by scholarly circles since its first publication in 1840. The present study propose to re-evaluate this document as a source, and to reconstruct the essence of what appears to have been genuine Andean folklore behind Montesinos' elaborated narrative.

Scholarly discussion on Montesinos' chronicle and its testimonial value has been practically nonexistent during the past four decades. New archaeological data on Middle-Horizon and Late Intermediate periods have provided evidences of pre-Incaic statehood, which have made me interested and convinced, that a second look should be taken at Montesinos' testimony. In addition to this circumstantial evidence, encouraging data has emerged on pre-Incaic languages. Most of all, promising results from the re-evaluated field of ethnohistorical research has provided further motivation for my research. In many problems encountered during this research, I have distilled and fused to give the most elegant solution, while others have remained open. The principal

.....
1 Most conventional sources list only the last dynasty of Montesinos: the dynasty of the Incas. Exceptional are e.g. Cabello de Balboa (North Coast dynasties) and Guaman Poma (Yarovilca dynasty). It is noteworthy also that Montesinos' Inca-list proper does not differ too much from the Canonic form occurring in most chronicles.

purpose of this study is to present Montesinos' chronicle in the light of abundant new circumstantial and historical data, so that he can be viewed objectively as a historical source. I am presenting here an attempt to correlate his dynasty lists with up-to-date prehistoric periodization in the Andes.²

1.1. Analytic frameworks

The problems and goals of the present study can be summarized around the three theses of Montesinos:

- A) the existence of a long dynastic tradition before the Incas in the Andes
- B) the existence of "writing" among the ancient Peruvians
- C) the theory of Ophir as an explanation of the origin of American races.

All these "theses" are assumed to have originated from Montesinos' pen. However, my study indicates that Montesinos did not invent most of this information, but drew data from more primary sources. Thesis A is the primary problem, while the theses B and C formulate secondary or subsidiary problems to be studied. The following queries can be conducted from the primary problem: Major query:

Does Montesinos' narrative contain authentic ethnohistorical and dynastic information from the Pre-Incaic Andean past?

Secondary queries:

- a) Is there any correlation between the Middle Horizon – Late Intermediate archaeological periodization and the Montesinian historical past?
- b) If the correlation exists, how much has the extant tradition been altered in distinct phases of the lifetime of narrative data?
- c) To what extent did Montesinos himself or/and the Incas (e.g. Pachacuti) alter this tradition?
- d) Why does Montesinos' account differ so much from the Canonic Incan tradition?

Problem B (besides A) leads to at least the following queries:

- a) Is an extended dynastic data derived from oral tradition historically reliable information?
- b) Is the Peruvian oral tradition more reliable in this respect if it was assisted by advanced mnemonic devices (e.g. *quipus*)?

Problem C leads to questions concerning the prevailing cosmologies, for instance:

- a) What kind of socio-cultural and religious concepts inspired Montesinos in his writings?
- b) How much of authentic Andean concepts of time and cosmology survived in Montesinos' narrative, and how much interpolation did he use from non-Andean sources?

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2 As an example in showing how Montesinos' pre-Incaic lists can fit the above data, I review the correspondences between testimonial and circumstantial evidence to illustrate the heavy back-up for a long pre-Incaic statehood tradition (ca. 500–1250). (SCHAEDERL 1997, personal consultation.)

Furthermore, out of these problems two contextual bases of research emerge: the document of Montesinos and the ethnohistorical tradition itself. Consequently, the following major topics of investigation can be set forth:

1. the question of the reliability of Montesinos' account
2. the question of the reliability of ethnohistorical tradition

There is no general theoretical framework which can be employed for the overall approach to these problems. This research embraces many fields of knowledge, which calls for an interdisciplinary approach. We may exploit certain theoretical models where a group of hypotheses is working together.³ Methodologically the rules of historiographic analysis and criticism of sources are followed in distinct phases of research. The principal analytic framework, argumentation, and process of reasoning in this study is essentially tied up with the prerequisite questions above.

1. The reliability of Montesinos' account is evaluated historiographically/historio-critically by using external and internal criticism as a methodological approach. Montesinos' account is treated both as a historical relic and as a source of tradition.

2. The value of ethnohistorical tradition is perceived transculturally by using comparative anthropological data and exploiting a hypothetic-deductive approach. Since the nature of our ethnohistorical data base is essentially diachronic, the historiographical approach is also exploited with this material. Special emphasis is given to oral tradition methodology, in which the works of Jan VANSINA and David HENIGE are used particularly.⁴

All in all, my general way of approach to these research problems is hermeneutical. It encompasses the hypothetic-deductive method and exploits analysis and synthesis in distinct phases of research. Hermeneutical approach is

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3 Three closely associated disciplines, history, anthropology/ethnohistory, and archaeology, join together here. All are oriented diachronically, but exploit distinctive data bases: documents, oral tradition, and material remains, respectively. Essentially ethnohistorians also exploit documentary sources, i.e. written-down ethnographies, in their studies. While all deal with the past, only the methods based on different data show a difference. The most important methodological basis used by a historian is historiographic analysis, which consists of source and form criticism. It is not a theory, any more than there is an ethnographic theory either. In searching any overall theoretical formulation for these disciplinary approaches which all deal with the past, one should rather look at anthropology. A transcultural, *etic* approach which exploits cross-cultural and quantitative data bases is one such framework which is widely used throughout my study. For the discussion of relation between these disciplines, see e.g. DEETZ 1988. See also, DYMOND 1974; MOLLOY 1983: 1-52; HODDER 1986.

4 For more, see chapter II:1.1.1. I have used the model of intentional-teleological scientific explanation (which refers to aims of human individuals or crowds in historical acts) in the premises of the reliability of Montesinos' account and the reliability of ethnohistorical (i.e. dynastic tradition) record. My study indicates that the composite work of Montesinos' own account and the enclosed Incaic tradition in it, is a teleological, intentionally manipulated document out of the past. For intentional-teleological explanation, see e.g. HAAPARANTA & NIINILUOTO 1986:72-4. An additional topic of investigation in evaluating the extant ethnohistorical data is how the new chronological parameters provided from my M.A. thesis (HILTUNEN 1993) can be applied to Andean dynastic data.

important because such themes as historical world views, concepts of time, and elite (dynastic) subcultural spheres are important focuses in my research.⁵ In essence, these themes belong to the **key concepts** of the study, which are: ethnohistory, dynastic propaganda, non-linear (cyclical) and linear thinking, testimonial and circumstantial evidence, manipulation of historical information, study of elites, imperial ideology, and jesuitism. An analytical review of previous research has also helped me to sketch out various problems, viewpoints, and potential measuring devices to be used in the present study. Counter to a scepticism commonly felt toward the ‘theses’ of Montesinos, the goal of my study is to present a truthful logic context of these statements, which, as such, testify the reliability of Montesinos’ account and testimony.

1.2. World view and the concept of time

According to Juha MANNINEN (1977) the notion of ‘world view’ consists of the ideas of:

- a) time and cosmos
- b) cosmogony, supernatural powers, and the existence/ non-existence
- c) nature and man’s relationship with it
- d) man’s relationship with other people
- e) socio-political structure, nation, state, and the factors shaping history.⁶

The notion of world view has sometimes been associated with ideology. Although these two may occasionally amalgamate, the latter express more sociological than psychological features, and is often intentionally directed to motivate the actions of classes primarily. It includes an interpretation of a historical and social setting, benefits, mission, and vocation for an extended human entity.⁷ The ruling Incas, for example, practised ideological propaganda, as power elites everywhere, but the Andean world view whence it emerged, was a more permanent and truly ideational construction.⁸

.....
 5 For hermeneutics, see e.g. HAAPARANTA & NIINILUOTO 1986:63–71; IMMONEN 1993:28–30. There are two hermeneutical methods of interpretation: a) a textual hermeneutics (using various ‘texts’, e.g. documents, cultures, epochs etc. as its focuses), and b) an analytic and dialectical hermeneutics, which concentrates on human acts and behaviour. (HAAPARANTA & NIINILUOTO, *ibid.*; VIRTANEN 1993:9.) This methodology is much used in cultural history research also. A dialogue between the focus and the context is emphasized. According to Keijo VIRTANEN (1987:102), “the hermeneutic triunity between the past, a historian, and a history presented by a historian has been the methodological starting point for this research” (translation from the Finnish mine.) Moreover, the cultural-historical and anthropological study have common features also, especially in referring to term ‘culture’ as a focus of research and in importance of perceiving past mental atmospheres and cosmologies. And, both tend to exploit many auxiliary disciplines in the process of research. (*ibid.*, *passim.*)

6 MANNINEN 1977:16–17. I am indebted to Raisa SIMOLA, whose study of Chinua ACHEBE’s (a Nigerian author) world views (1995) has given me methodological inspiration and guidelines to approach this topic. I got acquainted with Raisa during my stay in Austin, Texas (1994–5), where she was writing this work. For more on the concept of world view, see e.g. KUUSI et al. (eds.) 1977; MANNINEN et al. (eds.) 1989, and especially MANNINEN 1989, ENVALL 1989, and KNUUTTILA 1989.

7 MANNINEN 1977:23–24; ENVALL 1989:115–6; SIMOLA 1995:22.

8 It should be noted, however, that the world view and ideology tend to be mixed, and were eventually re-shaped in the hands of imperial power elites.

The world view of any society could be approached synchronically or/and diachronically. Both perceptions are necessary when one is studying societies in reconstructable distant past. Hence, the problem circulates around the question of alternative, alien, and dichotomic (or even corresponding) world views between the student and the studied.⁹ In our case the horizontal focus lies in the distinction between Judeo-Christian (Reformation Era European) and Andean atmospheres. The vertical (diachronical) aspect in my study encompasses the development and manipulation of these concepts from the earlier (Pre-Incaic) to later (Colonial) times. Moreover, a special emphasis is given to the ideational functions of the world view in the present study.¹⁰ In accordance with the nature of my study, the concept of world view is also treated rather superficially and trans-culturally.

An essential concept associated with the world view is the idea of time and history. These are culturally varied notions, and the crucial tension exists between the concepts of linearity and cyclicity. The latter has commonly been connected with indigenous and ancient societies, and consequently with the Andeans as well. My study challenges this uniform generalization. I will present ideas and factors which suggest a sound probability of the existence of cyclico-linear concept of time and history among the Inca elites particularly. This juxtaposed time formula was quite common in ancient complex societies, especially among the imperial elites whose ideological interests it tended to legitimize. Recent studies in Mesoamerica for instance, have provided similar data. Furthermore, modern research is tending to revise this old dichotomic categorizing – which allows more room for the idea that people always and everywhere have more or less combined cyclicity and linearity in their historical thinking. This viewpoint rejects the structural hypothesis of Inca dynastic organization and highlights the intercalation of archaeological and ethnohistorical testimonies instead.¹¹

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9 KOIVISTO 1993:36–7; SIMOLA 1995:23. The study on world views can be approached also from the mentality-historical point of view, the method favored by modern idea-historians, Annalists, and mentality-historians, for instance. Their approach is frequently synchronic and usually concentrates on the common, collective conceptions, and ordinary people's perceptions of the world. (VIRTANEN 1987:30–63; KOIVISTO 1993:37–41.) In anthropology, the question has mostly been a dialectical matter between the intra- and trans-cultural students, i.e. *emic* vs. *etic* point of views. Currently the sharpest distinctions between these approaches have smoothed, partly due the impact of mentality historical research (KNUUTTILA 1989:173–87.) Since the focus of the present study is not on the ordinary people, but at a small privileged stratum of a society, the mentality-historical approach has not been very useful in this context.

10 For different approaches on this subject, see e.g. MANNINEN 1977:27–48.

11 I am not using the concept of linearity in a strict Judeo-Christian sense, but as a notion in more indefinable terms. In this conception the macrocycles encompass both linearity and microcycles within. According to a sociological theory of Anthony GIDDENS (1984: 300–8), the distinction between cyclical and linear temporal perception is not definite. He argues that “the linear temporal consciousness” developed within societies of written tradition, but in spite of linear dominance the cyclicity maintained its character in human temporal experience. On the other hand, a famous French Annalist scholar, Fernand BRAUDEL (1969/1980), has presented an idea of three rhythmically ongoing and interlocking historical cycles: the longest, almost moveless period (*longue durée*), inter-cyclical (*conjuncture*) phase, and a short span period or history proper. The latter is

1.3. Dynasties and elite tradition

Dynastic elite tradition is an important frame of reference in the present study. In the Andean context it is oral tradition documented in the Spanish chronicles, and focusing on ethnohistorical dynastic accounts. While a dynastic propaganda and tradition corruption among the power elites has been habitually practiced everywhere, its impact on related tradition-survivals is constantly evaluated throughout this study. Special weight is given to comparative, quantitative, and statistico-diachronic data, to form parameters and conventional tools for archaeological periodization, absolute chronology, and historical synchronisms.

The study of elites in complex societies is a relatively new orientation in anthropology, although normative historical research always has favored the subject.¹² Anthropologists have customarily approached this theme from the synchronic, functional, structural, and institutional points of view, which have

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governed by power elites and great events. Equally, BRAUDEL's view on history encompasses cyclicity within linearity. I owe gratitude to Prof. Kari IMMONEN, who led me thinking about BRAUDEL's ideas (see also, IMMONEN 1996:19-33.) David CARR, in his *Time, Narrative, and History* (1986:181), has expressed the idea as follows: "the linear and narrative conception of time is tacitly recognized by everyone as reflecting the reality of human events, and that non-linear conceptions are just so many efforts to deny this reality." See also, R. LAYTON (ed.): *Who Needs Past?* (1989/1994), where number of scholars provide interesting new evidences from distinct non-literate cultural spheres around the world, about the existence of historical and linear perception not too unlike from the traditional Western thought. For more, read also, SETÄLÄ 1983:7, 22; McELWAIN 1987; VIRTANEN 1987:64, 1993:10-11; HEISKANEN (ed.) 1989; MAMANI CONDORI 1989; KOIVISTO 1993b:112; SIMOLA 1995:29-31.

12 Anthropologists have traditionally carried out research among the tribal societies. Interest in elite groups for study has been much more rare. Ethnographic material of historical cases is similarly scanty. It is noteworthy that ethnology and cultural anthropological research arose during the expansive period of Western colonialism in the latter part of the nineteenth century. At that time, only a few ancient complex states existed within the spheres of colonial influence. The British domain embraced some of them in India and Indochina, while others were found in Sub-Saharan Africa and Polynesia. Therefore most anthropological studies which concern traditional elites in complex societies are from these countries and carried by British social scientists. (KUPER 1983; MARCUS G. 1983; SARMELA 1984; The CASSEL ATLAS 1997). Stanley BARRETT (1984:98-99, 182-7, 233) is one modern scholar who suggests that more research thrust should be transferred from the poor and powerless to elites.

On the other hand, traditional historical research has always preferred dynastic- and elite-oriented accounts. According to KIRKINEN (1987:128, 143-4), in historical research the study of dynasties can be included into Developmental historical structures and embracing historical dynamics and power, where action- and coherence-structures are working as influential factors. Ideology and religion as historical prime movers are categorized into psychological powers and structures in this model.

"Elites" as a concept, theory, and research tradition was established (as a part of political science) largely as a result of the works of two Italian sociologists, Vilfredo PARETO (*The Mind and Society*) and Gaetano MOSCA (*The Ruling Class*) in the late nineteenth century. Their classical elitist thesis emphasizes ruling groups as prime movers almost in a Machiavellian way of thinking and it derives examples mostly from European history. MOSCA's and PARETO's approach was largely organizational and psychological. The latter distinguished two classes of elites, "the foxes" and "the lions", which alternated in power through each nation's history. The former preferred cunning and the latter force in solving political problems. (PARRY 1969:15-63; MARCUS 1983:7-17.) Compare also, MACHIAVELLI [1531] 1958, [1532] 1984/1993.

given little attention to historical aspects.¹³ Also the normative sociological approach in studies of elite structures is ahistorical, sedimentary, and synchronical.¹⁴

The theoretical approach to elite studies may be either sociological, anthropological, politico-historical, psychohistorical, or a model mixing these disciplines. The definition and model used in the present study can be abstracted as follows:

1. Anthropology: a subcultural organization and a kinship institution which held a hereditary status and legitimized authority by tradition.

2. Sociology, political science and psychology: a corporate group which held both *de jure* and *de facto* political power (the coercive force), and maintained its status by politico-religious ideology and dynastic propaganda.

3. History: a developmental and historical structure (dynasty and aristocracy) which identified itself diachronically in cyclico-linear fashion.

4. Ethnohistory: a non-European privileged ethnic caste or lineage-cluster, which kept genealogical and dynastic accounts of their past by institutionalized oral transmission and mnemotechnic aids (i.e. reconstructed sequences from peoples without history).¹⁵

An impact of individual influential persons (i.e. rulers) in historical changes is a traditional, long-neglected view on history, which should be taken anew into consideration.¹⁶ Equally, re-thinking the Andean past is currently an issue

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13 The study of elites has mostly been carried on by sociologically or politically oriented anthropologists. A most distinguished research tradition comes from the British and French Social Anthropology. The studies of "functions" (i.e. functionalists) and "structures" (i.e. structuralists) are derived from there. In the 1930–40s anthropologists first adopted and then abandoned the institution-based functionalism, and finally adopted a sociological, structuralist position. At the same time there was a change in topical interest from the family, magic etc. to political and kinship systems. (KUPER 1983:97.) For Institutional approach, which comprises a division of sociocultural organization, e.g. political organization, see e.g. VIVELO 1978.

14 GIDDENS 1984: passim.

15 According to Max WEBER (1962:81) "the oldest and most universally held legitimacy of authority is based on the sacredness of tradition." Furthermore, in listing types of political and religious corporate groups, he names e.g. autonomous and autocephalous groups, where the authority has been established by its own members through their own efforts, and "that the director and his staff act by the authority of the autonomous order of the corporate group itself" (ibid., 109–110.) For more about elite studies, see e.g. MILLS 1956; PARRY 1969; PUTNAM 1976; MARCUS G. 1983; and in the Mesoamerican context, CHASE & CHASE (eds.) 1992. For the emergence of elite class in complex societies, see e.g. PFEIFFER 1977.

16 This calls forth almost a "Hegelian" or a "Nietzschian" kind of historiography, where the former perceived a history as a grand drama with kings and heroes as major actors, and the latter wrote about (e.g.) Monumental history, a history of great men (WHITE 1987:90, 349-51.) The question of causal factors in historical changes is problematic and a matter of endless debate among the historians. It seems that modern historiography has favored more the explanations where causal factors come from general socio-cultural phenomena than by the acts of prominent persons. This is true among the *Annalist* school of historians particularly (KNAPP 1992b:5–9; SHERRATT 1992:137; and KNAPP 1992 in general). According to KIRKINEN (1987: 143–4), several causal factors may be coincidental: cosmic- and biospherical factors, psychobiological factors, coherence-structures (e.g. institutions and ethnic structures), psychic structures (e.g. ideologies), and unexpected factors. Of course the distinction in emphasizing one or another factor is also a paradigmatic and disciplinary question.

widely under dispute. One such arena is the question of a proper approach of knowing the Andean past. Growing criticism on the traditional, processual evolutionistic approach (which visualizes the past in terms of a narrative account) has been presented. New methods, e.g. postprocessual contingent history, have challenged this common perception. Based largely on theories of BARRETT and GIDDENS, some anthropologists believe that people make informed choices about action. In each and every past its own historical contingency prevailed, with prehistoric people as actors within particular social contexts. Among other aspects this new method highlights the importance of informed human actors as marked vectors in socio-cultural and political changes.¹⁷ Accordingly, in the Andean socio-cultural context where a sacral sovereign rulership prevailed, this point of view is worth-while to be taken into consideration.¹⁸

I have used PARETO & MOSCA's classical elitist thesis as a guideline to my approach to Andean elites.¹⁹ Although my model of research embraces

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- 17 William ISBELL is one of the scholars paying serious attention to this new method. He has used it in his current book *Mummies and Mortuary Monuments* (1997), where he presents a revisionistic interpretation of historical development of the Andean *ayllu*. According to him, the *ayllu* appears to have been a relatively recent institution historically and associated with the emergence of states. The inadequacies in using the traditional methods "result from depending too much on theories and assumptions about the past and not enough on material remains provided by the archaeological record", writes ISBELL (*ibid.* 1). For John C. BARRETT (1988), see "The Field of Discourse: Reconstituting a Social Archaeology." *Critique of Archaeology* 7 (3): 5-16, and for Anthony GIDDENS, e.g. 1979/1984. See ISBELL, *ibid.*, 11, 103-35. William ROSEBERRY and Jay O'BRIEN (eds. in 1991 *Golden Ages, Dark Ages: Imagining the Past in Anthropology and History*, Berkeley: University of California Press; quoted in ISBELL, *ibid.*, 108), "argue that cultural institutions undergo significant change as a result of human action in the contexts of historically unique social processes." Moreover, ISBELL criticizes the models modern ethnography usually collects about Andean culture - to be used as analogies for e.g. Pre-Hispanic state organizations (*ibid.*, 112-6.) Accordingly, I have taken from him some ideas in criticizing of the tendency of structuralists to favor tribal or chiefdom-level case-studies as a reflection at prehistoric state-institutions (e.g. Incas.)
- 18 When powerful human actors are sought as prime movers in major socio-cultural and political changes, it is important to make a distinction between ancient and modern times, sovereign status contra a more democratic rule, and empires and kingdoms. In the Inca empire, for instance, a sacral rulership prevailed. The absolute sovereign power of Sapa Inca was clearly felt at the moment when Atahualpa was captured by the Spaniards in 1533. The entire Tahuantinsuyo - with its ten-million people - were "paralyzed" for a while. The importance of defining temporal and spatial conceptual bases for human actions, is also suggested by Anthony GIDDENS (1984) in his sociological theory. In the psychohistorical field, Dean Keith SIMONTON (1994), has studied hundreds of influential historical characters, and noted their impact in shaping history. According to Michael H. HART in his *The 100; A ranking of the most influential persons in history* (1978/1992), the following emperors, Shi Huang Ti, Augustus, Constantine the Great, Chengiz Khan, Alexander the Great, Napoleon, Umar ibn al-Khattab, Isabella I, Julius Caesar, Sui Wen Ti, Cyrus the Great, Peter the Great, Elisabeth I, Menes, Charlemagne, and Justinian I, are enlisted. C. Wright MILLS, in his classic study *The Power Elite* (1956:20), has taken a middle of the road opinion on history-makers: "The minimum definition of the power elite as those who decide whatever is decided of major consequence, does not imply that the members of this elite are always and necessarily the history-makers; neither does it imply that they never are."
- 19 Compare, G. MOSCA, *The Ruling Class* (ed. Livingston), McGraw-Hill, New York, 1939; and V. PARETO, *The Mind and Society*, Harcourt-Brace, New York, 1935. The summary of MOSCA's and PARETO's thesis is from PARRY 1969. While "the concept, theory, and

several other disciplines, the leading methodology comes from ethnohistory and anthropology.²⁰ Hence, the subject is mainly faced from a comparative and cross-cultural perspective by pointing out certain universal features in human socio-political behavior, especially in the contexts of acts between rulers and ruled. The Andean elites are perceived as a subculture quite analogical with many ancient dynastic power-groups elsewhere. This ethnohistorical approach emphasizes developmental and diachronic elements more than other aspects in the elite subculture. A special emphasis is given to political ideologies and dynastic propaganda.

The present approach to elites (especially in ancient societies) separate this focus from the other strata and aspects of a society. This is somewhat anti-functionalist and anti-structuralist approach, and recalls historicist viewpoints in which ideology, propaganda, historical consciousness, and wielding of power are essential vectors in diachronical dynamics. In a broad sense, I am following Anthony GIDDENS' theoretical framework in sociology, where spatial and temporal aspects in socio-cultural dynamics are highlighted. He criticizes functional and structural approaches, which are tending to eliminate temporal aspects in their perceptions of cultures "frozen" in time and space. GIDDENS maintain also, that the linear notion of time should be understood in a much wider sense – with cyclical perception being always potentially present.²¹

The functional approach, which has been a dominant one in Andean studies during the past decades, holds a perception that societies are like organisms containing elements inseparable from each other. Thus, cultures could adequately be studied only as entities, in which every aspect and institution has an integrative function.²² I think, however, that history has a number of times proved that common cultural features and consciousness could survive even though society's upper stratum has been cut off. Always new conquerors have destroyed the preceding seats of power, annihilated former rulers, retrained surviving officials, but left all other strata basically intact. In a rotation of dynasties, conquests and usurpations, the bygone power elites were doomed to

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 research tradition of the elite all have originated in a Euro-American cultural context and from historic changes in Western societies"..., "this fact does not negate the usefulness of the elite concept for comparative analyses across cultural boundaries and historic periods", writes George MARCUS (1983:25.) Still, emphasizing its applicability principally to societies influenced by Western civilization, as MARCUS does (ibid.), I am using the classical elite thesis only as a suggestive theoretical basis for my approach.

20 A normative historical approach on the elite concept in anthropology is ethnographical, and while the study of kin-based groups has been anthropology's traditional medium, the majority of ethnographies of the subject deal with societies "where elite domination takes the classic form of rule by family-organized factions or oligarchies."(MARCUS G. 1983:33–45.)

21 GIDDENS 1979/1984:passim. For structuralism, read e.g. LEVI-STRAUSS 1963/1977. Walter BENJAMIN wrote (*Illuminations*, ed. by Hannah Arendt, Schocken: New York, 1968; cited in RAPPAPORT 1990:191, n.5), "that 'history' was the domain of the ruling classes, while the downtrodden were relegated to the domain of 'tradition'."

22 For functionalism, read e.g. KUPER 1983; SARMELA 1984:35–8. For more about Andean "schools" of research, see next chapter.

be forgotten, albeit their common subjects run on their almost changeless lives for ages and centuries. Ironically then, while the powerholders knew the presence of this sword of Damocles, they made every efforts to preserve their identity in historical records and were using dynastic propaganda whenever it would fit the picture. The elites, often foreign in origin, made themselves explicitly a separate unit within a society they ruled – living in a closed microworld of their own.²³ The seat of the Inca imperial power elite, Cuzco, became the “Navel of the World”, which grew into an autonomous, self-contained focus of the socio-political and cosmic-cultural order. As was the case in many ancient empires, there was a growing process towards further distinction between the center and periphery as the state expanded. Hence, the interests of commoners and elites became alienated even more.²⁴

The various aspects of dynastic propaganda and manipulation of testimonial evidence are questioned and compared in the present study. Accordingly, I am paying attention to how Inca Yupanqui Pachacuti could have rearranged the Inca dynasty. He is generally held responsible for modifying earlier Inca dynastic records. Hence, he seems to have been responsible for an overall neglect to refer to with a long succession of pre-Incaic tradition in the Incaic official Canon.²⁵ Moreover, Fernando de Montesinos has had a reputation as a fabulist. Naturally the present study involves placing this in a new perception. Both Inca Pachacuti and Fernando de Montesinos seem to have manipulated the extant tradition which narrates the pre-Incaic kings and their deeds, but presumably for widely divergent reasons.

Although the Andean sociopolitical environment and traditional elitist sub-culture is here perceived cross-culturally and largely from the “etic” point of view (in which certain universal features are emphasized *a priori*), the present study also reflects this Andean scene horizontally with the Reformation Era European socio-cultural sphere. The focus of this comparative perspective is in distinctive/correlative aspects in notions of world view and historical thought. This is important, because functionalist and structuralist studies have particularly underlined the prevalent distinctions in world views and temporal notions between these spheres. In the Andean ethnohistorical field a diachronic, vertical dimension is also sought. This means a plumbing of the time depths through the distinct historical phases of a narrative’s or tradition’s real or suggested lifetime. This is sometimes called “upstreaming”; where a process of research is carried from the known, the present, to the unknown, the past. The

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23 For more, see chapter II:3. Luis BAUDIN (1962) is one Andeanist who has made a sharp distinction between the commoners and nobility in the Inca state. He maintains that there were a psychological antipathy between the common people and the ruling class. He writes, “not only were the religious conceptions of the masses different from those of the ruling class, they were used by them for a political end, and they became an instrument in the hands of the leaders” (ibid., 66.)

24 For the distinction between the imperial cores and peripheries, see e.g. EISENSTADT 1979:544–5.

25 For Inca Pachacuti and Inca dynastic propaganda, see chapters II:2,3.

“present” in our study is the Inca socio-political sphere, which analogically could be reflected and correlated with the Middle Horizon and Late Intermediate Period archaeological past. Through Montesinos’ testimony this past may also reach an ethnohistorical dimension.

1.4. The data base

The data base (i.e. sources and evidence) of the present study consist of the following categories:

1. Testimonial evidence
 - a) written documents (i.e. Spanish chronicles)
 - b) ethnohistorical records (oral/*quipu*-derived data recorded in Spanish chronicles)
2. Circumstantial evidence (e.g. from archaeology)
3. Statistical data (i.e. cross-cultural quantitative analyses of dynastic data) to provide measuring guidelines.²⁶

The principal discussion, evaluation, and methodological approach in this study concentrates around two main types of evidence: testimonial and circumstantial. In principle, all historical evidence is testimonial – depending on witnesses and a written record. Circumstantial evidence is of many kinds, but in our context the principal one is the material culture remains from archaeology. Ethnohistory and oral tradition are testimonial evidence from prehistory.²⁷ One major focus of the present study is to exploit this special source and evaluate its testimonial veracity. I have used comparative and cross-cultural data quantitatively to derive indices (maximal and minimal) and test their applicability to Andean data. The testimonial value in spoken data and ethnohistory in general consists of written information (the writer who gives the testimony from his own observation or that of the primary witnesses which he records). This is likely to be true in many kind of testimonies (e.g. in law suits). However, in certain lists, like dynastic histories, the information requires more scrutiny to determine the original compiler’s concept. The factors of intentional manipulation, dynastic propaganda, or other kinds of falsifications are treated copiously.

While much more text is necessarily given to evaluate testimonial evidence, and interpretations often rest on “gut feelings” which creates debates among scholars, I tend to weigh the circumstantial as decisive.²⁸ Besides testimonial- and circumstantial-, I also use quantitative historico-statistical data to derive indices; these assembled data are from comparative analyses of dynasties around the world and throughout history. Certain variables (maximum-

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26 The historical material and data base are defined by J. M. VINCENT (1911/1974:18) as follows: I. Consciously transmitted information: a) written, b) oral c) art works. II. Relics, or unconscious testimony: e.g. human remains, language, customs and institutions, artifacts etc. Accordingly, in our data base certain sculptures which we have categorized within miscellaneous circumstantial evidence, can also be considered as conscious direct evidence if their meaning can be defined with certainty.

27 For oral tradition and ethnohistory, see chapter II:1.

28 SCHAEDEL (1997, personal consultation.)

minimum ‘averages’) can be used as correlative tools in this research.

Some three dozen Spanish-Andean chronicles dating from the 16th and 17th centuries are used in the present study. Most of them are the conventional primary sources on the Peruvian Pre-Columbian past. Although almost all of their information derives from the Incaic sources, the focus of present study is to penetrate through the Hispano-European/ Incaic ‘filter’ to weigh the presence of a substantial antecedant heritage. In this search all the known Andean primary sources referring to pre-Incaic times (some 15 chronicles) has been exploited.

The overall data base of the present study consist of some twelve hundred primary and secondary sources and one hundred commentaries on Montesinos during the entire period when his work has been known. Moreover, some 13 000 ancient reigns and 1000 dynasties has been analyzed cross-culturally, and the veracity of ethnohistorical testimony has been tested by using fifteen well known cases in history. Montesinos’ king list has been compared, analyzed, and reflected upon this extensive data base e.g. from structural and chronological point of view. Also an attempt to sketch out its possible ethno-linguistic and etymological origin has been made.

1.5. Summary of contents

Part One contains a general introduction to research problems, goals of study, primary sources, nature of historical testimonies, and previous studies on Montesinos. Its common denominator is the nature of historical research encompassing the interpretative tension between testimonial and circumstantial evidence around which the main thread of my study is twined. The nature of Peruvian documentary sources and appropriate strategies of approach to this research are summarized here. The interdependence of various Spanish chronicles is a major topic to be treated also, and in the closing part of the chapter I:2 a table is presented where the relationships of principal Spanish chronicles and sources are shown graphically (including connections with Montesinos’ chronicle).

In Part Two (and to some degree in Part One also) a historiographical analysis is used to evaluate Montesinos chronicle as a source. External criticism regards this document as a relic, estimates its origin and function, and search for to whom it was primarily written. As the value of Montesinos chronicle has been heavily criticized, the question of intentional falsification of information is weighed up and examined in this section also. Certain methods of forging and principles of oral narrative manipulation are set forth here.²⁹

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29 I am not trying to psychoanalyze Montesinos’ intentions or give a reconstruction of his supposed motives. A historian is usually far more interested in the aims, goals, and means of any historical person, than presumed motives behind his/her acts (RENVALL (1983:244–9.) “We are usually able to clear up only a structural aspect of historical motives, the one which we can read about the mutual relationships of distinctive actions, but being normally unable to reach the final content of them, which is the way a person have felt the matter.” (ibid.; translation from the Finnish mine.)

Internal criticism is directed to weigh the capabilities of Montesinos as a narrator and to analyze intentional and teleological aspects in his work. Various contexts are thus involved, such as Jesuitism, the Baroque cultural atmosphere, Scholasticism, the Colonial writing genre, the Judeo-Christian world view and the Reformation Era ideas of time. As Montesinos exploited a number of other sources in his work, his account is treated as a secondary source for most of his narrative testimony. Montesinos had intimate connections with the Jesuits and their archives seemingly were among the principal sources of his historical information.³⁰

Principally, in the internal criticism Montesinos' chronicle is treated as a tradition. The question of the truth of this narrative tradition is a major research problem to be solved. It supposedly consists of testimonial evidence on the prehistoric Andean past: historical information which was transmitted orally and by means of mnemonic devices through Incaic and Colonial Spanish sociocultural and historical "filters" from the times predating the Incan era. The value of ethnohistorical information and orally transmitted data is examined in this section. Moreover, the Andean cosmology, historical thought, perceptions of time, and the effects of Incan dynastic propaganda are reviewed here. The problem of chronology in oral tradition is related with dynastic propaganda; consequently, certain new chronological parameters are employed: an application from my M.A. thesis (1993), which could better be correlated with the Andean prehistoric periodization than the previous ones.

In Part Three a correlation of dynastic traditions with absolute dating is sought. The testimonial value of distinctive circumstantial evidence is weighted, especially from the archaeological field. Certain tested cases from the Andean past are used as supportive data for evaluating the correspondence of archaeological periodization, absolute dating, and ethnohistorical dynastic data in the Peruvian context. The little developed research from historical linguistics and paleoastronomy applied to the Andes are reviewed here too.

Finally, Montesinos' narrative is situated within the two major interpretative "schools" of Andean Colonial historiography, the "Garcilasan" and the "Toledan". Both are very tendentious, but the somewhat deeper historical entry and narrative context of Montesinos' account seems to correlate far better with the recent burgeoning prehistoric periodization in the Andes. This conclusion applies also to the modern traditional and structuralist reconstructions of Incan history in relation with Montesinos' account. While all the research results and

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30 In the principles of historical research I have consulted e.g. the following studies: GEORGE 1909:78-101; JOHNSON 1926:24-101; DAHL 1971:38-61; VINCENT 1974:19-43, 120-141, 248-302; RENVALL 1983: 165-217. The mental atmosphere of Reformation era and Spanish Baroque, which prevailed during the times of Montesinos, could be studied from the Mental-historical perspective of course (although one cannot find any Reformistic in Montesinos' writing). Instead, it seems that the influence of Inquisition peaked in Montesinos' years of maturity. I have made here only rather superficial, general analysis of the theme, which is sufficient for purposes of the present study. Besides, the general historiographical approach already includes and requires mental atmosphere reconstruction and analysis.

parameters are employed, in the closing section a new reconstruction and scenarios for large blocks of the Pre-Incaic ethnohistorical past are presented.

Part Four contains conclusive remarks and the referential and documentary facts used. The appendices are large much due to the interdisciplinary nature of my study. Appendix 12 contains a comprehensive record of the variant judgements on Montesinos given by distinct authors over time. In appendix 14 some principal ethnohistorical testimonies in World prehistory are presented. Appendix 7 is devoted to showing some principles of the life and survival of oral narratives (applied mostly to Scandinavian data). These principles (by Axel Olrik) have been used widely in studies of oral narratives around the world. The Scandinavian oral tradition provides an interesting analogical field of study in relation with our subject. The trajectory of the famous Danish chronicler, Saxo Grammaticus, is illustrated by Olrik's exposition. Saxo Grammaticus (although writing in an earlier time) has interesting parallels with Montesinos as pioneer historian of a people.

My research indicates that Montesinos' chronicle is a far more reliable account of the prehistoric Andean past than has hitherto been thought. Mostly due to the marked refinements in recent archaeological research (resulting in a more detailed and accurate periodization than had existed at half century), the present attempt to correlate the Montesinian dynasty lists with prehistoric periodization in the Andes has been more cogent and functional. Moreover, our knowledge of Middle-Horizon and Wari archaeology has increased and the ethnohistorical connection to Montesinos' account have found a more solid basis. It is my task to show how much historical relevance one can find between the rulers named in Montesinos' chronicle and the Andean archaeological past.

Orthography

In spelling of native words, names and concepts, I have used the traditional, Spanish orthographical form throughout the text. For instance, I spell *quipu* instead of *kipu*, and *Huascar* instead of *Waskhar*. This rule is broken in certain well known cases however. I prefer e.g. *Wari* instead of *Huari* in references to this major Middle Horizon culture and state. On the other hand, I call *Wari's* "sister-culture" as *Tiahuanaco* instead of *Tiawanaku*.³¹ All the principal terms and relevant concepts are briefly explained in the Glossary at the end of this book (consult index also).³²

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31 For spelling of Spanish and Quechua names, see e.g. ROWE 1946. It is understandable that there was no fixed Spanish orthography in use by all the chroniclers of early colonial era (ibid.). I have selected the spellings which most commonly has been used in principal sources and modern research literature.

32 I have used the words "world view" and "cosmology" as compatible terms throughout my text. For discriminative reasons the former is used in the European and the latter in the Andean context. This concept encompasses also implicitly the idea of birth of the World, although a separate term, "cosmogony", is explicitly used in this place. The Spanish term for "world view" is *cosmovision*, and the German *Weltanschauung*. Moreover, the German term *Weltbild* as well as the Finnish *maailmankuva* focuses on image not perception.

2. Primary historical sources

2.1. Grouping of chronicles

The primary historical sources in Andean studies are the so-called Spanish chronicles, written by authors whose occupation ranged from clerics to state officials, soldiers, and native observers (compare appendix 3). A great majority of them were servants of the Catholic Church: friars and missionaries from the distinctive orders; above all Augustinians, Franciscans, Dominicans, and Jesuits. The second largest group were officials of the Spanish Crown: judges, military representatives, and grantees and administrators particularly. A third group consists of a few acculturated native and mixed-born writers.³³

This division of chroniclers by their occupation is only one way to categorize them. Raúl PORRAS BARRANECHEA (1962/1986) has presented the following, chronological division:

1. Chroniclers at the time of Discovery (1524–1532)
2. Chroniclers at the time of Conquest (1532–1537)
3. Chroniclers at the time of the Civil War (1538–1550)
4. Chroniclers of the Incas (1550–1650)
 - a) Pre-Toledans (1550–1569)
 - b) Toledans (1569–1581)
 - c) Post-Toledans (1581–1650)³⁴

Excluding one primary source (Quipocamayos 1542–44), all chronicles relevant for the present study belong to the fourth group, and majority of them are Toledan- or post-Toledan writers. A third way to divide chronicles has been based on their tendency and bias. P. A. MEANS (1928) introduced a division of chronicles into the so-called “Garcilasan” and “Toledan” “schools”, where the Inca “sympathizers” with Garcilaso de la Vega in the lead formed one portion, and the “Toledans” represented anti-Incan attitudes with viceroy Francisco de Toledo and Sarmiento de Gamboa as standard bearers. This division, however, is nowadays largely neglected.³⁵ The major problem in this division is a fact, that a distinctive portion of these primary sources did not easily fit into either of these “schools”. J.H. ROWE (1945) who has criticized MEANS’ division, exploited it in another way: by classifying chroniclers in relation to their accounts of the Inca imperial conquests. The chronicles presenting the Inca conquest as a rapid process following the accession of Inca Pachacuti, are the majority. In another group were classified those who presented Inca conquest as a gradual process.³⁶

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33 MEANS 1928; WEDIN 1966; PORRAS BARRANECHEA 1962/1986. According to CONRAD & DEMAREST (1984:5) these primary written accounts on Incas may also be called ‘ethnohistorical’ documents, which consist of three broad categories: Spanish chronicles, official administrative records, and works of native Andean authors.

34 PORRAS BARRANECHEA 1962/1986:16–18.

35 MEANS 1928:518–525.

36 ROWE 1945:268–72.

I have presented a division of chronicles in another way (compare appendix 3b); the chronicles which present:

1. "Classical" or "Canonic" model of Incan history without references to pre-Incas. In this model a history of some twelve rulers is presented (compare appendix 2).
2. "Divergent" dynastic tradition and history. With subgroups of:
 - 2a. "Short dynasties" (*dinastias cortas*) with occasional referencies to pre-Incaic traditions and dynasties (compare "minimalist" tradition).
 - 2b. "Extended dynasties" (*dinastias largas*) containig Ages (*Edades*) and frequently referring to pre-Incaic times also (compare "maximalist" tradition).

This "school" of "divergent" chroniclers is a major focus of the present study. Most references to pre-Inca traditions are fragmentary except in one source, the chronicle of Fernando de Montesinos.

2.2. Interdependence of sources

An important and fundamental question concerning the testimonies of the chronicles is their possible interdependence to each other. A common habit and ethics in the Medieval and early Modern times was to write without necessarily giving references to one's sources. What had been written was seen more or less to have passed on common property whence everyone could draw information freely.³⁷ Some authors were more accurate however. Many officials and clerics gave merits and references to their sources. The Jesuits, for instance, who possessed the best education of their times, were often proficient at citing their sources. Some of the best primary sources extant are works of friars from this Society: Blas Valera & Anonymous Jesuit (ca. 1585–90), José de Acosta (1588–90), Francisco de Avila (1608), Diego González Holguin (1608), Ludovico Bertonio (1612), Pablo José de Arriaga (1621), Anello Oliva (1631), and Bernabé Cobo (1653). Fernando de Montesinos (1642–44) was possibly a Jesuit too, as my study seems to indicate, and he also frequently named his sources.³⁸

I have used the critical studies of MEANS (1928), PORRAS BARRANE CHEA (1962/1986), WEDIN (1966, 1966b), PEASE (1978b), LORANDI (1992), PÄRSSINEN (1992), SCHIFFERS (1992), and DAVIES (1995) to form a general view on the possible dynamics of interdependence in our principal sources (see Table 1).³⁹ Most connections presented are rather well

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37 See chapter III:3.

38 *ibid.* Montesinos give credits to his sources especially in the Book I and III, but less so in Book II. For Montesinos' relationship with Jesuits, see chapter III:2. Jesuita Anonimo has been associated with Blas Valera every now and then in Andean historiographical discussion. For this discussion, see chapter III:3. According to MEANS (1931:50) Cabello de Balboa was "a learned and intelligent Jesuit". V. W. HAGEN (1965:111) refers also to Cabello de Balboa's Jesuitism. I cannot trace whence this information or allegation comes from, although I consider Cabello de Balboa's association with the Jesuits as a likely possibility.

39 PEASE 1978b:31–114; LORANDI 1992:41–57; PÄRSSINEN 1992:50–70; SCHIFFERS

indicated in scholarly analyses, where samples of texts or similarities of themes have been compared. Other connections could be either obvious, probable or possible, but this compilation clearly indicates that almost all chronicles were more or less interdependent on borrowed data from each other. It is also important to note, that part of the indicated relationships between the chronicles are adequately reported habitual references to one another.

It seems that only six sources: Quipocamayos (1542–44), Pedro de Cieza de León (1550–3), Juan de Betanzos (1551–7), Agustín Zarate (1555), Christóbal Casrto & Ortega Morejón (1558–63), and Christóbal de Molina (of Cuzco) (1573–75) were independent observers and writers. Diego Fernández (1571) and Pedro Pizarro (1571) may be independent too, but it is likely that they read earlier writers too.⁴⁰ The connections of one indigenous source, Juan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamayhua (1613) are poorly known. At least one source which he obviously used was Francisco de Avila (1608).⁴¹ The Jesuit father Avila may also have been rather an independent source; his major contribution was the compilation of native traditions from the Huarochirí region. The so-called manuscript of Huarochirí is one of the very few Quechua texts of 16th century on Andean religious traditions.⁴²

As stated, the majority of chroniclers copied freely pieces of information from each other, and certain well-known later authors like Martín de Murua, Garcilaso de la Vega, and Bernabé Cobo, did this rather extensively. Montesinos, being one of the latest chroniclers, naturally exploited earlier sources abundantly, and, consequently, one cannot trace many chroniclers who have used him on the other hand. There was possibly only one writer who may have used Montesinos to a certain extent: Jesuit father Bernabé Cobo. According to Nigel DAVIES (1995), Cobo's appraisal should be more that of

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1992:17–57; DAVIES 1995:passim. PÄRSSINEN has provided new data especially on connections concerning the chroniclers Gutiérrez de Santa Clara, Martín de Murua, and Diego Fernández. Additional information has been gathered from MARKHAM 1910:1–20; BAUDIN 1928:1–18; LOYAZA 1945; KARSTEN 1946:31–46; ROWE 1946:192–7, 1985; ZUIDEMA 1962/ 1995; DUVIOLS 1962:33–43; ANDERSSON 1968; MURRA 1955/1980; PEASE 1981b, 1991; and SALOMON 1982b. For Guaman Poma, see particularly PORRAS BARRANECHEA 1948; ADORNO 1989, 1986/1991. For Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamayhua, see particularly the introductory chapters in a new edition of his chronicle by Pierre DUVIOLS and César ITIER, 1993. Some connections concerning Montesinos which are presented in Table 1, are results of the present study. Most publication dates of the chronicles are uniformly established, but there are works of certain authors, like Las Casas, Martín de Murua, Jesuita Anónimo & Blas Valera, Gutiérrez de Santa Clara, and Guaman Poma, whose dating contain some discrepancy. In these cases I have used *terminus post-* and *ante quem* dates, or years of writing as reference points. The use of the years of writing as reference point contain certain relevance, especially in the context of interdependence of various sources, because sharing of ideas between colleagues is always potentially strong during the time of actual writing. See table 1 on p. 47.

40 Juan de Betanzos acted as an interpreter in the occasion when the account of Quipocamayos was given (Quipocamayos [1542–44] 1974:11–12; CARMEN MARTÍN RUBIO 1987:xc), but their influence on his own writing probable remained rather slight.

41 It is possible that José de Acosta (1590) and Garcilaso de la Vega (1609) influenced him also (See, the critical edition of Pachacuti Y.S.'s work by DUVIOLS & ITIER 1993.)

42 See chapter II:2.

a historian than a chronicler, since he exploited a vast amount of all sources available in his times. We may define Montesinos and Garcilaso in equal terms.⁴³

2.3. Principal sources

Since I will return to works of Montesinos more closely later, a reference only to his primary work is given here. Its original name is *Ophir de España* and it contains three books, of which only the second has been properly published.⁴⁴ The second book is better known by the name *Memorias Antiguas Historiales y Politicas del Perú* and it was published in 1840, 1869–70, 1882, 1920, 1930, and 1957. There are two quite complete manuscripts of Montesinos' work from which these editions are copied. These are known as *Ms. Merced* (Convento de la Merced) and *Ms. Universitaria* (Biblioteca Universitaria de Sevilla). Most editions are based on the latter, except the first two editions (1840, 1869–70) which have used *Ms. Merced*. It seems that *Ms. Merced* is the elder one and completed in Quito around 1642. *Ms. Universitaria* is dated to 1644 and completed in Spain. In this study primarily the *Ms. Universitaria*, which is the most complete one, is exploited and occasionally also *Ms. Merced*, which was published in *Revista de Buenos Aires* in 1869–70. I have used a microfilm copy of *Ms. Universitaria* sent to me by Biblioteca Universitaria de Sevilla. Only part of it seems to have been Montesinos' own handwriting, the majority was written by two of his secretaries in a good, festive handwriting.⁴⁵

Two distinct sources have confirmatory testimony for data which occur in Montesinos' chronicle: the Anonymous Jesuit / Blas Valera (ca.1585–90) and Anello Oliva (1631). These accounts, where some names of ancient rulers as given by Montesinos show up, indicate that the lengthy king list obviously was not invented by him. These two sources are analyzed in chapter III:3. Next, a short introduction to principal Peruvian chroniclers and their major works is presented.

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43 Cobo writes ([1653:lib.xii, cap.ii] 1964:57; translation from 1979:98), "What moves me to draw attention to this is that I have obtained some reports and papers of inquiring men who consider themselves experts in ancient times of the Indians, and their ideas about this subject are different from what is accepted by all of the authors who have published works about it. These experts principally aim to persuade us, first of all, that the Inca kings started to rule much earlier than the historians state and that the Incas were much more numerous; and second, that the Incas did not worship nearly as many gods as we indicate." HAMILTON (1979:261, n.6.) supposes that this could indicate Montesinos, although Cobo does not give the authors of these manuscripts. MURRA (1980:83, n.52.) has also noticed narrative details which are similar in Montesinos' and Cobo's accounts. For Cobo's sources, see e.g. SCHIFFERS 1992:46. For Cobo as a historian (DAVIES 1995:5.)

44 According to one 17th century source, Juan Eusebio Nieremberg, the complete name of Montesinos' work, was *Ofir de España o Anales Peruanos* (Rodríguez [1684:lib.i, cap.x] 1990:111.) Book I has been published only once: in several issues of *Revista de Buenos Aires* during 1869–70 in Spanish.

45 For more, see chapter III:2. There are a couple of other manuscript copies of Montesinos' work, but they are mostly poor and incomplete. For more on them, see e.g. MEANS 1920:xxviii-xxix, 1928:407–9.

One source of high importance and possibly the most influential one was Father Cristóbal de Molina (of Cuzco). According to ROMERO (1943), his principal biographer, he was a mestizo who was born at Cuzco soon after the arrival of Spaniards.⁴⁶ However, PORRAS BARRANECHEA (1962/1986) has indicated that his origin was Spanish and birth date around 1529. He seem to have arrived at Cuzco in 1556, and obviously lived in Lima for a while before that.⁴⁷ Father Molina learned Quechua well and wrote a *Relación* of Inca history and customs, which unfortunately is lost. Parts of this work (dated to 1573–5) are preserved in the chronicle of Cabello de Balboa, who used Molina as his source.⁴⁸ A number of other writers obviously used this same work as their source too (compare Table 1).

Pedro de Cieza de León was another chronicler who has inspired many later writers. He was a soldier who travelled widely in the Andes in 1547–1551.⁴⁹ Excluding the account of Quipocamayos, his *Crónica del Perú* (1550–3) is the earliest full description of Inca realm and culture, and thus one of the most esteemed sources extant. Moreover, Cieza de León's account on Inca history is a relatively detailed and reasonable narrative, and hence his text is widely used in this study too.

The importance of Juan Betanzos lies also in his early writing, but his work was not as influential as those above. His *Suma y narración de los Incas* (1551–7) is a somewhat biased account of the history of the Incas, where a special emphasis is given to Inca Pachacuti's reign. This may be derived from his principal native sources which were descendants of that famous Inca. Betanzos became well versed in Inca lore also through his wife, Doña Angelina Yupanque, who was a sister of Inca Atahualpa. His skills in Quechua were so esteemed that he acted as an official interpreter on behalf of Viceroy.⁵⁰

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46 ROMERO 1943:vii-ix.

47 PORRAS BARRANECHEA 1962/1986:349–53.

48 MEANS 1928:397; PORRAS BARRANECHEA, *ibid.* ROWE has indicated that the accounts of conquests of Tupac Yupanqui are quite similarly recorded in the chronicles of Sarmiento, Cabello de Balboa, and Murua. He believes that these have used a common source, which might have been the lost work of Cristóbal de Molina (1985:200–1.) Molina seems to have been an informant at least for Polo de Ondegardo, Cabello de Balboa, Jose de Acosta, Blas Valera, and Bernabe Cobo (SCHIFFERS 1992: 49.) For Murúa, compare my addendum on pages 45–6.

49 MEANS 1928:342–9. Cieza de León has given credit to Fray Domingo de Santo Tomás (writer of the first Quechua dictionary) as his important informant (see, e.g. Cieza de León [1550-3:lib.i, cap.lxi] 1959/ 1976:306–7.) Santo Tomás as Cieza's informant, see also PORRAS BARRANECHEA 1951, in prologo (v-xxxii) of *Lexicon o vocabulario de la Lengua General del Peru*, compiled by Fray Domingo de Santo Tomás in 1560 / 1951, Edición del Instituto de Historia: Lima.

50 CARMEN MARTIN RUBIO 1987:prologo. See also, URBANO 1989:269–78; HAMILTON 1996:ix-xiv. A complete, so-called Palma de Mallorca manuscript of Betanzos' *Suma y narración de los Incas* was recently discovered and published in 1987 (Spanish) and 1996 (English). Another extant manuscript, the El Escorial, is incomplete and contains only eighteen chapters of Part I. It includes an introductory letter which has led scholars to date the manuscript at 1551. However, the new-found complete manuscript confirms that Betanzos finished his entire work only at 1557. It was 1551 when Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza ordered Betanzos to write an account of Inca history and traditions. The incomplete El Escorial manuscript was edited and published by Jiménez de la Espada in 1880. (HAMILTON, *ibid.*)

The so-called “Quipocamayos” is an account given by four old *quipocamayocs* to Licentiate Christobal Vaca de Castro in 1542–44. It contains the earliest description of canonic Inca history as it appears in most chronicles. Its influence on later sources is not well indicated, but according to my perception, at least Betanzos (1551–7), but possibly also Polo de Ondegardo (1559–1571) may have been aware of it.⁵¹ Agustín de Zarate (1555), Diego Fernandez (1571), and Pedro Pizarro (1571) are all early, independent sources, whose accounts were based on observations during 1540–50’s. The first two are frequently used by many later writers, but all contain only lean and vague data on Inca history.⁵² The accounts of Christobal Castro & Ortega Morejón (1558–63) are equally poor in Inca historical matters, except in their connection with another source, the so-called “Relacion” of the “Señores”, which gives the truncated “divergent” version of Inca history, as did Zarate and Pizarro also.⁵³

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51 Compare introduction in Quipocamayos [1542–44] 1920 and 1974. The presumption that Polo de Ondegardo had access to this source is mine. Polo de Ondegardo held a high official position in Peru from 1545 to 1575 and spent long time in Cuzco where the *quipocamayoc* informants were interviewed by Vaca de Castro. The names of the Inca kings occur in Polo’s account almost in a similar form than given by Quipocamayos. Betanzos surely knew it since he acted as an interpreter in the occasion when the *quipocamayoc* gave their declaration to Licentiate Vaca de Castro (Quipocamayos [1542–44] 1974:11–12.) According to URTON (1990: 45–6; see also Pierre DUVIOLS 1979:588–9, “Datation, paternité et idéologie de la ‘Declaración de los Quipocamayos a Vaca de Castro.’” In *Les cultures ibériques en devenir, essais publiés en hommage à la mémoire de Marcel Bataillon (1895–1977)*, pp. 583–591. Paris) “the Chronicle of the *kipukamayoc*s is nothing more than an elaborately constructed claim to the Inka title that was brought before the Spanish by don Melchor Carlos Inka. This is not to say, however, that the material provided in the testimony of the four *kipukamayoc*s is fraudulent. Rather, the information contained in the sections of the chronicle reporting their testimony probably did come from extracts recorded at the inquest held by Vaca de Castro in 1542.”

52 Agustín de Zarate’s *Historia del descubrimiento y conquista del Peru* is composed in 1555 in Europe, but it was based on travels and inspections which the author experienced during his visit in Peru (1544–45). Zarate’s stay in Peru was short (a little more than a year), but being one of the earliest official visitors in the Viceroyalty, his account has certain value as a source. At least it has been used by many later chroniclers. Anyhow, his version of Inca history is very reduced. It contain a reference to their origin in Titicaca region, whence this bellicose people (*una gente muy belicosa*) came forth and settled the city of Cuzco. Consult, Zarate ([1555: cap.xx], 1853). See also, MEANS 1928:511–7; URBANO 1981:55–7. Pedro Pizarro and Diego Fernandez were exceptions among the independent sources. Both wrote their accounts only much later in their lives. Pedro Pizarro was among the first conquerors who went to Peru, but he composed his *Relacion* only as late as 1570–1. It is a good description of events of conquest and Incaic customs, but contains but a short account of their history. See Pizarro [1571] 1921/1969 and 1986. Diego Fernandez (known also as El Palentino) went to Peru about 1540 and served there as a soldier until middle decades of 16th century. He wrote his *Primera y segunda parte de la historia del Perú* before 1558, but it was not published until 1571. Around 1558 Santillan criticized heavily Fernandez’s (manuscript) work. See e.g. MEANS 1928:363–5; PORRAS BARRANECHEA 1962:178–88; PÄRSSINEN 1992: 54–67.

53 Åke WEDIN (1966:55–73) has analyzed the relationships between the accounts of Damián de la Bandera (1557), Cristobal Castro & Ortega Morejón (1558–63), Hernando de Santillan (1563), and “Señores” (1558–63/1572), rather extensively. He concludes that the original (lost) account of “Señores” may have been composed during 1558–1563. The oldest accounts are Bandera’s and Castro & Morejón’s, of which the first influenced Santillan and the latter “Señores”. Bandera’s account is a description of Guamanca province in 1557 and Castro-Morejón’s an account of the Chincha Valley from the year 1558. The work of “Señores” seems to consist of an older and a later part. On the other hand, both Castro and Ortega Morejón and “Señores” may broadly be treated as one source in three parts, which possibly had used a common “third source” instead. For this discussion, see e.g. ANDERSSON 1968; PÄRSSINEN 1992:88–89, n.65; and DAVIES 1995:150–1.

Two famous chroniclers, Polo de Ondegardo (1559–71) and Sarmiento de Gamboa (1572) has usually been treated as independent sources. It seems quite likely that both used earlier sources to some extent, e.g. Molina del Cuzco and Quipocamayos.⁵⁴

The most important native chronicler is Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, whose richly illustrated work *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (1615) was found in the Royal Library at Copenhagen in 1908. This ‘Peruvian codex’ as it is often called,⁵⁵ is an invaluable source of Inca culture and early Colonial Indian society, but also one of the few chronicles which have given a significant account of pre-Incaic traditions. Guaman Poma claimed his descent from the pre-Incaic Yaro rulers and gives a list of them. He also describes about the Four Ages of the World and their characteristics. Being only partly an Inca (from his mother’s side), he is not altogether favorable to them – especially when he describes their history.⁵⁶ Guaman Poma seems to have had good relationship with the Jesuits, and it is likely that Blas Valera, Acosta and Oliva

 54 Polo de Ondegardo’s major works were written between 1559 and 1571. The principal account concerning the Inca history is *Relación del linaje de los Incas y como extendieron ellos sus conquistas* (1571), but his first report *Los errores y supersticiones de los Indios...* (1559) contain a short presentation of Inca history also. A work known as *Relacion de los adoratorios de los indios en los cuatro caminos que salian del Cuzco* is an important source for Inca *ceque* lines around Cuzco. Its dating is uncertain, but it was probably written around 1559–61. Cobo obviously used it as a major source in his description of *ceque* lines (BAUER n.d.; 1997 personal communication from the Ms. *The Sacred Landscape of the Inca: The Cusco Ceque System*, p. 226–7.) Consult, Polo de Ondegardo ([1559] 1916, [ca.1559–61] 1917, [1571] 1917.) It has also been suggested that Cobo received the material concerning the *ceques* from the manuscript of Molina (of Cuzco) (ZUIDEMA 1962:31; on the other hand ZUIDEMA corrected this in a new edition of his book (1995:105), wherein he states that Cobo probably used Polo’s manuscript in this place. With reference to Polo’s dependence on other sources, he possibly exploited Molina del Cuzco to some extent (SCHIFFERS 1992:49), and as I have proposed earlier, possibly Quipocamayos also. Although Agustin de Zárate was his maternal uncle (ibid., 52), it is uncertain if Polo used him as his source.

Sarmiento de Gamboa and Cabello de Balboa may have used Molina’s account (lost) of Inca history as a common source, since both contain evident similarities, e.g. in recording the Inca conquest events. (PORRAS BARRANECHEA 1962:275–80; ROWE 1985:200–1; DAVIES 1995:passim.) We may suppose that he knew the account of Quipocamayos also, since the names of the Incas, their wives, principal children, and *panacas* occur very similar form in both accounts. Moreover, Quipocamayos, as well as Sarmiento’s informants gave the lengths of Inca reigns, albeit in variable numbers. Gary URTON (1990:passim.) has also indicated, that the Pacaritampu-myth and associated Inca histories as related to Sarmiento, were partly connected with the Callapiña- family of royal informants, who appears to have been present in the major “hearings” in 1542–4, 1569, and 1572. Polo de Ondegardo could have been one of Sarmiento’s consultants also. He named him a couple of times in his account, and the document was attested by Polo de Ondegardo and several other administrators of Cuzco (see Sarmiento [1572] 1908:x, introduction by Sir Clements MARKHAM.) Consult also, Quipocamayos (1542–44) 1920. It is also worth to note, as John MURRA has presented, that pre-Toledan Polo de Ondegardo is more objective and pro-indigenous in his account, than the Toledan Polo (SCHAEDEL 1998, personal communication.)

55 DILKE 1978:12–13. Guaman Poma was presumably writing during the years 1584–1614 (ZUIDEMA 1989:45.)

56 For more on Poma de Ayala, see chapter IV:1. In his account Poma de Ayala frequently champions the case of his provincial ancestors, the Yaro. As a source this chronicle was virtually unobtainable until the publication of its facsimile edition in 1936 (Paris).

influenced him to a certain extent at least.⁵⁷

There are many other sources of importance for the present study, such as the works of Bartolomé Las Casas (ca.1555), Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa (1572), Miguel Cabello de Balboa (1586), José de Acosta (1588–90), Garcilaso de la Vega (1609), Martín de Murúa (ca.1590–1609), Antonio de Calancha (1639), Bernabé Cobo (1653), and Juan de Velasco (1789) for instance. The most famous and influential of them were Sarmiento de Gamboa and Garcilaso de la Vega. These two authors and their impact on our perceptions on Incas are analyzed in chapter V:1.

2.4. The nature of Peruvian documentary sources

According to Francisco ESTEVE BARBA (1964), the writing orientation in the *Crónicas de Indias* had two historical phases: the accounts of the first wave which were mainly connected with conquest efforts, and the accounts of the second wave which were largely re-workings (even plagiarisms) of previous chronicles, or oblique remembrances of deeds long past.⁵⁸ The nature of most New World chronicle literature can also be called allegorical, insofar as these works “were written in the service of ‘compulsive powers’ such as religion or specific ideologies, and typically drew moral implications from historical facts or reduced historical events to the status of manifestations of moral forces presumed to direct the universe. The New World chronicles were ‘allegorical’ in this sense because they elaborated typically providentialist, imperialist versions of Spanish conquest history based on philosophies of the just war.”⁵⁹

Furthermore, the sixteenth-century chronicles of Peru can be divided into two categories according to their pragmatic motives: those that defended the private interests of the conquistadores, and those that served the political interests of administrators in governing the natives and establishing the rights and strategies for doing so.⁶⁰ These chronicles were mostly tools of colonization, but as a result of these efforts, an opposing group of accounts soon emerged: native and mestizo writings defending the vision of the vanquished. The most important account of the Colonial “camp” is the

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57 For possible relationship with Valera, see DOMENICI & DOMENICI 1996 and the appendix 16b of the present volume. Anello Oliva is the only source (besides Guaman Poma) giving a description of Huaman Mallqui’s visit to Pizarro’s camp in 1532 (Oliva [1631:lib.1, cap.3. § 2.] 1895:95–6.) According to PORRAS BARRANECHEA (1948:12–3), this could be an indication that these chroniclers knew each other. For Poma’s use of Acosta, see e.g. ADORNO 1978 and 1986:6, 24. Other authors seem to have influenced Guaman Poma too: Cabello de Balboa, Luis Gerónimo de Oré (ADORNO 1978:140; PEASE 1981b:165), Domingo de Santo Tomás (ADORNO 1986:24), Diego Fernandez and Agustín Zarate (ibid., 15–6.) According to PORRAS BARRANECHEA (1948:7–21) Guaman Poma was born around 1534–5, and he finished his his manuscript in 1613–5.

58 ESTEVE BARBA, Francisco 1964:19, *Historiografía indiana*. Madrid: Gredos; Referred in ADORNO 1986:4.

59 ADORNO, ibid.

60 OSSIO, Juan M. 1976–77:193, “Guaman Poma y la historiografía indianista de los siglos XVI y XVII: historia y cultura.” *Revista del Museo Nacional de Historia* 10:181–206; Referred to in ADORNO 1986:5.

chronicle of Sarmiento de Gamboa (1572), and the best known Andean “camp” writings are the works of Garcilaso de la Vega (1609) and Guaman Poma de Ayala (1584–1615). The work of Montesinos does not fit in either of these groups, however. It belongs typically into the second wave accounts, as characterized by ESTEVE BARBA above. A certain feature in common with Garcilaso and Guaman Poma it had anyhow: all three were trained in the Spanish Baroque culture and writing genre.⁶¹

A very special group of primary sources should be noticed also: the Andean *quipus*. This device (of which there is a more detailed information in chapter II:1.2), was an effective mnemotechnical aid for transmission of oral tradition. Many chroniclers refer to *quipu*-archives as their primary sources of information. Thus, the Spanish Chronicles, in essence, are only secondary sources for most ethnohistorical data being included and preserved in them. The modern research access to this *quipu* information is almost nonexistent: due the scarcity of data and the problems with deciphering the available items properly. Most surviving *quipus* seems to contain basically statistical information for Inca administrative use, while the dynastic- and historical *quipus* obviously were lost and destroyed long ago. Consequently, the Spanish chronicles remain the only “primary” written sources available for us today. Many of them are tendentious, not least the account of Montesinos, and contain much contradictory data. These disturbing factors make the historian’s task difficult; still, many good analyses and attempts to understand this data have been carried out by number of scholars – clarifying on their own part the paths and giving appropriate guidance for further inspection. Leaning on this foundation, the present study is aiming to contribute some new elements to this framework.⁶²

2.5. Strategy of approach to Andean-Spanish sources

The strategy of approach on Andean ethnohistorical research and in historiographical study of Spanish chronicles (during the last decades) can broadly be divided into three categorial ‘schools’ of observation: 1) historicist, 2) functionalist, and 3) structuralist.⁶³

1. The historicist strategy is conceived as the traditional one. Its foremost authority has been John H. ROWE, who also may be called one of the pioneers of “modern” Peruvian ethnohistory.⁶⁴ The chronicles are read more or less literally, albeit critically in this “school” of research. The perspective on Inca

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61 For more on Colonial writing and the Spanish Baroque, see chapters III:1.2. – 1.3. For Guaman Poma’s work as a reflection provincial of the Baroque, see e.g. ADORNO 1986:80-9. Benjamin KEEN (1971:198) has compared Garcilaso’s chronicle with that of his Mexican contemporary, Alva Ixtlilxochitl, who had the same tendency to embellish native past and record.

62 The Andeans exploited other kinds of mnemonic devices also, e.g. so-called *tocapu*-writing. For more about these, see chapter II:1.2.

63 See e.g. URTON 1990:5–10; BAUER 1992:1–14; LORANDI 1992:60–83; DAVIES 1995:passim.

64 DAVIES 1995:7.

history follows traditional interpretations in accordance with the information given in Spanish chronicles. This view highlights the single line of dynastic succession in a linear series of events; hence, the building of diachronical frameworks on absolute chronological basis are occasionally attempted.⁶⁵

2. The “functionalist” strategy should be understood very broadly. It has dominated the Andean research past decades and embraces many tangential, interdisciplinary approaches within. Its most renown authority has been John MURRA.⁶⁶ The scholars of this group “examines the development of the Inca state through the interactions of broader segments of Inca society. These scholars suggest that the Inca state developed through time as the result of transformations of social, economic, and religious institutions.”⁶⁷ Traditional chronicles are perceived through new lenses and a bunch of new material from regional and administrative sources (e.g. *visitas*, *probanzas*, and *tasaci6ns*) are exploited. The Inca “history” is generally seen obscure and unattainable until the reign of Pachacuti, and more or less controversial until the time of the Conquest.⁶⁸ While the focus of research in historicist approach has been somewhat “Cuzco-centered” or “elitist”, the “functionalists” are searching regional (provincial) perspectives and build up generalizations from these analogical bases.⁶⁹

3. A “structuralist” strategy has also appeared in recent decades. It has been introduced by R.T. ZUIDEMA – especially in his thesis which treats the *ceque* system at Cuzco.⁷⁰ Researchers of this group “suggests that the chronicles

65 Scholars belonging to this group are, e.g. ROWE 1944, 1945, 1946, 1948, 1967, 1978, 1982, 1985; ROSTWOROWSKI DE DIEZ CANSECO (early) 1953, 1960; BAUDIN 1955/1961; BRUNDAGE 1963/1985, 1967/1985; HEMMING 1970; GUILLEN 1971; KENDALL 1978, 1984; and PATTERSON 1991. The foremost immediate “Pre-Rowe” historian was P.A. MEANS (1917, 1920, 1920b, 1920c, 1928, 1931).

66 LORANDI 1992:69. John MURRA’s pioneering work *The economic organization of the Inca state* (1980) appeared first as his dissertation in 1955 (and was first published in Spanish by Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1975 in Lima.)

67 BAUER 1992:8.

68 LORANDI 1992:41–56; PÄRSSINEN 1992:68–70. See the definitions of *visita*, *probanza*, and *tasaci6n* in Glossary.

69 Scholars of this group are, e.g. KARSTEN 1946; MOORE 1958; ROSTWOROWSKI DE DIEZ CANSECO (later) 1962, 1983, 1988; SCHAEDEL 1978, 1988, 1991; MURRA 1980, 1982; CONRAD 1981, 1992; DEMAREST 1983, 1992; BAUER 1992; MOSELEY 1992; PÄRSSINEN 1992; and MALPASS 1993. Ethnohistorian Nigel DAVIES (1995:93-4) has criticized BAUER’s (1992:8-9) “rather cursory division” of Andean scholars into three groups.

70 LORANDI 1992:80–3. E. A. HAMMEL (1965) criticized ZUIDEMA’s *ceques* book as Levi-Straussian: “An extension of Lévi-Strauss’ theoretical orientation and example (particularly his ‘Les organisations dualistes existent-elles?’ 1956, in English as ch. 8 in his *Structural Anthropology*, N.Y., 1963) into a thicket of conflicting ethnohistorical data, the work is complex and difficult to the point of impenetrability...If the true nature of the ceque system and of the statements about it reflect Inca thought about their social structure, rather than historical ‘facts’, why is the official version of Inca history, collected by the agents of Toledo, in direct contradiction to the structure as seen by Zuidema? Granted that the official version may be worthless as narrative history, does it not have equal status as a representation. The complexity of Zuidema’s analysis may stem largely from his abrupt discard of this version with the bath water of historical inaccuracy. I have seen another

should not be read as direct or literal representations of the past. These researchers believe that the oral traditions that the Spaniards recorded in their chronicles are distorted by the Spanish authors and Western notions of historicity, and by the self-interested representations of Inca history presented by various indigenous inhabitants. These anthropologists have rejected literal interpretations of the chronicles as a valid means of understanding the pre-Hispanic social development in the Andes and argue in favor of developing new approaches to the study of the Andean past.⁷¹ The Inca past is seen entangled as mythohistorical allegory, especially in pre-imperial times. The structure of Inca dynasty is arranged by diarchial or triadial patterns with number of synchronical elements seen penetrating through socio-political infrastructure. The cyclical nature of Andean diachronical thinking is highlighted in studies of this group.⁷²

The present study recalls the historicist strategy to be revisited. It is also the only relevant approach to our subject matter, which is concentrated on elite dynastic tradition, re-evaluation of ethnohistorical oral data, comparative quantitative analyses, correlation of archaeological periodization, and a discussion of the dichotomy between cyclical and linear thinking.⁷³

2.6. Comparative primary sources

Comparative research literature is employed on almost an exclusive scale in the course of this study. Most of it consists of supportive data for verifying ethnohistorical testimonies in general and giving analogical perspectives for Andean context in particular. Certain primary sources from Mesoamerica have

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 analysis based on the official dynasty *as a representation*, and it is direct and refreshing in its simplicity (J.H. Rowe, personal communication)."

Tom ZUIDEMA, thirty years later rebutted that he is not a structuralist 'in the Levi Straussian sense' (ZUIDEMA 1995, 11 Dec., personal communication.) He says: "my original argument was only intended to be an anthropological understanding of the kind of political structure of Inca society in Cuzco. This is not structuralism. Second, I never said that there was a dual government or dual dynasty. I always assumed that there was one king. But Cuzco was divided in Hanan and Hurin, each probably with its own head. I suspect that their relation was like in Chucuito. The head of Hanan also for the whole and the head of Hurin his 'segunda persona'."(ibid.) Furthermore, in our discussion about cyclicity, he says: "I never said anything about cyclical time; it has nothing to do with structuralism (more with Eliade) and I see no trace of it in our sources on the Incas. So forget about that. Of course, Guaman Poma, Murua and Montesinos talk about the edades, but especially in Murua you can notice clearly that he derived these ideas from Mexico. Nothing to do with Peru."(ibid.; italics mine.)

71 BAUER 1992:8.

72 The scholars of this group are e.g. ZUIDEMA 1962, 1982, 1989, 1986/1990, 1992; DUVIOLS 1979, 1979b, 1983; PEASE 1978, 1981, 1982, 1991; ADORNO 1982, 1986/1991; BOUSSE-CASSAGNE 1988; URTON 1981/1988, 1989, 1990; and REGALADO DE HURTADO 1993. The part of PÄRSSINEN's study (1992) which treats about Inca socio-political organization may be set within this group too. Maria ROSTWOROWSKI DE DIEZ CANSECO has distinguished herself in this field too (see e.g. 1983; LORANDI 1992: 92), being thus one of the most versatile ethnohistorians in the Andean field (as historicist, functionalist, and structuralist.)

73 My historicist revisitation do not altogether exclude certain "functionalist" interdisciplinary strategies.

been used for analogical data, like *Codex Bodley* (Pre-Colombian), *Codex Borgia* (Pre-Colombian), *Codex Nuttall* (Pre-Colombian), *Popol Vuh* (ca.1550), *Codex Chimalpopoca* (1558–1570), Fray Bernardino de Sahagun (1577), *Codex Xolotl* (16thC), *Annals of the Caxchiquels* (late 16thC), Don Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl (1600-1608), Fernando Alvarado Tezozomoc (ca.1609), and Fray Juan de Torquemada (1615). From the North American native sources, two tribal records: the *Wallam Olum* and David Cusick's Iroquois history have also been referred to. Two primary sources from the Old World have been particularly interesting: the Norwegian and Danish chronicles, *Heimskringla* (10thC), and *Gesta Danorum* of Saxo Grammaticus (1208–18).⁷⁴

Mesoamerican sources allow the best extant American analogies outside the Andes, and current research there have provided important new data of native traditions and dynastic histories.⁷⁵ The best comparative areas in the Old World are from the 3rd and 2nd millennia B.C. Mesopotamia and/or the Biblical lands in the Near East. Tibet is interesting too, since nowhere except there and in the Andes did a truly magnificent mountain civilization and theocracy develop. The importance of African and Polynesian areas is only marginal, but in the field of methodology – especially in studies of oral tradition – these too have significance.⁷⁶ Ancient traditions have survived in Scandinavia and European isles too. The Danish, Norwegian, and Celtic dynastic sagas have provided interesting parallelism with the traditions of proto states.⁷⁷

In contrast to Mesoamerica the Andean sphere of research set certain limitations. The 'ethnohistoric threshold' occurs there much later in time, since all documentary accounts of preconquest history were compiled during the Spanish Colonial era. As a result, there are voluminous descriptions of the Inca empire, but only poor accounts of pre-Inca cultures. While the historical records are scanty, we must depend on archaeology to illuminate pre-Inca epochs. Still, during the past decades it has become obvious that a combination of material remains of archaeology and written records of ethnohistory "can be profitably combined in study of late prehistoric New World civilizations."⁷⁸

Addendum*

I want to pay here attention to some narrative similarities between Martin de Murúa (Ms. Wellington, 1616) and Cabello de Balboa (1586). These similarities are most obvious in those sections where events of Huayna Capac's reign and subsequent civil war is related. It appears that Martin de Murúa has been the plagiarist. Here are few extracts from their text:

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74 For a detailed description, see appendix 14: Testimonies from prehistory.

75 For more, see appendix 14.

76 See chapter II:1,3.

77 See e.g. appendix 7b where Saxo Grammaticus is compared to Montesinos.

78 Conrad & Demarest 1984:7–8, 86.

Cabello de Balboa

hizo Cacique a Apocari y Capitan General de los del Collao como quiera que hasta alli no auia sido sino un Capitan particular de los del Chucuito.

hecha a mano un camino hasta la tierra firme le llegaron nuevas de mucha tristeza en que le auisauan de el Cuzco como en el auia una general y inremediable pestilencia de la qual auian muerto Auqui Topa Ynga su hermano y Apocayllaquita su Tio Gobernadores que auia dejado en el Cuzco al tiempo de su partida (como queda dicho) y su hermana Mama Coca y otros señores de su linage...

y en Tauraray, se comenzo una batalla en que murieron mas de diez mill hombres, de la parte de Atauallpa: y entre muchos varones señalados que alli murieron fue uno, Tumarimay, Capitan valeroso de los de Quito. Barata huvieron los Cuzcos esta victoria, porque de su parte murio en ella poca gente: Rampa Yupanguí, mando cortar las cauezas de los Capitanes...

Martin de Murúa

hizo alli cacique a Apocari y le nombró por Cappitán General de todo el ejército del Collao, que hasta entonces hera solamente cabeza de la gente de Chucuito.

hacer a mano un camino que fuesse dela tierra firme alla, porque el trecho es poco. Y hauiéndose alli holgado y regocixado con sus gentes, salió a Huanca Vilca do habia dexado el restante del ejército y alli le llegaron nuebas de gran tristeza y sentimiento, como en el Cuzco hauía pestilencia y que della eran muertos Auqui Topa Ynga, su hermano, y Apo Hilaquita, su tío, y su hermana Mama Coca y otra cantidad de señores de su linage. ...

y en el dho Tauraray, que es a las espaldas delos Omasuyos, se dieron la batalla que fue muy cruel y sangrienta, y Rampa Yupanqui venció al ejército de Atao Hualpa, con muerte de más de diez mill yndios dellos, y alli murió Tumayrimsa, su cappitán, y de la gente de Huascar murió muy poca. Y Rampa Yupanqui, muy gocoso por la victoria, mandó luego cortar las cabezas delos cappitanes...

* Cabello de Balboa [1586: caps. xxi, xxiv, xxxi] 1951: 368, 393, 456; Murúa [1616: caps. xxxiii, xxxvii, liii] 1962: 86, 103, 157. John ROWE (1985: 193–200) has noticed similarities between these authors too. According to him, this could have been resulted from the fact, that both used one common source. ROWE suggests that this source may have been the lost history of Molina del Cuzco. Martti PÄRSSINEN (1992: 53–8) has noticed that Murúa copied at least Diego Fernández (1571) and Roman y Zamora (1575). Referring to Ms. Wellington PÄRSSINEN considers that Murúa may have used unpublished notes of Sarmiento de Gamboa. He cites also ROWE (1985), and agrees with him that Murúa did not use Cabello de Balboa (PÄRSSINEN 1992: 54, n. 75.) I disagree with this, and I believe that Murúa used Cabello de Balboa, particularly in those sections where he needed information from northern parts of the Inca realm (Ecuador). E.g. the mutiny of the 'Orejones' in Tumipampa, is an event of which Cabello de Balboa gives a lengthy and vivid description. It did not occur in any other chronicle, except in Murúa. And in this place, however, Murúa copied rather cursory manner and gave somewhat a shorter narrative of this event (Cabello de Balboa [1586: cap. xxii] 1951: 371–9; Murúa [1616: cap. xxxiv] 1962: 90–3.)

The so-called Ms. Wellington (found in 1951) of Martin de Murúa's chronicle, *Historia General del Perú* is more complete and finished later (1616) than the better known *Historia del origen y genealogía...* (Ms. Loyola, ca. 1590–1609.)

TABLE 1. A graphic attempt to show the interdependence of principal chronicles and sources (that Montesinos could have accessed)

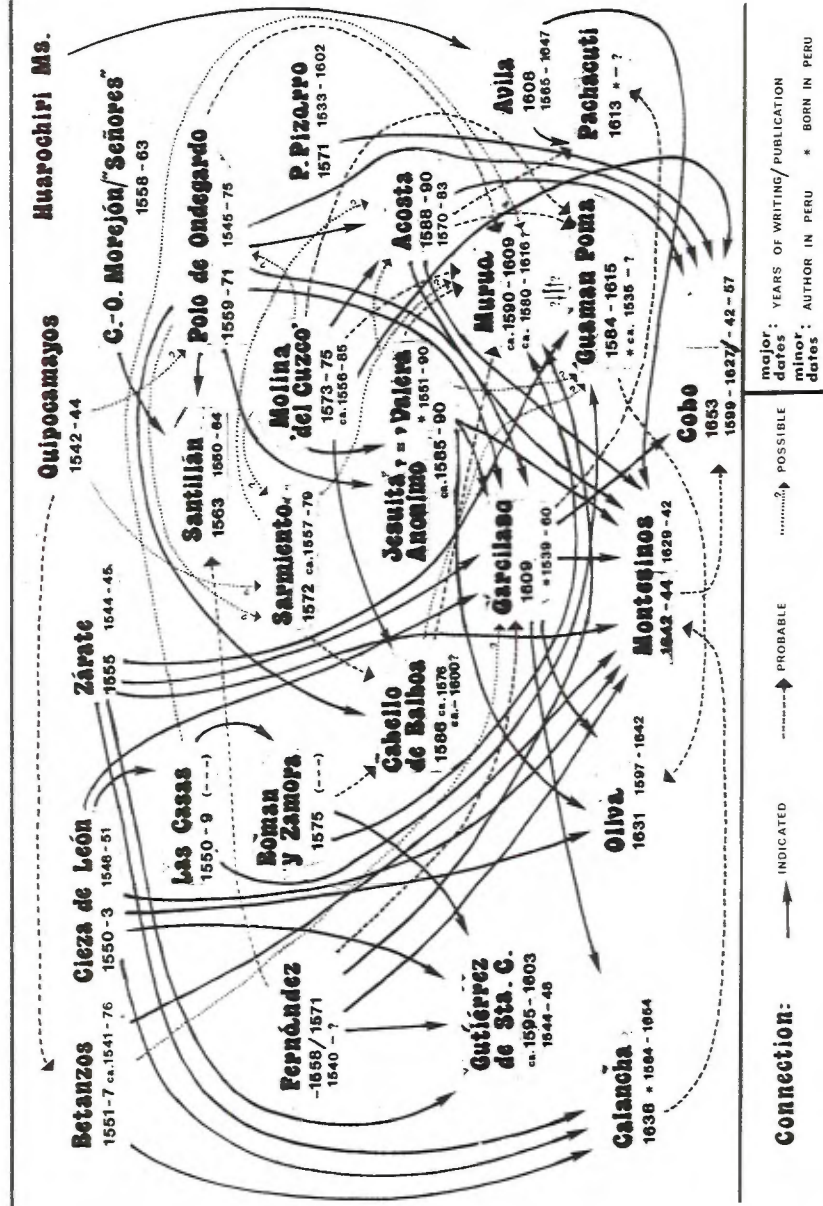


TABLE 1. A graphic attempt to show the interdependence of principal chronicles and sources (that Montesinos could have accessed). The emphasized dates below each author indicate the years of writing or/and publication of their principal works. Most data presented in the graph are based on writings of BAUDIN 1928; MEANS 1928; LOYAZA 1945; KARSTEN 1946; ROWE 1946, 1985; DUVIOLS 1962; WEDIN 1966; PORRAS BARRANECHEA 1948, (1962) 1986; ANDERSSON 1968; PEASE 1978b, 1981b, 1991; MURRA 1980; SALOMON 1982b; ADORNO 1989, (1986) 1991; LORANDI 1992; PÄRSSINEN 1992; SCHIFFERS 1992; DUVIOLS & TITIER 1993 (in Pachacuti Y.S.); and DAVIES 1995. Some connections concerning Fernando de Montesinos and Jesuita Anónimo /Blas Valera are results of the present study. The indicated dependencies pretend not to be an exhaustive presentation. There certainly exists connections which have escaped my attention, and will be noticed by other scholars in later analyses.

3. History as testimonial evidence

We are familiar with the concept of testimony and testimonial evidence in the context of Court of justice. There may be various kinds of testimonies, but basically testimony is a document or statement in support for a fact or any form of evidence or proof. Testimonial evidence is verbal or written attestation which is based on individual experience and observation, i.e. a testimony of a witness. The major question around the testimonial evidence is – both in the Court of Law and in historical research – the reliability of the witness.⁷⁹

All historical evidence is testimonial, i.e. it depends upon witnesses.⁸⁰ In spite of plain similarities with the judicial practise, the historical research differs in a number of details and manners from it. Although detective research-work is utilized in both fields, the problems confronted by a historian are far greater than in criminal and legal investigation. In historical research all witnesses are past and gone, and mostly arbitrary. Furthermore, in historical research one must often abide by second-hand witnesses of phenomena far beyond a sphere of the original witness in time and space. The historian cannot cross-examine his witnesses or put them under oath but he may apply his own judgements when witnesses give contradictory testimony. Testimonial evidences in historical research are fragile and full of contradictions. Still, the pursuit of the truth – not absolute, but the most reasonable and likely – is constantly sought.⁸¹ An additional potential hazard in all judicial and historical research are testimonies which have been intentionally falsified. Yielding disinformation every now and then is a part of human nature, and the motives behind it are universal and perceivable. More about this in chapter I:4.

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79 The definition of testimonial evidence, see *The Oxford English Dictionary* 1989:832–3, Vol. XVII, Oxford: Clarendon Press. Testimonial evidence can also be called as direct evidence (e.g. in HOCART 1936/ 1970:11.), which was my inspiration for so using the contrast here.

80 Many statements here are personal consultation from Dr. Richard SCHAEDEL (1996), who has directed me to understand the most essential formulation of the question in the present study: how testimonial and circumstantial evidences co-operate and work with our hypotheses. Initially I became acquainted with the idea in the University of Texas at Austin where Richard P. SCHAEDEL presented the usage of testimonial and circumstantial evidence in ethnohistory in a 1995 Spring semester Advanced Seminar (Socio Cultural Dynamics: South American Archaeology.)

81 For analogies between legal practise and historical research, see e.g. GEORGE 1909:18–44, 174–181; JOHNSON 1926:24–49; VINCENT 1974:256. There is a popular delusion that the direct (testimonial) evidence is necessarily better than circumstantial – being the only satisfactory kind of evidence. Anyhow, a learned judge is aware that the witness might be lying or biased, his memory might be at fault, or his imagination is playing tricks. The historian as a rule shares the popular prejudice: pinning his faith to direct evidence – to the writings, coins, and ruins. Circumstantial evidence he distrusts, clinging instead to his direct evidence as a timid sailor to the coast. Certain exact sciences, e.g. astronomy, geology, and biology, are largely leaning on circumstantial evidences as basis of their argumentation. It is among the students of culture that faith in direct evidence is most firmly implanted. “In science, as in the courts, circumstantial evidence is not an inferior substitute for the evidence of eyes and ears: it is the very foundation of knowledge.”, states A.M. HOCART (1936/1970:11–27.)

3.1. Testimonial vs. circumstantial evidences

Since the testimonial evidences are usually not sufficient to satisfy claims of the truth (especially those “beyond reasonable doubt”), circumstantial evidence is used for confirmation. These are material evidence whose meaning is “inferred from circumstances which afford a certain presumption, or appear explainable only on one hypothesis”.⁸² If the circumstantial and realistic proofs are adequate (e.g. material evidence verifiable by perception), the legal procedure tends to give more weight to them than testimonial evidences in a number of cases. This reasoning follows the argument: “circumstances cannot lie, witnesses can and do”.⁸³

The major disciplines oriented to antiquarian research (in which testimonial and circumstantial data may be juxtaposed) are history, archaeology, and anthropology. The principal sources for a historian are made up of various written testimonies, as has been stated. Archaeological records, on the other hand, are mainly circumstantial evidences from the past (reconstructed material objects and their contexts as manipulated by man). Anthropologists, and particularly ethnohistorians,⁸⁴ work conveniently with both kinds of evidence. All of them exploit attestations from auxiliary fields like linguistics, astronomy, and comparative religion, to increase the value of the inference, which usually comes from additional and much more remote circumstantial evidence.

Archaeological evidence usually consists of a sporadic, recovered physical remains. Historical documents were often meant for posterity to read and consult. Both disciplines should be complementary in relation to each other, which is clearly seen in their distinctive orientation and approach. For instance individual utterances could only be recorded in documentary evidence, whereas archaeological evidence can be assembled and applied to verify or reject a hypothesis derived from testimonial evidence.⁸⁵ Because few historians have the capacity to manipulate hypothetical problems derived from testimonial and substantiatedly reconstructed archaeological scenarios, testimonial evidence, especially the so-called “Monumental history”, has been the major source of historiography well into the 20th century.⁸⁶

Both disciplines have also been criticized for biased and one-sided judgements in their interpretations of reconstructed circumstances. Archaeo-

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82 *The Oxford English Dictionary* 1989:242, vol. III, s.v. “Circumstantial evidence”. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

83 JOHNSON 1926:48–9. The citation “circumstances cannot lie...” from Hans GROSS, *Criminal Investigation* (1907), Introduction, p.xxv. There is also the old Russian proverb: “Everything depends on circumstances” (SCHAEDEL 1998, personal consultation.)

84 For ethnohistory, see chapter II:1. Ethnohistory is a discipline separated from Anthropology (although often considered a subdiscipline), but exploits methods from historical research also.

85 Formerly it was customary that only few individuals (usually rulers and their associates) appeared amongst historical evidence. See e.g. DYMOND 1974 and HODDER 1986. Some 99% what historians say about past societies comes from less than 1% of the actual material evidence (SCHAEDEL 1997, personal communication.) For the nature of archaeological evidence (SCHAEDEL 1998, personal consultation).

86 WHITE 1987:350-1. SCHAEDEL (1998, personal consultation.)

logists have been accused of narrow-mindedness and focusing on bits and pieces – incapable of seeing the whole antiquarian forest for the shrubbery. Historians, on the other hand, have been seen as supercilious critics rushing to judgements and having minor points of contact with reality.⁸⁷

What about anthropology and its relationship to and distinctions from history and archaeology? In European academic tradition a historian and an archaeologist are more likely to be aware of each other's research capabilities, but in the Americas co-operation between archaeology and anthropology has been a common uphill struggle during the 20th century. It first and usually occurred in the context of the evolution of ethnohistorical research. Ethnohistorical research evolved first in the Western Hemisphere, sporadically in the early 20th century and only after 1950 did it become represented as a discipline unto itself. Later it spread as a methodology of bringing the testimonial data base of history with the circumstantial reconstructed data base of archaeology. Most documentary, testimonial evidences from the Americas, are written records barely covering the past 500 years of history. Although Mesoamerican Mayas, Mixtecs, and Aztecs have left hieroglyphic texts relating events of more remote antiquity, the majority of regions and societies in the Pre-Columbian Americas had only mnemonic devices to encode their tradition in historical transmission. Ethnohistory is a discipline which researches, extrapolates, and reconstructs oral traditions from the narrated historical document. It uses this special kind of testimonial evidence in combination with the fragments occurring in regular history (e.g. Tacitus or Herodotus) referring to the majority of the population as well as inferring the nature of the elites guiding them; which only then can be marshalled in to answer hypothetical questions posed by archaeologically reconstructed data. In other words, we may call ethnohistory testimonial evidence on prehistory.⁸⁸

The nature of traditional anthropological research has been comparative and cross-cultural. Social anthropology, which formulated the structuralist and functionalist approaches to describe and analyze the extant primitive (non-literate) societies has jealously objected in applying its theory diachronically.⁸⁹ Archaeologists were totally unfamiliar with anthropological

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87 For criticism toward history and archaeology, see e.g. DYMOND 1974:88–98. The problem with historians is also related to idea of how an artefact in context can ratify a behavior pattern (SCHAEDL 1998, personal consultation.)

88 For distinctions between the European and American academic traditions in historical research, HODDER 1986:9. For nature and development of ethnohistorical research (SCHAEDL 1998, personal consultation). He also points how the struggle between archaeology and anthropology is well demonstrated in the testimonial evidence of the Bible for instance. For ethnohistory as a testimonial evidence on prehistory, see e.g. (SCHAEDL 1966b, 1989 *La etnografía muchik en las fotografías de H. Brüning, 1886–1925*, Ediciones COFIDE, Corporación Financiera de Desarrollo, Lima).

89 For anthropological research, see e.g. BARRETT 1984; SARMELA 1984; BERNARD 1988; SULLIVAN 1996:165–197. For structuralism, see e.g. LEVI-STRAUSS 1977 and BARRETT 1984:115–141. Social Anthropology has always been firmly established in European academic soil. In fact it was Radcliffe-Brown's decisive pronouncement separating synchronic scientific interpretative theory on contemporary peoples (non-literate) as a province or academic domain no archaeologist dare to tread. This bias became a powerful argument to keep archaeology from making social interpretations. SCHAEDL (1998, personal communication.)

perception and alienated in using “meta-interpretations” and tendencies to form universally fitting theories. The Cross-cultural (or Trans-cultural) study is essentially “etic”, i.e. human cultural behaviour is basically seen as universal and to be studied by comparative methods. The “emic” approach is Intra-cultural and emphasizes unique aspects within the individual cultures (and hence is more applicable to archaeological contexts).⁹⁰ Since my approach is interdisciplinary and a special weight has been given to the gradual victory of oral tradition in the universal context, the co-operative ethnohistoric-archaeological reconstruction (i.e. doing diachronics) is employed rather than retaining the barriers between the overlapping disciplines.

3.2. The reliability of testimony

The process of scientific criticism of sources falls into two parts: external and internal criticism. At first one has to determine whether the source is verifiable and not fraudulent. In the second phase a more careful internal investigation should be carried out. In this place the relation of the testimony to the truth is weighed, and to decide how much of the statements made are trustworthy or probable.⁹¹

In written records the measuring of the interdependence of sources belongs to the most important tasks of historical research. In Europe during Medieval times when history was recreating itself (after Classic society had stopped doing history) – hoaxes and plagiarism developed. In fact, not to mention one’s sources was a common practise. During the Reformation Era (1500–1650) the need to cite sources was made a rule of historical procedure. In history of historical literature this early vice of plagiarism continued to plague the profession, and always at certain points it was customary to ‘embellish’ history to make it more exciting to read. It has not ceased to this day in what we would call a Journalistic history, one which on first sight strains credulity.⁹² When the primary source of testimony is determined, a careful investigation of contemporary matters concerning the author’s times and biographical information is necessary. An important question in internal criticism of a source is, whether there exist remarkable contradictions or correspondence in relation to other contemporary testimonies. Montesinos’ chronicle, indeed, is an ideal case to test this.

There are several other arguments and parameters how the value of historical testimonies can be estimated. The whole usual spectrum of factors from eyewitness-hearsay to memory loss should be taken into consideration.

The data base for testimonial evidence in Andean research has been the so-called Spanish Chronicles.⁹³ A chronicle, in the traditional sense, is a special

90 BRISLIN et al. 1973; SARMELA 1984:37–47, 87–93; SULLIVAN 1996: 165–197.

91 For external and internal criticism, see e.g. VINCENT 1974:19–43.

92 For plagiarism and willful citing of sources, VINCENT 1974:111–2. As a matter of fact there is a long way from embellishment to plagiarism – at least a sentence, as SCHAEDEL (1999, personal consultation) points out.

93 For the definition of the Spanish Chronicles, see e.g. SULLIVAN 1996:12.

kind of narrative, varying greatly in genre and style. It developed in late Classical times and was then abandoned; it was recreated in Medieval times, and was a much used recording form until nineteenth century.⁹⁴ According to WHITE, in a chronicle where a “story” is attached, it also possesses a discernible beginning, middle, and end. In other words, “transformation of chronicle into story is effected by characterization of some events in the chronicle in terms of inaugural motifs, of others in terms of terminating motifs, and yet others in terms of transitional motifs”.⁹⁵ This descriptive format is clearly seen in many Spanish chronicles of the Andean area. One well represented example is the chronicle of Fernando de Montesinos.⁹⁶

Once the tales of Montesinos is placed in the context of the end of 16th century intellectual environment (Spain and Hispanic Catholicism), it becomes more intelligible. Viceroy Toledo and padre Las Casas represented diametrically opposing party lines of how to evaluate the unanticipated New World man. Pro-Indian with a minimum of aggression was Las Casas’ stance. Toledo on the other hand had been given legal reins not only to grasp at an “apartheid” policy (legally formulated in the *Leyes de Indias*), but to implement it forthwith in his viceroyalty. Around 1572 Toledo carried out his masterplan and seeking the supportive testimonial evidence, he had Sarmiento de Gamboa write a “White Book” – showing the Incas to be usurpers and simply the crest of a long barbarian tradition.

Garcilaso de la Vega, a mestizo-born Peruvian who passed all his adult life in Spain and became a Spanish intellectual of renown – read the “white paper” and immediately set to work to refute it with his *Comentarios Reales* (published in 1609).⁹⁷

The chronological reliability of Montesinos as opposed to the implied chronology and sequence re-accounted by Sarmiento de Gamboa and Garcilaso de la Vega is presented in chapter V:1.

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94 For the chronicles, see e.g. DYMOND 1974:66–70; HAY 1977:passim; CARR 1986:59, WHITE 1987:5–7.

95 WHITE 1987:5–7. According to WHITE (1987:6), the chronicles are “strictly speaking, open-ended. In principle they have no inaugurations; they simply ‘begin’ when the chronicler starts recording events. And they have no culminations or resolutions; they go on indefinitely”.

96 Other chronicles containing strong descriptive elements are e.g. Betanzos (1551-7), Cabello de Balboa (1586), and Garcilaso de la Vega (1609).

97 For more about viceroy Toledo and his politics, see chapters III:1 and V:1. For Garcilaso, see also chapter V:1. Bishop Bartolome de las Casas (1474-1566) was a cleric from the Dominican order and famous defender of the Indians’ cause. For biographical information, see e.g. MEANS 1928:334-42 and PORRAS BARRANECHEA 1986:199-211. Las Casas published three books of importance in 1550’s: *Brevissima relación de la destrucción de las Indias*, *Apologética historia*, and *Historia de las Indias*. All had impact on the Spanish Crown and Catholic church in their attitude and policy towards the natives of the New World, and were translated and eagerly read in Europe.

4. Historical fables and disinformation

In 1786 appeared in London the booklet *The Surprising Adventures of Baron Münchhausen*. It soon became famous and has been republished with additions many times since. Behind the unbelievable and ridiculous stories, which this booklet is all about, was a real historical Prussian officer who was born in Bodenwerder in 1720. Many incidents which the Baron 'experienced' were so superhuman and exaggerated that his stories were read only for amusement.⁹⁸

There has, and always will be both *Homo mendax* 'lying man' and *Homo credulus* 'credulous man'.⁹⁹ The entire net of our consciousness which embraces the notion of disinformation, misunderstanding facts, credulity, wishful thinking etc. is enormous. Through the centuries it has produced many popular fallacies, mystery stories, and hoaxes.¹⁰⁰ There is also the matter of distinction between the scientific understanding of facts and the pseudo-scientific perception and interpretation of reality.¹⁰¹ That is why there always coexist astronomy and astrology, chemistry and alchemy, psychology and parapsychology, medicine and witchcraft, history and legend.¹⁰²

Why do we believe and why don't we disbelieve? According to MacDOUGALL there are at least four reasons for this: indifference, ignorance and superstition, suggestion and prestige (of written authority for instance). Man also believes what he wants to believe – wishful thinking is inducement for hoaxing. And the incentives to believe could be: financial gain, vanity, conspicuous waste, promoting a cause, chauvinism, prejudices, pet theories, the thirst for vicarious thrills, and cultural climate.¹⁰³

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98 MacDOUGALL 1958:141. Baron von Münchhausen did not write these stories himself. These were written down by his drinking companion, professor Rudolf Erich Raspe, who was an author of the booklet. Soon afterwards Raspe's booklet was translated into German by a poet, Gottfried August Bürger, who as a skillful writer, gave a final 'color' for these stories - a writer's touch which Raspe undoubtedly used also. If one looks for the source of Münchhausen stories, these two gentlemen were responsible. See, Münchhausen/ Introduction, Korhonen 1947: 5–12. Baron von Münchhausen was not a forger, but a trickster whose aim was to entertain. There is no record that anyone has ever taken his stories seriously. His name has become an eponym for all kinds of hoaxing. Also it is related to the birth of modern stand-up comics who depend upon exaggeration for laughs (SCHAEDEL 1998, personal consultation.) Montesinos has been dubbed by some scholars as the "Münchhausen of Peru" (BAUMANN 1963:154.)

99 MacDOUGALL 1958; SARSILA 1988:20–1.

100 MacDOUGALL 1958; WARD 1989; FEDER 1990.

101 RADNER & RADNER 1982; FEDER 1990:1–26. This is best demonstrated today in the tabloid press which devotes itself to Journalistic history (SCHAEDEL 1998, personal consultation.)

102 MacDOUGALL 1958:205.

103 MacDOUGALL 1958:passim. For conspicuous waste, MacDOUGALL (ibid.,77–87) gives examples of art forgeries, using famous names etc. For promoting a cause (ibid.,88–102), examples are given from politics and Cardiff's giant for instance. For chauvinism (ibid.,103–118), examples are from cultural-patriotic arena and politics. For "pet theory", MacDOUGALL writes (ibid.,121): "Of the ubiquitous tendency to persist in believing falsehood because to be incredulous would involve the embarrassing and psychologically difficult experience of abandoning a preconceived idea, or pet theory." About the impact of cultural climate writes MacDOUGALL:

One certain genre which always has fascinated human imagination and which was (and still is) an unfailing source for fabulists, is the manifold repertoire of 'eternal themes' related with various mysteries. We may set them in five categories:

1. The stories of origin (Atlantis etc.)
2. The stories of superhumans (giants, vampires, humanoids etc.)
3. Paranormal phenomena (ghosts etc.)
4. Mystery stories (pyramids, Bermuda triangle, Nazca lines etc.)
5. Exploration (adventure) stories (lost cities, lost tribes etc.)
6. The stories of legendary heroes and demigods.¹⁰⁴

In Montesinos' chronicle a kind of origin story exists; i.e. descendants of Ophir from Armenia found a 'Promised Land' in Peru.

A hoax or forgery is an untruth made to masquerade as truth. These have to be separated from those unintentional cases where untruth has been due to error, misinformation or other defects done in an honest book.¹⁰⁵ Motives for forging and producing misinformation can be categorized into ideological, financial, and psychological reasons (see appendix 5). Ideological reasons usually contain political and religious factors, but nationalism with a desire to create more 'romantic' past is often important. Money can be a major motivating factor, and innumerable forgeries are attributable to good old greed making itself various psychological reasons. A need to be accepted and ambition belongs in this category, but mental instability has also motivated many bizarre and crazy claims made about the human past (and indeed much of the history of poetry is full of it).¹⁰⁶

The methods of forging documents probably had their origin in creating a pedigree of legitimization in dynastic propaganda. The two main methods, interpolation and obliteration, correspond to artificial lengthening and

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"In highly creative periods there are few literary or artistic forgeries. When, however, writers, painters, sculptors and other aesthetes become sterile or imitative, buyers of first editions and old masters must beware...In times of great political stress and excitement...roorbacks abound, issues are beclouded by journalists and demagogues, chauvinism overshadows historical iconoclasm and atrocity stories multiply. When migration and colonization are easy for the persecuted or economically underprivileged, swindlers are at a minimum...When church and state are reconciled, the unconventional bit of religious lore is called heresy. When, however, ecclesiastical authority, either spiritual or temporal, wanes, apocryphal literature a bounds."(ibid., 146-7.)

104 MacDOUGALL 1958; PRAUSE 1969; HENIGE 1974; VINCENT 1974; WAUCHOPE 1974; RADNER & RADNER 1982; WARD 1989; FEDER 1990; WILLIAMS 1991; THORNTON 1992. Pseudoscience has used these themes frequently. For pseudoscientific 'methods', see RADNER & RADNER; FEDER 1990; WILLIAMS 1991. Compare also various elements in the mythology of descent of nations, specified in A.D. SMITH 1987:174-226.

105 MacDOUGALL 1958:vi-vii; RADNER & RADNER 1982; FEDER 1990:1-26; WILLIAMS 1991:11-27. According to Juhani SARSILA (1988:9): "Forgery is always a lie, but a lie is not always a forgery. A forger is always lying, but a liar does not always forge. The concept of lie is more extended. Since the character of forgery is related to its concreteness, a forgery is a materialized lie - or at least one form of it." (translation from the Finnish mine.)

106 MacDOUGALL 1958; PRAUSE 1969; VINCENT 1974:26-43, 133-141; SARSILA 1988; THORNTON 1992. For history of poetry (SCHAEDEL 1998, personal consultation.)

telescoping, respectively (see appendices 4 and 5). Also restructuring, anachronisms, rationalization, elaboration, plagiarism and historicizing occurred in both genres. Both used partial falsification more frequently than outright fabrication of major body of data.¹⁰⁷ In bygone times, probably since the dawn of literacy, the theologically legitimized dynasties have contained distortions. Clerical forgeries also, especially during the Medieval times, were frequent. These were reasoned by teleologically orientated moral and sanctified meanings.¹⁰⁸

One important consideration in evaluating narratives of the past writers should be understood however. When we read their stories which seem to us fabulous, we cannot automatically stamp them as products of an imaginative mind (if the real possibility of forging is excluded), since one must concede that within their sphere of knowledge they were probably writing things just as they perceived them, and hence, felt the items must be true.¹⁰⁹ Fraud and forgery are always an intentional attempt to tell untruths. Many professional historical writers may be ill-informed, credulous, or prejudiced, but most of them honored the principles of truthful search *prima facie*.¹¹⁰

The case of Saxo Grammaticus

I have referred to a famous Scandinavian clerical author known as Saxo Grammaticus, whose posthumous reputation has been besmirched as a “fabulist” (having thus some resemblance with Montesinos). He worked at recording and selecting versions from oral traditions for a coherent epic narrative to do for the Danes what Vergil did for the Romans. His work, *Gesta Danorum*, was written in the thirteenth century. Claimed as a fabulist historian, he acquired a reputation which alleged hoaxing. The appendix 7b of the present volume contain a more detailed description of him and his writings, but here I set forth certain similarities (and differences) between him and Montesinos:

107 MacDOUGALL 1958; RADNER & RADNER 1982; VANSINA 1985; SARSILA 1988. For methods of dynastic propaganda, see HENIGE 1974. For rationalization, elaboration, and historicizing, see also OLRİK (1921) 1992, and appendix 7.

108 There are number of clerical forgeries in history. Two famous examples are the Donation of Constantine and False Decretals, which persisted for centuries before their spurious background was disclosed. For clerical and other forgeries, see FARRER 1907; GEORGE 1909; JOHNSON 1926; MacDOUGALL 1958; PRAUSE 1969; DYMOND 1974; VINCENT 1974; RADNER & RADNER 1982; HODDER 1986; SARSILA 1988; FEDER 1990; WILLIAMS 1991; THORNTON 1992. The fact that Montesinos was a cleric of versatile education, could have given him good resources for forging should he have been interested of it.

109 GEORGE 1909:92; VINCENT 1974:19-22; RADNER & RADNER 1982; FEDER 1990:1-26; WILLIAMS 1991:11-27. For validity and authenticity, see for instance MILLE 1990.

110 GEORGE 1909:99-100; SARSILA 1988:9-11.

cleric	<i>occupation</i>	cleric
dynastic history	<i>narrative contents</i>	dynastic history
Snorri Sturluson	<i>primary authority</i>	Blas Valera
written and oral sagas	<i>primary sources</i>	written oral tradition
poetic	<i>narrative style</i>	annalistic prosaist
X	<i>'Interpretatio Christiana': tie-ins to Biblical world view</i>	X
X	<i>compilation of king list from divergent traditions</i>	X

5. The history of studies on Montesinos¹¹¹

About one hundred and fifty years ago (1840), H. Ternaux-Compans in Paris published the first edition of Fernando de Montesinos' 'Memorias' as a French translation called: *Mémoires historiques sur l'ancien Pérou*. Since that date its internal authenticity has been questioned.

In appendix 12 are assembled the opinions on Montesinos and evaluative estimates of his works by various authors written during the past 150 years (compare also table 2). The list of writers referring to Montesinos pretends to be rather exhaustive up to 1930, and a well represented sample up to the present. The history of Montesinos-studies may be divided into two major sections: works and articles written until around the mid-1940s, and those written thereafter until today. This division is based on two factors: the slackening of interest in Montesinos after 1946 and the rise of supplementary ethnohistorical and archaeological data since that date.¹¹²

In the course of time the following writers have been most critical of Montesinos: PRESCOTT 1847; RIVERO & TSCHUDI 1851 (1855); MARKHAM 1871 & 1873 (early); SQUIER 1877; RIVA-AGÜERO 1910; UHLE 1912; ROWE 1945/1946; METRAUX 1961; HEMMING 1970; RAVINES 1980; PEASE 1991; SCHIFFERS 1992; and DAVIES 1995.

On the other hand, the defenders of his ideas have been e.g. BOLLAERT 1860; LOPEZ 1871; BALDWIN 1872; THOMAS 1891; JOYCE 1912; BINGHAM 1915/1922; MARKHAM & MEANS 1920; POINDEXTER 1930; PARDO 1946/1957; HEYERDAHL 1952; FRANSWORTH 1953; BAUMANN 1963; PEREZ ARMENDARIZ 1967; GUERRA 1971; HABICH 1974; KLAUER 1990; and MENESES 1992.¹¹³ Other authors have chosen

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111 Using a title and a reference to "Montesinos-studies" is somewhat exaggerated, since there never has been any tradition like this. Most commentary on Montesinos during the past 150 years consist of occasional articles and contain but few academic discussions.

112 Compare appendix 12 and table 2 on p. 69.

113 Notice Clements MARKHAM's 180-degree turn in his attitude towards Montesinos – writings of 1871/1873 versus 1920! Eduardo de HABICH's *Los Libros de la Biblia Peruana* 1974, is a curious small book, which may well qualify as fabulist like the *Ayar-Incas* of

moderate critical attitude toward Montesinos and his ideas.¹¹⁴

Following the oscillating curve and chronology of Montesinos' researchers, commentators, and users of his works (see table 2), we can notice a period starting in around 1906–7 and ending at 1946, when Montesinos' estimation was at its height. The periods of hottest debate were between 1847–1877, 1907–1912, and 1946–1963. It is interesting to note, however, that the opinions of Montesinos' reliability have had the widest dispersion between cons, pros, and moderate's from 1960s until present.¹¹⁵

The particulars in Montesinos' work which have made his reliability questionable are:

1. his reconstruction of Peru being originally peopled by Ophir (great grandson of Noah) and his followers.
2. his assertion that the Peruvians used letters and wrote on leaves of the plantain-tree before the invention of *quipus* or knot recording.
3. the assertion that there were several successive states and dynasties in the Andes prior to the Incas.¹¹⁶

5.1. Summary of commentary sources up to 1946

In the beginning of appendix 12, three statements anteceding the Ternaux's publication (1840) are given. One is from the late 18th century by Jesuit father Juan de Velasco, and the others by two 17th century friars from the same Order. Velasco criticizes certain writers of his Order as providing errors in their writings, but referring to Montesinos he says that he was the one who wrote less badly. The latter two have given a brief characterization of Montesinos also. Fray Nieremberg (1595–1658), who was one of the most esteemed Jesuit authors in Spain, has characterized Montesinos as "historiador diligentísimo" (i.e. diligent/careful historian). According to Manuel Rodríguez (1633–1684–?), no one knew better the Peruvian antiquity than Montesinos, who was "autor cuidadoso en averiguar" (i.e. attentive/careful in investigation). From these statements we can conclude that Montesinos had a good reputation during his lifetime (among the sources who knew his work).¹¹⁷

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POINDEXTER. It contain dynastic lists of Montesinos arranged in three groups of Aryan rulers (Los Ayar) with incredible chronologies. The first dynasty (17 rulers) extended from 5700 to 2700 BC, the next one (after 1450-years interval) from 1250 BC to A.D. 69 (the Amautas, who were Colla emperors in Tiahuanaco), and the Tampu-Tocco dynasty (Quichua-Aymaras) from 69 to about 1148. HABICH has also listed Poma de Ayala's Yarovilca-kings (placing them chronologically at 5081 BC – A.D. 252) and tried to correlate his World Ages into Montesinos' chronology likewise.

114 The sample presented here is a reasonable complete collection of all kinds of comments given on Montesinos (in European languages) since the first publication (1840) of his chronicle.

115 Much of this interest in Montesinos was due to the growing archaeological information of the Tiahuanaco civilization during that period (1910-40s). See, e.g. POSNANSKY 1914/1945; BENNETT 1934.

116 References to these 'hypotheses', see e.g. PATRON 1906:293; IMBELLONI 1941:passim; BOEHM de LAMEIRAS 1987:17.

117 Juan de VELASCO's *Historia del Reino de Quito* (1789) 1946, is a work which also contains histories of pre-Incaic dynasties (for more, see chapter IV:1.) The statemet of father Juan

Very soon after the first publication of *Memorias antiguas...* by Ternaux-Compans (1840), William PRESCOTT dealt Montesinos' authenticity a lethal blow in his *History of the Conquest of the Peru* (1847). His review of Montesinos was so devastating that few historians bothered to get acquainted with the work of this author in detail. One hundred years later another authority, J.H. ROWE (1946), reproached Montesinos' narrative as worthless, particularly in reconstructing Inca history.¹¹⁸

Until today, only two major studies have been published on Montesinos and his works. The first one was in the context of the English translation of *Memorias antiguas historiales del Peru* in 1920 by Hakluyt Society. It is a combined research and analysis by the most eminent Andeanists of their time: Sir Clements MARKHAM and Philip Ainsworth MEANS. Another study was made by José IMBELLONI, Argentine scholar, with the title *La Capaccuna de Montesinos* (1941). He extended his study and ideas in his book *Pachakuti LX, El Inkario Crítico* (1946).

The first significant scholar (after PRESCOTT) who studied Montesinos was Vicente FIDEL LOPEZ. He was responsible for the production of the first Spanish edition of 'Memorias'. It was published in several issues of *La Revista de Buenos Aires* in 1869–70. What makes this publication most important is that it was the first time when the first book (Libro 1) of Montesinos' work was published. Vicente FIDEL LOPEZ also categorized major dynastic lists of kings presented in Montesinos' account. This grouping has been thereafter used by all writers of the topic. FIDEL LOPEZ presented it in his book *Les Raices Aryennes du Pérou*, published in 1871. While the kinglist in *Memorias* was originally given as a continuous line, he trisected it into the following major pre-Inca dynasties:

1. Dynasty of Pirhuas (17 kings)
2. Dynasty of Amautas (47 kings)
3. Dynasty of Tampu-Tocco (26 kings)

The fourth and following dynasty were the Incas, with 11 kings.¹¹⁹

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Eusebio Nieremberg is given in a citation in Manuel Rodriguez's *El descubrimiento del Marañon*, but I have been unable to trace the explicit statement "no one knew better the Peruvian antiquity than Montesinos" of father Manuel Rodriguez, which Jose Toribio MEDINA, and Eugenio MAFFEI & Ramon RUA y FIGUEROA have referred to (see appendix 12).

Juan Eusebio Nieremberg was born at Madrid in 1590 or 1595, became a Jesuit in 1614, and died at Madrid in 1658 (GUIBERT 1964:318, n.6.) He was "long a professor of natural sciences, he was a prolix and versatile writer, though insufficiently critical in matters of history", writes GUIBERT (*ibid.*, 319.) Nieremberg "was a remarkable name, or at least the best known" of the 17th century Spanish Jesuit authors (*ibid.*) He kept a special collection of menologies (4 vols. 1643–47), which were continued by Andrade and Cassini in *Varones Ilustres* (9 vols. in all) (*ibid.*, 286, n. 20.) 'Menology' is a calendrically arranged biography of the saints.

118 H. Ternaux-Compans (1840), the first modern commentator, was a moderate one instead. For these comments, compare appendix 12.

119 The number of kings presented here by Vicente LOPEZ is 90 total (excluding the Incas.) This information is based on the MS *La Merced*. The other MS, *Universitaria*, gives 93 kings (IMBELLONI 1941:291.)

According to FIDEL LOPEZ, a dynastic break might have been between the Pirhuas and the Amautas. The title Pirhua occurs only in the group of first seventeen rulers and the frequently used title Amauta appeared first only with the eighteenth king. He indicated also a reference in the text, where the successor of the seventeenth ruler has been labelled 'only' as an 'heir', and not as a 'son' like in most previous Pirhua cases.¹²⁰ As Montesinos' account seems to indicate to me, the break between the Amautas and the Tampu-Tocco dynasty was not genealogical, but a locative transition of dynastic seat of power from Cuzco to Tampu-Tocco. Furthermore, LOPEZ clearly distinguished the Incas from all these previous dynasties, in accordance with Montesinos' narrative, which gives only implicit clues for possible dynastic affiliations between them and their predecessors.¹²¹ Vicente LOPEZ was also the first to give a lexical analysis of the names occurring in the king list. He used in his interpretation of names predominantly the Quechua language. A moderately useful vocabulary is included in his *Raíces Aryennes*. Some of his interpretations seemed at the least far fetched (e.g. connections with Sanskrit). He also maintained that the principal dynasties of Pirhuas and Amautas were castes of "warriors" and "sacerdotes", respectively, in contest of power in ancient Peru.¹²²

M. JIMENEZ DE LA ESPADA, the editor of the most renown Spanish publication of *Memorias* (1882), was the next scholar who gave serious attention to this work and its author, Montesinos. In the "dedicatoria" of *Memorias* he provided a good survey on history of the manuscript and some useful biographical notes on Montesinos. He also refers to other works of Montesinos. JIMENEZ DE LA ESPADA criticizes the former, M. Ternaux-Compans' edition (in French, 1840) of the *Memorias*, especially for its incompetence in 17th century Spanish language. He treated Montesinos in a moderate fashion and gave a solid reference basis for all later writers. Apparently his review partly debunked the sharpest criticism caused by PRESCOTT's commentary.¹²³

Pablo PATRON was the next scholar who made a scientific attempt to evaluate Montesinos as a historical source. His ideas are presented in the article *La Veracidad de Montesinos*, which was published in *Revista Histórica* in 1906. In this rather brief article the major discussion is focused around the 'second hypothesis' of Montesinos, namely: the existence of writing in pre-Incaic Peru. The author supports Montesinos' idea and gives several examples of ideograms drawn on stones, textiles, pottery, and plaques. PATRON also noticed a correlation with some names occurring in the *relación*

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120 FIDEL LOPEZ 1871:272-3.

121 According to Montesinos, the first Inca was Inga Roca, whose mother, Mama Ciuaco, was a noble Lady related to a previous dynasty. Consult, Montesinos [1642:cap.xvi] 1882:91-2. A common fallacy among the critics of Montesinos is the misperception that his entire king list referred only to the Incas.

122 FIDEL LOPEZ 1871:395-412.

123 JIMENEZ DE LA ESPADA 1882:vii-xxxii.

of Anonymous Jesuit and Montesinos' list, and indicated that Montesinos had taken his king list from a more reliable source now lost.¹²⁴

Manuel GONZALEZ DE LA ROSA elaborated the idea (1907) of the supposed connection between Anonymous Jesuit and Montesinos. He also indicated the similarities between the accounts of Blas Valera and Anonymous Jesuit. José RIVA-AGÜERO attacked with harsh criticism of the allegations of GONZALEZ DE LA ROSA and debunked Montesinos' historical value also. During 1907–10 these two Peruvian scholars held a hot debate of the subject.¹²⁵ At that time Sir Clements MARKHAM (by 1910) had reversed his early hypercritical opinions of Montesinos to a much more favorable position. The archaeologist Thomas JOYCE (1912) became a Montesinos enthusiast, while Max UHLE (1912), a prominent Andeanist who dominated Peruvian archaeology from the 1890's to 1930, took a critical stand beside RIVA-AGÜERO.

The major point in the rehabilitation of Montesinos was the discovery of the idea that the dynasty lists presented in his chronicle were possibly derived from Blas Valera. The authors, even while defending Montesinos, continued debunking him as a historian. They finally forgave him his faults, since he had preserved something of the respected Valera, whose important works presumably were lost (see chapter III:3). Most importantly, the two principal Andeanists of the day had taken a stand for Montesinos.

The study of Sir Clements MARKHAM and Philip A. MEANS was published in 1920. It consists of the following parts:

- I. Introduction (by Clements Markham)
 1. Lives of Montesinos and Blas Valera
 2. Analysis and discussion of the list of the Peruvian kings.
 3. An examination of the way in which Montesinos used and manipulated the Valera list.
- II. Introduction (by Philip A. Means)

A discussion of the significance of the "*Memorias Historiales*" of Father Fernando Montesinos.
- III. A Note on the Chronological Tables (by P.A. Means)
 - Table I: Maya chronology and historical development
 - Table II: The list of kings in Montesinos
 - Table III: The list of kings revised
 - Table IV: A calculation of the chronology of the list of kings
 - Table V: Chronological and historical events in the pre-Inca period of the Andean region
 - Table VI: The ancient history of the Andean countries based on modern archaeological research

124 PATRON 1906:289–303. For more about Anonymous Jesuit, see chapter III:3.

125 For more about this debate, see chapter III:3.

Table VII: An application of the list of kings in Montesinos to the archaeological chronology of the Andean countries in pre-Columbian times

Table VIII: The chronologies of Yucatan and of the Andes

IV. List of Words in the Names of Kings and Incas given by Montesinos (by P.A. Means)

V. Quichua Words in Montesinos (by P. A. Means)¹²⁶

MARKHAM and MEANS treated Montesinos in a scholarly fashion. In the case of MARKHAM one should note his first negative remarks as opposed to his later favorable opinions of Montesinos 1871–1920 (see appendix 12.)¹²⁷ MARKHAM and MEANS adopted GONZALEZ de la ROSA's idea that the king list given by Montesinos could have originated from the Jesuit Father Blas Valera, and that the Anonymous Jesuit was probably Valera himself.¹²⁸ The Pirua and Amauta dynastic histories were connected and correlated with the only known archaeological phases of a Tiahuanaco pan-Andean (and above all pre-Incaic) civilization, which they considered to be a "Megalithic Empire".¹²⁹

Of the some 90 pre-Incaic names in the list, MARKHAM and MEANS thought that only about 50 could have been original and tentatively historical personages. They suppose that Montesinos' imagination was perhaps a 'doubling type' and that he tended to record figures at about twice their real value. Thus many names could be eliminated due to repetitions, or because they existed as nothing more than names in the list.¹³⁰ By making a short lexical analysis of the kinglist, MARKHAM's conclusion was that the names are pre-dominantly Quechua or its corruptions.¹³¹ The synchronized and corrected chronology of kings were set within the period A.D. 150 and 1100. The latter was the accepted date for the Inca emergence. The collapse of the Amauta empire and the beginnings of the pre-Incaic Tampu-Tocco period was established at around A.D. 825.¹³²

MARKHAM and MEANS established a hallmark for correlating ethno-historical records and Andean archaeological periodization. Their work

126 See the reproductions of Tables VI and VII in appendix 13. P. A. MEANS, who was the foremost Andeanist in his times, combined his profession of history (and to a certain degree art history) with a deep knowledge of Andean archaeology in quite a sophisticated way (SCHAEDL 1995, Spring semester Advanced Seminar in the University of Texas at Austin; Socio Cultural Dynamics: South American Archaeology.) For Andean chronologies and periodization, see also MEANS 1917.

127 Notice MARKHAM's comment on Montesinos: "Fernan Mendez Pinto was but a type of thee, thou liar of the first magnitude"! (1871:284.) Compare also his comments in the introduction of Molina (1873) (See appendix 12).

128 See GONZALEZ de la ROSA, *Revista Historica* (1907).

129 For the discussion on 'Megalithic empire' and its archaeological connections, see chapter IV:2. See also appendix 13.

130 MARKHAM 1920:9; MEANS 1920:xxiv.

131 MARKHAM 1920:10–13.

132 MEANS 1920:xlili-xlv.

provided a scholarly reference point which seems to have drawn additional support from the growing archaeological data during 1920–40s. MEANS' *Biblioteca Andina* (1928) and *Ancient Civilizations of the Andes* (1931) further confirmed the status of Montesinos among the chronicles worth consulting, and in 1930 a second Spanish edition of *Memorias* was published in Lima. It was edited by Horacio H. URTEAGA and it contains the best biographical account of Montesinos thus far, written by Domingo ANGULO. In its appendix, Guinaldo M. VASQUEZ gives a good analysis of the king list. No doubt, this was the first heyday of Montesinos' posthumous reputation.¹³³

Guinaldo M. VASQUEZ (1930) analyzes the order of succession of the king list as presented in distinct Ms. versions and compared with the occasional references given by Anello Oliva and Anonymous Jesuit. He supports the idea that the original king list derives from Blas Valera and maintains that Montesinos copied it, but made his own adjustments in order of succession. VASQUEZ also provided a lexical and etymological analysis of the names in Montesinos' king list, and concluded that they seem to have been of diverse origin linguistically (referring to Quechua, Yunca, Colla, Chanca, and Puquina). Consequently, he suggests that the long list of kings may be a compilation from distinctive traditions. Furthermore, VASQUEZ gives a clever repartee to José de la RIVA AGÜERO's statement, in which the latter maintains that the entire list is a compilation of repetitions from the Incaic Canon, selective names borrowed from native nobility of Colonial Cuzco, and miscellaneous spurinymy from the Andean landscape. VASQUEZ proves the opposite, by pointing to cross-cultural analogies, etymological analysis, and historical arguments – which support the idea that the form of the king list appears to be authentic.¹³⁴

José IMBELLONI's *La Capaccuna de Montesinos* (1941) summarizes studies made up until that date, as its subtitle indicates: *Después de cien años de discusiones e hipótesis (1840–1940)*. At first he presents major commentaries and studies made during that period. Much room is given for the discussion of Montesinos-Valera connections (see chapter III:3) and structural use of Pachacuti-names in the list (see appendix 10b). IMBELLONI also compared the king lists given by two different MSS of Montesinos: the so-called MS *de la Merced* and MS *Universitaria* – which differ slightly from each other.¹³⁵ The World Ages (*Soles, Edades del Mundo*) given by Montesinos is also compared with the corresponding Ages given by other chroniclers (e.g. Guaman Poma) and analogies are sought in Mesoamerica (see appendix 10). According to these analyses, IMBELLONI's conclusive statement is that the original list possibly contained 88 names, which could be arranged in four groups (4

133 compare, Montesinos [1644] 1930: URTEAGA 1930:iii-vii, ANGULO 1930:ix-xxii, VASQUEZ 1930:131-71.

134 VASQUEZ 1930, *ibid.* VASQUEZ introduced some of these ideas already in 1918, in his article "En rededor de las 'Memorias'", which was published in *Revista Universitaria*. For spurinymy, see HENIGE 1974:46-8.

135 IMBELLONI 1941:284-295.

Edades) of 22 rulers.¹³⁶

IMBELLONI continued the discussion of related topics in his *Pachacuti IX* (1946.) In this work he compares various Inca king lists given by different chronicles and speculates on etymologies of certain important Quechuan names, like Manco Capac and Pachacuti. He also brought forth comparative examples of Old World dynasties where the sacred ten-formulas were used in chronologies of Classical antiquity (compare appendix 4b).¹³⁷ IMBELLONI also pays attention to the critical moment of Chanca-war in Inca history and the role of Inca Pachacuti in this event and formation of imperial tradition. IMBELLONI set less historical credit for Montesinos' king list, but emphasized its mythological contribution instead.

A Peruvian scholar, archaeologist Luis A. PARDO, was very fascinated of Montesinos' ideas. He concentrated on the Pacaritampu (origin seat) legend in Inca mythology, and hypothesized its connection with the Tampu-Tocco and dynasties in Montesinos' narration. These ideas he brought forth in a lengthy article *La Metrópoli de Pacaritampu*, which was published in *Revista de la sección arqueológica de la Universidad Nacional del Cuzco* in 1946. He thought that the archaeological site known as Maucallacta in the province of Paruro (southward from Cuzco) might have been the seat of Tampu-Tocco.¹³⁸ PARDO did excavations in several other sites in southern Peru, in the Cuzco region particularly, and found traces of pre-Incaic occupation which he interpreted as evidences of reliability in the narratives of Montesinos. PARDO's ideas and excavations are more extensively presented in the two-volume publication *Historia y Arqueología del Cuzco* 1957. In this same year was published a critical edition of Montesinos' *Memorias antiguas y historiales del Peru*, which was edited by Luis PARDO.¹³⁹

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136 *ibid.*, 345.

137 IMBELLONI 1946:59–65. Due to a certain errors and omissions which were related to Tiahuanaco, Arthur POSNANSKY wrote critical comments on IMBELLONI in his *Tiahuanacu, The Cradle of American Man* 1945 (Vol.II):48–49: “in the year 1926 there appeared a book with the bombastic title *La Esfinge Indiana*, written by José IMBELLONI, of Buenos Aires, a good man but completely devoid of scientific training. His work is an amorphous conglomeration of Americanist material in which, on the basis of childish arguments, he criticizes our investigations in Kalasasaya, especially those dealing with the age of Tiahuanacu... [In this book] author refers to the determination of the age of Tiahuanacu by astronomical means. Imbelloni criticizes severely Professor Posnansky's work in this connection and affirms that all of the calculations of the said Professor are absurd and untenable... If a person like Imbelloni, is going to concern himself with astronomical questions, which, in his book he calls 'elemental, simple and known,' he should at least study these sciences, and then he would not have been guilty of such injudicious statements and mistakes, which in truth concern elemental ideas...” Compare also, IMBELLONI 1942.

138 PARDO 1946:11–16. See also, URTON 1990 and BAUER 1992, 1992b.

139 PARDO does not present in his publications any specific archaeological datings. His deductions were mainly based on stratification and typology methods commonly used by archaeologists until his times. (DYMOND 1974:37.) PARDO made excavations especially in several ancient stone fortresses, *pukaras* (e.g. at Ollantay tampu). PARDO was a Montesinos enthusiast already in 1934, when his “Las tres fundaciones del Cuzco” was published in *Revista Universitaria*. See his statement on Montesinos in the appendix 12 (inserted between 1946–57).

In 1945 and 1946 a North American archaeologist-historian, John Howland ROWE published two famous works, *Absolute chronology in the Andean area*, and *Inca culture at the time of the Spanish conquest*. Here he criticized the historical value of Montesinos' work. In spite of ROWE's disparaging comments, he suggested that "the king list, however, deserves a paper to itself."¹⁴⁰

5.2. Post-1950 additions to Montesinos commentary and research

After 1950 there have been only occasional surveys on Montesinos. As has been stated, the comments of him have a wide and variable distribution. It seems that the most authoritative statements during this period were given by Raúl PORRAS BARRANECHEA (1962/1986), Tom ZUIDEMA (1962), Åke WEDIN (1966), and Dick Edgar IBARRA GRASSO (1969). The so-called moderate position is articulated by KUBLER (1984) and BOEHM de LAMEIRAS (1987), and a slight awakening of attention on Montesinos begins the redivivus image I present here.

After José IMBELLONI's study (1941) until the present, only one scholarly article dealing exclusively with Montesinos has been written. It is Brigitte BOEHM de LAMEIRAS' article *Fernando de Montesinos. Historia o mito?* in *Relaciones, Estudios de Historia y Sociedad (Colegio de Michoacan)* 1987. BOEHM de LAMEIRAS gives at first a brief survey of previous discussions of the topic, especially on the debate of Blas Valera's role for Montesinos' ideas. However, the principal topic of this article concentrates on searching hypothesized Mesoamerican dynastic traditions as inspiration for Montesinos. The occurrence of *soles* and *edades* in Montesinos' narrative seems to correspond to Mesoamerican cosmological ideas rather neatly. Anyhow, this possibility was already presented in IMBELLONI's study (1941), which BOEHM de LAMEIRAS did not list.¹⁴¹ Besides the question of possible Mesoamerican influences, BOEHM de LAMEIRAS does not take an explicit stand on the problem of Montesinos' reliability as a historical source. Instead, she surmised that the narrative of Montesinos was structuralized and mythicized from the ideas of the Christian and Mesoamerican world. She thinks also that other writing systems along with the *quipu*-recording might have been used, as Montesinos' chronicle states. Finally, BOEHM de LAMEIRAS considers it possible that Montesinos had access to some Andean documentary sources which treated pre-Incaic histories, sources which had escaped official censoring.¹⁴²

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140 For ROWE's comments of Montesinos, see appendix 12. Another comment given by ROWE in the same context is that "the tale of a long list of pre-Inca kings...has never been carefully evaluated." Could it be that ROWE ignored the studies of MARKHAM & MEANS (1920), VASQUEZ (1930), and IMBELLONI (1941)?

141 For the Mesoamerican World Ages compared with Montesinos' ideas, see IMBELLONI 1941:315–29, 346, and 1942.

142 For writing systems and Montesinos' sources, BOEHM de LAMEIRAS 1987:18–19. Brigitte BOEHM de LAMEIRAS was Dr. Richard P. SCHAEDEL's student at the University of Texas at Austin. Her paper on Montesinos was guided by SCHAEDEL also

Beside BOEHM de LAMEIRAS' article, there is another in which much attention is given to 'Montesinian' ideas. It was written by Víctor PEREZ ARMENDARIZ in *Origen del imperio de los Incas*, which was published in *Revista del Museo e Instituto Arqueologico* in 1967. The writer was a Peruvian and Montesinos-enthusiast. What is said about this writer and study I quote here HLAS-publication of 1970: "Scholars in Cuzco tend to pay attention to Montesinos' 'long count' of Andean kings. Pérez goes back to this unique document attempting to interpret it in the light of his familiarity with places mentioned, personal names and Andean languages. According to him, the Khana, inhabitants of today's province of Espinar, were defeated along with other Qolla kingdoms by a Guaraní invasion. [After] Withdrawing to the Apurimac valley, they eventually invaded Cuzco becoming a part of the oral tradition collected by European sources."¹⁴³

About the same time another South American scholar, Dick Edgar IBARRA GRASSO published *La Verdadera Historia de los Incas* 1969, which is a thick volume of comparative analysis of different accounts and chronicles about histories of the Incas. Its special subtheme concentrates on speculations how Inca history was manipulated and propagandized, particularly by the Inca Pachacuti. Montesinos' work is but a portion of this discussion, but IBARRA GRASSO allows many pages for IMBELLONI's (1946) arguments (413-82.) Concerning the king list of Montesinos, IBARRA GRASSO considers it a mythical tradition which originated from the pre-Incaic Colla-Tiahuanaco-period and was eliminated from the 'official tradition'.¹⁴⁴ He also discusses at length the problem of the origin of the Colla kingdoms and Aymaras (compare chapters IV:1-2.) Both PEREZ ARMENDARIZ and IBARRA GRASSO suggested that the Inca dynastic origins were in the Titicaca area (and are not contradicted by our research).

Except Eduardo de HABICH (who used Montesinian king lists in quite a peculiar fashion in his *Los Libros de la Biblia Peruana*, 1974)¹⁴⁵ the rest of the modern commentaries on Montesinos are mostly brief references and citations in various works. However, Raúl PORRAS BARRANECHEA (1962/1982) has provided quite an objective overview and biographical account of Montesinos in his *Los Cronistas del Perú*, and Åke WEDIN (1966) evaluates Montesinos mostly through his presumed connections with Blas Valera. A

 (SCHAEDEL 1995, personal communication), who is more aware of Montesinos' potential now than in 1980's. Brigitte BOEHM DE LAMEIRAS is currently acting as a president of the Colegio de Michoacán in Zamora, Mexico (Herbert H. ELING in 'A Tribute to Dr. Richard P. Schaedel', ILAS Newsletter 1992-1995, University of Texas at Austin).

143 Compare references to PEREZ ARMENDARIZ's ideas in chapter V:2.1. He uses e.g. references to a certain Molloccahua Pucara where supposedly the last Amauta king was killed in the battle against intruders from the Collao. Montesinos' chronicle contains several occasional references to the invasions from the south. Consult, Montesinos (1642: caps. xi, xiii, xiv) 1882:64-5, 76-77, 79-82.

144 For Montesinos, IBARRA GRASSO 1969:625.

145 For HABICH, see note 113.

third modern authority, R. T. ZUIDEMA, has occasionally used Montesinos as a source and treated his work rather fairly in relation to the other chronicles.¹⁴⁶

5.3. Montesinos' redivivus

As we have stated, a complete reappraisal and redivivus of Montesinos and his work is reflecting a long-felt need among Andean studies. It is a pleasure to note that steps towards this goal are already being taken in scholarly circles during the 1980–90s. We may say that the Montesinos redivivus idea was started by a statement written by George Kubler in 1984. It is a good penetration comment for all modern and future researchers on Montesinos: “The emerging position of Montesinos today is that he was on the whole in line with the thought of his time. That he is out of line with our time, is a measure of our continuing reluctance as historians to accept the values governing the thought of other centuries and peoples.”¹⁴⁷

I want to summarize the arguments for the redivivus as follows:

- * No scholarly discussion of Montesinos' value as a source has been carried on in any major publication during the past 50 years. After all, Montesinos' narrative is one of the two dozen major sources of the Incaic past, and no definitive Spanish edition of the entire work has been made.
- * Archaeological research has revealed abundant new information about the Andean prehistory since 1920, when the latest attempt at correlation was made. Our understanding of Middle Horizon and Late Intermediate periods (where all commentarists have placed the pre-Inca dynasties) has increased remarkably. As a matter of fact, Montesinos' chronicle is the only extant Andean source into which this correlation model can be, so far back in time, extended.¹⁴⁸
- * The emergence of ethnohistorical research from the 1960s until today has brought means and methods to evaluate better the testimonial data of oral tradition. During this process of research, a number of cases have indicated that oral traditions do have more credibility than has generally been thought. Ancient Andean traditions were largely this kind of data, and it is now well worth re-evaluating their testimonial value.¹⁴⁹

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146 PORRAS BARRANECHEA (1962) 1986:489–98; WEDIN 1966:12–16, 86–91. See e.g. ZUIDEMA's Ph.D. dissertation (1962:142, 154–5, 212, 220–22, 269, 288; 1995:109, 247–8, 264, 321, 344–56). Compare also ZUIDEMA's comment (1962:221–2; cited in appendix 12), where he maintained that the “Montesinos' version of the history of the Inca can be regarded as being no more than a reasoned elaboration of the tradition of the five worlds.”

147 KUBLER 1984:205. F. GUERRA had similar kind of perception on Montesinos in 1971, when he wrote: “Despite his errors in the correlation between the Biblical sequence and Peruvian history, and his belief that Peru was inhabited by descendants of Noah and his grandson Ophir, Montesinos shows extraordinary vision in the interpretation of Peruvian history.”(see appendix 12).

148 See chapter IV:2.

149 Compare chapter II:1.

- * Along with the new archaeological and ethnohistorical data now available, circumstantial evidence from other fields, like historical linguistics and archaeoastronomy, has grown considerably. By using advances in archaeological dating and other techniques, reliable circumstantial evidences can now be deduced from more realistic data bases than before. These factors set our referential perspectives to secondary sources into two temporal categories: works used and commented until around 1950 (when diachronics received technologies of radiocarbon dating etc.), and a new period thereafter when revise includes awareness of radically new archaeological and ethnohistoric data.
- * The dynastic past of several Mesoamerican states and cities is becoming well known today, thanks to similar profound advances in archaeology and ethnohistorical data bases during the latest decades. The “confirmed” pre-Conquest ethnohistorical depth (conjectures of archaeology to reinforce prehistory) allows for over 1000 years in Mesoamerica. On the other hand, the corresponding native “history” in the Andes area barely allowed us a few hundred years. In applying the hypothetical testimonial value of ancient Andean ethnohistorical records, the present study is an attempt to perceive the Andean socio-cultural life and political dynamics in many ways parallel with the societies in Mesoamerica.¹⁵⁰
- * My M.A. thesis (HILTUNEN 1993) provides tools and chronological parameters to validate dynasty lists on a comparative basis. These can better be extrapolated and applied to non-European ancient dynastic traditions than most previous attempts. Montesinos’ king list has proved to be most ideal for this kind of testing.
- * The question of Inca origins and historical dynamics of their imperial expansion are current topics in Andean research today. There are more evidences (archaeological) that the Inca expansion started before the times of Pachacuti and this perception correlates well with Montesinos’ narrative. Equally, suggestions of more parallels between the Wari and Inca “horizons” has also been made. Consequently, the hypotheses of PARDO (1946/1957) and IBARRA GRASSO (1969) has been rehabilitated, actually started by MARKHAM & MEANS (1920).¹⁵¹
- * Nobody has researched Montesinos’ life intensively, his relationship with the Jesuits, other publications etc. until today. The present study utilizes for the first time information from the Third Part of Montesinos’ *Ophir de España* and also uses for the first time its First Part as a basis for scientific argu-

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 150 For distinctive cultural development in Mesoamerica and Andes, see e.g. HARRIS 1977:38–43 and FIEDEL 1987:353. For the emergence of complex societies in the Andes, see e.g. SCHAEDEL 1985b, 1991; KEATINGE 1988; MOSELEY 1992.

151 ISBELL (June 11, 1998, personal communication.) According to ISBELL (ibid.), more “scholars are questioning the traditional ROWE-style interpretations of the Incas, and even ZUIDEMA’s structural interpretations, as well as processual archaeology that creates pasts with no people in it.”

mentation. The present study is also the first volume on Montesinos and his works to appear in a book form during the entire 150-year period of Montesi-
nian research.¹⁵²

In addition to the arguments given above, the reasons why the value of
Montesinos' re-evaluation appears as one of the primary goals of this study,
are:¹⁵³

1. To examine the unlikely proposition that Montesinos did not "invent" or
confabulate the pre-Incaic dynasties.

2. To reconsider that he was not a romantic falsifier but a professional cleric
(though teleological) and conscientious historian.

3. To explain why the claims that a disqualification of Montesinos' testi-
mony on the basis of his Biblical sources (Ophir-story) should not be held as
evidence against his reliability.

4. To investigate that also the third major statement of Montesinos (which
has been used against his credibility): an allegation of the existence of writing
in ancient Peru, is based on reasonable conjecture yet to be deciphered.

5. To show that part of the difficulty in evaluating Montesinos fairly is that,
since Garcilaso wrote his apologetics for the Incas, wherein he discards
anything that gives legitimacy to any pre-Inca group, alienated both the
European literati (who knew that the antecedents of the Incas had to have the
same millennial time depth as other civilizations), and the constituency of native
Andeans from the mosaic of the pre-Incas, that survive to this day and whose
ancestors created the foundations of Andean civilization well before the 15th
century.¹⁵⁴

6. To illuminate that my attempt to place the pre-Inca dynasties and
correlate them with the circumstantial evidence of archaeology, is not a pure
experiment. I feel strongly (as did MEANS & MARKHAM in 1920), that the
king list narrative one way or another fitted into archaeological chronology of
the last millenium in the Central/Southern Andean highlands. I have suggested
several potential solutions to the 'Montesinos' equation. As the voluminous
data base receives more analysis a more elegant solution should not be long in
coming.

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152 Most recently, Dr. Sabine HYLAND from Columbus State University in Columbus,
Georgia, has been working on Montesinos and Blas Valera. She is currently transcribing
Book I and has found interesting new evidence concerning the relationship between
Valera and Anonymous Jesuit (see chapter III:3, this volume) (HYLAND 1997,
personal communication.)

153 Personal consultation from SCHAEDEL (1996).

154 SCHAEDEL (1998, personal consultation.) In addition, themes like, the cultures in contact,
aspects of dynastic propaganda, factors of political idealism, elite-group research, primary
source redivivus, revision of old chronologies, and interest in primeval writing systems,
are popular today. In our approach to subject Montesinos, all these have been exploited.

TABLE 2. A historical overview on the debate around Montesinos' reliability

<u>CONTRA</u>	<u>MODERATE</u>	<u>PRO</u>
PRESCOTT 1847 RIVERO & TSCHUDI 1855		
MARKHAM 1871-3 SQUIER 1877	LOPEZ 1871	BOLLAERT 1860 BALDWIN 1872
	JIMENEZ DE LA ESPADA 1882 STOKVIS 1888	
MIDDENDORF 1892 LARRABURE Y UNANUE 1893		THOMAS 1891
	MORTIMER 1901 HUMPHREYS 1903 PATRON 1906	
UHLE 1912	GONZALEZ DE LA ROSA 1907 & RIVA AGUERO 1908 BEUCHAT 1912 CABRAL 1913 VASQUEZ 1918	JOYCE 1912
		MARKHAM & MEANS 1920 BINGHAM 1922 LOCKE 1923
	BAUDIN 1928 & LATCHAM 1928 & POSNANSKY 1928 VASQUEZ & ANGULO 1930 & URTEAGA 1930-1 POINDEXTER 1930 BLUEMENTHAL 1931 BRAM 1941 & IMBELLONI 1941 HORKHEIMER 1943	
ROWE 1946	KARSTEN 1946 & PARDO 1946	HEYERDAHL 1952 FRANSWORTH 1953
	MURRA (1955) 1980 & WILKINS 1956	
FLORNOY 1958 METRAUX 1961 BRUNDAGE 1963 & WILGUS 1963	PORRAS BARRANECHEA 1962 & ZUIDEMA 1962 WEDIN 1966 IBARRA GRASSO 1969	BAUMANN 1963 PEREZ ARMANDARIZ 1967
HEMMING 1970	GUERRA 1971 SANTA 1973	
RAVINES 1980	KUBLER 1984 BOEHM DE LAMEIRAS 1987 & SELIGMANN 1987	KLAUER 1990
PEASE 1991 SCHIFFERS 1992 DAVIES 1995	PATTERSON 1991 ELORRIETA SALAZAR 1992	MENESES 1992

TABLE 2. A historical overview on the debate around Montesinos' reliability. This table is compiled according to the information presented in the appendix 12 (Evaluation of Montesinos by various authors).

Part two

Historiographical setting
and data base



■ II. Dynasties and Periodization-dating

In this main section the dynasty lists are treated as a special phenomenon of universal history. Although occasional references are made to dynastic lists from the societies using written data, my primary interest is directed to information which has been (and is still being) transmitted orally and by the aid of mnemonic devices. Ethnohistorical research consider these kinds of data as testimonial evidence on prehistory. Native Andean traditions (including dynastic lists) form a special class of this sort of information. Since oral tradition is habitually undergoing transformations, errors, and manipulation, a special emphasis and care should be given to evaluative research.

Although ethnohistorical information contains testimonial weaknesses by and large, modern research has revealed a number of cases – especially in the dynastic contexts – when oral tradition has indicated surprising accuracy. Moreover, the Andean dynastic tradition had a remarkable advantage in comparison with many other illiterate societies: a well-developed mnemonic aid in *quipus*. In spite of its relative accuracy, the dynastic records always have been liable to intentional falsification and propaganda. That is why a major part in consideration of reliability of oral data in dynastic contexts concentrates around this problem. The cosmologies and perceptions of time are all-around matters which influenced on these themes too. I will also present new chronological parameters for validating and retrieving dynastic recording, which are applicable for non-European illiterate, past societies. This is due the analogical disadvantages of the former, basically Eurocentric standards, which often have lead to distorted chronological reconstructions.

1. Ethnohistory: documented testimonial evidence on prehistory

Ethnohistory as a method and discipline is relatively young – emerging only after the Second World War.¹ It was fathered by folklore under the broad umbrella of anthropology; and through the first half of 20th century most scholars who dedicated themselves to ethnohistorical research came from

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1 WASHBURN 1961:44–5; SCHWERIN 1976; MILLONES 1982:200; TRIGGER 1986:256–62. In 1954, a journal called Ethnohistory was launched, but actually it was not until 1960s when an interest in ethnohistory really caught on in any large scale, especially due to ethnic movements in the Third World. Emerging spheres of interest towards global, ethnic, ecological etc. values and problems were introduced by younger generations of the late mid century in all of the world. SCHAEDEL (1996, personal consultation.)

cultural anthropology and history.² During the last 50 years a growing number of historians and cultural anthropologists have specialized in these themes. Independent ethnohistorical training and interest is growing into regularly instituted subdisciplinary programs in anthropology and history.³

I quote here Patricia NETHERLY (1988), who has given a good integrated definition of the ethnohistorical research: "Ethnohistory may be defined as the study of non-Western peoples by means of historiographic techniques using an anthropological analytical framework. Anthropological archaeologists and ethnologists share such an anthropological perspective. It is the historiographic techniques which appear formidable; they do, indeed, introduce a series of requirements which have not always been met".⁴

NETHERLY has also pointed to a specific ethnohistorical observation sphere where three cultural standpoints are involved: the one of the ethnohistorian, that of the first recording ethnographer, and the object culture itself. In the present study Montesinos' times represent the second cultural sphere, although Montesinos himself was not the first recording ethnographer but a secondhand compiler of previously collected traditional data.⁵

Some roots of ethnohistorical research were developed in the critic-historical "school" of anthropology which was established by Franz BOAS at the turn of the present century. It laid emphasis on internal, independent development of each *ethnos*, and its particular ethnic history. This North American "school" had much in common with the developing European scientific counterparts, regional history and folklore.⁶

The diachronic approach of ethnohistory can unite archaeology, ethnography and history, whereas other disciplines, like linguistics may be marginally relevant when the data base overlaps.⁷ The ethnohistorical approach can move

- 2 STURTEVANT 1966-7; SCHWERIN 1976; AXTELL 1979; SARMELA 1984:14, 31-2; TRIGGER 1986.
- 3 SCHWERIN 1976; AXTELL 1979; TRIGGER 1986; SIMMONS 1988.
- 4 NETHERLY 1988:260. She also adds, that "in summary it should be understood that ethnohistory is not a discipline but a series of investigative techniques" (*ibid.*, 262.) Ethnohistory can be derived from documents reflecting the oral tradition of an ethnic folk, "frozen" in historic or prehistoric time. When the present oral memory is being pieced together from ethnographic research, it reveals how the tradition has changed from the earlier "frozen" moments. (SCHAEDEL 1997, personal communication.)
- 5 *ibid.*, 261. Frank SALOMON's (1978) study of ethnic lords of Quito has provided a contextual approach very similar to mine. His primary focus was the pre-Incaic aboriginal society in Ecuador (Quito), which was perceived through the Incan and Spanish colonial cultural spheres.
- 6 SARMELA 1984:31-2; TRIGGER 1986:256-7; LORANDI 1992:13-15. Ethnohistorical interest, at least in North America, emerged somewhat earlier than Boasian "school" of research. During the last decades of the nineteenth century some studies of Indian tribal migrations were published. Perhaps the best known of these is D.G. BRINTON's work (1884) *The Lenape and their legends*, which contains an analysis of the tribal epic called *Wallam Olum*. For tribal migrations, see appendix 14. Weston LaBarre "was the first (1948) to apply the cognitive prefix 'ethno' to various aspects of Aymara culture as perceived by the folk", writes SCHAEDEL (1988:768-9.)
- 7 AXTELL 1979:3. Those other disciplines and methods may be anthropology of religion and folklore, for instance. Human geography and art history are often included too. In linguistics, so-called glottochronology can provide relative chronological time depths

both forward and backward in time. Anthropologists usually work backwards ('upstream'): from the known present towards recapturing the unknown past. Historians, on the other hand, are often 'downstreamers', working with the flow of time; identifying past dynamics with the present.⁸ While historians have also been fascinated in generalizations and comparison, and anthropologists with classifying and typologizing, both can flourish well in the middle-ground of ethnohistory.⁹ Ethnohistory also employs the chronological and documentary method of conventional history and frequently combines them with analytical techniques provided by anthropologists.¹⁰

One study area which has received particular ethnohistorical attention is the socio-historical changes which followed culture contacts of the Colonial type, especially the impacts of acculturation. The problems with these studies are e.g. the extant distinctive value system and its biased perception, although most practitioners avoid the extremes of 'bleeding-heart nativism' and common eurocentrism.¹¹

Ethnohistory is a field where synchronic and diachronic viewpoints may be twined together – and there is a growing tendency among the anthropologists and historians to value the importance of this integration in understanding of ethnic cultures. Ethnohistory and inscribed oral tradition should be seen as special kinds of testimonial evidence – providing feasible windows on prehistory.¹²

According to Philip DARK (1957), there is a distinction between the notions of ethnohistory and ethnohistorical. The former, he says, should be concerned with the total culture, spatially and temporally, as a developing unit. On the other hand, a study like KUBLER's *Colonial Quechua* could be considered ethnohistorical, "if the unit Quechua is conceded to be a legitimate ethnic group, for it only deals with a part of the total ethnohistory of this [macro] group of people. Both types are ethnohistory, as much as economic and political history are history, but the former is an ethnohistory and the latter only ethno-historical." DARK remarked also, that "likewise ethnohistorical are those studies wherein a particular stress is laid on one principal aspect of the culture,

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 between languages and give clues of their places of origin and migrations. For historical linguistics, see e.g. ANTILA 1972, and glottochronology, *ibid.*, 386–98.

8 *ibid.*, 5.

9 STURTEVANT 1966–7:2.

10 DORSON 1961:16; STURTEVANT 1966–7:8. There are two major arenas for ethnohistory: the library and museum studies, and the field studies. The former consist basically of documented ethnographies (maps, pictures, and artefacts). Folklore, ethnomusicology, language, and human ecology subsumed in the ethnohistoric dimension also. Place names and oral tradition, can be researched from both the major fields. (EWERS 1961:267; AXTELL 1979:4; SCHAEDEL 1996–7, personal consultation.)

11 SCHWERIN 1976:330; AXTELL 1979:3, 8; TRIGGER 1986:255–8. Compare e.g. KUBLER's study of Colonial Quechua (1946.) SCHAEDEL (1997, personal consultation.)

12 WASHBURN 1961; STURTEVANT 1966–7; AXTELL 1979; TRIGGER 1986. This has also caused many irreconcilable battles among them, as SCHAEDEL (1996, personal communication) has pointed out.

such as the economic or social facets, provided, of course, the analysis is anthropologically orientated.”¹³

Andean ethnohistorical research has proceeded enormously during the past few decades. Old documents are reviewed and multitudinous new ones exploited. Interdisciplinary approaches have provided better validated results and more solid arguments for testimonial veracity of ethnohistorical data. This is an universal trend and phenomena which is now felt in the Andean studies too.¹⁴ These results are more closely presented in chapter 1 of the major section IV.

1.1. Oral tradition and its veracity

All human societies are first of all unrecorded societies. Only during the last few hundred years and mainly restricted to Western and North Asiatic civilization spheres, has it been relevant to speak about literate societies. Until then literacy was a privilege restricted to small elite groups in advanced societies. Then the knowledge was power and literacy was maintained by the control of official tradition and history.¹⁵ Societies where a written form of communication did not exist were rank stratified, with small elites controlling esoteric knowledge. Even the band-level groups had their spiritual leaders, respected shamans and elders, who were keepers of traditions. Man has always been a historically oriented being and ready to respect those who kept and understood the traditions.¹⁶

Since oral tradition is understood as a special form of communication and identity, a general categorizing is desirable. We may divide orally transmitted history into three: life history, oral history, and oral tradition. The first concerns information gathered from individual life experiences; the second goes further temporally and concentrates on experiences of a few related generations. Only

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13 DARK 1957:251–2. The minor group within a society which is treated in this study is the Incan dynastic elite. Andean Indian civilization is a prime example of a relative intact survival of Pan-Andean native culture through centuries of colonization in its broadest level: among the common people. Elites may have undergone prosessual transformation or were eliminated. In the Andes the well laid Incan infrastructure was needed to allow colonial administration to function. The portion that was preserved fairly intact during the Colonial period was the provincial nobility (the *curaca*-class). In the centuries of rapid decline of the Incan dynastic elite, the recorders of the Inca tradition were exemplified by e.g. Betanzos (married with an Inca princess) and Garcilaso (a descendant of such a marriage). Poma de Ayala, on the other hand, concentrated on the provincial nobility of which he is a descendant, with only obscure kinship traceable to the Incas. (SCHAEDEL 1997, personal consultation.)

14 Ana María LORANDI (1992:35, 52–6) has stated that the American ethnohistory has recently been specialized into three areas: 1. analysis of structures, 2. colonial transformations of these structures, and 3. using a new type of sources (administrative and judicial documents, for instance). The “new type” of sources in the Andes have been *visitas* and other colonial administrative records and documents (wills, lawsuits or petitions).

15 For more, see chapter II:3. It has been assumed that the degree of literacy in pre-industrial and ancient societies never came close to 10% (SCHAEDEL 1996, personal communication.)

16 For inequality in all known human societies, FARB 1978:368–85. Compare: the idea of the origin of the kingship institution in shamanism, FRAZER (1920) 1968.

the third form, oral tradition – which is not labelled history – keeps preserving information from the distant past.¹⁷

I find it helpful to define another class of categories, which has to do with aspect, form, and validity how oral tradition is evaluated:

1. Oral tradition, pure and simple
2. Oral tradition with mnemotechnic aids (systematized)
3. Oral tradition in coexistence with written tradition¹⁸

Most societies have used some mnemotechnic aids, and only few primitive ones memorized their traditions exclusively by oral transmission. In the second category a wide variety of mnemonic devices could be included – from simple notched sticks to sophisticated systems like Peruvian *quipus*.¹⁹ The third form, oral tradition coexistent with written information, characterizes transitional historical phases of most societies. This kind of situation prevailed from 16th to 20th centuries in most European colonies all around the world. In the Americas, Mesoamerican and Andean cultural spheres are prime examples of this. To make a more comprehensive definition: these native societies were; a coexistent combination of systematized oral tradition with sometimes abetted by the written tradition societies. The credibility of orally transmitted information can be considered the higher as one moves from category 1 to 3.²⁰

I have given a more comprehensive introduction to various mnemonic devices in appendix 14b. The examples given are all from Indian America, because the natives in Western Hemisphere possessed a very representative sample of these techniques. I have included to this presentation a short description of best known pictographic (e.g. Lenapean) and hieroglyphic (e.g. the Mayan) systems, because in essence, normative writing is a mnemotechnic itself. All in all, the variety of these systems extended from North American *wampum*-belts, *winter-counts*, and pictographs to Mesoamerican hieroglyphics and Peruvian *quipus* and *tocapus*.²¹

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17 For life- and oral history, see e.g. HENIGE 1982; SITTON et al. 1990. For oral tradition in general, see e.g. VINCENT (1911) 1974: 142–54; VANSINA (1961) 1965, 1985; HENIGE 1974, 1982; MILLER (ed.) 1980; BUTTERFIELD 1981; FENTRESS & WICKHAM 1992; MILLARD et al. (eds.) 1994.

18 Classification is mine.

19 For the wide variety of mnemotechnic aids used all around the world, MALLERY (1893) 1972; DIRINGER 1948:17–35; GAUR 1984:18–32; VANSINA 1985; FENTRESS & WICKHAM 1992. It is difficult to make a distinction between a society which used simple forms of mnemonic devices and those who had none, thus, this classification remains somewhat arbitrary. For the notched sticks; these go back to Upper Paleolithic (SCHAEDEL 1996, personal communication.) SCHAEDEL also considers the category two to be by its nature of transmission a system presumably restricted to numeration (1996, personal comm.)

20 Compare, for instance early Colonial ethnohistorical documents from Mesoamerica, e.g. *The chronicles of Michoacan* (1541)/Craine & Reindorp 1970; *Codice Chimalpopoca* (1558–1570); *Florentino codex* (1577) by Sahagun; *Historia chichimeca* (1600–1608) by Ixtlilxochitl; *Cronica Mexicayotl* (1609) by Alvarado Tezozomoc; *Monarquia Indiana* (1615) by Torquemada; and from the Mayan area, *Popol Vuh* (c.1550); *Relacion de las cosas de Yucatan* (1566) Landa; *Chilam Balam of Tizimin* (early 17thC).

21 See Peruvian *quipus* and *tocapus* in the next chapter.

Jan VANSINA, the famous expert on oral tradition studies, has presented the following typological categories of oral tradition:

Category:	Sub-category:	Types:
I. Formulae		titles, slogans, didactic and ritual formulae
II. Poetry	Official	historical, panegyric
	Private	religious, personal
III. Lists		place-names, personal names
IV. Tales	Historical	general, local, family
	Didactic	aetiological myths
	Artistic	artistic
	Personal	personal memories
V. Commentaries	Legal	precedents
	Auxiliary	explanatory
	Sporadic	occasional comments ²²

One can see on the chart above, that private and personal is but a portion of the whole. That is because most oral tradition is social and connected with social memory.²³ One has to make a distinction between a random social memory and the organized memorizing restricted and bounded by specific social group. The latter was entrusted for preservation of official social memory and it is this form to which we give attention here.²⁴ “Official traditions”, according to Jan VANSINA, “convey information of public importance, and for this very reason are controlled by social or political groups of people in authority. Hence facts which do not help to maintain the institution which transmits the tradition are often omitted or falsified.”²⁵ A separation is made also between the official and private tradition, although the former is also private, whereas one of its function is public performance.²⁶

22 VANSINA (1961) 1965:144. According to RUBIN (1995:8), oral traditions can be defined as follows: they are universal and exist in genres; are often poetic, sung, and rhythmic; are considered as special speech, art, or ritual; transmit useful cultural information or increase group cohesion; are high in imagery, both spatial and descriptive, are narratives transmitted in a special social situation.

23 About the social memory, James FENTRESS and Chris WICKHAM (1992:xi, 6–7, 73–4) write: “Social memory is, in fact, often selective, distorted, and inaccurate.” And, “Facts are typically lost quickly at early stages of social memory. To be remembered and transmitted at all, the facts must be transformed into images, arranged in stories... Once memory has been conceptualized into a story, the process of change and factual loss naturally slows down.” This social oral communication had an important unifying force in non-literate societies. Walter ONG (1991:72–4) says: “sign isolates, sound incorporates”, and “writing and print isolate”.

24 For social memory in general, see FENTRESS & WICKHAM 1992:passim. For more about official tradition, see chapter II:3.

25 VANSINA 1965:84.

26 For official and private tradition, *ibid.*, 84–7.

Even though this official information was occasionally manipulated by its conduits, it nevertheless was carefully transmitted from generation to generation. Thus, the ‘keepers’ have to be talented individuals and often specially trained. They memorized by simply constantly training the memory. For most people living in modern society – with all kinds of memory aids available – is difficult to perceive conditions in past societies where some individuals were able to maintain extensive information in their memory. Even though the historical validity of most of this information is considered disputable by modern historians and anthropologists, they still agree in consensus that societies where oral transmission of information was used, there were individuals with extraordinary abilities for memorizing past things.²⁷

Structures used in the official oral tradition were usually genealogies and dynastic lists (see chapter II:3.)²⁸ Although dynastic lists and genealogies are generally considered to contain more historical facts than other branches of official oral tradition, a careful examination of this information is necessary. Oral tradition should always be corroborated with other data by using tie-ins, i.e. synchronisms.²⁹

David HENIGE has classified four types of synchronisms:

I. Intra-social tie-ins.

Example: clan and lineage traditions and genealogies corroborating the existence and sequence of rulers mentioned in “official” tradition. Therefore, clan traditions may serve as indicators of distortions or telescoping occurring in the ‘official’ lists.

II. Outer-social tie-ins.

Example: events and personalities from neighbouring societies corroborating local tradition. Chronologically parallel Assyrian and Babylonian dynastic histories are prime examples of the usefulness of synchronisms to confirm data for both societies.

III. Astronomical phenomena tie-ins.

Example: references to recurring astronomical phenomena recorded in tradition, e.g. solar eclipses and comets.

.....
 27 For manipulated official information, more in chapter II:3. For trained ‘keepers’ of tradition and abilities to memorize past things, see, VANSINA 1965, 1980, 1985; HENIGE 1982; RUBIN 1995. According to ONG (1991:36–57), in primary oral culture, thought and expression tend to be of the following sorts: additive rather than subordinate, aggregative rather than analytic, redundant or ‘copious’, conservative or traditionalist, close to the human lifeworld, agonistically toned, empathetic and participatory rather than objectively distanced, homeostatic, and situational rather than abstract.

28 HENIGE 1974; VANSINA 1985. As memory reorganizes the containing data, it puts it in a sequential order by using measured durations: epochs. In kingdoms those epoch are reigns. When the epochs become too numerous, they were bounded together as eras. Sometimes, when events or situations in one time-frame were transposed in another, an anachronism awoke. Memory causes anachronisms frequently, but in a carefully kept official tradition these may well be results of structuring or otherwise intentional solutions. (VANSINA 1985:176–7.)

29 HENIGE 1974, 1982; DUMVILLE 1979; VANSINA 1965, 1985.

IV. Written tradition tie-ins. Example: references in tradition to events which are recorded in a literate society source, and vice versa.³⁰

In the first two categories, which have been frequently used in Africa, the tie-ins can only supply relative chronologies between societies. In contrast the next two may produce a basis for absolute dating as well.³¹ Nevertheless, there are problems with synchronisms too.

– One may be called ‘generation staggering’ (see chapter II:3), a condition when parallel lineages vary much in length.³²

– Occurrences of similar names in the lists can also cause difficulties, or to decide how much weight one should assign to a single synchronism or tie-in.³³

– The main problem with astronomical phenomena is that these should be described carefully, whereas more often these may be later interpolations to function as omens for certain important calamities.³⁴

– A special problem with written tradition tie-ins is “feedback”: the effect of literacy on the chronology of oral tradition. Feedback has been found largely in traditions which were influenced by Islam and Christian beliefs, for instance. Stories identical with the Biblical narratives, Garden of Eden, Flood etc., are obvious ‘feedbacks’ when these are found in remote African or Polynesian legends collected during the missionary era.³⁵

– A related, but somewhat distinct form of feedback is a borrowing called *Wandersagen*. Example: biblical stories may have travelled from tribe to tribe by oral transmission over a wide area.³⁶

I propose to HENIGE’s list a fifth category of tie-ins:

V. Archaeological tie-ins. Dating methods in archaeology, such as Carbon 14, are useful means to synchronize various references given by tradition into absolute chronology. Archaeological tie-ins with oral tradition data has been attempted, but it still is somewhat problematic – Biblical archaeology and Troy are good examples of this.³⁷ These and a number of other examples are more closely presented in appendix 14. After all, the major focus in testimonial value of oral data is in archaeological records.³⁸

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30 HENIGE 1974:17–26.

31 *ibid.*,18.

32 *ibid.*,21–4. See also appendix 4, synchronisms.

33 *ibid.*,19–20.

34 HENIGE 1982:102–3.

35 For feedback, HENIGE 1974:97–120, 1982:57–8, 81–7; VANSINA 1985:155–9, 186–7.

36 For *Wandersagen*, VANSINA 1985:139–56.

37 *ibid.*,187–190. For problems of Biblical archaeology and oral tradition, see e.g. MILLARD et al. (eds.) 1994. For the legend of Troy, see Homer (c.9thC BC) 1990, *Iliad*. Heinrich Schliemann discovered and excavated Troy in the late nineteenth century by using clues he has found from ancient oral tradition.

38 For Andean data, see chapter IV:1.

Veracity of oral tradition: testimonies from prehistory

The validity of oral tradition has provoked much debate in recent decades as a result of the emergence of ethnohistorical research.³⁹ This is attributed widely to works of two most distinguished scholars in the field: Jan VANSINA (1961/1965, 1980, 1985) and David HENIGE (1974, 1980, 1982). Their major contributions are in providing a methodology to systematize handling of oral tradition data, which, according to them, may provide satisfactory results by using many repetitions of given traditions, exploiting the rules of source criticism, and getting well versed in language and culture to be studied.⁴⁰

Africa and Polynesia⁴¹ are the most studied areas of oral tradition survivals, but a comparative value of the sample societies in these areas is not very useful for the present study, since they were less complex than the ones in the Western Hemisphere, and the degree of their mnemotechnicity seems to have been less advanced.⁴² Their importance instead, is more in the methodological than in comparative socio-cultural field.⁴³ Besides, there is a tendency towards a more critical approach toward African traditions after the more favourable early decades of research.⁴⁴

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- 39 For emergence of ethnohistorical studies, see DARK 1957; DORSON 1961; LURIE 1961; FENTON 1962; HUDSON 1966; STURTEVANT 1966-7; SCHWERIN 1976; AXTELL 1979. Especially the European historiographical research has taken up a suspicious attitude toward oral tradition, at least until the emergence of source criticism (ENGMAN 1983:329.)
- 40 For methods, see HENIGE 1974 and VANSINA (1961)1965, 1985. The Belgian scholar Jan VANSINA has contributed especially in the field of African societies. His pioneering methodological work *De la tradition orale* was first published in 1960. David HENIGE have used both African and Polynesian data, especially in his article on Ganda (1980) and *Oral historiography* (1982), but in *The Chronology of Oral Tradition* (1974) he uses mainly Eurasian examples. The historical tradition in pre-colonial African states was transmitted further on, in creation myths, migration legends, genealogies, king lists, epic poems, and historical tales (ENGMAN 1983:325.) The sentence of oral tradition's usefulness is from ENGMAN (ibid., 329), where he refers particularly to VANSINA.
- 41 In the Polynesian area attention has been paid to Tonga (WOOD 1932; BIERSACK 1990) and Hawaii (VALERI 1990,1990b) in kingship studies, but the Maori tradition is an interesting field concerning the contrastive problem of oral tradition and its historicity. For this has been used works of J.B. ROBERTON (1956, 1962) who represents supportive opinion, and Margaret ORBELL (1985) who represents the critical attitude. J.B. ROBERTON (1956, 1962) analyses credibilities of Maori genealogical information as a basis of chronology. There are some 14 lineage genealogies which traced their origins to a common Great Fleet – a migration incident dated usually around 1350 in estimates based on generation coefficients (25yrs per gen.). The problem of the common origin claim is a wide variety of generations recorded in each case; seemingly manipulation have been practised and the several traditions have influenced each other. ROBERTON considers certain traditions more trustworthy than others. Margaret ORBELL's (1985) main statement is that the Great Fleet legend and the Hawaiki-origin seat is a myth and categorizes it as an incident of 'what people believe to have happened' (she cites here R.W. PIDDINGTON 1956:202 *A note on the validity and significance of Polynesian traditions The journal of Polynesian Society* 65. According to him, any tradition can be viewed in two ways, both of them important: what did actually happen, and what people believe to have happened.)
- 42 For more about mnemotechic devices, see the next section.
- 43 VANSINA (1961) 1965; HENIGE 1982.
- 44 Among the writers (incl. their ethnic group focus) who have criticized the historical value of oral tradition are, Joseph MILLER (1980, 1980b); Iris BERGER (1980/Abacwezi);

Instead, better analogies and comparative fields can be found in Eurasia and the Americas. I have particularly investigated the old Scandinavian, the Mino-Mycenian, the Celtic Britain, the ancient Near Eastern, the Ancient Indian and Tibetan, and the Mesoamerican traditions. Although the great majority of North American traditions can be categorized more or less at the similar strata as the African (Sub-Saharan) and Polynesian ones, I have allowed them more comparative value simply because they are indigenous American as the Andeans are.

Since all these testimonies from prehistory are extensively presented in the appendices 7b and 14, I only summarize here the most interesting results of this survey. All the examples given here belong to the most suspected and debated topics in relation with their historical veracity. In spite of this fictional reputation, most of them are now found to have been based on factual historicity, albeit the extended time accumulated a thick layer of vague and legendary data on them. Most interestingly, all these are examples of an extended durability of oral tradition, usually for centuries, even approaching a millenium.

1. The myth of Atlantis

Many modern scholars are convinced that this legend emerged from the violent destruction of Minoan civilization and the terrible eruption of the volcan of Thera around 1600 B.C. This date correlates with a famous reference of Solon, in which this catastrophe occurred 900(0) years before his time.

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Robert HARMS (1980/ Bobangi); Gerald BERG (1980/Merina) and David HENIGE (1980/Ganda). Those who have chosen the middle-road are, e.g. D.P. ABRAHAM (1964/ Mutapa); Robert SMITH (1969/Yoruba); Semakula KIWANUKA (1971/Buganda); Juha VAKKURI (1983/Mali etc.), and Jan VANSINA generally. For the increasing criticism towards oral tradition, see e.g. MILLER (ed.) 1980 /Africa; MILLARD et al. (eds.) 1994 /Near East. MILLER (1980b) focuses his criticism particularly on clichés, structures, and anacronisms found in oral tradition. Iris BERGER (1980) sets evidences on the mythical nature of ancient Ugandan Abacwezi dynasty, and suggest as her general conclusion that greater elaboration of historical traditions is to be more expected in centralized than in decentralized societies. Robert HARMS (1980) states in his conclusion that "The Bobangi case illustrates the importance of treating oral tradition as living documents which alter over time in response to changing historical situations. They cannot be treated as isolated texts, but must be seen as stories told by specific people in specific places under specific conditions" (197-8.) Gerald BERG (1980) writes about Merina dynastic genealogies and their manipulation by inventing a tradition of a superior founder-race called Vazimba. David HENIGE (1980) corrects in this article his previous overestimation concerning the credibility of the Buganda kinglist. Now he concluded that it has been as corrupted as the parallel Bunyoro list has been shown to be.

D.P. ABRAHAM (1964) in his study of the Empire of Mutapa (Zimbabwe) uses references to a wide variety of data from ethnohistory, anthropology, serology, archaeology, and linguistics. Robert SMITH (1969) builds a historical synthesis of kingdoms of Yoruba in Nigeria from a rich material of oral data. Although often legendary and miraculous in nature, these can be correlated and cross-checked with many outer social tie-ins. Semakula KIWANUKA (1971) seems to be a somewhat enthusiastic historian, when he accepts major portion of oral data for the basis of his History of Buganda. Juha VAKKURI (1983) gives a fluent but brief outline of the history of ancient Ghana, Mali, and Songhay empires. He has a good description of the myths and historicity concerning the most famous heroc king of the area, Sundiata Keita.

2. The legend of Troy

This is a classic example of an antiquarian research without prejudicial attitude toward legendary data. The actual discovery of historical Troy by Heinrich Schliemann brought relevance on the Homeric narrative and new illumination on the 'Dark Age' Greek civilization.

3. The Ynglinga saga

A Danish chronicler, Saxo Grammaticus, exploited largely the Swedish *Ynglinga saga* as a basis of his dynastic narrative. Archaeology has revealed that many kings of this legend may actually have lived, for their burial mounds are found at Old Uppsala.

4. The legend of King Arthur

The story of King Arthur is one of the most cherished and mystified legends in European tradition. Modern historiographical and archaeological research has provided interesting new evidences of the historicity of this person and his prominent role in the 6th century Britain.

5. The historicity of Biblical Joseph

The studies of David ROHL (1995) have brought evidences of a Grand Vizier of Amenemhat III, dated to ca. 1660 B.C., who most probably was the Biblical Joseph. Furthermore, ROHL has revised and correlated the Pharaonic Egyptian and Biblical chronologies in an interesting way.

6. The historicity of King David

The actual historicity of King David has been questioned by many Biblical and other scholars. The problem has been the lack of corroborative data outside the Bible. Now Moabite and Egyptian inscriptions (9thC BC) are found, which refer to him and his dynasty.

7. The Heroic Kings of Tibet

The Tibetans were contemporaneous empire-builders with the Andean Wari. Their dynastic tradition contain a long list of legendary rulers based on written down oral narratives. These Heroic Kings predated the imperial era, but the students of these traditions believe that the Tibetan sources may well have preserved historical information about them.

8. The legend of Votan

I have presented in my M.A. thesis (1993) the idea that the Tzeltal-Mayan legend of Votan was a structurized version of the Palenque dynastic history, which is nowadays well reconstructed by the Mayan epigraphers. Interestingly, in both 'narratives' the position of the most prominent ruler and the usurping external force are the same.

9. The Wallam Olum tribal account

The Lenape Indian *Wallam Olum* is the most important and controversial tribal account from North America. It contain a list of ca. 100 chiefs from times immemorial. This narrative was first published by Constantine Rafinesque, whose academic skills have been questioned. However, a number of scholars believe that the narrative is based on a genuine folklore. At least its references to the Mound-builders can be tested archaeologically to some extent.

10. The foundation of the Iroquois League

In the closing part of the appendix 14 I have formulated a chart in which distinctive oral testimonies, circumstantial evidences and tie-ins corroborate each other in verifying the date of the foundation of the Iroquois League for around 1450 instead of 1572, which has commonly been referred to.

1.2. Andean quipu information

Contrary to a common belief “the quipu” was not a unique invention of the ancient Peruvians, although there it developed into its most sophisticated form. Other people all around the world and several tribes in the Americas used similar mnemonic devices for recording numbers, calendary notes and events. According to David DIRINGER (1948), knot devices were used at least in China and Tibet, Bengal, the Riukiu islands, Solomon islands, Marquesan islands, Carolines, among several tribes in central and western Africa, and in California.⁴⁵

There are several important studies and analyses made about the Peruvian *quipu* (e.g. LOCKE 1923; NORDENSKIÖLD 1925, 1925b; RADICATI DI PRIMEGLIO 1949–50; DAY 1967; ASCHER & ASCHER 1981; CONKLIN 1982; MACKEY et al. 1990; PÄRSSINEN 1992; URTON 1994.) All except CONKLIN concentrated on Inca *quipu*-recording. CONKLIN’s study is important since it gives wider diachronic dimensions to the development of the system in Peru. A number of very old *quipus* have been found in coastal tombs which are dated to Middle Horizon ca. A.D. 700. These early *quipus* resemble the later ones, but have somewhat fewer knots and slightly distinct construction. Still, the available data seems to indicate that the Middle Horizon *quipus* were at least as complex and colorful as the later Inca ones. CONKLIN suggests also that these early *quipus* might contain e.g. astronomical and ritual data while the Incas preferred in recording more pragmatic information.⁴⁶

Modern research is re-assessing the multiple function and sophistication of the Andean *quipu*. According to URTON (1994) “It has become something of a truism in the literature on the *kipus* that these were used only as mnemonic devices. That is, the information recorded on the *kipus* did not constitute a system of writing.” He adds that, “the new material...concerning structural variations in the *kipus* will lead us to question the current understanding of *kipus* as idiosyncratic memory aids in favor of a view that moves them closer to the status of a system of writing. By ‘writing’, I mean a device, and a standardized set of techniques and symbolic (and perhaps phonetic) values, for recording information and of retrieving, or reading, that information from the device in a relatively unambiguous way.”⁴⁷

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45 DIRINGER 1948:26.

46 CONKLIN 1982:261–81. Some 550 *quipus* have survived until today (ASCHER 1986:266.)

47 URTON 1994:273, 293. URTON (ibid.) says also “I want to place this traditional view of the nature of the *kipu* as a recording device in question”, and argues “how could order and continuity have been achieved and maintained over time [in Inca empire] in the absence of a form of communication based on shared values and meanings that linked people in positions of authority at all levels of society?” Also ASCHER & ASCHER (1981:77–8) maintain that certain aspects which are commonly connected with writing, were present in *quipus* too.

I am here primarily interested in the *quipus* as a source of historical information. Many chronicles indicate that *quipus* were used for that purpose, among other functions.⁴⁸ Cristóbal de Molina names calendrics, Garcilaso de la Vega adds law, and Bernabé Cobo names peace negotiations among other things. These along with Cieza de León, José de Acosta, and Polo de Ondegardo refers to a concomitance between the *quipus* and oral history.⁴⁹

Cieza de León is here one of the best sources. He describes how the Incas kept dynastic records:

“it was custom among them, and a rule carefully observed, for each of them to choose during his reign three or four old men of their nation, skilled and gifted for that purpose, whom they ordered to recall all that had happened in the province during the time of their reign, whether prosperous or adverse, and to make and arrange songs so that thereby it might be known in future what had taken place in the past. Such songs could not be sung or proclaimed outside the presence of the Inca, and those who were to carry out this behest were ordered to say nothing referring to the Inca during his lifetime, but after he was dead...and put all this down in the quipus, so that after his death, when his successor reigned, what had been given and contributed would be known.”⁵⁰

It is known that the Incas confirmed their dynastic knowledge and memorizing by using auxiliary devices with the *quipus*. One of our early sources, Fray Christobal de Molina (1575) gives this description: “in a house of the Sun called Poquen Cancha, which is near Cuzco, they had the life of each one of the Yncas, with the lands they conquered, painted with figures on certain boards, and also their origin.”⁵¹

Sarmiento de Gamboa (1572) confirms the existence of these boards in his account: “...they had, and still have, special historians in these nations, which was a hereditary office descending from father to son. The collection of these [annals] is due to the great diligence of Pachacuti Inga Yupanqui, the ninth Inca, who sent out a general summons to all the old historians in all the

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- 48 Quipocamayocs (1542–1544) 1920:passim; Cieza de León (1550-3:lib.ii, cap.xii) 1986:30–31; Polo de Ondegardo (1571) 1917:45–6; Sarmiento de Gamboa (1572) 1942:passim; Molina (1573–5) 1943:17–9; Cabello de Balboa (1586) 1951:passim; Acosta (1588–90: lib.vi, cap.viii) 1880:406; Anonima Jesuita/Valera (1585–90) 1879: passim; Murua (1590–1609:cap.xxv) 1946:223–4; Guaman Poma (1584–1615:cap.72) 1980:57; Vasquez de Espinoza (1629:cap.lxxx) 1942:570; Oliva (1631) 1895:passim; Montesinos (1644) 1882:passim; Cobo (1653) 1979:251–6. According to RAVINES (1978b:703), the following categories of information occurred in *quipus* (as stated by the chronicles): alimentos, armas, bienes manufacturados, censo, crímenes y castigos, ganado silvestre, hechos memorables y hazañas, sucesos históricos, huacas, tambos, y tributo.
- 49 Molina (1573–5) 1873:10–11; Garcilaso de la Vega (1609:lib.v, cap.xi) 1976:233–6; Cobo (1653) 251–6; ASCHER & ASCHER 1981:74–5. Compare also, Cieza de León, *ibid.*; Polo de Ondegardo, *ibid.*; José de Acosta, *ibid.*
- 50 Cieza de León (1550-3:lib.ii, cap.xii) 1986:30–31. Translation from Cieza de León (1550–3) 1959/1976:172–3.
- 51 Molina (1573–5) 1943:7. Translation from Molina (1573–5) 1873:4. Portraits in Guaman Poma’s account could partly have been originated from sources like this. According to R. LUXTON (1979), his historical material possibly derived from oral tradition which was recorded e.g. on *quipus*.

provinces he [had] subjugated, and even to many others throughout these kingdoms: and he had them in Cuzco for a long time, examining them concerning their antiquities, origin, and the notable events of the past in these kingdoms. And after the most notable events of their history were well investigated he ordered these things to be painted on great boards, which were deposited in a great hall of the temple(s) of the Sun; there such boards, adorned with gold, were kept as in our libraries; and he appointed doctors who were versed in understanding and declaring their contents. And no one was allowed to enter where these boards were kept, except the Inca or the historians, without a special order of the Inca.”⁵²

Later, when chroniclers collected native traditions and histories into their accounts, *quipu* sources were consulted whenever those were available. According to MALLERY (1886/1972) “the writing could be understood by those only who possessed the key to it; but it is noteworthy that when the Jesuit missions began their work in Peru they were able to use the *quipus* for the purpose of making the Indians learn Latin prayers by heart.”⁵³

Every now and then it has been speculated if the Peruvian *quipus* contain elements of phoneticism.⁵⁴ Recently this idea has been presented by e.g. Martti PÄRSSINEN (1992) in an interesting way. In his interpretation, at least personal names and locatives may have been presented by using mathematical formulas and positions as a basis to form syllables from certain known categories of nouns. The categories of these nouns were perhaps numbered; for example, each province and main town had a specific serial number. The use of syllables became necessary especially when the Inca administration needed to record non-Quechua place-names from the conquered provinces. PÄRSSINEN gives an example by using Aztec analogies:

Name: Pacasmayo. Pa = Pa(pa) “potato”, Ca = Cas(pi) “rod”, Mayo = “river”. Potato came from the category of e.g. “cultivated plants”, rod from e.g. “wooden artificats”, and river from e.g. “descriptive names of the earth”.⁵⁵

The existence of phonetic or semi-phonetic writing in ancient Peru has been indicated by other forms also. One of the most often referred to is the so-called *tocapu*-writing.⁵⁶ This seems quite natural in substance and context to search

52 Sarmiento de Gamboa (1572:cap.ix) 1943:58. Translation from PÄRSSINEN (1992:27.)

53 MALLERY 1886/1972:224. This statement seems to indicate that the Jesuits had a more intimate understanding and access to *quipu* sources than Spanish chroniclers in general. At least it makes sense with frequent references given in their narratives to these native sources. RAVINES (1978b:729) confirms this: “se menciona que los misioneros Jesuitas hacían uso del quipu al enseñar el Catecismo y los otros ritos de la Iglesia y también en la confesión.”

54 See, e.g. LOCKE 1923:plate xlvii; KAUFFMAN DOIG 1969/1980:52–66; ROBLES MENDOZA 1990:195–202.

55 PÄRSSINEN 1992:26–47. According to SCHAEDEL (1998, personal communication), Pacasmayo winds up meaning seaport or river does not explain potatoes.

56 See, e.g. KAUFFMANN DOIG 1969/1980:52–66; BARTHEL 1971; JARA 1975; GLYNN 1981b; REID 1986:13–25. I am grateful to Dr. Terence GRIEDER at the University of Texas at Austin, who gave me new interesting views on Andean iconography in his courses, and *tocapu* “writing” was a major topic which we often talked about (personal communication, 1994–5.)

for traces of writing considering the fact how prominent a role fibres/textiles played in Andean culture and social contacts. *Tocapu* is a shirt used by upper-class men in Inca society. Usually it was decorated with elaborate signs arranged in square formation. These shirts were woven by chosen women at *acclahuasis* and were used e.g. as presents and valued mediums of exchange.⁵⁷

The signs in these shirts had considerable variation but enough repetitions occurred in a reasonable arrangement, that the presumption of their informative nature seems more than likely. The hypothesis that these shirts and signs contain elements of a specific writing system, perhaps even phoneticism, has been presented by Victoria de la JARA (1964, 1975) and Thomas BARTHEL (1968, 1971) particularly. They have found some 400 distinct signs which probably were used in this system. Most of the signs were possibly logograms, with perhaps a rebus-principle being present too. About 40 signs have been deciphered by JARA and BARTHEL, including common concepts like Inca, Pacha and Inti. Similar signs occur also in Guaman Poma de Ayala's drawings of Inca shirts⁵⁸ and in wooden cups, *keros*.⁵⁹

William Burns GLYNN (1981) has presented a third hypothesis of how phoneticism might have worked in *tocapu*-writing. He extended the ideas of JARA and BARTHEL by combining phonetic and pictographic elements. He set a relationship between the sounds of the numbers 1 to 10 in Quechua language, and formed an 'alphabet' of ten consonants. These are derived from the most prominently accentuated letter in the names of the numerals. E.g. "seven" is *qanchis* with stress on *qa*, and from this the sounds *qa*, *ka*, *ca*, or *k* are derived. GLYNN uses signs which occur in Guaman Poma's drawings and especially the one where Inca Manco Capac is illustrated. From the belt of this

57 For the prominent socio-political role of textiles, see e.g. MOORE 1958; MURRA 1980; MASUDA et al. 1985; MURRA et al. 1986; REID 1986; GISBERT et al. 1987; PÄRSSINEN 1992.

58 KAUFFMANN DOIG 1969/1980:52–66; BARTHEL 1971; JARA 1975; REID 1986:18. The idea was first presented by JARA in *La Escritura Peruana y los Vocabularios Quechuas Antiguos* (1964) Lima (BARTHEL 1971:123.) BARTHEL presented it first in *Gab es eine Schrift in Alperu?* in: *Verhandlungen des XXVIII Internationalen Amerikanistenkongress Bd. II*, Stuttgart (1968) (BARTHEL 1971:123.) Compare also, Guaman Poma (1615) 1980:passim. The composition and iconographic material in Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui's chronicle infers also to extant "writing"-systems in pre-Columbian Peru. According to HARRISON (1989:58–60), "Santacruz Pachacuti is disposed to write in this fashion because of his exposure to the *tocapu*, an Inca sign system, which was still in use in his lifetime... While no researcher has yet deciphered the meaning of these symbols, we must assume that they possessed more than mere decorative value within Incaic culture...Santacruz Pachacuti Yamqui himself explains that each town was referred to by a sign system well recognized in the Andes, the *pacarina*." Santacruz Pachacuti Yamqui also writes that a mysterious book was brought to Inca Pachacuti's palace by a messenger (1613:f.23 / 1993:228; 1873:97; HARRISON 1989:58.)

59 For Inca wooden cups, *keros*, see e.g. ROWE 1961. According to JARA (1975:65–66) "Durante la colonización española los historiadores clandestinos, copiaban sobre los keros escenas históricas con batallas, reyes y princesas, pero excluyendo todo lo cristiano, y jamás la cruz fue dibujada en los keros...Cada inscripción en kero evoca un nombre de príncipe, princesa, templo o palacio de gran importancia para la historia inka." JARA believes also that many of these themes may have been partial transcriptions from the pre-colonial Incaic archives (ibid.)

ruler the following signs can be read: Man-co Ca-pac Man-co Ca-pac Man-co Ca-pac, for instance.⁶⁰ How valid is GLYNN's hypothesis? asks James REID (1986) among many other scholars. "Glynn's methodology leaves certain questions unanswered, but constitutes an original challenge to a difficult and controversial subject", he writes.⁶¹

Besides *quipus* and *tocapu*-writing, in many regions in the Andes have been found picto- and ideograms drawn on clay artificats, metal plates, and cliffs (petroglyphs).⁶² In the Aymara area a certain pictographic writing has been found, but since several signs seems to reflect Christian influence, its pre-Columbian origin has been questioned. The same could be said about the script found in the Paucartambo area: written on old paper and wowed material.⁶³

According to Juan Velasco, a Jesuit who wrote his history of Quito in 1789, the Peruvians and especially the Caras of Quito used certain stones for recording. According to him: "They used a kind of writing more imperfect than that of the Peruvian *quipos*. They reduced it to certain archives, deposits made of wood, stone, and clay, with divers separations, in which they arranged little stones of distinct sizes, colors, and angular form, because they were excellent lapidaries. With the different combination of these they perpetuated their doings and formed their count of all."⁶⁴

Description of stones continues when Velasco narrates how the Cara rulers, *scyris*, were buried. "Above each one extended a hole or little niche, where a small figure of clay, stone, or metal was represented, and inside were the small stones of various shapes and colors, which denoted his age, the years, and the month of his reign."⁶⁵

These distinct means, contexts, and evidences seems to indicate that certain ideographic writing systems developed in the Andes. Although not as sophisticated as in Mesoamerica, these systems were functional enough to respond into growing administrative and communicative demands as polities became more complex and larger.

Still, as has been stated, Montesinos is the only chronicler who gives a description of other writing systems beside the *quipus*. According to him:

"The amautas, who know the events of those times by very ancient traditions passed from hand to hand, say that when this prince was reigning there were

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60 GLYNN 1981b.

61 REID 1986:19.

62 See, e.g. MALLERY 1886/1972:passim; POSNANSKY 1914/1945; DIRINGER 1948:153-5; IBARRA GRASSO 1953; WILKINS 1956:140-4. According to MIRANDA RIVERA (1958), a system of symbolic writing ('hieroglyphs') predated the *quipus* in the Andes. Compare also attempts to 'decipher' frequently occurring variable-marked bean-symbols (pallares) in Moche art as a kind of writing, LARCO HOYLE 1943. Read also, e.g. MONTELL 1929 and STONE-MILLER & McEWAN 1990.

63 DIRINGER 1948: 153-5; IBARRA GRASSO 1953.

64 Velasco (1789:tomo ii, parte ii, cap.ii) 1946:14. Translation from BINGHAM 1915:186.

65 Velasco, *ibid.* Translation from BINGHAM 1915:203.

letters, and also men very wise in them whom they call *amautas*, and that these men taught reading and writing. The principal science was astrology; as far as I am able to learn they wrote on the leaves of the plantain-tree which they dried and then wrote upon, whence the idea came to Juan Coctovito in his *Itinerario Hierosolimitano y Siriano* (lib.I., cap.14, fol. 92), that the ancients wrote upon these leaves, and that the lines which are used in parchments in Italy today owe their origin to this custom. And in Chile, when paper for his *Araucana* was lacking to D. Alonso de Arcila, an Indian filled the need with leaves of the plantain-tree, and on them he wrote great portions of his poem, as the padre Acosta says. Also they wrote on stones. A Spaniard found among the buildings of Quinoa, three leagues from Buamanga, a stone with some characters which no one could understand. And thinking that the memory of the *guaca* was written there, he kept the stone for the sake of understanding better.”⁶⁶

Later Montesinos narrates how these letters were lost during the Tampu-Tocco period and time of the Pachacuti Sixth, also known Tupac Cauri. According to the story, this king ordered the whole writing system abolished after certain social disturbances had occurred in his realm. As a substitutive system *quipus* were invented.⁶⁷

Learned men were called *amautas*, *quipu camayocs*, and *quillca camayocs* in ancient Peru, and particularly in Inca society. In addition, at least the following titles, *yachachini*, *pacariscap villa*, *pachap onanchap*, *simiyachac*, and *taric*, were present. The word *amauta* means wise and prudent both in Quechua and Aymara.⁶⁸ There were possible distinct ranks of *quipu camayocs* from lower caste accountants to secretaries of upper nobility, but the caste of *amautas* seems to have been restricted to higher levels of society. The number of the latter was possibly smaller than *quipu camayocs*.⁶⁹ The term and title *amauta* was usually connected with the philosophers, astrologers, historians, poets, religionists, teachers, councillors, and *quipu* experts.⁷⁰ According to

66 Montesinos (1644:lib.ii, cap.iv) 1882:23–4. Translation from Montesinos (1644) 1920:18.

67 Montesinos (1644:lib.ii, cap.xv) 1882:85–6.

68 For learned men in Inca society, see e.g. Garcilaso de la Vega (1609:lib.ii, cap.xxvii) 1976:114–9; BRUNDAGE (1967/1985:115–6. For the word *amauta*, see Santo Tomás ([1560] 1951:233) *amaotta*: “hombre curioso, ingenioso, o sabio o astuto; González Holguin ([1608] 1952: 24) *amauta*: “sabio prudente, cuerdo”; Bertonio ([1612] 1984:15) *amaotta*, *chuymakhtara*: “muy sauió, prudente”. For *quillca camayoc*, *yachachic*, *pacariscap villa*, *pacha ponanchap*, *simiyachac*, and *taric*, see notes below.

69 According to BRUNDAGE (1967/1985:388 notes) “under these top sages were many others charged with various aspects of learning, at least a thousand of them, says BC XIII, I.” Cobo (1653:lib.xiii, cap.i.) 1990:9. Guaman Poma de Ayala ([1584–1615:cap.193, 199] 1980:165, 173) has listed several officials, including *amautacona* (los sabios), but makes a distinction between *quillca camayoc* (escriuano de *quipu*) and *khipu camayoc* (el encargado de los *quipos*).

70 Jesuita Anonima/ Valera (1585–1590) 1879:156–170; Garcilaso de la Vega (1609:lib.ii, cap.xxvii) 1976:114–9; BAUDIN 1962:176; BRUNDAGE 1967/1985:115–6; KENDALL 1973/1978:47–8. One could also think of *amauta* as a term like ‘Brahmin’ (SCHAEDL 1998, personal consultation.)

Cieza de León and Morúa, four *amautas* were nominated to the highest position as a kind of ‘State Secretaries’ or ‘Professors’.⁷¹

The importance of higher learning and education in Inca society is seen in various titles given to teachers, wise men and historians. Beside the *amautas*, a special class of teachers were called *yachachini*.⁷²

The *Pacariscap villa* were chroniclers, the *pachap onanchap*’s astrologers, the *simiyachac*’s interpreters of languages, and the *taric*’s inventors.⁷³ In addition, early vocabularies contain a number of words referring to teaching, learning, memorizing, and speaking the truth.⁷⁴ All these matters were closely related with recording, i.e. using *quipus*, *tocapus*, and *quellcas* as complex mnemonic devices.

The term *quellca* is interesting. In Colonial times it had a meaning of “letter, map, paper” etc., but originally it meant “painting, drawing” etc. And consequently, the corresponding verbs were “to write” and “to draw”. The early dictionaries made a distinction between the indigenous and Spanish meanings of the term, e.g. the word “libro” was adopted to Quechua instead by using *quellca*.⁷⁵ Thus, *quellca camayoc* was apparently a distinctive learned man than

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- 71 Cieza de León (1550-3:lib.ii, cap.xii) 1986:30–1; Murúa (1609: lib.iii, cap.iv) 1946:167–9. One could suggest that there have been one *amauta* representing each *suyu*.
- 72 See Santo Tomás ([1560] 1951:296) *yachachini*, *gui*: “dar lectio el maestro”, *yachacchic*: “doctor que enseña”. And furthermore, *yachapa*: “hombre sabio”, *yachac capa*: “hombre sabio”.
- 73 For *pacariscap villa*, see Santo Tomás ([1560] 1951:333): “coronista”; and *pachap onanchap*: “astrologo de los movimientos” (ibid.) Santo Tomás (ibid., 351, 362) gives also the titles, *taric*: “inventor de alguna cosa”, and *simiyachac*: “interprete de lengua” or “sabidoz de lenguas”. PORRAS BARRANECHEA (1952:xxvii) comments these as follows: “llaman la atención en el vocabulario de Fray Domingo cuatro categorías de personajes no mencionados en ninguna reconstrucción de la vida cultural Incaica: el *pacariscap villa* que es el ‘coronista’ o historiador, el *pacha ponanchap* [sic] definido como el astrólogo de los movimientos, el *simi llactac* sabedor o intérprete de lenguas y el *taric* o ‘inventor de alguna cosa’.” We may see it highly probable that these titles were original, since Santo Tomás (1560) is a relatively early source, and he was a consultant for a trusted chronicler Cieza de León, as has been stated before.
- 74 Compare e.g. Santo Tomás ([1560] 1951:296–303) *yachachini*: “disciplinar, enseñar”, *yachachisca*: “doctrinado o enseñado”, *yachamuni*: “decorar en la memoria”, *yuyachini*: “traer alguna cosa otro a la memoria”; González Holguín ([1608] 1952:360–2) e.g. *yachani*: “sauer”, *yachacuni*: “exercitar”, *yachachik*: “maestro”; and from Aymara, see Bertonio ([1612] 1879:112, 358, 394) e.g. *yatikhatatha*: “estudiar una cosa boluiendo muchas veces sobre ella”, *hallchuratha*: “tomar perfecto de la memoria”, *toquepa arusitha*: “hablar verdad”.
- 75 Compare, e.g. Santo Tomás ([1560] 1951:357) *quillca*: “letra, o carta mensagera”, *quillca*: “libro, o papel generalmente”, *quillcani*: “pintar o escribir generalmente”, *quillcani*: “labrar alguna cosa con colores generalmente”. He mentions also, *quillcasca*: “esculpida cosa”, *quillca quippo*: “libro de cuentas”, and *quillcasca yachac*: “leydo, a lee mucho”. The dictionaries of González Holguín and Bertonio, which were written much later, contain more wordings to *quillca* and its derivatives, and as one could expect, these are more explicit references to “writing” and seldom to “drawing”. Still Holguín makes a distinction between “a book” (libro) as used by the Europeans, and indigenous “carta” in his dictionary. The Spanish “libro” was adopted to Quechua to signify this meaning. E.g. “libro escrito de mano” is *quellccasca* *quellccaycusca* libro ([1608] 1952:564), and “*quellcay quipi*, que es carta, en que las pictografías indígenas o *quellcas* son identificadas con la escritura”, writes PORRAS BARRANECHEA (1952: xxvii) in the prologue of González Holguín. See also, e.g. CLASSEN 1992: 106–7. Read also, PORRAS BARRANECHEA 1951 and RADICATI DI PRIMEGLIO 1984.

quipu camayoc. According to Guaman Poma, the latter was “a keeper of the *quipus*” and the former writer of this information.⁷⁶ Notwithstanding, it seems clear, that there were specialists for reading the *quipus* and specialists for reading pictorial information, i.e. *quillcas*. These pictographs seemingly were the same which were drawn e.g. on *tocapus*.

The advanced education of children in Inca society was restricted to a privileged minority. Interestingly, among the Incas within the circle of formal training there possibly were included more girls than boys, which contradicts with the practise of the Aztecs.⁷⁷ It has been stated that the Incas established an *acclahuasi* convent in every province they conquered. There must have been at least 40 such convents⁷⁸ in Tahuantinsuyo, while only one school for the boys was at Cuzco. True, the institution and education of *acclas* differed profoundly from that restricted to upper-class boys, but essentially in both cases large groups of children were taught by professional experts in order to being capable to occupy more or less important positions in society.⁷⁹

Blas Valera and Martin Murua are basic sources which have informed that a particular school, *Yacha huasi* “House of Learning”, existed at Cuzco.⁸⁰ In addition, Garcilaso de la Vega, Vasquez de Espinoza, Bertonio and Montesinos, mention this kind of institution also.⁸¹ According to Murua, who gives the most detailed description, the school had a 4-year course divided as follows: in the first year the students learned Quechua, next year religion, *quipu*-recording in the third, and Inca history in the fourth year. The four principal *amautas* were experts of these four disciplines. Only boys from noble lineages and sons of *curacas* from the provinces were accepted as pupils. Boys went to ‘college’ between the ages 8 and 10, and a grand ‘graduation’ ceremony was celebrated when they were about 12–14. In this ceremony, which was called *Huarachikoy*, youngsters were initiated into the Inca caste by piercing their ears, and golden plugs were set in place.⁸² BRUNDAGE (1967/1985) believes, that “only after

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- 76 See, Guaman Poma ([1584–1615: caps.193, 199] 1980:165, 173). Santo Tomás ([1560] 1951:357) *quillca camayoc*: “pintor generalmente” y “escriviano”. González Holguín ([1608] 1952:301) *quellcayachak*: “El que sabe escribir”.
- 77 For Aztec education, see e.g. Codex Mendoza (1541–42) 1978/1984:69–91; Sahagún (1577) 1950–69:bk.6; BRUNDAGE 1972:164–6; ZANTWIJIK 1977/1985:87–8, 144. Compare also Maya education and literacy, e.g. BROWN 1991.
- 78 For the number of Inca provinces and *acclahuasis* as about 40, ASCHER & ASCHER 1981:48; KLAUER 1990:74.
- 79 For the education of the *acclas*, see e.g. Cieza de León (1550–3: lib.i, cap.xcii) 1959/1976:146; Garcilaso de la Vega (1609:lib.iv, caps.i–vi) 1976:175–83.
- 80 Blas Valera (in Garcilaso de la Vega 1609:lib.iv, cap.xix; 1976:203–4); Murúa (1590–1609:lib.iii, cap.iv) 1946:169–170.
- 81 Garcilaso de la Vega, *ibid.* and *passim*; Vasquez de Espinoza (1629:1504, 1551) 1942:558, 575; Montesinos (1644:lib.ii, cap.xv) 1882:86–7. Bertonio ([1612] 1879:394) gives a term *yatachawi*: “la escuela donde se aprende o enseña”. See also, KARSTEN 1946:126; ROWE 1946:283; MASON 1957/1979:191; BAUDIN 1962:87–8; BRUNDAGE 1967/1985:115–7; KENDALL 1973/1978:77–8; SCHAEDEL 1978:304–5; MURRA 1980:161–2; DAVIES 1995:114.
- 82 Murúa (1590–1609:lib.iii, cap.iv) 1946:169–170. The age of the boys as 12–14 at *huarachicoy*, Cobo (1653) 1990:126; ROWE 1946:234; BRUNDAGE 1963/1985:129. A conclusion that the boys were between 8–10 when they went to school is drawn from this

this early schooling did the boys serve as pages at court, learning under the patron as signed to them such pragmatic work as court protocol, administration, the duties connected with roads and posts, engineering, water control, command of work gangs, etc.”⁸³

Some modern scholars have raised the criticism that this kind of formal education and curriculum resemble too much European practise to be genuine Andean invention.⁸⁴ For example PÄRSSINEN (1992) has emphasized this point. He refers to too scanty documentary evidences that the existence of this kind of institution could be validated, and leans on other chronicles (e.g. Polo de Ondegardo) which stressed the Incan practise and policy of sending sons of provincial leaders to be educated at court in Cuzco – but without any specific references to ‘schools’. As a conclusive statement he adds that “we may suppose that each heir of the provincial leader was attached to an older man who acted as his master and tutor. Every tutor, in turn, may have received various ‘pupils’ who served him like servants and who learned by ‘hearing, watching and practicing.’”⁸⁵

I disagree with these statements except in one point: the education at court most likely was an important element of youngsters’ training. Instead, it is doubtful that a complex Inca administration could have been functional with a system so informal and arbitrary as this. ‘Too European’ sounds unreasonable. What makes ‘schools’ or ‘4-year curriculum’ so distinctly European notions anyhow? The Aztecs for instance had a sophisticated education system with two kind of schools, *telpochcalli* for military training and *calmecac* for ecclesiastical and more advanced education, and a royal academy at Texcoco.⁸⁶ Once the size of Tahuantinsuyo was much larger than the Aztec empire, its administration surely had an exhaustive need for well educated officials in numerous positions. It is obvious that a complex system like this – to be functional and effective – needed an anchored institution for education. This kind of institution, a ‘state college’, served many imperial purposes and benefits: it offered an uniform training in major disciplines and in the principal

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fact and from the analogy of the ages of girls when they entered convents. See, e.g. ROWE 1946: 283.

83 BRUNDAGE 1967/1985:116.

84 For instance ROWE (1982:95) writes: “Although there is nothing in Murúa’s more detailed account that conflicts with the testimony of earlier writers, the idea of a curriculum organized by years is a little too reminiscent of European educational planning to be convincing.”

85 PÄRSSINEN 1992:161–2.

86 For Aztec schools, see e.g. Codex Mendoza (1541–42) 1978/1984:69–91; Sahagun (1577) 1950–69:bk.6; BRUNDAGE 1972:164–6; ZANTWIJIK 1977/1985:87–8, 144. For the academy or ‘university’ at Texcoco, Ixtlilxochitl (1600–1608) 1891–2:tomo ii:189; OFFNER 1983:149. Nezahualcoyotl (1430–72), the esteemed king of Texcoco, along with this academy, established six other major schools in his city: one for education of priests, nobles, and officials, one for ambassadors, one for judges, one for minor officials (e.g. tax collectors), and two for talented commoners (lower-level officials) (OFFNER 1983:111–2.) Schools for noble-born boys, ‘houses of learning’, existed in several Polynesian societies too. These were among the Maoris, Marquesas, and Easter Island at least (HEYERDAHL 1952:642.)

language – to make co-operation between administrators easier and more effective. Merely the learning to read *quipos* needed years of training and it was important that the details of this skill were understood uniformly by state administrators. And last but not least, Inca dynastic propaganda had to be taught professionally – distinct versions were not allowed. Without an institution like this, the learning of boys would have been indefinite, unequal, and insufficient for their tasks. Besides, numerous chosen girls learned important skills in *acclahuasi*-convents during 3-4-year courses:⁸⁷ why not noble-born boys likewise? The referred to court-education could have been a complementary system which worked side by side with the formal school training. Consequently, at the court the theory learned at *Yacha huasi* was applied into practise.

It was said that the institution of *Yacha huasi* was established at Cuzco by Inca Roca. According to tradition, he ordered this school to be built adjacent to his palace at Hanan Cuzco, on the northern side of Huacay Pata square.⁸⁸ Later, Inca Pachacuti built his own palace nearby. According to Garcilaso, this palace was called Cassana “some thing to freeze” and it was “so large and splendid that anyone who gazed on them attentively would be frozen with astonishment. They were the palaces of the great Inca Pachacútec, the great-grandson of Inca Roca, who built his house near the schools his grandfather had founded. These two palaces had the schools behind them, and all adjoined one another without any gap. The main gate of the schools gave onto the street and onto the stream. The kings passed through the side door to hear the lectures of the philosophers, and Inca Pachacútec often gave them himself in explanation of his laws and statutes, for he was a great legislator.”⁸⁹

We may conclude here, that the available present data strongly supports the re-assessed idea that the ancient Peruvians possessed a far more sophisticated means for cognitive communication than has been commonly thought. They had variety in methods, and more evidence is emerging that they exploited even phoneticism to some extent. It seems that Colonial writing has exaggerated teleologically or unintentionally the novel nature of European writing for the Andean people. By these means the Andeans were fully capable of transmitting complicated historical information for posterity. Montesinos, who has emphasized these skills of the natives, appears to have been more on the right track than most other chroniclers.

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87 For 3–4-year course of the *acclas*, Anonymous Jesuit/ Valera (1585–1590) 1879:183; ROWE 1946:269; BAUDIN 1962:94.

88 For Inca Roca as a founder of *Yacha huasi*, Blas Valera (in Garcilaso de la Vega 1609:lib. iv, cap. xix/ 1976:203.) It appears that CHAVEZ (1970) “has identified an extant structure in Cuzco where it stood” (SCHAEDEL 1978:304–5; 1978b:139.) See, CHAVEZ BALLON, Manuel 1970. ‘Ciudades Incas: Cuzco capital del Imperio’, en *Wayka* 3:1–15.

89 Garcilaso de la Vega (1609:lib. vii, cap. x) 1976:tomo ii:107. Translation from Garcilaso de la Vega (1609) 1966:426.

2. Cosmology, time, and history

As I stated in the introductory chapter, the basic concepts of a world view consist of the ideas of: time and cosmos, cosmogony, man's relationship with other people, nature and supernatural forces, socio-political structures and one's nation, and the factors which shape history.⁹⁰ Two categorically distinct "world views" usually exist: common vernacular and an elitist one. The first has usually been studied by anthropologists, ethnologists, folklorists and religion historians, while the latter has interested the cultural historians, idea-historians, or historians in general.⁹¹ The elitist world view was often intermingled with ideological aspects, which were further spread and wrapped over the extant vernacular view. Even cosmogony may be teleologically indoctrinated according to interests of the dominant elite forces, while the common man's relationship with nature, other people, and supernatural forces remains basically intact. The concepts of time and the factors which shape history are usually co-existent and co-operational, and working usually for the benefits of the elite circles only. History for a commoner means far less than to elites. A farming peasant perceives the world, time, and 'history' cyclically, but the mere existence of elites tends to be dependent on far-reaching diachronical reflections into the past and future. Thus, the elites, more than other stratas of a society, were usually either linear or cyclico-linear in their thinking and ontological perception.⁹²

We may presuppose and set forth the following categorization and generalization concerning the basic differences between the vernacular and elitist thinking in ideas of time and history:

	Vernacular⁹³	Elitist⁹⁴
WORLD-VIEW ORIENTATION	terrestrial	celestial
IDEA OF TIME	cyclical	cyclico-linear
IDEA OF HISTORY	structural	diachronical

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 90 MANNINEN 1977:16–17. The terms "cosmology" and "world view" are often used interchangeably by anthropologists and other scholars (CLASSEN 1993:5.)

91 MANNINEN, *ibid.*, 37–8. For vernacular world view, see e.g. KNUUTTILA 1989. These two concepts were baptized for anthropology by Redfield as the Great and Little Traditions (SCHAEDEL 1998, personal communication).

92 For antagonism between a vernacular and an elitist perceptions, see e.g. BAUDIN 1962:passim; EISENSTADT 1979; KNUUTTILA 1989:206–9. See also Mircea ELIADE (1949/1974:146–52). According to him, the elites, above all, "are forced, and with increasing rigori to take cognizance of their historical situation." ELIADE has maintained also, that "almost everywhere a new reign has been regarded as a regeneration of history. With each new sovereign, insignificant as he might be, a 'new era' began" (*ibid.*, 80–1.)

93 The vernacular orientation on terrestrial phenomena comes from everyday life matters, such as agricultural activities, impacts of weather, changes of seasons, births and deaths of domestic animals, seasonal barter and markets, changes of labour and leisure time, and so on. The commoners have more intimate connection with the nature than the elites had, and consequently, the natural cycles dominated their life. Compare e.g. JULKUNEN 1989; PINA-CABRAL 1994. For more of recurrent societal relationship and arbitrary recurrent social events, consult next chapter.

94 In the world-view orientation the elites were more interested in celestial than terrestrial phenomena. They observed the planets and stars, and built up calendars, zodiac, and horo-

2.1. Cyclical vs. linear thinking

In human epistemology a categorical disparity has been set between the two basic notions of time: cyclical and linear. The latter has been connected within the context of advanced Western civilization, and cyclicity, by and large, has been associated with the reckoning of primitive (and Asiatic) groups and pre-colonial indigenous people around the world.⁹⁵

In human life and experiences these two notions coexist and are variously combined. Basic rhythms of our everyday life are all cyclical, although our corporeal mundane life-history is linear. Nature's clock surrounding us works in a cyclical fashion; night falls and day rises; moons wane and wax etc. All life, however, observes linear rhythms and we can observe natural traces of linear aging-processes of growth and decay everywhere. The dynamics of this interaction in time and space is called evolution, which in itself is a linear concept.⁹⁶ So, all the timing of all life phenomena are essentially linear, or cyclical – in a kind of equilibrational balance. The metaphysics behind the concept embraces both these notions, and it seems very likely that people all around the world and throughout history, have intuitively experienced life's fundamental time dichotomy in that way.

By looking at these two ideas more closely, and especially some syllogisms derived from them, we can find that even though they are opposites, many notions are mutually complementary to each other. Thinking broadly, we may include at least the following syllogisms in the concepts of cyclical and linear thinking (arranged as opposite pairs):

CYCLICALITY

episodic, periodical
eternal return, repetition, rhythm
circle, closed sphere

LINEARITY

progress, evolution, succession
uniqueness, beginning and end
“way” (line), continuity

.....

scopes based on this information. The idea of history for the elites was derived from the calendric information and genealogically oriented episodic chronologies, i.e. dynastic diachrony. Though cycles occurred within this idea also, they were usually macro-cycles encompassing entire dynasties and world ages. Within each macrocycle a historical process was perceived more or less in a linear form. We may label this cyclico-linearity also as quasi-cyclicity (WHITROW 1989:52.)

95 WILCOX 1987; AVENI 1990.

96 AVENI (1990, introduction, 3–7.) see also, e.g. JULKUNEN 1989; TÄHKÄ 1989. According to ELIADE (1974:86–7), the phases of the moon have played an immense part in the elaboration of cyclical concepts. Riitta TÄHKÄ (1989:56–74) has written about cyclical and linear experience of time from the psychological point of view. According to her, the linear time comes forth when a movement of time is projected into space, where it appears as an unidimensional forward-oriented movement. Psychic time, instead, is circular, not linear. Cyclical time denies implicitly the temporal course. Linear time is continuous and unreplicative; a human who denies it, denies the loss and the death accordingly. For cyclical and linear parts in human mind, see also HEISKANEN 1989b. The ideas of cause and effect are connected with linearity. By knowing the cause there opens a possibility to manipulate the effect. A presumption that by knowledge one can rule reality is intermingled within the linear thinking of time. However, if our cognition were more oriented to cyclicity, the ‘explaining’ of phenomena would be less associated with causal factors and analogies may be more informative. (ibid.) According to Maurice BLOCH (1977, The past and the present in the present, *Man* 12:278–92; quoted in KNAPP 1992b:12), there are only two possible notions of time, the mundane (linear), or everyday time, and the ritual (cyclic), where time is expressed in ritualized social terms within various individual cultures.

While thinking about progress and episodic in the context of linear chronology for instance, we find that they synchronized with each other (e.g. in dynastic sequences). Most natural phenomena, like the revolution of the moon, seasons, and tidsals, seem to appear always in the same repetitive modes. Still, even these phenomena (which are among the most regular natural repetitions) are a little different every time. For instance, one of the most changing natural element, at least for seasons: the weather, gives new guises all the time. The line and circle are seemingly opposites, but like so many natural phenomena (in spite of their polar aspects), they are inseparably synchronized too.⁹⁷

In general, linearity and cyclicity may be conceived as consistent, inseparable concepts in the mode of *yin* and *yang* as presented in the Eastern philosophies. At least three major ancient civilizations used both notions exclusively in their cosmologies (philosophy) and chronologies: Babylonians, Chinese and the Mayans.⁹⁸ In this study some ideas and examples are brought forth which support the opinion that the Andean people synchronized both notions too in their cosmology and historical reckoning. Like the Mesoamericans, the Andean people were ascertained as cogent cyclical thinkers, as the major societies of the Western Hemisphere. What were the Incan roads, Nazca lines, and *ceques* of Cuzco? Among other explanations, they may easily to be interpreted as manifestations of linear thinking about Andean space. To set my hypothesis more explicitly, I postulate that linearity incorporated within cyclicity – especially in the context of cosmology and chronologies – was a compatible solution, which the earlier imperial dynastic elites preferred and generated. Hence follows my presumption that the Inca linear dynasty appeared fundamentally as one of several dynasties that cycled through macrotime.⁹⁹

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 97 I have gathered syllogisms of linearity and cyclicity mainly from the books of AVENI 1987 and WILCOX 1990. The idea of eternal return is from ELIADE (1949) 1974. He writes: "we must return to these theories...the one traditional, adumbrated...in all primitive cultures, that of cyclical time, periodically regenerating itself *ad infinitum*; the other modern, that of finite time, a fragment (though itself also cyclical between two atemporal eternities" (ibid., 112.) The linear aspect of "road" is from AVENI 1990:4.

98 For 'yin' and 'yang', see e.g. KUSHI 1989:5–26. For Chinese civilization using cyclo-linear notion of time, see e.g. AVENI 1990:305–23. The Central-American Mayans created a sophisticated calendrical system which was based on great cycles and a linear chronology called 'the long count'. The major cycle had a duration of around 5126 Gregorian years and it is correlated within the absolute chronology (3114 B.C. – A.D. 2012). The linear *long count* runs through that cycle like the modern Julian period in our system (see e.g. AVENI 1980; VANSINA 1985:128; AVENI 1990:193–252; FREIDEL et al. 1993.) For calendrical similarities used in other parts of Mesoamerica, see e.g. EDMONSON 1988.

The Babylonians (and ancient Mesopotamians in general) used synchronized cyclo-linear time also. Scholars interpret their system as being more or less linear in the political arena, whereas cyclical notions were present only in religious concepts. But when these two spheres usually legitimize each other in ancient societies, a system which resolved some way these two contradictory notions, is likely to be discovered (Assyriologist Simo PARPOLA 1996, personal communication).

99 Studies of Andeans as cyclical thinkers, see e.g. ZUIDEMA 1962; ADORNO 1982; SALOMON 1982b; BOUYSSÉ-CASSAGNE 1988; DUVIOLS 1989; CLASSEN 1993. SCHAEDEL has formulated the idea here that the Incas were one lineal dynasty within the macrotime cycles. He also reminds me that most of the scholars named above do not regard the last Inca dynasty as "linear", especially ZUIDEMA.

Many ancient cultures which thought “cyclically”, had their eternal time sequenced and subdivided into “eras”, “ages”, and “great mundane years” etc. The length of these “eras” was usually predestined to last 500, 1000, 5000, or varying number of years, but always, from the individual perspective, immense length of time (i.e. macrotime). In essence, within the confines of this cyclical macrotime, the common diachronical perspective was often configured in linear fashion. The concept of time and history among the ancient Mayas is a familiar example of this.

A concept explicitly connected with linear thinking is the notion of absolute time. And that was an idea which was widely diffused only after Isaac Newton’s writing was spread (in the 18th century). Before that, the European concept of time contained also cyclical ideas (combined within linearity).¹⁰⁰ A Jesuit scholar Domenicus Petavius published the key work of the B.C./A.D. system in 1627, but it came slowly into use during the seventeenth century, with many chronologies preferring older systems. The B.C./A.D. dating system displays all the features of Newtonian time. It is a continuous and endless time line with no external reference, a chronology well adapted to the needs of Newtonian macrotime. Though it was tied to the birth of Christ, its inventor considered that reference point to be purely arbitrary.¹⁰¹ The use of “centuries” was also a rather late invention. Even though it appeared during the Reformation Era, it did not come into widespread use before Newton’s time.¹⁰²

Pre-Newtonian time had no conceptual grid to give universal applicability to its numbers. Dates were tied to specific themes, events, moral lessons, and they gave meaning and shape of their own to the events they dated. Historians before Newton had a notion that the events created their own time frames. And the time frame did not include a group of events, but a group of events contained a time frame. This perspective led to use of a variety of relative dating systems. Those were in use as well among the “primitive” tribes, as among historians who wrote before Newton.¹⁰³

As stated before, the modern research is tending to revise the old dichotomic categorizing, which set societies and people into explicite cultural moulds of

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 100 For “eras” etc., see, for example ELIADE (1947) 1974; HAY 1977: 27–8; BUTTERFIELD 1981:175–6; AVENI 1990:127–31. For building up ‘eras’ as historical structuring, see VANSINA 1985:165–85.

101 For introduction of B.C./A.D. system, WILCOX 1987:7–8, almost *verbatim*, 203–8.

102 For use of ‘centuries’, *ibid.*, 8–9. WILCOX writes: “Yet the use of centuries barely antedates the B.C./A.D. dating system. Although Moslem historians had long organized events by centuries, the first major work in the Western world to mark periods in such an abstract form was the *Magdeburg Centuries*, an ecclesiastical history written by a group of Lutheran scholars in 1559. Though it appeared during the Reformation, the concept of centuries did not come into widespread use before Newton’s time. Not until after the seventeenth century did most literate contemporaries identify the epoch in which they lived as their “century”, and only in the course of the Enlightenment did the term take on the epochal significance we now attach to it.” For source of this argument WILCOX has used Johannes BURKHARDT’s work *Die Entstehung der modernen Jahrhundertrechnung* (Gropingen: A. Kümmerle, 1971).

103 WILCOX:9–10. Almost *verbatim* quotation.

cyclicalists and linearists. An attentive and non-biased revision of all kinds of cultural spheres around the world and throughout history, has brought forth evidences that people everywhere have more or less thought in forms which have juxtaposed these formulas. Although the indigenous people and commoners have always given more emphasis to cyclical aspects, neither in their perceptions the idea of diachronical linearity was entirely absent.¹⁰⁴

The ideas of linear thinking are found for example among the Australian Aborigines.¹⁰⁵ The Seneca-Iroquois from North America, among the sources which I am pleased to present, have sophisticated notions of time. Thomas McELWAIN (1987) has indicated in his studies among the Senecas that their concepts of time are more closely parallel with English ideas than e.g. the language by itself would indicate. He writes: "It is interesting to note that the people who perceived minutes in terms of the notches of a tally stick have been characterized by cyclical time, while those who invented the clock are represented as perceiving time in linear terms." He points also to a common Native North American custom to count time by "winters", which should not be exotic when compared to counting by 'years'. Writes McELWAIN in his conclusive statements:

"It appears that the idea of Native American thought as focusing on process and Western thought as focusing on static and processual concepts exist

 104 See, e.g. LAYTON (ed.) (1989) 1994. See also, HEISKANEN (ed.) 1989, and particularly HEISKANEN 1989b, JULKUNEN 1989, TÄHKÄ 1989, ODEN 1989, SIIKALA 1989. Read also, e.g. SETÄLÄ 1983; McELWAIN 1987; VIRTANEN 1987; MAMANI CONDORI 1989; WHITROW 1989; SHERBONDY 1992; KOIVISTO 1993b; IMMONEN 1996; and SULLIVAN 1996. Part of this discussion concerns the questioning of the presentday Western notion of the idea of unique and paradigmatic linearity. For this discussion, see e.g. GIDDENS (1979) 1984; BRAUDEL 1980; VIRTANEN 1987; KOIVISTO 1993b; and IMMONEN 1996. According to Jukka SIIKALA (1989:217-28), the discussion of the distinctions of cyclical and linear notions is a current topic in anthropology. He warns to make a too implicit dichotomy between these notions, especially in cultural contexts, for this definition may contain a strong ideological presumption and a faulty simplification. SIIKALA concludes, "By means of continuity we can recognize individual events and make then analogical comparisons, and therefore produce also partings between separate events. This basic character of human culture requires, however, that something remains static and something changes. In short, it requires the co-existence of linear and cyclical notions of time among the all cultures" (translation from the Finnish mine.) WHITROW (1989:53) writes: "in recent years, however, there has been a growing tendency to question the assumption that, prior to the advent of Christianity, Israel was unique among the nations of antiquity in the significance attained to history and non-repeatability of events."

105 P.J. UCKO writes in the foreword of the book *Who Needs the Past* (1994:xiv), [This book] "reveals, for instance, that Australian Aborigines and Portuguese peasants both categorize the past in somewhat similar ways, confirming that cyclic and linear models of time can, and do, co-exist in diverse cultures." WILLIAMS & DAYMBALIPU MUNUNGGURR (1994:70-83) write about Yolngu (a tribal group in Australia), that they have many ways to express duration and of locating events, whether unique or in series..."They can, and frequently do, explain sequences of events in terms that express linear temporality." Furthermore, these writers emphasize that such opposing features as timeless - time based, cyclic - linear, changeless - changing, concrete - abstract, were all "present in the culturally patterned time perception of the Yolngu, and probably in that of people in all societies." A.K. CHASE (1994) has also written about the Aboriginal Australian concepts of time, which confirm the above statements.

universally, but are applied perhaps to different situations empirically using different linguistic means.”

“The calendric cycle in regards to ceremonial has been noted to be important. It is undoubtedly true that this cycle has been and perhaps still is so important for some people that they can be with some degree of accuracy characterized as having ‘cyclical’ concept of time.”¹⁰⁶

LAYTON (1994) declares also, that “both complex and simple communities may be inclined to regard history as the decline from an initial order that those living in the present strive to replicate, or as a cumulative sequence of development.”¹⁰⁷ Although the linear ideas of progress and change may appear in the diachronical thinking of less complex societies, it was only after the emergence of elites and upper classes when more historically orientated notions became general. These were dynamic actors in a diachronical stage of long duration. To them the plans for present and future were fundamentally depended with the well established fixed points in the distant past. The Incas were such a people.

Why is the past important? LAYTON’s (1994b) answer is: “contrary to the implication of Functionalist and Structuralist models, social life takes palce through time.”¹⁰⁸ The idea of the present study follows a similar plea: calling forth a historicist interpretation of the Incaic past, instead of using the conventional structuralist or functionalist models.

As much as the juxtaposed cyclico-linear thought apparently was present among the elite Peruvians, this combination was a prevailing one in the Europe

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- 106 McELWAIN 1987:267–76. Thomas McELWAIN is Iroquois himself, and has also criticized some ideas of Claude Levi-Strauss in his dissertation which treats traditional oral phenomena among the Allegany Senecas. He uses principles of paradigmatic models in his study, an approach which “robs the study of any contribution to structural theory, but permits some contribution to the description of the development of the narrative situation among the Allegany Seneca.” (1978: 6–7, 76–91, 4n.) I also have several times had conversations with him concerning the problem of linear and cyclical time conceptions in Western and native/traditional societies. He is convinced that the linear and cyclical notions are and were more or less interlocked in most known societies and particularly so among the advanced ancient civilizations (New World included) (1995–8, personal communication).
- 107 LAYTON 1994:5. WILLIAMS & DAYMBALIPU MUNUNGGURR (1994:72) write: “time and change are not identical. As Europeans came to value change in itself, and for its association with the idea of progress in their own societies, they attributed to non-Western, non-capitalist societies the opposite: that is, those societies were not only unchanging, they resisted change.” MAMANI CONDORI (1989:51) writes: “Prehistory is a Western concept according to which those societies which have not developed writing – or an equivalent system of graphic representation – *have no history*. This fits perfectly into the framework of evolutionist thought typical of Western culture.”
- 108 LAYTON 1994b:3. “In social anthropology, static Functionalist accounts gave way to studies of the dynamics of exchange...and Marxist models of process...In cultural anthropology, analysis of structure gave way to studies of performance...An accurate representation of the past, as it is perceived to bear on the present, is a critical element of all social life. It is its value which so often makes knowledge of the past as a political resource. These developments in the theory of the social sciences have been synthesized by Giddens through the concept of structuration” (ibid.) LAYTON adds that the “models of the structure of the past events do not fit so easily into a simple contrast between ‘primitive’ and ‘civilized’, in which small-scale communities perceive the passage of events as repetitive while complex ones perceive a linear progression” (ibid., 4.)

of Reformation Era. We shall see from analyzing Montesinos' narrative also, that his reasoning was clearly linear but influenced by notions of cyclicity.

2.2. Relative dating and episodic chronologies

As our post-Newtonian Western civilization represents itself as a genuine linear mode of timing, and major ancient cultures seemingly had mixed systems; where were the 'pure' cyclicalists once for all? Mainly in non-calendrical societies, is the answer. Most of these were (and still are) tribal people, and a primal example of the system used by them, is the case of Nuers in Northeastern Africa. They used two forms of cyclical timing: ecological and structural. The former was based on the seasonal rhythms, and the latter with finite structural kinship relationships.¹⁰⁹

Jan VANSINA has presented four categories of phenomena which could be used as a basis for measurement of time: a) regular natural phenomena (e.g. count of moons, years etc.); b) extraordinary natural events (e.g. comets, eclipses etc.); c) fixed recurrent societal relationships (e.g. initiations); d) arbitrary recurrent social events (e.g. investitures to office, rituals etc.)¹¹⁰ The principle of cyclical nucleation accounts for a 'regularity' in the rhythm of the cycles (corresponding to the collective conscience of Durkheim), and can vary from less than a year to several years (as Evans-Pritchard showed with the Nuer kinship determinant).¹¹¹

The regular natural phenomena were commonly used for basis of calendars. The elaboration of a 'complex' calendar was necessary to build up relative and absolute dating systems. Functional chronologies can not be built without them, and history must have a chronology.¹¹² Events and histories in relative dating systems and chronologies do not have the same exact value as in absolute chronologies, but when they are fixed within sophisticated calendar context and controlled regnal-span formulas, for example, they can in best cases give us rather useful historical information (considering the impact of dynastic propaganda, of course).¹¹³

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109 For the concept of time among the Nuers, see EVANS-PRITCHARD (1947) 1968; AVENI 1990:167-84. The structural timing among the Nuer was also related to ethnicity and group identity (SCHAEDEL 1996, personal communication.)

110 VANSINA 1985:174-6. Although VANSINA lists four categories he fails to specify their recurring quality (SCHAEDEL 1998, personal consultation.) The investiture to office in the fourth category corresponds to the inauguration event of rulers in complex societies. A notion of sacred geography is marginally related to these natural phenomena used as a basis of time reckoning. Compare e.g. studies of Joanne RAPPAPORT (1989/1994) among the Columbian tribal societies (particularly the Paez), to whom certain sacred precincts of landscape were mnemonic devices serving as references for historical narration and calendrical aspects (ibid., 84-94.)

111 SCHAEDEL (1998, personal communication.)

112 For chronologies connected with calendars, HENIGE 1974:3-4, 14; VANSINA 1985:173.

113 SCHAEDEL (1996, personal consultation) has noted that relative dating with dynastic calculations can be restricted to societies that are a) sedentary, b) food producing, and at upper level of pre-state development.

Many commonly used episodic chronologies are and were based on genealogies and dynastic lists (in ancient societies). Both belonged to sanctioned (official) tradition, which was carefully controlled and usually had political significance, as has been noticed. They were used either separate, or combined, and the latter mode was a common way to emphasize legitimate right for rulership.¹¹⁴

Genealogies are lines of ancestors going back to some designated point of origin. They can be lists of chiefs and rulers where an incredible number of successive names are included.¹¹⁵ Perhaps the most extensive examples of these kinds of formulas are known from Polynesian societies.¹¹⁶

The episode which was used as a basis for chronology in state-level societies was usually fixed within a royal reign.¹¹⁷ One of the most famous and extensive regnal records known is the 'Sumerian king-list', which was construed around 2100 B.C. The original list contains ca. 115 names in succession and it was rotated into hegemonic epochs where different cities reigned in a continuous legion. One may assume that many epochs were artificially set as successive instead of overlapping order for propagandistic purposes. Nevertheless, all the named dynasties and rulers seem to be authentic – the only fault is in anachronistic manipulation.¹¹⁸

Ancient regnal lists with rather accurate chronologies are known from many countries. Among the most heralded ones were the lists of Assyrian rulers, Chinese emperors, Egyptian pharaohs, kings of Ceylon, and rulers of Silla-Koryo (Korea).¹¹⁹ When the figures for building up chronologies are nonexistent, the historians usually have made their own instruments to measure

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114 For episodic dating, consult e.g. WILCOX 1987:51–82, 221–51. The Classical historian Herodotus for instance used episodic chronology with references to regnal span generations within a relative temporal framework. Consult, Herodotus (5th C. B.C.) 1972.

115 For more on genealogies and pedigrees in chapter II:3.1.

116 For Polynesian genealogies, see e.g. WOOD 1932 (Tonga); ROBERTON 1956 (Maori) and about lists, see TRUHART 1985, part ii:2237–41 (Hawaii), 2246–48 (Samoa), 2254–6 (Tahiti), 2258 (Easter Island). See also genealogical charts in STOKVIS 1888 (tome i):545–54 (especially about Hawaii). Usually individual life- or reign spans were not recorded by numbers and the chronologies reconstructed by the historians from this scanty basis had to be built around estimated figures like an 'average generation'. The historians have employed figures like 25 or 30 years for average generation, whereas when applied to reigns both appear to be an overestimation, which in the long run are extending chronologies considerably. According to my studies, an average generation should be set to 20 years and an average regnal span in most cases to 16.5 years (compare appendices 6, 6b and 6c.) For calculating average generations, see also e.g. HENIGE 1974:passim.

117 Many ancient records are built in the forms like: "It happened during the seventh year of king..." "The year when the temple of.....was dedicated" "The year when thewere conquered". See e.g. BUTTERFIELD 1981:24-8.

118 For 'Sumerian king-list', see particularly JACOBSEN (1939) 1973; and also HENIGE 1974:42-4; BUTTERFIELD 1981:25–7. Concerning the manipulation of the 'Sumerian king-list' I also have received personal consultation from Assyriologist Simo PARPOLA (1996).

119 For the list of Assyrian rulers, ROSS 1980:45–8 and GRAYSON 1980. For Chinese emperors, ROSS 1980:141–51 and TRUHART 1985 (part ii):1124–64. For Egyptian pharaohs, ROSS 1980:169–81, TRUHART 1984 (part i):137–49, and QUIRKE 1990. For kings of Ceylon, ROSS 1980:128–33. For rulers of Silla-Koryo (Korea), ROSS 1980:314–7.

the elapsed time. As with the genealogies, the most common method is to estimate an average minor episode of time, e.g. the reign. However, many historians and anthropologists have used the span of generation as their standard here. By using this method and standard (with commonly calculated 25–30 year spans for a generation), one will run out of realities considerably. The average regnal span, especially in long lists, is actually much shorter (see appendix 6).¹²⁰

The royal lists of rulers and genealogies were in most cases chronologies to validate, valorize, and concretize the sacred history. They could often be altered for politico-religious reasons, but being sacred, divine substances, they were often kept rather intact for the same motives. And sacred history usually means the Canonic history of a society or a dynasty. Aspects of canonic presentations are qualities like: perfection, beauty, magnificence, longevity, sanctification, and preservation. With so many qualifications the keeping and formulation of canonic history were assigned to a specialized class of experts in ancient societies. They had to be learned men, scribes and scientists, official record-keepers, calendar priests etc. They used mnemonic devices and writing along with their sophisticated knowledge of calendars: to preserve ancient information accurately. They also built up recorded narrative texts, ‘flesh over the bones’ on plain chronologies. Stories of the deeds of ancestors, handed down by oral tradition, were consolidated and coherent historical narratives were constructed.¹²¹

2.3. Andean cosmology and the concept of history

During the recent decades it has become a kind of truism that the native Andean culture and the Spanish Colonial civilization shared close to nothing in common. It has been said that they had totally distinct world views, contrasting concepts of time and history, and foreign principles in government and rulership. Severe criticism of Colonial writing has increased at the same time. This culminated a few years ago when the 500-year anniversary of New- and Old World encounter was celebrated.¹²²

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120 Long king lists are known from ancient states like Ethiopia, Songhay, Mali, Kanem-Bornu, Armenia, Georgia, Magadha, Kashmir, Nepal, Champa, Arakan, and Japan, but containing poor chronological references, especially for the earlier periods. Long lines of Babylonian rulers are provided with chronological accuracy which corresponds to the Assyrian list. On the other hand, long lists with no chronological references are mainly from Black African and Polynesian societies (STOKVIS 1888; TRUHART 1984–5; ROSS 1980). For comparative analysis of dynastic lists and average regnal span, see HILTUNEN 1993. According to my studies, the average regnal spans should be set as follows: for short dynasties (up to 12 successions) 18.5 years, for macrodynasties (up to 35 successions) 16.5 years, and multiple dynasties (up to more than a hundred successions) 14.8 years. For more, consult chapter II:3.1. and appendix 6b.

121 For sacred and canonic history, see e.g. HENIGE 1974; VANSINA 1985; CHAVALAS 1994.

122 For criticism of Colonial writing and the 500-year anniversary, see e.g. JARA & SPADICINI 1989. For problems of correlating Andean tradition and ethnohistory to Western concepts of history, see e.g. SPALDING 1972; WACHTEL 1977; PEASE 1978; EARLS & SILVERBLATT 1978; SALOMON 1978:2–12; ADORNO 1982, 1991; HARRISON 1989; ZUIDEMA 1989, 1990; HOWARD-MALVERDE 1990; URTON 1990;

The structuralist scholars particularly have emphasized the distinctive aspects in Andean and European cultural spheres. According to them, the Andean world view was holistically cyclical, their diachronical orientation was weak, their socio-cultural structures and rulership were built up on dualistic principles, and the information in Spanish chronicles is distorted and heavily influenced by European notions and cultural values.¹²³

The present study challenges these structuralist viewpoints, and proves that the traditional historicist approach should be taken anew in a serious reconsideration. In this view, which I will call a 'neo-traditional' perception, the Andean world do not appear too much alien, especially in the context of dynastic elite culture, its political principles, power structures, and imperialistic ideologies, in relation with cross-cultural analogies. Furthermore, the explicit cyclicity will be replaced by quasi-cyclical concepts encompassing implicit

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 PATTERSON 1991, and LORANDI 1992. According to ZUIDEMA (1962:12), "A few authors, Uhle, Jijon y Caamaño and Latcham, already suspected the non-historical nature of so-called Inca history." Compare, JIJON Y CAAMANO, Jacinto (1934) 1959. *Orígenes del Cuzco. Sobreireto de la Revista del Museo e Instituto Arqueológico de la Universidad Nacional del Cuzco*, No. 18, Cuzco. See also, LATCHAM 1928; UHLE 1912. ZUIDEMA (1990:34-5) states also that, "It would be an error to try to reconstruct an Inca history localized in Cuzco, based on facts that are not the least 'historical' in our sense of word. Indeed, all these histories of ancestors are derived from mythical models similar to those found in other parts of Peru...It is nonetheless obvious that these 'histories' can help us to understand how the Incas themselves conceived of their own past...In conclusion, we will be able to look at the problems of historiography faced by the sixteenth-century Spaniards who were trying to decipher this social model in terms of a Western type of royal dynasty."

123 See e.g. ZUIDEMA 1962, 1989, 1990, 1990b; WACHTEL 1977; DUVIOLS 1979b, PEASE 1981, 1991; MILLONES 1982; SALOMON 1982b, 1991; ROSTWOROWSKI DE DIEZ CANSECO 1983; BOUYSSÉ-CASSAGNE 1987, 1988; NETHERLY 1990; URTON 1990; PÄRSSINEN 1992; and HURTADO 1993. Franklin PEASE (1981) has been one of the most severe critics in these matters. According to him, "this Europe-centered attitude on the part of the chroniclers was clear in their picture of the *Tawantinsuyu*...conceived along the lines of a European kingdom, with relations similar to those which existed between European feudal lords and vassals...The organization of the Cuzcan state was seen at the time by the chroniclers according to European forms, and with a comparable administrative systems...The Inka was for the chroniclers a king who came to power through a system of inheritance, definitely based on 'legitimacy' and primogeniture, as understood in the European manner...The chronicles show us *one Inka* constantly repeating himself through the members of a genealogical tree...Each *Inka* appeared as the head of one of the *panaqa* or Cuzcan kinship group, and we should realize that all of these functioned simultaneously" (ibid., 244-51.) Gary URTON (1990) writes:

"the various accounts that are given in the chronicles concerning the Inka kings may well represent Spanish (mis-) interpretations of the institution of Inka kingship according to the European models of dynasties and principles of dynastic succession with which the Spaniards of the sixteenth century were very familiar. Therefore, because of the impossibility of evaluating the historicity of the material in the chronicles from an indigenous, pre-Hispanic point of view, we can not use the data provided by the Spanish chronicles with any confidence to construct a history of the Inkas. Rather, the chronicles should be viewed, according to Zuidema, as [assumed to] containing intentional representations of the organization and structure of the Inka empire that were informed and motivated by various pre-Hispanic and colonial political, social, ritual, and other considerations by both the indigenous informants and the chronicles themselves" (ibid., 6.) SCHAEDEL 1998 (correction in brackets). Frank SALOMON (1982) summarizes in a more balanced form that, "the Andean 'sense of history' demanded not a chain of events, but a pattern of events. That it was, and still is, cyclical, has been well established" (ibid., 10-11.)

linear notions within. And finally, the chronicles are treated with less ambivalent attitude. We may suppose, that most of these early accountants were well versed observers, who wrote down exactly what they saw or what was told to them by native informants. If they wrote about sovereign kings, dynasties, magnificent imperial structures etc., these things really were not any 'European inventions' but universal features, which are found from ancient states everywhere.¹²⁴

I want to cite here the words of an Andean author, Carlos MAMANI CONDORI (1989): "It seems likely that our concepts of history have not always been cyclical, and that Indian culture developed this vision under Colonial domination as a defence mechanism and as a means of recovering its historical destiny. In any event, it is clear that Colonial oppression has been a major factor in shaping our own ideology."¹²⁵

A few decades ago, when e.g. KARSTEN (1946), ROWE (1946), MASON (1957/1979), and BAUDIN (1962) were writing about Inca culture, it was commonly held that the astronomic-calendar skills of the ancient Andeans were relatively simplistic and far below the sophistication found in Mesoamerica, for instance.¹²⁶ This view has changed a lot during the last decades – to the advantage of the Andeans. Our general understanding of Native American cosmologies has increased significantly by the perceptions of new methods in

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124 The problem with the structuralist viewpoints are in their analogical value, especially when these models are applied to imperial structures of ancient states. E.g. LEVI-STRAUSS (1963/1977) and ZUIDEMA (1962) have favored tribal models taken from tropical South America. Other scholars have used models taken from indigenous chiefdoms. As an example of a working Andean dual organization, the Lupaca case has often been referred to. Also Joanne RAPPAPORT's studies (1990, 1994) among the southern Colombian chiefdoms, has been used analogical models for the Andean perceptions of world, time and history. This basic problem naturally comes forth simply due the lack of relevant historical analogies. And this is because, the imperial dynastic structures have disappeared, destroyed, or been inaccessible to be studied properly. It is hard to see anything in common with a simple tribal organization and a complex inner infrastructure of a dynamic and ideologically oriented conquest state, which was striving for confines of a 'World'. With reference to 'European models' or inventions as reflected in indigenous Andean context, one could ask why these same themes occur in the narratives relating aspects of Mesoamerican native societies. Many kinds of sources are more abundant there than in the Andes, and could indisputably confirm that the accounts of the chroniclers have a high degree of accuracy in descriptions of indigenous institutions, manners and notions. These chronicles contain detailed descriptions of e.g. the Aztec kingship institution, historically oriented elites, dynastic successions, schools etc. which contained many features in common with the European equivalents, but other characteristics distinct. All was written down in a seemingly objective manner, even the most distinctive of all Mesoamerican cultural features: the institution of massive human sacrifice. Why would the Andean chroniclers have been less objective and less capable in such accounts?

125 MAMANI CONDORI 1989:55. According to him, "it seems clear that a cyclical vision of history is typically found in societies affected by profound crisis... Since 1532, Tawantinsuyu has been in crisis" (ibid.)

126 It is not uncommon even today to meet in popular literature old stereotypic perceptions of the three major pre-Columbian civilizations of the Americas: the Mayas, the Aztecs, and the Incas. The Incas and the Mayas represent opposites in this picture: the former were pragmatic builders and administrators, the latter artists and philosophers. The Aztecs were hybrids which shared characters from the both poles. This view is well clad in Victor von HAGEN's (1957/1961) book *The Ancient Sun Kingdoms of the Americas*.

the field of archaeoastronomy, for instance.¹²⁷ At the same time intra-cultural and ethnohistorical studies which emphasize functional, structural, and holistic aspects within native societies, have provided important contributions too.¹²⁸ Moreover, re-evaluation of primary ethnographic data, i.e. chronicles dealing with this subject, has also much to do with this progress.¹²⁹

Modern writings frequently emphasize the cyclical nature of Andean cosmology. However, according to current understanding, these notions should be understood as having been used concurrently among most major civilizations of antiquity. Most probably the Andeans were not any exception in this matter either, especially when the theme is associated with the notions of their elites.

As a matter of fact, linearity is expressed in a very impressive way in the Andean landscape. It can be seen in the Incan roads, *ceques*, Nazca lines, and aqueducts as manifestations of linear perception. Roads, *ceques*, and aqueducts all have starts and ends with the concept of progression inseparably twined within (movement, walking, flowing etc.) Both roads and *ceques* were dotted with stops: towns and *tambos* in the former, and *huacas* in the latter.¹³⁰

The famous Inca relay-system, *chasquis*, is a good example. Along all the major roads small posts were built for runners at intervals of approximately 2 or 3 kms. The runners carried messages from post to post at an amazing speed – information moved in time and space and was controlled from the imperial capital. The *chasquis* carried light burdens and *quipus* containing important

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- 127 For more about archaeoastronomy in the Americas, see e.g. AVENI (1975, 1980.) See also BAUER and DEARBORN 1995.
- 128 Compare e.g. studies of ZUIDEMA 1962, 1975, 1982b, 1986, 1989, 1990, 1992; BREITINGER 1976; MURRA 1980; URTON 1981/1988, 1990; ASCHER & ASCHER 1981, 1986, 1989; ZIOLKOWSKI & SADOWSKI 1989, 1989b, 1992; ROSTWOROWSKI DE DIEZ CANSECO 1983, 1988; KUBLER 1984; BOYSSE-CASSAGNE 1986, 1988; HYSLOP 1990; DOVER et al. 1992; SHERBONDY 1992; CLASSEN 1993; and BAUER n.d.
- 129 The best primary sources concerning the Andean cosmology can be found in the writings of Polo de Ondegardo (1571), Molina (1573–75), Anonymous Jesuit (ca.1585–90), Acosta (1588–90), Huarochiri Ms. (ca.1600), Avila (1608), Garcilaso de la Vega (1609), Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamayhua (1613), Poma de Ayala (1615), Arriaga (1621), Montesinos (1642–44), and Cobo (1653).
- 130 For comparative Andean lines, see e.g. MORRISON 1980; BAUER n.d. For Inca roads, see e.g. HYSLOP 1984. According to HYSLOP (ibid., 340–43) the Inca road system had besides its pragmatic function, a profound ideological importance as manifestation of imperial power in space and mundial geography. The *tampus* were marks in the map and locatives easy to be referred to. The meaning of the roads for thinking cyclically or linearly has been perceived in João de PINA-CABRAL's (1994:59–69) study of Alto Minho's peasant community in northwestern Portugal. His initial words are: "In all cultures, time is experienced as a multi-faceted phenomenon." There are two kinds of roads in Alto Minho: old *carreiros* and new *caminhos*. The motion along the former was seen being roundabout and cyclical, while along the latter the movement is straight and linear. The former were also used for traditional and ceremonial purposes, while the new roads express change and progress to the community. Analogically, we may see the ancient Andean *ceques* as ceremonial roads expressing cyclicity (within linearity), and the Inca *Capac ñan*'s (royal highways), spatial manifestations of linearity and progress.

administrative information.¹³¹ In a similar way *ceque* lines radiated from the center toward peripheries and had stops, holy *huacas*, built at certain intervals. Those *huacas* were all unique and had mytho-historical affinities in time and space. Pilgrimages started from the center and progressed toward peripheries and pilgrims stopped at each *huaca* in the row.¹³² While such evident linear expressions dotted the Andean landscape, we can safely assume that linear metaphors were understood and used on the metaphysical level also. And one such arena must have been in their concept of time and history. Moreover, the ontology of Inca imperial existence contain the linear ideas of progress, succession, uniqueness, and continuity: in the territorial expansion and historical development of *Tahuantinsuyo*.¹³³

The *ceque* system has been compared with the *quipu*. Its spatial formation was very similar to the spread-out threads of the *quipu* where the knots represented *huacas*. Accordingly, the form, structure, and reading order of *quipus* was built up according to principles of linearity.¹³⁴ Tom ZUIDEMA (1962) has made a classic study of *ceque* system and arrangement around Inca Cuzco, but the most current ideas concerning its development and distribution are presented by Brian BAUER (1996). Having found references in Colonial documents and using new interpretations of archaeological data, BAUER has indicated that this system was not restricted to Cuzco area, but was part of a larger Andean phenomena. He has also noticed inaccuracies in former interpretations and found evidences that the system was not so hidebound that has been thought hitherto. According to him, this system was able to adapt to social and territorial changes, and various power groups manipulated aspects of this ritual system to their advantage through the centuries. Consequently, the system was dynamic and able to respond to particular events of history.¹³⁵

ZUIDEMA (1982) and BAUER have noticed that one particular *ceque* line and *huaca*: the Vilcañota shrine, had a special significance. It was the longest of these radial lines, ending on a high pass which has separated the realms of the

131 ROWE 1946:231–2; KENDALL 1973/1978:109–110. According to the cyclico-linear thought of the Mayans for instance, the time units were gods which carried messages and burdens from one unit to another (THOMPSON 1960:59.)

132 See e.g. ZUIDEMA 1962/1964:passim; BAUER n.d., passim. For the meaning of the word *ceque*, González Holguín ([1608] 1952:81) *ceque*: “raya línea término”.

133 For linear metaphors in Andean thinking, compare e.g. the sight as associated with past (CLASSEN 1993:6), i.e. history, and the *ceques* were also ‘sight lines’ (ibid., 68.); consequently, they were linear manifestations of Inca history on the landscape. A culture which associates past with sight and iconography cannot prefer orality in its historiography. The Quechua term for the King’s patriline, i.e. dynasty, was *checan ceque* ‘stright line’ (ZUIDEMA 1990:22.) Jeannette SHERBONDY writes (1992:47): “These peoples have often been thought as peoples without history, yet they have their own versions of their own history and they certainly did not lead a changeless, cyclical existence prior to Spanish conquest.”

134 ZUIDEMA 1975; ZIOLKOWSKI 1989. For the linear structure and reading of the *quipus* (BAUER 1996, personal communication.)

135 See, BAUER, n.d. (pp. 236–8) *The Sacred Landscape of the Inca: The Cusco Ceque System*. For primary information on the *ceque*-lines, see Polo de Ondegardo (ca. 15590–61) 1917; Albormoz (1585) 1967; and Cobo (1653:lib.xviii, caps. xiii–xvi) 1964:169–186. Read also, ROWE 1985b.

Collas and Incas for centuries. It was used in pilgrimages especially during the so-called *Capac Cocha* rituals, held on the rarest occasions, e.g. when a new Inca ascended to power.¹³⁶ Interestingly, this Vilcañota site has a special historical importance in Montesinos' narrative too (I will return to this topic later.)

The ceque system has also thought having had a close relationship with the Andean calendar. This idea is especially elaborated by Tom ZUIDEMA (1975, 1982b, 1989, 1990.) His argument is based on Cobo's list of 328 *huacas* along the 41 *ceques* around Cuzco, and to figures 8 (number of days in the Andean week) and 12 (number of months in the Andean year).¹³⁷

As stated earlier, our general understanding of Andean calendrics has increased remarkably during the last decades. Gary URTON's (1981/1988) ethnoastronomical studies among the contemporary Andean Quechua-speakers in the Cuzco area have shown interesting cosmological survivals from the Pre-Columbian times. These studies indicate that the Andeans made far more numerous and complicated stellar observations than has hitherto been believed. The Milky Way was a focus of all major observations, a linear stream of stars which was called Mayu "River". Along this celestial "river" a number of so-called 'Dark Cloud Animal' constellations were seen, which might have had zodiacal function also.¹³⁸ It seems that astrology as a science

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 136 ZUIDEMA 1982:439-49, 1989:514-7; BAUER, *ibid.*, 214-8. According to ZUIDEMA (1989), there was a ritual and mytho-historical connection between Huanacauri (close to Cuzco), Vilcañota *huaca*, and Tiahuanaco site. It was in the 'direction of the birth of the Sun' and the name of the site, *Vilcañota*, means 'House of the Sun' in Aymara. The continental divide in Vilcañota was called *Wirauma*, which had a double meaning: in Quechua 'fathed', and in Aymara 'the roof of water', i.e. 'watershed' (SULLIVAN 1996:109.)

137 From these the following combination ensued: $8 \times 41 = 328$; $12 \times 27 \frac{1}{3} = 328$. The figure $27 \frac{1}{3}$ is the number of days in the sidereal month (ZUIDEMA 1975:229-233.) There are some implicit references to a 8-day week in Andean calendar in Pedro Pizarro's (1571), Cobo's (bk.12, chap.37), and Garcilaso's (bk.6, chap.35) accounts (*ibid.*) It has been questioned however, if the Incas knew or used the sidereal month in their calendar. According to SADOWSKI (1989:209-10.), "As far as we know the Incas were not particularly interested in the starry background of the *lunar path* in the sky (excluding the Pleiades) and without such frame of reference it is practically impossible to recognize the sidereal movement of the moon with sufficient precision" (*ibid.*) Moreover, as BAUER's current study indicates, the number of *ceque*-lines is not certain and less so with the *huacas*. If the system had calendrical function, it should have been strictly fixed in time and space.

For primary information, see Cobo (1653:lib.xiii, caps. xiii-xvii) 1990:51-84. According to BAUER (n.d.) "Analysis of information contained within the *Relación de las Huacas* suggests that the original ceque system manuscript which Cobo copied into his chronicle, was written in Cusco between 1559 and 1572. A review of existing Spanish sources indicates that a number of prominent Spaniards, who inhabited or visited Cusco during this 13 year period, were familiar with indigenous huaca worship. They include Cristóbal de Alborno, Cristóbal de Molina, Juan Polo de Ondegardo, Pedro Córdoba Mexía, Juan de Matienzo, José de Acosta, Martín de Murúa, and Viceroy Francisco de Toledo. Most of these men were not only aware of huacas, they led active field campaigns to destroy them. Among these individuals, Polo de Ondegardo, twice Chief Magistrate of Cusco, stands out as the most likely author of the original ceque system manuscript" (226.)

138 URTON 1981/1988:passim. The 'Dark Cloud Constellations' "are located in that portion of the Milky Way where one sees the densest clustering of stars and the greatest surface brightness, and where the fixed clouds of interstellar dust (the dark cloud constellations)

had similar importance and sophistication in Inca society as has been found among many other ancient civilizations. Montesinos has emphasized this aspect in his narrative and gives descriptions of several ancient kings who were famous astrologers.¹³⁹

The Andean *quipus* may have contained historical information, as has been stated. The numerical positions in these cords expressed the idea of progress: tens, hundreds, thousands etc. Even though the Incas did not play with such large numbers as the Mayans for instance, they obviously knew and used the values of 1,000,000 at least.¹⁴⁰ So they had word choice to perceive temporal progresses of long duration. It seems that a special color, black, was restricted to define passing of time, i.e. history, in Andean *quipus*.¹⁴¹

The mathematical and the caledrical ideas of the Andeans were very close to those of the Europeans. Both used decimal systems and years were divided into 12 months. Since the arithmetic and calendar ideas are basic elements to build up chronologies, one may expect similar kinds of systems to develop among divergent societies once these structural units are the same.¹⁴²

The ancestral cult, *pacarina*, so central in Andean cosmology, needed historical perception. It was essential to remember the names and deeds of the ancestors, and most conveniently this memorizing may have worked through *quipu* records. In this respect, the ancestors were like unique 'knots' in a 'string' of history.¹⁴³

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which cut through the Milky Way therefore appear in sharper contrast. From the earth, these dark spots appear to be huge shadows or silhouettes pasted against the bright Milky Way. In contrast to star-to-star constellations, which I have characterized as inanimate, geometrical, or architectural figures, the dark cloud constellations are either animals or plants, usually the former" (ibid., 109.)

139 Montesinos (1644) 1882:passim. Santo Tomás' early Quechua dictionary ([1560] 1951:333) gives a title, *pachap onanchac*: "astrologo de los movimientos".

140 ASCHER 1986:263.

141 LOCKE 1923:15–16. "The quipu was probably used as memoria technica, in memorizing historical items, poems, lists of kings, etc. Such assertions are too frequent occurrence to be ignored", concludes LOCKE (ibid., 31.) Interestingly, another highland civilization, the Tibetans, used similar means in historical recording than the Andeans. Terrien de LACOUPERIE ("On the Beginnings of Writing in and Around Thibet". *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*. 1885. XVII) gives a following account: "Before the reign of their famous king, Strong btsan sgam-po (629–698) the Tibetans had no writing. Notched sticks and knotted cords were their means of communication, but we have no information on these processes" (a quotation in LOCKE 1923:62.) (italics mine)

142 According to Maria ASCHER (ibid.), "the calendric ideas of a culture are a part of, or related to, their mathematical ideas." Furthermore, "We are assuming that people in different cultures have some mathematical concepts in common...Clearly the quipus did not influence any practitioners of Western mathematics. The set of concepts cannot be said to be before, after, or at any particular time in Western mathematics...The Incan concepts of spatial configuration remind us more of ideas that came later in Western mathematics" (ASCHER & ASCHER 1981:164-5.) The decimal system was a dominant type in indigenous America (CLOSS 1989:3.) WHITROW (1989:14) writes: "Our idea of time is thus closely linked with the fact that our process of thinking consist of a linear sequence of discrete acts of attention. As a result, time is naturally associated by us with counting, which is the simplest of all rhythms. It is surely no accident that the words 'arithmic' and 'rhythm' are derived from a common root meaning 'to flow'."

143 *Pacarina* was a place of origin and an ancestral seat. In Inca lore this was either Titicaca or Pacaritampu. The tombs of ancestors became holy places, and among the royals their corpses were mummified and kept in the temples. For this concept, read e.g. MROZ 1992:127–72.

One particular criticism has been occasionally set forth concerning the Inca notion of history. According to Åke WEDIN (1966), for instance, the *quipus* possibly were not used to record the number of years of each Inca's life or reign, even though it would have been possible to preserve this kind of information in them.¹⁴⁴ This assumption may be derived from Cobo's (1653) statement, that the Indians did not count their age in years, or did not have any fixed points in time from which to measure historical events. One should notice, however, that Cobo is referring to common people rather than notions of the nobility. In speaking about *quipus*, he clearly points out how carefully historical facts are preserved in them.¹⁴⁵

Using the terms suggested by Jan VANSINA, WEDIN distinguishes three forms of "controlled" oral tradition among the Incas: the genealogic, the official-public, and the official-clandestine. He concludes that the Spaniards

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 144 WEDIN 1966:44–9. WEDIN's "point of departure is the fact that the Incas did not possess any system of writing and that their famous knot system, the *quipus* was essentially a mnemonic device to record numbers" (MÖRNER 1968:174.) The following primary sources give regnal spans for the Inca rulers: Quipocamayos (1544), Sarmiento de Gamboa (1572), Cabello de Balboa (1586), Gutierrez de Santa Clara (1600), Garcilaso de la Vega (1609), Guaman Poma de Ayala (1613), Vazquez de Espinoza (1629), and Montesinos (1642). Occasional blanks exist in Montesinos' narrative where the Inca reigns are indicated. Extant are only reigns of Inca Roca (20), Huiracocha (45), and Tupac Yupanqui (20) – which are more reasonable figures than most of the other sources (except Cabello) have given.

One plausible reason why references to Inca regnal spans are relatively scanty in Spanish chronicles, may simply be due the lack of data – caused by destruction of *quipus*. According to Quipucamayos (1544/1974:20) Atahualpa's conquering generals killed every *quipu camayocs* they could catch and burned their *quipos*. The Spaniards continued this policy. The *quipos* which had administrative value were most likely preserved, but the historical ones could become thorny for the Colonial government and propaganda. As objects of idolatry, the *quipos* became troublesome for the Church also. The general declaration of destruction of *quipus* was ordered by the Council of Lima in 1583 (ASCHER & ASCHER 1981:157.) For maintenance of administrative *quipu* recording long after conquest, see e.g. MURRA 1980:110.

145 Cobo (1653:lib.xii, caps.xxiv, xxxvii) 1964:112, 1979:252. Another source, Guaman Poma (1613:194–234/1980:168–209) lists ten specific age grades for both sexes, which indicate that counting of age had some importance for commoners in Inca realm also (at least for statistics and administrative purpose). According to Cristobal de Castro y Diego de Ortega Morejon (1558), the people in the Chinchá valley were listed (in *quipus*) by their ages in 12 groups, e.g. 1–2 years, 2–4 years, 4–6 years, 8–12 years, 12–16 years, 16–20 years etc. (1936:238.) When Viceroy Toledo's advocates interviewed the Inca informants around Cuzco, the ages of these informants were frequently given accurately. For instance informants from the Ayllu de Sauasiray: Martín Maita Sauasiray (65 años), Juan Chalco Maita (30 años), Lucas Huyba Maita (45 años), Alonso Carrasco Sucso (31 años), and Francisco Vilcas (18 años) (Toledo 1570-72/1921:132–3.)

In another region, Cherrepe, where Toledo arranged a *visita* in 1572, number of Indians and their families are listed with their ages, as e.g. "Joan caprrum de treinta e quatro años casado con catalina llamo de beinte y seis años con tres hijos legítimos, pomemach de ocho años y garcia accruna de quatro años y agustin chaman de un año" (RAMÍREZ 1992:96.) However, the dates of the ages are not manifestly accurate, since the Indians in general did not know their date of birth (ibid., 83.)

Compare also references to particular ages in the dictionaries. E.g. González Holguín ([1608] 1952:223), *machup viñaynin*: "la edad de un viejo que es setenta años", *rucup viñaynin*: "la edad decrepita de nouenta"; Bertonio ([1612] 1879:59), *cumi*: "diez años".

were not able to make effective use of the valuable official-clandestine tradition.¹⁴⁶ Magnus MÖRNER (1968) in his criticism of WEDIN, states that it is “entirely possible that the length of the reigns was more truthfully recorded in the official-clandestine tradition.”¹⁴⁷

Another idea which the modern scholars, and structuralists particularly have emphasized, is the Andean dualism and its impact on socio-political structures.¹⁴⁸ The idea of dualism may have been derived from the structures and functions of the human body, as suggested by CLASSEN (1993). According to her, “the most basic expressions of Andean dualism – male/female (*urco/china*), right/left (*paña/llogue*), high/low (*hanan/hurin*), external/internal (*hahua/ucupi*) and so on – originate in the structure of the human body (*ucu*)”. The human body has four corners or extensions (two feet and two hands), but only one head. From this duality emerged also tripartition when the central element, head or heart was added to entity. The reason and the emotions were located in the heart (*sonco*), and the memory in the head (*uma*).¹⁴⁹

The problem in CLASSEN’s model, and particularly in structural derivatives of it, is a too one-tracked search of exclusive dual principles from every aspects of the context. This model does not emphasize too much of the fact, that in the human body, there is only one head, one heart, and one navel. Although these are connected with the idea of Creator God Viracocha and Inca as a mediating element between opposite halves, the uniqueness of these dominant forces is not clarified well enough.¹⁵⁰

The emperor, Inca, represented the head and heart of the empire in a similar fashion as its capital, Cuzco. He was an essential mediating force between the

146 WEDIN 1966:32–39. See also, MÖRNER 1968:174.

147 MÖRNER 1968:174–6. One may suggest that the Inca reigns given by Cabello de Balboa (1586) may be derived from a tradition like this. Cabello’s dates for the latest Incas have generally been accepted as most reasonable (ROWE 1945; WEDIN 1963.) Cabello’s data may have originated from Christobal de Molina (1573) (MEANS 1928:397; PORRAS BARRANECHEA 1986:349–53), who was one of the most borrowed sources among the Spanish chronicles of Peru (see chapter I:2.) “It is interesting also that Cabello knew and rejected Sarmiento’s dates” (ROWE 1945:277.) (I have been unable to locate this reference from Cabello’s account, however.)

148 See e.g. ZUIDEMA (1962/1964, 1989, 1990b); WACHTEL (1971/1977); DUVIOLS (1979b); PEASE (1981); BOUYSSSE-CASSAGNE (1986); PÄRSSINEN (1992). See chapter IV:1 about the Incas.

149 CLASSEN 1993:12–6, 153. The location of memory in the head is not stated explicitly in early sources. According to CLASSEN (ibid., 153) “The Quechua term for memory, in fact, is *yuyana huma* ‘head thought’, while that for understanding is *sonco yuyana* ‘heart thought’.” González Holguin ([1608] 1952:585), “memoria del entendimiento”: *soncco yuyana*, “memoria la potencia”: *yuyanahuma*.

150 In this cosmogony Viracocha, the Creator God, acted as a mediating force between opposing halves, just like the ruler, Inca, in socio-political world. This mediating element was also *pachacuti*, world reversal and the intermediate period between the ages – in the Andean thinking of history. The body was also seen like a hydraulic system, of which all its functions (movements of limbs, for instance) were depended on. (CLASSEN 1993:15–25, 31–3.) CLASSEN (ibid., 98) maintains, however, that “while the Inca represented the whole of the empire, at the same time he symbolized its apex (head, or *uma*) and its center (heart, or *sonco*).”

elements of cosmos – a common metaphoric status of a ruler in numerous cultures of antiquity. The ruling Inca was a ‘Tree of Life’ even though the Incas did not use that common metaphor of many other cultures; instead they used a related extension of the same idea: *mallqui* (young plant). This is how they called the dead bodies of ancestors, especially their rulers. In contrast with many other societies, the Incas thought that not only the living ruler but also his ancestors constantly influenced contemporary life and the future. Like plants, these corpses mediated between the worlds.¹⁵¹

Following the principles of dualism, a diarchial model for Inca kingship has been suggested by some modern Andean scholars.¹⁵² However, the position of Inca ruler appears unique in the light of these metaphors – a view which simply does not fit into the model of diarchy. The only sensible idea of dualism at the top of Incan hierarchy which had both practical and symbolic meaning, was a relationship between the imperial couple, Inca and Coya. In this marriage masculine and feminine forces of cosmos interlocked in a most natural way.¹⁵³

The idea of past and future in the Andean thought was connected with the human body too. Past situated in front (*ñauca*), because it is known and could be ‘seen’. Future, on the other hand, situated behind (*quepa*), because it cannot be seen, but through foretelling it could be ‘heard’. The passage of time could have been seen by the metaphor of walking. A revolutionary event, *pachacuti* (reversal of space/time), could be represented by the metaphor of the body turning around, and then “the structures of the past would become submerged in the fluidity of the future, and the world would be restructured according to new principles.”¹⁵⁴

The Andean ideas of history and course of time were thus associated with bodily senses of sight and hearing. The past and sight were embodied in royal mummies, *tocapus*, *quillcas*, and *quipus*, and the future and hearing in *huacas*. The unity of auditory and visual was essential in their historiography.¹⁵⁵

One fundamental aspect in Andean cosmology was the notion of multiple creations and world ages. It is commonly maintained in numerous writings that the Andeans had a belief in four or five successive creations or ages. This concept is presented in most elaborate form in the accounts of Guaman Poma de Ayala and Fernando de Montesinos.¹⁵⁶

151 For the Inca royal mummies, KENDALL 1973/1978:69–71; BRUNDAGE 1967/1985:39–44; CLASSEN 1993:89–91. The Mayans for instance associated their kings to ‘Tree of Life’ (FREIDEL et al. 1993:passim.)

152 See e.g. ZUIDEMA (1962/1964, 1989, 1990b), DUVIOLS (1979b), ROSTWOROWSKI DE DIEZ CANSECO 1983, and PÄRSSINEN (1992). For more, see chapter IV:1.

153 For the primary dualism of king and queen, compare FRAZER 1911/1930–5:passim., 1920/1968:160–228; HOCART 1927:99–112, 1936/1970:97–101. The idea of Inca diarchy is more closely treated in chapter IV:1.

154 CLASSEN 1993:13–9, 112.

155 Compare, *ibid.*, 6, 69–72.

156 Guaman Poma de Ayala (1615:49–78) 1980:40–61; Montesinos (1644) 1882:passim. ZUIDEMA (1962:206–28, 1995:344–58) is one who has used this model in his studies. Within the four or five “Suns” or macrocycles the Incas incorporated quinquartite and decimal systems as follows: the duration of each macrocycle 1000 years, 500 years forming

George KUBLER (1984) has drawn attention to Andean concepts of multiple creations and found that sixteen distinct chronicles have dealt with this subject. When these sources are compared, an interesting tendency comes forth: the number of creations increased from the earlier accounts towards the later ones.¹⁵⁷

The earlier accounts state that there were only two distinct creations. The story of four or five ages/creations exists only in Murua's, Guaman Poma's, Montesinos', and Calancha's accounts.¹⁵⁸ However, KUBLER fails to mention one additional source, Buenaventura Salinas y Cordoba (1630), which also presents a theory of four ages – actually in a very similar fashion as Guaman Poma de Ayala.¹⁵⁹ These two and a third author, Murua, shared so many ideas in this matter that one common source is suspected.¹⁶⁰ So it seems that only three distinct later sources have handled the idea of four/fivefold ages.¹⁶¹ Since all our sources before ca. 1600 did not refer to more than two ages and creations, we have every reason to believe that this could have been the original Andean cosmological perception. But where did the idea of four of five ages then come from?

KUBLER points to one particular source, *Historia General de las Indias or Hispania Victrix* by Francisco Lopez de Gómara, which appeared in 1552 as one of the earliest published accounts of native civilizations in the *Indies*, and the very first which put together both Mexican and Peruvian topics. The

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 one *pachacuti*, and imperial regnal span 100 years. Sarmiento's account of Inca reigns was supposedly meant to represent this ideal: 1000 years' of Inca rule subdivided into 10 reigns, with 100 years per each ruler. In fact, Sarmiento's history follows this rule only up to Tupac Yupanqui, and had a mistakenly short reign for Sinchi Roca. The remaining kings thereafter were allowed shorter reigns, arbitrary corrections to achieve the desired chronological result (ibid.)

157 KUBLER 1984:197–11. KUBLER has divided these chronicles as two chronological groups: 1. 1550–1572. Pedro Gutierrez de Santa Clara, Juan de Betanzos, Francisco Lopez de Gómara, Pedro Cieza de León, Bartolome de las Casas, Juan Cristobal Calvete de Estrella, and Blas Valera. 2. 1572–1633(50). Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, José de Acosta, Cristobal de Molina, Guaman Poma de Ayala, Garcilaso de la Vega, Martín de Murua, Bernabé Cobo, Fernando de Montesinos, and Antonio de Calancha.

158 ibid. See also, Calancha 1639:cap.xiv.; MEANS 1928:332 and Murúa (1590–1609:lib.i,

159 Salinas y Córdoba (1630:cap.i) 1957:13–14; IMBELLONI 1941:319–38.

160 Poma de Ayala felt antipathy toward Martín Murúa for some reason. He detests him as a horsethief and wife stealer, for instance. He accuses him for not having told the whole story of the Incas and while having started writing he did not finish it properly etc. (1615:1090) 1980:998; ADORNO 1986/1991:55. We do not know who copied from whom, but one could suspect that the said accusations 'thief' and 'stealer' actually referred to Murua's plagiarism.

161 On the list of chroniclers supporting a lesser number of creations at least the following should be added also: Luis de Oré (1598), Avila/*Huarochiri Ms.* (1600–8), Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamayhua (1613), and Anello Oliva (1631). Luis de Oré (1598:cap.ix) narrates the legend of the creator-god at Tiaguanaco with Deluge-myths. The Incas originated on an island in Lake Titicaca and moved thence to Cuzco region (MEANS 1928:423–6.) Father Avila was a possible compiler of the *Huarochiri* manuscript, where accounts of pre- and post-flood creations occurred also (*Huarochiri Ms.* ca. 1600:caps.i–v) 1991:43–60. Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamayhua (1613) 1879:234–6, also has a description of two ages: the primary one known as *Purun-pacha* and a later one, *Tutayac-pacha*, which was a time of war. Thereafter the Incas came off from the place called Apo-tampu. Anello Oliva refers to the great deluge and peopling of the world thereafter (1631:lib.i, cap.ii) 1895:17–30.

Andean creation story where the gods Con and Pachacamac created the world twice is there, whereas the account of multiple creations is also present – in the Mexican context. This multiple-creation story follows the narrative of ‘Legend of the Suns’, which is presented in its fullest form in *Codice Chimalpopoca*.¹⁶²

So it seems that some ideas of Mesoamerican cosmogony influenced certain Peruvian chroniclers through works like Gomara’s for instance. Calancha’s account of five ‘suns’ or creations is seemingly compatible with Gomara’s version of Mesoamerican cosmogony and it occurs in similar mode in Morúa’s work too.¹⁶³ Guaman Poma’s version contain more original elements, but the idea of five world ages possibly came to him from non-Andean sources too.¹⁶⁴ And Montesinos clearly presented a cosmogonic history which has resemblances with the Mesoamerican thought. José IMBELLONI (1941) and Brigitte BOEHM de LAMEIRAS (1987) have noticed these similarities in Montesinos’ work. We have found that Montesinos knew and used Lopez de Gomara as one of his sources. He also used works of Salinas y Córdoba and Calancha, where these ideas are presented. And he used rather extensively Juan de Torquemada’s *Monarquía Indiana* (1615), which must have inspired him equally.¹⁶⁵ So it seems that the idea of four/five world ages came from Mesoamerican sources, and Montesinos was well versed in these through numerous documents within his reach. One could also question if the extensive dynastic accounts narrated in *Monarquía Indiana* may have inspired Montesinos to produce a similar history for the Peruvian context.¹⁶⁶

As has been stated, the idea of double creation seems to have been widely spread and likely the original version in Andean cosmogony. Perhaps the best compilation of distinct Andean origin stories can be found in accounts of Molina del Cuzco (1575) and Bernabé Cobo (1653).¹⁶⁷ A story of a primeval universal Flood is told in numerous accounts. Usually references to the Flood in native accounts alert us to seek possible narrative tie-ins from the Old World sources. Indeed, numerous cases are documented where the ‘feed-back’ stories inspired by Biblical Flood-narrative occurred in native accounts.¹⁶⁸ This could

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162 Lopez de Gómara (1552) 1852:233; KUBLER 1984:199–201. Compare, *Codice Chimalpopoca* (1558–1570) 1938, 1945, or 1992. Gómara was a chaplain to Fernando Cortés in Spain who never went to the New World. He had access to many sources and compiled a well written work, which became widely known in spite of Crown’s opposition. (Benedict J. WARREN 1973:69–70, *An Introductory Survey of Secular Writings in the European Tradition on Colonial Middle America, 1508–1818*. In: CLINE, 1972–75.)

163 As stated above, it is possible that Murua copied ideas from Poma de Ayala. Both could have read Gomara as did Calancha also. Another Mesoamerican idea which may have influenced Peruvian chroniclers “is the tendency to credit the Creator, Viracocha, with attributes similar to those of the Aztec Creator god, Quetzalcoatl.” (DAVIES 1995:19.)

164 Referring to more original elements in Poma de Ayala’s account I state that there could exist elements of genuine ethnohistory in his narration. For more of this, see chapter IV:1.

165 Consult chapter III:3 about Montesinos’ sources.

166 Torquemada (1615) 1969. Compare, e.g. account of the Toltec and Chichimeca rulers (lib.i, caps.xi–xlvi) 1969:30–74.

167 Molina (1575) 1873:2–12; Cobo (1653:lib.xii, cap.iii) 1964:61–4.

168 For the feed-back from Biblical stories, see e.g. HENIGE 1982: 81–7.

be suspected in the Andean context too. However, the Flood story told in the Andes differs in important details from the Biblical one. The cause of the flood in the Bible was an extended rain, while in the Andes the ocean overflowed. There were no arks or big boats either. There were no named individuals neither with their families saved, nor selected animals rescued. In many Andean versions all people and animals perished. One detail corresponds however: if anyone was saved, they survived on the top of high mountains.¹⁶⁹ This concurrence matters little anyhow: it is most natural to seek the highest places whenever such catastrophe happens. According to Åke HULTKRANTZ (1967/1979), who has made extensive comparative studies on American Indian religions, the legend (or myth) of the great flood “is recorded in America from the Eskimos and Hare Indians in the north to the Araucanians in the south.”¹⁷⁰ It is very unlikely, considering the wide universality of deluge-myths, that all these have been derived from the Biblical sources.

In many versions, especially in the Peruvian coastal area, the world was first created by the god Con. Somehow things went wrong and a major flood destroyed all people. As a matter of fact this incident was not followed by a totally new creation in most cases, but only re-creation of living beings. The principal creation of the world then occurred only once, and the second god (Pachacamac in the coast) brought forth a new race of men on earth. In the highlands the name of the Creator was usually Viracocha and the place of creation at the Titicaca area. A later Incaic interpolation to this myth was their role as survivors in the Flood and ancestors of all men. In this version the flooding happened in the Titicaca area.¹⁷¹

According to the Huarochiri manuscript, which is a rare documentary survival of pre-Conquest Andean religious concepts, there was only one primary Creator god, Cuni Raya Viracocha. Later, after the great flood, a heroic god Pariacaca appeared, who did most of the activities of re-creation.¹⁷² Within this cosmogony is also attached a conviction that the world will come

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 169 KUBLER 1984. Compare, *The Bible* (Gen 6:1–22.) The ocean overflow occurs e.g. in Huarochiri narrative (ca. 1600:cap.iii) 1991:51–2. See also Cobo (1653) 1990:11–8. Louis BAUDIN (1962:31) has seen it to be ridiculous to describe Flood-events occurring in the heights of the Andes.

170 HULTKRANTZ (1967) 1979:30.

171 Compare, e.g. Cobo (1653) 1990:11–8.

172 *Huarochiri Ms.* (ca. 1600:caps.i-v) 1991:43–60. On the importance of the Huarochiri document, writes SCHAEDEL (1988:773): “A detailed reading of this manuscript, the most comprehensive ethnohistoric document available on Andean world view, provides full support for a non-authoritarian cosmology.” He also asks: “Do we have any consensus on an Andean world view?” in his article “Andean world view: hierarchy or reciprocity, regulation or control?” (ibid., 769.)

William SULLIVAN (1996) has rather uncritically accepted Guaman Poma’s account of multiple (five) Ages as an original Andean concept. In his study on Andean myths and astronomy he consults the *Huarochiri Ms.* frequently. According to him, the main body of Huarochiri myths may reflect important socio-religious events which occurred in the Central Andes during the Later Intermediate Period. The appearance of the warlike god Pariacaca corresponds to the beginnings of Age of Warriors (in Poma’s account) and collapse of the Wari empire (ibid., 218–9.)

to an end again in some unpredicted future – caused by hunger, pestilence, or fire.¹⁷³ This “turn-over of the world” or “cataclysm” was called *pachacuti*.

The concept of *pachacuti*

Andean ethnohistory memorize several personages who were known by the epithet Pachacuti. The king list of Montesinos names eight of them, there was a rebel leader at Collasuyo, Inca Atauhualpa used that title, Murúa calls Sairi Tupac by that name, and one of the chroniclers was Juan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamayhua.¹⁷⁴ The most famous was Inca Yupanqui Pachacuti (ca. 1438–1471.) Seemingly Pachacuti was a honorific royal title in the Andean world. It may have been an Andean equivalent for the epithet “Great”, which the most distinguished and bold sovereigns would be likely to incorporate in their titles.

As has been stated, the name and concept of Pachacuti was connected with the Andean cosmology. According to Montesinos’, the period of 500 years was called *pachacuti*.¹⁷⁵ This should not to be construed literally, since even in Montesinos’ own chronology this span does not fit evenly into his regnal history (see appendix 10b). More than a fixed time frame, *pachacuti* possibly was an undefined abstraction, which was intervoven into the general view of world’s undetermined end, and stood for major political changes on the more pragmatic level. These aspects are well presented in numerous etymologies of the name:

Quipocamayocs (1542–44): ‘mandamientos de tiempo’

Betanzos (1551–7): ‘vuelta del tiempo’

Las Casas (1550–9): ‘el que volvió o trastorna o trueca el mundo’

Santo Tomás (1560): ‘cien veces’

Sarmiento (1572): ‘volvedor de la tierra y hacienda’

Roman y Zamora (1575): ‘vuelta del mundo’

Cabello de Balboa (1586): ‘nuevas maneras de vivir y vuelta del mundo’

Anonimo Jesuita (ca.1585–90): ‘reformador del mundo’

Guaman Poma (1584–1615): ‘pestilencia, hambre y mortandad, tempestades’

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173 Cobo (1653) 1991:13.

174 The name of the rebel Colla leader was Coaquiri Pachacuti, Sarmiento de Gamboa (1572:cap.xlix) 1942:145. After the victorious campaign against his brother Huascar, Atauhualpa adobted the name Caccha Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui, Betanzos (1551–7:parte ii, cap.vi) 1987:221. Murúa gives the coronation name of Sairi Tupac as Manco Capac Pachacuti Yupanqui, (1590–1609:cap.xii) 1946:135.

175 Montesinos (1644) 1882:passim. According to KENDALL (1973:201): “the division of time was based on quinqupartition and decempartition (5 and 10). This system was used theoretically to divide people’s lives into approximate age groups of set time, and also to calculate other time spans. In the Inca system of dividing time, five worlds of 1000 years each had passed. A *capac-huatan* (1000 years) was the life span of a Sun, and every Sun was a world divided by two *pachacutis* (of 500 years each) when great changes were brought about. In Montesino’s list of Inca rulers the Inca Pachacuti was the ninth ruler with this name and the fifth world probably began with his reign.”

Murúa (ca.1590–1609): ‘volver la tierra’
 G. de Santa Clara (ca.1595–1603): ‘vuelta del mundo’
 Garcilaso (1609): ‘el que vuelve o trastorna o trueca el mundo’
 Salinas y Cordoba (1630): ‘trastornaua el mundo’
 Oliva (1631): ‘el Diluvio General’
 Montesinos (1642–44): ‘mitad de un Sol’
 Cobo (1653): ‘vuelta del tiempo o mundo’¹⁷⁶

Burr BRUNDAGE (1967/1985) analyzes the meaning of *pachacuti* also, and connects it to the concept of *pachatikaray*, the great ‘end of time’/‘overthrow of time’/‘world reversal’.¹⁷⁷ José IMBELLONI (1946) on his behalf, examines semantic and grammatical differences between the words *pachacuti* and *pachacutec* in the Quechua language. The word *pacha* has many distinct meanings: ‘earth’, ‘time’, ‘epoch’, ‘place’, or ‘world’ for instance. Its etymology clearly indicates that the concepts of space and time were associated in the Andean thought.¹⁷⁸ *Kuti* means ‘time’, and ‘turn’. It can also mean agricultural tool by which earth was hoed in furrows of the corn and potato fields. *Kutiy* is a verb which means ‘to turn’, and *kutec* its infinitive mode. In Aymara *pachacuti* has a meaning ‘time of war’ (tiempo de guerra), and the oldest Quechua dictionary, the lexicon of Fray Santo Tomás (1560), defines it as ‘one hundred times’ (cien veces).¹⁷⁹ A little surprising is that one of our best early sources, Cieza de León (1553), does not give any etymological or historical explanation whence the name Pachacuti came from. He also preferred the name Inca Yupanqui instead of Pachacuti.

The Andean culture and cosmology experienced a profound ‘turnover of the world’ (‘cataclysm’/ *pachacuti*), during the first years of Spanish conquest. It was world reversal of the worst kind. A similar overthrow happened in Mesoamerica.¹⁸⁰ This shocking experience surely brought amendments and new aspects to the old concept of *pachacuti*. Actually, in the Andes this ‘modern’ cataclysm was realized in two dramatic phases: the initial conquest (1532–1536) and the Toledan reforms (1569–1581). Only during this late phase

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 176 Quipocamayocs (1542–44) 1974:38; Betanzos (1551–7:parte i, cap.xvii) 1987:83; Las Casas (1550–9:cap.xvi) 1948:86; Santo Tomás (1560) 1951:333; Sarmiento de Gamboa (1572:cap.xxvii) 1942:101; Roman y Zamora (1575) 1897:19; Cabello de Balboa (1586) 1951:339; Anonimo Jesuita (ca.1585–90) 1879:173, (Valera) Garcilaso de la Vega (1609:lib.vi, cap.xxxv) 1976:tomo ii, 79; Gutiérrez de Santa Clara (ca.1595–1603) 1963:211; Garcilaso de la Vega (1609:lib.v, cap.xxviii) 1976:271; Murúa (ca.1590–1609) 1946:106; Guaman Poma (1584–1615:109) 1980:89; Salinas y Cordoba (1630:cap.i) 1957:19; Oliva (1631:lib.i, cap.ii, § i) 1895:23; Montesinos (1644:lib.ii, cap.xi) 1882:69; Cobo (1653:lib.xii, cap.xii) 1964:78. See also, IMBELLONI 1946:73–116.

177 BRUNDAGE 1967/1985:114, 274, 296, 388.

178 IMBELLONI 1946:117–130; BRUNDAGE 1967/1985:264.

179 IMBELLONI, *ibid.* For Aymara meaning ‘tiempo de guerra’, Bertonio (1612) 1984:242. For ‘cien veces’, Santo Tomás (1560) 1951:333. According to Santo Tomas, the word *cuti* meant ‘vez’; e.g. *chungacuti*: “diez veces”, *pixcacuti*: “cinco veces”, and *taguacuti*: “quatro veces” (1951:273, 340, 360.)

180 BRUNDAGE 1972:241–90; DAVIES 1977:233–304; WACHTEL 1977:1–58.

of colonizing did an acculturative apparatus taken hold.¹⁸¹ Ironically, Valera writes that the Indians saw Francisco de Toledo as a second Pachacuti who changed the world.¹⁸²

Therefore it is important to compare definitions of this concept before and after the Toledan reform. Dictionaries, for instance, can give important clues for this.

As stated earlier, the oldest Quechua dictionary (1560) gives for the concept of *pachacuti* the meaning: 'one hundred times'.¹⁸³ The later, extensive and much used dictionary of González Holguin (1608), defines it otherwise: "end of the world, or great destruction by pestilence, decline, lost, common damage"¹⁸⁴ – indeed it accords with a comprehensive description of the destructive consequences of Spanish colonialism. Even Sarmiento de Gamboa who worked on behalf of Toledo writes: "they honoured Inca Yupanqui with many epithets, especially calling him Pachacuti, which means 'overtuner of the earth', alluding to the land and farms which they looked upon as lost by the coming of the Chancas."¹⁸⁵ Betanzos' definition is important too, since he was an early pre-Toledan accountant and had a very specific relationship with the lineage of Inca Pachacuti – through his marriage. According to him, Inca Yupanqui received the title Pachacuti from his father and it means 'turn of the time'. Still, Betanzos prefers to use the name Inca Yupanqui in most places of his narration.¹⁸⁶ According to Blas Valera, Pachacuti's original name was Titu Manco Cápac, "a name he used until his father gave him the title of Pachacútec, 'reformer of the world'. He later justified this title by distinguished words and deeds, to such an extent that his earlier names were forgotten and he was never called by them."¹⁸⁷

It seems that the meaning of the concept *pachacuti* for the pre-Columbian Andean thought and cosmology has been exaggerated to some extent in modern writings,¹⁸⁸ since it was considerably elaborated during the turbulent process of

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181 KUBLER 1946; WACHTEL 1977; STERN 1982/1987; ADRIEN & ADORNO 1991; VUOLA 1992.

182 Blas Valera cited by Garcilaso de la Vega (1609:lib.vi, cap. xxxvi) 1976:tomo ii, 82.

183 Santo Tomás (1560) 1951:333.

184 González Holguin (1608) 1952:270 "El fin del mundo, o grande destrucion pestilencia, ruyna, o perdida, o daño comun".

185 Sarmiento de Gamboa (1572:cap. xxvii) 1942:101. Translation from Sarmiento de Gamboa (1572) 1908:92.

186 For Betanzos' marriage, CARMEN MARTIN RUBIO 1987:xciii. For receiving the title from his father, Betanzos (1551–7:parte i, cap. xvii) 1987:83. For the name Inca Yupanqui, see Betanzos 1987:passim.

187 Valera in Garcilaso de la Vega (1609:lib.vi, cap. xxxv) 1976:79. Translation from Garcilaso de la Vega 1966:393.

188 The concept of *pachacuti* is connected with the cyclical thought. BRUNDAGE 1967/1985:passim; BOUYASSE-CASSAGNE 1988; PEASE 1991; CLASSEN 1993. In trying to retrieve the mental atmospheres of pre-Conquest Andean people, it is better to read the earliest chronicles. Betanzos is not as good a source in this respect as Cieza de León, since he wrote his dynastic history at Cuzco largely out of the horizon of Pachacuti's lineage. On the other hand, Cieza de León travelled widely in the Andes and wrote his account barely fifteen years after the conquest. Cristóbal Molina is also a good early source. He was born

Spanish conquest and colonization. According to MAMANI CONDORI (1989), the cyclical visions of history tend to emerge in times of profound crisis. He also maintains that the colonial oppression has been a major factor in shaping Andean ideology. Writes MAMANI CONDORI: "In Andean thought, there is a concept – *pacha* – which unites the two dimensions of space and time; *pacha* was unified so long as our society controlled both dimensions. Colonization meant for us the loss of control over time, that is over history, but not over space."¹⁸⁹

The idea of world ages, or Suns (*Soles*), was possibly borrowed from Mesoamerican sources as has been stated. However, we cannot be certain whether Montesinos got that idea from Calancha, Gomara, or Torquemada, or would he have used a ready-made model presented in some older Jesuit- or other sources. On the other hand, it seems very likely that the other non-Andean arrangement interpolated into his narration – Judeo-Christian chronology – was his own invention. A third chronological apparatus used and synchronized with these two, is the *pachacuti*-periodization. Contrary with the other chronologies used, it seems to have been of Andean origin.

José IMBELLONI (1941) has presented a structural model how the *pachacuti*-periods of Montesinos could have worked in an idealized form (see appendix 10b.) In this model each *Pachacuti* should have lasted exactly 500 years. Since there were eight of them, the total length of time was 4000 years – divided into four Suns.¹⁹⁰ Even though this model looks neat and contain important cosmological numbers related to Andean thought, it has little validation from the ethnohistorical point of view. The use of exact chronological intervals was tried in this model with the two aforementioned means, but with little success in synharmony. The same can be said of his *pachacuti*-periodization. There exist considerable disparities in the lengths of time between each *Pachacuti*, especially when this data is compared with the given reigns and calculated averages. In this sense the extant arrangement in Montesinos' narrative reflects certain authenticity in sources which he used. We can speculate that if the king list and related narratives were invented by some clever chronicler, many existing disparities and contradictions would

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in Cuzco soon after the arrival of Spaniards there, and his mother was probably an Indian (MEANS 1928:396.) Although his account of fables and rites of the Incas was completed in 1575, it was preceded by decades of experiences and observations in the region. In all told, there are no traces in Molina's account of fatalism and related feelings even though he has lengthy descriptions of origin myths and has left us some Inca prayers too (Molina 1575/ 1943.) The same can be said about Cieza de León's chronicle.

189 MAMANI CONDORI 1989:53–5.

190 IMBELLONI 1941:320–343. CUNEO-VIDAL (192?:285–94) has also presented a structured interpretation of Montesinos' Pachacuti-periodization. According to him, there were 9 dynasties (including the Incas) with each one lasting 120 years (total 1080 years). He based his argument on certain classical authors in Europe (e.g. the Italian philosopher Giuseppe Ferrari), and concluded that major historical and socio-political changes occurred in periods of four generations (30 x 4 = 120 years). In the Andean context, moreover, after each *pachacuti*, an undefined interregnum occurred. Compare also, IMBELLONI (ibid., 321–2.)

have been trimmed out and worked more neatly. On the other hand, if there existed lengthy ethnohistorical data, Procrustean methods might be used – and I think we have evidences of this in Montesinos narrative (see chapter III:4.)

Montesinos has given us information about eight or nine historical individuals called Pachacuti. These epithets are mostly fixed within the Andean time frame by that name (compare appendix 10b.) But not every one of them, and this is important from our point of view. The third and the fourth Pachacuti gained their epithets by their own meritorious deeds, not because a certain cycle culminated during their time. The seventh Pachacuti was also remembered for his own sake, but by the culminating of the cycle also. On the other hand, the sixth and the eight Pachacuti were called by that name possibly for posthumous reasons – during their times the dynasties collapsed.¹⁹¹ It is possible that only part of these pre-Incan Pachacutis were historical namesakes, and the rest later inventions fitted into made-up chronologies. Interestingly, Poma de Ayala also refers to ancient rulers called Pachacuti: Y anci algunos rreys fueron llamados Pachacuti.”¹⁹²

3. The chronology of oral tradition

David L. HENIGE has written a book *The Chronology of Oral Tradition* (1974), which has been basis for several arguments presented in this chapter and in my thesis in general. HENIGE’s study concentrates on dynastic chronologies which were based upon the lists of chieftains and rulers among various oral societies. A special focus is given to all kinds of methods how these lists have been manipulated – a custom which has been practised all around the world throughout history. It is relevant to focus on aspects of dynastic propaganda particularly in the context of oral tradition, since this genre was more vulnerable for manipulation than documentary, written accounts. Hence, any credible chronology of oral tradition can be reconstructed only after the obvious or potential effects of dynastic propaganda has been observed and evaluated.

“Dynasts always lie”, said one colleague to John MOLLOY, who has done research on Toltec chronology and history. This cynical statement represents well the attitude with which many archaeologists regard history. MOLLOY writes:

“Dynasts do not always lie, but they lie a lot. Dynasts use history to legitimize themselves to themselves, their peers and their peoples. Hence, it is possible to argue that the principal function of history in early dynastic contexts is

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191 Montesinos (1644) 1882:passim.

192 Guaman Poma de Ayala (1615:94) 1980:74. According to ZUIDEMA (1962:32), Guaman Poma’s Inca history may indicate the existence of a divergent tradition.

legitimization, and concomitantly, justification for past, present and intended future behavior.”¹⁹²

When dynastic historical traditions were altered, by whatever reason, these ought to be done with skill. Like HENIGE says, “a successful genealogical invention is a bit like the perfect murder: simplicity pays.”¹⁹³ That is why the task was entrusted to a group of professional tradition-keepers in ancient societies. This class usually belonged to a historically oriented and literate elite, which held a monopoly on all esoteric information.¹⁹⁴

According to Jacques ELLUL (1968) and Joyce MARCUS (1993), the basic forms of ancient propaganda could be classified as follows:

1. verbal, artistic, and written propaganda.
2. vertical and horizontal propaganda
3. agitation and integration propaganda.¹⁹⁵

In the first group, we may encounter a categorical difference for propaganda practised in societies of oral and written tradition, even though they were not necessarily mutually exclusive. Artistic propaganda at least occur within both spheres.¹⁹⁶

Vertical propaganda is easily recognized in ancient societies. Generated by the elite its aim was to affect the commoners below them. It also had a strong ideological emphasis. Vertical propaganda could be used to prepare masses for war, for instance. This may be called agitation propaganda. Whereas the elites were trying to stabilize or maintain the current world order, they were using integration propaganda. On the other hand this latter form has frequently been aimed at competing groups of other elites. Usually the aggression was pointed at usurpers or other dynastic competitors in these cases. This form of propaganda which tries to influence groups on the same level – is called horizontal propaganda. In ancient societies, where literacy and other forms of esoteric information were in the hands of a few privileged ones, this mode of propaganda was extremely important.¹⁹⁷

According to Geoffrey CONRAD (1990), an integrated propaganda campaign could contain three purposes: indoctrination, motivation, and justification.¹⁹⁸

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192 MOLLOY 1983:18–19. John MOLLOY who writes about dynastic propaganda in Mesoamerica (1983), criticizes HENIGE’s approach to this problem: “Henige (1974) probably provides the best extant discussion of the problems encountered in dealing with dynasties and dynastic lists. He purports to be dealing with oral tradition. However, the vast majority of his data derive from limited written tradition. That is, most of the dynasties which he considers are associated with societies exhibiting an elite but not a general written tradition. *Elite written traditions are more subtle and long lived than oral traditions, and are much more likely to be reasonably correct over long periods of time.* This probably means that Henige’s analyses of oral tradition are overly critical of elite written tradition, and err on the side of disbelief. Nevertheless, Henige provides an important framework for the analysis of elite written tradition” (ibid., 13/4.) (italics mine)

193 HENIGE 1982:100. Leo OPPENHEIM (1979:123), who has studied the political propaganda of the Assyrians and the Babylonians, writes: “these details are, certainly, quite reliable, inasmuch as the inscriptions were royal pronouncements and their substance content must have been known as the official version of the reported events, so that facts of common knowledge could not easily to be falsified.”

I have presented a list of most used methods of dynastic propaganda and tradition corruption in appendix 4. It is mostly derived from the study of David HENIGE (1974), though some additions are from MOLLOY (1983), MARCUS (1993), and HILTUNEN (1993).

In general, two basic methods of manipulating information exists: omission and interpolation. Another method, called synchronism, has its own features, but it exploits these two means too, more or less. Omission is called telescoping or compressing, and interpolation artificial lengthening. Both have many variations, as one can note in the appendix. The telescope is a retractable instrument (as well as stretched), hence the term, telescoping. In dynastic contexts the method is related to notions of "structural amnesia" and "hour-glass" formulation. The first one means that along the structure of dynastic line several names have been intentionally forgotten and eliminated from the records. The image of "hour-glass" reminds us that certain periods in dynastic tradition have been emphasized; i.e. more information is set in the beginning- and ending-parts of a tradition, with minor data provided for the periods in between.¹⁹⁹

HENIGE has stated that in most societies where kinship is the primary means of social and political control, genealogies are likely to be foreshortened. In the segmentary genealogies only the few founding generations and the most recent ones are remembered. And this is because the purpose of these genealogies, in most cases, is to justify current social patterns based on kinship relations, hence, there is no purpose in preserving the memory of useless ancestors. This tendency is more often met among tribal chiefdoms with orally transmitted tradition, than in state-level societies with complex mnemo-devicial communication. Institutionalized telescoping in dynastic societies existed, but in a more subtle way: e.g. by dropping out some unconventional names from the canon.²⁰⁰

Artificial dynastic lengthening was generally more common than telescoping. We can find numerous examples of its use among ancient states

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- 194 See, for example DUMVILLE 1979:102-4; MARCUS 1992:passim.
- 195 ELLUL 1968:70-84; MARCUS 1992:11 (particularly the first category).
- 196 One form of artistic propaganda is public propaganda expressed in magnificent buildings. (FERGUSON 1979:257.)
- 197 MARCUS, *ibid.*, 11-12.
- 198 CONRAD 1990:234. According to him, "In the hands of the propagandist, the past is reshaped to create precedent for the present. An official, state-sanctioned history is at the same time a source of indoctrination, motivation, and justification. Accounts of heroic ancestry and past glories are intended to produce positive attitudes toward the state and its rulers."(*ibid.*)
- 199 For more about dynastic propaganda in ancient societies, see FINKELSTEIN 1979 (Mesopotamia); OPPENHEIM 1979 (Neo-Assyria and Neo-Babylonia); WILSON 1979 (Egypt); SHARMA 1979 (Indian civilization); WRIGHT 1979 (China); FERGUSON 1979 (Classical civilization); BRENTANO 1979 (Western civilization: the Middle Ages); BERGER 1980 (Abacwezi/ Africa); BERG 1980 (Merina/Africa); HENIGE 1980 (Buganda/Africa); VALERI 1990 (Hawaii); BIRSACK 1990 (Tonga) MILLARD 1994 (Biblical lands); CHAVALAS 1994 (Old Babylonian period and Old Testament).
- 200 HENIGE 1974:17-70.

and empires, whereas this mode of historical fabrication was not uncommon in less complex societies either. The motive to extend the remembered past could be, particularly among the latter, in building up proofs that one's ethnic group has settled on previously unoccupied land, for instance. Prime examples of this can be found from the Polynesian islands.²⁰¹ Most frequently used methods were euhemerism, genealogical parasitism, and extended father-son succession.²⁰² In euhemerism, dynastic lines were accommodated with the ancestral gods and heroes, often with incredibly exaggerated regnal spans. When dynastic ties were artificially agglutinated with more prominent and powerful genealogies in hope of having more prestige, this has been called genealogical parasitism. A very common way to embellish a structural dynastic portrait is to extend and modify an unbroken father-son succession. In spite of this ideal, the virtual dynastic form was more trivial. Only very seldom anywhere did more than eight generations of fathers and sons succeeded each other uninterrupted.²⁰³ Successions were every now and then broken by usurpers from other lineages, brothers and cousins, or even more distant relatives.²⁰⁴

A third major way to manipulate dynastic information is a method of 'synchronism'. I presented it earlier as a useful mean to gather corroboration and correlation from parallel historical sources. It had a double function, however, as a manipulative method.²⁰⁵ First, parallel dynasties could be tied-in historically. Good examples of this practise can be found in Africa, for instance. Events and/or personalities were "lent" or borrowed from the neighbouring societies into one's own tradition. The second way may be called "generation staggering" and "pedigree synharmonization". Generation staggering was also practised when parallel dynastic traditions existed. For the sake of some ideal synharmonia, the staggered dynasties, with a different number of generations involved, were adjusted to be equal in length by using additions or omissions when found necessary. This method may also be labeled as "Procrustean".²⁰⁶

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 201 *ibid.*,38–70; HILTUNEN 1993:passim. Interestingly, archaeology has shown in the Polynesian area that many of those islands, where oral tradition gives extended genealogical ancestor-lists, were actually settled long before any credible chronology (based on this reckoning) could suggest (HENIGE 1974:39.) However, this does not make tradition itself an outright fabrication, since the compilers might be aware that there were 'others' before them in the islands, but by propagandistic reasons they wanted their contemporaries and posterity to believe otherwise.

202 HENIGE 1974:passim; HILTUNEN 1993:passim.

203 *ibid.*; See also appendices 4b and 6d, and particularly about extended father-son succession, see appendix 6c.

204 HENIGE 1974:passim; HILTUNEN 1993:passim.

205 HENIGE 1974:17–26.

206 *ibid.*; The most famous example of generation staggering can be found in the ancient kingdom of Sparta, where a diarchial form of government was in use. The two parallel dynasties, the Agiads and Eurypontids, said to be descended from the same ancestor, Heracles. The number of generations in each line were different, and that made Greek annalists of the fifth century B.C. feel that harmonical presentation better supported their heroic descent. So conformity was artificially created between both dynastic lines (*ibid.*,23–4.) In Mesoamerica we may find some interesting parallels with the Spartan practise among

Pedigree synharmonization is a related method, which works more often in vertical form (staggering method is horizontal). We can find examples of this in Near-Eastern Biblical tradition, where the ancestors of Christ were arranged into three successive groups of equalized generation depths.²⁰⁷

There are a few miscellaneous manipulation methods, which do not fit into the major categories given above. We may call them “Moses-in-the-bulrushes”, multiple reign amnesia, and generation slippage. The first is often associated with the stories of ancestral hero kings. There may be a duplication of some ancestral hero in fitting a new and later position in dynastic history. In the second method, where the multiple reigns are handled in oral tradition, the common result is the jumbling of the sequence of reigns or dropping of namesakes in the list. Generation slippage is a method related to these two. This occurs when ancillary persons (e.g. brothers, mothers, wives) are shifted into an earlier or later generation.²⁰⁸

The use of dynastic propaganda in ancient American complex societies has been a topic of growing interest in recent years. A particular attention has been given to Mesoamerica.²⁰⁹ According to MOLLOY, there are only scanty evidences of telescoping in Mesoamerican data, and it typically pertains to

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 the ancient kingdoms of Quiche- and Caxchiquel-Mayas. Especially among the latter, the dual principle of rule prevailed. Both lineages were descended from a common ancestor (*Popol Vuh* (c.1550) 1953 and 1986; *Annals of the Caxchiquels* (late 16thC) 1953; CARMACK 1981; FOX 1987.) I have speculated a possibility that Caxchiquel (and Quiche) lines were manipulated in a similar manner than the Spartan genealogies for propagandistic reasons (HILTUNEN 1993:115–26, 181–3.) For ‘Procrustean’ method: Procrustes was a thief in Greek mythology, who mutilated or stretched his victims to be fitting for his bed.

207 ‘Pedigree synharmonization’ does not occur in HENIGE’s classification, it is coined by me. I found it necessary to separate this mode from the ‘generation staggering’ where lineages were equalized horizontally. However, when it sometimes happened that successive lineages had an equal number of generations each, a related, but vertical form of modification and ‘synharmonization’ is expected to be carried out. We have an example of this in the Bible. Matthew 1:17 enumerates the generations of Jesus from Abraham:
 ‘Thus there were fourteen generations in all from Abraham to David, fourteen from David to the exile to Babylon, and fourteen from the exile to the Christ.’ (*Matthew* 1:17, The Holy Bible 1994; HAY 1977:15.)

We have another example from the Aztec’s Mexico. Imperial Aztecs reflected their dynastic history by cyclical patterns of nine generations. They claimed their descent from the Toltecs through Culhuacan so that their last emperor, Mochtezuma II, was said to have been the 27th successor in that line (9 Toltec kings followed by 9 Culhuacan rulers, and they followed by 9 Aztec ulers) (GILLESPIE 1989:passim; RIEFF ANAWALT 1993:33.) This pedigree synharmonization may also be labeled as cyclical dynastic synharmonization.

208 For “Moses-in-the-bulrushes”, see HENIGE 1974:64–8. According to him, an interregnum or a period of foreign rule, may have caused needs to agglutinate the current dynasty into domestic past by recreating a traditional hero figure, or using lost or exiled sons of earlier rulers’ as founders of new dynasties. For multiple reigns, see also HENIGE 1974:68-70. Such a distortion may occur when a ruler is elected (or usurped) several times anew at his position, while periods of other reigns exist in between. See for instance the Wolof case presented by HENIGE (ibid.) The tradition tends to simplify this sequence by forgetting the complex phases or accumulating multiple elements as more uniform history. The examples of generation slippage are given by John MOLLOY (1983:14) for instance. He has found this kind of manipulation relatively common in the Mesoamerican dynastic tradition. As a matter of fact it is aspectually similar to the “Moses-in-the-bulrushes”-method.

209 Compare, e.g. MOLLOY 1983; MARCUS 1992; HILTUNEN 1993.

situations in which kinship is the primary means of reckoning relationships, and is present much more often in oral than in elite written traditions.²¹⁰

On the other hand, examples of artificial lengthening were found by MOLLOY in Mesoamerica too. There were contemporary dynasties adjusted as successive, some spurinym-usages, and euhemerisms. Likewise, he found examples of regnal length exaggeration and extended father-son successions. I found more variation and additional examples of both telescoping and artificial lengthening in pre-Colombian data (HILTUNEN 1993); actually all the principal means of dynastic propaganda were present there (compare appendices 4 and 6.)²¹¹

3.1. Genealogies, pedigrees, and regnal lists

Dynastic historical tradition is presented in three distinct, but related formulas: genealogies, pedigrees, and regnal lists. Genealogies and pedigrees are practically the same, but regnal lists differs slightly from both. All were used

210 MOLLOY 1983:11–12. Like MOLLOY, Joyce MARCUS (1992) did not detect examples of telescoping from Mesoamerican dynasties. However, there obviously were at least examples of “hour-glass” structuring, epoch-personification, short-term reign deletion, female reign amnesia, and foreign dominance amnesia (HILTUNEN 1993.) “Hour-glass” structuring may be practised by Quiche- and Caxhiquel-dynasties (ibid.; FOX 1987:168.) Chichimec ruler Xolotl and his era is possibly the best example of epoch-personification in Mesoamerica (ibid.; DAVIES 1980:42-8.) I found possible short-term reign deletions in the very latest parts of the Texcocan king list (successors of Nezahualpilli) and I suggest that this can also be found in Mayan dynasties at Tikal, Copán, and Palenque perhaps (ibid.) Marks of foreign dominance amnesia are as hard to find in Mesoamerica as anywhere. Still it is likely that some periods, especially in the Mayan area, which are interpreted from the inscriptions as interregnums, may actually represent usurpation or foreign dominance. The longest known interregnum in the Mayan area was the inscriptional ‘hiatus’ of Tikal between A.D.567 and 682. Current opinion of epigraphers and archaeologists supports foreign dominance in Tikal for this period (Caracol’s hegemony) (SCHELE & FREIDEL 1990:178–9; HILTUNEN 1993.) With reference to female reign amnesia, there is the interesting possibility that one Aztec ruler, empress Atototzli (daughter of Moctezuma I), was intentionally forgotten in the dynastic canon (GILLESPIE 1989; ZANTWIIJK 1985:191; MARCUS 1992:317; HILTUNEN 1993:141–2.)

211 For examples of artificial lengthening given by MOLLOY; he names Toltec and Chichimec dynasties which were presented as successive (at least partially they seem to have been contemporaries), usage of spurinym among the dynasty of Cacaxtla, euhemerism among the Aztecs, regnal length exaggeration in Chichimec lineages, and he refers implicitly for several examples of extended father-son successions found in Mesoamerican data (ibid.,14–7.) Genealogical parasitism was common too. The best known case is from the Aztec dynasty, which tried to prove their filiation with the Culhuacan rulers (descendants of Toltecs) (GILLESPIE 1989:25–56; MARCUS 1992:310–5.) In addition, I found examples of extended father-son successions in Tarascan and Mixtec Tilantongo II dynasties, spurinym in Tzeltal-maya Votan-dynasty, and regnal-length exaggerations among the Classic Maya dynasties (HILTUNEN 1993:128–35.) A special form of the latter method may be labeled ‘gerontocracy’. This is somewhat a speculation, but it is possible that a few prominent kings, who (according to inscriptions), ruled exceptionally long, agglutinated for some reason their predecessor’s reign in their own. A famous, but very controversial example of this is the reign of king Pacal at Palenque. According to inscriptions, he ruled 68 years (A.D. 615–683), but osteological analysis of the bones found in his grave indicated an age around 40–50 for that person (RUZ LHUILLIER 1977; MARCUS 1992:342–7; HILTUNEN, ibid.) However, a recent study makes the criticism that osteological analysis was made (in the 1950’s, soon after opening of the grave) carelessly for these bones, and a new analysis is needed (URCID 1993.)

for propagandistic purposes and for legitimizing current socio-political status of elites in power. Genealogies particularly, but also the other two, were sometimes called 'charter' by the anthropologists.²¹² Genealogies were more often and easily manipulated in oral societies and had there only a marginal historical significance, whereas one function of regnal lists in state-level societies was to provide chronological frameworks for these polities. Sometimes regnal-lists and genealogies were used together to give more emphasis for both genres.²¹³

Usually genealogies and regnal lists, especially the extended ones, have a structural mode which follows a specific historical pattern. In the beginning a phase of legendary rulers (gods or semidivine heroes) is placed, then a group of semi- or protohistorical ancestors or rulers follow, and finally the lineages of genuinely historical and well documented personages are set. Information from the first and second phases was mostly derived from myths and oral tradition and could contain names which are arbitrary and invented.²¹⁴

The form of pedigree and genealogy is important. Its main trunk may in certain cases extend to thirty or more generations. Part of it at least should be rigid and those relationships in the recent past which are well known are unlikely to be much altered. Genealogies may also be couched in ascending (retrograde) or descending form. A pedigree can be accurately transmitted, but bear little or no relation to biologicohistorical facts, because it seeks to explain some other phenomena than descent from father to son.²¹⁵

Usually there exists a certain area of ambiguity within a genealogy where adjustments are made. Since the myths in the beginning were rather fixed tradition, the free area for corruption was in the middle.²¹⁶ Many types of adjustments can be made: important outsiders who come to be associated with a society were grafted on, other branches may require to be detached, new ancestors or eponyms were needed for rising lineages etc. Lineages will grow by the successful procreation, survival, and development of a number of new lines at each generation, writes DUMVILLE (1979).²¹⁷ He states also, that the

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212 DUMVILLE 1979; HENIGE 1982:96–105; VANSINA 1985:173–185.

213 HENIGE 1974, 1982; VANSINA 1985.

214 HILTUNEN 1993:212.

215 DUMVILLE 1979. In practise, the concepts of genealogy and pedigree are the same.

216 *ibid.*, 86. For more information, see the method of telescoping, HENIGE 1974:27–38. Quite the reverse may occur in certain traditions also. E.g. R.S. SHARMA (1979:180) has written how the famous Indian epics, the *Rigveda* and the *Mahabharata*, has been manipulated through centuries. According to him, "despite the great importance attached to memory and correct recitation of Vedic and other religious texts, these works continued to be inflected by subsequent writers through interpolations. Because it was not easy to insert matter in the middle of the book, most additions were made at the beginning and the end."

217 DUMVILLE 1979:86–7. He continues: "Given the random nature of these developments, some lineages will suffer a decrease in size relative to the more successful groups on account of high mortality or infertility. The relative strengths may be genealogically represented by longer and shorter pedigrees. Where there is no significant point of branching in the pedigree, a name is likely to drop out of the record and be forgotten. This can lead to two or more lineages claiming descent from the same ancestor by widely differing numbers of generations."(*ibid.*, 94.) DUMVILLE refers here particularly to the studies made with the

manipulation of pedigrees and genealogies is rarely perfectly achieved, and the contradictions may give us opportunities to find out faults in the scheme.²¹⁸ According to Walter ONG (1991), “genealogies of winners tend to survive (and be improved), those of losers tend to vanish (or to be recast).”²¹⁹

King lists were open to manipulation too, but in a smaller variety of ways than genealogies. Notwithstanding the risks of ideological intervention, the basic function of regnal lists is a much more matter-of-fact, day-to-day one than that of the pedigree. It served first as a crude means of providing some chronological or historical perspective.²²⁰ The compilation of a list was a difficult task, which in effect required the use of some archival material. Equal care was taken how some information should be altered and for this too a professional recorder was needed. In practise, it was not very difficult to delete a king from the list and assign his years to one or two other kings, for instance. One might also manipulate with numerals when the same kind of names occurred. A mistake in the record might happen unintentionally too, but it is obvious that these manipulations were not without risks for their authors either.²²¹ However, some bold rulers dared to use a radical method called ‘*damnatio memoriae*’ by erasing from the monuments and official records the names of their predecessors. Usually this fate was reserved for only one or few other predecessors, for whom the ‘censor’ felt antipathy for some reason. Those made ‘unpersons’ were perhaps foreigners and usurpers, but weaklings on throne might be deleted likewise. Not infrequently, the rulers who did these things, were usurpers themselves.²²²

No leader was more preoccupied with dynastic propaganda than a usurper taken his stand. He was facing a big personal problem ahead: to make himself legitimate in front of his subjects and horizontal rivals. Since most usurpers were thought to have some ‘divine justice’ for their acts, they usually tried to prove to their subjects that with them the better times would ensue. New doctrines were taught and acts of previous rule were shown to have been good-for-nothing (i.e. justification). Perhaps due to bad conscience these power brokers tended to be constantly on a dynamic process of action: conquering, building, and making all kinds of reforms (i.e. motivation) – good or bad ones.²²³ And not infrequently, the usurpers also used ultimate means like

early Anglo-Saxon genealogies. Usually, the faults are not easy to find, especially in the genealogies which have survived by oral transmission.

218 *ibid.*, 97–8.

219 ONG (1982) 1991:48–9, 67.

220 DUMVILLE, *ibid.*, 99–102.

221 *ibid.*

222 *ibid.*, 104. There are known examples of *damnatio memoriae* from Pharaonic Egypt, for instance. Thutmose III destroyed information related to his predecessor, Queen Hatshepsut (MATTHEWS 1989:4), usurper Horemhab removed information about Akhenaton (AXELROD & PHILLIPS 1995:142), and Ramesside kings did similar acts too (KITCHEN 1982: 224).

223 For more, see e.g. MACHIAVELLI (1532) 1993; MATTHEWS 1993; AXELROD & PHILLIPS 1995. For usurpers and dynastic propaganda, HENIGE 1974:27–33; HILTUNEN 1993:37–8.

destroying books and historical archives of their predecessors. Thence ensued a radical re-writing and re-organization of previous traditions into the forms which would please the current political leadership (i.e. indoctrination). New ideology was created and often accompanied by imperial expansion (hence: indoctrination – motivation – justification).²²⁴

Though the illegitimate stealth of power was usually a bloody action, many usurpers in history still do not carry a reputation of tyrants. Instead, among them are many most admired and renowned rulers in world history.²²⁵

The ruler, his councillors, other bureaucrats and royal relatives formed a higher elite, which had special privileges and often a distinct court language too.²²⁶ By keeping gorgeous genealogies with proper dynastic ties, a special status given to them became legitimized. Ideological propaganda worked for the same benefit too. This, with all the surrounding pomp and splendor, were used to establish a belief that a divine blessing is behind the rule. Royal origin myths were formulated: to give an official explanation how and why the right to rule all the universe was given to a certain group.²²⁷ Sometimes this was accompanied by a story which explained that before the current rule, only a uncivilized chaos prevailed among men. All inventions tied up with civilized life were said to be gifts of gods to a designated lineage of the incumbent hegemony.²²⁸ These myths and narratives were systematized into a canon

 224 For destroying documents of predecessors' tradition, MATTHEWS 1993:passim; AXELROD & PHILLIPS 1995:passim. One of the most famous cases of 'burning of books' was the act of the first emperor of China, Ch'in Shih-huang-ti. In 213 BC he ordered all previous writings to be destroyed and hundreds of scholars killed for fear of the opposition of the old feudal elite and the Confucian sect (COTTERELL 1981). Shih-huang-ti was not a usurper, except in very a broad sense of that term: his dynasty usurped the hegemony and the title of Son of Heaven from the Chou-state and he himself forced his prime minister Lu Pu-wei and the queen mother (who were regents and *de facto* rulers) to give way in 235 BC, when he felt old and able enough to rule alone (*ibid.*) Compare also the destruction of dynastic archives by Aztec king Itzcoatl and Inca Atahualpa (next chapter).

225 See particularly, Rupert MATTHEWS (1989) *Power Brokers* and Alan AXELROD & Charles PHILLIPS (1995) *Dictators & Tyrants*. Compare for instance, Solomon (Israel), Cyrus the Great (Persia), Augustus (Rome), Basil I (Byzantine), Abbas the Great (Persia), Aurungzebe (India), Catherine the Great (Russia), and Porfirio Diaz (Mexico). According to FERGUSON (1979:543–4) the usurpers "did not attempt to restore the old order in its entirety, although for propagandistic and opportunistic reasons they sometimes upheld such restoration as a political ideology or slogan. They always had some vision of the distinctive goals of a unified polity. They aimed to establish a more centralized system in which they could monopolize political decision making and the setting of political goals without being bound by traditional leaders or mores. The aims of the rulers often were oriented against, and encountered the opposition of existing social and political groups."

226 For kings and councillors, see e.g. HOCART (1936) 1970. For distinct court language, e.g. among the Maya (MARCUS 1992:78-9), Aztecs (noble speech) (*ibid.*,48), and Inca (Garcilaso de la Vega 1609: lib.7, cap.1; 1976:85).

227 HOCART 1927; HENIGE 1974; TULLOCK 1987; DEMAREST & CONRAD (eds.) 1992; SCHREIBER 1992.

228 This explanation presumably worked best in cases in which pre-dynastic conditions were remarkably less complex than the newly established ones. Still, social memory and diachronical orientation of the common populace was almost nil; after two or three generations most of the past is forgotten and an official explanation given by their new elite authorities is accepted. Although troublesome for the new rulers to handle, they either suppressed or co-opted existing aetiological myths, and especially those which were associated with the remains of precedent high-culture (historical landscapes and ruins) (VANSINA 1965:158–9; 1985:44–5.)

which presented the official version of dynastic history. As has been stated, the imperial elites were the most historically oriented people in their societies. Dynastic chronologies followed mostly linear form, with cyclical aspects sometimes built in too.²²⁹

New chronological parameters for validation of dynastic recording (An application from HILTUNEN's M.A. thesis 1993) (compare appendix 6)

Comparative statistical data on dynastic lists are gathered from all around the world. The criteria for selection: non-European ancient societies, hereditary monarchies, well-documented historical phases, and the existence of a long dynastic tradition. Furthermore, the effects of possible manipulation of dynastic information is reckoned with. The dynastic data is grouped into three categories: singular dynasties (extending up to 12 successions), macrodynasties (13 to ca. 35 successions), and multiple dynasties (extending from 35 up to 100 or more successions). The purpose of this comparison and grouping is to find a useful mean figure to calculate regnal span averages. This data indicates that the mean irrevocably decreases when the dynastic line extends through multiple increasing successions. My calculative results are as follows:

1. MULTIPLE DYNASTIES

Ancient Near East	14.8 yrs
India and adjacent areas	14.9 yrs
Far East	14.6 yrs
	<hr/> 14.8 yrs

2. MACRODYNASTIES

Ancient Near East	16.0 yrs
India and adjacent areas	17.2 yrs
Far East	16.2 yrs
	<hr/> 16.5 yrs

3. SINGULAR DYNASTIES

An extended father-to-son succession	20.4 yrs
Other cases	18.5 yrs

Based on this same data, I have studied the reasonable distributional frequency of extended reigns (50 years and over) in dynastic lists. This is due to the extant common phenomenon to provide exaggerated regnal spans for rulers of certain periods in these lists. The actual occurrence of extended reigns appears to be some 2,5 % in general. Furthermore, the 'harmonic' dynastic sequence seems to have been broken by usurpation etc. in every fourth or fifth succession on an average.

229 HENIGE 1974, 1982; MOLLOY 1983; VANSINA 1965, 1985; DEMAREST & CONRAD (eds.) 1992; MARCUS 1992; DUMVILLE 1993; HILTUNEN 1993.

These figures and calculative results are useful referential and comparative tools in evaluating ancient dynastic records with insufficient and manipulated data. Montesinos' king list is a good example of this kind of account. Its structure and content fulfills well those general expectations which one could set when relevance of dynastic data is weighted and perceived. For application of these results, see chapter V.

Absolute dating of prehistory (compare appendix 15)

There was no absolute chronology or means for absolute dating before the times of Isaac Newton. Only after the 1920s scientific methods have been developed which made absolute dating possible for prehistoric periods. The development and components of absolute time and chronology can be summarized as follows: the Gregorian calendar reform in 1582, the Julian period, B.C./A.D. dating system, analytical geometry, the parameters of Newtonian time, and absolute astronomical chronology.

The major methods to date prehistory have been developed within the spheres of archaeological research in the 20th century. Two methods, dendrochronology (tree-ring dating) and radiocarbon (¹⁴C) dating have dominated the field until the present. They can be used separately, but the current advances in dendrochronology have made these methods more complementary to each other. The vague dates derived from C14 analyses can be calibrated by dendrochronological curves.

In the 1980s a new technique of radiocarbon dating which exploits accelerator mass spectrometer (AMS dating) was developed. There different carbon forms in a sample are separated at high speeds in a circular particle accelerator. This technique makes radiocarbon dating faster and workable on much smaller samples.

Alongside the dendrochronology and the carbon C14 several other dating methods have emerged. For dating pottery a method known as thermoluminescence is developed. Primitive rock art and petroglyphs have been dated by a new sophisticated technique called cation-rate dating. Paleo-magnetism and obsidian hydration are other methods that can be used to rectify Carbon 14 procedures.

Climatology and astronomy are two disciplines which have an important auxiliary role in historical research and dating on prehistory. Climatology and dendrochronology are closely associated, since environmental changes of climate through ages are readable from thickness of tree-rings, for instance. Analyzing this data one could perceive quite precisely when e.g. extended drought has pressed certain regions. The climatic factors have had important impacts on cultural changes all over the world. These kind of studies has been made in the Andes too. E.g. PAULSEN's (1976) research on the Santa Elena Peninsula, Ecuador, has indicated that extensive dry periods occurred during the Middle- and Late Horizon, while the Late Intermediate Period was humid.

PAULSEN concluded, that the major factors behind the initial expansion of the Wari and Inca empires may have been climatological. Studies of L. THOMPSON et al. (1982–89) at the Quelccaya glacier in southern Peru provide a record of annual precipitation for the past 1500 years. There are evidences of great droughts in AD 562–594 and 1245–1310, and of a clearly wetter period in 760–1040.

The occurrence of extraordinary astronomical phenomena, like comets, supernovas, and solar eclipses can be retrieved and dated far to the historical past. When observations are well described and documented these events can be fixed to absolute chronological framework. I presented earlier types of synchronisms (chapter II:1) and basic categories for measuring relative time (chapter II:2). Synchronisms relevant for absolute dating are astronomical tie-ins and archaeological tie-ins (C14 dating etc.) Relative time parameters useful to be correlated with absolute chronology are documented references to extraordinary natural events like droughts, volcanic eruptions, earthquakes, epidemics, comets and eclipses. Numerous references to phenomena of this kind are written in Spanish chronicles, and Montesinos' narrative is one where a particular emphasis is given to them. I will return to these references and their possible evaluative weight in chapter V in more detail.

3.2. The Incaic Canon

There was no clan, nor a tribe, less so a nation which could have been called the Incas. Instead, they were a caste which was a mixture of traditional Peruvian *ayllus* and cultic households known as *panacas*.²³⁰ In other words, they were a minor elite group, which at the minimum (on their arrival at Cuzco) contained perhaps a few hundred people and at maximum (in the closing years of their power) had grown to between 10 000 and 25 000 people.²³¹ In spite of the existing legends the true origin of the Incas has largely remained a puzzle, since the traditions vary and these cannot yet be indisputably verified archaeologically. Like dynastic elite lores and origin myths everywhere, the Incan origin story told by themselves was impregnated with propagandistic elements and polished to a canonic standard form – taught and learned for their glorification.

230 BRUNDAGE 1967/1985:ix. For *ayllu* and *panaca*, see Glossary. Compare my definition of a dynastic elite as a corporate group, ethnic caste, or/and lineage cluster which maintained its power by authority of tradition, politico-religious ideology, and dynastic propaganda (chapter I:1.)

231 BRUNDAGE (ibid.,11) has estimated the population of built-up Cuzco proper as 25 000, of which virtually all belonged to the Inca caste. Alfonso KLAUER (1990:105) has estimated the total population of Tawantinsuyo to 10 millions, of which 0.1% (10 000) were imperial elite or the Incas. Santiago AGURTO CALVO (1980:122) has an estimate of 16 000 for the central portion of Cuzco. BRUNDAGE (ibid., 16) has stated that the “Tambo are said to have consisted of about sixty families”, but one cannot find in his notes any references on a source of this information. Anyhow, this is well within a range if we set a guess that the original “Inca” group consisted of a few hundred people.

TABLE 3. Origin of the Incas according to different chronicles

Chronicle	Pacaritampu	Titicaca	Other seat
1544. <i>Quipocamayos</i>	✧		
1552. <i>Lopez de Gomara</i>		✧	
1553. <i>Cieza de Leon</i>	✧	✧	
1555. <i>Zarate</i>		✧	
1556. <i>Molina del Santiago</i>		✧	
1557. <i>Bandera</i>	✧		
1557. <i>Betanzos</i>	✧	✧	
1559. <i>Las Casas</i>	✧		
1563. <i>Senores</i>	✧		
1564. <i>Santillan</i>	✧		
1571. <i>Polo de Ondegardo</i>	✧		
1571. <i>Fernandez</i>			Cuzco region
1571. <i>Pedro Pizarro</i>		✧	Tampu
1572. <i>Sarmiento de Gamboa</i>	✧		
1572. <i>Toledo</i>	✧		
1575. <i>Roman y Zamora</i>	✧		
1575. <i>Molina del Cuzco</i>	✧.....✧		
1585. <i>Atienza</i>			Cuzco region
1586. <i>Cabello de Balboa</i>	✧		
1590. <i>Valera/ J. Anonima</i>	✧		✧ Cuzco region
1590. <i>Acosta</i>	✧		(Tampu)
1598. <i>Ore</i>	✧.....✧		
1603. <i>Gutierrez de S.C.</i>		✧	
1609. <i>Murua</i>	✧		
1609. <i>Garcilaso de la Vega</i>	✧	✧	
1613. <i>Pachacuti Y.S.</i>		✧.....	Apo-tampu
1615. <i>Guaman Poma</i>	✧.....✧		
1615. <i>Herrera</i>	✧		
1621. <i>Ramos Gavilan</i>	✧		
1629. <i>Vazquez de Espinoza</i>		✧	
1630. <i>Salinas y Cordoba</i>		✧	
1631. <i>Oliva</i>		✧	
1638. <i>Calancha</i>	✧		
1644. <i>Montesinos</i>			Cuzco region
1653. <i>Cobo</i>	✧	✧	✧Tampu

TABLE 3. Origin of the Incas according to different chronicles. Compiled mainly from MEANS 1928 and URBANO 1981.

The myths of origin

There are two major versions of the myth which narrate the origin of the Incas. These are listed in Table 3. First is the so-called Pacaritampu-myth and the second myth places their origin at Titicaca. There are a number of versions which combine both of these, and others which give distinct places (in the Cuzco region) as their seats of origin.

The Pacaritampu-myth, which is the most common one, occurs in a majority of the chronicles.²³² Its major passages are as follows:

Four brothers (Ayar Manco, Ayar Auca, Ayar Cachi, Ayar Uchu) and four sisters (Mama Occlo, Mama Huaco, Mama Cura, Mama Rahua) emerged in a place called Pacaritampu (sometimes Tampu Tocco), south of the city of Cuzco. It had three windows whence these brethren came. Viracocha and the Sun god proclaimed these Incas lords of all men. They gathered ten tribes or *ayllus* together in the Pacaritampu region and the *ayllus* chose Ayar Manco (Manco Capac) as their supreme leader. Then they started searching for better lands to live in. Their journey took many years. They stopped at numerous places along the route. Finally, arriving in the Cuzco valley, they found it a fitting place to settle down. During the journey quarrels arose between the brethren with the consequences that two brothers were eliminated. A son, Sinchi Roca, was also born to Manco Capac and in time became the royal successor of his father. The tribes occupying the valley of Cuzco were subjugated and a royal enclosure, *cancha*, was built as a seat for royal Incas and their god, the Sun. A third brother, Ayar Auca, turned into stone at Cuzco and Manco Capac remained the sole ancestor for the Inca lineage. Once the Incas were settled in the region they taught their subjects how to live civilized life under an organized government.²³³

The story above follows the description of Sarmiento de Gamboa (1572), which is the most detailed version of the myth. It is worth noting that Sarmiento's account is the first one which specifically identified and localized Pacaritampu.²³⁴ A historical place called Pacaritampu ("A place of Origin") is

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232 Compare, Table 3. There are some 40 versions of Inca origin myths presented in chronicles (URBANO 1981; URTON 1990:18.) In URBANO's compilation the following sources (which are in Table 3) are not included: Las Casas, Molina of Santiago, Diego Fernandez, Roman y Zamora, Blas Valera, Oré, Gutierrez de Santa Clara, Herrera, Oliva, Calancha, and Montesinos. Gary URTON deals with various aspects of this myth in his book *The History of a Myth* (1990). Other scholars dealing with this subject are: PARDO (1946), ZUIDEMA (1962/64), BAUER (1992) and ELORRIETA SALAZAR (1992). The chronicles where this myth is emphasized and presented in its fullest form are Betanzos (1551-7), Sarmiento de Gamboa (1572), and Cabello de Balboa (1586). The earliest reference is in the accounts of Quipocamayocs in 1542-44. Two of the *quipocamayocs*, Callapiña and Supno, and informants of Vaca de Castro, are said to have been natives from the locality of Pacaritambo ([Quipo camayos 1542-44] 1974:24-5.) According to the same primary source, Manco Capac was a son of a *curaca* of Pacaritambo.

233 Compare, Sarmiento de Gamboa (1572:cap.xi-xiii) 1942:61-72.

234 For Sarmiento as the first to give a specific location for Pacaritampu, URTON 1990:29. Sarmiento was also first to mention ten *ayllus* established at Tampu-Toco (1572:cap.xi / 1942:61-4) URTON 1990:25.

situated in the present province of Paruro, south of Cuzco.²³⁵ If this was the place associated with the myth is a matter of dispute (and I conclude it was).²³⁶

The other major version and explanation for the origin of the Incas is the so-called Titicaca-myth.²³⁷ The latest of the chroniclers, Jesuit father Bernabe Cobo, presents in an equitable manner all the extant versions of the origin stories in the Andes, hence, the summary below follows his description of the Titicaca myth.

The son of the Sun, Manco Capac and his wife Mama Ocllo descended from the heavens on an island in Lake Titicaca. Their mission was to teach and guide the miserable people in the world. They started to search for a proper place to establish their seat of government. A golden staff accompanied them and wherever it should sink into the ground, there would be the holy seat. This happened in the valley of Cuzco. The divine origin of Manco Capac and Mama Ocllo was immediately recognized by the local poor people, who chose them as their leaders. The holy couple taught all the civilized customs and good government for all the people.²³⁸

There are a few accounts which refer to a third place as the Incaic origin seat: Tampu or valley of Tambo.²³⁹ Cobo, for instance, supported this version. He stated that this place was close to Cuzco in the Urubamba Valley, from where references to Inca sacred court language possibly originated also.²⁴⁰ The rest of the chroniclers give only vague Cuzco-region references for the Inca origins.²⁴¹

235 BAUER 1992:passim. The historical town of Pacaritampu did not come into existence until 1571, a year prior to the completion of Sarmiento's history; which is a curious coincidence indeed! Was Sarmiento intentionally concretizing mythic geography in his account this way? (URTON 1992:31-2.)

236 See discussion about this in BAUER 1992.

237 The chronicles emphasizing exclusively this version are: López de Gomara (1552), Zarate (1555), Molina de Santiago (1556), Gutiérrez de Santa Clara (ca. 1595-1603), Vázquez de Espinoza (1629), Salinas y Córdoba (1630), and Oliva (1631). The chronicles Cieza de León (1550-53), Garcilaso de la Vega (1609), and Cobo (1653) presented both major versions, the Pacaritampu and Titicaca. Pizarro (1571) presents both Titicaca and Tampu origins, but did not emphasize either of these.

238 Cobo (1653:lib.ii, cap.iii) 1964:61-4. Father Cobo took a similar, objective perspective for dealing with narratives of Ophir too (Cobo 1653:lib.i, caps.xv-xx) 1964:41-55.

239 Compare, Table 3.

240 Cobo (1653:lib.ii, cap.iii) 1964:64. Translation from (Cobo 1979:106-7.) Writes Cobo: "I am convinced that the first Inca, Manco Capac, who marks the initial memory that we find of these kings of Peru, must have been from the Valley of Tampu or from some place close by and, either alone or accompanied by some of his kinsmen, probably came to live in the Valley of Cuzco..." Cobo found evidence for this in the extant ruins in the Urubamba valley (possibly Ollantaytampu) and references to the Inca sacred language which was said to have been spoken in the Valley of Tampu (ibid.; read also PATRON & ROMERO 1923; VALCARCEL 1923.) Other chronicles referring to this place of origin were Pedro Pizarro (1571) and Acosta (1588-90). Pedro Pizarro places Tambo at Condesuyo (1571) 1969:194. See also, Acosta (1588-90:lib.vi, cap.xx) 1880:429. Brian BAUER (1992:149, n.1.) emphasizes, "that the same name (tambo, Tampus, Tanbo) is used in the Spanish chronicles to refer to two separate ethnic groups within the Cuzco region. One of these Tambo groups inhabited Pacariqtambo region, to the south of Cuzco. The second Tambo group occupied the Ollantaytambo region northwest of Cuzco."

241 Compare, Fernandez (1571), Atienza (1585), Valera & Anonimo Jesuita (ca.1585-90), and Montesinos (1642-44).

Montesinos' account of the 'Inca' origins is a modified version of the Pacaritampu-myth. He does not refer to a particular place known as Pacaritampu, however. There were eight primary brethren and the foremost of them was Ayar Uchu or Pirua Pacari Manco, the first ruler of Peru. He settled at Cuzco when his other brothers were turned into stones and founded a kingdom there. Thence followed a long rule of Pirua and Amauta kings until the fall of the Tampu-Tocco lineage. After them the Incas proper emerged. The Incas descended from these ancient rulers through a female protagonist called Mama Siuaco (Ciuaco), mother of Inca Roca.²⁴²

There are other chronicles which give us other interesting viewpoints outside the standard versions of this story. Two Andean chroniclers, Guaman Poma (1615) and Pachacuti Salcamayhua (1613), told about other kingdoms and dynasties in the Cuzco area when the Incas arrived there – from the Titicaca region.²⁴³ According to Pachacuti Salcamayhua, the kingdom north of Cuzco was ruled by Tocay Capac, and the southern kingdom in the region by Pinahua Capac.²⁴⁴ These names occur in Poma de Ayala's account too.²⁴⁵ Manco Capac, the first Inca, conquered these domains and remained the only king of the region. In Garcilaso de la Vega's (1609) version of this story there were four original kingdoms and rulers: Manco Capac, Colla, Tocay, and Pinahua.²⁴⁶ These versions are important reference points, and I will return to them in the closing part of this study.

As we have noticed, most chroniclers emphasized the Incaic origin seat to have been either in Pacaritampu or in the region of Titicaca. Interestingly, one of our most venerated sources and seemingly a most 'quoted' (i.e. plagiarized) one also, Molina del Cuzco (1573–75), gives a version in which these two myths are intermingled. Furthermore, Molina presents a creation story which appears to have been as close to the Incan canonic one as we can filter out from our primary sources. He refers as his source the painted boards which were kept in a house of the Sun called Poquen Cancha, a royal archive of the Incas.²⁴⁷

According to Molina, in the beginning there was an universal deluge in which only a few people survived. When the waters subsided, the wind carried them to Tiahuanaco. There the Creator began to raise up the people that are in

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242 Compare, Montesinos (1644:lib.ii, caps.i, xvi) 1882:1–9, 91.

243 Works of both were completed at the same time. However, I do not have information if these writers influenced each other. Nonetheless, their native seats and provinces were perhaps too far-off: Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamayhua was from Canas and Canchi country ([1613] 1879:231), whereas Huaman Poma de Ayala from Lucanas (1980:4.) Pachacuti Yamqui (ibid., 235–45) maintains that Tonapa (Viracocha) came from the Collao to a place called Apu-tampu and gave a royal insignia to Manco Capac there.

244 Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamayhua (1613) 1879:244; ZUIDEMA 1990:7–9.

245 Guaman Poma de Ayala (1613:cap.80) 1980:63.

246 Garcilaso de la Vega (1609:lib.i, cap.xviii) 1976:42.

247 Molina del Cuzco (1573–75) 1943:7–12, 1873:4–8. Beside Molina, Guaman Poma (1584–1615), Garcilaso de la Vega (1609) and Bernabe Cobo (1653) presented this version among the others. Compare these versions e.g. in URBANO 1981: 95–104, 109–28, 134–40. For Poquen Cancha, see chapter II.1.

that region, making one of each nation of clay. Thereafter he gave life and soul to each one, and ordered that they should pass under the earth. Thence each nation came up in the places to which he ordered them to go. Some came out of caves, others issued from hills, others from the trunks of trees. Each made *huacas* of them in memory of the origin of their lineage. In the meantime the Creator made the sun, moon, and stars, and ordered them to go to the island of Titicaca, and thence to rise to heaven. When the sun was ascending into heaven, it called to the Incas and to Manco Capac as their chief, and said: 'Thou and thy descendants are to be Lords, and are to subjugate many nations. Look upon me as thy father, and thou shalt be my children, and thou shalt worship me as thy father.' And with these words it gave to Manco Capac the insignia of rulership. Thence Manco Capac and his brothers and sisters, by the command of the Creator, descended under the earth and came out again in the cave of Pacaritambo. Thus they were called the children of the Sun.²⁴⁸

We may notice in this account of Molina, that the Incas obviously did not include an idea of multiple creation in their version of the origin myth. Instead, everything in this account indicates features of a politico-religious propaganda: justification for Incaic overlordship and a canon of indoctrination to spread this idea throughout the Andes.

With so many standard versions of Inca origins in existence, attempts to reconstruct the canonic standard of the Inca mythographers are difficult. Furthermore, as our cross-cultural data indicates, the dynastic canon – usually excluding the origin myths – was not a static construction, but a dynamic narrative, which was revised by each ruling generation. In the case of the Incas, each of the royal *panacas* (a body of descendants of successive rulers), held a version formulated during the reign of their own founder. At the eve of Spanish conquest there were eleven resident *panacas* in Cuzco, and consequently, as many “official” versions of Inca history. Since the *panacas* often had a rival relationship with each other, it is no wonder that varying stories were told to Spanish chroniclers.²⁴⁹

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 248 Molina del Cuzco (1573–75) 1873:4–6. Beside this author, a few other chroniclers have presented this same sequence of origin events. According to Father Oré ([1598:cap.ix]; MEANS 1928:426), the world was created at Tiahuanaco, and the Incas originated on an island in Titicaca and moved thence to Pacaritampu and Cuzco. Both Cieza de León (1550–3) and Betanzos (1551–7) describe the creation at Tiahuanaco, but they did not explicitly connect it with the Incaic emergence at Pacaritampu. Cobo presents ([1653:lib.xii, cap.iii] 1964:61–4) the intermingled (Titicaca-Pacaritampu) version, but along with many other versions he was narrating, he categorized them as foolish tales. Garcilaso also set these stories within the realm of fables, and supported the common Pacaritampu myth. Cobo favored the interpretation that the Incas came from the Valley of Tampu (ibid.)

249 The rivalry between *panacas* culminated during the turbulent reigns of Huascar and Atahualpa. See e.g. BRUNDAGE (1967) 1985: passim. Writes SULLIVAN (1996:269), “as with the Aztecs, the Incas were renowned for ‘rewriting’ history, or at least the mythical record of the past, for political purposes.” And CONRAD & DEMAREST (1984:98): “The Inca leadership used history as propaganda and constantly rewrote the past to fit personal, factional, or imperial goals.” For troubles with the *panacas*, see CONRAD & DEMAREST (ibid., 131–7.) According to SCHAEDEL (1978b:301), Inca Pachacuti apparently created the institution of the *panacas* “to both honor the previous reigning Incas and to eliminate the threat of pretensions by their kinsmen.”

The Incas then, as imperial elites anywhere, provided the 'great lie' as their official Canon and history.²⁵⁰ As has been indicated before, the major architects of this propaganda were often usurpers. The most famous one in Inca history was Pachacuti Yupanqui, the first emperor.

The architects of dynastic propaganda

The reputation of Inca Pachacuti in the Andean lore has emerged to posterity in a larger-than-life image and a mytho-historical figure second only to Manco Capac. Sir Clements MARKHAM (1910) has called him "the greatest man that the American race has ever produced."²⁵¹

The most profound achievement linked with Inca Pachacuti is the Chanca victory ca. 1438, which launched Inca imperial expansion. María ROSTWOROWSKI (1953,1988) has compared data from major chronicles (19) which have given merit of this victory either to Viracocha or Pachacuti. Those who have hailed Viracocha for this victory are a minor group of later writers: Garcilaso de la Vega, Oliva, and Cobo. All the rest support more or less Inca Pachacuti's role in this victory.²⁵²

So many deeds and achievements have been attached to the historical image of this ruler, that the narratives about him resemble more superhuman acts than abilities of any mortal ruler could do. Pachacuti seems to have invented all the basic institutions of the Inca state, made most of the conquests, and laid out

250 See for instance, ROSTWOROWSKI DE DIEZ CANSECO 1953, 1988; BAUDIN 1962; BAUMANN 1963; BRUNDAGE 1963/1985; IBARRA GRASSO 1969; CONRAD & DEMAREST 1984; ZUIDEMA 1990; PATTERSON 1991; CONRAD 1990, 1992; SHERBONDY 1992; HILTUNEN 1993; DAVIES 1995; SULLIVAN 1996. According to SULLIVAN (1996:192), "the Incas 'massaged' the mythological heritage of the Andes for political purposes."

251 MARKHAM 1910:94. He has been praised by the following scholars: MEANS (1931), ROSTWOROWSKI DE DIEZ CANSECO (1953), BAUMANN (1963), and BRUNDAGE (1963/1985). During recent decades a more critical perception has been developed, which is seen in the writings of e.g. WEDIN (1963), IBARRA GRASSO (1969), CONRAD & DEMAREST (1984), ROSTWOROWSKI DE DIEZ CANSECO (1988), ZUIDEMA (1990), MOSELEY (1992), PATTERSON (1991), BAUER (1992), PÄRSSINEN (1992), and DAVIES (1995). The most detailed account of the life and deeds of Inca Pachacuti is given in Betanzos' (1551-7) chronicle. He writes in favorable terms, which is to be expected since Betanzos was married to Cusirimay Occllo (Doña Angelina), who descended via Atahualpa from Inca Pachacuti (CARMEN MARTIN RUBIO 1987:xc-xcii.) Other chronicles having lengthy descriptions of this Inca are: Las Casas (1550), Sarmiento de Gamboa (1572), and Garcilaso de la Vega (1609). Curiously, Montesinos (1642) is the only chronicler who omits him completely (but attributing his victory to another man).

252 ROSTWOROWSKI DE DIEZ CANSECO 1953:58, 1988:54. ROSTWOROWSKI has paid attention to an interesting omission in this matter by our earliest source, the Quipocamayos (1544, 1974:34-9). In that account the whole Chanca event has been 'forgotten'. ROSTWOROWSKI believes that the *quipu* informants of this account belonged to Viracocha's lineage, which did not want to emphasize such a grandiose act linked with someone other than their relative (ROSTWOROWSKI, *ibid.*,82) Be that as it may, we agree with this writer that the final Chanca victory was achieved by Inca Pachacuti (*ibid.*,70.)

the majority of Incan building projects during his thirty-odd years of reign.²⁵³ Undoubtedly he was an outstanding ruler by any standards, but the fame of great men tends to be cumulative in retrospect.

There is no doubt that Pachacuti became the prime mover which launched the full scale imperial expansion of the Incas. Undoubtedly he also was the creator of imperial propaganda and architect of an ideology which was intended to support and justify that expansion. He rebuilt the capital completely, invented and re-arranged the *panacas*, consolidated the institution of Yachahuasi-school, and ordered Inca history to be investigated and 'written' in *quipu* archives.²⁵⁴

As has been said earlier (chapter II:1,2), Inca Pachacuti wanted to reconstruct and build up an official version of the origin and history of the Inca dynasty. We may presume that outlines of this history have been preserved in principal chronicles recorded from the Cuzco area like Betanzos, Molina del Cuzco, Polo de Ondegardo, and Sarmiento de Gamboa. Unofficial, less Cuzco-biased, and thus partly more trustworthy elements are likely to be found in chronicles using more widely scattered and provincial data, such as Cieza de León, Cabello de Balboa, and perhaps Pachacuti Yamqui and Poma de Ayala.

Censorship usually belongs to the creation of official histories. One of the most evident acts in Pachacuti's censorship was a deletion of his predecessor's rule from the canonic king list. Enough references exist of a brief rule of Inca Urcon, that we can safely presume that this brother of Pachacuti actually was for a while Sapa Inca. Cieza de León is the best source in this matter. He relates that the main reason why official Inca history neglected him was his cowardice during the Chanca war. Cieza refers to his bad habits generally²⁵⁵ and writes about Incan policy of history-writing in general:

"And if there had been one among the Incas who was lazy, cowardly, given to vices, and who took his pleasure rather than enlarging his power, they ordered that little mention be made of such, or almost none. They put such care in this that if any mention of them was made, it was only so their names and succession should not be forgotten, but about all else they were silent, singing only of those who had been good and brave."²⁵⁶

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253 CONRAD & DEMAREST 1984:112-3; PATTERSON 1991:61-87; DAVIES 1995:58-63.

254 For original sources concerning Pachacuti's reign and reforms see e.g. Betanzos (1551), and Sarmiento de Gamboa (1572). His best biographer is ROSTWOROWSKI DE DIEZ CANSECO (1953). See also, e.g. BRUNDAGE 1963/1985 and DAVIES 1995. For Pachacuti and "official" history of the Incas, see e.g. IBARRA GRASSO 1958. Burr BRUNDAGE has also viewed (1963/1985:176-7) Inca Pachacuti as the major architect of Incaic historical propaganda. He writes: "in itself the Pachacutian view of history is a historical fact of major importance, for it served to steer the course of future events." According to CONRAD & DEMAREST(1984:98) Inca Pachacuti and his coup (after the Chanca victory) "began a vigorous rewriting of Inca history and made their view of events the official authorized version."

255 ROSTWOROWSKI DE DIEZ CANSECO 1953:84-98, 1988:47; BRUNDAGE 1963/1985:176-7; PATTERSON 1991:59-68; DAVIES 1995:43-5. For Inca Urco's rule, see Cieza de León (1550-3:lib.ii, cap.xliv) 1986:129-131.

256 Cieza de León (1550-3:lib.ii, cap.xi) 1986:29-30. Translation from Cieza de León (1550-3) 1959/1976:188.

Chronicles are silent if Inca Pachacuti went so far in his policy as to destroy the dynastic records of his predecessors, but the conclusion was almost the same if only major omissions were made. A contemporary ruler in Meso-america did go that far however, Itzcoatl, builder of the Aztec empire.²⁵⁷ In the Andes, as suggested by CONRAD, the Chimu kings may have carried a policy in which dynastic records were edited and other acts of propagandistic manipulation were performed for political and ideological purposes.²⁵⁸

It appears that the ideas of usurpation and *pachacuti* have much in common. In both cases a radical change to a prevailing actuality happens. To change the world, to make a revolution, has been an intention, dream, and perception of many imperial usurpers throughout history.²⁵⁹ Inca Pachacuti, as we have noticed, emphasized the importance of the Yachahuasi-institution, which evidently was used for indoctrination purposes for spreading imperial ideologies and propaganda (among its other functions).²⁶⁰ And if we trust Garcilaso, Pachacuti wanted to check personally that teaching progressed well and in a proper way.²⁶¹ Pachacuti was also very fond of his royal ancestor, Inca Roca. One reason for this admiration was obviously the traditional fact that

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- 257 Itzcoatl (1428–1440) was a fourth Aztec ruler who defeated the Tepanecs, freed the Aztecs from their yoke, and created the empire. He ordered a massive ‘book burning’ to be held where a majority of previous histories were destroyed. Thereafter he called up a council with a task to re-write appropriate history, an ‘official form’ which would serve Aztec future politics (MARCUS 1992:146–9.) IBARRA GRASSO has compared the acts of Izcoatl and Inca Pachacuti with that of the Chinese emperor Si Huang Ti (1969:612.) CONRAD & DEMAREST (1984:22–3, 32–3, 38, 43) have written of these indoctrination acts of Itzcoatl and his ‘junta’: “they set about restructuring Mexican economic, political, social, and ideological institutions...but above all, the new historians and mythographers set out to alter ancient myths and religious cosmology into an integrated cult that supported Mexican military imperialism...thus, the indoctrination through art, education, and literature consolidated the changes wrought by many reforms of the new Mexican regime. The imperial ideology created by the elite’s careful alteration of ancient myths and traditions was propagated by the state’s control of monumental art, written history, and priestly instruction.”
- 258 According to CONRAD (1990:234–9), “truncations in the oral tradition were accompanied by a dramatic form of architectural ‘editing’ in which the monuments associated with certain early rulers were deleted from the record...I suggest that the mixture of fact and fiction, the compression of chronological time and the truncation or elimination of certain kings are not only understandable, but expected. They represent propagandistic manipulations designed to serve the specific goals of individual Chimu rulers...One of the greatest strengths of dynastic oral tradition as propaganda is the flexibility it gains from the adroit handling of ambiguity, and the Chimu king list is a perfect example.” Compare appendix 11b.
- 259 See e.g. MATTHEWS 1989 and AXELROD & PHILLIPS 1995.
- 260 See chapter II:1. According to CONRAD & DEMAREST (1984:43–4), Tlacaélel, Izcoatl, and Moctezuma I were credited with the establishment of Aztecs’ educational system, which enabled the official accounts of history and cosmology quickly to become the accepted versions. Similarly, Cuzco schools apparently were seats of indoctrination and propaganda (ibid., 124.)
- 261 Garcilaso de la Vega (1609:lib.vii, cap.x) 1976:tomo ii, 107. This control seemingly was important to Pachacuti, because he had his own palace to be built next to the schools. Blas Valera writes: “More than anything else this Inca enriched, extended, and honored the schools founded by Inca Roca in Cuzco. He increased the number of instructors and tutors...he appointed masters of great learning in Indian lore to teach the sons of the princes and nobility” (Valera in Garcilaso [1609:lib.vi, cap.xxxv] 1979:tomo ii, 79. Translation from Garcilaso de la Vega [1609] 1966:393.)

Roca was a founder of this school-system at Cuzco. But was there more than that? Maybe he saw in this ancestor a kindred spirit. Inca Roca broke the power of Hurin-Cuzcos and made many important reforms. He even composed similar sayings and laws as Pachacuti did later. He must have been a powerful ruler and many chronicles agree with this. I will return to Inca Roca and his possible key role in the events which led to the establishment of Inca rule in Cuzco valley.²⁶²

The last Inca ruler, Atahualpa, was a usurper also. There are many versions of his birth, but according to Cieza de León, Atahualpa was born at Cuzco and his mother was a noblewoman from Quilaca called Tupac Palla.²⁶³ It has been said that he was a favourite of his father Huayna Capac, although a bastard by birth.²⁶⁴ When Huayna Capac died around 1527–8, Atahualpa remained in the northern provinces of the empire, in presentday Ecuador, holding there government at Quito on behalf of his half brother Huascar, who inherited the imperial throne at Cuzco. He had strong military power behind in veteran forces and generals. A hard and bloody civil war ensued – lasting several years with success varying from side to side. Finally Atahualpa's forces triumphed and Huascar was captured – and later executed. This happened only a few months before Pizarro's landfall and the forthcoming Spanish conquest.²⁶⁵

With the victory Atahualpa proclaimed himself a new "Pachacuti" and was about to start a new aeon.²⁶⁶ What really followed was a shortlived reign saturated with extremely sanguine acts of revenge towards Huascar's relatives and supporters.²⁶⁷ If there was at any time Inca tyranny as described by Sarmiento, it was Atahualpa's short reign. It is also possible that Sarmiento's informants, in giving a negative view on Inca rule, were vividly remembering this time.

Certain acts of Atahualpa during this time of terror should claim our attention here. While he himself remained in the military base at Cajamarca, his victorious generals and royal executors acted in the Cuzco area – following

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262 For schools and sayings of Inca Roca, and Pachacuti's veneration of him, see Valera in Garcilaso de la Vega (1609:lib.iv, cap.xix; lib.vi, cap.xxxv; lib.vii, cap.x) 1976:203, tomo ii, 79–80, 106–9. For Inca Roca as a remarkable ruler, compare e.g. Cieza de León (1550–53); Sarmiento de Gamboa (1572); Garcilaso de la Vega (1609); Guaman Poma (1584–1615); Murúa (1616); Montesinos (1642–44); Cobo (1653). For more, see chapters II:1, IV:1, and V:2.

263 Cieza de León (1550–3:lib.ii, cap.lxix) 1959/1976:78–9.

264 *ibid.*

265 The best historical sources for this period are Betanzos (1551–7), Cieza de León (1550–3), Sarmiento de Gamboa (1572), Cabello de Balboa (1986), Martín de Murua (1616), and Garcilaso de la Vega (1609). See also, BRUNDAGE 1963/1985, 1967/1985; REIMERS 1985; DAVIES 1995:181–9. The accounts of the reign of Huayna Capac and the civil war following his death, appear in so similar form in Cabello de Balboa's and Murua's description of the events, that the latter apparently copied this information from this former source. Compare 'addendum' on pp. 45–6 of the volume.

266 For Atahualpa calling himself Pachacuti, Betanzos (1551:parte ii, cap.vi) 1987:221. BRUNDAGE 1967/1985:234.

267 Many chronicles narrated about these cruelties. See particularly, Garcilaso de la Vega (1609:lib.ix, caps.xxxv–xl) 1976:tomo ii, 271–83.

his orders. Atahualpa did what so many usurpers and tyrants have seen as a political necessity: totally eliminating the opposite opinions. All Huascar's relatives, higher administrators, officials, servants etc. were executed. Those lineages and sections which favored his rule, were equally oppressed and handled. Besides Huascar's own lineage, a particular persecution was aimed at Tupac Yupanqui's *panaca* – which had supported Huascar.²⁶⁸ *Quipu* information and official archives related to these reigns were destroyed, and as a token of uttermost sacrilege, the mummy of Tupac Yupanqui was burned.²⁶⁹ As a testimony of Atahualpa's thoroughness in this *damnatio memoriae* is the almost complete blank in information which we have in our sources concerning the five or six-year rule of Huascar – even though it was the most recent one.²⁷⁰ Equally, the information concerning Tupac Yupanqui is very controversial and possibly many of his deeds were confused by later informants with either Pachacuti or Huayna Capac.

The common image given by most sources about Inca Huascar's person and rule, is negative. The most oppressive descriptions are found in the accounts of Betanzos, Sarmiento de Gamboa, Cabello de Balboa, Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamayhua, Guaman Poma de Ayala, and Bernabé Cobo. On the other hand, Cieza de León, Martín Murúa, and Vásquez de Espinoza have given a favorable portrait of him. Many modern scholars are in agreement that the one-sided negative image of Huascar is an unfair judgement and has much to do with political propaganda.²⁷¹

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- 268 *ibid.* One should adopt a sceptical attitude to many statements in Garcilaso's description of the events concerning the civil war. ROSTWOROWSKI (1988/1999:32–4, 107–8) has pointed out that Garcilaso intentionally distorted many historical facts in his Inca history, especially the events which concerned the civil war and reign of Pachacuti. He was descended through his mother from the *panaca* of Tupac Yupanqui (to which Huascar also belonged). Atahualpa's cruelty was directed particularly toward that lineage, which affected Garcilaso profoundly and caused him to alter the historical data. Moreover, while the hated Atahualpa descended from the lineage of Pachacuti, this prominent ruler does not appear in most glorious shape in Garcilaso's account. (*ibid.*) This is also the reason why Garcilaso belongs to those chroniclers whose description of Huascar and his reign is favorable.
- 269 For destruction of *quipos* and killing of *quipocamayocs*, Quipocamayos (1544) 1920:3–5. For burning of Tupac Yupanqui's mummy, Sarmiento de Gamboa (1572:cap.lxxvii) 1942:180.
- 270 BRUNDAGE 1967(1985:421.
- 271 For the negative image of Inca Huascar: e.g. Betanzos describes him as a drunkard ([1551–7:parte ii, caps.11, xii–xiv] 1987:209–10, 2370–45), Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamayhua as a libertine ([1613] 1879: 309–10), and Guaman Poma de Ayala as an unpleasant character ([1615: 116] 1980:94.) For modern, more objective estimates of Huascar's character and reign, see e.g. GUILLEN 1971; CONRAD 1981; CONRAD & DEMA REST 1984:134–9; PATTERSON 1991; PEASE 1991; and DAVIES 1995. From the original sources Cieza de León was virtually the only one “who depicts Huascar favorably, calling him ‘beloved in Cuzco and throughout the kingdom...clement and pious...generous...and courageous.’” (CONRAD & DEMAREST 1984:135 / Cieza de León 1553:lib.ii, cap.lxix / 1959/1976:78–9.) Compare also, Murua (1590-1609) 1946:77–8; Vázquez de Espinoza (1629:caps.xcii–xciii, § 1580–85) 1942:587–91. CONRAD & DEMAREST (*ibid.*, 134–7) hold that modern scholars should view with extreme scepticism the chroniclers' accusations concerning the illreputation of Inca Huascar.

Although documentary clues are scanty, usurpation seems to have been more a rule than exception in Inca dynastic history. Most of our sources, however, especially those following the canonic Inca tradition, present an ideal and harmonic view for dynastic successions – without interruptions, without severe disputes. This is an illusion supported by dynastic propaganda or later nativist idealism.²⁷² Actually out of some thirteen successions (from Inca Roca to Tupac Amaru), only two corresponded to the ideals given by canonic narratives. All the rest were disputive transferences of power. Some eight or nine rulers seems to have met a violent death, and at least five times the Incan throne was usurped successfully. And at least twice a brother murdered brother in this occasion. This is a picture totally opposite to the ideals usually given by the dynastic lores. But in spite of this foul image, it corresponds with realities even too well and is completely in accordance with numerous similar dynastic records all around the world and throughout human history.²⁷³

Modes of manipulating the dynastic lore

Imperial dynasties – as we have seen – manipulated historical data in principle by two major ways: adding (i.e. artificial lengthening/interpolating) or deleting (i.e. telescoping/compressing) information. By using either ‘embellishment’ or ‘retouching’ a good ‘make-up’ was the target.²⁷⁴ Although the Andean data is scanty compared with Mesoamerica, it seems that a tendency to favor

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 272 For dynastic propaganda in this context, see later chapters. Of the nativist idealism the best example is the chronicle of Garcilaso de la Vega who presented the Incas as ideal rulers and their realm a kind of Utopia. Cieza de Leon is a source worth consulting in this case. He was a soldier and likely more intimate with all those nasty acts people were willing to do in their struggles for power. His narrative on Inca dynastic history is not only one of our earliest sources, but also one the most credible we have. See, MEANS 1928:342-9. Compare, Cieza de León (1550–3) 1959/1976, 1986.

273 See appendix 2b: Inca dynastic usurpation. According to María ROSTWOROWSKI DE DIEZ CANSECO (1960:425–6), “In the early days of Inca state, succession to power went to a son of the Inca, selected by the reigning monarch, or in an emergency, by a council. The various candidates tried to rally the support of their kinfolk. There was no primogeniture, nor was bastardy an aspect of legitimacy. All the sons of the king had, in theory, equal rights to the royal tassel. In consequence, intrigues, rebellions, and violent elimination of rival candidates were common. In an effort to avoid such strife, beginning with Inca Roca, one of the sons was associated as co-ruler with his father and designated as the heir. The co-ruler shared in administrative and military tasks. This co-ruler could be removed by the Inca. In later reigns, cooption to rule was reinforced by limiting succession to the ‘capable and brave’ among the sons of the coya, the only ‘queen’ among the many wives. Eventually, and still in effort to eliminate succession squabbles and civil wars, at the peak of the empire’s glory, Tupa Yupanqui introduced royal incest as a way of legitimizing succession by the coya’s son.” See also, e.g. MOORE 1958:93–4. ROSTWOROWSKI (1961:passim., 1990:449) has also pointed to characteristics of the succession in the North Coast of Peru, where inheritance frequently went from brother to brother, until that generation was exhausted. Although this rule seems not to have been equally common in the highlands, in the Andes in general “the election of the ‘most able and sufficient’ to succeed and exercise power prevailed as the principal rule, from the lesser ethnic group to the head of the macro-ethnic group.”

274 Compare previous chapter.

'retouching' was more often met there than in the latter area. On the other hand, artificial lengthening ('embellishment'), was rather frequently used by Mesoamerican dynasties – with genealogical parasitism and euhemerism as their favourites.²⁷⁵

In telescoping the dynastic data perhaps the best example in the Andes is the Chimú dynasty. According to CONRAD (1990), the Chimú king list may have been compressed in the middle parts of the tradition, containing seven nameless generations. While the initial and closing parts were more richly narrated, the king list appears in a typical 'hour-glass' structured form.²⁷⁶ Writes CONRAD: "Dynastic oral history [sic! tradition] compressed the seminal events of Chimor's first three centuries into three generations, providing heroic figures of Taycanamo, Guacricaur, and Nancenpinco...Indoctrination, motivation, justification, a basic framework of truth incorporating useful omissions and ambiguities – the Anonymous History [source of the king list] displays all the essential characteristics of the manipulation of history as propaganda."²⁷⁷

The Inca king list contains various forms of telescoping also. We have noticed that the impotent rule of Inca Urcon was deleted from the official Canon. Equally, the records of Huascar's reign were largely destroyed. The chronicles are curt in descriptions of the reigns of Lloque Yupanqui and Yuhuar Huacac, as they possessed the reputation of weaklings. In relation with these two reigns an event of violent intrusion is also attached, thence, one could suggest a foreign dominance amnesia.²⁷⁸ A kind of epoch-personification could have agglutinated into Inca Pachacuti's character and reign; there are suggestions that certain deeds associated with him really belonged to his predecessors and successors. Moreover, some chroniclers name another ruler between him and his canonic successor, Tupac Yupanqui.²⁷⁹ Furthermore, I

275 MOLLOY 1983; MARCUS 1992; HILTUNEN 1993.

276 CONRAD 1990:227–41. Compare NETHERLY (1990:461–87) who gives a structuralist interpretation of the form of the Chimú king list. The "nodal" personages (Taycanamo, Nancenpinco, and Minchancaman) in the Chimú king list may also have been composite figures whom the exploits of their predecessors and/or successors were agglutinated (MACKEY & KLYMYSHYN 1990:220; CONRAD 1990:230.)

277 CONRAD, *ibid.*, 237–9. See appendix 11b, and chapter IV:1.2.

278 According to Cieza de León ([1550-3:lib.ii, cap.xxxvii] 1986:110–11) Inca Yuhuar Huacac was assassinated by the intruders from Cunti-suyu. According to BRUNDAGE (1963/1985:338) "the expunging of the story from the official records come from Pachacuti's desire to preserve a tradition of uninterrupted legitimacy." During the reign of Lloque Yupanqui an armed attack was launched against Cuzco from Muina. According to BRUNDAGE (1963/1985:25, 356–7), "the sources quite apparently attempt to disguise the fact that this armed attack on Cuzco by Muina was successful. That it was a defeat for Cuzco is proved by Lloque Yupanqui's reputation as weak and cowardly...The correct historical interpretation of this...is probably the temporary subjugation of Cuzco and the Ayamarcas to Muina." For relationship with Cuzco and Muina, compare chapter V:2 of the present volume.

279 Sources which refer to an additional ruler between Pachacuti and Tupac Yupanqui, are Betanzos (1551-7); Bandera (1557); Señores (1558–63); Santillan (1563); Toledo (1572); Garcilaso (1609); Vázquez de Espinoza (1629); and Velasco (1789). Chroniclers who have given the credit of the Chanca victory to Viracocha instead of Pachacuti, are Garcilaso (1609); Oliva (1631); and Cobo (1653). Cabello de Balboa (1586) gives the epithet Pacha-

have proposed that a similar kind of female reign *amnemoia* which apparently existed in the Aztec Canon, was present in the Inca dynastic lore too.²⁸⁰ Accordingly, I see it quite likely that the most famous Inca Coya, Mama Ocllo, who acted as an advisor to infant Huayna Capac, may have been *de facto* ruler of *Tahuantinsuyo* for a few years after the death of her husband, Tupac Yupanqui.²⁸¹ Betanzos (1551–7) writes that Huayna Capac was capable of ruling alone only ten years after the death of Tupac Yupanqui.²⁸² By taking all these ‘deletions’ into account, the more truthful list of Inca kings extending

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 cuti to Tupac Yupanqui, and Montesinos (1642–44) to Viracocha. Certain sources emphasize either his predecessor’s (Viracocha) or successor’s (Tupac Yupanqui) roles more. Those favoring Viracocha are, Quipocamayocs (1544) and Montesinos (1642). Those who favor Tupac Yupanqui are, Santillan (1564), Diego Fernandez (1571), Polo de Ondegardo (1571), Cabello de Balboa (1586), Poma de Ayala (1615), Murúa (1616), and Salinas y Cordoba (1630). The accounts of Cieza de León (1551) and Cobo (1653) are neutral in this matter. For the reasons why Montesinos omitted Inca Yupanqui Pachacuti, see chapter III:4.

280 For female reign *amnemoia*, see e.g. HILTUNEN 1993:passim. For the deletion of the Aztec queen, Atototzli, from the official king list, see e.g. ZANTWIJK 1985:191; GILLESPIE 1989:104; MARCUS 1992:317.

281 For the extraordinary and respected status of Mama Ocllo, sister-wife (queen) of Tupac Yupanqui and mother of Huayna Capac, see Cieza de León (1550–1553:lib.ii, cap.lxii) 1986:180; Las Casas (1550–9:lib.ii, cap.cclxi) 1958:426; Betanzos (1551–7:tomo i, caps. xxxix–xliv) 1987:175–90; Sarmiento de Gamboa (1572:xliv, li) 1942:132, 148; Guaman Poma (1584–1615:139) 1980:117; Cabello de Balboa (1586:cap.xx) 1951:353–61; Acosta (1588–1590:lib.vi, cap.xxii) 1880:434; Garcilaso de la Vega (1609:lib.iii, cap.xxi) 1976:164; Murua (ca.1590–1616: caps.xxvi–xxx, Ms. Wellington) 1962:63–81; Herrera (1615:lib.iii, cap.xvi) 1952:251; Vázquez de Espinoza (1629:lxvii, § 1514) 1942:562; Cobo (1653:lib.xii, cap.xvi) 1964:88–91. She was deified after her death (see, e.g. Betanzos, *ibid.*; Cabello de Balboa, *ibid.*; Murua, *ibid.*; Cobo, *ibid.*). Her royal mummy was kept separate from the other deceased Coyas, facing the Moon Goddess in the Cuzco temple (see, e.g. Garcilaso, *ibid.*; Vázquez de Espinoza, *ibid.*) She was the only Inca queen who had her own palace in Cuzco. Its name was *Manahuañunca Huasi* “the House of Her Who Shall Not Die”, and it was the only edifice opening onto the Cusi Pata square (Polo de Ondegardo [1559–61] 1917:39; Cobo [1653:lib.xiii, cap.xv] 1990:81; BRUNDAGE 1967/1985:94–5, 382.) She had also a villa in Picchu “where she used to sleep” (Cobo [1653:lib.xiii, cap.xiii] 1990:61), and a special sacred field in Anaypampa (Cobo, *ibid.*, p.72). According to Murúa ([1616:cap.xxvii] 1962:69), out of respect and love toward her consort, Inca Tupac Yupanqui ordered a magnificent temple to be built in Cuzco fortress, where she spent a lot of time during his absence at the times of conquest.

282 Betanzos ([1551–7:tomo i, cap.xl] 1987:180). Cieza de León writes (*ibid.*), that Mama Ocllo informed her son of many things she had seen Tupac Yupanqui do, and that Huayna Capac did not go out to conquest until after her death. For Mama Ocllo as a renowned advisor to Tupac Yupanqui and later to her son Huayna Capac, see, e.g. Cieza de León, *ibid.*; Sarmiento de Gamboa, *ibid.*; Cabello de Balboa, *ibid.*; Murua, *ibid.*; Cobo, *ibid.*; BRUNDAGE 1963/1985:240–44. I have proposed the span of Mama Ocllo’s rule to have extended from 1493 to circa 1500 (HILTUNEN 1993:143–4). Tupac Yupanqui was 15–16 years old when he received the co-regencial insignia from his father Pachacuti (Sarmiento de Gamboa [1572:xliv] 1942:129–30.) The initiation ceremony, *huarachicoy*, was held for noble youngsters when they were at the age of about 14 (ROWE 1946:283.) We may maintain then that Huayna Capac was at the age of 14–16 when he was mature to rule alone. According to BRUNDAGE (1963/1985:318) he was born in Tumipampa ca. 1488. If Betanzos’ ten-year ‘interregnum’ is taken literally and Cabello de Balboa’s date for the death of Tupac Yupanqui (1493) is accepted, then Huayna Capac was about 15 (mean of 14 and 16) in 1503. According to Betanzos, Mama Ocllo died very soon after this period (*ibid.*)

from Inca Roca to Huascar contained some ten reigns.²⁸³

The Incas apparently used certain aspects of genealogical parasitism also: in their associations with Tiahuanaco.²⁸⁴ Anyhow, two kinds of origin legends were held by them: chthonogenesis at Pacaritampu and the emergence from Titicaca. Many myths and traditions linked Tiahuanaco with the Lake Titicaca and universal creation.²⁸⁵ The Incas saw this ancient capital of Altiplano in ruins – which still were impressive. It has been thought that the Incas likely linked themselves with the builders of Tiahuanaco and its ancient civilization.²⁸⁶ Similarly, the Central Mexican Aztecs seeing the ruined site of Teotihuacan held themselves inheritors of this ancient civilization through the Toltec descent. In the Mesoamerican case, however, the affinitation may truly have been dynastic by nature, but with the Incas the link was probably more focused on the site than with a dynasty.²⁸⁷ In this sense we may not label it genealogical parasitism, but another chthonic relationship, and more or less compatible with the Pacaritampu myth. Both places were seen as *pacarinas*, origin sites in the Andean sense.²⁸⁸ To these sites various ancestors and lineages may have been

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283 The possible deleted ones were: Inca Urcon, Inca Yupanqui/ Yamqui Yupanqui, and Mama Ocllo. The average regnal span in this unbroken sequence was 18.2 years (from ca. 1350 to 1532), which is in accordance with my cross-cultural comparative figure for singular dynasties (up to 12 successions) (compare appendix 6.) According to ZUIDEMA (1990:503), “the Cuzco dynasty as counted from Pachacuti Inca back in time had no historical value and its later history was compressed into a much shorter development of only two generations – those of Topa Yupanqui and Huayna Capac.”

284 As a matter of fact this connection was more mythical than genealogical. See e.g. SHERBONDY 1992:56-7; KOLATA 1993:4-5.

285 See for instance Cobo (1653:lib.xii, cap.iii) 1964:61-4.

286 See e.g. SHERBONDY 1992 and KOLATA 1993. Jeanette SHERBONDY (1992) has presented the fundamental principles how the Incas justified their right to rule: 1. They were created to be rulers. 2. They were heirs of Tiahuanaco. 3. They held universal control over all water resources. The first principle contained all ideological and political mytho-graphics and propaganda. The second principle held the idea that their ultimate origins were in Titicaca-Tiahuanaco, and their more immediate origins at Pacaritampu. The multiple connotations in reference to universal control over the watery resources were, holy lakes and springs in the Andes, irrigation canals etc. *Ceque*-system was connected with these too, since most *huacas* were associated with water resources. Moreover, while the Andean ethnic origin myths commonly were linked with water, the Incas wanted to accommodate and unite all these in their capital and its central square, where an Andean primordial Sea was symbolically recreated. (ibid., 54-63.) The Incas “symbolically remembered their Titicaca-Tiwanaku origins as rulers with a ritual for each new Inca king. Beginning with Inca Roca, the Incas brought water to Cuzco from a spring in the bedrock of an island in Lake Titicaca and anointed each new king with it. This information comes from Joan de Santacruz Pachacuti Yamqui (1968 [1613]:292.)” (ibid.) “The Incas linked themselves to Tiwanaku and Titicaca explicitly through their myths.” (ibid.) “The political uses of ceques included control over the distribution of irrigation canals and lands...over one-third of the huacas were sources of water, others were closely associated with canals and water sources, such as mountains.” (ibid.) In Huacaypata ‘a sand of the sea’, a site of the universal water symbol and a symbol of ethnic unity, was created. (ibid.)

287 It is likely that the Aztecs perceived the Central Mexican historical past to have been a development of successive metropolitan centers, each labeled by the name: Tollan. The first was Teotihuacan, the second the capital of the Toltecs, and the latest their own Tenochtitlan (DAVIES 1980:97; ZANTWIJIK 1985:35.)

288 See e.g. BRUNDAGE 1967/1985:149-150; MROZ 1992:127-168. Compare also, URBANO 1981; URTON 1990. According to BRUNDAGE (1967/1985:384), although the Pacaritampu rock “may well have been the *pacarina* of one of the *ayllus*...almost surely it was Pachacuti who designed it as the *pacarina* of all the Incas.”

linked, and possibly with minimal interest to make referential connections beyond the original point. Including imperial dynastic propaganda which tends to use 'retouching' in the Andean societies, this special linkage with particular *pacarinas* has obviously diminished extant and surviving data, which concerned other lineages and dynasties. In this respect the dynastic records and histories from Mesopotamia and Mesoamerica were quite distinct and more bountiful. Useful research with the synchronisms,²⁸⁹ for instance, can be used but seldom with the Andean dynasties – one case at least coming from the coastal tradition (see chapter IV:1).

In the embellishment of their Canonic list, the Incas evidently used some other 'artificial lengthening' too; uninterrupted father-to-son successions and exaggerated regnal lengths, for instance. Euhemeristic tendency appeared in their alleged descent from the Sun god and his son Manco Capac, a semigod hero. According to the structuralist interpretation of the Inca dynastic lore, the post-Conquest chronographers modified this data so that contemporarity was adjusted as successive. Hence, the rulers of Hurin- and Hanan-Cuzco were seen ruling more or less simultaneously. I will return to this topic more closely in chapter IV:1, where I provide more arguments why the traditional unilinear dynastic form appears to have been more realistic than the structuralist interpretation. In the closing part of this study, I also present other modes how the Incas may have manipulated their dynastic records. Dick IBARRA GRASSO (1969), who has paid much attention to Inca political propaganda, suggests that the Incas eliminated from the Andean dynastic tradition the lores which were narrating about ancient kings and kingdoms of the Collas, i.e. stories of which Montesinos' account has partly preserved.²⁹⁰ This idea is followed in the present study, though most of Montesinos' kings in my interpretation were not Collas but the Waris.

A summary of ethnohistorical and dynastic data base

One fundamental historiographical setting and data base for the present study has been ethnohistorical and dynastic records from extensive cross-cultural resources. A careful survey and investigation of this data has provided us important new confirmation of its usefulness in historical research and for its veracity estimated by higher standards than hitherto. The results of this study can be summarized as follows:

- * ethnic historiography and oral tradition data is capable of maintaining historical accounts in a relatively unaltered form through centuries, even up to millenia.

289 See e.g. ROUX 1972; DAVIES 1980; PARPOLA 1982; MOLLOY 1983; GILLESPIE 1989; CHASE & CHASE 1992; MARCUS 1992; HILTUNEN 1993.

290 IBARRA GRASSO 1969:passim, but particularly pp. 612–29.

- * the Andean's used a sophisticated system as their mnemonic aid. The traditional *quipus* were most likely used for historical recording also, with developing phoneticism within. In addition, a pictographic writing, *quillca* and/or *tocapu* was used. Consequently, their historiographical resources were completely capable in transmitting accurate records from the past.
- * the polarizing idea between the cyclical and linear thinking needs a profound revision. A growing universal data, both contemporary and historical, indicates that the distinction between these two is obscure and should be viewed as co-existent amongst all human societies. Among the ancient civilizations these two notions were more or less juxtaposed in their historical thinking. The present study provides evidences that the Andeans were not any exception of this. To set my argument more explicitly: the historical thinking of elites were more linearly oriented than the vernacular view, which favored cyclical interpretations, but in each case both were somehow present.
- * the Andean cosmology did not contain the thought of multiple creations originally. This idea was most likely borrowed from the Mesoamerican sources during early Colonial times. Montesinos exploited this idea in quite an original way in his narrative. The creation myths as told by Huarochiri manuscript and the chronicler Molina del Cuzco were possibly the most original ones. The latter, however, was the official Incaic interpretation of it. The concept of *pachacuti* was also elaborated during the early Colonial era.
- * The chronological framework can be built around dynastic narratives of oral tradition by using certain methodological parameters which estimate the use of dynastic manipulation of this data by various means. Genealogies and king lists have always been a subject of intentional modification by political and ideological reasons. Information has been added or deleted, whenever it fit the picture. The present study mostly exploits the methods of Jan VANSINA and David HENIGE, but provide new useful parameters too. For building up more realistic dynastic-historical frameworks, I present and exploit certain new chronological parameters, which are applied from my M.A. thesis.
- * The Incas practised political and ideological propaganda extensively, as imperial rulers everywhere. Their dynastic history was formulated into an official Canon, which was used for legitimization and justification of their historical setting and status in the Andean universe. Many modes of dynastico-historical modification was made by them: e.g. compressing the data, genealogical parasitism, and euhemeristic interpolation. The major architect of Canonic Incan historiography was Inca Yupanqui Pachacuti. He was possibly responsible for deleting the pre-Incaic dynastic lore from the official Canon. The last of the Incas, Atahualpa, who was a usurper like Pachacuti, destroyed *quipu*-archives and executed the historians of his

predecessors to gain a proper setting to start a new era. In spite of the teleologically embellished portrait of the Inca dynasty, its true historical image emerges as much more bewildering and humane.²⁹¹

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291 The mythographic and ideological elements in Inca dynastic, official lore contained several common characteristics found in elite, national narratives of ethnic origins and descent in many parts of the world. According to Anthony D. SMITH (1987:191–3), these narratives could contain a cluster of myths: e.g. a myth of origins in time and space, a myth of ancestry, a myth of migration, a myth of the golden age etc. All these mythic phases result in a folkloric periodization for which we use the throwback forms of the Romans' Golden precedes Silver, Hellenistic follows Classic. In the Incaic lore the 'Golden Age' was apparently the present era of the Incas, but possibly they might have perceived their alleged Tiahuanacan origins as such also. Anyhow, the Incaic thought tended to maintain the image that their times were a climactic period of stabilization and pan-Andean unity.

■ III. Fernando de Montesinos and his Times

1. The Reformation Era (1500–1650)

Europe was the major theatre of world-wide economic, political, social, religious, and cultural changes during the period known (in Europe) as the Reformation Era, 1500–1650. Vast new-found territories in Oceania, Africa, and America encountered European influence through colonization and, the “reforms” were often initially invested by the European in these discovered lands.

The main engine and power behind the European advance and colonization was the Roman Catholic church. During this time (fresh from driving the Moors out of Spain) they were more aggressive than ever before – fighting for their credibility in front of rising rivalry, especially Protestantism. In order to colonize the Southern and Western Hemisphere rude acts of conquest were often tolerated, but after the annexations – often by means of annihilation (as in *Hispañola*) – humane voices were at times heard too. Speaking up for the subjugated ones were the clerics, and not seldom by a reformed conquistador, who became a benign exploiter. All the religious orders (the Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustinians, and the Jesuits), competed for influence among the drastically diminishing number of conquered natives and on whose tithes they depended. In this process they often succeeded in being useful to the Indians. While acquiring thousands of souls saved to the sphere of Christian faith, they, not infrequently, preserved lives too. One famous example of this was the Jesuits’ collective efforts to save the Guarani Indians from the slavers in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Paraguay. At the same time these friars were keen observers and students of native customs, traditions, and languages; and by writing their experiences and collecting many kinds of information in chronicles, they quite often produced our only historical links in these times and indigenous cultures.¹

What these friars wrote about, very much depended on their clerical backgrounds, the prevailing socio-cultural atmosphere, political trends, and the general world view of their era. In the Spanish and Portuguese colonial empires, which enjoyed enormous prestige and wealth in those days, there were powerful institutions, like the Council of the Indies, which had a great authority

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1 During this century and a half the Church tried to spread and wipe out heresy more than any time in the 1st and 2nd millenia. Also the Spanish Church had the maximal spatial and demographic opportunity to expand. SCHAEDEL (1997–8, personal consultation.)

to dictate political and clerical decisions. One important field which this censorship touched, was publication of books, pamphlets, newsletters etc. – a kind of media monopoly for European elites.²

1.1. The Political world

A mundane secular political forum, pure and simple, was not separable from the religious concepts during the Reformation Era, if not earlier either, as in Medieval Europe. It was a strong, interwoven alliance of “Crown and Altar” or “Sword and Cross” as it usually manifested itself in the colonies; but it was at times a stormy and disputed coalition where both spheres of interests tolerated each other only because pros and cons in many matters were highly inter-dependent.³

The Spanish empire was in the height of its political power in the closing years of the sixteenth century. Portugal was annexed to Spain by emperor Philip II (1556–1598) after its succession disputes, and remained an integral but virtually independent part of the Spanish empire until 1640. Emperor Philip was known as a hard-working, stern, and religiously fanatic ruler.⁴ As a leader of Catholic Counter-Reforms, he gave considerable power to the Spanish Inquisition with its *autos-da-fe*. This institution, also called the Holy Office, had been established by Ferdinand and Isabella with papal authority in 1480, and its main purpose was to eliminate or convert all Jews and Moors. By the time of Philip II’s reign it became an instrument to root out all forms of heresy from any sector of the population.⁵

Philip II was succeeded by his son, Philip III (1598–1621) and he in turn by his son, Philip IV (1621–1665), last emperor of the Reformation Era. They had none of the charisma and vigor of their predecessor, Philip II, who, to crown it all, left Spain almost bankrupt in 1598. The following decades also faced the devastating Thirty Years War (1618–1648), in which Spain became involved. After the revolt of Portugal (1640) and the Peace of Westphalia (1648) the Spanish imperial power started to decline; no more expanding, but still showing some strength in consolidating its empire.⁶

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2 HARING 1947; GRIMM 1954; WILGUS (ed.) 1963; BRINTON et al.1969: 276–327; WOLF 1982; PAKKASVIRTA & TEIVAINEN (toim.) 1992.

3 See, for example, GRIMM 1954; BRINTON et al.1969; PAKKASVIRTA & TEIVAINEN (toim.) 1992. Colonial rulers associated the Western civilization with the Catholic Church. Especially in case of Spain the question concerned a true “messianism” which agglutinated the Crown and Church so concretely, that one can hardly find analogies for it in history.” (VUOLA 1992:129–30, translation from Finnish mine). For the first time in history the Church gave up its missionary task and gave its responsibility to the Crown. (ibid.)

4 GRIMM 1954:424–5; BRINTON et al.1969:301.

5 GRIMM 1954:422–8; SCHAEDEL 1998, personal communication. For Inquisition in Peru, read e.g. LEA 1969.

6 WISE & EGAN 1968:377, Spanish names: Felipe III and Felipe IV; BRINTON et al. 1969:302, 318–27; O’CONNOR 1973:413–6. The decline of the Spanish political star nonetheless lasted almost 200 more years. (SCHAEDEL 1996, 1998 personal consultation.)

The late sixteenth and early seventeenth century was culturally the Golden Era for the Spanish state: whence the sudden magnificent supply of masterpieces in art and literature. There was the novelist Miguel de Cervantes and the painter El Greco, to name only the most famous ones. There was a Latin version of the Baroque culture (running approximately from 1600 to 1670). Even though the reigns of Philip III and IV were a period overshadowed by economic and political troubles, they were culturally a time of post-florescence for Spain. It was in the spirit of that time to express oneself in elaborate and imaginative forms.⁷

The Spanish empire in the colonies and the Viceroyalty of Peru

The right of conquest and Spanish possession of colonies in the Americas was based on papal bulls, especially the one given by Julius II in 1508, which conceded to the kings of Spain the right of universal patronage over the Catholic Church in the Indies. This union of state and church was known as the '*Real patronato de las Indias*'.⁸

The Spanish conquest of the Aztec empire in Mexico was completed in 1521 and the major Inca resistance ended in 1536, when Manco II's rebellion failed.⁹ These two vast areas of rich resources and with ready-made, well-organized native infrastructures, were valuable spoils, advance bases, and precious "jewelboxes" among the vast territorial possessions in the Indies. The Spanish Crown re-organized and denominated these lands as Viceroyalties. The Mexican area became known as the Viceroyalty of New Spain, and its Andean counterpart, as the Viceroyalty of Peru. The latter soon won pre-eminence in the minds of the Spaniards, since it was far richer in natural resources, especially gold and silver.¹⁰

Through centuries of Spanish rule in the Americas, the administration of imperial affairs in Spain was vested in a council called the '*Real y Supremo Consejo de las Indias*', The Council of the Indies. It ranked second in order of honorific importance under the Crown, and had six to ten actual members plus staff. The competence of the Council of the Indies extended to every sphere of government: legislative, financial, judicial, military, ecclesiastical, and commercial. Supervision of the interests of the aborigines was one of its special concerns, for their conversion to Christianity was regarded as the Crown's special responsibility to the Pope. From time to time it sent to the Indies inspector-generals (*visitadores*) to investigate colonial life and administration

7 GRIMM 1954:603-15; KNIGHT JONES 1963:268-9; BRINTON et al.1969:303; O'CONNOR, *ibid.* For the Baroque culture, see particular ly, J.A. MARAVALL's *Culture of the Baroque*, 1986.
8 MECHAM 1963:200-2.
9 HEMMING 1970; BRUNDAGE 1972.
10 HARING 1947:75-101.

in newly colonized native lands and report back to the Council. The most powerful political and judicial agents of the Council in the Americas were the viceroys. Powers of censorship were also exercised by the Council. No book treating of the *Indies* might be printed in Spain or in colonies without its previous inspection, and no books might be introduced into the Indies without its permission.¹¹

The second colonial agency was the Church, which in the sixteenth century mushroomed into a series of great missionary organizations. The Spanish kings regarded almost nothing as being more important than the conversion of the Indians. This task was allocated to the religious orders. At first the most active were the Dominicans, Franciscans, and Augustinians, and in many areas these missionaries accompanied or even preceded the conquistadores.¹² Later, and especially in the seventeenth century, the Jesuit Order became the foremost champions in missionary work. Along with the Dominicans, they also had the reputation of being the most effective defenders of rights of the natives. Friars were much needed, and every effort was made to encourage them to emigrate. They were sent to the New World by the Crown free of expense, and assisted there, until the Orders were able to establish communities of their own.¹³

The Viceroyalty of Peru, which in the seventeenth century extended from the Colombian borderlands to the Patagonian *pampas* and deep into Amazonia, was much larger in territory than the former Inca empire. It was subdivided into six *audiencias*, of which three (Quito, Lima, and Charcas) were in the Central-Andes.¹⁴

When the last independent Inca emperor, Atahualpa, was executed by the Spaniards in 1533, two years interval prevailed between the conquerors and the natives. Then a new Inca, Manco II, raised a general rebellion, which was close to success. Finally beaten (in 1536) in the siege of Cuzco, Manco escaped into the eastern peripheral parts of the former empire with his followers. There, in the region of Vilcabamba, a Neo-Inca state held independence almost 40 years. Constantly fighting for survival against the Spanish intruders, it became a thorn in the flesh of the Crown's valued Viceroyalty. When things were slipping out of control in many regional and colonial matters, the Council of the Indies (under the auspices of the Spanish emperor) chose a stern and dynamic 'police chief' to restore and impose a new order.¹⁵

11 For Council of the Indies, *ibid.*, 102–118.

12 MECHAM 1963:220.

13 HARING 1947:185; MECHAM 1963:220–3.

14 LOMBARDI & LOMBARDI 1983:29; BURKHOLDER & JOHNSON 1990:73. "The visitation of provinces was another important duty of the *audiencia*; this was usually of an administrative nature and was to be made every three years throughout the entire district." (WILGUS 1963:191.) For *audiencia*, see Glossary.

15 KUBLER 1946:343–5; HEMMING 1970:passim. For problems of the colonial matters in Viceroyalty of Peru, SEPPÄNEN & ZEGARRA 1990:82; ANDRIEN 1991:122–4. The main problems were: rapid depopulation of the natives caused by Old World diseases, conflicts between the various interest groups among Spaniards, many practical weaknesses in the *encomienda* system, dissatisfaction of native *curacas* for their benefits etc.

This strong man was Viceroy Francisco de Toledo, who held his position for twelve years (1569–1581). He accomplished much more than for his mandate. This man of force, energy, and ambition, made a complete re-organization in the Viceroyalty, carried out a program of thorough inspections, and left behind a corpus of legislative information for the use of his viceregal successors. He was also able to accomplish the final conquest of the Neo-Incas; which culminated in a public execution of the last Inca ruler, Tupac Amaru, in 1572. Alongside this, he achieved notoriety by collecting oral tradition from the surviving Inca nobles, and with Sarmiento de Gamboa produced a “White paper” showing that the king of Spain was replacing a usurping dynasty. This document was meant to prove that the Spanish conquest was legitimate for the natives. Its author was Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, whose chronicle became the authoritative Crown presentation of the canonic Inca history.¹⁶

1.2. Colonial writing

René JARA and Nicholas SPADACCINI (1989b:11) summed up the functions of colonial writing: “If until the middle of the 1600s writing was largely a tool of colonization, thereafter it acquired an opposite [polemical] function – one which ran parallel to that of the colonizer – while using many of the same rhetorical strategies. This is precisely what is observable in the early writings of Alonso de Ercilla y Zúñiga (1533–1594) and Bartolomé de Las Casas (ca.1474–1566), in those of the Mestizo Garcilaso de la Vega, the Inca (1539–1616), in those of Indian writers such as Guamán Poma de Ayala (d.1615) and Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl (ca.1578–1650).”¹⁷

In order to evaluate colonial writing, one aspect which matters profoundly is the status of the author on the colonial stage. Most authors of the Spanish colonial chronicles, as we have seen, were clerical, but there were a number of soldiers, explorers, and administrators too. Moreover, some native-born writers, most whom were descendants of Indian nobility (Incaic or provincial),

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 16 For Francisco de Toledo and his reforms, see, for example, HEMMING 1970:411–500; STERN 1987:76–9; ANDRIEN 1991:124–139. For the period before Toledo, see, for example, LOCKHART 1982. SCHAEDEL (1996, personal communication).

17 JARA & SPADACCINI 1989b:11. For JARA & SPADACCINI’s (ibid.) statement should be added, that the writing was largely a documentation of colonization until the middle of 1600s, and thereafter it acquired a polemical function – after reifying the Colonial mandate or defending the premises of Native American cognition with the intent of lessening the immediate force of occupation, subjugation and christianizing. There was also Native American justification marks in the said works and early Sahagun for instance. In Garcilaso there is an eloquent ‘White paper’ justifying the glories of Inca governance. Both native Andean writers (Garcilaso and Guaman Poma), defended the autochtony of the Native American emergence with eloquent articulation. (SCHAEDEL 1998, personal communication.) For Bartolome de Las Casas, see e.g. *Apologética historia de las Indias* (c.1550) 1958. For Garcilaso de la Vega, see e.g. *Comentarios reales...* (1609) 1976. For Guamán Poma de Ayala, see e.g. *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (1615) 1980. For Alva Ixtlilxochitl, see *Relaciones y Historia Chichimeca* (1600–8) 1891. For Alonso de Ercilla y Zúñiga; see the famous epic *La Araucana*, which is a narration of Spanish wars against the Araucanian-Indians in South-Central Chile.

were also present. A tendency to emphasize religious themes is naturally felt in the works of ecclesiastical authors, but since religious matters were often concentrated upon the authenticity and blameless origin of the New World population, all authors occasionally laid stress upon them. The themes emphasized in each narrative are then very much of to the occupational status of the writer and his role in the Colonization process.¹⁸

While there was an instantaneous European demand for writings on the New World, all books published in Spain had to be approved by the censors.¹⁹ As JARA and SPADACCINI say:

“Colonial writing had hegemonic and propagandistic intentions, for the idea behind such writing was to foster the establishment of the institutions of the Empire. Moreover it was also a question of promoting commercial relations and the prospect of evangelization.”²⁰

Besides authorities who censored what the authors wrote, the changes of the politico-religious trends dictated contents too. The critical anti-nativistic period in colonial Peru during the Reformation Era was the time of Viceroy Francisco de Toledo’s governance (1569–1581), which was coupled with the early seventeenth century inquisitional activities and the extirpation of idolatry among the Indians. Most Spanish texts took a pejorative cast although there was a tremendous difference between an unbiased observer like Cieza de León and Sarmiento de Gamboa, who was charged by Toledo to produce a pro-Spanish ‘White Paper’.²¹ According to Benjamin KEEN (1971, writing mostly about the Aztecs), hostility toward the Indians dominated the Spanish attitude during the Baroque. This made it “difficult if not impossible for seventeenth-century Spanish historians of the Conquest to write about the Indians and their

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18 JARA & SPADACCINI (eds.) 1989; SCHAEDEL (1998, personal consultation.) According to ROELKER (1979:65–66), many works of the Reformation Era were “indirectly polemical, presenting serious argument or accurate information with a certain interpretation that is hoped the reader will adopt.” For the impact of the occupational status of a writer one might expect that a soldier preferably describes in detail of political conflicts and battles, an official favoring information of governmental and bureaucratic matters, an explorer devoting himself in describing natural landscapes, and a scientist concentrating on botanical and geographical issues.

19 For censorship, see for example HARING 1947:106–7; MIGNOLO 1989.

20 JARA & SPADACCINI 1989:15.

21 For changing politico-religious trends, see e.g. KEEN 1971:passim. He has given a thorough description of these trends in his book *The Aztec Image in Western Thought* 1971. A good example of colonial censorship and influence of political trends was the case of Bernardino de Sahagún in Mexico. This Franciscan friar wrote an extensive ethnographic work *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* during 1559–69. Its content which favors native perspectives, did not satisfy Council of the Indies, and his work was interrupted for several years, and the Council ordered all the copies to be sent to Spain. Fortunate for posterity, a few Ms. copies survived. (D’OLWER & CLINE 1973.) The best known pro-native colonial writer was Bartolomé de Las Casas. Read e.g. *The Devastation of the Indies (De ultima relacion de la destruccion de las Yndias)*, The Johns Hopkins University Press: Baltimore (1965) 1993. Las Casas found native Americans receptive to the message of the Christ and he condemned the party line of the Inquisition that idolatry had poisoned the souls who could only be killed or redeemed to exorcism (SCHAEDEL 1998, personal consultation.) For Francisco de Toledo’s activities in Peru, see e.g. HEMMING 1970:375–500; ANDRIEN 1991:124–139. For extirpation of idolatry in Peru, see e.g. Arriaga (1621) 1968b.

civilizations in an objective manner. Moreover, all these historians were official chroniclers whose writing constituted an instrument of Spanish state policy.”²²

According to Eduard FUETER (in *Geschichte der neueren Historiographie*), four major strands of historical tradition of seventeenth-century Europe can be identified: Ecclesiastical, Ethnographic, Antiquarian, and Romanesque. The first two genres dominated the Colonial writing and were produced by missionaries of the age of discovery and exploration. The genres of ecclesiastical and ethnographic were often merged, as we can see in the narratives of Las Casas, Guaman Poma, and Montesinos, for instance.²³

Writes WILGUS (1963), “Works relating to America written in the seventeenth century assumed a different character from those of the previous century, and dealt more with biography, description, religious accounts, and travel than previously.”²⁴

An independent Latin American historiography was also born in the early 17th century. It alienated itself from the annalistic and politically orientated form of military chroniclers, and devoted more to cultural historical approach, which borrowed features from European humanism. Moreover, it provided a new viewpoint which responded to the notions of the former writers’, whose set of values were colored by Catholic doctrine and Iberian culture.²⁵ In the Andes, the native- or mixed-born writers such as Guaman Poma, Garcilaso de la Vega, and Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamayhua are the best known authors of this genre.²⁶

22 KEEN 1971:173–5.

23 Besides Ecclesiastical and Ethnographic history, the Antiquarian historiography, which “dedicated to the construction of accurate chronicles and annals of the remote and near past” (WHITE 1987:59–60) obviously had its impact on Colonial writing too. The work of Montesinos seems to contain elements from all three of them. One popular genre, especially among the clerics, was a Annalistic tradition, which was carried over from Medieval times. The Renaissance evoked new forms of writing from the fifteenth-century on, especially pragmatic historiography, and it was first developed in Italy. During the Reformation Era old and new styles co-existed, and with the invention of printing, writings for the first time reached a large public. (HAY 1977.) In the Americas chronicles in Annalistic form are known from Mexican tradition for instance. See, for example NICHOLSON 1971; CLINE (Vol.ed.) 1975 (Vols.14–15). Famous Annals from Central Mexico were e.g. *Anales de Cuauhtitlan y Leyenda de los Soles / Codice Chimalpopoca* (1558–1570) 1945; *Codex en Cruz* (1553–69) 1981; and Alvarado Tezozomoc / *Cronica Mexicayotl* (c.1609) 1949. From the Mayan area, see e.g. *Annals of the Caxchiquels* (late 16thC) 1953.

24 WILGUS 1963:587.

25 JÄÄSKELÄINEN & KÄMÄRÄINEN 1983:312–3.

26 One special feature in Guaman Poma’s narrative is its biographical section where he presents a vivid portraiture of all canonic Inca rulers, their Coyas, and principal warlords. According to ADORNO (1991: 43), this reminds the outline of the fifteenth century Spanish biography. “Since the High Middle Ages, Spanish chroniclers had put aspects of the royal biography in historiographic works that adopted the format of the succession of dynasties” (ibid., 42; a reference from RUANO, Eloy Benito 1952:77. “La historiografía en la alta edad media española.” *Cuadernos de Historia de España* 17:50–104.)

1.3. World view, time, and history

The prevailing Hispano-European world view of the Reformation Era was a changing one, from Medieval concepts till Modern, more scientific, more humanistic. It was moving from the theocentric towards the geocentric, and the dominance of religion was to be replaced by man's reason.²⁷ In the Middle Ages everything was real, true, and divine. The new rationalism undermined the extant faith and reality. A time of transition or preparation, also labeled as incubation, ensued.²⁸ The archenemy of the Church was rationalism. Once the Church could not escape it completely, it tried to dispel its influence with the help of an another power, which was, e.g. Baroque sensualism, writes FRIEDEL (1989).²⁹

I focus on the latter part of the Reformation Era, since that was the period when Fernando de Montesinos lived. This was a period of High early Baroque culture, extending from 1600 until about 1670. It had a great florescence in Spain, especially between 1605 and 1650. For the Spanish this was '*El siglo de oro*', a golden century.³⁰

According to José Antonio MARAVALL, the social crises of the time, violence, plagues, moral laxity etc., helped to create a psychological climate which was characteristic of the Baroque culture. The seventeenth century (as well as the 16thC) was a turbulent epoch, the world was seen in movement and disharmony: the concept of *world upside down* was revitalized (from the 16thC). In the aspect of change there were seen the dynamic phases of rise and decline, which were also reflected in the ideas of history.³¹

Adjectives such as irrational, fantastic, and exuberant, characterized the Baroque. Baroque authors could be carried away by exuberance although others could hold to a severe simplicity. The Baroque writer was very interested in novelty. Because of the 16th century upheaval, attention was called to means of attractive, innovative novelties. On the other hand, these novelties could lend themselves to be used as vehicles of persuasive propaganda in favor of the established order. The truth often became a verisimilitude, curiously nuanced, in writing history, for instance.³²

In general, the preoccupation with history reached an intensity never known before, and examination of all sorts of things, new, original, rare, outlandish,

27 GRIMM 1954; FRIEDEL 1964/1989, vol.2; MARAVALL 1986. For theocentric towards geocentric, FRIEDEL 1964, vol.1:295–6. The polar pairs of Medieval – religious impact, and Modern – secular impact, characterized The Reformation Era, while the natural idiom of the times was still the religious. (ROELKER 1979:76.)

28 FRIEDEL 1989, vol.2:91. During this period many realities were lost; nevertheless, the basic principles of life still remained under standable. (ibid.)

29 FRIEDEL 1989, vol. 2:76.

30 For *el siglo de oro*, (FRIEDEL 1964, vol.2:85.) For the extension of Baroque, MARAVALL 1986:4. The reign of Philip IV (1621–65) was also called the High early Baroque in Spain (ibid.)

31 MARAVALL 1986:53, 149–204. I am grateful to Hannu LAAKSONEN (Department of Cultural History, Turku university) who introduced me to this important source (1995, personal communication.)

32 ibid., 207, 210, 225–28.

was phenomenal for this era too.³³ MARAVALL writes also that the history and that part of psychology depicting the characteristics of individuals and peoples were the subject matters most read by the politician, writer, or artist of the Baroque.³⁴

For means to escape pessimism in a confusing world, people of the Baroque depended upon religion and education. Pragmatism and prudence prevailed, and both Machiavellian and Scholastic ideas had an influence on the Baroque epoch. Also the virtue of doing something good was of less interest than the art of doing something well. Jesuitism, for instance, became a pure expression of Baroque mentality.³⁵

Baroque mentality, in Spain particularly, combined clerical doctrines with new-found rationalism. In this atmosphere many substitute and alternative ideas developed, like mysticism, metaphysics, and alchemy. In human manners, extravagance, sensualism, theatricality etc. flourished. In politics and in religion, all kinds of propaganda were practised.³⁶

The idea of time, bound also to the idea of movement, met profound transformations during the Reformation Era. The voyages of discovery and advances in astronomy changed the concept of the world altogether. In 1582, Pope Gregory XIII organized a calendar reform, which came to bear his name. A French-born Jesuit scholar, Domenicus Petavius, brought forth the ideas of the B.C./A.D. system for chronologies. But, it was much later, during the first quarter of the eighteenth century, when the notion of absolute, Modern idea of time came forth – one of the many great contributions of Isaac Newton. Until then, even Medieval concepts of time had their supporters. The latter was true more in Catholic countries than among the Protestants and Anglicans.³⁷

As stated earlier, the concept of relative time and dating system was in general use before Newton. When the emphasis was placed on epochs and relative events without absolute chronology, when the B.C./A.D. system or concept of “centuries” had not been invented, even the Western idea of linear time approximated cyclical notions. It is likely that the Baroque mental atmosphere increased more than diminished this way of thinking.³⁸

So during the Reformation Era the dominant concept of time was still apparently Medieval times derivation. At the same time the appearance of new cultures through voyages of exploration brought European scholars before

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33 *ibid.*, 188, 225.

34 *ibid.*, 67.

35 *ibid.*, For escape from pessimism, p.159. For pragmatism, p.196. For prudence, p.62. For Machiavellianism, p.63. See e.g. MACHIAVELLI (1532) 1993. The so-called Middle Scholasticism prevailed from 1530–1650 (GURR 1981, vol.xii:1158.) For Jesuitism, MARAVALL 1986:77.

36 FRIEDEL 1964/1989; MARAVALL 1986. According to FRIEDEL (1989, vol.2:92–4) the people of the Baroque perceived the world largely through fictions, playing with images and illusions.

37 WILCOX 1987.

38 *ibid.*; AVENI 1990. The deduction is mine.

serious problems how to fix those foreign civilizations into universal chronological frames. This led scholars to wonder about the truthfulness of their ancient sources, but what they were able to define, was to integrate sacred and secular time.³⁹

Throughout the Middle Ages and beyond, many men accepted that they were living in the Sixth Age, an idea which was derived from the first centuries of the Christian era. The world ages were:

1. From the Creation to the Flood
2. From the Flood to the birth of Abraham
3. From Abraham to David
4. From David to the Captivity
5. From the Captivity to the birth of Christ
6. From the birth of Christ until the Second Coming.

This six-fold division proved far more popular with medieval chroniclers than other schemes derived from the Bible and elaborated by theologians and exegetes. This idea was related to the Jewish theory of Four World-Empires, originated from the Book of Daniel. In it one vast empire succeeded another, until the last one collapses and the world ends. Although this belief diminished in later centuries, it received a new lease on life at the Reformation and it continued to be used into the seventeenth and even the eighteenth century. This theory of sacred history existed side by side with the more secular explanations during the Reformation Era, resulting in lively clerical debates about the concept of universal history.⁴⁰

Implicitly, it was thought that the Six Ages of the world had a duration of a millenium each.⁴¹ Salutati, a Florentine chancellor (late 14thC), elaborated the idea by the thought that each age was itself a self-contained unit beginning with a creative event and ending with a calamity.⁴² The mid-seventeenth century Archbishop James Usher calculated the origin of the world at 4004 B.C. by tabulating Old Testament genealogy, a figure which was generally accepted until the nineteenth century and the times of Charles Darwin.⁴³

There were two chronological starting points in use during the Middle Ages. While some historians used the foundation of Rome as their fixed point, others

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39 WILCOX 1987:189-90.

40 For Six Ages, see e.g. HAY 1977:27-8. For Four World-Empires, see for example HAY 1977:28; BUTTERFIELD 1981:175-6, 216. For survival of these old concepts until the 17th century and beyond, BUTTERFIELD 1981:175-6.

41 WILCOX 1987:138-9. Gregory of Tours, who was a bishop of that city (573-594), calculated 5,792 years having elapsed since the Creation until his times. From the Creation until the Deluge he got 2,242 years, and from the Deluge until the Resurrection of the Christ 3,212 years. The result was rather close with the 6000-year ideal. (ibid., 129-30, 138-9.)

42 ibid., 158-9.

43 WILCOX 1987:187; AVENI 1990:134. The evolution theory of Charles Darwin (1859) revolutionized all old concepts and chronologies of creation.

measured time from the Incarnation. Essentially linear, these sequences did not fit very comfortably with the personal time modes favored by the medieval historians. Individuals were seen existing in episodic time frames, not in the linear time of political growth and spiritual development.⁴⁴

These Medieval concepts of time were synthesized by an Italian scholar, Petrarch, in mid-fourteenth century. His time had two dimensions. One was linear, universal, and all-embracing. The other was episodic, immediate, and inextricably bound up with particular events. Also continuity and change became part of the substance of time. Renaissance historians embedded continuity and change in the very events that give life to the story of the past.⁴⁵

The Italian political writer, Machiavelli, brought a contribution to this field too. He emphasized personal time and *favored an idea that the actions and desires of prominent individuals had a direct effect on historical events*. Dates themselves were indifferent in his interpretation, and a narrative drew its order and meaning from the events.⁴⁶ “Through the genius of Machiavelli’s rhetoric and the profundity of his insight into the implications of Petrarchan time, the narrative became a living process, where truth and probability, veracity and verisimilitude, were inextricably linked.”⁴⁷

We have noticed how the Spanish Baroque world view was dominated by such ideas as cyclico-linear time formula, six-fold historical Age-periodization, apocryphal expectations, images of the world-upside-down, profound changes etc. In synchronizing these ideas with the ones prevailing in the early Colonial Andean sphere, a curious and interesting correlation is met. A Spanish chronicler of that period apparently recognized many familiar concepts in native Andean thinking, and consequently, wrote accordingly. As stated before, the Andean concepts of World Ages, *pachacuti*-periodization and apocryphal decline, were remarkably elaborated during the turbulent early years of colonization. It seems that Montesinos, who truly was a writer of his times, used these ideas to the best of his ability and apparently faced the Andean ‘Otherness’ rather with a curious interest than extravagant prejudice.

1.4. Scholasticism and the discovery of America

Scholasticism is an intellectual movement and scientific method in the history of the Church. Starting around the 11th century it had a High Scholastic florescence in 1200–1350. Thereafter it quickly moved away, until the so-called Second or Middle Scholasticism (1530–1650) emerged, with its stronghold in Spain.⁴⁸ The new golden age for Scholasticism was reached after the Council

44 WILCOX 1987:119–152, 189.

45 *ibid.*, 153–7. For the continuity and change, p.172–3.

46 *ibid.*, 178–180. (italics mine)

47 WILCOX 1987:247.

48 BRADY 1981; GURR 1981, Vol. XII:1158–60. Only in Spain did the Second Scholasticism (1530–1650) or Middle Scholasticism show new life. In Italy instead, it gave way for the Humanists. (*ibid.*)

of Trent, with the Dominicans and Jesuits carrying its banner. Both were prominent educational institutions of the day, and through them Scholastic ideas were also transplanted into Spanish and Portuguese colonies in America.⁴⁹

The Scholastic method was a rational investigation of every relevant problem in liberal arts, philosophy, theology, medicine, and Canon law. By examining from opposing points of view, it tried to find an intelligent solution which would be consistent with the known facts, human reason, accepted authorities, and Christian faith.⁵⁰

Canon Law is a body of law that is proper to the Roman Catholic Church. Most of its ideas were borrowed and adapted from the Roman law system.⁵¹ Canon Law helped to organize the two principal activities of the Church: the preaching of the message of Christ and the administering of the Sacraments. Legitimizing the authority of the Church was one of its major functions.⁵² Some principles of Canon Law could be taught in colleges (high schools), but mainly it was a science learnt in the universities.⁵³ One graduate in Canon Law was the lawyer (*licenciado*), Don Fernando de Montesinos.⁵⁴

The profound era events, such as, the invention of printing, the fall of Constantinople, the Protestant Reformation, and the discovery of America,

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- 49 GURR 1981, *ibid.* LOHMANN VILLENA 1981, Vol.XI:186. Three schools of Scholasticism were well established at that time too: the Thomists, the Scotists, and Suarezianism. (GURR, *ibid.*) The latter is a derivation of the name Francisco Suárez (1548–1617), a Spanish Jesuit and one of the foremost and most prolific philosophers of the time. Although not the superior authority for all the Jesuits, his numerous writings were read widely among them. His influence was remarkable in moral theology, for instance. He was esteemed as a Canonist, and in the field of law his contribution was remarkable. For Francisco Suárez, see e.g. DALMAU 1981, vol.XIII. For Suarezianism, BENEDETTO 1981, Vol.XIII.
- 50 WEISHEIPL 1981, vol.xii:1145-6. Two essential features characterized scholastic method: exposition (*lectio*) and disputation (*disputatio*), and both employed three scientific principles: definition, division, and reasoning. Logic was the universal instrument of debate, but each discipline had its own principles, method, and sources. Dominican Thomas Aquinas (1225–74) was a foremost Scholastic authority, especially for his famous work ‘*Summa theologiae*’, which rose in prominence among the scholastic students and scholars of the Reformation Era. The school of Aquinas’ followers became known as Thomists. (*ibid.*; BRADY 1981, Vol.XII:1156–8; GURR 1981, Vol.XII:1158–9.)
- 51 BUCKLEY 1981, Vol.III:29–30. Canon Law got a new form in the Council of Trent, where it was restored, supplemented, and renewed – without abolishing the older laws. At the same time the Roman Curia was expanded and reformed. New congregations were established: Inquisition (1564) and Propaganda (1622), for instance. The latter (Propagation of the Faith), became radically important for the organization of the missions in conquered colonies. (LEISCHING 1981, Vol. III:47–8.)
- 52 BUCKLEY 1981, Vol.III:30–4. The true meaning of the law was explicated through three interpretations: authenticity (by the one who issued the law), custom (as it was interpreted by its practical application), and doctrine (made by anyone with knowledge of the law).(*ibid.*)
- 53 BOYLE 1981, Vol.III:43-5; BECERRA 1981, Vol.V:150.
- 54 For Fernando de Montesinos as a graduate in Canon Law, see for instance ANGULO 1930:xiii. A title licentiate (*licenciado*) is given for Montesinos in several sources. The Spanish word *licenciado* has three meanings: 1. licentiate, 2. master’s degree, and 3. lawyer (SIMON and SCHUSTER 1973:1315.) It is obvious then that in this case the meaning ‘lawyer’ is closest since Montesinos had Canon Law as his major. Equally we may deduce that he earned his degree from the university and not from the college.

changed radically the old cultural and religious milieu of Scholasticism with significant consequences for its evolution during the subsequent centuries.⁵⁵ The Renaissance unrolled the trends of secularism, naturalism, relativism, scepticism,⁵⁶ and the old Medieval Scholasticism had to handle and co-operate sophisticatedly with these new ideas, inventions, and discoveries, or perish in the course of these changes. Nonetheless, in spite of some adaptation and modification, the retreat of Scholasticism was inescapable, except in Spain.⁵⁷

As has been stated, in Spain these old clerical doctrines were more successfully combined with the new-found rationalism than elsewhere. But a unified front could not stand there either. Many Jesuits, for instance, broke away from the Scholastic ideas in favor of new scientific movements.⁵⁸ One of these rebels was José de Acosta.⁵⁹ He presented many revolutionary ideas in his celebrated book *Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias* (1588–90). One of these ideas was his perception of the origin of native races in the Americas (*Indias*), a view which completely contradicted the canonic interpretations of the Church. According to KEEN (1971), “Acosta’s writings reveal a distinct advance in methodology over previous studies of Indian history and civilization. Without deviating one iota from the orthodox Catholic and Scholastic world view, his work reflected the new rationalist and critical currents of thought of the late sixteenth century. His common sensical approach to some problems of American history is shown both by his rejection and easy demolition of the myth claiming a Jewish origin for the Indians and by his suggestion, based on reasoning from analogy, that the first men and animals in the New World came over a strait or land bridge linking Asia and America.”⁶⁰

The mystery of the origin of native races in the Americas was a topic of many ecclesiastic debates during the Reformation Era (and lingering on into

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55 GURR 1981, Vol. XII:1158.

56 BOUWSMA 1979:7 (1980).

57 During the Reformation Era and deeply rooted in the past, in no other European country than Spain did Scholasticism retain so much vitality as a philosophic method and as an instrument for solution of public and private problems. Besides Scholasticism, a strong legalistic cast prevailed there too. (KEEN 1971:71.) At the same time (in the latter part of the 16th century) Catholic Europe encountered a trend of asceticism and spiritualism. This was a return to the Middle-Agean religious spirit and sternness, a response to Protestant purism. This trend, which is called the Counter-Reformation, condemned profane, free thought, and scepticism. (FRIEDEL 1989:vol.2: 75–6.)

58 GURR 1981, Vol. XII:1160.

59 AVELING 1982:190.

60 KEEN 1971:121. Consult, Acosta [1588–90:lib.i, caps.xx-xxiv] 1880:57–70. Acosta ignored the natives’ own interpretations of their origins which held the idea that they were created in this continent long ago. He writes: “But we have freed them of this error by our faith, which teacheth vs that all men came from the first man” (ibid., cap.xxv, p. 70–2.) See also, e.g. HORNBERGER 1969; PINO DIAZ 1978. Writes HORNBERGER (ibid., 419), “So much for the content of Acosta’s four books on the natural history of the Indies, as has been said, to correct the errors of Scholastic science in the light of the new evidence from America.” Acosta also presented an idea of three stage ‘cultural evolution’ of non-European societies: a) *inferiores* (e.g. Caribs), b) *medias* (e.g. Peruvians), and c) *superiores* (e.g. Chinese) (PINO DIAZ, ibid., 522.)

19th C). The new-found Indian race did not fit into any antecedents given by the Holy Bible. Various chroniclers tried to give their own explanations for the problem. The more popular hypotheses stressed the explanation that the Indian race and idea of civilization originated from the Old World. In early colonial times America was also seen as a kind of Utopia and Lost Paradise. In this view the natives became 'noble savages', an image greatly elaborated during the Enlightenment.⁶¹

One popular explanation (during the Reformation Era) for the origin of the Amerindian race, was the story of Ophir, giving the origins of the natives in the Near East. Ophir was a great grandson of Noah and the name was also associated with the lost gold mines of King Solomon. This Jewish – Biblical linkage fitted better with the ecclesiastic formulas and pleased the common Scholastic rationalization also. Acosta dedicated much room in his book in rejecting this Ophirian interpretation, but other writers maintained this view yet for a long time. Fernando de Montesinos knew the work of his co-religionist and even consulted Acosta, but he felt himself to be on a firm ground when he spoke in favor of Ophirian hypothesis in his book.⁶²

1.5. The Role of the Societas Jesu

A religious order known as The Society of Jesus or Societas Jesu (S.J.) was founded in Paris, Aug.15, 1534, by Ignatius de Loyola (who later was canonized as Saint).⁶³ Commonly called the Jesuits, they became one of the most vigorous, best organized, and largest Orders in the whole of Catholic Christianity. During the Reformation Era (1500–1650) this order acted as a most effective vehicle on behalf of the Counter-Reformation by the Catholic Church.⁶⁴ In spite of their strong activities, especially in the missionary field, Jesuits' name tended to have a somewhat ill-reputed echo. This may come

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61 For various theories of Amerindian origins, see e.g. WAUCHOPE 1974; FEDER 1990:57–134; WILLIAMS 1991. Thomas More's famous description (1516) of *Utopia* has been interpreted sometimes as a model which got its inspiration from Indian America (RABASA 1989; COMMAGER 1978:passim.) For 'noble savages', KEEN 1971:passim.; RABASA 1989.

62 For Ophir and America, see e.g. Acosta (1588–1590):lib.i, 1880: 37–42; Montesinos (1642):libro primero, passim. 1869–70. Ophir was Noah's great grandchild, son of Joktan of the Semites (*Genesis* 10:26.) The most convenient exegetical explanation for the Native American's descent would have been 'Noah's fourth son', but since he had only three, some of the grandsons were chosen. That the Indians descended from the 'Ten Lost Tribes of Israel' was an idea presented e.g. Diego Duran in 1580, but this hypothesis achieved more widespread popularity only after 1650, and much later in Mormon writings (WAUCHOPE 1974: 50–68; FEDER 1990:61–2.) Cabello de Balboa (1586) was one of the principal chroniclers who favored the Ophirian theory. He adopted the idea apparently from Juan de Orozco, a Franciscan friar in Santa Fé de Bogota (MEANS 1928:318). According to HAGEN (1965:111), Cabello de Balboa even made a map (now lost), where he was out to prove that the Indians reached South America by way of the scattered islands in the Pacific. Interestingly, both MEANS (1931:50) and HAGEN (ibid.) state that Cabello de Balboa was a Jesuit.

63 BRODERICK 1981 (NCE, Vol.VII:898); KURKI 1986:14–15.

64 GRIMM 1954; AVELING 1982.

from (as has been accused) their “Macchiavellian” ways of spreading faith and using political connections for their purposes.⁶⁵ There is, of course, the reverse of this medal of reputation also.

Their positive reputation existed especially in the educational field; the Jesuits were excellent teachers. Although not first of the orders to be distinguished in this field, their well-structured organization and humane teaching methods soon overshadowed almost all competition. From the Reformation Era throughout Baroque and Enlightenment, theirs was the best education which Western civilization was able to offer.⁶⁶

By founding hundreds of colleges around the world, the Jesuits’ educational contribution is predominantly on the secondary level. The rapid spread of Jesuit schools was due to the sophisticated teaching offered, humane treatment of pupils, and free tuition. Children were taken in these schools usually around ten years of age and education normally lasted fourteen years. Students were from all social classes and the teaching language was Latin. Their textbooks were superior to all others of the time in lucidity, graphicness, and vivacity. Colleges were led by a rector, who was named by the Jesuit general himself, and who had to fulfil high qualifications.⁶⁷ There were Jesuit seminars and universities too, but the latter were not as distinguished as the colleges. And the Jesuits scholars were esteemed almost everywhere. It was only after the papal suppression of the society (in 1773), when their major influence diminished.⁶⁸

As has been stated, the Jesuits of Spain were closely associated with Scholastic science. And being men of their times, most of them were also eager Humanists.⁶⁹ Unlike the students of Medieval Scholasticism, who were more intent on speculation, the Jesuits attended also to positive Theology and to a historical approach appropriate in refuting the new heresies.⁷⁰ They were also

65 For Jesuits’ “Macchiavellism”, see e.g. STIERLI, J. 1955. *Die Jesuiten*, Paulus Verlag: Freiburg (cited by KURKI 1986:3.) For Jesuit image in literature, see AVELING 1982:18–48.

66 BRODERICK 1981 (NCE, Vol.VII:900-1); AVELING 1982; KURKI 1986.

67 Subjects taught in Jesuit colleges were: grammar, rhetoric, philosophy, geography, history, and theology. The latter was taught only in advanced classes and it included: dogmatics, holy scriptures, canon law, church history, and moral theology. Physics, astronomy, and mathematics were usually included in philosophical studies. Also botany, psychology, ethics, and metaphysics were taught, at least in major colleges. For more information on the Jesuits’ education, see e.g. KURKI 1986. For subjects taught in classes, see *ibid.*,33–42 and AVELING 1982. For colleges and secondary level education, BRODERICK 1981 (NCE, Vol.VII:900); AVELING 1982. For textbooks, FRIEDEL 1964:393; For rectors, KURKI 1986:62.

68 For Jesuit universities and scholars, AVELING 1982:138, 212–223; KURKI 1986:passim. For the suppression of the Society, BRODERICK 1981 (NCE, Vol.VII:907.)

69 Writes GURR (NCE, 1981, Vol. XII:1160), “The Society of Jesus came into the stream of modern Scholasticism in time to contribute with the Dominicans to the flowering of Spanish Scholasticism.” For Jesuits as Humanists, (GUIBERT 1964:575.) Humanistic studies constituted the core of liberal education in Jesuit schools. “Before entering the university to study theology, philosophy, law, or medicine, the student was first and foremost a Christian humanist” (DUPUIS 1981:123.)

70 BRODERICK 1981 (NCE, Vol. VII:902.)

pioneers of modern-kind source criticism in historical research, which developed in the 17th century.⁷¹ The most remarkable name, or at least the best known of Jesuit authors of the 17th century, was Juan Eusebio Nieremberg. He was a fellow countryman and contemporary of Montesinos, and judging from his positive references to the skills of the latter, we may conclude that Fray Nieremberg knew the writings of Montesinos well, maybe even got acquainted with him personally.⁷²

Egon FRIEDEL has given rather a lively description of what the activities of the Jesuits involved. These “soldiers” of Jesus were everywhere – and able to do almost anything. They occupied three most powerful spiritual power bases of the time: the pulpit, the confessional, and the school. No post on earth was too high or low for them. They were most brilliant companions, most stern ascetics, most self-denying missionaries, most cunning merchants, most loyal servants, best trained political advisors, wisest physicians of the soul, most able physicians, and most skillful assassins.⁷³

The triumphant century and florescence of the *Societas Jesu* was 1581–1681 (which coincided with the years of Montesinos). During that time Jesuits were led by the most able of their generals, Claudio Aquaviva (1581–1615) and Mutius Vitelleschi (1615–1645).⁷⁴ Regarding to the Jesuit spiritualism, by Aquaviva’s death the period of growth ended, and the full maturity began. The Generalate of Mutius Vitelleschi (1615–45) instead, marked the most mature and triumphant age for Jesuitism.⁷⁵ It was also during that period when major missionary activities started. Jesuits were sent to the Far East (e.g. Japan), Southeast Asia (e.g. Siam), India, Africa (e.g. Congo), North America (e.g. French colonies) and South America (e.g. Paraguay). They were daring as explorers, tireless in their vocation, unprejudiced friends of natives, and prepared to face a martyr’s death.⁷⁶

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 71 An emergent reaction against humanism and religious zealotry was felt from the beginnings of the 17th century. One consequence of this contributed to the historical research. Pioneered by the Jesuits, the modern-kind source criticism was set forth. They were followed by the Benedictines, who were devoted Catholics, but maintained that historical truth can only confirm the Catholic faith. The writings of Jesuit father Jean de Bollandista (1596–1655) were particularly important in this matter. (SUVANTO 1983:45–7.)

72 I have referred to Nieremberg already in chapter I:5 (compare also appendix 12.) For Nieremberg, read e.g. GUIBERT 1964:286, 315–9. He was born and died in Madrid (1590/95–1658) and he became a Jesuit at Salamanca in 1614 (ibid.)

73 For many activities of the Jesuits, see FRIEDEL 1964:392–3. It should be noted also that their Public Relations were most effective (SCHAEDEL 1997, personal consultation.)

74 At the time of Aquaviva’s death, the entire society was made up of eight universities, some thirty academies (small universities) and over 400 colleges. The number of Jesuits (including students) were 15,544 in 1626. For more information of generals Aquaviva and Vitelleschi, see GUIBERT 1964:231–312; AVELING 1982:189–251. For the number of Jesuits, BRODERICK 1981 (NCE, Vol.7):900.

75 GUIBERT 1964:280; AVELING 1982:212–48. “Vitelleschi’s Generalate saw the practise extended so widely and completely that by 1640 every Catholic ruler, except for the king of Poland, and the Doge of Venice, was under Jesuit spiritual direction” (AVELING, ibid.)

76 GUIBERT 1964:287,292–5; BRODERICK 1981 (NCE, Vol.7):904–6.

The New World attracted Jesuit missionaries more than Asia and Africa.⁷⁷ Already in 1586 general Aquaviva ordered a college to be established in Paraguay, but it was only after 1605 when a well-organized missionary work started there. During the following decades the Jesuits created a peculiar experimental “state” among the Guarani Indians.⁷⁸ Beside Paraguay, the favourite South American field of Jesuit activity was the Viceroyalty of Peru. It is important to note that all Orders coming to New World were under the control of *Real Patronato*, except the Jesuits who rejected the power of the Crown actively.⁷⁹

The first members of the Society of Jesus arrived in Peru in 1568.⁸⁰ The Jesuits concentrated on developing education and missionary work in Peru. They started organizing schools in Lima when they reached the city in 1568. Quickly the Jesuits came to dominate elite education in major Spanish American cities. The Dominicans had already founded the famous University of San Marcos in the City of Kings (1551), but it actually functioned as a convent school until 1576, when it was placed under royal patronage.⁸¹ A university was also founded in Cuzco in 1578 and the University of Charcas

77 BRODERICK 1981 (NCE, Vol.7:905–6); KURKI 1986:81–93. The first ones to arrive were Portuguese Jesuits in Brazil in 1549. A short-lived mission was on the southeastern seaboard of the present U.S. during 1566–72. The most acclaimed missionary activities were seen in the French Canadian colonies among the Hurons and in the province of Paraguay among the Guarani Indians. For Jesuits among the Huron, see e.g. HYDE 1975:108–123. The most detailed document from this period is *The Jesuit Relations* (ed. by Reuben Gold THWAITES 1896-1901).

78 HARING 1947:198; KURKI 1986:introduction, 81–93; HEMMING 1987:106–110. The Paraguayan Jesuit-society has been hailed as the first modern welfare-state. The Indians were saved from the slave hunters and educated better than the average peasants in Europe at that time. According to Aquaviva’s principles, the missionary work had to be fulfilled on the terms of the natives’ and by respecting their customs. All teaching was in the Guarani language. However, this Jesuit experiment called forth more hatred and jealousy than admiration, especially among the slavers. Sporadic fighting with mestizos was frequent and the Jesuits armed “their” Indians. Rumors circulated of Jesuits’ incredible treasures. Finally, (after almost 200 years) in 1762, Viceroy Bucareli ordered a total expulsion of Jesuits from Paraguay. At that time there were: 1 university, 12 colleges, 57 missions and 113 716 Indians living in them. In two years after that, almost the whole work of the Jesuits in Paraguay province was in ruin and the Indians on their own again. There were 2,260 Jesuits in Americas at the time of the expulsion (MECHAM 1963:235.) This was part of overall expulsion of Jesuit missions in the world (BRODERICK/NCE 1981, Vol.VII:906–7.)

79 VUOLA 1992:129–30.

80 BURKHOLDER & JOHNSON 1990:87. There were seven missionaries sent by the general Francis Borgia, with Jerónimo Ruiz de Portillo as provincial (ENTRAIGAS 1981, vol.ix:953.) Before the Jesuits, the Dominican Vicente de Valverde and some other clerics accompanied Francisco Pizarro to Cajamarca in 1532 when Inca Atahualpa was captured. Franciscans and Mercedarians arrived soon afterwards, and Augustinians appeared in 1551. (BURKHOLDER & JOHNSON, *ibid.*)

81 *ibid.*,87–90; HARING 1947:229; KNIGHT JONES 1963:289. In 1569 Jesuits took charge of two doctrinas: El Cercado (a district of Lima), and the area of Huarochiri, which included 77 villages and, provincially, Andaguallas (Apurimac) (ENTRAIGAS 1981, Vol.IX:953.) Like the University of Mexico, it (the University of San Marcos) was granted the same privileges as those of Salamanca, and its curriculum reflected the ideas and tendencies of the period. For Salamanca’s model, HARING (1947:230) states that the constitutions of most of the Spanish American universities were modeled directly or indirectly upon that of Salamanca in Spain.

was established in 1623 under the direction of the Jesuits. The latter became famous for its liberal atmosphere.⁸²

It also happened in Peru that Jesuits' influence became most far-reaching on the secondary level education in their numerous colleges. At the same time there grew up rivalry between the clergy who were born in Europe and those born in the Americas. In due course, when more and more clerics were needed for various missions, creoles, mestizos and later Indians were accepted into the Holy Orders. This same trend was seen also in the field of general educational opportunities for American natives and mestizos. Jesuits aimed at this direction too.⁸³ There was one exception to the exclusionary rule almost from the beginning. Those Indians who belonged to native nobility, descendants of the Incas and the provincial *curaca*-class, were considered as pure blooded. Known as *limpios de sangre*, they were encouraged to enter in colleges.⁸⁴ Colonial church and administrative hierarchy encouraged this "humanism", since the fight against idolatry was extended to introduction of Inquisition to Peru in 1569.⁸⁵

The Jesuits established a foothold in the Cuzco region around 1570. They expanded far and wide in the Central Andean area during the next half century. They were concentrated in the area around Lake Titicaca, and established doctrinas at Potosi, Santa Cruz de la Sierra (1586), Chuquisaca (Sucre), Arequipa, and Trujillo.⁸⁶

The region around Lake Titicaca attracted Jesuits soon after their arrival in Peru and became one of their major activity centers in the whole Viceroyalty. The Dominicans already had missions there since the 1550s. In 1577 Fray

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82 KNIGHT JONES 1963:289. In Cuzco there was the Jesuit university college of San Bernardo, which was founded in 1605 in spite of the ecclesiastical council in Lima. The Jesuit fathers ran the college and utilized the privilege of the bull of Gregory II (1621) to confer degrees for colleges 200 miles away. Degrees were conferred from 1622, but San Bernardo did not begin its activities as a university until 1628. Lima opposed this privilege, and it was suspended until 1649, and it was not until 1664 when its full status was acknowledged (BECERRA 1981, Vol.V:154.)

83 HARING 1947:188-9, 216-7, 224-8; BURKHOLDER & JOHNSON 1990:90.

84 HARING 1947:215-9; KNIGHT JONES 1963:289-90.

85 The Colegio del Principe was founded by Father Arriaga in 1619 at Lima and by 1621 it housed 30 students, living in dormitories and receiving instruction from a Jesuit in reading, writing, singing, and counting. Another was founded at Cuzco in 1628 as a Jesuit boarding school and called Colegio de San Francisco de Borja. In the latter sons of the local lords received training to occupy posts both in Colonial government and religion. For the campaign against idolatry, see e.g. Jesuit Friar Pablo José de Arriaga's work *Extirpación de la idolatría del Perú* (1621) 1968. For education of sons of the *curacas*, KUBLER 1946:408; CUMMINS 1991:219. In 1569, the total number of priests and friars resident in the Viceroyalty of Peru was about 350 (KUBLER 1946:403.) The number of Jesuits in 1576 was 75 and 282 in 1600 (ALBO & LAYME 1984:xiv.)

86 ALBO 1966; ENTRAIGAS 1981, Vol.IX:953-4; LOHMANN VILLENA 1981, Vol.XI; BECERRA 1981, Vol.V:154-5; BOTIFOLL 1981, Vol.XII:311. The Jesuits also entered Ecuador from Lima in 1574 and went down into Chile 1593. Later in the Peruvian area their major missionary activities were concentrated in the departments of Huánuco, Libertad, and Ayacucho. The major Jesuit schools were established in Lima, Cuzco, Arequipa, Trujillo, and Juli (ibid.) Trujillo and coastal operations were much more mercenary type, employing slaves and blacks as a business (SCHAEDEL 1997, personal communication.)

Alonso de Bárcena was called to initiate Jesuit missionary work there, especially in Juli, which was a small Indian village on the southern shore of the lake. Here they also established a printing press, one of the first in the Viceroyalty.⁸⁷ From this seat they spread their influence far and wide in the colonial realm. Ideally situated midway between Lima to Charcas and Potosi, Juli soon became an important center for transmission of political and religious dogma. The number of Jesuit colleges increased and one of the major ones was founded in Chuquiapo (La Paz) in 1582.⁸⁸

Many known and prominent Jesuits assembled, worked together, and shared their ideas both in Juli and Chuquiapo. Many of them were students of natural history, ethnic customs and traditions, and language. They have left highly important source material for posterity in their chronicles, which are best known as the works of José de Acosta, Bernabe Cobó, Ludovico Bertonio, Diego González Holguin, Diego de Torres Rubio, Blas Valera/ Anonymous Jesuit, Anello Oliva, and Fernando de Montesinos.⁸⁹

The Jesuit archives were closed from even the generality of Jesuits.⁹⁰ We know that Montesinos most likely had free access to exploit Jesuit sources and archives. He traveled from Charcas to Quito, covering most of the Jesuit territory of the Viceroyalty and gathered valuable data of mining resources, for instance. He must have been in 'the cutting edge' of the Jesuits' minerology research, which they valued very much.⁹¹ Jesuit authors like Nieremberg referred to him respectfully. All these strongly support a presumption that Montesinos was a member of the Society. Why does he himself not emphasize this matter in his writings? Why did the Jesuits not refer to his membership explicitly? I will return to this enigmatic question in the next chapter.

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87 For first Dominicans and Jesuits in the Titicaca area, ROMERO 1928:16–8. For printing press in Juli, *ibid.*, MEANS 1928:499. "The first book printed in Peru appeared nearly fifty years after the inauguration of the press in New Spain, a catechism for the instruction of the Indians in Quechua and Aymara. Antonio Ricardo of Turin, who had been a printer in Mexico since 1577, three years later left for Lima, and in 1584 obtained royal permission and the sole right to establish a press there. But the press in Lima was never so active as that of Mexico, and typographically its productions were generally inferior. The extension of the press to other parts of Spanish America was very slow, and was largely the work of the Jesuit Order." (HARING 1947:246).

88 ALBO & LAYME 1984:xvii. For college at La Paz, CRESPO RODAS et al. 1989:400–1.

89 MEANS 1928:passim.; PORRAS BARRENECHEA 1986:passim. See chapter III:3 where the possible relationship between Valera and Anonymous Jesuit is discussed. For Montesinos as a Jesuit, see next chapter. According to MEANS (1931:50) and HAGEN (1965:111) Cabello de Balboa (1586) was also a Jesuit. As I stated earlier (chapter I:2, n.38), this association has not been well indicated, although one might consider it as a likely possibility.

90 AVELING 1982:8–10.

91 SCHAEDEL (1998, personal consultation.)

2. Licentiate Fernando de Montesinos and his works

Only brief biographical information exists on Fernando de Montesinos. He was born at Osuna near Seville apparently shortly before 1600.⁹² There is no record who his parents were, but the family lines came from the mountain areas of León. One might suspect Jewish ancestry for him, since the family name Montezinos was rather common among them at that time.⁹³ Fernando completed his preliminary and major education in his home district. His seat of learning was a university, which was founded in Osuna in 1549 by Don Juan Téllez de Girón. Fernando de Montesinos graduated there as a Licentiate of Canon Law.⁹⁴

Well before 1627 he may have entered into the Holy Orders, presumably the Society of Jesus, although there is no explicit record of this.⁹⁵ He practised a sacerdotal ministry in the Sevilla's Archdiocese at that time, where he became interested in the information concerning the New World and particularly Peru. He decided to travel there. A license was needed for that purpose and it was obtained under the auspices of Don Martín de Egües, who later became a president of Audiencia Real de Charcas in the Viceroyalty of Peru. In spring of the year 1628 he boarded ship in Cadiz along with Don Martín de Egües and a coming new Viceroy of Peru, Don Luis Jerónimo de Cabrera y Bobadilla, Count of Chinchón (reigned from 1629 to 1639). Montesinos was presumably nominated as a chaplain and secretary to this Viceroy. The ship arrived at Cartagena on 9th of June 1628. The voyage to Peru started on 14th of August, and after an exciting journey up the River Chagres on the Isthmus of Panama, the ship started for Peru and came ashore at the port of Paita. From there Montesinos travelled on land to Trujillo, arriving in January 1629.⁹⁶

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92 For biographical information of Montesinos, see JIMENEZ de la ESPADA 1882; PINART 1883:110-1; DEHA 1893:399; PATRON 1906; MARKHAM 1920; MEANS 1920, 1928:402-11; ANGULO 1930; MENDIBURU 1933:428-31; IMBELLONI 1941; TAURO 1953:374; PARDO 1957; PORRAS BARRENECHEA (1962) 1986:489-98; IL 1965:312-7. According to ZUIDEMA (1962:35/1995:109), Montesinos lived from 1593 to 1655 (?), but he does not give a source of this information.

93 For Montesinos connection with the Jews, see the closing part of this chapter. MEANS (1928:404) has suggested a certain Hernando de Montesinos as having been his father (see note 107 below).

94 MARKHAM 1920:3; ANGULO 1930:xiii; PARDO 1957:i.

95 ANGULO 1930:xiii.

96 ANGULO 1930:xiii-xiv; PARDO 1957:i-ii. For the dates of arrival in Peru, consult Montesinos [1642, lib.ii] 1906:239-40. BINGHAM (1951:43-44) writes that Montesinos acted as an adviser and secretary of the viceroy, whose name (Count of Chinchon) is "remembered because his wife was cured of malaria by the use of one of the very few specifics of the world, a most important discovery of the Incas, the bark which they called *kina* and which we call quinine, or 'Peruvian bark'. Since the Count of Chinchon was instrumental in the introduction of this extraordinary medicine to Europe, the plant from which its bark is taken was called after him, *chinchona*." According to PATRON (1906:289), it is not certain if Montesinos was in Peru with Count of Chinchon, while he traveled along the coast from 'Nueva Granada' to Peru accompanied with Don Martín Egües, president of Chagas.

Montesinos started work as a secretary to the Bishop of Trujillo. He was soon appointed to a second important post: the Rectorship of the Jesuit Seminary in that city.⁹⁷ Carlos Marcelo Corne, a citizen of Trujillo, was Bishop at that time, but he died later in the same year on 14th October (1629).⁹⁸ Corne and Montesinos shared scientific interest in mining affairs;⁹⁹ after Corne's death Montesinos decided to follow the call of what was to become a lifelong 'hobby': geology and metallurgy. He travelled to the mining areas of Potosi.¹⁰⁰

Soon after his arrival in the city of Potosi, Montesinos received a position of *cura* (priest) in the parish of Santa Bárbara, but he also engaged in a study of the mines and mineral resources of the area.¹⁰¹ After one year Montesinos (while he was in Potosi), became interested in mining so that he resigned his ecclesiastical benefice in order to dedicate himself entirely to historiographical and mineralogical studies. He collected material for his forthcoming book on metals, which was later published in Lima (1638). He wrote a second part to this book in the mining area of Rauma. It was never published, but it contained information of mining resources in all Peru. He acquired a fortune in the ensuing years, for on two occasions thereafter he probably held an office of *visitador*, or accountant of official acts, which was commonly entrusted only to wealthy men not easily to be corrupted through their self-interest in assessing the accounts.¹⁰²

Montesinos was soon searching other areas where he could dedicate himself to his mining interests. He went, perhaps as a *visitador*, to Cuzco and successively to Huamanga and Huancavelica. He seems to have begun accumulating historical and mineralogical material on this trip.¹⁰³ In 1634 he was at Arica, and after a time established residence in a comfortable circumstances at Lima (1636 to 1639).¹⁰⁴ To this period belong two of his writings, an essay on metals and metallurgy, and a report of anti-Jewish *auto da fé* celebrated at Lima 1639. For ten years of Peru he had already developed a precocious *curriculum vitae*.¹⁰⁵

In the year 1637 Montesinos became involved in organizing an expedition into the jungle adjacent to Tarma – perhaps to search for the legendary land of

97 PATRON 1906:289; MEANS 1928:402; ANGULO 1930:xiv; TAURO 1953:374; PARDO 1957:i.

98 MEANS 1928:408, n.1; ANGULO 1930:xiv; PARDO 1957:i.

99 MEANS 1928:408, n.1.

100 ANGULO 1930:xiv-xv; PARDO 1957:i-ii.

101 MARKHAM 1920:3; ANGULO 1930:xv; PARDO 1957:ii.

102 JIMENEZ DE LA ESPADA 1882:xxviii; MEANS 1928:403; ANGULO 1930:xv; PARDO 1957:ii; SCHAEDEL (1997, personal communication.)

103 ANGULO 1930:xvi. The way from Potosi to Cuzco passed through Chuqui-Abo (La Paz) and Juli. Both places were important centers of Jesuit activity (see chapter III:1.5). It is quite likely that Montesinos visited these places and consulted local Jesuit archives in 1631 or 1632 when he was travelling north towards Cuzco.

104 PATRON 1906:289; MARKHAM 1920:3; MEANS 1928:403.

105 MEDINA, IL 1965:312-7; MEANS 1928:403. According to MEANS (*ibid.*, 403), these acts and writings indicate clearly that Montesinos was a man of some consequence in the Lima of his day.

Paititi.¹⁰⁶ The leader of this expedition was Pedro Bohorques, and it penetrated into the jungles of Campas (a local tribe). Fernando's nephew, Don Francisco Montesinos, participated in the expedition. He "brought thence to his uncle's house in Lima six savage Indians of that region".¹⁰⁷ In spite of the failure to find any riches, this venture increased Montesinos' reputation as a geographer and geologist. His expertise was enlisted the following year when he was consulted about a *relacion* which concerned an expedition by Captain Pedro de Taxeira into the province of the Quijos.¹⁰⁸ In that year (1638) Montesinos' metallurgist study, *Beneficio comun ó Directorio de beneficiadores de Metales y Arte de ellos...*, was published in Lima.¹⁰⁹

As stated above, on January 23, 1639 the *auto de fé* referred to was held in Lima. In it 11 Jewish Portuguese were sacrificed.¹¹⁰ *Auto de la fe...*, which was commented on as being "pious and instructive" was published at his own cost in the same year in Lima. In 1640 it was republished both in México and in Madrid. This *relacion* provided financial wealth to Montesinos and it also increased his reputation. Consequently, Montesinos enjoyed the confidence of the Holy Office of Inquisition and was nominated as a chaplain in Iglesia de Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza in Lima.¹¹¹

In the year 1641 Montesinos made a journey to Cajamarca. He stayed there briefly as an ecclesiastical judge. He next went to Trujillo as a *visitador*. In 1642 he travelled to Quito, became a friend of Bishop Pedro de Oviedo, and received an appointment as a *visitador* to Quito region from him.¹¹² In 1643 he returned

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106 MARKHAM 1920:3; MEANS 1928:404, n.5; ANGULO 1930:xvi. Consult also, Montesinos [1642:lib.i, cap.vii] 1869:523. *Paititi* was one of the associations of *El Dorado* (Montesinos 1644:lib.iii, cap.iii.)

107 Montesinos [1642:lib.i, cap.vii] 1869:523; MARKHAM 1920:3; MEANS 1928:404, n.5. MEANS (ibid.) presumes that a certain Hernando de Montesinos, to whom King Philip II signed a document (dated on December 24, 1581) as permission to go to Peru in order to look after some property there, may have been the father or an uncle of Fernando de Montesinos (the document is referred to in Medina, *Imprenta en Lima*, pp. 312-7.)

108 JIMENEZ de la ESPADA 1882:xxix; ANGULO 1930:xvi-xvii.

109 MEDINA, IL 1965:312-3.

110 ANGULO 1930:xvii-xix; PORRAS BARRENECHEA 1986:489.

111 MEANS 1928:403; ANGULO 1930:xviii-xix; TAURO 1953:374; MEDINA/ IL 1965:315-7. For *Relacion del Auto de fe*, as providing wealth to Montesinos, see ANGULO 1930, ibid. Certain aspects of Montesinos' reputation in those times can be deduced from a poem made up by one of his admirers:

"Fernando con pluma tanta, Te remontarás al cielo.
Cuando alas te da a tu vuelo, La Fe católica santa;
Pues al pendón que hoy levanta, La Apostólica milicia,
Triunfando de la malicia, Preside en sagrada pompa
En tu Relación trompa, De su divina justicia." (ibid.)

According to MAFFEY & RUA FIGUEROA (187-2:482; see MEDINA/ IL 1965: 317), "siendo muy apreciado por su ilustracion y conocimientos en las ciencias fisicas."

112 There is some confusion with the information which concerns Montesinos' activities during the years 1640-43. According to MEANS (1928:404), Montesinos went from Lima to Cajamarca in 1642, ANGULO (1930:xx) states that Montesinos went to Quito some time after 1640, and TAURO (1953:374) informs us that he was at Cajamarca and Trujillo in 1641 and at Quito in 1643. Even Montesinos himself gives two dates when he visited Cajamarca, 1641 and 1642 (1869:207-10.) So it is likely that he was in Cajamarca in 1641 and arrived at Quito after Trujillo in 1641. He must have been in Quito at least in 1642, since at that date he dedicated his major work to the Bishop of that city (i.e. the so-called

to Spain. We know that when Montesinos first came to America he had a license to stay there only for three years. In 1631 this license was renewed and it was extended for two more years. Thereafter he simply stayed in the *Indies* without renewing the license, as a resident in the margins of the law until 1643. We do not know if this return was voluntary or if he was finally compelled to do so.¹¹³ Soon after his return, he got a vicariate of La Campaña, a small village close to Seville.¹¹⁴ It was in Spain where he tried to arrange his major work *Ophir de España*, in 1644. In the same year he “addressed a *Memorial* to the King in which he besought his liege to reward his services with some preferment wherewith he could live commodiously in Lima or in Mexico for the rest of his days. His petition did not meet with success”.¹¹⁵ There is no more biographical information on him after 1644, except for his death, which occurred about 1653, presumably in his parish at La Campaña.¹¹⁶

In his own words, Montesinos travelled some 1500 leguas (ca. 4900 miles and 8400 kms) in the Andes and crossed the mountains about sixty times.¹¹⁷ According to Father Domingo ANGULO (1930), his best biographer, Montesinos apparently did not enjoy too much of the quiet life in his parish, because he was a restless and adventurous person, whose mind always longed for new voyages and “searching for treasures hidden on the bosom of mother earth”.¹¹⁸

Was Montesinos a Jesuit?

Montesinos’ alleged Jesuitism is an interesting question. As has been noticed, he does not refer to this matter explicitly, nor did the Jesuit authors either. He

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- third MS which is now in Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid.) ANGULO (1930:xx) informs also, that during his stay in Quito, he made a short visit to Ibaguë in the *audiencia* of Santa Fe (approximately the present day Colombia), where mercury has been found.
- 113 MEANS 1928:404; ANGULO 1930:xxi; PARDO 1957:ix. Montesinos also confirms this by himself: “1643 cuando yo vine a España” (1644:lib. iii, cap.xxv) For Montesinos licenses to stay in the *Indies*, see ANGULO, *ibid.*
- 114 MEANS 1928:404; ANGULO 1930:xxi.
- 115 PATRON 1906:290; MEANS, *ibid.*; ANGULO, *ibid.*
- 116 ANGULO 1930:xxii. ZUIDEMA (1962:35, 1995:109) has given the dates 1593–1655? to Montesinos, but does not refer to his source. According to ANGULO, the locality of Montesinos death is not absolutely certain: being perhaps in La Campaña or some other small parish. (*ibid.*)
- 117 Writes Montesinos ([1642:lib.i, cap.vii] 1869:522), “por mi historia en donde por libros de Cabildos van ajustados los sucesos con los años, para lo que fué necesario andar por tierra 1500 leguas de diferentes provincias, lenguas, costumbres y temperamentos, sin haber distinction en la comunicacion destas provincias que la que tienen en Europa”. Writes Montesinos ([1642:lib.i, cap.xxxi] 1869–70:212), “Las cordilleras son lo mas eminente de este reino y lo corren todo y en lo alto tienen varias fuentes de agua sabrosísima, unas corren sus aguas al sud y cuando entran en la mar son ya rios caudalosos; otras al norte y sucede lo mismo. En sesenta veces que las he pasado he visto y he bebido las aguas en su origen, que parecian de nieve...” See references to this in e.g. PATRON 1906:289, and JIMENEZ De LA ESPADA 1882:xxviii.
- 118 ANGULO, *ibid.*; PARDO 1957:x. Writes PARDO (*ibid.*), “porque él era un temperamento inquieto i emprendedor, amante de los viajes i profundo escudriñador de los tesoros que guarda en sus entrañas la madre tierra.”

calls himself “*Presbítero, natural de Osuna*” in the title page of his *Ophir de España*.¹¹⁹ Still, a number of writers have maintained that he was a member of this society. The major argument in favor of this allegation is the fact that Montesinos had very close contacts with them and most likely had free access to their archives, whence he extracted principal information for his *Memorias*.¹²⁰ I have discussed this problem with Sabine HYLAND (1997), who has studied Blas Valera and the Jesuits of Peru. She questioned Montesinos’ Jesuitism by holding that, should Montesinos have been a member of the Society, he would have mentioned it in his works (the Society would have insisted). Moreover, “Jesuits were absolutely not allowed to accept individual benefices. As a pastor of Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza, Montesinos was answerable directly to the bishop – the Jesuits of this time did not allow this. The Inquisitorial Tribunal in Lima, with which Montesinos was intimately associated, had close ties to the Jesuits in Peru, much closer ties than modern day Jesuit historians like to admit. For example, the Jesuit house in Lima rented out prison space to the Holy Office. I suspect that Montesinos’ association with the Jesuits came through his links to the Inquisition, rather than through being a member of the Society.”¹²¹

In spite of the lack of testimonial evidence, I think that our circumstantial evidence is sufficient to make a strong allusion in favor of Montesinos’ membership in the Society of Jesus. My arguments are:

1. His free access to Jesuit archives, which usually were jealously guarded and closed even from the generality of Jesuits.¹²²

 119 For ‘*presbítero*’, priest or presbyter. His other occupations were, rector of a college, ecclesiastical judge, metallurgist, writer, historian, lawyer, vicar, and a visiting inspector. This same reference occurs in Montesinos’ earlier work too, in *Auto de la fe* (1639) (MEDINA/IL, t.I, 1965:315.)

120 As far as I have been able to notice, the first author who explicitly states that Montesinos was a Jesuit is P.A. MEANS: “Like Valera, he was a Jesuit” (1920:xiv), “Rector of the Jesuit Seminary” (1928:402), “gullible Jesuit” (1931:68.) Other writers are, BAUDIN 1928; BRAM 1941; IMBELLONI 1941; HEYERDAHL 1952; BAUMANN 1963; WILGUS 1963; and MENESES 1992. According to PARDO (1957:ii), “Durante su estadía en el Perú, se hizo mui amigo de los Padres de la Compañía de Jesús, habiendo deseado según algunos historiadores, ingresar a esta Orden, por esta razon, los Jesuitas del Cuzco, le brindaron toda clase de atenciones, le abrieron las puertas de sus archivos, con le que cosecho mayor numero de valiosos datos, para continuar escribiendo sus obras.” Similar ideas have also presented CABRAL (1913:309-10, see appendix 12), and VAZQUEZ (1930:135, “fué muy amigo y protegido de los Jesuitas”). Two discordant notes have been provided by G. MORTIMER (1901:29) who refers to Montesinos as “a Dominican missionary”, and W.H. BLUMENTHAL (1931:27) who called Montesinos “a zealous Dominican.”

121 HYLAND (28 October 1997, personal communication.) Writes HYLAND also, “Clearly he had close ties to the Jesuits, as evidenced by his temporary appointment as a Rector in Trujillo, and by his access to Jesuit documents (most notable, Valera’s *Vocabulario*.)” (ibid.) Dr. Sabine HYLAND is working at the Columbus State University in Georgia. She is currently completing a book about Blas Valera and has found new confirmation that Anonymous Jesuit and Fray Blas Valera were the same person. For more about this, see chapter III:3.

122 AVELING 1982:8–9. “In the past, with few exceptions, their historians, were untrained and had very little access to their archives” (ibid.)

2. His Rectorate in a Jesuit Seminary (*Colegio Seminario*). This occupation required high qualifications and usually the rectors were nominated by the Jesuit general himself.¹²³ It is hard to imagine that the Jesuits had given this position to anyone without full membership in the Society.

3. Three well-known Jesuit authors, J.E. Nieremberg, M. Rodríguez, and J. Velasco, have referred to him respectfully. The latter even in the context of other Jesuit authors.¹²⁴

4. Montesinos' educational-, occupational-, and investigational orientation correlate well with the tasks and interests commonly held by the Jesuits.¹²⁵

5. In his *Anales del Peru*, Montesinos refers occasionally to *Compañía* in a similar fashion as the Jesuit authors, M. Rodríguez and J. Velasco, in their writings.¹²⁶

But why he did not emphasize his membership, and why did other Jesuits evade this question likewise? I think there might have been some good reason for this silence. Hereupon, I presume that he fell out of favor with the central organization of the Jesuits by political, ideological, and personal reasons. Part of the answers can be deduced from HYLAND's arguments: he took benefices and accepted offices in which he was not directly answerable to the Jesuits.¹²⁷

Moreover, his writings, in which he emphasizes Judaic theories and prophecies derived from the Old Testament, apparently did not please the majority of the Jesuits or at least their official censory organization. And last but not least, if he had Jewish ancestral roots himself, this could have irritated his fellow co-religionists all through his career. According to Carlos A. MACKEHENIE (1937), Montesinos could have been a *marrano*, which is a term of opprobrium used to designate Judaizers of Spain and Portugal who practised

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123 KURKI 1986:62.

125 Compare previous chapter.

125 Compare, appendix 12 and chapter I:5.

126 An abbreviatory reference to *Compañía* (i.e. *Compañía de Jesús*), implies a special intimacy and acquaintanceship with the Order. Compare, Montesinos [1642] 1906, tomo II:passim.; Rodríguez [1684] 1990: passim.; and Velasco [1789] 1946:passim.

127 In the fundamental ideas of the Societas of Jesús two principles, corporeal and individual, were harmonized and agglutinated (KURKI 1986:6.) Equally, the rules of poverty, idea of asceticism, and imitation of moral leadership of Jesus, were cornerstones of their spiritual thinking (GUIBERT 1964: passim; BRODERICK 1981:899; AVELING 1982:passim.) In their teaching and gathering of knowledge, individual research, experimental learning, and exploitation of imagination, were encouraged (GUIBERT, *ibid.*; AVELING, *ibid.*; KURKI 1986:passim.) During the triumphant years (ca. 1580-1645), the Society faced many problems which conflict with these principles. *Many Jesuit freethinkers broke away voluntarily or forced to from the dominance of central organization. Some fanatics were moved in a quieter area to occupy another post, other individual careerists voluntarily quitted the Society, and certain villains were scandalously dismissed.* Intrigues, bribery, lobbying, and other by-products of an extending infrastructure, increased at this time. Most colleges were in debt, others had to close their doors for years. The demand and temptation in exploiting whatever funding and benefice was great. Humanistic and Christian moral principles conflicted in number of actions of the era: e.g. in ferocious persecutions of Protestants, Jews, and native idolaters.(GUIBERT 1964:230-87; AVELING 1982:135-251.) The true nature of individual and corporate Jesuitism appeared in an overemphasized form during that period: 'Macchiavellianism', propaganda, religious teleology, spiritualism, and a search for new 'frontiers' of knowledge. (*italics mine*)

Judaism secretly while outwardly professing Catholicism. The Jesuits allowed in their early days some persons of Jewish origin to enter into the Society, but in 1593, all descendants of Jews and Moors were debarred from membership of the Order. Montesinos may have tried to disguise this fact, e.g. by certain public acts, like writing an *Auto da fe*, where anti-semitic points are presented and taking favors from the Holy Office.¹²⁸

Maybe he did not succeed too well in hiding the inner self in this and other respects, which, apparently, did not accord with the general policy and ideas of the Society. Nevertheless, the Jesuits seemingly respected his versatility in many fields of knowledge which were close to their hearts; hence, the organization tolerated his acts to a certain extent and their archives were open for his research. Montesinos may have been fully aware of the fact that the Society would not sympathize with his historical ideas. Consequently, he tried to hide as far as possible these personal interests, and used Jesuit archives 'officially' only for gathering material for his mineralogical, geographical, and ecclesiastical research. Accordingly, he was 'forced' to plagiarize when collecting data for his historical research. The distinction between the mode of notation in his historical (lacking) and other contexts (fully merited) is manifest.

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 128 The possible Jewish connotation for Montesinos has been brought forth by MACKEHENIE (1937:438–60) and PORRAS BARRANECHEA (1986: 489–90). I am also thankful to Dr. Tom ZUIDEMA who led me thinking about these ideas (personal communication, February 1995.) MACKEHENIE (ibid.) suspects that Montesinos was a 'marrano' (i.e. Jew) or 'judaizante' (i.e. Judaist), who wrote 'auto de 1639' only to inform his brothers all in the world, and especially the rabbies, Jewish quarters, and synagogues in Amsterdam, the names and backgrounds of the victims sacrificed in defending the law of Moses (see e.g. reference in PORRAS BARRANECHEA, ibid.) In fact, the *marranos* also turned anti-Jewish texts to their advantage at times (*The Encyclopedia of Religion* 1987, Vol.9:214) For *marranos*, see (ibid., 210-218); *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (NCE) 1967, Vol. IX:256–7; and *Encyclopedia Judaica* (EJ) 1971, Vol. 11:1018-25; For Jewish diaspora in Spain, read e.g. SACHAR 1994. For Jesuit attitudes toward *marranos* in admissions (EC 1971, Vol.10:8.)

There existed various Jewish Montesinos also (PORRAS BARRANECHEA, ibid.) One was Antonio de (Aaron Levi) Montezinos, his rather famous contemporary, who also travelled in the Americas. He was a Jew from the Netherlands. He made a trip to Ecuador in 1641–2 and discovered a group of natives in the mountains near Quito whom he thought were remnants of the lost tribes of Israel. He reported his discovery at Amsterdam after his return in 1644. His story was written down by Manasseh Ben Israel (1604–1657) and published in a booklet entitled *Origen de los Americanos...esto es. Esperanca de Israel* "The Hope of Israel" in 1650 (Madrid 1881). The Montezinos' report aroused literary interest even outside the Jewish circles (EJ 1971:278; WAUCHOPE 1974:53.) It is interesting to note that Antonio de Montezinos happened to be in Quito at the same time as Fernando de Montesinos. It is highly probably that they met each other and exchanged ideas on the Israelite origins of the Indians. Antonio de Montesinos was also a *marrano*, who was arrested by the Inquisition for suspected judaizing while he was in Ecuador (although soon released for lack of evidence). (SACHAR 1994:304–6.)

It is also amazing how much space Montesinos has offered to Biblical matters and Hebrew prophecies in his work, especially in its third book (unpublished). Writes PORRAS BARRANECHEA (ibid.), "Veintiséis capítulos de sus *Memorias inéditas*, están destinados a probar que todos los episodios y alternativas de la colonización peruana – incluso la revolución de Gonzalo Pizarro y las frases que Valverde dijo a Atahualpa – estaban previstos en textos de Isaías, Esdras, Amón, David y otros profetas judíos. Es ya bastante como señal de hebraísmo." JIMENEZ DE LA ESPADA (1882:vii) has characterized Montesinos' work as "*de Antiguo Testamento peruano*".

By using the data from Jesuit authors for his *Memorias* he did not dare to detect his explicit sources, instead, he refers to Indian informants, old *amautas*, etc. We do not know of his skills in native tongues, but being a busy man with many posts and frequent travelling, he apparently had not too much time for studies, only for collecting and hastily copying information from various directions. Finally, what he has done and what he was writing, was revealed. The consequences were predictable: he was asked to secede from the Society and he faced serious problems to have his *Ophir de España* published. Due to his many merits, however, he was not displaced completely. Montesinos was allowed to receive various vicarial and judicial occupations, but he was forbidden to call himself a Jesuit any more. This may have been a kind of scandal which the Society tried to cover up as far as possible: the other Jesuits did not refer to Montesinos as their co-religionist explicitly in their writings.¹²⁹

2.1. Montesinos' works

Fernando de Montesinos' major work is commonly known as *Memorias Antiguas Historiales y Politicas del Perú*. Actually this is but a subtitle for Part One of the entire volume which was called *Ophir de España*. The name of Part Two is *Anales del Perú*. As JIMENEZ de la ESPADA has pointed out, "Father Montesinos planned originally to give the world a mighty work almost equal in scope and pretension to *Los Comentarios Reales* of Garcilaso, to the *Historia Natural y Moral* of Acosta, to the *Historia del Nuevo Mundo* of Cobo, and the *Miscelánea Antartica* of Cabello de Balboa."¹³⁰ However, it remained in MS status until 1840 and since then has yet to be published completely in one volume.

The Part One consists of three Books (I, II, and III). The best known of these is Book II, which is also "the *Memorias Antiguas Historiales* proper", which has been most frequently edited. Book I which mostly concentrates on narratives and theories of Ophir and related voyages, has been published only

 129 For more, see chapters III:3 and 4. Some writers have supposed that Montesinos acquired skills in native tongues, especially in Quechua, but these presumptions are not based on factual information. Compare e.g. BALDWIN 1872:261; THOMAS 1891:6; and MEANS 1920:xiv. For Montesinos being a busy man, writes GONZALEZ DE LA ROSA (1907:191), "creemos que no consagró á estas materias sino el tiempo solo necesario para copiar ó extractar la obra de Valera, escrita muchos años antes, como lo acreditan su trabajo sobre los metales, su larga residencia en Potosí y las sesenta veces que cruzo la Cordillera, como hombre de negocios más bien que de bufete." Writes HEYERDAHL (1952: 634), "later he copied freely, without acknowledgement, the information contained in various Jesuit archives to which he had access." I presume that Montesinos' dismissal from the Society happened during his stay in Lima (1636-9). At least it was before 1639, since that year his *Auto de fe* was published, and in beside the title his name occurs in the form: *Por el Licenciado D. Fernando de Montesinos, Presbítero, natural de Osuna*.

130 This citation of JIMENEZ de la ESPADA is in MEANS 1928:409. He refers to forewords of MAURTUA in Montesinos' *Anales del Perú* 1906, but these words cannot be verified there, nor in Dedicatoria of JIMENEZ de la ESPADA 1882. The entire title of Montesinos' work may have been *Ofir de España o Anales Peruanos*, as it was known by one contemporary source, Jesuit father Juan Eusebio Nieremberg (Rodríguez 1684:lib.I, cap.x. / 1990:111.)

once, in *Revista de Buenos Aires* 1869–70. Book III which narrates (fragmentarily) history of the Spanish Conquest (and certain Biblical prophesies, which, according to Montesinos, foretold of these events), has yet to be published (it remains as a manuscript in the Biblioteca Universitaria de Sevilla). Part Two, the *Anales del Perú*, consists of two Books (I and II) and was first published in 1906.¹³¹

The most used manuscript of Montesinos, the *Ms Universitaria* contains a dedication date 1644. It was completed in Spain. The other commonly used manuscript, the *Ms Merced* has no date, but was presumably older.¹³² It was possibly contemporaneous for the third extant MS. which contains the date 1642. This third MS. was dedicated to Bishop of Quito, Fray Pedro de Oviedo, but has remained unedited and is now possessed by Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid. Also Montesinos' *Anales* contains the last narrated year 1642. From this we may assume that Montesinos completed his major work *Ophir de España* in 1642 – while he was in Quito, Ecuador.¹³³ I presume that Montesinos started writing this work during his stay in Lima (1636–40), and most likely it was written around 1638–42. He lived in the Lima district permanently and had time for writing. It is reasonable to guess that he started to write his major work 1636 *terminus post quem* or 1640 *terminus ante quem*.¹³⁴ Once he had returned to Spain, Montesinos obviously put his secretaries at work to make a copy of this book. It was completed in 1644 and dedicated to king Philip IV.¹³⁵

Anales del Perú is a year by year account of important events and chronological history of Peru from 1498 to 1642. Even though it covers the period

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131 This *Anales del Perú* was edited by Victor M. MAURTUA and published in 1906 at Madrid. I have used Book III (*Ms.*) of the Part One in a microfilm form, which Biblioteca Universitaria de Sevilla has sent to me.

132 MEANS 1920:xxix, 1928:405; IMBELLONI 1941:293–5. The *Ms Universitaria* is not Fernando de Montesinos' personal handwriting, but a copywork of his two secretaries (IMBELLONI 1941:293.) This MS contains 215 leaves of which the first 76 belong to Book I, next 65 to Book II, and the final 74 to Book III. According to JIMENEZ de la ESPADA (1882:xviii), however, Book I could be the handwriting of Montesinos, while Book II at least was copied by his secretaries. MARKHAM (1920:4) agrees with this. The so-called MS of *Convento de la Merced* was possibly Montesinos' handwriting, but the original is unfortunately lost. There exists a copy however, and it has also been used in modern editions. There is no information on the date of the writing of this manuscript (MEANS 1920:xxviii, 1928:408; IMBELLONI 1941:295, n60.) The editions of H. Ternaux-Compans (1840) and *Revista de Buenos Aires* (1969–70) are made from the *Ms. Merced*. For more information on the discovery, various manuscript copies, and phases of their historical distribution, read JIMENEZ DE LA ESPADA 1882; MARKHAM 1920; MEANS 1920, 1928; IMBELLONI 1941; PORRAS BARRANECHEA 1986:491–93.

133 The last year in the *Anales del Perú* as 1642 (See, 1906:lib.ii, 259) The third MS is the handwriting of Montesinos himself. For some reason Book II is missing from that MS. (IMBELLONI 1941:294, n. 59.) There is a manuscript of the first book in the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid (MS. – J.,189, fol.) according to MARKHAM (1920:4-5). I got confirmation on the missing second book in this context from the historian María CARMEN MARTIN RUBIO of Madrid (1995, personal communication).

134 MEANS 1928:403. He has two other works written in Lima too: *Auto de la fe...* and *Benefico común...* A. METRAUX (1961:36–7) also presumed that Montesinos wrote his main work in these times (“*qui éscit sa chronique entre 1636 et 1642*”).

135 See dedicatory text, JIMENEZ de la ESPADA 1882:xiv-xvi.

1498–1532 of native Peruvian history, it is completely dedicated to events related to Spanish conquerors. The same emphasis is seen in the latter part of the *Anales*. Even the capture of Atahualpa (1532) and the final conquest of the Neo-Incas (1572) is described but briefly and superficially. Interestingly enough, there are rather detailed descriptions of the Jesuit (*de la Compañía*) activities – starting from the year 1571. The book contains frequent references to mining affairs in various parts of the Viceroyalty, indicating thus Montesinos' personal interests toward the subject. It has been a useful reference source for writers of Peruvian history, and has also received much higher credibility than the Part One of Montesinos work.¹³⁶

The next in importance of Montesinos' works is *Auto de la fe celebrado en Lima a 23 de Enero de 1639. Al Tribunal del Santo Oficio de la Inquisition de los reinos del Perú, Chile, Paraguay y Tucumán*, which, as has been said above, became famous in its time and was republished 1639–40 in Lima, México, and Madrid.¹³⁷

All the other works of Montesinos are known only by their names, since manuscripts of those are lost. They are the following:

**Beneficio común o directorio de beneficiadores de metales y arte dellos, con reglas ciertas para los negrillos*. This work was printed in Lima 1638, but it is now lost. He wrote also a *Segunda Parte del Directorio* etc. when he was working in Rauma, but it was never published.¹³⁸

**Memorial sobre la conservación del azogue que se pierde sobreaguado entre lamas y relaves*.¹³⁹

These two works, as their names indicate, contain metallurgical information, a subject very close to the author.

**Historia del Paititi*.¹⁴⁰ This was obviously written after the Tarma

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 136 *Anales del Peru* contain two books: the first covering the years 1498–1562, and the second the years 1563–1642. For its higher esteem, see statements in Appendix 18 (e.g. PRESCOTT 1847; PORRAS BARRENECHEA 1962/1986.) It is somewhat surprising how few references Montesinos owes to his own activities in this work particularly, but also on the whole in his writings. V.M. MAURTUA characterizes this work in the introduction of *Anales del Peru* (1906:2) as follows: “En este orden de ideas, los historiográficos y críticos derivarán de los *Anales* muy apreciables ventajas. No tiene Montesinos, sin duda, ni el profundo espíritu de Cieza, ni el talento generalizador de Herrera, ni la poesía de Garcilaso, pero su narración no es menos valiosa, porque está redactada con método y buen criterio. No tomó en cuenta todos los acontecimientos que conociera, sino en general los más salientes y trascendentales, y, como correspondía á su tarea de expositor, se abstuvo de apreciaciones personales y de comentarios, en los que, según observaba Jiménez de la Espada, ‘no siempre discernía con la cordura y acierto de un historiador imparcial y despreocupado.’”

137 IL (MEDINA) 1965:315–7; PORRAS BARRENECHEA 1986:493.

138 IL 1965:312–3; BOEHM de LAMEIRAS 1987:27. For another part to his mineorological study, see ANGULO 1930:xv. Montesinos was possibly working also with a third part of his metallurgist study. In the book of *auto de fe* says Montesinos: “Remito este reparo a la tercera parte de mi *Directorio* donde trato los asientos de minas y sucesos particulares destos tiempos que está ya para dar a la estampa” (PORRAS BARRENECHEA 1986:493.)

139 JIMENEZ de la ESPADA 1882:xxviii; PORRAS BARRENECHEA 1986:493; BOEHM de LAMEIRAS 1987:27.

140 *ibid.* BOEHM DE LAMEIRAS (*ibid.*) lists another book titled *Canderi o El Dorado de los*

expedition in 1637, since its subject is seemingly related to explorations in the Amazonian area. Montesinos refers occasionally to *Paititi* (or *El Dorado* as he also called it) in Book III of his *Ophir de España*. He also says that Huaina Capac's realm extended from the ultimate southern Chile to Bogota in north and to the Lake of Paytiti or Lake El Dorado in the eastern forest.¹⁴¹

**Relacion de méritos y servicios*. This is a short document where Montesinos has listed his merits. D. ANGULO has referred to its content a couple of times in his biographical account of Montesinos, e.g. concerning certain information of *auto de fe* and his will to retirement in Lima or Mexico. It was written after 1643.¹⁴²

From the works of Montesinos one can see how his interests covered a sweeping field of orientation well characterized by the Jesuits: from historical and ecclesiastical to geographical and geological subjects.¹⁴³

2.2. Ophir and the long list of kings

Book II of Part One in the *Ophir de España* contains a long list of Peruvian kings, ruling mostly before the Inca dynasty. Actually these rulers are not separately listed, but their names occur in the course of narrative which tells about their deeds. As stated earlier, there are 90–93 pre-Incan and 11 Incan rulers included in this story.¹⁴⁴ Book I, with its legendary voyagers, is largely an imaginary prelude for the major narrative in the Book II. Consequently, Book III can be considered as an epilogue. Even though this last book concentrates mainly on early Colonial events, it is impregnated with references to Ophir and Biblical prophecies. Thus Montesinos' 'Great Story' (or Trilogy) with its prelude and epilogue, has a narrative structure which differs profoundly from most other Spanish chronicles. Apparently the writer was reaching for a form of a grandiloquent, epic historical narrative.¹⁴⁵

Book I contain 32 chapters. In the five first chapters various theories about the name of America and Peru are discussed. The next 18 chapters concentrate

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moros (perdido), s.f. In JIMENEZ DE LA ESPADA (ibid., xxix) instead, the reference is as follows: "El haber escrito una *Historia del Paititi*, y creido en las riquezas de *Canderi ó el Dorado* de los Moxos." I have not seen elsewhere references to such a book, so I presume BOEHM DE LAMEIRAS has erred here.

141 For Montesinos' reference to Huayna Capac's conquests and *Paititi*: "Huaina Capac que hacia conquistado...hasta ultimo de Chile por el norte hasta Bogota que es el Reyno de Granada...tierra de las Andes hasta la laguna del Paytiti, a lago Dorado..." (1644:lib.iii, cap. iii.) And in the other place he writes that "yo tengo para mi quel Ophir es el Dorado y Paititi." (1644:lib.iii, cap.xviii.)

142 ANGULO 1930:xv, xix-xxi; PORRAS BARRENECHEA 1986:493. According to ANGULO (ibid., n.5), "El único ejemplar conocido de este valioso documento se conserva en el Museo Británico, y consta de 4 hojas en folio, sin fecha, pero posterior al año de 1643." According to PORRAS BARRENECHEA (ibid.), another copy exists in the Biblioteca Universitaria de Sevilla.

143 See chapter on Jesuits, III:1.5.

144 For 90 kings (*Ms de la Merced*) and 93 kings (*Ms Universitaria*) (Compare appendix 1).

145 For Book I, consult Montesinos *Ms Universitaria* (1644) and later editions of (M. Ternaux-Compans) 1840 (in French) and of (Fidel López) 1869–70 (in Spain).

more or less on speculations of the Near Eastern origins for Peruvian population and voyages during the times from Ophir to Solomon. The last nine chapters deal mostly with events in the early 1600s and about mineralogical matters. Montesinos set a causal and contextual relation between the 17th century Peru rich of mineral resources, and to its antiquity, whereinto the descendants of Ophir migrated from the Old World.¹⁴⁶

Book II has 28 chapters. The first 15 narrate dynastic events predating the Incas, and the last 13 deal with the 'Inca history proper'. The first seven chapters narrates the beginnings of the first dynasty in Peru (starting from the migration of descendants of Ophir), until the time of the sixth king (Manco Capac II). In the next six and half chapters the major part of pre-Incaic reigns and events are related. In the chapter XIV a dramatic event is told: the collapse of the ancient Amauta empire attributed to a foreign invasion from the south. The ruling elite managed to escape and took a refuge in the place called Tampu-Tocco, and the royal line persisted there the next centuries. The history of the Tampu-Tocco dynasty is told but briefly – in the last one and half chapters until the Incan tale begins.¹⁴⁷

The rise of the Incas in Montesinos narration differs from all the other chronicles remarkably. Most of the last 13 chapters are dedicated to this description. The first Inca was Inga Roca, not Manco Capac as in most other records.¹⁴⁸ His mother, Mama Ciuaco (Siuaco) – a descendant of the Tampu-Tocco dynasty – is described as a dominant and powerful woman, who had a crucial role in the events which led to the rise of the Incas.¹⁴⁹ In the next three chapters the story of Capac Yupanqui, Sinchi Roca, and Yuhuar Huacac is recounted. More than two thirds of this part of the text is dedicated to Inca Sinchi Roca. One may note a correlation in the narratives of the first Inca (Inga Roca), and this later Sinchi Roca. In the Canonic list of Incas, Inca Roca is an outstanding ruler, while his predecessor, Sinchi Roca, is only a modest figure. Montesinos, instead, has given a prominent role to both Roca's.¹⁵⁰ The next four chapters are dedicated to deeds of but one mighty ruler, Huiracocha Inga. While Tupac Yupanqui is named as his successor, there is an important and strange omission, Inca Pachacuti. Pachacuti disappears in Montesinos' narrative, but Huiracocha was fitted in the position when the era was changed

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146 *ibid.*

147 For the collapse of Amauta realm, the escape of its ruling elite, and the beginnings of Tampu-Tocco kingdom, consult Montesinos ([1644:lib.ii, cap.xiv] 1920:58–62). For a more detailed description and analysis of these events, see chapter V:2.

148 The mythic Inca origin sites most often referred to were: Pacaritampu, Titicaca, and Tampu. For the rise of the Incas according to different versions, see chapter II:3. Consult, Montesinos (1644:lib. ii, caps.xvi-xix) 1882:91–110. For the canonic king list, compare also appendix 2. For the divergent and canonic traditions as referred to by various chroniclers, see appendix 3b.

149 *ibid.*

150 Consult, Montesinos (1644:lib.ii, caps.xix-xxii) 1882:111–131. I will return to the identity and role of Inca Roca in later chapters (IV:1, V).

and the ‘world revolutionized’.¹⁵¹ After the glorious Huiracocha, the story of Tupac Yupanqui is told only as a brief sequel, and the last two chapters are devoted to Huaina Capac and his deeds – more or less in accordance with the other chronicles.¹⁵²

Book III in the *Ms Universitaria* contains 29 chapters, but the narrative ends abruptly: only the title of the next, 30th chapter is given.¹⁵³ The coherence of the narrative course in this third book is rather confused. The historical setting is early Colonial Peru and the voyages of exploration and conquest in the Americas. Frequently references are made to the Bible and various Old Testament prophecies (e.g. Isaiah, Daniel, Amos) which are presented as portends for the sequence of events in the Colonial history of Peru. As in Book I, Ophir and the past voyages are often referred to. Montesinos seemingly sought a correlation between the Columbian events and the early voyages. Moreover, he writes extensively to testify that these ancient voyages and prophecies confirm the Spanish Crown rights to Peru. Ultimately he connected the legend of *El Dorado* and *Paititi* with the land of Ophir.¹⁵⁴

Montesinos was not the first who brought forth the idea that the land of Ophir was located in the Americas. He did not invent its connection to Peru either. In Book I he has listed many authoritative sources which referred to this idea before him.¹⁵⁵ Columbus held a belief that the island of Hispaniola

151 Montesinos (1644:lib.ii, caps.xxiii-xxvii) 1882:131–154. According to Montesinos the real name of Huiracocha was Tupac Yupanqui. Writes Montesinos (ibid., 131–2), “Fué Huira Cocha el Inga de mayor ánimo que hubo. Al paso valiente y esforzado, emprendió cosas árduas, y en todo tuvo feliz suceso. Entre los indios fué tenido por más que hombre, y así le llamaron Huira Cocha, con el nombre del Criador de todas las cosas; el suyo propio fué Tupac Yupanqui; y juntamente observaron el tiempo de su reinado, que fué al sexto sol, entrado ya el sétimo del Diluvio, que segun la cuenta que pude averiguar, fue...[blank in the text] años ántes del descubrimiento que hizo Colon destas Indias. Comenzó á reinar de treinta años.” Compare appendix 10 and 10b. For the ‘world revolutionized’ i.e. *pachacuti*, see chapter II:2.

152 Montesinos (1644:lib.ii, caps.xxvii-xxviii) 1882:155–171.

153 JIMENEZ de la ESPADA 1882:xviii-xix. Consult, Montesinos 1644. The title of the last (unwritten) chapter is “*Dícense otros sucesos prodigiosos en prueba del intento*”

154 For prophecies of Isayah (lib.iii, caps.iv, xi), Daniel (lib.iii, caps.v-viii, xvii), Amos (lib.iii, caps.ix-x). The prophesy of Daniel, for instance, foretold the tyranny of Gonzalo Pizarro (cap.vii). According to Montesinos, Daniel told about the coming of the Spaniards to Peru and the division of the world into four realms: east, west, north and south, of which the western part was reserved for the Catholic Kings of Spain (cap.v). In several other parts these Old Testament ‘testimonies’ were also used to verify the right of the Spanish Crown to the rulership of *Indies* and Peru (e.g. caps. xiii-xiv, xvii-xxix). For Montesinos’ opinion of Ophir and *Paititi*, “yo tengo para mi quel Ophir es el Dorado y Paititi” (1644:lib.iii, cap.xviii) For more of *Paititi*, see note 160.

As has been noted, many passages in Montesinos’ work (and particularly in Book III), reveal Jewish ideas. It is quite possible that he met *marrano* Antonio de Montezinos in Ecuador and discussed with him about the theory of Ophir, Lost tribes of Israel and the idea that the ‘Native Americans’ were descended from them. Interestingly, both returned to Europe from Ecuador about the same time (1643/44). See, e.g. SACHAR 1994:304–6.

155 Montesinos refers to the following sources ([1642:lib.i, cap.vi] 1869:359): Pedro Martín, Vatablo, Postelo, Arias Montano, Benano, Genebrardo, Marino Brixiano, Antonio Potevino, Conrado, Bozio de Signio, Manlain, Pomario, Calvo, Pedro Ruiz Bejarano, Francisco Carrasco, Peñalora, Abaroa Ovalle, F. Gregorio Garcia, padre Acosta, Fernando Pizarro, Pedro Simon, Malvenda, and p. Pineda. Writes Montesinos (ibid.): “La prueba

might have been the Biblical Ophir whence Solomon's gold originated.¹⁵⁶ When the rich Peruvian sources of gold and silver were discovered, the focus of these speculations found a new setting there. The first writer to introduce the idea that Ophir was in Peru was Azariah dei Rossi (1573–5). He referred to the knowledge of Talmud rabbis and states that the name of Peru was a derivation from *Parvaim*.¹⁵⁷ One of the first who believed that the Peruvians were descended from Ophir (fifth in line from Noah) was Joannis Goropius (1596).¹⁵⁸ One well known Spanish chronicler before Montesinos who held the idea of Ophirian America, was Cabello de Balboa.¹⁵⁹ However, it was Montesinos who elaborated this "theory" by holding that the Americas were peopled by successive migrations from Armenia, of which the first ones came to Peru under the leadership of Ophir. He also held that the name Peru was a corruption of Ophir. One may suppose that while the principal sources of Peruvian gold were on the riverine lowlands in the eastern Andes and Amazonia, Montesinos concluded that the Ophirian mines must have been located somewhere in that region. Stories of "*El Dorados*" were popular then,

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 desta opinion es de gravissimos auctores: pondremos por testimonio los que afirman que el Perú y Nueva España es el Ophir con la referencia á sus lugares." In addition, he refers to Pedro Comestor, who in his *Historia escolástica* (c.3 Reg.c.25), has given confirmation for the idea of Solomonic voyage to Ophir or Peru (ibid., 360.) Among the most influential ones of these were the works of Juan de Pineda (a Jesuit writing in 1593 /DURAND 1979:39–40), Gregorio García (a Dominican writing in 1607 and 1625/ibid., 44–5), and Malveda to whom Montesinos frequently is referring to (1642:lib i)/1869:passim.).

Among the best known opponents of the Ophirian theory were Jesuit fathers Juan Acosta ([1588–90:lib.i, caps.xiii–xxiv] 1880:37–69) and Bernabé Cobo ([1653:lib.xi, caps.xv–xx] 1964:41–55). Both discuss at length various theories of the peopling of the Americas, and reject the Ophirian hypothesis, but Acosta was the first who brought forth the theory that the Amerinds came from Asia via the northern route (ibid.) For Acosta's scientific ideas, see e.g. HORNBERGER 1969:406–20 and PINO DIAZ 1978:507–46. Cobo wrote a good argument against the Ophirian theory: "many of the things that Solomon's ships took from Ophir were never present in the Indies, nor were they ever heard of here; some examples are ivory, peacocks, and apes" ([1653:lib.xi, cap. xx] 1979:90).

156 See e.g. BLUMENTHAL 1931:17–8 and DURAND 1979:37. This reference is also given by Cobo (1653:lib.xi, cap.xx) 1964:54. Columbus' thought became popularized in Pedro Martin's (1511) *De orbe novo decades*. It was soon translated in English (BLUMENTHAL 1931:19.) According to Cobo ([1653:lib.xi, cap.xv] 1964:41), Francois Vatable was the first who maintained that Ophir was not only centered at Hispanola, but extended to most of the Americas.

157 BLUMENTHAL 1931:23 (Azariah dei Rossi in his *Me'or Enyayim*, Mantua, 1573–5, chaps. 11–12). For *Parvaim*, see *The Bible* (2 Chron. 3:6) where in the narrative of the building of Solomon's temple the following reference is given: "And the gold he used was gold of Parvaim." For Peru as a new focus of this theory, see e.g. DURAND 1979: 37.

158 BLUMENTHAL 1931:26 (Joannis Goropius in his *Origines Antverpianae*, Antwerp 1596). This is a work "full of absurd and fabulous relations concerning the origins of the various peoples of the world" (ibid.)

159 Compare, Cabello de Balboa [1586:primera-tercera parte: passim] 1951:11–256. According to HAGEN (1965:111), Cabello de Balboa even made a map where he presented the migration route of the Indians from the Near East across the Pacific to South America. HAGEN (ibid.) and MEANS (1931:50) maintained also, that Cabello de Balboa was a Jesuit. It is somewhat strange that Montesinos did not mention Cabello de Balboa among the authors who have used the Ophirian theory before him. He does not refer to him anywhere in his work. This neglect appears more curious in the light of Cabello de Balboa's alleged Jesuitism and Montesinos' intimate knowledge of sources and archives of that Order.

and one which fascinated him was an enchanted lake and region known as *Paititi*.¹⁶⁰ The Ophirian “theory” flourished through 16th and 17th centuries, but occasional references to it were given until the 20th century.¹⁶¹

The number of pre-Incan kings given by *Ms Universitaria* (93) differs slightly from the *Ms de la Merced* (90). Guinaldo M. VASQUEZ (1930) and José IMBELLONI (1941) have analyzed these differences in their studies. The two MS versions and their enumeration have been compared with a third source, Blas Valera (in Oliva), which gives a couple of references to particular names of kings (with their serial numbers) occurring in Montesinos’ narrative.¹⁶² For example, Capac Yupanqui Amauta, is the 45th king in *Ms de la Merced*, 46th in *Ms Universitaria*, and 43th in Valera’s list (as referred by Oliva).¹⁶³ As we have noticed, the *Ms de la Merced* is the elder one and most likely was completed in America, while the *Ms Universitaria* was written in Spain in 1644.¹⁶⁴

It is interesting to note, that in listing the Pachacuti’s (kings with this honorific epithet), the Pachacuti IX (Inca Huiracocha) occurs in the 97th position in *Ms de la Merced*, whereas at 100th in *Ms Universitaria*. During the time of this Inca, which Montesinos has praised so much, also the Era Event, the culmination of the Sixth Sun, occurred. Moreover, the latest pre-Inca lineage, the king list of Tampu-Tocco, contain 24 names in *Ms de la Merced* and 27 in *Ms Universitaria*.¹⁶⁵ Both VASQUEZ and IMBELLONI concluded that *Ms Universitaria* is a slightly elaborated version into which Montesinos interpolated certain names, which did not occur in his earlier and more original *Ms de la Merced*¹⁶⁶ (for more of Montesinos’ manipulation, see chapter III:4).

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 160 BLUMENTHAL 1931:27. For Peru as a corruption of Ophir (i.e. *Phiru - O-Phiru*), see Montesinos ([1642:lib.i, cap.viii] 1869:531. The exact location of *Paititi* was not known. It was placed around the province of Mojos (in present Bolivia) in RGI II ([1596] 1965:94, 115). According to a common belief, a road from Paucartambo region was leading into the forests, where somewhere a golden city and lake called *Paititi* existed. It was a secret place of the Incas and guarded by jaguars and pumas (URBANO 1993:293-304.) The conquests of the Incas possibly extended to “Paitite river”, which probably was the present Mamoré or Madeira river (PÄRSSINEN 1992:111.) Read also, URBANO 1993:293–304.

161 BLUMENTHAL:25–8. Perhaps the latest was G.S. Wake, who wrote about it in the *American Antiquarian* for 1904 (ibid.)

162 For discussion of this difference, see VASQUEZ 1930:132–8; IMBELLONI 1941:285–93. For Oliva’s references to these kings, see appendix 16a.

163 Montesinos (*Ms de la Merced*) [1642:lib.ii, cap.xii] 1870:56–7; Montesinos (*Ms Universitaria*) [1644:lib.ii, cap. xii] 1882:72–3; Oliva [1631:lib.i, cap.ii, §. xiii] 1895:71. Interestingly, in *Ms Universitaria* Capac Yupanqui Amauta is 46th king as counted from the beginning of the narrative, but in the text his predecessor, the Hinac Huilla is referred as the forty-second king (ibid.) – i.e. his number being 43th as Valera has given.

164 See previous chapter.

165 IMBELLONI 1941:285–90. For the completion of the Sixth Sun, compare note 151 above. Montesinos probably invented three more names (when he was already back in Spain): possibly Paullu Raymi, Manco Capac Amauta, and Lloque Yupanqui, all kings in the Tampu-Tocco line (which do not exist in the list of *Ms de la Merced*). Compare Montesinos ([1642:lib.ii, caps.xiv-xv] 1870:63–7, [1644:lib.ii, caps. xiv-xv] 1882:82–90.

165 Montesinos (1644:lib.ii, cap.i) 1882:1–3; IMBELLONI 1941:299–302, 334.

166 VASQUEZ 1930:136; IMBELLONI 1941:292–6.

3. Montesinos' sources

Montesinos, as has been noted, was a controversial person. On the image of writers like that, misconceptions tend frequently to accumulate (especially after their death). One such is the allegation that Montesinos was a plagiarist, who used texts of others without referring to the authors. This image is mainly evolved from his second book of Part One in *Ophir de España*, which contains only a few references to the writer's sources. On the other hand, the entire books I and III, are well substantiated by numerous allegations of sources which are referred to. We can first review which sources Montesinos used in his Book I and III.

The following is not an exhaustive list; some minor and illegible references are omitted. The following first-rate authors and works are well represented:

1. Known chroniclers

Francisco de Xerez (1534): *Verdadera relacion de la conquista...*

Gonzalez Fernandez de Oviedo (1549): *Chronica de Indias*

Bartolomé de Las Casas (ca.1550–9): *Apologética historia...*

Lopez de Gomara (1552): *Historia general de las Indias*

Pedro de Cieza de León (1550–3): *Crónica del Perú*

Agustín Zarate (1555): *Historia del descubrimiento y conquista...*

Diego Fernandez (el Palentino) (1571): *...historia del Perú*

José de Acosta (1588–90): *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*

Francisco de Avila (1608): *...relacion de los...indios de Huarochiri*

Garcilaso de la Vega (1609): *Comentarios reales de los Incas*

Antonio Herrera (1615): *Historia general...*

Juan de Torquemada (1615): *Monarquía Indiana*

Buenaventura de Salinas y Córdoba (1630): *Memorial de las historias...*

Antonio de Calancha (1638–9): *Corónica moralizada...*

In addition, a few authors, whose works are now lost, were consulted too:

Fray Marcos de Niza: ?

Blas Valera (ca.1585–90): ?¹⁶⁷

Alonso Sanchez: ?

Fray Pedro Simon: *Noticias* (y "*su Marañon manuscrito*") ("*su historia de tierra firme*")¹⁶⁸

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167 How Montesinos used Valera is not known. In Book I he refers to him a few times, not as a source, but by giving biographical remarks like the loss of his works at the sack of Cadiz ([1642:lib.i, cap.v.] 1869:354–7.)

168 Montesinos briefly mentions the names Alonso Sanchez and Fray Marcos de Niza in Book I (1869:339, 529), but as in the case of Valera not explicitly as his source, but he makes frequent citations from Fray Pedro Simon.

2. Other secondary sources (in Books I and III)

Bartolome Anglico; Diego de Avalos: *Miscelanea austral*; Cardenal Baronio: *Flavio Dextro*; Lic. Pedro Ruiz Bejarano: (“su *Perú m.s.*”); Camillo Bonelo: *Orbis carolinus*; Mariano Brixiano; Francisco Carrasco; Cayetano; Padre Claudio Clemente: *Tabla*; Conrado: (“su *onomasticon*”); Pedro Comestor: *Historia escolástica*; Fray Diego de Córdoba; Juan Cotovicto: (“*itinerario de Gerusalem*”); Simon Estacio: (“su *relacion*”); Padre Martin Esteban; Eusebio; Fray Gregorio Garcia: *Origen de los Indios*; Genebrardo; Helinando; Josefo de Antiquitatibus; Joan Laot; doctor Madera; Malvenda: (“*de Antichristo*”); Manlain; Pedro Martin: *Decad...?*; Arias Montano: *Phaleg...?*; Padre Ore: *Simbolo Indiano*; Abaroa Ovalle: *Historia de Chile*; Peñalora; Padre Pineda: (sobre *Ophir?*); Platon: *Timeo*; Antonio Pontevino; Pomario: *Lexicon*; Padre Puente; P.F. Antonio Remesal: (“su *historia de Guatemala y Chiapa*”); Francisco de Rugi: (“una *curiosa relacion*”); Bozio de Signio; Solorzano: *De in...?*; P. Diego de Toro: (“su *vocab. de Quichoa*”); and Vatablo.¹⁶⁹

In Book II, Montesinos give his references to:

Juan de Betanzos (1551–7): *Suma y narración de los Incas*
Polo de Ondegardo (1571): *Relación del linaje de los Incas...*
José de Arriaga (1621): *extirpacion de la idolatría...*
Juan Cotovicto (“su *itenario Hierosolimitano y Siriaco*”), and Garcilaso de la Vega.¹⁷⁰

In his *Anales del Peru* some additional sources are referred to. Most important are:

Anonimo (?): *Framento Histórico*
Fray Don Juan Solano: *Cabildos Eclesiásticos*
Fray Luis López: *Libro de sus acciones i gobierno*
and Garcilaso de la Vega¹⁷¹

From the scanty references to sources in Montesinos' second book has been generated the 100-year-old debate as to Montesinos' alleged plagiarism. Still, the long dynastic lists and not the text proper, have been the major object of this allegation. After all, it seems unlikely that Montesinos composed the list by himself. Hence, from which sources had he copied it? Some of the listed names

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169 In Book I Montesinos makes most frequent references to Fray Gregorio Garcia, Malvenda, and Juan Cotovicto. Many of these secondary sources mentioned by Montesinos could have been part of his education in Spain, suggests SCHAEDEL (1996, personal consultation.)

170 Montesinos frequently used *Framento historico* as his source in narratives between the years 1535 and 1540. Its author is anonymous, but his possible occupation was a page of Francisco Pizarro. The work is lost, and its importance is discussed by PORRAS BARRA-NECHEA (1986: 715–24) in the context of lost manuscripts.

171 For Betanzos ([1644:lib.ii, cap.xv] 1882:87.) For Ondegardo ([1644:lib.ii, cap.vii] 1882:46.) For Arriaga ([1644:lib.ii, cap. xviii] 1882:105.) For Cotovicto ([1644:lib.ii, cap.iv] 1882:23–4.)

do occur in the narratives of two of Montesinos' co-religionists, Anello Oliva and an unknown Jesuit writer, labeled simply as "Anonymous Jesuit". And Anello Oliva himself says that he got these names from Blas Valera. All three authors have been interwoven into the chain of evidence to support the existence of king lists, which these three composed later, and from which Montesinos constructed his master list. It is sufficient to say now, that the alleged plagiarism (if part of the dynastic list) was confined to three Jesuit authors, and it was confined to composition of part of the list.¹⁷²

Potential sources for the king list: three Jesuit testimonies

Giovanni (Juan) Anello Oliva was born in Naples in 1572. He joined the Society of Jesus early and travelled to Peru as a Friar in 1597. He worked as a missionary, especially in the southern provinces of the Viceroyalty. Places of his minister were Oruro, Juli, Chuquisaca, Potosi, and Arequipa. From 1630 onwards he was in the area of Lima, and in 1636 was appointed as rector of the Jesuit college in that city. He died in Lima on February 5th, 1642.¹⁷³

Anello Oliva completed his principal work *Historia del reino y provincias del Perú* in 1631. This work remained a MS until 1857 when it was published by H. Ternaux-Compans in French. A first Spanish, and much better edition was published in 1895.¹⁷⁴ Oliva's account of the Inca history is exceptional, inasmuch as it refers to some genealogical predecessors of the first Inca, Manco Capac. Otherwise it follows more or less the canonic form.¹⁷⁵

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 172 For the discussion of how these three authors and works are interwoven, as well as the relation between Blas Valera and the anonymous Jesuit, see GONZALEZ de la ROSA 1907; RIVA AGÜERO 1908/1952; CABRAL 1913; MARKHAM 1920; MEANS 1928; IMBELLONI 1941/1946; WEDIN 1966:86–7; PORRAS BARRANECHEA 1962/1986. SCHAEDEL (1996, personal communication.)

173 MEANS 1928:416–23; PORRAS BARRANECHEA 1986:499–501. See also Oliva (1631) 1895:passim.

174 The date when Oliva's work was completed has sometimes been given as 1598. It occurs in the cover of the year's 1895 edition, for instance. According to MEANS (1928:419, 6n), the writing of the work could have been started on this early date. However, in the preface the date May 20, 1631 is given. This occurs in the dedicatory letter signed by Anello Oliva himself, and could be the right one. Oliva was working on another book too, entitled *Vidas de varones ilustres de la Compañía de Jesús de la Provincia del Perú* (MEANS 1928:417.)

175 Oliva (1631:lib.i, cap.ii, §.i-xiii) 1895:2272. According to Oliva the ancestors of the Indians arrived in America first at Caracas (Venezuela) whence some groups moved to Santa Elena (Ecuadorian coast). Their first leader there was called Tumba. After he died, one of his two sons, called Quitumbe, travelled with his followers southward to Peru. First he founded the city of Quito (which bears his name) and went then southward and stayed at Pachacamac. His two sons, Guayanay and Thome, ruled their own realms after him. Somewhere in the south lived Guayanay in an isle (at Titicaca) and had a son and follower known as Atau. Atau's son and heir was Manco Capac, a founder of the Inca line. The name of the sixth king is given as Quispe Yupanqui instead of Roca. All the rest are in consensus with the common list of the Incas. Compare, e.g. MEANS 1928:420.

Oliva does not give an explicit reference whence the Indians came to Caracas area, but it seems that he meant from the Old World (implying they came by sea) – which was a common notion in his times (a frequently given route went from the South Asia via the Pacific). The names given by Oliva for Manco Capac's ancestors, do not occur in any other sources. However, the area where Manco Capac came from, Titicaca, occurs in many other sources (see chapter II:3). SCHAEDEL (1996, personal consultation.)

Interestingly, Oliva refers frequently to his sources, the *quipu camayocs* themselves and specifically to a certain Indian informant Catari. He is said to have been a chief and *quipu-camayoc* of Cochabamba, and descendant of knot-record keepers, i.e. the chroniclers of the Inca kings. The story of Manco Capac's predecessors, for instance, was derived from Catari.¹⁷⁶ Regarding to the Andean antiquities, Oliva derived further information from the old papers given to him by Dr. Don Bartolome Cervantes, who was prebendary of the cathedral of the Charcas in Chuquisaca.¹⁷⁷ Oliva also gives frequently credit to his revered co-religionist, Blas Valera, as a source of his information. Oliva criticizes Garcilasso de la Vega's account of idealized Incan rule, which emerged from the barbarian nothingness and allows but a few reigns. He refers to Valera for support to the idea that before the Incas there was an extended dynastic tradition going back to times immemorial.¹⁷⁸

I have included Oliva's important statement concerning the pre-Incaic kings in its entirety in appendix 16a. He gives there references to the following kings (with their serial numbers): Capac Raymi Amauta, 39th ruler (corresponding the number in the *Ms Universitaria*), Capac Yupanqui Amauta, 43th ruler (46th in *Ms Universitaria*), Cuius Manco, 64th ruler (68th in *Ms Universitaria*), and Capac Lluque Yupanqui, 95th ruler, which is also in accord with *Ms Universitaria*. As a source of this information he gives a work of Blas Valera, *Vocabulario...*, which he saw in the Jesuit college library at Chuquiapu.¹⁷⁹

Another valuable testimony comes from the so-called Anonymous Jesuit. The work written by him is *Relación de las Costumbres antiguas de las naturales del Perú*. The manuscript is in the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, and was first edited and published by JIMENEZ de la ESPADA in 1879.¹⁸⁰ The subject matter of this volume is primarily religious and contains only a few

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176 Oliva (1631:lib.i, cap.ii, §.i) 1895:23; MEANS 1928:420.

177 Oliva (1631:lib.i, cap.ii, §.xiii) 1895:70–2. There exists additional documentary support that in the region of Titicaca and adjacent provinces pre-Incaic dynastic tradition survived in accounts of *quipu camayocs*, perhaps even better than elsewhere in the realm of the Incas. Teresa GISBERT (1992) has written about *curacas* of Collao and the following information comes from her. In the province of Pacajes (in the department of La Paz), curious testament of Gabriel Fernández Guarachi and José Fernandez Guarachi, successive *curacas* of Machaca la Chica, have been dated to 1673 and 1734. The testaments contain information on certain painted canvas (*lienzos*) made for the said Guarachis. Some of them have survived, but a certain lost one, labelled "*Los reyes Incas y españoles*", may contain a list of 104 pre-Incaic rulers to whom Guarachis genealogically connected themselves. I don't know if this list contains the same names which occur in Montesinos' list or referred to by Oliva, but only the number of reigns is an interesting correspondence, as Teresa GISBERT has also noted (*ibid.*, 60). According to Guarachi's account: "Otros cuentan pr sus nombres desde el Diluvio hasta el primer Inga ciento y quatro Reyes pr noticia de sus Quipos o Anales escritos o Firmados con ñudos en hilos de varios colores. Uno de ellos el mejor pr su grandeza y azañas fue Apo Guarachi antecedente dependiente de los Ingas" (*ibid.*)

178 For Oliva's criticism on Garcilaso, see (1631:lib.i, cap.i, § i, cap.ii, § o, § xiii) 1895:6, 17, 71. For references to Valera as his source, see (*ibid.*, cap.ii, § xiii, cap.iii, § iii-iv) 1895:70–71, 107.

179 Oliva (1631:lib.i, cap.ii, § xiii) 1895:70–2. See list of these correspondences in IMBELLONI (1941:286–9.) For more on Valera's work, see latter part of this chapter.

references to ancient history. It gives a good description of Incaic beliefs, rites, sacrifices, public morality, laws, temples etc.¹⁸¹ The author of this work was a Jesuit, which is clearly indicated in his text, but his identity has remained indistinct to us. This *Relacion* contains few dates which can give clues as to when it was compiled. PORRAS BARRANECHEA (1962/1986) believes that this anonymous *relacion* was possibly written in the final years of viceroy Toledo's government (1569-85).¹⁸² However, the earliest date must have been later, since Anonymous Jesuit has cited one source, Jesuit P.Montoya's *Anotaciones*, which was published in Lima in 1586.¹⁸³ There is also a reference (in Anonimos' work) on the abandonment of the Jesuit mission at Chachapoyas twelve years earlier, and since Oliva has informed us that this occurred in 1578, we can deduce that Anonymous Jesuit was writing at least as late as 1590 or 1591.¹⁸⁴

Even if the historical information given us by the Anonymos Jesuit is scanty, his brief references are most vital testimony to support our proposition that Montesinos did not invent the king list. What makes this testimony so significant, are the author's many references to ancient direct sources of information, e.g. *quipus*. Sources of the Anonumous Jesuit were:

1. Direct sources of native origin los *quipos* de Yutu inga.
- los *quipos* de Huallpa inga.
- los *quipos* de Pacari tampu antiguos.
- todos los *quipos* y memoriales del Cuzco y de las demás provincias.
- los *quipos* del Cuzco, de Cassamarca, de Quito, y de Huamachuco.
- Don Luis y Don Francisco Yutu, Juan Huallpa, Diego Roca, Don Sebastián Nina Villca – Señor de Huarochirí, Don Juan Collque, Señor de los Quillacas, en los *Quipos* y Memoriales.
- Todos los *quipos* de Pachacamac, Chinchá, Contisuyo, Collasuyo y del Cuzco convienen, y dellos se han sacado estas razones. Los *quipos* del Cuzco, de Cassamarca, de Tarama, de Quito y de otras provincias.
- Los *quipos* del Cuzco y de Sacsahuana.
- Los *quipos* de Quito, donde murió el dicho Huayna Capac.

180 MEANS 1928:504-7 (with Valera); PORRAS BARRANECHEA 1986:468-77.

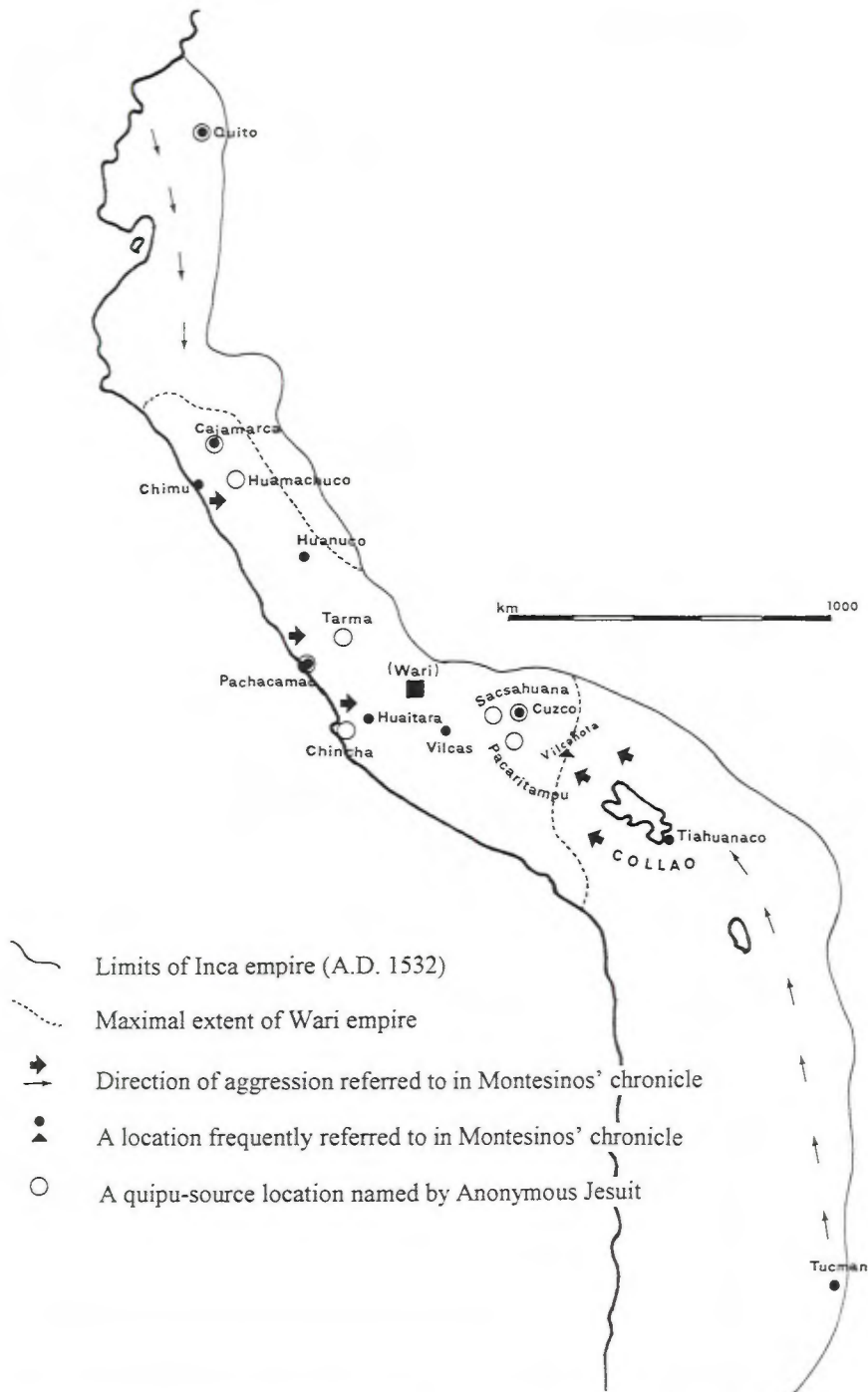
181 MEANS 1928:506. Consult also, Anonimous Jesuit (c.1590) 1879.

182 PORRAS BARRANECHEA 1986:473.

183 Anonimous Jesuit (ca.1585-90) 1879:145; GONZALEZ de la ROSA 1907:196.

184 For abandonment of Jesuit missions, Anonymous Jesuit (ca. 1585-90) 1879:226. GONZALEZ de la ROSA has given this reference (1907:194) on the date 1578 mentioned by Oliva. This deduction is not certain however. I did not find this reference from Oliva, and I have followed MEANS (1928:505) in this place who writes also that "I have combed Oliva's pages vainly, using the 1895 edition, for such remark, and I can only conclude that it must have existed only in the [sic. original] manuscript of Oliva, which was once owned by Dr. González. Assuming, however, that the date, 1578, is correct, it follows that the author of the Anonymous Relation was writing in 1590 or 1591."

MAP 1. Localities referred to by Anonymous Jesuit and Montesinos (in pre-Incaic context)



MAP 1. Localities referred to by Anonymous Jesuit (quipu-source) and Montesinos (frequently mentioned in pre-Incaic context).

2. Spanish written sources

Juan de Oliva: *Annales*; Fr. Melchor Hernández: *Anotaciones de la lengua*; licenciado Falcón: *Apología pro Indis*; Polo de Ondegardo: *Averiguación* (1553) and *Relaciones*; Don Luis Inga: *Relación y advertencias en quechua*; Fr. Domingo de Santo Tomás: (*Lexicon...*); Fr. Agustín Román: *Repúblicas del Mundo*; Fr. Marcos Jofre: *Itinerario*; Francisco de Chaves: ‘*relacion*’ (“jerezano, que fué grande amigo de Tito Atauchi, hermano del rey Atahualpa”); licenciado Alvarez (“vecino de Huánuco”): *De Titulis regni peruani*; P. Montoya: *Anotaciones sobre la lengua, Vocabulario de la lengua* (1586); and Fr. Mateo de los Angeles: *De ritibus indorum*.¹⁸⁵

The principal testimony of Anonymous Jesuit is the following:

“Dijeron, lo segundo, que aquel gran *Pirua Pacaric Manco Inca*, primer poblador de esta tierras, cuando murió, fue llevado al cielo a la casa y lugar deste dios llamado Pirua, y que allí fué aposentado y regalado por el tal Dios.”

“No digo señores, sino el mismo Inca a quebrantarla; porque es tradición que lo mandó aquel gran Pirua, primer poblador de la tierra.”

“en tiempo de Viracocha Inga, fueron muchos destes ministros causa principal para que se amotinase y rebelase el pueblo, y particularmente Hantahuaylla con los Chincas, de donde resultaron grandes guerras y casi perderse el Reino; por lo cual, Tito Yupanqui, hijo heredero del rey, tomó la demanda y venció a sus enemigos...

de tal manera, que lo llaman *Pachacuti*, que quiere decir reformador del mundo, y es el noveno deste nombre.”

“*Pachacuti Inga*, séptimo deste nombre, señor de Pacari Tampu, restauró el Imperio del Cuzco, que se había perdido con las guerras y pestilencias pasadas...

“Puso tambien Pachacuti séptimo dos maneras de ministros para este templo, con bastantes rentas para su sustento, para que desta manera nunca cesase la adoración del sol y de la luna.”

“Este templo fué de los reyes sucesores reparado y enriquecido diversas veces, porque cada uno iba añadiendo su parte, y el que más se señaló, fué *Pachacuti noveno*, y último de los *Pachacuties*.”¹⁸⁶

185 Anonymous Jesuit (ca.1585-90) 1879:passim; GONZALEZ de la ROSA 1907:196; MARKHAM 1920:8.

186 Anonymous Jesuit (ca.1585-90) 1879:139, 144, 154-5, 172-3, 178-9. The names Pirua Pacari Manco, and Pachacuti VII occur also in Montesinos, and narratives of their deeds correspond to each other in both sources (Montesinos [1644:lib.ii, caps.i,xv] 1882:1-9, 85-7.) Anonymous Jesuit has named Titu Tupac Yupanqui as Pachacuti IX (1879:173), and Montesinos seems to have identified Inca Viracocha with the same title too (IMBELLONI 1941:334), though he does not state it explicitly. He only refers to profound change of the fifth Sun during his reign ([1644:lib.ii, cap.xxiii] 1882:131-2.) Montesinos also called Viracocha by the name Tupac Yupanqui (ibid.) Both authors omitted the (ninth) historical Inca, Pachacuti. (italics mine)

The third Jesuit author and source which has been connected with Montesinos' dynastic lists, is Fray Blas Valera. His role in the chain of testimonies is more problematic than the two others above. This difficulty lies above all in the inconvenient fact, that of all his writings (which could be identified) only a few fragments have survived. These fragments are quotations used by Garcilaso de la Vega in his *Comentarios*.¹⁸⁷ The works of Valera are traceable only through their names, which are the following:

1. *Historia Occidentalis...Historia de los Incas y de su imperio*. Written in Latin (referred to by the Spanish title). According to MEANS (1928), this book was probably written in Peru and Valera took it with him to Spain (1590/91) intending to publish it there. However, he never made it and most of his papers were lost in the sack of Cadiz by the English in 1596. He himself died soon afterwards. It is possible that the quotations Garcilaso used were from this work. Garcilaso writes about this: "I received the fragments of papers which were rescued from the pillage, and they caused me regret and sorrow at the loss of those which were destroyed. More than half were lost..." Garcilaso got what was left of the book from a Jesuit, Father Maldonado de Saavedra at Córdoba in 1600.¹⁸⁸

2. *Vocabulario historico del Perú*. It is said that this work was also with Valera's papers at Cadiz, but it was saved (and published). According to MEANS (1928), "it was taken to the Jesuit house at La Paz, by a member of the Society named Father Diego de Torres Rubio, who was himself a student of native matters. Or it may be that it was Father Diego de Torres Bello who carried the Ms. to La Paz." The date when this work was brought to La Paz is given as 1604. Anello Oliva's testimony is important in this place: he has seen and consulted in a Jesuit archive at La Paz a work of Blas Valera titled as *Vocabulario*, which contained historical information.¹⁸⁹

3. *De los indios del Perú, sus costumbres y pacificación*. The name of this work is known by a reference of León Pinelo in his *Epítome* (Madrid, 1629:103.) He says that this manuscript was lost at the sack of Cadiz.¹⁹⁰

Before entering into discussion of the values of these Jesuit testimonies, we must review the known biographical facts regarding this third author, Blas Valera. Among the chroniclers of Peruvian traditions and history, he has

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187 For the discussion of Valera in this connection, see GONZALEZ de la ROSA 1907; RIVA AGÜERO 1908/1952; CABRAL 1913; MARKHAM 1920; MEANS 1920/1928:497-507; IMBELLONI 1941/1946; WEDIN 1966:86-7; PORRAS BAR RANECHEA 1986:462-475.

188 POLO 1906; MEANS 1928:501. Garcilaso: "Yo hube del saco las reliquias que de sus papeles quedaron, para mayor dolor y lástima de los que se perdieron, que se sacan por los que se hallaron: quedaron tan destrozados que falta lo más y mejor." ([1609:lib.i, cap.vi.] 1976:18.)

189 MEANS 1928:501. Oliva's reference, (1631:lib.i, cap.ii, §.xiii) 1895:70.

190 POLO 1906:548; GONZALEZ de la ROSA 1907; MARKHAM 1920:6; MEANS 1928:501.

generally been ranked high in importance and revered as a source. This is not only a commonly held scholarly opinion, since evaluative statements on him exist from the XVIth and XVIIth centuries also.¹⁹¹

Blas Valera was a native-born Peruvian, and possibly a mestizo. There are three alternatives given in our sources for his origin and birth. One version states that he was born at Chachapoyas in 1551 as son of Don Luís de Valera and an Indian woman. Another states that he was born in 1540 at Cajamarca, as a son of Don Luís de Valera and a lady of the Court of Atahualpa. Still another version maintains that his father was Don Alonso and mother a baptized Indian woman, Francesca Perez.¹⁹² Fortunately a short statement concerning the admission into the Jesuit Order has survived in the archives of Lima for the year 1568, when Blas Valera entered into the Society. According to it, Blas Valera was “*hijo natural de luis valera y francisca pérez, natural de Chachapoyas*”.¹⁹³ We may follow this statement, which gives us at least the names of his parents. Referring to his mother, the name would indicate a Spanish origin, but if she was a *natural de Chachapoyas* she could well have been an Indian woman baptized with a given Christian name. If this woman was from the Court of Atahualpa, her Chachapoyan origin is a usable clue, because the late Incan rulers favored fair-skinned Chachapoya girls as concubines.¹⁹⁴ In that case she must have been in her mid to late forties when Valera was born. However, I accept this later date as the probable birth date of Valera, as most authors have done¹⁹⁵ – but one must then admit that he must have been a bright scholar to be entering the Society at 17!¹⁹⁶

Valera entered into the Society of Jesus shortly after they had established themselves in Lima. Before his novitiate there, he may already have been educated in Trujillo (perhaps in some Dominican school).¹⁹⁷ We know from Oliva’s account that Valera was learning Latin in Trujillo as a boy.¹⁹⁸ Valera has an intimate knowledge of Quechua and learned Aymara later on too. This strongly supports his native blood ties and the likelihood that his mother’s language was Quechua. It has also been said that he was accepted into the

191 For early evaluative statements of Valera, see e.g. Garcilaso (1609:lib.i, cap.vi) 1976:18; Oliva (1631:lib.i, cap.ii, §.xiii) 1895:70; Montesinos (1642:lib.i, cap.v) 1869:354–7.

192 TORRES SALDAMANDO 1882:20–3; POLO 1906; GONZALEZ de la ROSA 1907; RIVA AGÜERO 1908, 1952:5–7; MARKHAM 1920:5–8; MEANS 1920:xi-xiv /1928:497–9; MENDIBURU 1934:182–3; LOYAZA 1945; PORRAS BARRANE CHEA 1986:462–5; TAURO 1987:2188–9.

193 POLO 1906:546.

194 For fair-skinned Chachapuya girls as Incas’ favourites, Cieza de León (1550–53:lib.i, cap.lxxviii) 1976:99; LOYAZA 1945:xii-xiii.

195 For the birth date of Valera as 1551, TORRES SALDAMANDO 1882:20; POLO 1906:544; MEANS 1928:498; PORRAS BARRANE CHEA 1986:462. TAURO (1987:2188) has given 1545 for his birth date, which seems quite a reasonable estimate to me.

196 Compare, Jesuit education in chapter III:1.

197 “Until 1548 the Dominicans had opened 60 schools, to which they admitted children of caciques, both Indian and mestizo” (LOHMANN VILLENA 1967:188.) For Valera in a Dominican school, GONZALEZ de la ROSA (1908b:302.)

198 Oliva (1631:lib.i, cap.iii, §.iii) 1895:98; MEANS 1928:498.

Society of Jesus reluctantly because he was a mixed-blood; but they must have turned a blind eye to that detriment owing to his knowledge in Quechua and Latin – important skills for a priest and especially for a catechist working with the natives.¹⁹⁹

In 1571, when his Jesuit novitiate was completed, Valera was sent to Cuzco with two other Fathers in order to start a missionary work in that area. Valera spent the next ten years in this region and at the same time Toledan reform and his ‘inspection of Incan history’ was kept going.²⁰⁰ According to MEANS (1928), “It is likely that Valera, who seems to have had slight contact with the Viceroy, was out of sympathy with the brand of history being manufactured under Toledo’s patronage...Valera was inevitably drawn into an independent and fair-minded examination of ancient history and of the culture and polity of the peoples of Peru. It is likely that the well-informed Indians of his acquaintance talked to him with a freedom and veracity which they never displayed before Toledo’s official questioners.”²⁰¹

The years between 1582 and 1590 Valera spent travelling widely in Peru. He visited, for example, the Jesuit establishment at Juli and Chuquiapu (La Paz), and other places in the southern parts of the Viceroyalty. Thereafter he travelled in northern provinces, Huanuco, Cajamarca, and as far north as Quito.²⁰² Valera also took part in the Council of Lima in 1583 where it was decided to produce catechisms in the Quechua and Aymara languages. Valera did that work along with Jesuit Fathers Alonso de Bárena and Bartolomé de Santiago.²⁰³ In the year 1590 or 1591 he left Peru with at least the first work of his with him, apparently in order to have it published in Spain. Some troubles must have arisen, perhaps because of his mixed origin or politics, or both – but his work was not immediately published and Valera settled at Cadiz in a Jesuit house.²⁰⁴ In July 1596, Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, sacked and pillaged that city on behalf of the Queen. It is known however, that the Earl gave the Jesuits permission to depart from the city with their papers and possessions.²⁰⁵ This seems to have been disastrous to Valera, since (if we believe Garcilaso’s statement): over half of the work of Valera was lost on this occasion. One could

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199 Oliva (1631:lib.i, cap.ii, §xiii) 1895:70; POLO 1906:545–7; CABRAL 1913:56; MEANS 1920:xiii/1928:498–9; LOYAZA 1945:xiv; TAURO 1987:2188.

200 MEANS 1920:xii/1928:498; MENDIBURU 1934:184; PORRAS BARRANECHEA 1986:462; TAURO 1987:2188. According to LOYAZA (1945:xiv-xv) Valera did not go to Cuzco before 1574, after he had completed six years as novitiate in Jesuit college at Lima.

201 MEANS 1928:499.

202 *ibid.* Valera settled for a while at Juli in 1582 (GONZALEZ de la ROSA 1907:183; MEANS 1920:xii.) LOYAZA (1945:xv) also mention Chachapoyas, Tarma, Trujillo, Huamachuco, and Chincha, as places where Valera visited.

203 For Council of Lima, TORRES SALDAMANDO 1882:23; LOYAZA 1945:xv-xvi; PORRAS BARRANECHEA 1986:462; TAURO 1987:2189.

204 MEANS 1928:499; PORRAS BARRANECHEA 1986:462–3; TAURO 1987:2189.

205 For the sack of Cadiz, Garcilaso (1609:lib.i, cap.vi) 1976:18; POLO 1906:546–7; MEANS 1928:499. GONZALEZ de la ROSA (1907:185–6) believed that Valera’s works were saved, because there exist English documents of this pillage, and these state that Jesuits were allowed to leave the city with their papers.

think that this sad incident and the unjust neglect with which this talented cleric seems to have been welcomed in Spain, had something to do with his premature death soon afterwards, on April 2, 1597, under fifty years of age.²⁰⁶

Could it be possible that Valera made some copies of his work while he was in Peru and took only the originals with him to Spain? TORRES SALDAMANDO (1882) believes that this is what happened, and thinks that the archives of Jesuit Colegio de Lima had a copy at least of Valera's *Historia de los Incas*, because there exists an early reference to this work. Namely, a certain P. Sandoval admitted into that Society in 1605, and in 1646 his work *Tratado de la restauración de la salud de los Etiópes* was published. In its Fifth Book (fol.456) there is a reference to this book of Blas Valera.²⁰⁷

It is believed that another work of Valera, *De los indios del Perú*, was also destroyed at Cadiz. According to José de la RIVA AGÜERO (1952), it was this work which was partly destroyed and used by Garcilaso.²⁰⁸ It seems unlikely, however, that fragments which came into Garcilaso's hands were from this book. Garcilaso himself makes it clear that his main source was fragments of Valera's book treating the history of the Peruvian empire and written in very elegant Latin.²⁰⁹ Be that as it may, this third alleged work of Valera has more frequently been connected with another work: that of the Anonymous Jesuit!²¹⁰

Manuel GONZALEZ de la ROSA's article, *El Padre Valera primer historiador peruano* in *Revista Histórica* (1907), had a profound impact on the reputation of veracity of both Valera and Montesinos. In this article GONZALEZ de la ROSA was the first to indicate the similarities of certain names occurring in both Oliva's and Montesinos' accounts. Second, he brought forth certain textual points which he used as evidences to indicate that the author of the Anonymous Jesuit *Relación* was no one else than Valera himself and this text contains a portion of his third work which thereby have survived.²¹¹ Although Pablo PATRON in his article *La veracidad de Montesinos* (1906) already briefly referred to in this connection between Oliva, Montesinos, and the Anonymous Jesuit, it was only after GONZALEZ de la ROSA's injection of Valera into this context, when the wheels truly began

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206 Garcilaso, *ibid.*; GONZALEZ de la ROSA 1907:183; MEANS 1928:499; MENDIBURU 1934:184; TAURO 1987:2189. RIVA-AGÜERO (1952:7, 1n) gives a different date for Valera's death in his note: "El P. Blas Valera murió en Málaga, siendo profesor de Gramática de la Compañía, el 3 de abril de 1598."

207 TORRES SALDAMANDO 1882:22. According to POLO (1907:548) and RIVA AGÜERO (1952:7) there is another reference to this 'lost' book of Valera, which is said to have been made by Jesuit Padre Juan Eusebio Nieremberg in *Historia naturae maximae peregrinae*, published in 1635 (lib.xiv, cap.xxv, p.304.) But this reference is about coca, and corresponds to Valera's account in Garcilaso ([1609:lib.viii, cap.xv.] 1976:tomo ii,180-1.)

208 RIVA AGÜERO 1952:8.

209 Garcilaso (1609:lib.i, cap.vi) 1976:18.

210 See, e.g. LOYAZA 1945.

211 Manuel GONZALEZ de la ROSA and his 'opponent' José RIVA AGÜERO were Peruvian scholars.

rolling on towards scholarly research and imagination. We can state that this was the first watershed in the history of discussing Montesinos' reputation and veracity.²¹²

The major object in GONZALEZ de la ROSA's article is the 'discovery' of Valera's three works and establishing their 'plagiarists'. GONZALEZ believes that Valera's work was saved in the sack of Cadiz, and accused Garcilasso as a plagiarist, who, although citing this Jesuit partly in the customary way, used most of *Historia del Perú* as his own text.²¹³ As a second Valera plagiarist he named Fernando de Montesinos, whom he suspected to have used the second book of Valera, *Vocabulario*, as his own text. This work he identified with the one to which Oliva had given a reference in his account.²¹⁴ The 'identification' of Valera's third work as *Relación de las Costumbres antiguas de los naturales del Perú* (by Anonymous Jesuit) brought forth the most important consequences of this article. Even though the surviving portions of Valera (in Garcilaso) contain mainly ahistorical and religious matters, descriptions of customs etc. which the text of Anonymous Jesuit is also much about, GONZALEZ de la ROSA did not compare these two texts by themselves, but mainly concentrated on that of Oliva and the names listed in his account.²¹⁵ José TORIBIO POLO's article (*Blas Valera* in the same year and in the same publication), is more biographical, but gave extra support for the Oliva's account and references to Valera's *Vocabulario*.²¹⁶ MARKHAM, MEANS, and many others used thereafter Valera's lost manuscript (*vocabulario*) as the basis *par excellence* for the veracity of Montesinos' list.²¹⁷

GONZALEZ de la ROSA's colleague, José RIVA AGÜERO joined this discussion by his article *La historia en el Perú* in *Revista Histórica* 1908. First, RIVA AGÜERO did not accept his colleagues statement that the entire work of Valera was saved and used by Garcilaso without acknowledgements.²¹⁸

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212 PATRON 1906. Compare Appendix 12.

213 GONZALEZ de la ROSA believed that the story of the lost papers of Valera was an invention of Garcilaso (1907:184–8.)

214 *ibid.*, 188–193.

215 *ibid.*, 193–8.

216 POLO 1907. This is one of the few extant biographical writings on Valera.

217 MARKHAM (1920:7–8) has praised Valera this way: "Blas Valera had qualifications and advantages possessed by no other writer. Garcilasso knew Quechua, but he was a child and only 20 when he went to Spain, and it was after an interval of forty years that he thought of writing about his native country. Blas Valera, like Garcilasso, was half a Peruvian, and Quichua was his native language. But, unlike, Garcilasso, instead of going to Spain when he was 20, he worked for Peru and its people for thirty years, devoting himself to a study of the history, literature, and ancient customs of his countrymen, receiving their records and legends from older Amautas and Quipucamayocs who could remember the Inca rule, and their lists of Kings, and possessing a perfect mastery of the language."

218 The ideas RIVA AGÜERO brought forth in this article, was republished in his doctoral thesis *La Historia en el Perú* in (1910) 1952. The debate between GONZALEZ de la ROSA and RIVA AGÜERO continued for two years on the pages of *Revista Histórica*. GONZALEZ de la ROSA gave his response to this article in the same year (1908) and most of the discussion centered again on speculations whether Valera's papers were lost or not. RIVA AGÜERO gave his own response the following year in an article 'El Señor Gonzalez de la Rosa y las obras de Valera y Garcilaso', *Revista Historica*, Tomo IV:312–347. Lima.

Nor was he convinced that the '*vocabulario*' mentioned by Oliva was Valera's *Vocabulario histórico del Perú*.²¹⁹ Most of all RIVA AGÜERO opposed the idea that Blas Valera and Jesuit Anonimo were the same person. He brought forth several disparities and controversies which occur in works which have been compared. The most important ones were: the identification of Inca Pachacuti differs in Valera/Garcilaso's and Anonymous' accounts, the former referring to a short Inca history while the latter favored the lengthy one, and the existence of extra writing systems along with *quipus* is presented in Anonimo but neglected in Valera/Garcilaso.²²⁰

MEANS in his *Biblioteca Andina* (1928) has included Jesuit Anonimo in the account of Blas Valera's biography,²²¹ whereas PORRAS BARRANECHEA in *Las Cronistas del Perú* 1962/1986 considers and treats these Jesuits as distinct persons. His conclusive statement and belief is that Jesuit Anonimo and Montesinos possibly used one common source, which is now lost, and could have been either Valera or another and older 'Jesuit Anonimo'.²²² Åke WEDIN, another critical student of chronicles (1966) agrees with PORRAS in this matter.²²³

Before entering a discussion about the *vocabulario*, possibly written by Valera, we have to weigh certain facts considering the information given by Valera in Garcilaso's account. If we accept that *vocabulario* was written by Valera and contains information of pre-Incaic dynasties, why does Valera's account (cited by Garcilaso) support a canonic, shorter dynastic history for the Incas?²²⁴ We may think that those fragments which were left of his history

219 RIVA AGÜERO 1908/1952:10–24. RIVA AGÜERO weighed his argument on Anello Oliva's implicit statement concerning the author of *vocabulario*. He writes: "Como se ve, el pasaje no es claro y permite dudar si dicho vocabulario de mano o diccionario manual fué compuesto por el padre Valera o si solamente le perteneció, y lo tomó o copió de un autor ignorado. Nótese que en ninguna parte afirma rotundamente Anello Oliva que haya sido Valera autor del vocabulario." But AGÜERO lost his argument, however, since Anello Oliva refers to this *vocabulario* in another place too ([1631:lib.i, cap.iii, §.iv] 1895:107): "En el boca bulario de mano que cite arriba del P. Blas de Valera erudito en antiguallas del Peru sobre la palabra Atahualpa hallo breuemente cifrada su vida y muerte..."

220 RIVA AGÜERO, *ibid.*

221 MEANS 1928:497–507.

222 PORRAS BARRANECHEA (1986:471): "Estos Incas coinciden con la lista de 96 reyes de Montesinos y como el jesuita los cita ocasionalmente, resulta que él y Montesinos bebieron en una fuente común, desaparecida, que puede ser Valera o un segundo y más antiguo jesuita anónimo."

223 WEDIN (1966:86–7): "Las correspondencias entre Oliva, Montesinos y el anónimo pueden explicarse así: el anónimo también bebió de la misma fuente, o sea del *Vocabulario*...No puede considerarse como probado que Blas Valera escribiera la crónica anónima...Lo que sabemos a ciencia cierta es que Blas Valera escribió lo que cita Garcilaso bajo su nombre y también el *Vocabulario*, ahora desaparecido."

224 See, Valera (ca.1585–90) 1945:93–100; Garcilaso (1609:lib.v, cap.xi) 1976:233–4. Jorge CABRAL (1913:328–30) has also paid attention to these controversies. He refers to Valera's narrative in Garcilaso, where Francisco Toledo was called the second Pachacuti (*Comentarios, primera parte*, libro vi, cap.xxxvi), while Jesuit Anonimo had called one ruler the ninth Pachacuti. In another place Valera clearly states that the Peruvians did not know other writing than quipos (*Comentarios, segunda parte*, libro ii, cap. xxx), but in Jesuit Anonimo references to another systems exist (CABRAL, *ibid.*)

book did not contain pre-Incaic information at all and Garcilaso used and cited virtually all Valera he had in his hand. Another explanation could be that Garcilaso did not want to use the pre-Incaic stuff at all in his epic history of the Incas.²²⁵ On the other hand, there might exist a more practical explanation for this problem and controversy. Therefore we have to take a closer look at that enigmatic *vocabulario*.

Unfortunately there is only a scanty information of that seemingly important work labeled *vocabulario*. Virtually all known facts are from Anello Oliva's chronicle, and that makes us to infer that it:

- was written by Blas Valera and possessed by the Jesuit-college library at Chuquiabu (La Paz).
- was brought to La Paz from Cadiz by Padre Diego de Torres Vasquez
- contained historical information of pre-Incaic kings of Peru.
- was written only up to the letter H, and Oliva got other names of kings from *Genealogia de Manco Capac* where they were numbered.²²⁶

What is a *vocabulario* or more specifically a work which is called *Vocabulario Histórico del Perú*? As its name should indicate, it is not necessarily a common historical account written from the certain perspective by its author. Rather, it is a handbook directory where many kinds of historically related facts and beliefs are compiled. It is not necessary or even desirable that the compiler of these facts would be selective in his process of assembling. Thinking about the potentially extensive context which a work like 'historical vocabulary of Peru' would include, it could easily be provided a work of several volumes. Was that work which Oliva saw and used only volume I (closing up to letter H) of the whole, the only one which was saved from the sack of Cadiz? If Valera made a copy of his 'vocabulario' (or rather copies of his entire *vocabulario*), which seems quite possible, one could suspect that these were more likely to be found in the Jesuit archives at Cuzco or Lima, and not in La Paz.²²⁷ The existence of Valera's volume in the college library at La Paz may thus have been an incidental stroke of luck for Oliva. It is quite probable that Montesinos used that same volume at about the same time as Oliva at Chuquiabo,²²⁸ but it seems more likely that he also had access to use volumes of that work which

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 225 RIVA AGÜERO 1952:21–24. Sabine HYLAND (1997, personal communication) has pointed out, that Blas Valera, who was highly partisan in favor of Atahualpa, had probably ideological interests in extending the length of the Peruvian dynasties and associated this history [the maximalist tradition] with the new history of Atahualpa. Therefore he could have conducted interviews with some of Atahualpa's historians. Garcilaso instead felt hatred toward Atahualpa and his lineage (descendants of Pachacuti). Accordingly, as ROSTWOROWSKI (1988/1999:32–4, 107–8) has remarked, Garcilaso distorted many historical facts in his chronicle. For instance, his reference to the royal mummies found by Polo de Ondegardo differs profoundly of the account of Polo himself, even though Garcilaso used him as his source (ibid.). Considering these facts here might be another reason why Garcilaso's history of the Incas differs from Valera's.

226 Oliva (1631:lib.i, cap.ii, §.xiii) 1895:70–1.

227 TORRES SALDAMANDO (1882:22) and POLO (1907:548–9) believed that copies of Valera's works could have been possessed by Jesuits in Lima.

228 MEANS 1920:xv.

went beyond the letter H. He could have seen and used them in Lima where he spent many years.²²⁹

So I think that the *vocabulario* which Oliva saw and referred to was indeed a work by Blas Valera, but perhaps only a part of the larger entity. On the other hand, referring to fragmentary survivals of Valera's texts, it is difficult to conclude how much Garcilaso agrees with Valera regarding to his over-all vision of the history of the Incas. A more likely explanation would be that the fragments of Valera's work, which Garcilaso used, did not contain any references to pre-Incaic kings; of which one may deduce, that Valera himself may have supported the canonic history of the Incas.²³⁰ Valera, as many of his co-religionists, was a meticulous, open-minded, and curious researcher of all kinds of facts, beliefs, and traditions. Besides the books of Oliva and Anonymous Jesuit, the works of two other revered Jesuits, José de Acosta and Bernabé Cobo, are good examples of this. Both presented the native testimonies, speculated between contradictory accounts, and chose the explanation which seems to them to be the best.²³¹ Valera quite likely did the same in his *Historia de los Incas*, which Garcilaso partially used. But in his *Vocabulario* he probably chose a different strategy of presentation, or the only practical one: all the information was set in their own places by letters of the alphabet indicated and making no distinction between this or that information, which the author may consider fact or fiction. That is why the pre-Incaic kings were there too, gathered from various sources by Valera – perhaps motivated only by his own curiosity.²³²

If Montesinos used the *vocabulario* to construct his list, we have only to speculate why he did not mention the source. There are several explanations for this and I will treat these more closely in the next chapter. One possibility is that Valera's *vocabulario* was not his primary source of information at all. He himself has left us a short reference on a written source, which, at least partially, could have been one of his major sources concerning the pre-Incaic histories. According to Montesinos:

“Now it is needful for me to refer to another notice *concerning the antiquity of this name of Piru which I found in a manuscript book. I bought it*

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229 Montesinos stayed in Lima between 1636–39 (MEANS 1928:403.) Out of the content of the *Vocabulario*, the letters A, C, and H (in the presumed first volume) correspond to the initials in the king list. However, 43 names (out of 93) could therefore have been derived from this source. Most interestingly, these names are quite evenly distributed through the entire list of kings. Most kings in the Tampu-Tocco line (17 out of 26) are included, for instance. On the other hand, one could presume that the (P)achacutis were taken from some other volume or a distinct source.

230 Compare, Valera (ca.1585–90) 1945:93–100. See footnote 225 above. There are reasons to believe that Valera's history after all was quite distinct than the one presented by Garcilaso (see footnote 238 below).

231 Compare, Acosta (1588–1590) 1987 and Cobo (1653) 1964.

232 Valera whose origin was Chachapoya doubtless knew from his own provincial tradition that before Chachapoyas was incorporated into the empire, it had its own dynasties (but like Poma, he could not fish them out) (SCHAEDL 1996, personal consultation.)

at a public auction in the city of Lima, and I hold it in high esteem and preserve it with care. It treats of Piru and its Emperors. When I was in Quito I communicated with a man who was very curious with regard to these matters, and I found out that he who composed it [the book] was a very verbose man of that city, an old inhabitant of it, who was aided by the verbal notices which the Blessed Bishop D. Fray Luis Lopez [de Solis] gave him, and by the examination of the Indians which the Bishop himself had made. This man, then, in treating of the etymology of the name of Piru, says in Discurso I. cap. 9, that the Indians used many names full of metaphors, that, as the authors did not comprehend them, as well on account of their antiquity as on account of their ignorance of their derivations they could not ascertain their proper meanings. In proof of this he produces certain curiosities of which I avail myself in this book. One of them is that one of the Peruvian kings who settled in the city of Cuzco was called Pirua Pacari Manco, to judge by one of the acclamations with which his vassals invoke him, his proper name having been Topa [Tupac] Aiar Uchu Manco, as will be seen further on when we treat of him."²³³

The author of this work which Montesinos obviously used as one of his sources, cannot be identified with any more certainty that it excludes Valera. In his Book I, from which the above reference is taken, Montesinos refers to Blas Valera and the sack of Cadiz where part of his works were lost. This seems to indicate that Montesinos was well aware of the problem of availability of revered but presumably unpublished MS compiled by Valera at that time.²³⁴

233 Translation by MARKHAM in Montesinos 1920:1, n.1. "Ya me es forzoso referir otra noticia de la antigüedad de este nombre Perú, que hallé en un libro manuscrito, comprélo en una almoneda en la ciudad de Lima, y le guardo con estimacion y cuidado. Trata del Perú y de sus emperadores, y comunicando en Quito con un sujeto curioso sus materias, me certifié ser el que lo compuso un hombre verbosísimo de aquella ciudad muy antiguo en ella y ávido de las verbales noticias, que el Santo Obispo D. F. Luis Lopez le daba y del exámen que el mismo señor obispo de los indios hacia. Este pues tratando de la etimología del nombre Perú, dice en el discurso 1, cap.9. que los indios usaban en muchos nombres de grandes metáforas y que por no entenderlas los aucthores así por la antigüedad, como por ignorar las derivaciones, no acertaron en las significaciones propias. En comprobacion de esto trae algunas curiosidades de que me valgo en este libro. Sea una de ellas: que uno de los reyes Peruanos que poblaron la ciudad de Cuzco se llamó Pirua Pacarimanco segun una de las aclamaciones con que sus vasallos le invocan, habiendo sido su propio nombre Tupa aiaruchumanco como se verá adelante cuando de él tratemos." Montesinos (1644:lib.i, cap.iv) 1869:351-2. MARKHAM writes about Fray Luis Lopez de Solis (1920:2, n.1.) that "he was the fourth Bishop of Quito. He was an Augustine, and a native of Salamanca, Spain. In 1546 he came to Peru. After long years filled with honourable ecclesiastical labours, he became Bishop of Quito in 1593. He died in 1600." (above italics mine)

234 "Y por lo que dice del padre Blas Varela [sic], respondo que es traño la devocion de los herejes en repartir reliquias de lo saqueado en Cadiz, y en que si fueron por rescate, fuesen los redemptores tan escasos que no lo hiciesen de todas las obras de un autor tan famoso." This is from the *Ms. la Merced* (1869:356). *Ms. Universitaria* gives a little longer description of this incident, including the date of the sack of Cadiz (1596) and mentions that portions of papers were given to Garcilaso. A few lines later Montesinos writes this: "¿para que pues decir que del saco de Cadiz que hicieron los Ingleses el año 1596 recogió las cenizas ó reliquias de la obra del padre Varela? y para que fingir entre Guayaquil y Panamá el nombre Pelú apelativo?" Montesinos (1644:lib.i, cap.iv) 1869:356-7. SCHAEDL (1996, personal communication) speculates that Montesinos in this citation may refer specifically to Garcil-

These and other fundamental questions concerning the problems and controversies around the works of Valera and Montesinos are well introduced in Jorge CABRAL's *Los Cronistas e historiadores de Indias* (1913). It was written during the hottest scholarly discussion around this subject ever since. He cites e.g. debates between González de la ROSA and Riva AGÜERO, and supports the latter's opinion that Blas Valera and Jesuit Anonimo were most likely distinct persons.²³⁵ He also believes that Garcilaso did not manipulate Valera's narrative fragments in his possession, as González de la ROSA has argued; an assumption based on the extant distinctions between the accounts of these two Jesuits.²³⁶ Referring to Oliva's vague information in his narrative, AGÜERO doubts whether Valera really was the author of "*vocabulario*". Instead it seems possible to him that Montesinos used the said "*vocabulario*", but may have based his dynastic account mostly on distinct Jesuit archival sources, and a book which he bought from the public auction in Lima.²³⁷

Interesting new perspectives on Valera and Anonymous Jesuit have recently been presented by Sabine HYLAND. In her studies on Jesuits in 16th century Peru, she brings new evidences for the assumption that Blas Valera and Anonymous Jesuit could have been the same person. She has found, for instance, that the handwriting of the only manuscript of Anonimo's work, in the Biblioteca Nacional (Madrid), matches Valera's hand in the *Libro de Novicios*.²³⁸

Concerning the sources of Valera and furthermore Montesinos, HYLAND refers to a certain Melchior Hernandez, who is frequently mentioned by Anonymous Jesuit in his footnotes.²³⁹ According to HYLAND, "Not much is known about Melchior Hernandez. He was a Mercedarian friar and, as such, is

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- laso. SCHAEDEL also think that Montesinos suspects Garcilaso of seizing Valera's MS, taking only what he wanted and blaming the disappearance of the rest on the English (why would Garcilaso not have preserved the Valera fragments?) – for the simple reason that he would have to say then that the Incas were "Johnny-come-lately". Furthermore he thinks that Montesinos is saying that Garcilaso is guilty of recruiting the denomination of Peru from the Pirhua on Valera's list. It seems that most of Valera that dealt with the pre-Incas Garcilaso did not use.
- 235 CABRAL 1913:319–333. CABRAL agrees with AGÜERO, who suspected that *vocabulario* was not written by Valera, but another, unknown author (see note 219 above).
- 236 *ibid.* The account of Jesuit Anonimo contains information on pre-Incaic kings; Valera as cited by Garcilaso did not refer to them.
- 237 Riva AGÜERO did not notice that Oliva refers to Valera's "*vocabulario*" more precisely elsewhere in his narrative. Consult, note 219 above. For Montesinos use of distinctive sources, CABRAL 1913:308–14, 333–4.
- 238 HYLAND (1997, personal E-mail communication.) See, HYLAND's dissertation 1994: *Conversion. custom and culture: Jesuit Racial Policy in 16th Century Peru*. Additional support for the identification of Anonymous Jesuit as Valera, comes from Henrique URBANO, who, in the introduction of the recent edition of Anonimo's work (1992, Historia 16 in Madrid), is quite convinced that Valera is the author of the text (based on internal evidence) (HYLAND 1997, personal communication.) I am grateful to William ISBELL (1997, personal communication), who led me to acquaintance with Dr. Sabine HYLAND, currently working with matters and ideas related to Montesinos-studies.
- 239 HYLAND (1997, personal communication.) Compare, Anonymous Jesuit (ca.1590 / 1945:3–8.)

discussed in some detail in Tirso de Molina's history of the order. Tirso de Molina, the great Spanish playwright, was also, of course, a Mercedarian friar whose real name was Gabriel Tellez. His work, *Historia General de la Orden de Nuestra Señora de las Mercedes*, was republished in 1974. It was edited by Manuel Penedo Rey O.deM., and published in Madrid by the Province of La Merced of Castile. He discusses Hernandez's later life in several places in vol. 2 (eg. pp. 173, 349, 373). According to information which I found in the records of the inquisition tribunals in Madrid, Hernandez was in Potosi in 1579 and 1580, when Valera was there also. Hernandez was sent there from the Mercedarian convent in La Paz, where he had originated. The inquisition documents state repeatedly that Hernandez was a mestizo."²⁴⁰

The interest in Hernandez arises especially from Anonimo Jesuit's note that the information on Pirua Pacaric Manco Inca, the first settler in Peru, comes from him.²⁴¹ It is possible, as HYLAND has stated, that Valera has exploited Melchior Hernandez as his source in writing about ancient Peruvian dynasties. Hernandez was a native from the Lake Titicaca region, and the basis of his information may have come from the ancient traditions of this area.²⁴²

Additional, new information of Valera may be derived from a recently found document, *Historia et Rudimenta Linguae Piruanorum* which was possibly written by two Jesuit authors in distinct times. The first writer (in 1610) was Father Joan Antonio Cumis and the second Joan Anello Oliva in 1637–8. This document contains a description of literary *quipus* in which a reading key lies in its syllabic division. The writer confirms that these *quipus* could easily be read by Valera. Of Valera is written that he became subjected to censorship by the Jesuits and of "the destruction of nearly all of his writings, many of which were critical of Jesuit policies in Peru." Furthermore, other friars contested him because he took sides against the Spaniards. According to Oliva, Valera did not die in Spain (in 1596), but returned secretly to Cuzco in 1598, where he went into hiding with a help of Gonzalo Ruiz, a fellow friar. Later he met Oliva and Guaman Poma and to the latter was given his historical information. Valera returned to Spain and died there in 1619. For a more detailed description of this document, see appendix 16b.

The authenticity of this new-found document is naturally questioned. The scholarly opinions vary, but a slight tendency in favor of its genuineness is present (compare appendix 16b).

Sabine HYLAND is one who speaks in favor of its authenticity. She has found confirmation for several factual notes on Valera's life (as given by the

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240 HYLAND (ibid.) See also, HYLAND 1994:248–9.

241 HYLAND (ibid.) Compare, Anonymous Jesuit (ca.1590 / 1945:4–5) who states: "Dijeron, lo segundo, que aquel gran Pirua Pácaric Manco Inca, primer poblador de estas tierras, cuando murió, fué llevado al cielo a la casa y lugar deste dios llamado Pirua, y que allí fué aposentado y regalado por el tal Dios (1)." And writes in a subsequent footnote: "(1) Los quipos de Pacari tampo antiguos. Fr. Melchior Hernández en la Interpretación de las oraciones antiguas, y en sus *Anotaciones*, verbo Pirua y Viracocha."

242 HYLAND (ibid.)

document) from other sources. According to her, “all of the material in the document about Valera’s imprisonment agrees with what I discovered about Valera after several years of research in archives at Yale and in the archives of Spain Inquisition in Madrid... it had been believed that he was imprisoned by the Inquisition for fornication but I’ve been able to demonstrate that he was actually *imprisoned by the Jesuits themselves for heretical teachings* (italics mine).”²⁴³

This is an important note for the argument that both Valera and Montesinos were Jesuits who valued scholarship more than obedience.

If this document will be proven authentic, many spurious questions and riddles concerning the Inca *quipus* and the Jesuit historian, Blas Valera, can be answered. In that case the document is a further testimony that Blas Valera had a profound influence on Anello Oliva and his writings. It confirms Valera’s mixed birth and intimate knowledge of native tradition and *quipu*-information. The nature of the historical content of Peruvian mnemonic devices, as expressed in the document, comes in accordance with the information given by Montesinos. It also enlightens in rather a sound manner why Valera’s works were lost.

All in all, we have four chronicles which have preserved information about pre-Incaic dynastic tradition. There is a *relación* of an Anonymous Jesuit, Anello Oliva’s *historia*, Montesinos’ *Memorias*, and a lost *vocabulario* of Blas Valera. Interestingly, all these are written by Jesuits. Anonymous and Valera were possibly the same person and seem to be more original. Oliva and Montesinos appear to be more like compilers. In addition, there were certain other works, now lost, which may have included related (pre-Incaic) information alongside with the said chronicles. These were:

1. A book which Montesinos bought in Lima from an auction, a book which we could call *Perú y de sus emperadores*.²⁴⁴

2. *Genealogia de Manco Capac* named and used by Anello Oliva.²⁴⁵

3. A source used and named by Jesuit Anónimo, which may have contained ancient dynastic histories too. It was a work of Licentiate Alvarez from Huánuco by a title *De Titulis regni peruani*. We do not know if there is any other information about this work extant elsewhere.²⁴⁶

4. Melchior Hernandez’s chronicle mentioned by Anonymous Jesuit.²⁴⁷

It is clear that Fernando de Montesinos was not alone with the theories of pre-Incaic dynasties. By tracing the origins of these dynastic traditions, we now have arrived at the end of that rope to which our written sources can lead, at least before new evidences are found. This does not mean the end of our

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243 HYLAND (11 November 1997, personal communication).

244 Montesinos (1644:lib.i, cap.iv) 1869:351.

245 Oliva (1631:lib.i, cap.ii, §.xiii) 1895:71.

246 Anónimo Jesuit (c.1590) 1879:143.

247 HYLAND (1997, personal communication.) Compare, Anonymous Jesuit (ca. 1590 / 1945:4–5.)

research. On the contrary, we have to take a long leap into the other end, and connect to a new starting point: native Andean tradition. Most of our written sources have frequently given credit and referred to their native informants and *quipu*-records. Anonymous Jesuit has preserved a lengthy example of this. It is now our turn to consider what weight we will give to these native testimonies. It is interesting to note that references to lengthy pre-Incaic dynasties have survived in such a remote regions as Quito (a book bought by Montesinos) and La Paz (Melchior Hernandez's chronicle), but less so in the Cuzco region. This is quite expectable, considering the impact of Inca dynastic propaganda. But before entering into that subject, we must take a closer look how Montesinos handled and manipulated these native traditions which were available to him.

Montesinos affirms in the closing sentence of Book II that his narrative is based on factual information:

“Solo advierto aqui á los que leyeren esta historia, que no ai cosa en ella fingida, sino sacada de los quipos y de memorias antiquisimas, haviendo tenido el trabajo de innstruirme en todo. Fin de la segunda parte. Laus Deo O.M.”²⁴⁸

4. Montesinos and the manipulation of the documents

During the past one hundred and fifty years many variable opinions have been presented on Fernando de Montesinos and his works. As often is the case when critical statements are given by scholars, they were ‘echoed’ by the others, even though the opinions of those ‘authorities’ were expressions without any deeper acquaintance with the subject they commented. This is clearly seen with the subject of the present study. It seems that the case of Montesinos easily aroused suspicions but few had the interest to investigate it more thoroughly. Consequently, only a few constructive ideas have been presented since 1840 when the works of Montesinos became known to us. I have gathered here some of those ideas which have emerged from constructive criticism and they are mobilized in presenting my approach to the subject.²⁴⁹

Writers who have suggested in studying Montesinos' ideas by paying attention to the standards and social atmosphere of his own time, are the following: BALDWIN (1872), THOMAS (1891), GUERRA (1971), KUBLER (1984), and BOEHM de LAMEIRAS (1987). Similar ideas have also been expressed by Tom ZUIDEMA and David L. BROWMAN.²⁵⁰

248 Montesinos (*Ms de la Merced*) [1642:lib.ii, cap.xxviii] 1870:404–5. In *Ms Universitaria* ([1644:lib.ii, cap.xxviii] 1882:169) Montesinos uses distinct wording and did not refer to *quipu* sources: “y en el Libro siguiente los títulos misteriosos por donde los Reyes Católicos tienen las Indias, sacados de la Sagrada Escritura. Fin.”

249 Compare, Appendix 12. It seems that suspicious attitude toward Montesinos originally gleaned from PRESCOTT (1847), as also SCHAEDEL (1996, personal consultation) has pointed out.

250 For the commonly extant feature by early chroniclers to visualize their histories through European lenses, which Drs. R. Tom ZUIDEMA and David BROWMAN called to my attention (1995, personal consultation.)

The idea that the king list presented by Montesinos was possibly a construction of different traditions, and where contemporary dynasties might have been represented as successive, has been suggested by: UHLE (1912), LATCHAM (1928), and BOEHM de LAMEIRAS (1987).²⁵¹

That there could be some correlation between archaeology and Montesinos' narrative on certain points or in general, has been suggested by the following: GONZALEZ DE LA ROSA (1907), JOYCE (1912), CABRAL (1913), BINGHAM (1915–22), MARKHAM (1920), MEANS (1920–31), BAUDIN (1928), URTEAGA (1931), BRAM (1941), PARDO (1946–57b), BAUMANN (1963), PEREZ ARMENDARIZ (1967), and MENESES (1992). Among the recent adherents are: Brian BAUER, Terence GRIEDER, William ISBELL, Gordon McEWAN, Richard P. SCHAEDEL, and John W. SMITH.²⁵²

There are some individual speculations also. As early as 1860 W. BOLLAERT has suggested in studying Quechua or Aymara meanings of the names in Montesinos' list.²⁵³ T. JOYCE (1912) noticed that Montesinos' narration is in concurrence with most Inca traditions concerning the mythic beginnings and the last rulers or the Incas proper – from which can be deduced an idea of possible telescoping.²⁵⁴ M. POINDEXTER (1930) has paid attention to similarities of Montesinos' Amauta-dynasty and the theocratic-dynasties in other parts of the world.²⁵⁵ Similarities between the World Ages (*Edades*) given in Montesinos' narrative and the corresponding Mesoamerican traditions have been noticed by J. IMBELLONI (1941) and B. BOEHM de LAMEIRAS (1987).²⁵⁶ P. A. MEANS (1931) has paid attention to the narrative origin centered at Cuzco in Montesinos' account, whereas the tradition itself may have originated from Tiahuanaco. He also refers to the capacity of folklore to preserve extraordinary events, (e.g. calamities) over centuries, of which there are plenty in Montesinos' chronicle.²⁵⁷ And finally, the first scholarly writer

251 For more, see Appendix 12 and chapter I:5.

252 For more, see Appendix 12 and chapters I:5. and IV:2. I have received further and recent support for this hypothesis through personal communication (1994-7) with the Drs. William ISBELL and Gordon McEWAN who have made excavations in Wari sites and concerned themselves with the intertwining of Tiahuanaco and Wari iconography, Brian BAUER who has worked in at Tampu Tocco/Pacarictampu, and Richard SCHAEDEL, Terence GRIEDER, and John SMITH, Andean generalists in distinct pre-Incaic cultural arenas. Dewey and Edith FRANSWORTH (1953:passim) has suggested a connection between Mormons, Montesian kings and Tiahuanaco-archaeology.

253 See appendices 8b and 12. MARKHAM (1920) and VAZQUEZ (1930) have also compared the meanings of the names in the list.

254 See appendix 12. For this kind of telescoping see chapters in II:3.

255 See, Appendix 12. Compare also priest kings in the history of Tibet, appendix 14. Miles POINDEXTER was an ambassador, not a scholar (SCHAEDEL 1998, personal consultation). In his *The Ayar Incas* (1930), POINDEXTER presents the Montesian king list as a Ayar race of rulers, which established their rule over the indigenous Quechua people some 2000 years before the Christian era. According to him, most of these rulers were priests corresponding in their political character to the Pharaohs, prophets of Israel, and the Brahmins of India.

256 For more, see chapter II:2.2.

257 MEANS 1931:70, 170. Writes MEANS: "It is well to note in passing that Father Montesinos always speaks of the earlier kings on the list as ruling from Cuzco... It is not

who has presented the idea that the archaeologically hypothesized theocrats or rulers of the Wari empire may be connected with Montesinos' king list, is M. ROSTWOROWSKI DE DIEZ CANSECO (1988). She also speculated if Inca Cusi Yupanqui adopted the name Pachacuti from the repetitive namesake predecessor perhaps derived from the Wari tradition.²⁵⁸

There is one common misapprehension concerning Montesinos' list of kings, which should be corrected. This exceptional king list has been compared and 'correlated' at face value with the canonic list of the Incas as it would also have been a list of Inca kings given by the other chroniclers. Montesinos makes it unmistakably clear in his narration that there existed the ancient dynasties in addition to that of the later Incas. The number of Incas 'proper' as given by Montesinos – eleven – is well in consensus (except for the omission of Pachacuti) with the other accounts. Hence, Montesinos' Pirhua-Amauta-Tampu-Tocco – king list should be treated as a separate and antecedent tradition in related with the canonic Inca version of history.

The best attempt thus far to analyze how Montesinos used and manipulated the king list, is the study by Sir Clements MARKHAM and P.A. MEANS in 1920.²⁵⁹ Even though IMBELLONI's study (1941) is more lengthy, it concentrated more on speculations of numbers and structures which may be deduced from the list.²⁶⁰ I repeat the basic points of MARKHAM's study here:

* Montesinos seems to have copied the king list from Blas Valera (whose total MS is now lost).

* The list Montesinos used seems to have been without information of the rulers. Montesinos may have been inspired to 'fill the gaps' and 'put flesh over the bones' seeing the long list of ancient kings with scanty references to events.

* Montesinos' imagination was of the doubling type. He usually recorded figures at about twice of their real value. Perhaps only about half of the kings presented in his list may have been historical.

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until he comes to the reign of the earliest historical Inca that he mentions Tiahuanaco by name...Folklore as preserved by Father Montesinos and other Chroniclers, contain numerous hints of many kinds of calamities, such as invasions by hostile strangers, changes of climate, divine displeasure, epidemics, and earthquakes. The vivid Fourteenth Chapter of the *Memorias antiguas* of Montesinos – one of the most authentic-seeming parts of that work – preserves a definite folk-remembrance of a time full of tumult and terror during which superstition overwhelmed orderly religious thinking, a time, also, of wide-spread disruption on the part of central government supplemented by a setting-up of innumerable small tribal communities throughout the highland zone." (ibid.)

258 According to ROSTWOROWSKI DE DIEZ CANSECO (1988:60), "Es sobre la base de este supuesto que nos permitimos aventurar que algunos soberanos waris llevaron el apelativo Pachacutec, y que Cusi Yupanqui opto por el nombre que le recordaba antiguas grandezas de aquella hegemonia, y que posiblemente se sintió heredero de los legendarios señores waris y deseó emularlos (ver la numerosa lista de soberanos dada por Montesinos, cabe la lejana posibilidad de que sea una lista de los señores waris)." Thomas JOYCE (1912) was presumably the first who suggested that Montesinos' kings were possibly sovereigns of the Tiahuanaco empire (see Appendix 12.)

259 MARKHAM & MEANS 1920, in the introduction of Montesinos' *Memorias...*, English edition.

260 IMBELLONI 1941:302–45.

* Montesinos transposed Biblical myths to theories of America's colonization by the descendants of Ophir and with the native Andean traditions and cosmology.

* Montesinos used various accounts given by several earlier chronicles without all the necessary acknowledgements. He has been accused of melting this information into his narrative uncritically.

* Most of the events 'borrowed' from the Inca history Montesinos replaced at the beginning of his narrative, for the first kings of the long list (e.g. Incaic deeds were assigned to pre-Incaic names).

* Narratives of the Paccaritampu-myth and the rise of the Incas from the leadership of Inca Roca originated from the pen of Valera. Equally many informative accounts of the Inca calendar (the change of equinoctial to solstitial calendar, for instance) and religion could also have originated from Valera.

* While Montesinos attributed many obviously later Inca historical events to early rulers on the list, he left a marked narrative gap, which some think he filled with omission of the greatest of the Incas, Pachacuti.²⁶¹

The major methods of manipulating documents are: outright or partial falsification, of which the two principal means in the latter method are interpolation and obliteration. A few additional working procedures that should be added to these two are: intertextual modification (restructuring and arbitrary compilation of facts), temporal and spatial adjustment (anachronism and localization), authority opportunism (imprinting and plagiarism), alongside with rationalization and elaboration (including narrative perfectionism and historicizing).²⁶²

The general method, which Montesinos may have used in his 'melting' is interpolation. Obliterations seems to occur also, but rarely. The only clear example of this is the omission of Inca Pachacuti, although there may be a more complex explanation for this also. He made many intertextual modifications too, restructuring events along the long chain of his narration.²⁶³ Anachronisms can be found frequently, but these are consistent with the process of restructuring.²⁶⁴ An example of localization can be found particularly in the emphasis given to the site of Cuzco throughout his narrative.²⁶⁵

In the appendix 7b I present the case of Saxo Grammaticus, a cleric and a fabulist ('proto') historian, who shared some common features with Montesinos. Both worked with a long list of rulers, ancient myths, and traditions. They had access to primary sources, but through works of their preceding writers. And they tried to compile and remodel a coherent story from

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261 MARKHAM 1920:13–15.

262 See, appendices 5 and 7.

263 Most of Montesinos' restructuring was replacements and transposition of Inca historical events in to new contexts.

264 E.g. the transposition of events belonging to the early imperial Incaic period back into the beginnings of the Pirua-dynasty (Montesinos [1644:lib.ii, caps.i-vii] 1882:1–47.)

265 See, Appendix 7 § 129.

various extant sources and traditions.²⁶⁶ There is no justification for accusing either of fabrication, especially when the prevailing practise and social atmosphere of their times is taken into account.²⁶⁷ But while they might have been working in ‘forgery fashion’ it is useful to return to reconstruct their probable method, because they can give us deductive tools to strip contradictions, anachronisms, restructuralizations etc. from complicated and confusing accounts like these. These tools can be found in the appendices 4b, 6c, 6d, 6b, 8a, 8c, 10, 10b, but especially in the appendices 4, 5 and 7. I emphasize the importance of Axel OLRIK’s principles here particularly (Appendix 7.)

I have used OLRIK’s principles to find more characteristics from Montesinos’ narrative. Possibly some of these features were only indirectly from the pen of Montesinos or his Spanish sources, and may have originated in native tradition itself and its manipulation and modification through time. OLRIK’s principles have been successfully used in Scandinavian oral narrative research (e.g. *Gesta Danorum* of Saxo Grammaticus) and I found them useful perceptive tools to be applied to narrative analysis of Montesinos’ text too.

I enumerate here only a few features found through my inspection: a more detailed presentation is in appendix 7.

*Montesinos’ narrative structure follows the ‘hour-glass’ formulation, commonly met in dynastic accounts of universal context.

*Textual elaboration, extension, and exaggeration can be expected from a Baroque writer.

*Narrative material is mixed with other narratives: to provide better argumentation and to bring the plot closer in empathy with times the narrator knows.

*In setting the narrative ‘horizon’ into an actual historical plot and adjust ‘localized’ events into a believable context, the author is rationalizing and historicizing the narrative plot and content by setting the narrative ‘horizon’ into an actual historical plot and adjusting ‘localized’ events into a believable context.

*Breaks in epic narrative coherence indicate possible survivals of historical reality.

An interesting similarity exists with the structuralization and correlations of time in the accounts of Saxo Grammaticus and Montesinos. In both narratives an important temporal watershed was fixed around the birth of Christ. At that time the Danes were ruled by the magnificent emperor Frothi III (“the Nordic Augustus”), and the Peruvian empire (at the height of its power) by the strong Manco Capac III.²⁶⁸ Both Saxo’s and Montesinos’ narratives address moral questions and ecclesiastical laws. Montesinos could have sought an identity between the Biblical God and the Andean Creator Illa Ticsi Viracocha. In the

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266 Compare, chapter I:4.

267 On universal forging, see chapter I:4 and appendix 5.

268 Saxo Grammaticus/Hilda Ellis DAVIDSON 1979–80, Part II:72; Montesinos (1644:lib.ii, cap.xiii) 1882:77-8. See note 277 below.

prehispanic narrative he frequently refers to native provincial idolatry and the ancient Peruvian rulers' attempts to extirpate it from their subjects.²⁶⁹ The period of wise Amauta-kings was interpreted by Montesinos as a kind of Golden Age in Peruvian history, a past 'Utopia' which the Incas later tried to restore.

It seems that Saxo Grammaticus compiled his long king list from various dynastic traditions. In number of cases he adjusted contemporary dynasties more or less as successive (see appendix 7b). It is very likely that Montesinos used a similar method in his reconstruction.

José IMBELLONI has called Montesinos "*Manethón y Beroso del Perú*". Manethón was a historian of Pharaonic dynasties and Beroso about the dynasties of Babylonia. Both used extended chronologies with reigns of fabulous lengths. In spite of all their exaggerations, a grand majority of the dynastic information given by Manethón and Beroso, has been verified as historical. Their fault was restructuring, not inventing names. Montesinos seems to have been a similar historian- correlator. To understand his process of correlation or editing, we have to search out all his possible sources.²⁷⁰

As stated earlier, Montesinos had ambitions to produce a major work which would be famous and respected like that of Garcilaso's, Acosta's etc.²⁷¹ It is possible to see him advancing toward this goal like a good Jesuit: with a resolute mind, using his diverse skills for his advantage, respecting the traditions and manners of natives in an unprejudiced way, and trying to build up a historical worldview in accordance with his best inner understanding.²⁷²

Mostly the Jesuit writers have presented distinctive views of the native Andean past in their narratives. The works of Montesinos, Anello Oliva, Anonymous Jesuit and Blas Valera contain dynastic histories from remote times predating the Incas. Juan Velasco wrote about pre- Incaic Cara rulers of Quito, and Francisco de Avila collected ancient traditions from the Huarochiri area. José de Arriaga was also interested in Central-Peruvian local traditions and even José Acosta presented a distinct interpretation of the formation of the Inca ruling house. Diego Andres Rocha did not write much about Peruvian ancient history, but presented theories of Israelite descent for the Indians like many of his co-religionists. An orthodox Jesuit seems to have been Bernabé Cobo, a famous chronicler and contemporaneous writer with Montesinos, who presented a more or less canonic interpretation of Inca history.²⁷³

269 Montesinos, *ibid.*, *passim*.

270 IMBELLONI 1941:273-4. See appendix 8c, where the king lists of Manetho and Montesinos are compared.

271 See chapter III:2.1. and MEANS 1928:409.

272 For more about Jesuits, consult chapter III:1.5.

273 Jorge CABRAL (1913:passim) has also noted these writing tendencies of Jesuit chroniclers of Peru. For Diego Andres Rocha, see e.g. MEANS 1928:440-2. I will refer to Juan Velasco's king list in chapter IV:1. in more detail. We may possibly include Cabello de Balboa in the list of Jesuit authors in Peru (MEANS 1931:50; HAGEN 1965:111). In his chronicle (1586) an account of pre-Incaic coastal dynasties is included. As has been stated, Cabello was also an advocate of Ophirian theory and Amerindian descent from Israelite roots.

The education and interests of the Jesuits were very history-oriented; explaining largely their deep orientation on native traditions. Their capacity of observation and understanding these traditions must have been successful since Jesuit missionary work required linguistic skills from their members. Hence, some of our best dictionaries and grammars of native languages are contributions of Jesuit Fathers. Diego de Torres Rubio (1603) and Diego González Holguín (1608) worked with Quechua, and Ludovico Bertonio (1612) with Aymara languages, for instance. Equally, their education was superior to any other available during the Reformation Era. Blas Valera, José Acosta, Bernabé Cobo, and the said linguists, for instance, have been ranked among the foremost chroniclers of their time.²⁷⁴ One could suspect that these skills allowed to them more capacity of observation and evaluating information through the lenses of objectivity.

If there are teleological tendencies and ecclesiastical doctrines in Montesinos' work, it would not brand him as an individual but rather, as a well indoctrinated representative of his religious Society in general. Montesinos was a licentiate in Canon Law, a lawyer to whom many positions of trust were given. He was a respected citizen and official in Lima. He even enjoyed the favour of the Holy Office (Inquisition). He probably gained wealth, respect, and very likely a work and hobby which gave him satisfaction. In sum, to attain the publication of his work Montesinos distinguished himself prominently in two distinct arenas: the legal and religious – a common combination for a Jesuit.²⁷⁵

We have noticed earlier (chapter II:2), that the idea of Mesoamerican cycles could have influenced Montesinos' temporal structuring of his narrative. Equally, the Judeo-Christian and Western concept of time and chronology are well represented there too. The concept of *Pachacuti*-periodization instead may be of Andean origin, but evidently Montesinos elaborated it further according to his own interests and perceptions. Montesinos correlated the schedule of the king list with the Judeo-Christian calendar. Into this scheme are also interwoven native Peruvian (and perhaps Mesoamerican) notions of time (see chapter II :2). So the Great Deluge and birth of Christ are important reference points in Montesinos' narrative history. According to him, Ophir's followers settled in Peru 340 years after the Deluge. 660 years after that event

274 For estimation of Cobo, see e.g. MEANS 1928:349–57; KARSTEN 1946:40–1; ROWE 1946:194–5. For Acosta, see e.g. MARKHAM 1880; MEANS 1928:287–95. For Diego González Holguín, see PORRAS BARRANECHEA 1952. For Ludovico Bertonio, see ALBO & LAYME 1984. For Jesuits, see chapter III:1:5.

275 Compare ideological forging, appendix 5. The Jesuit education and vocation provided a more experimental and resourceful capabilities for historical and ethnographic recording than most Medieval and early Modern era clerical organizations. Most chroniclers, for instance, were cloistered monks, whose knowledge of the events which they recorded was entirely at second hand. Therefore their accounts of many things was vague. Jesuits instead travelled all around the world, studied native tongues, and did research on many distinctive fields. For narrow outlook of clerical accountants, see e.g. GEORGE 1909:57.

(which occurred in Peru), the royal line in Cuzco was established.²⁷⁶ The birth of Christ occurred in this chronology 2950 years after the Deluge when the Amauta empire was at the height of its power.²⁷⁷ From the beginning of the line 60 kings have ruled, with the average reigns falling into ca. 38 years. The fall of the Tampu-Tocco dynasty occurred during the reign of Pachacuti the Eighth, which happened, according to Montesinos, when 4000 years had elapsed since the Deluge.²⁷⁸ This would be about A.D. 950 or 1000. *Ms Universitaria* has a blank in this place, but in *Ms de la Merced* we have an implicit reference that there existed about one hundred years gap before the Incas started their rule. Montesinos affirms that the Inca rule lasted only 400 years,²⁷⁹ which would have it to begin in A.D. 1100 and to reconstruct the pre-Inca lists from that point. In the narrative of Incas, Montesinos gives a special weight to the reign of Huiracocha. The era of Sixth Sun culminated at his time. As has been noticed, the accounts of two principal manuscripts of *Memorias* differ slightly in enumeration of the kings. The serial number of Huiracocha in earlier *Ms (de la Merced)* is 97th, but 100th in later *Ms (Universitaria)*. The correlation between a neat figure of 100, culmination of the Sixth Sun, and the prominence of Inca Huiracocha, is obviously an intentional synchronization which Montesinos worked out.²⁸⁰

What was the basis for Montesinos' calculations and other correlations? In spite that it does not fit with the ecclesiastical chronology of Gregory of Tours, it was quite close to that of Usher's which sets the Creation date at 4004 B.C. Since it was thought that the Deluge occurred 1000 years after the Creation, we approach to the figures given by Montesinos. However, Usher's chronology was diffused only in the mid 1600s and we cannot be certain whether Montesinos was aware of Usher's or did he use some other basis for his calculations.²⁸¹

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276 Montesinos (1644:lib.ii, cap.i) 1882:1-5.

277 Montesinos (1644:lib.ii, cap.xiii) 1882:77-8. Writes Montesinos: "Dicen los amautas, que al segundo año del reinado de Manco Capac se cumplió el cuarto sol de la Creacion, que son cuatro mil años, poco ménos, y dos mil novecientos y tantos despues del Diluvio general, y contando año por año, viene á ser el primero nacimiento de Cristo, Señor nuestro. Tuvo este rey Manco por este tiempo la mayor potencia que tuvo el reino peruano jamás ántes de aquel tiempo. Segun la cuenta destes peruanos, faltaban cuarenta y tres años para el entero cumplimiento de los cuatro soles..."

278 Montesinos (1644:lib.ii, cap.xv) 1882:90. Writes Montesinos: "A los veintisiete años despues del Diluvio y el quinto sol de la creacion del Mundo, y por esto se llamó Pachacuti, octavo deste nombre, en cuyo tiempo acabó el vicio de corromper las buenas costumbres, y ya la sodomía era pecado político." Compare appendices 10 and 10b.

279 For the interval, consult *Ms de la Merced* ([1642:lib.ii, cap.xvi] 1870:67-8): "pocos mas de cien años despues del diluvio principió este monstruo, que duro hasta pasados algunos de nuestra redencion." and *Ms Universitaria* ([1644:lib.ii, cap.xvi] 1882:91): "Duró este pecado, desde los años del Diluvio hasta el de...[blank] nuestra Redencion, por más de...[blank] continuos." For Montesinos' statement that Inca rule lasted 400 years ([1644:lib.ii, cap.vii] 1882:46): "Si no es que digamos que este gobierno especial de los ingas fué de cuatrocientos años á esta parte, que esto es verdad, como veremos su lugar."

280 Montesinos (1644:lib.ii, cap.xiii) 1882:75-6. Compare chapter III:2.2.

281 Anglo-Irish Bishop James Ussher's chronological researches were published in the 1650s (*The New Encyclopedia Britannica, Micropedia* 1994. Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc., Chicago. Vol. 12, p. 214. For more about chronologies, see chapter II:2.

In conclusion, we now have reviewed most of the characteristics (both alleged and confirmed) in the writings of Montesinos. Most of these features constitute reasonable probabilities. Montesinos was a typical writer of the Baroque era, an era which favored fantastic and exaggerated stories, preoccupation with history but with verisimilitude, curiously nuanced truths, and orientation on cosmic catastrophes and dynamism. He appears to us like a skillful Jesuit, who probably took very seriously the Society's motto: the end justifies the means. For some reason unknown to us, he never emphasized his true relationship to the Jesuit Order. I have suggested that he may have been disfavored by other Jesuits due to his Judeo-orientated historiography. Nevertheless, as a cleric he was working and doing research in a Scholastic and analytic fashion. As a licentiate of Canon law he would have paid special attention to moral and legal questions. He seems to have conducted his mineralogical pursuits effectively and was able to produce a manual for what was the "cutting edge of science".

His relationship with Judaism may seem ambivalent, considering the prominent role he played in the Inquisition in Peru, when one contrasts this with the implication of his presumably Jewish surname and the possibility that he met and exchanged opinions with a Dutch Montesinos in Ecuador who was a devout Jew. If, as the reports we were able to uncover, he was held back early in his career because of suspected Jewish ancestry, it could well be that Montesinos in all his public acts made a point of being anti-semitic; while as a private person he could maintain relationships with Jews, and it is even conceivable that by using the connection between the Jewish origin for native Americans, he was fundamentally developing an ecumenical Thesis. This would certainly explain why he has the Golden Age Amautas extirpating idolatry!²⁸²

Fernando de Montesinos was a person who fitted into his times perfectly. He lived during the High early Spanish Baroque, the most glorious period of the Jesuit order, and the florescence of Spanish Middle Scholasticism. Writes BALDWIN (1872), his first supporter:

"That was an age of fanciful theories. Montesinos is certainly no worse than others in this respect, while he has the merit of being somewhat more original. [Referring to his Ophir theory]...Undue importance has been accorded to several of the old Spanish chroniclers, whose works contain suggestions and fancies much more irrational. In the second place, his theories have nothing to whatsoever to do with his facts, by which they are sometimes contradicted...It would have been singular if his careful investigation, continued through fifteen years, had not given him a great amount of information which others had never taken pains to acquire."²⁸³

282 R. SCHAEDEL (1996, personal communication) has here given important viewpoints and connotations on Montesinos' relationship with Judaism.

283 BALDWIN 1872:261-76. For more about theories of Ophir, Acosta (1588-1590:lib.i, cap.xiii-xiv) 1880:37-42; Montesinos (1644:lib.i) 1869-70; Cobo (1653:lib.i, cap.xv-xx)

Even RIVERO & TSCHUDI (1855), who were among his first serious critics, wrote enthusiastically: "Devoting himself with great eagerness to the ancient history of the memoire of the Incas, collecting all the traditions and songs of the natives, gathering knowledge from the most learned Indians relative to past events, profiting by the unpublished manuscripts compiled under the direction of F. Luis-Lopez, bishop of Quito (consecrated in 1588), and studying antiquities with so much zeal, that none equaled him in archaeological knowledge."²⁸⁴

After this inspection, my perceptions of Montesinos as a chronicler and an author reveal strong supportive arguments for it to be equalized with other sources of importance, which are narrating the ethnohistorical Andean past. In this re-evaluated position his work should be treated as an invaluable piece of testimonial evidence, which, if studied carefully and without bias, may reveal interesting clues to be connected with actual Andean prehistory. A mass of archaeological data (in pointing to the major field of circumstantial evidence) discovered in the past 50 years, could be used for this purpose. Such a correlational attempt is a major topic of the next part of this study.

I summarize here the authors whose ideas have contributed the development of Montesinos redivivus and the present analysis of his king list. This had led to my hypothesis which is:

One of the three pre-Incaic dynasties in Montesinos' chronicle represents the rulers of Wari empire. The other two perhaps were contemporaneous dynasties flourishing during the Late Intermediate period. The names of the kings in all three lists indicate a divergent linguistic origin: Quechua, Aymara, and Puquina. The distinction between Wari and Tiahuanaco has been indicated archaeologically and we have more or less subsumed that the two hegemonies were for a time co-existent (perhaps from with the Vilcañota knot demarcating the Wari Quechua-speakers from the Puquina/Aymara south of the knot in Titicaca). Montesinos' account confirms this distinction by referring frequently to hostilities in the Collao front (although there is no clear-cut mention of a Wari dominion). The pre-Incaic dynastic tradition survived in certain provincial areas of Tahuantinsuyo, otherwise the Inca dynastic propaganda tried hard to exclude it from their historical canon.

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1964:41–55; BLUMENTHAL 1931: 17–29; DURAND 1979. Miguel Cabello Balboa was one of the chroniclers who actually supported the idea that the Indians were descended from the Biblical Ophir (1586:lib.i, cap.9) 1951:256–64. On the other hand, Acosta and Cobo presented these theories in their narration, but were not supporting them.

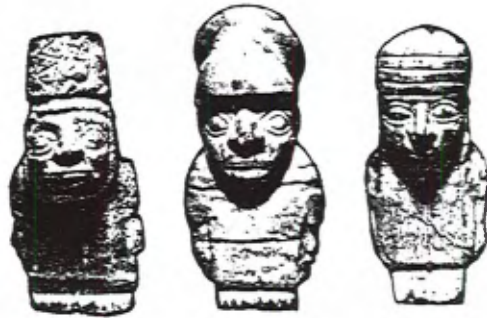
284 RIVERO & TSCHUDI 1855:65–6. I have used mostly in my references the more popular English edition of RIVERO & TSCHUDI's work, although it was originally published in Spanish. Compare therefore, *Antiquedades peruanas*, 2 tomos, Viena 1851.

THE CONTRIBUTED IDEAS FOR THE PRESENT ANALYSIS OF MONTESINOS' KING LIST

Linguistics	Dynastic structure	Archaeological connection	Blas Valera connection
BOLLAERT (1860) the etymology of the names in king lists	LOPEZ (1871) three distinct dynasties	GONZALEZ DE LA ROSA (1907) Tiahuanaco connection proposed	GONZALEZ DE LA ROSA (1907) Valera = Anonymous Jesuit
MARKHAM (1920)	UHLE (1912) compilation of the list from distinct traditions	JOYCE (1912)	MARKHAM (1910-20)
VASQUEZ (1930)	LATCHAM (1928) contemporaries adjusted as successive	MEANS (1920) an application of the king list to the archaeological chronology	
	METRAUX (1961)	PARDO (1946-57)	
	BOEHM DE LAMEIRAS (1987)	IBARRA GRASSO (1969) applies a connection toward the south and Altiplano	PORRAS BARRENECHEA (1962) Valera // Anonymous Jesuit
		ROSTWOROWSKI D.D.C. (1988) Wari connection proposed	HYLAND (1998) Valera=Anonymous Jesuit

Part three

Correlation of historical (testimonial evidence) with circumstantial (e.g. archaeological) evidence in the Andes



■ IV. The correlation of non- and Inca dynastic traditions with absolute dating

1. Ethnohistorical testimonial evidence in the Andes

The modern ethnohistorical research in the Andes can be divided in three phases (according to Terence D'ALTROY, 1987.) The first phase prevailed until the mid-1950s and research was mainly focused on principal chronicles. The idea of uniform, centrally controlled, and homogenous Inca polity dominated. John Howland ROWE was among the best known scholars of the field.¹

A shift to the second phase occurred with the completion of John MURRA's (1955) dissertation on the Inca economy, and Tom ZUIDEMA's (1962/64) study on Inca cosmology and social structure. At this time functionalist and structuralist models and interpretations entered upon the scene.²

A final development in Andean ethnohistory began in the 1970s, when the use of regional documents, such as the *visitas* was exploited properly. María ROSTWOROWSKI focused on documents pertaining to central Peruvian coastal societies, Waldemar ESPINOZA SORIANO produced several important ethnographies from various regions in the Andes, and Frank

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1 ROWE 1944, 1945, 1946, 1948, 1967, 1978, 1985. ROWE's classic work (1946) was a landmark open-ended overview on Inca culture (before the actual recognition of ethnohistorical research). Other classic syntheses of Inca culture, are works of BAUDIN (1928), MEANS (1931), CUNOW (1937), KARSTEN (1949), and METRAUX (1960), for instance. (SCHAEDL 1988:768.) Compare also e.g. CUNOW's early work (1896).

2 ZUIDEMA 1964, 1975, 1989, 1989b, 1989c, 1989d, 1990, 1992; MURRA (1955) 1980, 1968, 1982, 1988. Craig MORRIS (1988:251-4) refers to studies of Graziano GASPARINI & Luise MARGOLIES (1980) on Inca architecture, and John HYSLOP's (1984) Inca road system as good examples of successful functional studies in the Andes. He adds, however, that "while championing the contribution that functional studies can make to numerous issues regarding the Inca period, one must hasten to recommend caution. The broad applicability of the approach for complex societies has not yet been demonstrated. It is obviously difficult, costly, and not appropriate to all sites and regions. Yet it clearly does work for certain topics and cases; storage is perhaps its greatest success to date."

R. T. ZUIDEMA's study (1964) of the *ceques* and social organization of Cuzco is a classic and pioneering structuralist work in the Andean research. It has provided invaluable insights into the Andean ideology, but many of its arguments and conclusions have been perceived as complicated and controversial. (CONRAD & DEMAREST 1984:288, n.57; MORRIS 1988:255). "Furthermore, the avowed goal of his analyses is to discover the basic cognitive structures shared by all native Andean societies, pre- and post-Conquest alike. This search for Pan-Andean similarities seeks to strip away, rather than explain, synchronic differences and diachronic changes in Andean cultures. Therefore, it runs counter to our attempt to find the unique factors responsible for the transformations of Inca society" (CONRAD & DEMAREST, *ibid.*)

SALOMON studied sources in Ecuador and the Huarochiri area. Other scholars, like Nathan WACHTEL and Franklin PEASE, concentrated on *emic* views and problems of cultural contacts and acculturation.³

The general development of the Andean ethnohistorical research is well characterized by Richard P. SCHAEDEL. According to him (1988), it was only after 1945 when strictly anthropological research was undertaken, while the ethnohistorians begun research around 1960. Moreover, a change of focus from phenomenological to ideational in Andean studies occurred in 1960's. By the late '60's "the main emphasis was the elucidation of Andean people's cognition, whether the sources were ethnohistoric or ethnographic." SCHAEDEL concludes, that the image of Andean socio-cultural sphere has changed so profoundly in the course of the last three decades of ethnohistorical research, that "everything that had been accepted as axiomatic about the Incas has been subject to reappraisal."⁴

The approach chosen for the present study is broadly following the historicist path marked by J. H. ROWE. It contradicts in many aspects the structuralist approach, and corresponds with the functionalist viewpoints only tangentially. The major problem with the structuralist approach is its ahistorical nature and the lack of an adequate interdisciplinary linkage with the archaeological data.⁵

In the Andes two better known attempts to use historical dates from oral tradition in dating ceramic phase transitions are studies of ROWE (1944) and JULIEN (1983); the former working in Cuzco and the latter at Hatunqolla.⁶ More successfully, however, archaeological data have been adjusted with ethnohistory on the Northern Coast of Peru, in the studies of KOSOK (1965), and more recently in e.g. KOLATA (1990), CONRAD (1990), and DONNAN (1990).⁷ A number of dynastic records exist from other areas too, but attempts to correlate them with diachronic archaeological data have been more problematic.⁸ Michael SMITH (1987), who has examined the problems and potentials to correlate archaeological and ethnohistorical records in the Central Mexican area, suggests a methodological approach in which these "two kinds

3 ROSTWOROWSKI DE DIEZ CANSECO 1961, 1969-70, 1983, 1988, 1990; PEASE 1968, 1978, 1978c, 1981, 1982, 1991; ESPINOZA SORIANO 1974, 1975, 1981, 1987; WACHTEL 1977, 1986; SALOMON 1978, 1982, 1991.

4 SCHAEDEL 1988:768-9, 1992:235. Read also, e.g. ADAMS 1962; PEASE 1976/1977; SALOMON 1982; and NETHERLY 1988.

5 According to MORRIS (1988:254), "the wedding of the structuralist-oriented studies of the written sources and modern ethnographic evidence to the results of archaeology is tentative and difficult." According to KEATINGE (1988b:313), "While the classic view of Inca society found in the chronicles, still best presented in John Rowe's seminal work of the 1940s, can be accepted as a fairly accurate portrayal of the situation which existed in the center of the empire, the classic view must be tempered considerably in reference to the provinces incorporated into the expanding state." The functionalist studies usually have concentrated on provincial perspectives and the historicist approach has been more 'Cuzco-centered'.

6 A reference in Michael E. SMITH (1987:38), "The Expansion of the Aztec Empire: A Case Study in the Correlation of Diachronic Archaeological and Ethnohistorical Data", *American Antiquity*, vol.52 (Nr.1, January):37-54.

7 Consult next chapter.

8 Consult chapter IV:1.3.

of data must be kept separate and allowed to yield their own independent conclusions before correlation is attempted.”⁹ I have used this statement as a guiding principle in the following approach and attempt to build up a coherent and plausible correlation between Montesinos’ testimony and diachronic archaeological records and other circumstantial evidences.

1.1. The Incas

A common, conventional starting point for the Inca imperial expansion has been the event of Chanca victory (ca. 1438). During the subsequent decades a growing number of tribes and nations were incorporated into the entity which became known as *Tahuantinsuyu* “The four corners working together”. In the beginning of the sixteenth century the Incas were ruling at least the third largest empire in the World, and as Richard SCHAEDEL (1978) has stated: “largest territorial state in universal history to be united by non-quadrupedal locomotion.”¹⁰

The maximum Inca imperial era was not of long duration – hardly four generations (1438–1533) – until Spain broke its power and further development. In archaeology and cultural history this imperial period is known as Late Horizon, during which a distinct Inca style in art and architecture spread all over the Andes.¹¹

A fairly good agreement among the Andean scholars exists on the chronology and dynastic history of the Late Horizon Incas. The reigns of the emperors: Pachacuti (1438–1471), Tupac Yupanqui (1471–1493), Huayna Capac (1493–1528), Huascar (1528–1532), and Atahualpa (1532–1533), are largely based on the chronology of Cabello de Balboa, which is accepted as most plausible.¹² Most of the territorial expansion occurred during the reigns

9 SMITH, *ibid.*, 37. I got a clue of this study from PÄRSSINEN (1993), who used the same approach in his interpretation of Pacajes’ ethnohistorical past.

10 The rapid expansion of the Inca empire following the Chanca war, is commonly accepted among the Andeanists today. This is also a view given by most of the trusted original sources of consequence, e.g. Betanzos, Cieza de León, Cabello de Balboa, Sarmiento de Gamboa, Cobo etc., a view supported by the archaeological evidence also. Compare, ROWE 1946; SCHAEDEL 1978; RAFFINO 1981; HYSLOP 1984; PÄRSSINEN 1992; SCHREIBER 1992; MALPASS 1993. In the beginning of the sixteenth century the Ottoman Empire and Ming-China were the largest empires in the world. In the third position were either the Incas or Russia (compare, e.g. BARRACLOUGH 1979.) For the citation “largest territorial state...”, SCHAEDEL 1978:292. The population of the Inca Empire could have exceeded to 14 million (HYSLOP 1990:291.), and its area could have covered 1 700 000–2 000 000 km² (ESPINOZA SORIANO 1987:480; KLAUER 1990:37. According to PÄRSSINEN, the Inca Empire extended into the eastern forests far wider than has been thought. See, PÄRSSINEN 1992:139. Map 11.) For Tahuantinsuyu; *tahua* = four, *suyu* = part, one of the four major provinces of the Inca realm, *ntin* = together with; i.e. “four corners working together” (González Holguín [1608] 1952:333-6; MARKHAM 1972:148; SCHAEDEL 1998, personal consultation)

11 DOYLE 1986; SCHREIBER 1992.

12 Cabello de Balboa (1586:caps.xix-xx) 1951:341–361. Cabello gives the year 1525 as the date of Huayna Capac’s death. Although this date has been referred to on many occasions, estimates usually range between 1524 and 1528. The discussion of this problem, see e.g. WEDIN 1963 and ROWE 1945, 1978. I have followed here ROWE (1978:86), who places the death of Huayna Capac at 1527 or 1528. I have also used Cabello’s figure, 1525 (HILTUNEN 1981.), previously.

of Pachacuti and his son Tupac Yupanqui. They also were responsible of major building projects, socio-political reforms, and the spread of imperial ideology.¹³

This scheme of rapid Inca expansion is currently opened to re-examination. Archaeological evidence in Southern Peru and Bolivian Altiplano suggest a somewhat earlier starting point for Inca expansion. The dates from archaeological record seems to indicate that the spread of Inca style (e.g. ceramics) started at least in 14th century.¹⁴

The archaeology of the Late Intermediate Period (and Late Horizon) and specifically the Incas (around Cuzco) has usually been defined by using ROWE's chronology.¹⁵ A dominant Late Intermediate Period pottery style in Cuzco region is called Killke, and it has usually been associated with the pre-imperial Incas. It was for the first time formally identified by J.H. ROWE (1944) and in his chronological considerations (which were mainly based on guesses of Inca dynastic length) he set the beginning of this style around A.D. 1200.¹⁶ However, in the recent studies of McEWAN (1987, 1989, 1991, 1994, 1995) and BAUER (1990, 1992, 1992b) it has been indicated that Killke-style was 200 years older – beginning around A.D. 1000. These studies have also indicated that it was distributed widely throughout the region and not only in the valley of Cuzco.¹⁷ According to ROWE (1946), Killke style displays some relationship to the presumably contemporary Collao 'black-on-red' (Tiahuanaco post-decadent), which is common in the Department of Puno.¹⁸ The Killke style is also viewed as stylistically related to Lucre styles, some of which imitated Wari ceramics, and it has been suggested that it was derived from the Middle Horizon local Qotakalli style.¹⁹ Killke architecture is poorly known compared with its pottery relics, but Inca-style stone structures from e.g. Urubamba-valley sites have provided radiocarbon dates which fall between A.D. 1291 and 1390.²⁰ Recent studies in the Pacajes-region also suggest that

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13 See, e.g. ROWE 1945, 1946; BRUNDAGE 1963/1985; PÄRSSINEN 1992.

14 E.g. Gordon McEWAN's excavations in the Lucre basin indicate more continuity between the Inca and Wari, and Albert MEYER's research, which may detect Inca stylistic influence in e.g. Bolivia "long before the Rowe school would admit Inca political formation." A forthcoming book of Terry D'ALTROY and Brian BAUER argues that C14 dates and MEYER's research in Bolivia would push the dated Inca expansion to pre-Pachacutec times. (Personal communication from W. ISBELL and R. SCHAEDEL, 1998.) Already Åke WEDIN criticized ROWE's chronology in his study (1963), and doubted that the Incas were not able to conquer such a vast territory within a short period starting around A.D. 1438.

15 See, ROWE 1944, 1945, 1946.

16 ROWE 1944. See also, e.g. PARDO 1957; IBARRA GRASSO 1969; RIVERA DORADO 1971; GONZALES CORRALES 1984; HUIDOBRO BELLIDO 1993.

17 See e.g. BAUER & STANISH 1990:1–17. DAVIES (1995:26) writes in stead: "admittedly, evidence for the association of the Incas with the Killke pottery seems to be somewhat tenuous at present, but the notion that they were basically native to the valley of Cuzco nevertheless merits serious consideration."

18 ROWE 1946:199. For Tiahuanaco post-decadent ceramics, see e.g. RYDEN 1947. For Collao Black-on-red, see e.g. TSCHOPIK 1946.

19 McEWAN 1987:80–2.

20 BAUER 1992:45–8. See also, GONZALES CORRALES 1984.

“Cuzco-style” “Inca” architecture and ceramics existed in the Titicaca area, antedating the Late Horizon or commonly accepted date for the beginnings of Inca imperial expansion.²¹

This new view confirms at least Cieza de León’s (1550–3) account in which extensive campaigns of conquest were carried out by Inca Viracocha in Southern Peru and Bolivia. According to Garcilaso de la Vega (1609), Vásquez de Espinoza (1629), Montesinos (1642–4), and Cobo (1653), Inca Roca was the first Inca who subdued the Chancas.²² As a matter of fact, archaeological projects in southern Peru are providing new perspectives on the Incaic beginnings – suggesting a closer relationship to the Titicacan area and getting in this way better correlation with ethnohistorical and even mythological data. I will focus this correlation within the regnal period between Inca Roca and Viracocha (ca. 1350–1438),²³ which, as current archaeology and ethno-historical evidence seems to confirm, was the time when Inca state was created and launched its territorial expansion. Montesinos’ account is well in accordance with this perspective. In chapter V I present a scheme how Montesinos’ chronicle in this respect correlates with the new archaeological perception.

Next I have to take a stand on the fundamental question regarding the nature of Inca dynastic structure.

During the past few decades the idea and theory of dyarchy and simultaneous Inca kings has gained some support. This model has been presented and speculated on by the following scholars at least: ZUIDEMA (1962/64), DUVIOLS (1979), ROSTWOROWSKI DE DIEZ CANSECO (1983), PÄRSSINEN (1992), and REGALADO de HURTADO (1993).²⁴ In this model, the two-fold division of Cuzco, Hurin and Hanan, is seen as a basis for two parallel dynasties. The studies of ZUIDEMA, ROSTWOROWSKI DE DIEZ

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21 Martti PÄRSSINEN has carried on excavations in the Pacajes-area and at Caquaviri particularly in the 1990s, and found evidences that “Inca” style ceramics and architecture were in use in the Titicacan area already in the 14th century. In dating these sites and samples both radiocarbon analysis and technics of thermoluminescence were used (PÄRSSINEN 1993; 1996, personal communication.) Nigel DAVIES (1995:39) summarizes the question of Inca origins as follows: “it is not inconceivable that the Incas represented a unique blend arising from a merging of migrants from the Lake Titicaca area with peoples native to the Cuzco region.”

22 For Viracocha’s conquests, consult Cieza de León [1550-3:lib.ii, caps.xxxviii-xliiii] 1986:112–28. For Inca Roca’s conquest of Chancas, see Garcilaso [1609:lib.iv, cap.xv] 1976:tomo i:195-7; Vásquez de Espinoza [1629:cap.lxxxii] 1942:574–5; Montesinos [1644:lib.ii, caps.xxi-xxii] 1882:120–29; and Cobo [1653:lib.xii, cap.ix] 1964:72–3. According to Cieza de León ([1550-3:lib.ii, cap.xxxv] 1986:105–7), Inca Roca made conquests in the Cunti-suyu region. The account of Quipucamayos ([1542–44] 1974:32–3) is somewhat confusing in this matter, since its relation to Inca Yuhuar Huacac differs profoundly from other sources. As other sources generally refer to him as a invalid and cowardly ruler, this source maintains that “Este fué belicoso; sujetó toda la provincia de Condesuyos hasta la costa y la provincia de Chucuito hasta el Desaguerado, y por Omasuyo hasta Guancane.”

23 The reign of Inca Viracocha has been set to ca. 1400–1438 by BRUNDAGE (1963/1985:317) and myself (HILTUNEN 1993:195). I have suggested for his predecessors the following reigns: Yuhuar Huacac (ca. 1380–1400) and Inca Roca (ca. 1350–1380) (ibid.)

24 ZUIDEMA 1962, 1990, 1990b; DUVIOLS 1979, 1979b; ROSTWOROWSKI DE DIEZ CANSECO 1983; PÄRSSINEN 1992:171–235; REGALADO de HURTADO 1993.

CANSECO, and REGALADO de HURTADO are more theoretical in nature and speculate with the ideal socio-structural models,²⁵ whereas DUVIOLS and PÄRSSINEN have considered these simultaneously ruling lineages as historical possibilities.²⁶ DUVIOLS supports dualism and thence a model of dyarchy, and PÄRSSINEN speculates with possibilities of three parallel lineages ruling simultaneously at Cuzco.²⁷ Although these models emphasize hierarchical ranking between the lineages and state in a way that one lineage head was considered as *cacique principal* and other/others as *segunda persona*, this model differs profoundly from the traditional presentation of Inca dynastic structure.²⁸

These modern theories are mainly based on the accounts of two chroniclers, Polo de Ondegardo and José de Acosta, and to a common Andean moiety-division into 'upper' and 'lower' halves.²⁹ According to José de Acosta, the two lineages, Hanan- and Hurin-Cuzco, generated from the founding father, Manco Capac:

<i>Hanan-Cuzco</i>	<i>Hurin-Cuzco</i>
Manco Capac	
Ingaroca	Sinchi Rocca
Yaguarguaque	Ccapac Yupanqui
Viracocha	Lloqui Yupanqui
Pachacuti	Mayta Ccapac
Tupac Yupanqui I	Tarcoguaman
Tupac Yupanqui II	?
Guainacapa	Don Juan Tambo ³⁰
Huascar	

 25 Compare, ZUIDEMA 1962:passim; ROSTWOROWSKI DE DIEZ CANSECO 1983:114–79; REGALADO de HURTADO 1993:passim. ZUIDEMA thinks that each major division at Cuzco, Hanan and Hurin, possibly had their own heads in a similar fashion as in Chucuito. The head of Hanan was also for the whole and the head of Hurin his '*segunda persona*'. He adds that their hierarchical relationship was like between *churi* and *concha* (ZUIDEMA 1995, personal communication.) ZUIDEMA states also (1986: 180), that "even if a dual Inca dynasty might be preferred, comparing it to other Andean institutions outside Cuzco, we do not know whether or how such a dual dynasty really did exist in Cusco." ROSTWOROWSKI (ibid., 131–2) elaborates on this theme "but agrees that any suggestion of dual government is purely a hypothesis, almost impossible to prove in practise." (DAVIES 1995:30.)

26 See, DUVIOLS 1979b; PÄRSSINEN 1992:171–235.

27 For three simultaneous kings at Cuzco, see PÄRSSINEN 1992:207–27.

28 PÄRSSINEN 1992:200–35. The title *segunda persona* is a Spanish translation from the Quechua term *Incap ranti* or *Apup ranti*, which means literally 'adviser', 'delegate' or 'substitute'. "It may have been an honorary title with real power still in the hands of the governors. The office must be distinguished from the Inca's private secretary who passed on the royal commands and reported all matters back to him. This person was the *Huchayachac* 'He who knows the matters'", writes BRUNDAGE (1967/1985:413–4). Compare, Santo Tomás ([1560] 1951:345–6), *randic* is 'el que compra o rende', *randicac* is 'sucesor, que succede a otra', *randini* is 'compras, o vea der algo'. According to González Holguín ([1608] 1952:313), *rantinacukmaci* is 'el antecesor' and *rantinacuquey* is 'el sucesor'. This word means the same in Aymara; Beronio ([1612] 1879:188), *llanti* is 'el sucesor'.

29 Compare, Acosta (1588–90) 1880, 1987; Polo de Ondegardo (1559) 1916, (1571) 1917.

30 Acosta (1588–90:lib.vi, caps.xx-xxiii) 1880:429–36.

Acosta describes the Hanan-lineage as being superior and narrates events of their reigns, but the Hurin-cuzcos are recorded plainly by their names only. He believed that the Inca rule lasted some 400 years. Acosta who wrote between 1588–90, used Polo de Ondegardo as his principal source and obviously copied this model from him.³¹ But he must have reasoned and interpreted his source in rather an original way, since Polo de Ondegardo does not present anywhere this kind of parallelism. He states instead, that there were two lineages, and seemingly understood them to be successive as the majority of chronicles have presented them. For example, in one place Polo de Ondegardo clearly refers to Inca Viracocha as the eighth ruler in line. He names only one Tupac Yupanqui, but gives the name Tarco Huaman which appears in Acosta's list too. Polo de Ondegardo has set the name Capac Yupanqui in the second place on the Hurin-line, while most other sources have placed him as a successor of Mayta Capac and thus at the fifth position.³² We have every reason to doubt that Polo has been mistaken here. Polo de Ondegardo does not mention successors for Tarco Huaman, Don Juan Pablo for instance, which also indicate that the Hurin line did not extend concurrently with the Hanan up to Conquest times in his thinking. Therefore the idea of parallel dynasties seems to have originated from Acosta's misunderstanding, which was not even his sole inadvertence, because he doubled Tupac Yupanqui and copied misplaced Capac Yupanqui,³³ although other sources referring to his common position were presumably available to him. One may also suggest that the earliest source which gives the canonic list of Inca kings, the Quipocamayos' account for Vaca de Castro (1544), was possibly known to Polo de Ondegardo too.³⁴

Ancient chiefdoms and kingdoms used to give at times dictatorial powers for chosen leaders during the time of crisis.³⁵ In territorial, political empires the status of crisis was more or less chronic. So the very survival of hegemonic status had much to do with the ability and authority of its leaders. Extensive dissonant areas integrated into political entity were constantly creaking at the joints, even more so the farther off they were situated from the core. Provincial

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 31 For Polo de Ondegardo as Acosta's source, consult Acosta (1588–90:lib. vi,cap.i) 1880:391; MARKHAM 1880:v; MEANS 1928:289; PÄRSSINEN 1992: 204. There is an obvious chronological disparity in Acosta's account if his 400-year Inca rule is correlated with a dynastic depth of only 7–8 generations. This corresponds to 50–57 regnal years per a king, instead if the traditional 11–12 generation is used – allowing then “only” 33–36 years per reign. Even the latter, however, is far beyond a reasonable average, as my study has indicated (see chapter II:3.)

32 For Inca Viracocha as the eighth in line, see Polo de Ondegardo (1571:tercer punto) 1917:115. For one Tupac Yupanqui and Tarco Huaman, see Polo de Ondegardo (1559:cap.iii) 1916:10. For Capac Yupanqui, *ibid.* Compare the canonic Inca list in the Appendix 2.

33 Acosta, *ibid.*; Polo de Ondegardo, *ibid.*

34 This is a questionable statement, but Polo de Ondegardo seems to have had access to various accordant sources since he was a high judicial official and co-operated with Toledan and other administrators after he arrived to Peru in 1545 (MEANS 1928:428–33.) Compare, Quipocamayos (1542–1544) 1920.

35 Examples of this practise exists in the ancient Mediterranean area particularly. Democratic city states in Greece and pre-imperial Roman period, chose occasionally dictators too. (AXELROD & PHILLIPS 1995:passim).

governors with border armies behind were potential pretenders to the throne, and successful generals likewise. That is why naked power was more or less a rule in most ancient territorial empires.³⁶ Examples when the territorial empires were effectively ruled by the dual principle alone are almost nonexistent in universal history. Functional dyarchy may be based on socio-political backgrounds, as was the case in a few ancient kingdoms,³⁷ but there are psychohistorical factors against this form of government. The imperial power was often associated with the universal dominance, where the emperor was seen as a Father, God and Lord of the Four Quarters of the entire world.³⁸ On that metaphor the dual principle fits only in one way: as a factual female counterpart and in a guise of Queen and Mother.³⁹ Besides, the reason to gain all power to oneself is related to a common human greed, but also with fear: is

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- 36 Certain distinctions exist between the common kingdoms and empire states. First there is the magnitude, which is often connected with the idea of "world power". The doctrine behind imperial expansion was usually some politico-religious ideology, which justified the acts of subjugation. Besides ideology, e.g. effective communication systems (roads and mnemonic devices), establishment of *lingua franca*, and centralized bureaucratic rule were effective means to maintain imperialism. The core area (the seat of the ruling elite) grew usually into a magnificent metropolis, which was a distinctive world from the provincial territories around. For imperialism, sovereignty, and ideology read e.g. DOYLE 1986; HINSLEY 1986; TULLOCK 1987; SCHREIBER 1992; AXELROD & PHILLIPS 1995.
- 37 There are few examples of co-regencies in Roman and Byzantine empires, but these were short-term interludes and usually led into rivalry and usurpation (WISE & EGAN 1968.) Sometimes co-regency was given to the queen mother when the rightful male heir was still in his teens, but this usually meant *de facto* rulership for the mother 'empress' (HILTUNEN 1993). Michael DOYLE (1986:54-81) has compared the political status of Athens and Sparta in the context of imperialism. Athens was a short-lived informal empire (c. 445-405 BC) sustained by sea power and collaboration of allies. Sparta was more a hegemonic state than an integrated territorial empire. Even though Athens was in principle a democracy during its imperial period, it was ruled by leaders like Pericles (458-429 BC), who held almost dictatorial power (AXELROD & PHILLIPS 1995:233-4.) Sparta, instead, which is a prime example of diarchial form of government, became *de facto* oligarchy in the 7th century - following the Lycurgan reforms, and kings were thereafter more or less figure-heads (DOYLE 1986:69). Dual kingship existed in Fiji and Nepal also (HOCART 1970:162-179, 262.) The diarchial form of government presumably was typical in moiety chiefdoms (SCHAEDEL 1996, personal communication.)
- 38 For royal father and lord of the four quarters, see e.g. PERRY 1966. See also ideology behind imperialism, e.g. DEMAREST & CONRAD 1992 (eds.). CLAESSEN (1978:533-96) has presented a structural approach toward the concept of the early state. In this analysis different social aspects of 21 early states are compared (Angkor, Anko, Axum, Aztecs, China, Egypt, France, Georgia, Hawaii, Inca, Jimma, Kachari, Kuba, Maurya, Mongols, Norway, Scythia, Tahiti, Voltaic, Yoruba, and Zande). The ideological position of the sovereign in these cases (Table VIII) was determined almost without exceptions to be based on divine status, relationship to natural forces (middleman), and mythical charter and genealogies. In addition, the sovereign was usually also a formal law giver and supreme judge (Table IX), and supreme commander, as well (Table X). Aristocracy in these states were composed of the sovereign's kin, and they occupied higher offices too (Table XII). The sovereign performed important rites in almost every state, and was *de facto* high priest among the Aztecs and Incas, for instance (Table XIII).
- 39 In the ancient and sacred concept of kingship the male kingship was commonly associated with the sky and sun, whereas the female queenship with the earth and moon. The male element was considered as supreme, and its female counterpart as important, but subordinate. The sky was often associated with fatherhood, and the earth with motherhood. By extension, this principle of dualism functioned as a metaphorical basis for socio-cultural structural factions (e.g. moiety-system) in many societies (HOCART 1927:99-112, (1936) 1970:97-101; LEVI-STRAUSS (1963) 1977:101-63.)

my “partner” one who can be trusted? Greed for political power reminds one of gold fever: the winner gets it all when the partner is eliminated. Power corrupts, and absolute power corrupts absolutely.⁴⁰

It seems that imperial power cannot easily tolerate dualism in the highest position, but uses it willingly at lower levels. Why? Because it works for the benefit of *divide et impera* very well. By dividing provincial and military powers between upper and lower halves a competition was encouraged, but an overall control also became more effective. We have reasons to suspect that the Inca emperors had enough troubles to regulate the distinct corporate elite factions in the capital city, instead of allowing extra competition which the simultaneous ‘equals’ may have caused meantime. Besides, the history of the Inca dynasty has indicated that dynastic succession was almost always a turbulent affair (compare appendix 2b), and frequently interrupted by usurpation. On conditions like this, one certainly cannot easily assimilate working dyarchy or triadic rulership. Imperial dynastic history everywhere testifies against it.⁴¹

As we have noticed, in chapter II:2 in which concepts of Andean cosmology are treated, the Inca ruler had a fundamental role as a mediator in between cosmic and mundane forces. Writes BRAM (1941), “the chronicles contain several accounts of revolts and other difficulties among the nobles of Cuzco. Most of these difficulties seem to have been connected with dynastic rivalries and with each one of the various groups supporting their favorite legitimate heir, since the Inca could appoint any one of his sons as heir to the throne. As long as the process of territorial and economic expansion did not cease, all careerists and trouble-makers could easily be satisfied and thereby neutralized. During lull periods they were liable to grow restive. Exact data on the precise causes of trouble and dissatisfaction among the nobles are lacking, but from our general understanding of the situation, we may regard them as a turbulent and aggressive class, divided into competing hostile cliques.”⁴²

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40 TULLOCK 1987; AXELROD & PHILLIPS 1995.

41 These factions were e.g. the *panacas*: corporate social groups residing in Cuzco. They occupied former palace compounds of Inca rulers after whom they were named, and kept alive a cult which was associated with each of the past kings (ZUIDEMA 1962; BRUNDAGE 1967/1985; PATTERSON 1991.) Each Inca created property by public works activity and these were turned over to his newly formed *panacas* as corporate property, e.g. Chinchero palace of Tupac Yupanqui (see e.g. J. Alcina FRANCH 1976:142–7.) This is seen as a ‘prime mover’ behind the Inca expansion. The *panacas* were created by Pachacuti for the Incas preceding him. Thenceforward the reigning Inca formed his own *panaca* for his descendants. The *panacas* were given their own estates which were corporately administered. (SCHAEDL 1998, personal communication.) For more about Inca succession and inheritance, see MOORE 1958; ROSTWOROWSKI DE DIEZ CANSECO 1960; MURRA 1980; PATTERSON 1991; REGALADO de HURTADO 1993; and ZUIDEMA 1996.

42 BRAM 1941:74–5. For Inca as a mediator between elements, CLASSEN 1993:16, 33, 40. Nigel DAVIES (1995:33) has also speculated that “it is hard to imagine that a system of divided control would have been well suited to the phase of expansion set in motion by Pachacutec and to the conquest of the immense Inca realm. Fundamental to this process of conquest was the imperial solar cult, imposed on the provinces as the essential symbol of Inca control; this cult was clearly based on the godlike status of single monarch, not two.”

The nature of Inca rulership indicates a strong centralization of power, a sacral kingship, and consequently: absolute sovereignty. There should be no doubt about this, so uniformly almost all the chronicles are referring to this fact, which even wide variety of cross-cultural analogies can confirm. Thus, we do not have good reasons to doubt that the unilinear dynastic structure, as the chroniclers affirm, would not have been a practical solution and model which the Incas adopted. Another matter is of course, how much the Incas themselves altered the canonic portraiture of their dynasty by means of propaganda.⁴³

In the closing chapter of this study (V), I will present an interpretation of Inca history in which all the current circumstantial evidence from archaeo-logical record, scholarly suggestions, and Montesinos' testimony is taken into account. In this model, the actual Inca dynasty is a rather short one – starting from Inca Roca. These 'Hanan-Cuzcos' were ethnically the Incas proper.⁴⁴ Their predecessors, the 'Hurin-Cuzcos' had a distinct origin and they were politically subordinate to the stronger powers in the Cuzco Valley. Both 'Hanan' and 'Hurin' lineages had ancestral ties to the Titicaca region and the dynasty of the latter appears to have been much longer than the canonic model has presented.

1.2. The Coastal dynasties

The North Coast of Peru is one of the most studied archaeological areas in the Andes.⁴⁵ Although its native population declined rapidly after the Spanish conquest, early accounts have preserved some invaluable ethnohistorical traditions of its native past.⁴⁶ More successfully than elsewhere in the Andes extant archaeological data have been correlated with the ethnohistorical records.⁴⁷ In this area two sophisticated, historically successive socio-political

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 43 The evident problem in adjusting a diarchical rule into the upmost stratum of Inca hierarchy, is well indicated in the statements of two eminent scholars who have closely worked with these questions (compare statements of ZUIDEMA and ROSTWOROWSKI in note 25 above). The Incas called the king's patriline *Checan ceque*, which means 'straight line' (ZUIDEMA 1990:22). The Inca hierarchy had an explicit vertical formation, in which the loss of the ruler is symbolically analogous to decapitation. (CLASSEN 1993:114.)

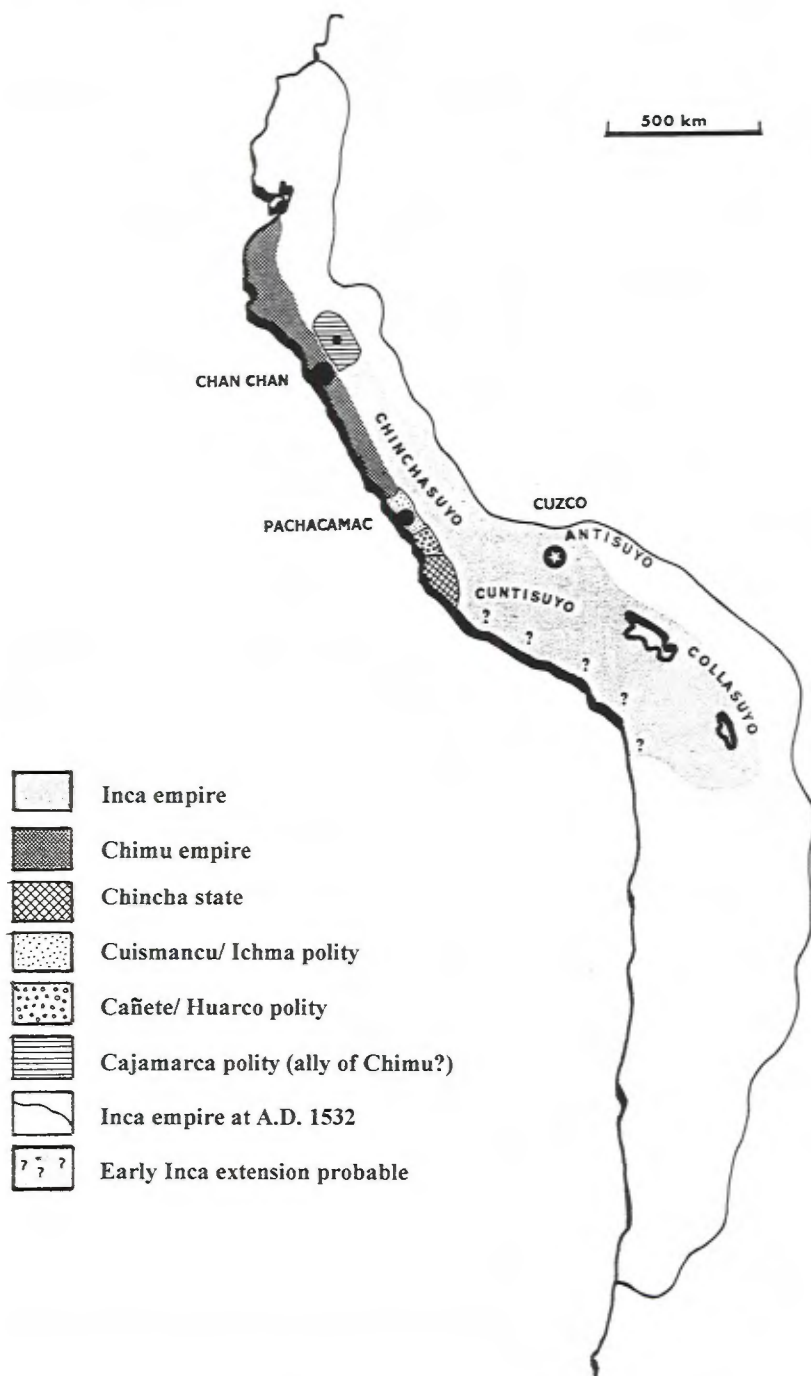
44 Support for the short Inca lineage comes from Matienzo ([1567: parte i, cap.i] 1967:7): "Ha habido siete sucesores deste Mango Capa Inga, primer tirano, hasta Atagualipa". Montesinos has also referred to a certain source (*Hieremie* cap.36), which mentions a ninth Inga Tito Cusi, and states that Huascar was known by that name also ([1642:lib.i, cap.ix.] 1869:539), "se llamo el noveno Inga Tito Cusi ó Tirocusi... Tito cusi el nombre y se llamo Guarcar come diré adelante." On the other hand, Montesinos refers in another place to Huayna Capac as a ninth Inca: "El nombre propio de Huayna capac, noveno Inga fué Inticuse Hualpa" (ibid., 1970:234.) A number of other chronicles have presented a short Inca dynasty (containing some 4–8 rulers): Gomara 1552, Zarate 1555, Molina del Santiago 1556, Bandera 1557, Santillán 1564, Pedro Pizarro 1571, Señores 1558–75?, Toledo 1572, and Atienza 1585?. MEANS 1928; SANTA 1970, Tomo II:8–193. Compare appendix 3b.

45 See e.g. BENNETT 1939, 1946b; KROEBER 1944; LARCO HOYLE 1946; ROWE 1948; ROSTWOROWSKI DE DIEZ CASECO 1961; HAGEN 1965; KOSOK 1965; SCHAEDEL 1966a-c, 1978d, 1985, 1991; KOLATA 1983; MOSELEY & CORDY-COLLINS (eds.) 1990; SHIMADA 1994.

46 For the overall population decline (North Coast), see e.g. COOK 1981.

47 Compare studies of KOSOK 1965, SCHAEDEL 1981, MOSELEY & CORDY-COLLINS 1990 for instance.

MAP 2. Inca extension before the conquest of pre-existing states (ca. A.D. 1460)



MAP 3. Wari- and Tiahuanaco spheres.
 Drawn according to LUMBRERAS 1974 (fig.162, facing p.151), COE & SNOW & BENSON 1986 (p.189), ISBELL & McEWAN 1991b (fig.1, p.2), SCHREIBER 1992 (fig.3.7, p.97), and SHIMADA 1994.

entities, the Moche and the Chimu (both spoke Muchik), flourished. They were powerful enough to strongly resist the full dominance of highland empires, the Wari and the Incas.⁴⁸

Two major dynastic accounts have been preserved: the Chimu tradition and the 'Lambayeque' tradition. The primary source for the first is an *Anonymous History of Trujillo*, written in 1604.⁴⁹ Some additional information is given by Calancha (1638-9), but even together these accounts provide only a slight fragment of Chimu dynastic history.⁵⁰ A somewhat longer narrative is preserved from the Lambayeque-tradition, whose recomplier was Cabello de Balboa (1586).⁵¹ Two major analyses of these North Coast traditions are provided. One is included in Paul KOSOK's book (1965) *Water, Land, and Life in Ancient Peru*, and a most current discussion of the post-1965 archaeological evidence is presented in the publication of a Symposium at Dumbarton Oaks: *The Northern Dynasties* (1990).⁵²

The traditional king list/genealogy of Chimor contain 10–11 reigns, falling between ca. 1300–1470 in ROWE's (1948) chronology. Commonly used is also KOSOK's (1965) chronology, which sets the reigns between 1200–1470. The pre-Incaic tradition has preserved only four names: three first and one the latest. In between are given 6 or 7 nameless generations (depending if the latest reign is counted).⁵³

As has been stated before, the Chimu king list seems to have been telescoped for propagandistic reasons. It was probably structured and truncated into 'hour-glass' form, a model universally common in canons of dynastic propaganda.⁵⁴ Interestingly, at the capital of the Chimu state, Chan Chan, there seems to have been some ten *ciudadelas*, which could have been palaces and

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- 48 For Moche and Chimu polities and their relationship with highland polities, see e.g. HAGEN 1965; LUMBRETERAS 1974; ISBELL 1984; SCHAEDEL 1966a-c, 1985; RAMIREZ 1990; SHIMADA 1990, 1994. The Moche was able to withstand Wari for centuries (SCHAEDEL 1985b.)
- 49 A fragmentary first chapter of *Anonymous History of Trujillo* (1604) contains a brief summary of the history of Chimor. See, VARGAS UGARTE, Rubén 1936. *La fecha de la fundacion de Trujillo*, *Revista Historica* 10:229–39. Lima.
- 50 Calancha 1938:lib.iii,cap.i. See a summary in MEANS 1931:56–7. Compare also ROWE 1948.
- 51 Cabello de Balboa (1586:cap.xvii) 1951:327–30.
- 52 See, MOSELEY, Michael & CORDY-COLLINS, Alana (eds.) 1990, *The Northern Dynasties, kingship and statecraft in Chimor*. Studies of BENNETT (1939), KROEBER (1944), ROWE (1945, 1948), ROSTWOROWSKI DE DIEZ CANSECO (1961, 1990), and SCHAEDEL (1966a-c, 1978d, 1985b) have also provided important contributions on the field. For ROWE, see particularly: "Absolute Chronology in the Andean area", *American Antiquity* 1945 (vol.10, No.3) and "The Kingdom of Chimor", *Acta Americana*, 6. 1948. For SCHAEDEL's studies, see particularly "The Huaca 'El Dragon'", *Journal de la Société des Américanistes*, 55 (2) where similarities in friezes of Lambayeque and Moche valleys are noticed, and possible connections to ethnohistorical local dynasties alluded to. For this connection read also, DONNAN 1990b. For ROSTWOROWSKI DE DIEZ CANSECO's studies, the principal one belonging to this context is, *Curacas y Sucesiones. Costa Norte*, Lima 1961. Compare also, MOSELEY 1990; KOLATA 1990; L.TOPIC 1990; CONRAD 1990; DONNAN 1990; SHIMADA 1990; and NETHERLY 1990.
- 53 *Anonymous History of Trujillo* 1604. See also ROWE (1948).
- 54 For the telescoped Chimu king list and dynastic propaganda in general, see chapter II:3.

containing mausoleums of the kings.⁵⁵

KOSOK's chronology seems to correlate better with the ethnohistorical data, whereinto some 10–11 reigns are included. On the other hand, archaeological evidence (Symposium at Dumbarton Oaks), suggest that the first elite compounds possible may have been built at Chan Chan between A.D. 900–1100. According to this chronology, one faces a disparity in connecting the “palaces” to “few” ethnohistorical rulers and archaeological facts. Consequently, some scholars believe that the actual number of Chimu kings was larger than ethnohistorical data would suggest. Allegations that some of the ‘palaces’ were deliberately destroyed or used multigenerationally during successive reigns, has also been presented (compare appendix 11b).⁵⁶

The territorial expansion of Chimu state can be confirmed by free-standing urban complexes and the city of Chan Chan. Ethnohistorical and archaeological data seems to infer that this expansion may have occurred in two or three major phases.⁵⁷ According to tradition, the third ruler, Nancenpinco, launched the second and more aggressive stage of expansion. This has been dated to A.D. 1130–1200 (Dumbarton Oaks chronology), ca. 1275–1300 (KOSOK's chronology), and 1370 (ROWE's chronology).⁵⁸ CONRAD (1990; and the others) argue that the Chimu conquest of Jequetepeque valley occurred at the same time. According to Calancha, the name of the Chimu general who conquered that valley was Pacatnamu.⁵⁹ The important Lambayeque-Leche

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55 ROWE 1948:40; KOSOK 1965:73. For Chan Chan's *ciudadelas*, see e.g. KOLATA 1990. According to MOSELEY (1990:35), “Chan Chan has some nine to eleven dominant structures potentially associated with kingly rule, depending on how complexes such as Tello and Higo are categorized.” SCHAEDEL (1985, 1991) considers them equivalent to “wards” with the elite from other valleys. He adds (1998, personal communication), that the *ciudadelas* could have been palaces of provincial rulers (e.g. Lambayeque) and probably were more numerous since they run into Mansiche on the North. Writes SCHAEDEL (1991:206), “the aggregation of compounds at Chan Chan was a reflection of the integration of elite citadels as the elites of the river valleys to the south, from Carabayllo (Chillon) north of Lima, to the north, at Tumbes, were incorporated into Chimor. This is the only legitimate interpretation for the growth of Chan Chan that accords with data on the multi-valley displacement occurring on the north coast during the proposed hegemony of the Chimu (A.D. 1250- A.D.1480).” For the Chimu kinglist see, e.g. NETHERLY 1990.

56 According to KOLATA (1990), some of the earliest *ciudadelas* may have been “palaces” of several successive rulers. Only the four latest *ciudadelas* (Velarde, Bandelier, Tschudi, and Rivero) seemingly were built for and occupied by a single king (*ibid.*, 133.) For this chronology, see also MOSELEY 1990 and L. TOPIC 1990. For possible destruction of ‘palaces’, MOSELEY 1990:36; CONRAD 1990:238-9.

57 KOLATA 1990; L. TOPIC 1990; CONRAD 1990; SCHAEDEL (1998, personal consultation.). Alan KOLATA has tried to correlate the Chimu dynasty list with an adobe typology at Chan Chan. According to him, the bursts of construction activity seems to have occurred in two phases: during Early Chimu (AD. 1100–1200) and Late Chimu (AD. 1300–1470). Theresa L. TOPIC compares the *Anonymous History* record of Chimu kings with the archaeological data that pertain to fortifications, military activity, and imposition of administration on subject territories.

58 For conquests of Nancenpinco, see *Anonymous History of Trujillo* 1604; ROWE 1948; KOSOK 1965; KOLATA 1990; L. TOPIC 1990. For the chronologies of ROWE (1948), KOSOK (1965:chart II), and ‘Dumbarton Oaks’ (CONRAD 1990; KOLATA 1990:135–7; L. TOPIC 1990:184, 190.)

59 For the general Pacatnamu, Calancha 1638:lib.iii,cap.i (546-7); CONRAD 1990. See also, MEANS 1931:56–7. For the importance of Pacatnamu case writes MOSELEY (1990:33),

valleys were apparently incorporated into Chimu empire around A.D. 1370–1400. This is concordant with ethnohistorical record, which allows three Chimu governors reigning there before the Inca conquest.⁶⁰

The king list from Lambayeque contains 12 named reigns.⁶¹ Since this list does not contain nameless ones it is more likely that it has not essentially been altered. The major problem with the Lambayeque dynasty is to find its proper historical setting and fixing it to the right period of time. In KOSOK's chronology it has been set to ca. A.D. 1000–1300.⁶² According to the story, the founder of the dynasty, Naymlap, arrived in the valley on a fleet of balsa rafts and settled at a place called Chot.⁶³ Recent excavations in Chotuna and adjacent sites have brought some support for connecting the Naymlap-dynasty to the archaeological Middle Sican culture (A.D. 900–1100) in the Lambayeque valley.⁶⁴ The dynasty ended, as runs the narrative, in a great river flooding during the reign of king Fempellec.⁶⁵ Such natural catastrophes in these areas were most likely caused by an Oceanic current and phenomena known as El Niño. Recent data has indicated that a major El Niño, which had a dramatic impact on various parts of the Andes, occurred around A.D. 1100.⁶⁶ This could

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 "Perhaps because he was not the member of a dynastic succession, the Chimu nobleman, 'General' Pacatnamu, is our very best case for the individual historical reality of a native figure based on the confluence of ethnohistorical and archaeological evidence."

60 Archaeological evidence in Chotuna and Batan Grande indicates that Chimu intrusion into the Lambayeque region occurred sometime after A.D. 1350, and perhaps as late as A.D. 1400. (DONNAN 1990:267–8; SHIMADA 1990:313, citing James NOLAN's dissertation, n.d. 1981: 327–30.) For Chimu governors, consult Cabello de Balboa (1586:iii parte, cap. xvii) 1951:329–30. See also, MEANS 1931:54–55.

61 Cabello de Balboa (1586:cap.xvii) 1951:327–30.

62 KOSOK 1965:73.

63 Cabello de Balboa, *ibid.* Victor W. von HAGEN (1965:111–2) suspected that Cabello de Balboa's story of people arriving by balsas from elsewhere could be considered in the light of his adjusted facts to fit the theory of Native American origins from the Biblical Ophir. Cabello adopted this thesis and even drew a map (now lost) to show the ancient Jewish migrations to America. HAGEN also consider (*ibid.*) that Cabello de Balboa was a Jesuit. P.A. MEANS (1931:50–1) held also this opinion.

64 According to Christopher DONNAN (1990:269), not one piece of diagnostic Moche ceramics was found in the excavations at Chotuna. "Therefore, it is clear that if Chotuna is indeed Chot of the Naymlap story, then Naymlap and his followers were not Moche." The (post-Moche) Sican culture has been dated to three phases: Early (A.D. 700–900, Middle (A.D. 900–1100), and Late (A.D. 1100–1350?) (SHIMADA 1990:312.) A hallmark of Middle Sican iconography, the so-called 'Sican Lord' has frequently been associated with 'Naymlap' (*ibid.*, 321–4.) According to SHIMADA (*ibid.*, 360), "Middle Sican art became the highly visible symbol of a new identity. Data from Batan Grande have shown that a constellation of major material, behavioral, organizational, and ideological features emerged at roughly the same time, A.D. 900...In these respects, the legendary Naymlap may be interpreted as the local leader who initiated the changes that culminated in the Middle Sican cultural florescence and was thus accorded semi-divine status and a distant mythical origin." Compare also, e.g. Heinrich BRÜNING (1922, *Estudios monográficos del Departamento de Lambayeque*. Tomo I: Lambayeque. Dionisio Mendoza, Chiclayo) and TRIMBORN 1979.

65 Cabello de Balboa, *ibid.*

66 DONNAN 1990:269; SHIMADA 1990:363–6. Other prehistoric Niños between AD 1100 and 1582 are not postulated (SCHAEDEL 1998, personal communication.) DONNAN (*ibid.*) consider also an alternative correlation for Naymlap-dynasty. In this scenario Naymlap and his followers came to Lambayeque Valley shortly after the major El Niño (A.D. 1100). However, the flood which ended the dynasty in this model was much milder than the one which preceded the supposed arrival of Naymlap.

well have been the 'Fempellec' flood of the ethnohistorical narrative, leaving an indelible impression in local oral tradition for more than five centuries.⁶⁷

In KOSOK's chronology an average reign of 25 years (i.e. a generation) is used (twelve reigns for A.D. 1000–1300).⁶⁸ But as my study has indicated, the regnal span averages exceeding 20 years may lead to considerable chronological distortion. By using my chronological parameters (see appendix 6b) instead, a reasonable average for short singular dynasties (up to 12 successions) should be some 18.5 years. Hence, the length of Naymlap-dynasty would be 222 years, which is close enough with the archaeologically dated Middle Sican phase (A.D. 900–1100).⁶⁹

Allowing the maximal (ethnohistoric) number of reigns – 11 – for the Chimú king list, the regnal span average of KOSOK (1200–1470) would be 24.5 and ROWE (1300–1470) only 15.4.⁷⁰

I think KOSOK could be right in synchronizing the Chimú beginnings with Lambayeque history. Writes SHIMADA (1990), "It is interesting that other significant changes seem to occur around A.D. 1100, notably the conflagration closely followed by the abandonment of the Sican Precinct and the disappearance of the Sican Lord images. Related to these changes is the possibility that Taycanamo, the founder of the Chimú Kingdom from the north, came from the Lambayeque region at the time of the Middle Sican collapse about A.D. 1100 seeking refuge and an opportunity to re-establish his political base."⁷¹

67 DONNAN 1990:269–71.

68 Writes KOSOK (1965:80), "Since no absolute dates exist for the rulers of the Chimús and Lambayeque, each ruler has been assigned a reign of 25 years (i.e., a generation), a principle which is useful in obtaining a *relatively absolute chronology* from traditional prehistoric list of rulers."

69 If the ethnohistorical Naymlap-dynasty associates with the Middle Sican archaeological phase, as our data seems to indicate, the number of reigns appear to have been preserved intact in oral tradition.

70 ROWE 1948:40. This deduction is based on the accepted Inca conquest date of Chimor at ca. 1470 (Cabello Balboa's chronology), and a date 1604 when the dynastic narrative terminates in the account of *Anonymous History of Trujillo*. During that period 10 more descendants of the Chimú royal house succeeded each other as governors or local lords under the Inca and Spanish suzerainty. Their average regnal span is ca. 14 years and applying this same ratio to ten kings ruling before the Inca conquest, the founding of the Chimú kingdom can be put somewhere in the first half of the 14th century. I think ROWE used here too small a ratio however. First, there were no 10 successive generations between 1470 and 1604, since two were contemporaneous and we should not include the latest name Don Antonio Chayhuac either because his date 1604 could mean his accession or fl.(flourished), and in both cases several years disparity may follow (which indeed has chronological meaning when the dynastic sample is small like this.) So we should count only eight succession for this period and a ratio of 16.75 year per reign resulted, which corresponds with the calculations I have presented before.

71 KOSOK 1965:180; SHIMADA 1990:371. Middle-Sican is mostly up in the Leche valley with Chotuna, and north of Lambayeque (SCHAEDEL 1998, personal consultation.) There are certain low-relief friezes in the walls at Chotuna which closely resemble the ones occurring at the site of Dragon in the Moche Valley. According to Richard SCHAEDEL (1966c: 456–7), who has made thorough excavations at Huaca El Dragon, "on the basis of architecture alone, then, arguments are equally good for deriving the Chotuna temple from the Dragón as vice versa." The ceramic evidence, instead, seems to suggest that the main direction of influence was from north to south rather than the other way round (ibid.)

If this was what happened, the Taycanamo-dynasty of Chimor could be dated between A.D. 1100 and 1470. In using my minimum-maximum parameters (18.5/16.5 years per reign), we may presume that some 20–22 kings reigned at Chan Chan during that period. Apparently only a portion of historical reigns survived in dynastic oral tradition. The foreign Taycanamo-dynasty possibly deleted the records and constructions of their predecessors at Chan Chan. Later, when their dynasty was already well established and empire expanding, they found it appropriate to re-arrange their historical regnal record into a structured canon, in which other more reigns were expunged from the official list of kings (compare appendix 11b).⁷²

1.3. Other spheres

In spite of Incan dynastic propaganda, which emphasized their inventive role in the creation of civilized societies; in spite of lack of written records and shortage of data; and in spite of narrowness in European perceptions to understand native traditions: here and there in the Andes pieces of ethno-historical narratives and skeletons of dynastic records have survived from remote antiquity. This is exactly what would be expected, considering the vast extent of the Andean area, its three-millennium development of advanced, complex societies, and traditional local orientation to ancestor worship and holding oral record-keeping in reverence.

Excluding Inca-related ethnohistory, which most of our early sources treated, about at least sixteen important chronicles refer to and provide pieces of information about pre-Incaic traditions (compare appendix 3b). MEANS' (1928) *Biblioteca Andina* is a good reference source in this matter, since the author pays special attention to ethnohistorical narratives in each of the chronicles.

References to the pre-Incaic ethnohistorical past in the highlands occur in the following chronicles:

Cieza de León (1550–3), Las Casas (ca. 1550–9), Gomara (1552), Santillan (1563), Roman y Zamora (1575), Valera & Anonimo Jesuita (ca. 1585–90), Lizarra (1605), Avila (1608), Murúa (1590–1609), Guaman Poma (1584–1615), Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamayhua (1613), Salinas y Cordoba (1630),

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KOSOK (1965:91) has also argued that the similarities of these friezes may indicate cultural interrelationships that were strong during the Middle Period (A.D. 1000–1200). For more detailed discussion of this relationship, see e.g. TRIMBORN 1979:69–79 and DONNAN 1990:275–96.

72 SCHAEDEL (1966c) and others deduce the beginning of building Chan Chan no earlier than AD. 1100. The archaeological Early Chimu I (A.D. 900–1100), could represent pre-Taycanamo dynastic phase at Chan Chan. Two compounds, the 'Uhle' and 'Chayhuac' has been associated to this period. These early 'palaces' bear evidence of substantial remodeling. For Chimu archaeological phases, see e.g. KOLATA 1990. According to MOSELEY (1990:36), "the nobility of Chimor redefined its own dynastic history, deciding which royal predecessors and commemorative monuments would be perpetuated in memory and vista and which would be permitted to fade into obscurity of the unremembered past, their identities forgotten or merged into composite figures of more heroic stature...I would speculate that once a maturing dynasty attained genealogical depth of ten or twelve lords...lesser figures were regularly dropped from mention to keep the imperial rosters in balance with Andean structural predilections for decimal or calendrical counts."

Oliva (1631), Montesinos (1642–44), and Cobo (1653). Most of these sources were more or less interdependent on each other (see table 1), especially in matters which deal with the Incas. On the other hand, the majority of their references to pre-Incaic traditions seem to be so varied, that these can be handled as distinct accounts. Since the narratives of Anonimo Jesuit, Oliva and Montesinos have been treated elsewhere, they are excluded in this place. Of the remaining accounts, Guaman Poma's is most extensive – all the rest are but brief references.

Several chroniclers have noticed pre-Incaic ruined sites all around the Andes and were curious about their origins. Usually local Indian informants were able to tell legends concerning the builders of those sites – beside a confirmation that they were constructed long before the Incas. The ruins at Tiahuanaco are frequently referred to in these accounts. Cieza de León was one of the earliest travellers and an open minded observer. He stopped at Viñaque (the site of Wari) and wrote:

*“The largest of those streams is called Viñaque, where there are some large and very old buildings which, judging by the state of ruin and decay into which they have fallen, must have been there for many ages. When I asked the Indians of the vicinity who had built that antiquity, they replied that other bearded, white people like our selves, who, long before the Incas reigned, they say came to these parts and took up their abode there. This and other ancient buildings in this kingdom seem to me not of the sort the Incas built or ordered built, for this building was square, and those of the Incas, long and narrow. And it is also said that certain letters were found inscribed on a stone of this building.”*⁷³

At Tiahuanaco Cieza found similar constructions and wrote:

*“There are other things to tell of Tiahuanaco which I omit to save time. In conclusion, I would say that I consider this the oldest antiquity in all Peru. It is believed that before the Incas reigned, long before, certain of these buildings existed, and I have heard Indians say that the Incas built their great edifices of Cuzco along the lines of the wall to be seen in this place. They even go further and say that the first Incas talked of setting up their court and capital here in Tiahuanacu...However, they had heard from their forefathers that all that are there appeared overnight. Because of this, and because they also say that bearded men were seen on the island of Titicaca and that these people constructed the building of Viñaque, I say that it might have been that before the Incas ruled, there were people of parts of these kingdoms, come from no one knows where, who did these things, and who, being few and the natives many, perished in the wars.”*⁷⁴

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73 Cieza de León (1550–3:lib.i, cap.lxxxvii) 1959/1976:123–4. Writes ASCHER & ASCHER (1981:3, 7), “Cieza was in Inca territory only fifteen years after the conquest; this alone commends his work. He saw things that others who followed cannot have seen, and he spoke with people who were adults at the apogee of Inca power. In addition, Cieza is an able writer. His choice of vocabulary, his ability to put things concisely, his conscientious attempt to weigh evidence, and his respect for the intelligence of the reader, set him apart as much as does his being there before others.” (above italics mine).

74 Cieza de León (1550-3:lib.i, cap.cv) 1959/1976:283–4. (italics mine)

In addition, *Relación Geográfica de Indias* (ca. 1585) gives a reference on the account of Rucana Indians near Andamarca, who told about pre-Inca people called *viracochas* who came among them. People followed their orders, although they were few in numbers. Later they were perceived as saints. The Rucanas built wide roads, resting places and a city for them. Later the Indians found bones of them in tombs of that ancient city.⁷⁵

Juan Lopez de Velasco, who composed *Geografía y descripción universal de las Indias* in 1574, also mention the ruins near river Vifiaque, their great antiquity and distinct construction from those which the Incas made.⁷⁶ Lizarraga (1605) noticed similarities between the ruins near Guamanga (Wari) and those at Tiahuanaco, and surmised that they were pre-Incaic constructions. Both he and Murúa (1609) have also said that there was an ancient wall construction at Vilcañota pass, which separated the domains of the Incas from the Collao.⁷⁷ Cobo (1653) also noticed remains of pre-Incaic civilization in various places, but particularly at Tiahuanaco.⁷⁸

Las Casas (ca. 1550–9) gives an interesting account of the times before the Incas started to rule. According to this source, during a period of five or six hundred years Peru was divided up into many states of varying sizes each ruled by a kindly and wise king or lord. At first it was a time of religious orientation and peaceful coexistence between the nations. Every state had its own laws, customs, and language. Little by little warfare came into being, caused by the competition for land and water; fortresses were built and rivalries arose.⁷⁹

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75 *Relación Geográfica de Indias* (ca. 1585) I:246. “Respóndese al capítulo veinte y uno, que junto al pueblo de *La Vera Cruz de Cauana* está un pueblo derribado, al parecer, antiquísima cosa. Tiene paredes de piedra labrada, aunque la obra tosca; las portadas de las casas, algunas de ellas algo más de dos varas en alto, y los lumbrales labrados de piedras muy grandes; y hay señales de calles. Dicen los indios viejos, que tienen noticia de sus antepasados, de oídas, que en tiempos antiquísimos, antes que los Ingas los señoreasen, vino a esta tierra otra gente a quien llamaron *viracochas*, y no mucha cantidad, y que a éstos los seguían los indios viniendo tras ellos oyendo su palabra, y dicen ahora los indios que debían de ser santos. A éstos les hacían caminos, que hoy día son vistos, tan anchos como una calle y de una parte y de otra paredes bajas, y en las dormidas les hacían casas que hasta [hoy] hay memoria dellas, y para esta gente dicen que se hizo este pueblo dicho; y algunos indios se acuerdan de haber visto en este pueblo antiguo algunas sepulturas con huesos, hechas de losas de piedra cuadradas y enlucidas por dentro con tierra blanca, y al presente no parece hueso ni calavera éstos “(ibid.) This city was probably Wari regional center known as Jincamocco in Carhuarazo Valley. Inhabitants of that valley were called Andamarca Lucanas. Katharina SCHREIBER has found traces of Wari road building in that valley. She also refers to RGI (ca. 1585) source in this connection. For Jincamocco, see SCHREIBER 1984, 1991, and particularly 1992.

76 P.A. MEANS (1928:390) refers to this source (*Geografía y descripción universal de las Indias*, Ed. by Don Justo Zaragoza, Madrid 1894: 476.)

77 Lizarraga (1605:lib.i, caps. lxxxii-lxxxviii) 1968:63–71. See also MEANS 1928:385. Murúa (1609:lib.iii, cap.xxi) 1946:214–5. So far no confirmation exists that this wall still exists (e.g. HYSLOP does not refer to it) (SCHAEDL 1998, personal communication.)

78 Cobo (1653) 1990:100–7.

79 Las Casas (ca. 1550–9 :caps.clxxxii, ccxlviii) 1958:162, 386–7. Compare, e.g. MEANS 1928:341–2. Writes Las Casas (ibid.), “Para comienzo de lo cual hase de considerar que dos estados tuvieron aquellos reinos principales: uno fué antes que los reyes Ingas comenzasen a reinar...[sic! possibly Middle Horizon Wari] En este tiempo primero fueron muy religiosos para con sus dioses, los cuales arriba dejimos, hablando dellos, eran los buenos señores que

According to Pachacuti Salcamayhua (1613) two ages existed; the earliest one, *Purum-pacha*, when all the nations came from beyond Potosi and settled in different districts as they advanced, and the later, *Ccallac-pacha* or *Tutayac-pacha*, which was a time of wars.⁸⁰

Santillan (1564) refers also to the time of wars and competing small states before the Incas. In the course of time, he says also, some more extensive states emerged: that of the Chimo Capac and Hasto Capac, the latter which ruled at Chocorvos and maintained provinces adjacent to those of the Chimú.⁸¹

Murúa (1609) writes that there was a pre-Inca state in Collao which extended southward from Vilcañota down to Chile. He adds that from Vilcañota northward to Angaraes another one or two states existed before the Incas, which were ruled by Tocai Capac and Pinancapac.⁸²

As stated earlier, around Huarochiri, important native traditions have survived – especially in the accounts of Father Avila (1608) and the *Huarochiri manuscript*. William SULLIVAN (1996) has presented an idea that behind the mythological context and structure of this manuscript, some important historical data are incorporated in a disguised form. These data, he suggests, may refer to religious and political changes, which followed in the Central Andes after the collapse of Wari polity. This turbulent period of struggles

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 bien y amorosamente les habían gobernado...El otro estado y tiempo fué después que comenzaron a señorear y gobernar los reyes Ingas, los cuales en lo temporal y espiritual fueron muy delicados y muy proveídos en la orden que dieron en su policía...ésta tuvo dos estados...El uno fué a los principios, que duró, según se ha podido examinar por nuestros religiosos, hasta quinientos o seiscientos años. Todo este tiempo se gobernaron aquellas naciones por reyes y señores, y éstos eran como parientes mayores y padres de familias...Tenía cada pueblo su policía; tenían sus comercios y contrataciones...tenían sus leyes particulares y costumbres...y lengua particular...Vivían a los principios muy pacíficos pueblos con pueblos, contentos cada uno con lo que tenía. Después hobo entre unos pueblos y otros algunas guerras y discordias...principalmente sobre aguas y tierras y términos dellas. De donde vino que hacían sus pueblos en los cerros más altos y en peñas, donde subían los mantenimientos y bebida con harto trabajo, y tenían sus fortalezas muy fuertes de cantería para su defensa, como queda tocado arriba.”

Roman y Zamora (1575:lib.ii, cap.x), who obviously has used Las Casas as his source, states also that there were two periods in pre-Hispanic Northern Peru, and that the earlier one terminated some six hundred years before his time (i.e. ca. AD. 950) (MEANS 1928:447.). For Roman y Zamora using Las Casas as his principal source, see e.g. WEDIN 1966:83.

80 Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamayhua (1613) 1993:187, “Dizen que en tiempo de *purun pacha* todas las naciones de *Tauantinsuyo* benieron de hazia arriba de *Potosi* tres o quatro exércitos en forma de guerra y así los venieron poblando, tomando los lugares, quidándose cada uno de las compañías en los lugares baldíos. A este tiempo se llaman *ccallac pacha* – *tuta* o *tutayac pacha* como cada uno cogieron lugares baldíos para sus beviendas y moradas, esto se llaman *purun pacharac captin* este tiempo. Passaron muchísimos años al cabo, después de aber estado ya poblados, abía gran falta de tierras y lugares, y como no abían tierras, cada día abían guerras y discordias que todos en general se ocupavan en hazer fortalezas y así cada día” (ibid.) *Purum-pacha* means “wild or savage time” and the subsequent period, *Ccallac-pacha* “beginning of time” and *Tutayac-pacha* “Time of night” (Pachacuti Y. S. [1613] 1873:70, n. 7, 8, 9 by C. MARKHAM.) Pachacuti Yamqui is evidently referring to southern Peru and Bolivia in his account.

81 Santillan (1564) 1879:14; MEANS 1928:458.

82 Murúa (1590–1609:lib.iii, cap.xxi) 1946:214–5. Murúa may have followed Guaman Poma ([1584–1615:80] 1980:63), since he gives quite a similar account of pre-Incaic states at Peru. For interdependence of these sources, see chapter I:2. The first state referred by Murúa

should have left indelible marks on Andean social and cultural memory. In the Ms this change may be depicted in the appearance of Pariacaca, a wargod which seems to correspond to the collapse of Wari. He replaced the peaceful Age of Wiracocha, whose influence apparently extended widely in the Central Andes. However, the main body of myths in the Ms, according to SULLIVAN, focus on the “Age of Warriors” which corresponds to the Late Intermediate Period in archaeology.⁸³ Priest-astronomers, *capacas*, may have ruled in these former kingdoms.⁸⁴ And interestingly, the regions whence the *Huarochiri Ms* originated, were north of the Wari heartlands in Ayacucho valley.⁸⁵

Guaman Poma has been one of the most recently deciphered chroniclers of Peru and the only one to illustrate a huge text. He reflects nativist viewpoints, as did another Peruvian writer, Garcilaso, who wrote a ‘white paper’ on the Inca dynasty. Unlike Garcilaso, Guaman Poma emphasized his provincial descent from the pre-Incaic lords.⁸⁶ Guaman Poma’s pre-Incaic information contains three themes: description of the universal world ages, list of Yarovillca kings (his ancestors), and a brief reference to the political situation at the advent of Inca emergence. This latter part correlates with Murúa, as has been stated. The list of Yarovilca kings (whose realm constituted an autonomous hegemony before the Incas made them a province) are given in the appendix 9 and their possible ethnohistorical place is treated in the chapters IV:2 and V:2. I present here only Guaman Poma’s idea of the world ages briefly (see a more detailed description in the appendix 10). According to Guaman Poma, there were four World Ages before the Incas:

1. *Vari Viracocha Runa* (830 years). The first people, who lived in caves.
2. *Vari Runa* (1312 years). Simple horticulturalists who lived in small dwellings of stone.
3. *Purun Runa* (1132 years). A civilized people, who were great artisans. There were many nations who generally lived in peace. Later, when the people multiplied, struggles broke out.
4. *Auca Runa* (2100 years). A period of warring states.

The total duration of all four ages was 5374 years. The fifth age was that of the Incas and Guaman Poma gives 1496 years for eleven Inca reigns (to Huayna Capac)⁸⁷

-
- could have been the Tiahuanaco theocratic hegemony, and the second one possibly alludes to the Wari hegemony (SCHAEDEL 1998, personal consultation.)
- 83 Compare, Avila (1608) 1873 and *Huarochiri Manuscript* (ca. 1600) 1991. SULLIVAN 1996:passim but particularly 204–48.
 - 84 SULLIVAN (1996) refers to chronicler Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamayhua (1613), who uses the Aymara term *capaca* for the Inca ruler. He suggests that the word for ‘king’ among the Aymara was very ancient and supposes that the Incas adopted it from Aymara (ibid., 119–21.) For the ancient kings (*capacas*) as priest-astronomers (ibid.)
 - 85 SULLIVAN (1996:222–7) noticed that via the Huarochiri region went an important corridor to coastal Pachacamac and a link to the Wari capital.
 - 86 For critical writings of Garcilaso de la Vega, see e.g. LIVERMORE 1966; MIRO QUESADA 1976; JARA & SPADICCINI 1989. For critical writings of Guaman Poma, see e.g. DILKE 1978; ADORNO 1978, 1982b, 1989, 1991; OSSIO 1978; DUVIOLS 1983, 1989.
 - 87 Guaman Poma (1615:114) 1980:93. According to PEASE (1981b:153, 1991b:150),

Many legends from Central Andean regions related of the folk called *wari* (*huari*). The etymology of the word was associated with a variety of meanings: e.g. giant powerful deities which were worshiped in subterrenan temples with oracles. Moreover, they were associated with the whirlwind possessed powers to transform into snakes and other reptiles. To others they had a meaning of lords, creators of all things, and origins of humankind. Furthermore, they were connected with primitive inhabitants of the region, and hero civiliziers of ancient peoples. A widely dispersed toponomy seems to confirm this: Huari Viñaque (Ayacucho), Huariaca (Pasco), Huaricochapata (Apurimac), Huari-colca (Junin), Huarisca (Junin), Huaripampa (Junin), Huarivilca (Huancas), Huari (Oruro), Huari (Potosi), Huarina (La Paz), and ruins of the shrines dedicated to this divinity. In fact, the *huari* derived toponyms are among the most common in Peru.⁸⁸

One of the most popular themes in Andean oral tradition is related to these ancient people, which were known by the names *ñawpa machu* (first ancestors), *ñawpa runa* (ancient people), or *wari runa*. In Bolivia *huari* was a synonym to *purunruna*.⁸⁹ The Andean tradition connected *wari* people with agriculture. Pastoral folk were known as *llacuaz*, people of the *punas*. The name and toponyms of *yaro* are sometimes associated with them. The latter could have been Aymara-speakers who connected themselves mythically to Titicaca area. The Yaros were an ethnic group, whose territory centered around the lake Chinchaycocha (Junin). Moreover, the traditions suggested a violent intrusion by the *llacuaz* (*yaro*) to the territories of the *waris*.⁹⁰ Guaman Poma speaks both on the *waris* and the *yaros* in his account. According to him, the latter had an empire or kingdom during the *aucaruna* phase in Central Peru. He has listed 47 kings (his alleged ancestors) who ruled that realm immediately before

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Guaman Poma's vision of Andean "Ages" was metaphorically connected with Judeo-Christian chronology as follows:

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Uari Viracocha runa | 1. Adam and Eve |
| 2. Uari runa | 2. Noah |
| 3. Purun runa | 3. Abraham |
| 4. Auca runa | 4. David |
| 5. Inca runa | 5. Jesus Christ |
| 6. Spanish age (España en Indias) | |

On the other hand, e.g. Jan SZEMINSKI (1983) opposes the standpoint that the idea of "five ages" was borrowed from European sources and maintains that it corresponds the indigenous vision on history instead. Compare also various calculative reconstructions of Guaman Poma's ages by MROZ (1989, 1992).

- 88 MONTES RUIZ 1987:83-5; ESPINOZA GALARZA 1973:250-1. This is confirmed by Arriaga ([1621] 1968b:24): "And they reverence the houses of the *huaris*, of the first dwellers in the land, whom they say were giants." For the common occurrence of *huari* toponyms, DUVIOLS 1973: 154. Consult also, e.g. DURAND 1921.
- 89 MROZ 1992:59. For *purunruna* as a synonym to *huari* in Bolivia, see Enrique OBLITAS POBLETE (1963:96, *Cultura Callawayana*, La Paz; cited in DUVIOLS, *ibid.*) In Federico AGUILO's *Diccionario Kallawaya* (1991:40), *purum runa* is given as a loan word from Quechua. In Aymara, *huari* had a very distinct meaning: 'liquid' (Bertonio [1612] 1879:151). According to Santo Tomás ([1560] 1951:344), *purum runa* means 'a barbarian'. González Holguín ([1608] 1952:223) gives a word *machu auquicuna* as 'ancestors'.
- 90 DUVIOLS 1973:166-76.

the Incas.⁹¹ Apparently, as Pierre DUVIOLS (1973) states, the memory of the *waris*, the race of giant constructors, seems to correlate with the expansion of the Wari empire (from south to north) until around AD. 900.⁹² In chapter V:2 I will present a historical setting into which the Yaro 'kings' and the precedent *waris* may have belonged.

There exist some miscellaneous dynastic traditions which deserve a brief description here too. A Jesuit father Juan de Velasco has given a curious account on the Ecuadorian past, which has some resemblance to Montesinos, although its ethnohistorical background has been difficult to verify. It is a three-volume ethnography and history called *Historia del Reino de Quito en la America Meridional*, first published in 1789.⁹³ It contains a dynastic list and history of obscure origin, albeit much shorter than Montesinos has presented. The given list and chronology is as follows:

The dynasty of Scyris

11 nameless rulers	980–1300
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The dynasty of Duchicelas

12. Duchicela Scyri	1300–1370
13. Autachi Duchicela	1370–1430
14. Hualcopo Duchicela	1430–1463
15. Cacha Duchicela	1463–1487 ⁹⁴

Abbe Velasco states that there existed two traditions, of which another gave the number of reigns as eighteen during the 700-year period, and the other as fifteen for 500 years. He used the latter one, which he considered as more reliable.⁹⁵ According to tradition, the *Scyris* were hereditary rulers of the Cara group, who migrated from the seashore to the highlands around A.D. 980. Since the eleventh *Scyri* had no male heir, his daughter Toa was married to the Puruha ruler, *Duchicela*. Thereby the two states amalgamated with this marriage, and the power of *Scyris* extended to all Ecuador until the last ruler of the line, Cacha, lost his kingdom to the Incas.⁹⁶

Velasco's dynastic account resembles Montesinos in one more respect. The narrative probably was not invented by Velasco since he clearly refers to an early author as a source of this information: Fray Marcos de Niza. This does not help much however, since the work of Niza is lost and his career has remained

 91 Apparently there was no such an entity which may have been called the empire of Yaro, as Guaman Poma's account likes to indicate. Presumably it was a kingdom at best, but more likely a confederation. Compare, DUVIOLS, *ibid.*, 182.

92 DUVIOLS, *ibid.*

93 For critical writings of Velasco, see e.g. JIJON y CAAMANO 1918; UHLE 1930; SALVADOR LARA 1974. Most critical is JIJON Y CAAMANO and most supportive SALVADOR LARA.

94 Velasco (1789) 1946:tomo ii:33–34.

95 *ibid.*, 15.

96 *ibid.*, 15–28.

largely a mystery.⁹⁷ Still, there have been Ecuadorian writers who have supported the authenticity of Velasco's king list.⁹⁸ I cannot either favor or deny its ethnohistorical value, since its possible archaeological correlations and other evidence available should be studied more carefully.

Another curious dynastic account comes from Bolivia, and it has been presented by Luis SORIA LENS in 1954. According to him, there were four ancient Aymara dynasties (*Mallkus*):

- I. Dynasty of *Mallku Titis*
- II. Dynasty of *Mallku Apu Willkas*
- III. Dynasty of *Illas*
- IV. Dynasty of *Mallku-Kjhapas*⁹⁹

These dynasties correspond to the four ages given by Guaman Poma. The *Illas* reigned during the florescence of Tiahuanaco, and *Mallku-Kjhapas* at the warring decadent phase thereafter. The origin of this information remains obscure however.¹⁰⁰

From the Post-Tiahuanaco period a few dynastic accounts have also survived in the Bolivian Altiplano. All are associated with Aymara chiefdoms/kingdoms existing in the area before they were incorporated into the Inca empire. Most prominent were the lineages of Colla and Lupaca. As stated earlier, Catherine JULIEN (1983) focused her study on Hatunqolla, its ethnohistorical background and function as an Inca province. It seems that lords of Hatunqolla were dynastic leaders controlling rather a wide area around lake Titicaca and were buried at Sillustani, where a large number of *chullpas* exist for that purpose.¹⁰¹ According to Cieza de León, the name or title of the Colla paramount lord was Zapana.¹⁰² The names of individual rulers of the Colla dynasty are not given in extant sources however.

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97 Velasco referring to Niza as a source of this information, e.g. on p. 33. Fray Marcos de Niza was a Franciscan who went to Peru with the first Spanish conquerors, but stayed there only a few years (leaving perhaps before 1535) (MEANS 1928:415-6.) For more about Niza see, JIJON Y CAAMANO 1918 and Raúl PORRAS BARRENECHEA 1951:21-6, *Crónicas perdidas, presuntas y olvidadas sobre la conquista del Perú*, Lima. Velasco names several writings of Fray Niza, but none of these have ever been seen by modern eyes (JIJON Y CAAMANO 1918:46; MEANS 1928: 416.)

98 For Ecuadorian writers favoring Velasco's account, see e.g. SALVADOR LARA 1974. See also e.g. Pio JARAMILLO ALVARADO 1958, *La Nación Quiteña*, Quito; Guillermo BOSSANO 1959, *Epiclachima*, Quito; and Francisco HUERTA RENDON 1969, *Historia del Ecuador*, Guayaquil.

99 SORIA LENS 1954:33-52.

100 *ibid.* See also IBARRA GRASSO 1969:528-50. A Bolivian archaeologist Carlos PONCE SANGINES has recently given references to some fifty kings of Tiahuanaco and distributing them to various Tiahuanaco periods (I got this information by a personal communication from William ISBELL 1996, who was doing field work in Bolivia.) ISBELL (1997, personal communication) adds that this division may be based "on a division of the number of years he [Ponce] attributes to Tiwanaku (on the basis of rather poor radiocarbon dates by an average number of years of rule for a king), but he has no direct information of this.

101 JULIEN 1983:7, 36-41.

102 Cieza de León (1550-3:lib.ii, cap.xli) 1986:121.

Considerably better documented is another Aymara dominion, Lupaca. John MURRA (1968) and John HYSLOP (1976) had provided major studies on Lupaca ethnohistory and used Garci Díez de San Miguel's *visita* (1567) information as a primary source.¹⁰³ According to Cieza de León, the Lupaca ruler was called Cari.¹⁰⁴ The socio-political organization of Lupaca dominion; halved into two moieties (where a lord principal and his *segunda persona* shared highest power), has been used a major example and testimony *par excellence* that Andean polities functioned by dual or diarchial principle.¹⁰⁵ The lineage of *Caris*, the principals of Lupaca, consist of ten successions, albeit all are known only by the title.¹⁰⁶

I have already referred to a document from the province of Pacajes, which is a genealogy and testament of Gabriel Fernández Guarachi, *curaca* of Machaca la Chica. It was dated in 1673 in Potosi. The document contains references to Guarachi's ancestors, who were rulers before the Incas, and most interestingly, gives their number as 107. According to this narrative, there was four *Edades* (Ages) before the Incas, starting from the Deluge. All this was written and confirmed in *quipus*. One of the latest rulers before the Incas was called Apu Guarachi, whose realm extended from Pacajes to Charcas. The genealogy states also that Apu Guarachi had two sons, Copatiti and Llanquetiti, who reigned separate *señorios* at the time of first Inca, Manco Capac. An unbroken line of succession is only known on the line of Copatiti (rulers of Quillacas) from the times of Inca Tupac Yupanqui onwards (seven names starting from Mallco Colque). The nature and origin of this document is obscure, albeit Teresa GISBERT has got acquainted with other genealogical *lienzos* painted by the Guarachi family.¹⁰⁷

A common title of 'king' in Quechua and Aymara nomenclature is *capac* or *capaca*. Its other meaning was 'rich' and it was "used by Inca informants to

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 103 See, Díez de San Miguel, Garci (1567) 1964. *Visita hecha a la provincia de Chucuito*. Casa de la Cultura: Lima. A third ranking Aymara chiefdom, Pacasa, located southward from Titicaca. For more about Pacajes, see e.g. Timothy Dunkin ANDERSEN's M.A. thesis (1978) which is an ethnohistorical study, and Martti PÄRSSINEN, who has made archaeological excavations in this area (1993). In his Ph.D. thesis (1992) frequent references to Pacajes are also made.

104 Cieza de León, *ibid.*

105 See for instance, BOYSSE-CASSAGNE 1987; GISBERT 1987; PÄRSSINEN 1992. I disagree that the case of Lupaca could be used as a generalized example applicable within the pan-Andean context. Structuralists favoring dualistic formulas may exploit numerous analogies from cross-cultural data to support this hypothesis, but all of them from non-state level societies. The Lupaca case most likely had not reached that level either, but functioned as a paramount complex chiefdom (SCHAEDDEL 1995-6, personal communication.)

106 HYSLOP 1976:103 (personal communication from MURRA, 1975.) Another source gives only 7 successions up to 1680 (GISBERT 1987:141-2, quoting a study of Thierry SAIGNES y Carmen Beatriz LOZA 1984, "Pleito entre Bartolome Qhari, mallku de los Lupacas y los Corregidores de Chucuito 1619-1933", *Historia y Cultura*, No.5, La Paz.)

107 GISBERT 1992:58-62. See also: RIVERA, Silvia 1978. "El Mallku y la sociedad colonial en el siglo XVII: en caso de Jesús de Machaca". *Avances* 1., La Paz.; and: AGUIRRE, Martha 1978. "Los caciques Guarache". *Estudios bolivianos en homenaje a Gunnar Mendoza*, La Paz.; and: GISBERT 1987.

refer to a limited number of hereditary dynasties similar to the Inca dynasty.¹⁰⁸ Sarmiento de Gamboa, for instance, refers frequently to various named *capacs* ruling provinces and regions which the Incas incorporated into their realm (e.g. in Collao, Cajamarca, and Quito).¹⁰⁹ In all these areas dynastic lines were presumably deeply rooted in local tradition. Since it was profitable for the Inca provincial government policy to maintain local institutions of power, i.e. keeping *capacs* and *curacas* frequently in their former position,¹¹⁰ local dynastic traditions had chances to survive.

As stated before, I believe that dualism as a functional principle at the highest governmental level were frequently met in the Andean societies of middle ranking complexity, i.e. chiefdoms and incipient states, but apparently not at imperial level. Opinions are also given that the European model of kingship and dynastic succession might have influenced chroniclers who described native manners and traditions.¹¹¹ I disagree with this, although the factor of acculturation obviously had its impact to some extent. But to change the entire structure of dynastic account only for pleasing conqueror-historians is hard to believe. One could also wonder why writers like Guaman Poma, Pachacuti Salcamayhua, Garcilaso de la Vega, or esteemed chroniclers like Molina del Cuzco and Blas Valera, all of whom had native blood in their veins and being well versed in Quechua,¹¹² should have misunderstood their information so profoundly or changed it on purpose – only to gain a fitting dynastic history for the European standards. Another point is, that these particular chroniclers were born and educated in Peru – they did not even have any information on how European governments operated. Why did this misinformed critique of native dynastic forms not occur in Mexico also – where considerably more information was obtained? The Mesoamerican dynastic structures were mostly

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 108 JULIEN 1983:37. For the meaning of *capac*, see Santo Tomás (1560 /1951:115) “rey, o emperado”; González Holguín (1608/1952:134-5, 661) “el rey” and “rico”; Mossi (1860:146) “rico, excelente, poderoso, grande, noble, rey”. Betanzos (1551:cap.xxvii / 1987:132) makes a distinction between the meaning of “ruler” and “rich”. According to him: “porque si dijera capa sin ce postrera tenían razón porque Capa dice rico y capac con c dice un ditado mucho más que rey” (ibid.)

109 Sarmiento de Gamboa (1572) 1942:passim. For “kingdoms” and chiefdoms in Ecuador, see e.g. SALOMON 1978. For Cajamarca, see e.g. PÄRSSINEN 1992. Actually most of these rulers were paramount chieftains, since the level of complexity in these regional “states” hardly exceeded beyond the level of chiefdoms (SCHAEDEL 1997, personal consultation.)

110 For Inca policy, see e.g. KARSTEN 1946; MOORE 1958; MURRA (1955) 1980; KENDALL 1978; SCHAEDEL 1978; BRUNDAGE (1967) 1985; PÄRSSINEN 1992; MALPASS 1993.

111 NETHERLY 1990; ZUIDEMA 1990 (1986), 1990b; PEASE 1991b:111; PÄRSSINEN 1992:200–7; REGALADO de HURTADO 1993.

112 It is true that Garcilaso de la Vega particularly, but also Guaman Poma (to a somewhat lesser extent), exploited European models, ideas, and standards in their narrative formulation, but unilinear dynastic form is present in their narratives as it existed in other chronicles too (Acosta and Polo de Ondegardo as possible exceptions.) For Guaman Poma, see e.g. ADORNO 1989, 1991. For Garcilaso de la Vega, see e.g. LIVERMORE 1966 and MIRO QUESADA 1976. For Pachacuti Salcamayhua, see e.g. DUVIOLS & ITIER 1993. For Molina of Cuzco and Blas Valera, see e.g. MEANS 1928 and PORRAS BARRANECHEA (1962) 1986.

unilinear – a model which is not just “European” but a universal structure among complex societies.¹¹³

Another “Europeanism” found in Andean dynastic accounts is primogeniture father-son succession. There are frequent references in primary sources to successions of brothers instead sons. This should not be an argument against father-to-son succession however, since as our wide comparative data indicates, the primogeniture and father-to-son succession in most cases was only a sought ideal. Besides, also usurpation broke that neatness in almost every fifth succession, and most of them being brothers!¹¹⁴

The idea of four of five World Ages in the Andean cosmology may have originated from the Mesoamerican sources during the early Colonial era, as we have noticed before. The possibility that it was borrowed from then prevailing Judeo-Christian concepts is not excluded either. On the other hand, the Andean belief that certain subsequent periods or Ages characterized their historical past, most likely was an original, native idea. The number of Ages referred to may have varied regionally, but at least two may have been a most commonly held view (and preceding any Andean dynasty sequenced before Inca). The Incaic canon allowed but one diachronically structured past: the barbarian time before them, and the following civilized era dominated by their empire and culture.¹¹⁵

In sum, all over the Andes and within the confines of vast *Tahuantinsuyo*, pre-Incaic traditions persisted – no matter how effectively the Incaic propaganda tried to bloc the ancient provincial origins. Legends and oral narratives told about past kings and dynasties who reigned long before the Incas. In a number of regions throughout the Central Andes local folklore maintained a memory of a powerful race of master builders, who brought a civilization to them – no credit for the Incas whatsoever. When the domain of these ‘hero rulers’ disappeared, a long period of smaller, competitive and warring polities ensued in the Andes. No doubt, this ‘Time of War’ left deep traces in the Andean socio-historical memory. Modern archaeology has confirmed all this, and in the following chapters a number of circumstantial evidence is brought forth, which fit to the view provided by ethnohistorical accounts. Montesinos’ chronicle gives a most detailed and comprehensive portrayal of these events, and seems to have been on a very right track in a number of its historical details.

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113 *Codice Chimalpopoca* (1558–1570) 1945; *Codex Bodley* 1960; *Codex Borgia* 1993; Sahagun (1577) 1950–69; Ixtlilxochitl (1600–1608) 1891; Torquemada (1615) 1969; CASO 1979; DAVIES 1980; MOLLOY 1983; SCHELE & FREIDEL 1990; CULBERT 1991; MARCUS 1992; HILTUNEN 1993. See also Benjamin KEEN (1971) about Aztec image in Western thought.

114 For Inca kinship and dynastic succession, see e.g. ROSTWOROWSKI DE DIEZ CANSECO 1960; ZUIDEMA 1962/1995, 1990b, 1996; CONRAD 1981; BRUNDAGE (1967) 1985; LOUNSBURY 1986; REGALADO DE HURTADO 1993. For usurpation and dynasties in general, consult chapter II:3.

115 Compare, e.g. MROZ 1992.

2. Circumstantial evidence in the Andes

2.1. Archaeology of Middle Horizon and Late Intermediate Period

Before entering the topic of the present chapter, two basic concepts have to be defined. The first is areal and the second temporal. It is commonplace to speak about Andean cultures as an equivalent or opposite to Mesoamerican cultures. The problems of definition with the latter have been minor compared with the Andean area.¹¹⁶ Wendell C. BENNETT (1946) has included in his culture-area concept almost the entire chain of Andes from the north coast of Colombia to southern Chile. A major sub-area of this entity is the Central Andes – including coastal and highland sections in modern Peru, highland Bolivia, northern Chile, and northwestern Argentina. Furthermore, the Central Andes has been subdivided into: north, central, and south highlands, and closely corresponding sections on the Peruvian coast.¹¹⁷ The focus of the present study is at the central and southern highland sections, and marginally at the corresponding sections of the coast.

One special concept has dominated the discussion and research about Andean culture history: the ‘horizon’. By this idea has been meant a single socio-cultural trend, made up of vectors which dominated an entire epoch by its great style.¹¹⁸ Three such ‘horizons’ have been identified: Chavin, Tiahuanaco, and Inca (see table 4.) In between the emergence and dispersion of the ‘horizons’, Intermediate periods prevailed, which were characterized by disintegration of old style and political fragmentation. Decadent elements of a previous ‘horizon’ were often intermixed with new emergent styles also.¹¹⁹

During the last decades the most commonly used chronological framework for Central Andean culture history has been the so-called ROWE-MENZEL sequence. Based on the Ica valley project and research, this valley was selected as a locus of “master sequence because the local chronology was among the most precisely defined at that time”.¹²⁰ However, the concept of ‘horizon’ is a kind of generalization which modern research tends to question frequently. Richard SCHAEDEL (1993) for instance, criticizes its use and pays particular attention to chronological problems of Middle Horizon definitions. Furthermore, he points to agency of diffusion and asks if in the Andes during the Middle Horizon either spontaneous or forced diffusion was working. And

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116 Mesoamerica was an area of complex societies, intensive agriculture, and high population density – corresponding the present-day southern Mexico, Guatemala, and El Salvador.

117 BENNETT 1946:1–19. Compare also, e.g. WILLEY 1971:76–88.

118 See e.g. POZORSKI & POZORSKI 1987:5–8; KEATINGE 1988:xv; ISBELL & McEWAN 1991:1–5. “The application of Horizons to periodization schemes in the Andes goes back to Max Uhle (1913:341), whence it was perpetuated by Kroeber (1944; O’Neale and Kroeber 1930:24) and Willey (1945, 1938)” (SCHAEDEL 1993:225.)

119 *ibid.* Not all Andeanists of past decades preferred the ‘horizon’ categorization. MASON (1957/1979:14-8) for instance, labeled Inca period as ‘Imperialist’ and Middle Horizon as ‘Expansionist’. The use of the term MIDDLE HORIZON initiated in 1960s, starting especially in ROWE’s works (ISBELL & McEWAN 1991b:3.) Compare also, e.g. KROEBER 1926.

120 POZORSKI & POZORSKI 1987:5–8.

TABLE 4. Andean chronology and "horizons"

	Rowe & Menzel 1967	north coast	central coast	south coast	northern highland	central highland	altiplano	Schaedel 1993
1534	late horizon					INCA		late horizon
1476								late inter-mediate period
1400								
1200	late inter-mediate period	CHIMU	CHANCAY HUANGCHO	ICA	CAJAMARCA	KILLKE	LUCRE	late inter-mediate period
1000								middle horizon
800	middle horizon	SICAN	PACHACAMAC		WARI		TIHUANACO	middle horizon
600								
400	early inter-mediate period	MOCHE	LIMA	NAZCA	REGUAY	HUARPA	HUARU	early inter-mediate period
200							PUCARA	
0								
200		GALLINAZO	MIRAMAR	PARACAS				
400		SALINAR	BAÑOS DE LA BOCA				CHANAPATA	
600	early horizon	CUSISQUIQUE					WICHQANA	early horizon
800							QALUYU	
							CHIRIPA	

TABLE 4. Andean chronology and "horizons".
 Compiled from WILLEY (1971:83-7); LUMBRERAS 1974; BROWMAN 1981; COE & SNOW & BENSON 1986; HAAS et al. (1987:7, chart 1); KEATINGE (1988:xv); and SCHAEDEL 1985b, 1991, 1993.

discarding the major idea of single diffusion sphere in 'horizon'-thinking, SCHAEDEL emphasizes the existence of two such spheres, Tiahuanaco and Wari, during that period. The forced diffusion, which usually goes with military expansion, characterized the Wari sphere, whereas a more or less spontaneous diffusion seems to have been working within the Tiahuanaco sphere.¹²¹

2.1.1. Tiahuanaco – Wari spheres

Until the 1950's Middle Horizon was exclusively defined under one all-embracing cultural vector: Tiahuanaco. As has been stated, in these definitions (especially during the first decades of the present century) Tiahuanaco was seen as a capital and iconographic cradle of a 'Megalithic empire', which dominated almost the same area as the later Inca empire.¹²² With the rediscovery (ca. 1942–56) of another major cultural center, Wari (Huari), the general view of the Middle Horizon changed and became more complex. New archaeological discoveries inspired research in adjacent arenas, and this controversial period and its aftermath became significantly better understood than before.¹²³ A new-found and complex Middle Horizon provided contrasting viewpoints, which, according to William ISBELL's, and Gordon McEWAN's (1991) definition, can be summarized as follows:

1. Huari as a unified polity. In this view militarily strong Wari developed parallel with Tiahuanaco and independently (excluding iconographic impact) of it. Major support for this view is seen in studies of ISBELL (1978, 1983, 1984, 1987, 1988, 1991; 1995-8, personal communication), SCHREIBER (1984, 1987, 1987b, 1991, 1991b, 1992), and McEWAN (1987, 1989, 1991; 1995–9, personal communication). Other scholars sharing more or less this interpretation are e.g. LUMBRERAS (1972, 1974, 1974b, 1980), MENZEL (1964, 1968, 1977), FELDMAN (1989), and SCHAEDEL (1991, 1993; 1994–9, personal communication.)

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121 SCHAEDEL 1993:225–53. According to SCHAEDEL the stylistic differences between Tiahuanaco and Wari are like Wari being a Rococo version of the Tiahuanaco Baroque. While the architecture of Tiahuanaco may be defined as sacred, the Wari version was dominantly secular. Furthermore, Wari was the first true state in the Andes, while Tiahuanaco remained a theocratic paramount chiefdom (1994, Fall semester lecture course in Texas University at Austin: Origin of Complex Society: South America.)

122 See for instance JOYCE 1912; POSNANSKY 1914/1945; MEANS 1931; and NACHTIGALL 1958. Max UHLE was the first to establish the Tiahuanaco phase as a Pan-Peruvian phenomenon (SCHAEDEL 1993:227.)

123 ISBELL & McEWAN 1991:1–5. The bifurcation was introduced by Rafael LARCO HOYLE and others in 1946. The Horizon was thereafter subdivided into a "northern Huari sphere, radiating influences in all directions out of a center near Ayacucho, and a southern Tiahuanaco-centered sphere" (SCHAEDEL 1993:227.) Long before the Wari style was identified to its own, it was labeled as 'Coast Tiahuanaco' or 'Tiahuanacoid'. UHLE used the term first (1903) and KROEBER renamed it the Middle Period in 1930. Julio TELLO, after his visit to Wari, realized that it was a separate culture and termed it "Wari" (1942). In 1960s Dorothy MENZEL undertook the most comprehensive study of Wari ceramics yet accomplished, and this led to master sequence and chronology (in co-operation with ROWE) which formed the art historical basis for all Wari studies. (SCHREIBER 1992:74-9.) Read also, ROWE et. al 1950 and BENNETT 1953.

2. Tiahuanaco as the dominant Middle Horizon polity. Major modern voices in favor of this interpretation are KOLATA (1982, 1992, 1993) and the Bolivian archaeologist PONCE SANGINES (1977/1985.)

3. Middle Horizon dominated by multiple independent regional centers. Scholars supporting this view are e.g. SHADY SOLIS (1988), and from the linguistic perspective, TORERO (1974, 1984.)¹²⁴

Since archaeological data, models, and interpretations given by the scholars of the first group correspond better with ethnohistorical interpretations offered by the present study, a special emphasis has been given to them here.

Few sites in the New World have owed such an aura of mystery as Tiahuanaco in the Bolivian Altiplano. Situated on the shore of holy Titicaca lake, it had a profound impact on native Andean mythology – long before the Europeans appeared. Its speciality was noted by Cieza de León for instance, and a number of other travellers later, e.g. George SQUIER (1877).¹²⁵ Archaeological interest arose early too, and most prominent work was done by STÜBEL & UHLE 1892, CREQUI-MONTFORT 1906, POSNANSKY (1912, 1914/1945), BENNETT (1934), RYDEN (1947, 1957, 1959), PONCE SANGINES (1963/1990, 1977/1985), and recently by KOLATA (1982, 1993) and BERMAN (1994).¹²⁶

When the ‘Tiahuanacoid split’ in the 1950’s opened new perspectives on the Middle Horizon socio-political world, the relationship between two major polities, Tiahuanaco and Wari, became a matter of research and debate. With the increasing archaeological data (of circum Wari and circum Tiahuanaco), it became more evident that there were two separate polities, which did not overlap with each other in any areas – if not in one place, Moquegua valley in southern Peru.¹²⁷ A tremendous natural border, a high mountain range crosses

124 *ibid.*, 6-10. Read also, COOK 1983; CONKLIN 1991; and ISBELL & McEWAN 1991b.

125 KOLATA 1993:1-29. A good example of the most fanciful writing on Tiahuanaco is H.S. BELLAMY’s book *Built Before the Flood* (1947). An example of one haphazard idea from him is a calculation, whence 290 symbols from the Kalasasaya temple wall provided a deduction, that it represented a calendar which was in use 13,500 years ago – at the time when the solar year was that length astronomically!

126 Other studies of importance concerning the Tiahuanaco topic are written by e.g. SCHAEDEL (1948, 1952), NACHTIGALL (1958), BROWMAN (1978b, 1981), ARELLANO (1991), and GOLDSTEIN (1993). Richard SCHAEDEL for instance, studied distribution of Central Andean stone sculpture in his Ph.D. dissertation (1952), and while this art form was well represented in Middle Horizon spheres, Tiahuanaco-related material has major role in this study. He also gives good references to works related to Tiahuanaco-subject prior to 1952. For more on Tiahuanaco, read also e.g. BOLLAERT 1853; STÜBEL & UHLE 1892; MARKHAM 1906; BANDELIER 1911; BENNETT 1934; TSCHOPIK 1946; DISSELHOFF 1968; KAUFFMANN DOIG 1969/1980; LUMBRERAS 1974; IBARRA GRASO & QUEREJAZU LEWIS 1986; OAKLAND 1986; LLAGOSTERA et al. 1988; BERENQUER & DAUELSBERG 1989; BERMAN et al. 1989; HIDALGO et al. 1989; ALBARRACIN-JORDAN & MATHEWS 1990; and ESCALANTE MOSCOSO 1993.

127 The Oshmore in the Moquegua area is one of the few drainages which was located directly southwest of and adjacent to the Titicaca basin. It was an important agricultural production zone for Altiplano people, a primary area for the so-called ‘vertical’ ecology/economy model used by many Andean peoples (RICE et al. 1989.)

the main chains of Andes in southern Peru and northwest from Titicaca. Bolivian Altiplano lies behind it, secured at the bosom of these high ranges. There, around the southern end of sacred lake, Tiahuanaco polity had its seat and found natural directions of expansion into the south and east. Only two routes went in opposite directions: the high pass of Vilcañota in the northwest, and the easier Oshmore drainage to Moquegua at the southwest. These two were on the very border of both polities.¹²⁸ Current archaeological projects at the Moquegua area have brought forth data, which indicate that the relationship between these polities was hostile, at least part of the time. It seems that Wari conquered Moquegua valley in the early phase of its imperial expansion from the Tiahuanaco occupants and established three forts there – Cerro Baul being the most important. Later, when Wari power disintegrated, the area fell under the pre-existed Tiahuanaco influence again.¹²⁹ After the occupation of Moquegua, Wari secured the other route, Vilcañota, on their control too – by establishing a strong military and administrative base at Lucre Basin. Recent excavations headed by McEWAN at this site, known as Pikillacta, have brought evidences of a huge settlement, ‘Greater Pikillacta’, which included a number of mountain forts and defensive walls controlling all passages leading south and towards Vilcañota route.¹³⁰ The mere size of this imperial settlement – largest in the entire realm after the capital itself – is a convincing testimony of a threat which the Wari rulers felt coming from the direction of Vilcañota pass and Tiahuanaco polity.

The nature of Tiahuanaco polity is another matter of debate. In KOLATA’s (1993) portrait, Tiahuanaco was an urban capital of an empire by about A.D. 500, and its expansion was profoundly militaristic in nature until the final disintegration of polity in the 1000’s.¹³¹ This view correlates with the present understanding of the nature of the Wari polity, its northern rival we may say. However, this view of KOLATA’s has its problems, and many Andeanists do not support it. SCHAEDEL for instance (1991, 1993, 1995 pers. comm.), denies that the settlement pattern would indicate urban Tiahuanaco “city”, and sees the whole polity rather like a paramount theocratic chiefdom than a state.¹³²

128 For the description of Vilcañota pass, see e.g. SQUIER 1877: 398–403 and BINGHAM 1922:116-24.

129 FELDMAN 1989; RICE et al. 1989; MOSELEY et al. 1991.

130 McEWAN 1987, 1989, 1991; 1995–7 (personal communication.) Read also, e.g. SANDERS 1973.

131 KOLATA 1993:passim. STANISH (1992:1) maintains also that Tiahuanaco had developed into a true empire. The extent of Tiahuanaco state was about 400 000 km² by A.D. 800 (ALDENDERFER 1993:9).

132 See e.g. SCHAEDEL 1991:200. BERMANN (1994:251) has referred to ALBARRACIN-JORDAN (1992, *Prehispanic and Early Colonial Settlement Patterns in the Lower Tiwanaku Valley, Bolivia*, Unpub. Ph.D. thesis), who suggests that Tiahuanaco ‘polity’ actually consisted of a complex system of *ayllus* linked through extensive religious ties and a hierarchy of leadership. BERMANN (ibid.) concludes that Tiahuanaco “may have been a uniquely Andean sociopolitical formation rather than a centralized state in the Western (or Wari/Inca) sense.” See also, Dwight WALLACE (1980, “Tiwanaku as symbolic empire”, *Estudios Arqueológicos* 5:133–44).

Considering the nature of socio-political relationship and interaction between Tiahuanaco and Wari, it seems to me more likely that Tiahuanaco was neither an empire nor a chiefdom, but a cohesive, regional state. It is obvious that Wari was stronger than its southern counterpart, but possibly not overwhelmingly. Militarily weaker Tiahuanaco was surrounded by high mountain fences, which was cut by few dangerous passes. Wari rulers may have had ambitions to subject the Titicaca area, and it seems likely that in their *blitzkrieg* expansion, once some vigorous 'Pachacuti' sat on the Wari throne, attempts to conquer that area were made. Since archaeological records do not support any extended Wari occupation at the Titicaca area, we may presume that those attempts were raids at best.¹³³

From this resume we enter to the question: whence Wari adopted certain cultural elements shared by both polities around A.D. 550 onwards? Several explanations have been given and most favor one-way diffusion from the Tiahuanaco sphere.¹³⁴ Before giving explanations to this question, we have to look upon the sociopolitical development at the Wari core area and Ayacucho valley. Archaeological data has confirmed that Wari imperial expansion started by about A.D. 600. Most scholars seems to agree that almost simultaneously with this imperial expansion a state-level development was first achieved in the Ayacucho valley, if not even all the Andes.¹³⁵

By looking at the nature and extent of this Wari *blitzkrieg*, it would have been an extremely exceptional development in all known history if it started out of the tribal level. Comparing with the known historical empires, the only categorial exception in this case were the mounted nomadic conquerors in the Eurasian steppes and deserts.¹³⁶ LUMBRERAS and some other archaeologists

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 133 FELDMAN (1989:88-9) has presented this hypothesis of Wari southern expansion. He speculates that as "Wari armies advanced toward the lake, they came into contact with groups allied with Tiwanaku. This resistance diverted the Wari advance toward Moquegua." And he adds that "contact between Wari and Tiwanaku – although through armed conflict – provides a means by which Tiwanaku motifs could have been appropriated by Wari." He cites personal communication from Luis Lumbreras and Michael Moseley, who have speculated that "some of the visible destruction of the monumental architecture at Tiwanaku might have been caused by Wari armies." However, this should be considered a weak argument which cannot be verified archaeologically (SCHAEDEL 1996, personal consultation.) Writes BRUHNS (1996:249), "No imported objects from Tiahuanaco have been found outside of a circumscribed region in southern Peru and no Huari objects are known to have come from the region occupied by Tiahuanaco." William SULLIVAN (1996) and Nigel DAVIES (1997) have also speculated of the armed conflicts between the Wari and Tiahuanaco on the southern border.

134 See e.g. MASON 1957/1979:96-9; KAUFFMANN DOIG 1969/1980; HARDOY 1973:333-53; BROWMAN 1981:416-7; GONZALEZ CARRE 1982; PONCE SANGINES 1985; ISBELL & McEWAN 1991:7-9. The basic iconographic units appeared earlier in Tiahuanaco than Wari where they are clearly intrusive (SCHAEDEL 1996, personal communication.) The planimetric style in stone sculpture, for instance, which was characteristic of Tiahuanaco, developed there some time previous to the Classical period. It is well represented in statues found from the Wari site too. They seems to have appeared intrusive there however (SCHAEDEL 1952:43-4, 123-7.)

135 MACNEISH et al. 1975; ISBELL & SCHREIBER 1978; SCHAEDEL 1978c, 1988, 1991; ISBELL 1987; SCHREIBER 1992.

136 For earlier quick and extensive comet-like penetration, compare e.g. imperial development of Huns, Vandals, Cumans, Kushanas, Caliphate, Ottomans, and a number of Turkish and Mongolian empires in inner Asia between A.D. 400 and 1600.

held that the related pre-Wari culture, Huarpa, had already established a small state in Ayacucho area between A.D. 400 and 600.¹³⁷ It is known that Huarpa had iconographic interaction with the Nazca-Ica region during that period, and borrowed a number of cultural influences from that direction.¹³⁸ Other cultural impacts which most likely had an important effect on state development in the Ayacucho valley, came from the northwest, e.g. through Recuay-culture. John W. SMITH (1978), who has studied early interactions of these cultures, has indicated apparent artistic influences from Recuay at least.¹³⁹ One prominent theme, the so-called 'Staff-God' (known from Tiahuanaco Sun gate), has been considered a Middle Horizon high-god image. William ISBELL (1983) and Anita COOK (1983) believe that the 'Staff God' image was adopted into the Huari and Tiahuanaco pantheon simultaneously around A.D. 500. ISBELL (1983) favors Pucara as a common source which influenced both centers, and propose a possibility that Callahuaya herbalists were carriers of cultural traits and ideas. Speculations that Callahuaya tribesmen were carriers of certain cultural influences from Titicaca to Ayacucho has been made too. Callahuayas were wandering herbalists during Inca times and obviously had that tradition since times immemorial.¹⁴⁰ Pucara was one of the most important centers of the

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- 137 LUMBRERAS 1972, 1974, 1974b; MACNEISH et al. 1981:182-3; GONZALEZ CARRE 1982. The capital of Huarpa polity was a relatively large hilltop city, Nawimpuquio, with elite 'residences', streets and associated terraces; read e.g. LUMBRERAS 1974:134, CONKLIN & MOSELEY 1988:159, SCHAEDEL 1991:204, and MOSELEY 1992:202. According to MOSELEY (ibid.), Nawimpuquio "laid important political and agrarian foundations for the empire-building during the Middle Horizon." According to SCHREIBER (1992:87), the Huarpa was possibly a complex chiefdom or series of complex chiefdoms: "the existence of Nawinpuquio state remains a very tentative suggestion." The Huarpa people in the Ayacucho area were among the first to terrace and irrigate inclined terrain (MOSELEY 1992:218.) For analysis of Huarpa ceramics, read e.g. BENAVIDES 1971.
- 138 MENZEL 1964:passim; LUMBRERAS 1974:133-8; MacNEISH et al. 1975:56-7; PAULSEN 1983; KEATINGE 1988:177-9; ISBELL 1991:308-9.
- 139 SMITH 1978:passim. According to SMITH, the similarities of southern Recuay, Huari, and Tiahuanaco art styles are noticed and discussed, and Chavin primary inspiration is seen there behind, but the question of a common link from the Chavin to Tiahuanaco art, has caused explanatory problems. He suggests that Recuay could have been that link and a common source which we have sought (ibid., 236-8). The route of influence went presumably via a coastal route that passed Nazca (ref., Nazca textiles) (SCHAEDEL 1996, personal communication.)
- 140 See e.g. ISBELL 1983. According to another scenario of ISBELL (1991:306), the captive Tiahuanaco craftsmen were brought from the conquered Moquegua valley to build edifices in the city of Wari and to teach stoneworking technics. Writes ISBELL, "Tiahuanaco laborers built monuments in Ayacucho at the beginning of the Middle Horizon. They could not have been conquerors or colonizers, since they were working for Huari planners. By way of analogy, Altiplano war captives were used by the victorious Incas to construct imposing stone monuments at Ollantaytambo (Sarmiento de Gamboa 1960 [1572] and elsewhere in Cuzco (Julien 1982). I conclude that Tiahuanaco stoneworkers at Huari, in Middle Horizon I A, were paying tribute to a victorious new capital that was remodeling itself in accord with its growing power and splendor. Huari's victory had probably come in Moquegua, for I doubt that armies from Ayacucho reached the southern Altiplano. Moseley (Moseley et al., this volume) documents an early Middle Horizon Huari military intrusion into the ethnically Tiahuanaco territory of Moquegua. In addition to constructing a fortified center at Cerro Baul, Huari conquerers systematically looted and destroyed older monuments throughout the valley."

southern Andes – a major religious and secular power, and it continued to flourish into the fourth century A.D.¹⁴¹

I believe that a development toward state-level society started almost simultaneously at Ayacucho and Tiahuanaco basin around A.D. 400–500. The most important impact for this development possibly came from Pucara to Tiahuanaco, and from Nazca and Recuay to Wari. The ‘Staff God’ image adopted by the Wari government as an ideological vector was intermingled with a similar image brought from the south by Callahuayna ‘ambassadors’ for instance. The obvious stylistic similarities between these two spheres was a consequence of vivid interaction, which occurred at times by military acts, but probably more often by peaceful diplomatic relationship between ruling dynasties.¹⁴²

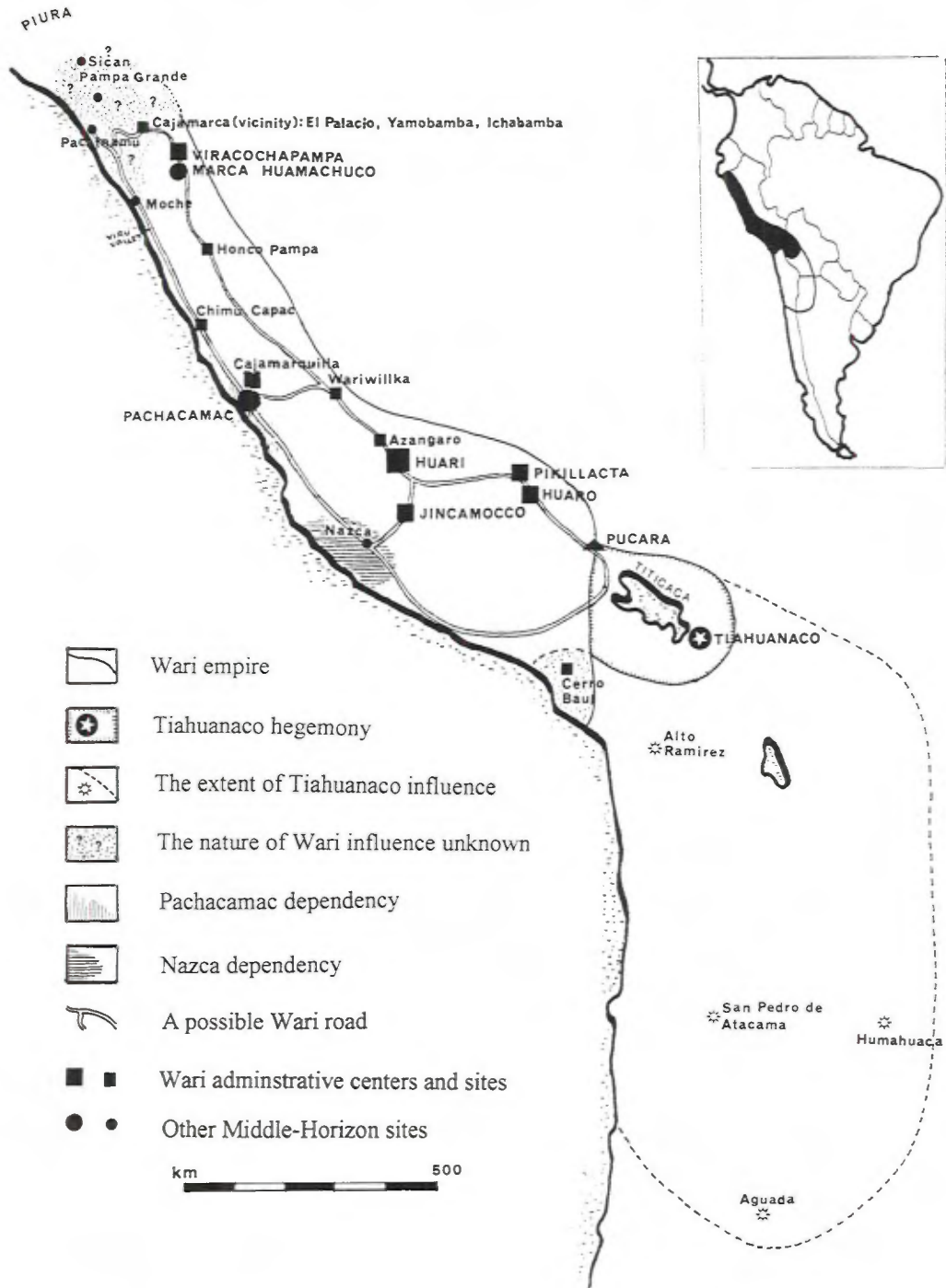
In sum, I suggest the chronology of this development in Ayacucho region can possibly be set as follows:

Paramount chiefdom:	ca. A.D. 400
Incipient regional state:	ca. A.D. 500
Empire/ expanding state:	ca. A.D. 600 ¹⁴³

The extent of the Wari empire can presently be defined fairly well archaeologically (see Map 3). Its southern limits are better defined than northern and coastal areas. In the mountains the northernmost secured base was perhaps Marca Huamachuco. Wari’s relationship with the Cajamarca polity was probably less long lived. Certain coastal sections, such as the area dominated by the Moche principalities presumably felt the Wari influence even less.¹⁴⁶ A number of administrative centers have been identified throughout the Wari realm: Viracochapampa, Honcopampa, Wariwillka, Azangaro, Jincamocco, Pikillacta, and Cerro Baul being the most important. On the coast the bridgeheads of Wari were at Pachacamac, Chimu Capac, and perhaps at Cajamarquilla too.¹⁴⁷

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- 141 KOLATA 1993:71–8. According to MOSELEY (1992:150), the examples of Pucara stone sculpture are known from the department of Cuzco, and textiles have been found from the Azapa coast, thus pointing to distant western contacts.
- 142 ISBELL (ibid.) believes that during the relationship between Wari and Tiahuanaco polities various kinds of information could have been changed (perhaps diplomatics between elites, but also intermarriage between dynasties).
- 143 William ISBELL has informed me (1998, personal communication), that ranked, chiefly societies could have been present in the Ayacucho region even before 200 AD. “Rank may have been developing from the earliest appearance of ceremonial centers, like Wichqana, (700 or 800 BC). By Huarpa times, or 200 AD, there may have been [more] complex and elaborate chiefdoms for control of the region. The problem is that we have very little data from excavation.” Nonetheless, the nature of Wari statecraft (including the locations and forerunners of Wari) is still uncertain.
- 146 For Wari and Marca Huamachuco, see e.g. TOPIC 1991. For Moche, Cajamarca, and Wari see notes 150, 151, and 152 below. KLAUER (1989:106) has estimated that the empire of Wari was about 500 000 km² and had ca. 4 million inhabitants at its height.
- 147 For Viracochapampa, see e.g. TOPIC 1991. For Honcopampa, see ISBELL 1989. According to ISBELL (1991:310), Honcopampa was one of the earliest provincial centers in the Wari realm. At Wariwillka was a major shrine, related to the oracle of Pachacamac. This use of

MAP 3. Wari – and Tiahuanaco spheres



MAP 3. Wari- and Tiahuanaco spheres.
 Drawn according to LUMBRERAS 1974 (fig.162, facing p.151), COE & SNOW & BENSON 1986 (p.189), ISBELL & McEWAN 1991b (fig.1, p.2), SCHREIBER 1992 (fig.3.7, p.97), and SHIMADA 1994.

It is likely that the coastal Pachacamac-polity had a special status within the Wari dominion. It was a seat of a famous oracle (from pre-Wari times) and had considerable religious influence over a wide area (which apparently Wari co-opted/ as did the Incas later on). According to Dorothy MENZEL (1964), it had either an independent status, or more likely it was a subject to Huari polity, exercising its influence through the oracle. A similar privileged position may have had the Nazca province in the empire, "sharing its prestige in the provinces, perhaps somewhat in the way in which Greece shared in the prestige of the Roman Empire".¹⁴⁸ It may have had a semi-independent status, and gradually, toward the disintegration of Wari hegemony, it gained a full sovereignty. Its most complex development occurred during the Late Intermediate Period.¹⁴⁹ Adjacent to Pachacamac (in the next valley north) a large center, Cajamarquilla, and further north another, Chimu Capac, were possibly built by Wari conquerors as administrative nodes to control parts of the coast. Eventually Wari's political control on the coast possibly did reach to the Piura region.¹⁵⁰

The history of Moche and Cajamarca polities were closely related with the Wari activities in the northern borders of its realm. Most scholars agree that these 'states' were for most of their existence independent of the Wari. The Moche polity ceased to exist around A.D. 750–800. Before that, it was split into two spheres, of which the northern part, centered at Pampa Grande, kept the old dominion relatively intact until its end. The southern part instead, fell into Wari influence.¹⁵¹ Cajamarca may have been a client state, which maintained its

site may predate to much earlier times, e.g. Wari (SCHREIBER 1992:101). For Azangaro, see ANDERS 1986, 1989, 1990, 1991. For Jincamocco, see SCHREIBER 1984, 1987b, 1991, 1993. For Pikillacta, see e.g. McEWAN 1987, 1989, 1991. For Cerro Baul, see e.g. FELDMAN 1989, MOSELEY et al. 1991. Other possible Wari enclosure sites were: El Palacio, Yamobamba, Ichabamba, Pariamarca, Tocroc, Wisajirca, Yanahuanca, Calpish, and Hatun Wallay (SCHREIBER 1992:97). For Chimu Capac and Cajamarquilla see note 150 below. In the south coast the principal Nazca center known as Cahuachi flourished to A.D. 750 (Helaine SILVERMAN 1993, *Cahuachi in the Ancient Nazca World*, University of Iowa Press, Iowa City; DAVIES 1997:45), i.e. well up to Wari times.

148 MENZEL 1964:71. For the alleged special status of Nazca (ibid., 68.)

149 For Pachacamac, see e.g. UHLE 1903/1993 and PATTERSON T. 1984.

150 Cajamarquilla and Chimu Capac were Wari occupied administrative units on the coast. They are "Huari-associated" urban settlements along the coast like several others in different central coast valleys (SCHAEDEL 1993:207; compare also SCHAEDEL 1985:450; STUMER, L.M. 1954, "Population Centers of the Rimac Valley of Peru," *American Antiquity*, Vol. 20 (No.2, pp.130–48). According to LUMBRERAS (1974:166–7) and AGURTO CALVO (1984:110), both Chimu Capac and Cajamarquilla indicate evident Wari influence. Cajamarquilla was probably built and occupied during Middle Horizon epoch 1A (ca. A.D. 600–650), and by epoch 1B (ca. A.D. 650–700) it seems to have been abandoned and the focus sifted to Pachacamac (CZWARNO 1989:130–1.) For more about Chimu Capac, see e.g. MENZEL 1977:29–37. She also suggested (ibid.) that Chimu Capac probably functioned as a strategic outpost of the Huari government. For the extent of Wari to the Piura region (Ramiro MATOS 1965–66, *Algunas consideraciones sobre el estilo de Vicús*, *Revista del Museo Nacional*, 34:89–130. Lima)

151 The most recent study of the late Moche culture and polity is Izumi SHIMADA's *Pampa Grande and the Mochica Culture* (1994). Pampa Grande was capital of the latest Moche (V) cultural stage and polity, a large center which dominated the North Coast. Sometime around A.D. 700 the Moche polity V centered at Pampa Grande met its demise, and the city

semi-independent status at the northern border due to its 'buffer zone' impact. It has been proposed that the Cajamarcans allied with Wari against Moche, and caused the final demise of that coastal polity.¹⁵²

Many scholars now agree, that an important part of that road system which was known from the Inca period, was probably started by the Wari government to secure effective imperial communication between the administrative centers.¹⁵³ Tom ZUIDEMA (1989) is one of the scholars who has sought links and prototypes for the Incaic institutions in the Middle Horizon Wari polity. According to him, the following were possibly used by Wari people before the Incas: *collicas* (storage houses), *huamani*-divisions in provincial administration,

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was rapidly and permanently abandoned. The Wari conquest is not easy to prove or disprove due to inadequate dating and the limited amount of relevant data. What is clear is that Wari culture did not play any significant role in the Moche IV-V transformation. If the Wari or Wari-Cajamarca military force actually intruded into the North Coast at all, it may have occurred shortly after the demise of the Moche V state centered at Pampa Grande to fill the political vacuum that left behind (SHIMADA 1994:253-4.) For the split of Moche hegemony into two spatial units: southern (Chicama to Casma valleys) and northern (Jequetepeque to Motupe valleys), of which the former became more directly under the Wari influence (SCHAEDEL 1985b:160-1.) ISBELL (1984:110) suspected the independence of North Coast of the Wari. "Whether Huari subjugated the North Coast through conquest remains unclear, but there can be no question that Huari did have profound and perhaps even transforming influences on the cultural evolution on the North Coast" (ibid.) According to ISBELL (1991:308), "Moche-Chicama was under Huari hegemony as some sort of buffer polity between Huari and the far north, perhaps something like Armenia between the Roman and Parthian empires."

According to Katherine SCHREIBER (1992:274-5), the North Coast provides the best case from the coast to test the Wari conquest and control. She concludes that "the remains of the Wari occupation of the north coast are exactly what we should expect to find in the case of imperial takeover." Her arguments are: 1. there are Wari materials present, 2. there is evidence of major change in local political organization at the time of the Wari style's appearance, 3. there are major changes in burial patterns, 4. the greatest concentration of Wari materials are associated with the former capital of the earlier polity. (ibid.) For the waning of Moche polity at around A.D. 750-800, see e.g. SCHAEDEL 1985b.

152 According to SCHREIBER (1992:96), the northernmost highland sites with what may be Wari-style architecture are located in the Cajamarca Basin. These are: El Palacio, Yamobamba, and Ichabamba. Daniel G. JULIEN ([1988:240], *Ancient Cuzimancu: Settlement and Cultural Dynamics in the Cajamarca Region of the North Highlands of Peru, 200 B.C.-A.D.1532*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Texas at Austin; quoted in SCHREIBER 1992:98), concludes that there was a clear Wari presence in Cajamarca. MacNEISH & PATTERSON & BROWMAN (1975:58), suggested that the abundance of Cajamarca III and 'Geometric on Light' pottery at Wari itself may have been an indication of foreign colonies at the capital. Read also, e.g. T. TOPIC 1991. The Wari interests on Cajamarca were possibly not primarily focused on its fine ceramics, but rather to a secure access to *Spondylus* shell, states TOPIC (ibid., 243.) The idea of the Wari and Cajamarca alliance against the Moche, has discussed by SHIMADA (1994:250-4.) According to him, "Easy transit to the productive Cajamarca Basin and Jequetepeque Valley would make very good tactical sense for the Wari polity. In fact, available evidence pertaining to the distribution of Provincial Wari materials argues that Wari expansion emphasized highland corridors, with coastal intrusion through a handful of selected valleys (e.g., Huarmey, Jequetepeque, and perhaps Santa [to which Zaña is to be added, SCHAEDEL 1998, personal communication]), probably with the assistance of local highland powers" (ibid.) SCHAEDEL (1985:450-1) proposed that the Recuay belonged also to the Wari-Cajamarca alliance.

153 For Wari roads, see e.g. HYSLOP 1984:270-4; McEWAN 1989:61-2; SCHREIBER 1991b.

mitma-system, and *yanacona*-service.¹⁵⁴ Even an allegation that the Wari empire may have been even more centralized than that of the Incas, has been presented (MENZEL) also. Anyhow, the opinions concerning the supposed Wari institutional inventions and the nature of its political integration and centralizty are still a matter of debate.¹⁵⁵

Archaeological data from the Wari capital site indicates that it was abandoned between A.D. 800–50. Although it apparently ceased to be an imperial centre at that time, diminished urban occupation lasted at the site for an additional 50 years or so. Thereafter it was inhabited by only a few stragglers, and finally it turned into an impressive ‘ghost city’ – revered perhaps by local Chancas of the latter times.¹⁵⁶ Be that as it may, the integration of the southern Wari realm seems to have lasted somewhat longer than the rest of the empire: or should we say, when the empire ceased, a reduced regional state hung on for a while.¹⁵⁷ The best data for this are from the Pikillacta site and Cuzco region. According to McEWAN (1987), this site was abandoned around A.D. 900 or perhaps a little later. Archaeological data indicate that the abandonment was made rather orderly, though within a short period.¹⁵⁸

It seems then that a skeletal and fragmented Wari hegemony may have existed at least until around A.D. 900 (perhaps even up to A.D. 1100), although

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- 154 ZUIDEMA 1989:204–17. For the *mitma* origins from the Middle Horizon, SCHAEDEL brings further confirmation by stating that, during the Huari domination large tributary work forces were deliberately mobilized for public works, e.g. “incorporation the building of the urban infrastructure that included barrack-like ‘dormitories’ for their corvee builders...They appear to be an operationalization of specially deployed mitayoc contingents” (1991:203–4, 1998, personal communication.)
- 155 MENZEL 1968:94. According to SCHREIBER (1987b:280–1), who has studied the Wari and Inka occupation of Carahuarazo valley (Jincamocco), “The Wari occupation of the valley implies much higher levels of control, and restriction of movement of the local people; the amount of construction implies very high labor demands on the local populace. On the other hand, the Inka occupation appears much less intensive, allowing much more local autonomy in political control. In other words, the Wari Empire may have been a much more pervasive and totalitarian regime than the Inka Empire” (ibid.) On the other hand, data from other areas argue against this possibility: in most arenas the Inca presence is in generally more pervasive and visible than that of the Wari empire. The intensity of either empires’ presence depended largely of the prevailing socio-cultural situation in the conquered areas. Where the infrastructure had to be built from the ground up, the builder’s presence evidently was felt more strongly.(ibid.)
- 156 MACNEISH et al. 1975:57–67; ISBELL 1984; McEWAN 1994 (unpublished paper; pers. comm.) See also, ANDERS 1989 for Chanca relationship with the Wari core area.
- 157 McEWAN 1987:79–82. Also William ISBELL has given this idea (1995, personal communication.) Compare the chronological definition of the Middle Horizon extending to A.D. 1200 and the fall of what remained of Wari empire at A.D. 1100, e.g. LUMBRERAS 1974; KAUFFMAN DOIG 1980; GONZALEZ CARRE 1982; KLAUER 1990; ZUIDEMA 1989; and SCHAEDEL 1993. Some chunks of a former empire presumably survived e.g. in the North Central Coast (SCHAEDEL 1998, personal communication.)
- 158 McEWAN 1987:80, 1991:116. Recently William ISBELL has confirmed that Gordon McEWAN’s research in the area suggests a strong probabilities that Pikillacta continued to be occupied after the collapse of Wari (1998, personal communication.) According to McEWAN (1995a, unpublished paper; personal communication), there are evidences that the central sections of the site was consumed by fire during or shortly after abandonment. Some buildings were deliberately filled and sealed with clay, perhaps to protect sacred precincts from outsiders. The final event in the abandonment seems to have been a massive burning episode. It seems likely that the local peoples attempted to sack the site after the departure of the Wari.

the collapse of empire started earlier. It is possible that the imperial capital became threatened in internal and/or external strifes, so that the Wari elites decided to move the governmental seat southwards. "Greater Pikillacta", the second largest settlement in the realm and ideally situated strategically, is the only candidate for the presumed post-800 capital of the Wari government in the highlands.¹⁵⁹

The causes of the collapse of the Wari empire are not well known. Some scholars suggest that its fragmentation started from the northern provinces and coastal areas, which were too difficult to control by a highland central government. One probable cause may have been an over-extension of the capability to unite and control multi-nodes between widely separated nodal centers. Over-centralization and burdensome bureaucracy may have been the fundamental weakness of the Wari state, writes McEWAN (1987).¹⁶⁰ What might have caused the final abandonment of Pikillacta and the southern Wari collapse can only be guessed. In one possible scenario we may see a diffuse military conflict occurring on the southern border, where victorious Tiahuanaco troops advanced through Vilcañota pass and gave a final blow to Wari rule there.¹⁶¹

159 The shift from Wari to Pikillacta could have been something like the Moche moving from Huaca del Sol to Lambayeque (SCHAEDEL 1998, personal communication.) Gordon McEWAN has informed me (1996, personal communication) that new data from Cuzco has been found concerning Wari occupation in the area. According to him, Julinho ZAPATA of the University of Cuzco has recently discovered an important new Wari site at the town of Huaru, which is about 17 km further south from Pikillacta towards the southeast. McEWAN visited this site and noticed that it is slightly larger than Pikillacta. There is also a Wari cemetery at Batan Urqo, which now appears to have been part of the larger Huaru site. And McEWAN says that "remembering that Pikillacta was never finished and completely occupied, then the population of Wari peoples at this new site of Huaru must have been much larger suggesting that it was the regional capital and not Pikillacta. It also tells us that the Wari occupation of the Cuzco region was much greater and more intense than we had previously thought. We do not yet have any dates on this new site of Huaru but the pottery coming from there places it contemporary with the normal dates for the Wari empire. This also makes me wonder about your idea regarding the shift of the imperial center to Pikillacta from Wari. Could the reason that the site is unfinished be that it was being prepared to receive the Wari government and that this accounts for the expansion? Alternatively, pressure from the South could have caused the Wari from Huaru to want to move to Pikillacta and also account for the expansion of the site." For the possible existence of fragmented Wari hegemony until around A.D. 1100, see final chapters of this study where a scenario on southern Peruvian Late Intermediate politico-historical situation is presented.

160 McEWAN 1987:86. According to William ISBELL (1997:298-302), an internal disruption may have been a factor which finally led to Wari's collapse.

161 For this scenario, see chapter V:2, 3. The latest phase of Tiahuanaco cultural development, Tiahuanaco V, has also been called 'Decadent' or 'Expansive'. Mostly its duration has been extended to A.D. 1200, but in KOLATA's (1993) chronology the end of Tiahuanaco is set around A.D. 1050. According to GRAFFAM (1992), "the collapse is generally portrayed as having been a rapid disintegration at some point between A.D. 1100 and 1200, when the state fragmented into a number of competing regional polities." For the 'Expansive' Tiahuanaco chronology, see e.g. KAUFFMANN DOIG 1969/1980; ESCALANTE MOSCOSO 1993; BERMAN 1994. SCHAEDEL maintains (1998, personal consultation) that the Tiahuanaco intrusion to Southern Peru is a hypothesis which is hard to prove, since no one has found material remains of Tiahuanaco presence north of Vilcañota knot.

2.1.2. Late Intermediate Period polities and spheres

The role of climatic factors has to be looked at one possible explanation for the collapse of Wari and Tiahuanaco polities. According to PAULSEN (1976), the Middle Horizon from A.D. 600 to 1000 was a dry period in the Andes and the climate became even worse after A.D. 800 – when the Wari polity collapsed.¹⁶² Also KOLATA (1993) has tried to correlate climatic changes with the rise and fall of Tiahuanaco. By using paleoclimatic data measured from the Quelccaya glacier in the Cordillera Blanca of southern Peru, the following chronological correlations have been deduced:

- A.D. 610– 650 wetter period
- A.D. 650– 760 dry period
- A.D. 760– 950 wetter period
- A.D. 950–1050 gradual decrease in precipitation
- A.D. 1050–1245 relative drought
- A.D. 1245–1310 severe drought
- A.D. 1310–1350 wetter period¹⁶³

From the figures above we can see that the Middle Horizon was more or less rather a wet and favorable period for socio-cultural development. After around A.D. 950 a gradual decrease in precipitation followed, continuing most of the Late Intermediate Period. It was only along with the Inca emergence that the wetter times returned.

According to KOLATA (1993), Tiahuanaco as a political entity ceased to exist around A.D. 1050, mainly because of climatic reasons, in which its agricultural systems were dried out.¹⁶⁴ Many Andeanists do not agree with this dating, however. According to a recent study by BERMANN et al. (1989), where the collapse of the Tiahuanaco state is viewed from the Oshmore Drainage, this collapse was a gradual attrition-process of slow decline. It was felt first in peripheral zones, like Oshmore settlements, and latest in the core area of the Tiahuanaco domain. The distinctive Tiahuanaco ceramic style appears to have continued within the core to at least A.D. 1200, and only thereafter a final disintegration ensued and the ethnohistorically known

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162 PAULSEN 1976:126–30.

163 KOLATA 1993:285–91. There was a severe drought in A.D. 562 – 594 too, and this might have caused ethnic movements, strifes, conflicts, and militaristic movements (MOSELEY 1992:209.)

164 Two possibilities have generally been raised as causes for Tiahuanaco collapse. One is KOLATA's theory of environmental rural catastrophe launched by climatic factors, and another is presented by BERENQUER & DAUELSBERG (1989:180), in which some iconoclastic uprising of masses happened, and all the late Tiahuanaco temples and centers on the periphery were violated and destroyed on a massive scale (GRAFFAM 1992:885.) Still, there is not much evidence for this latter scenario anyhow (SCHAEDL 1998, personal communication.)

Aymara “kingdoms” appeared on the scene.¹⁶⁵

From this disintegration a number of chiefdoms emerged around the lake, but a tendency to construct fortified hillside settlements also increased. A distinctive burial-architecture, the *chullpa*, characterizes this period too.¹⁶⁶ At the advent of Inca conquest of the region (ca. A.D. 1450), several Aymara-speaking paramount chiefdoms or small kingdoms dominated the area.¹⁶⁷ Whether the Aymaras were post-Puquina speaking migrants or descendants of the original occupants of Altiplano is a matter of dispute – to which I will return later.

Several hypothesized independent polities, chiefdoms, confederacies, and kingdoms, developed after the Wari imperial dispersal (see Map 4). The most prominent were: Cajamarca, Huamachuco, Pachacamac, Chinchá, and Chanca (some confirmed archaeologically). In the North Coast a new political force, the Chimú, emerged too. It was constituted by the same ethnic blocks that made up the Moche principalities and was a rival empire for the highland Incas.¹⁶⁸ In the central highlands and former southern provinces of Wari several polities emerged too. The Late Intermediate Period (ca. A.D. 1000/1200–1400) is also the earliest epoch in Andean archaeology from where fragmentary extant ethnohistorical records have survived.

Most cultures of this period in the central and southern highlands (as elsewhere too) have been distinguished mainly by their ceramic styles. Ethnohistorical records can occasionally be used for additional help on settlement-type location, and in ethnicity identification by using this information with pottery data (spread type). Some interesting clues can be derived from glottochronology and historical linguistics as we can see in the

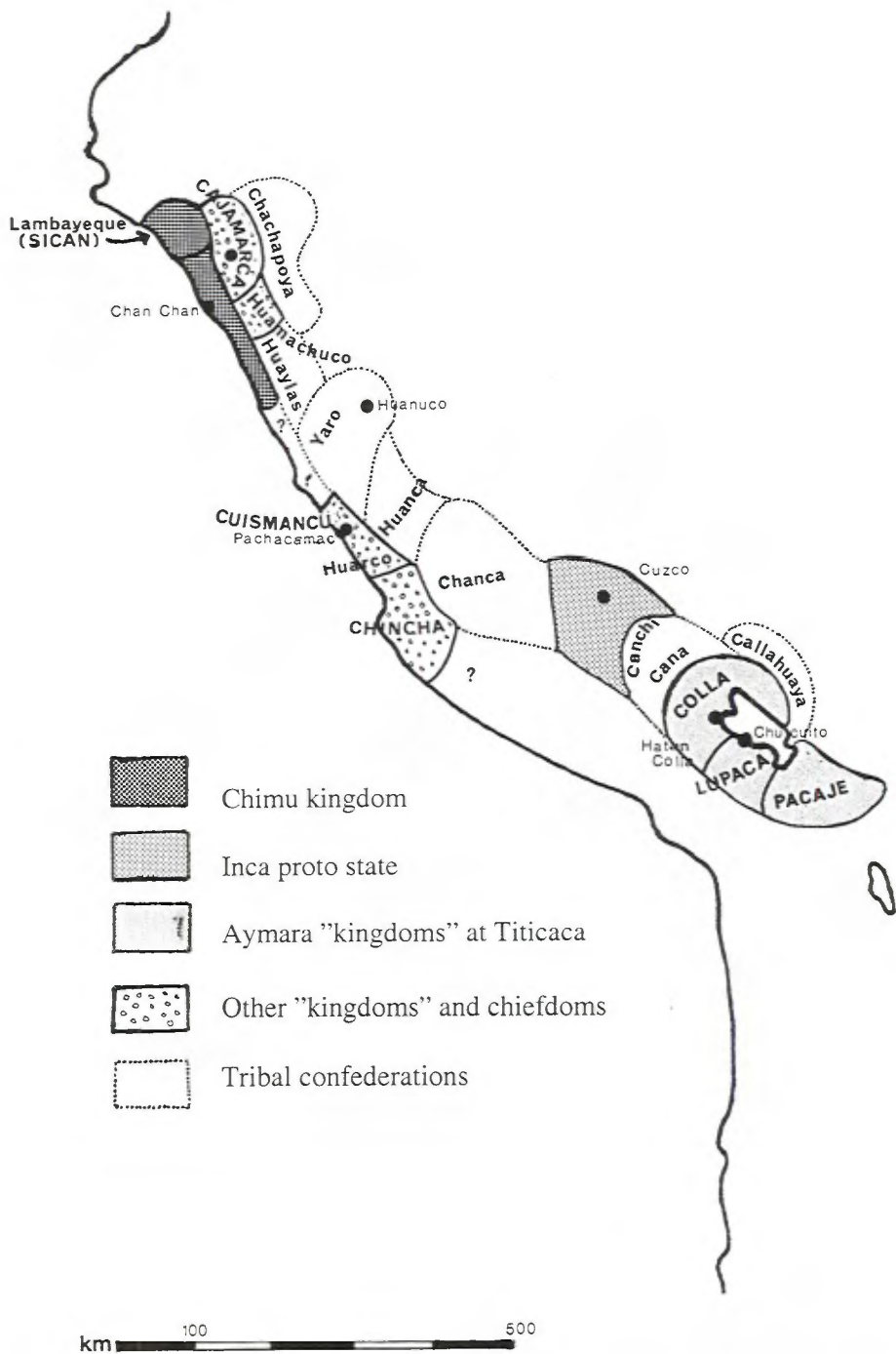
.....
165 BERMANN et al. 1989:269–71. This has been confirmed by BERMANN in his excavations at Lukurmata site (1993, 1994.) in the Tiahuanaco core area. Although Lukurmata was in decline in the Tiahuanaco V (A.D. 800– A.D.1200) period, a possible explanation for this partial abandonment could have been the growth of the site of Tiahuanaco itself. This was the period when the Tiahuanaco state reached its greatest extent and may have emerged as a true empire, as BERMANN has suggested (1994: 218–23.) For other scholars supporting the decline by peripheral attrition, see e.g. LUMBRERAS 1974; HYSLOP 1976; BARLER 1978; KAUFFMAN DOIG (1969) 1980; BROWMAN 1981; RAVINES 1982; PONCE SANGINES 1985; IBARRA GRASSO & LEWIS 1986; BERENQUER & DAUELSBERG 1989; SCHAEDEL 1991, 1993; HELSLEY-MARCHBANKS 1993; ESCALANTE MOSCOSO 1993.

166 For a tendency to build fortified sites, HYSLOP 1976:147. For *chullpas*, see e.g. TSCHOPIK 1946; RYDEN 1947; HYSLOP 1976:passim; ESCALANTE MOSCOSO 1993. For details about Post-Tiahuanaco sites in Altiplano, see for instance RAVINES 1982; JULIEN 1983; STANISH 1992; ALDENDERFER 1993; BERMANN 1994.

167 The most important Aymara chiefdoms were: Colla, Lupaca, and Pacaje. For Collas, see e.g. JULIEN 1983. For Lupacas, see e.g. MURRA 1968 and HYSLOP 1976. For Pacajes, see e.g. ANDERSEN 1978. For other groups: Callawayá, see e.g. SAIGNES 1983; Collagua, see e.g. PEASE 1978c; Charcas-Chayanta, see e.g. HELSLEY-MARCHBANKS 1993; Mallku, see e.g. ARELLANO LOPEZ & BERBERIAN 1981. For the Inca occupation of Collasuyu in general, see e.g. RAFFINO 1981. Read also, LUMBRERAS 1974c.

168 For the kingdom/empire of Chimú, see e.g. ROWE 1948; KUTSCHER 1950; ROSTWOROWSKI DE DIEZ CASECO 1961; KOSOK 1965; KOLATA 1983; MOSELEY & CORDY-COLLINS (eds.) 1990.

MAP 4. Late Intermediate period Central Andean spheres around A.D. 1400



MAP 4. Late Intermediate Period Central Andean spheres around A.D. 1400. Drawn according to ROWE 1946 (map.3, facing p.185), LUMBRERAS 1974 (fig.186, facing p.179), COE & SNOW & BENSON 1986, and BOUYSSÉ-CASSAGNE 1987 (fig.13, p.211).

next chapter, but here I focus on the major ceramic styles and their chronologies:¹⁶⁹

A CHART OF MAJOR CERAMIC STYLES IN THE SOUTH-CENTRAL ANDEAN REGION

<i>South Central Highland</i>	A.D.1000	1100	1200	1300	1400	1500
Lucre	ca.	_____				
Killke	ca.	_____				

Bolivian Altiplano

Northwest:	Colla	ca.?	_____
South :	Allita Amaya (Lupaca)?	_____
Southeast:	Khonkho (Pacajes)	ca.	_____
North :	Mollo	ca.	_____

Since Lucre and Killke styles have been discussed in chapter IV:1 and the Bolivian ethnic groups likewise, I give here only a brief description of the major post-Tiahuanaco, pre-Inca ceramic styles in the Bolivian Altiplano.

These were first identified by Marion TSCHOPIK (1946). Stig RYDEN (1947) and Carlos PONCE SANGINES (1957) added new data to it from Bolivia. Colla, Allita Amaya, and Khonkho represented styles which can be associated with the Aymara "kingdoms" in the area, but Mollo's ethnic connections are somewhat disputable.¹⁷⁰ Mollo and Khonkho partly overlap in the areas south from Titicaca,¹⁷¹ and a term Wancani (Huancani) is sometimes used of another style which has been found in this area.¹⁷²

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 169 For Mollo, see e.g. PONCE SANGINES 1957 and HUIDOBRO BELLIDO 1983. For Pacajes, see e.g. MUNIZAGA 1957, RYDEN 1959, ANDERSEN 1978, PÄRSSINEN 1993. For Colla, see e.g. JULIEN 1983. See also, RYDEN 1947; RAVINES 1982; ESCALANTE MOSCOSO 1993. The Colla-style extended to Vilcañota knot, and possibly to Sicuani and Chumbivilcas (SCHAEDEL 1998, personal communication.)

170 TSCHOPIK classified the style "Allita Amaya", which has been associated with the Lupaca ethnic group (LUMBRERAS 1974:205.) RYDEN identified a style which he labeled Khonkho (ALBARRACIN-JORDAN & MATHEWS 1990:139), and it was associated with the Pacasa group of Aymara-speaking Indians (ANDERSEN 1978:23.) PONCE SANGINES has studied and defined Mollo-style (LUMBRERAS 1974:207; HUIDOBRO BELLIDO 1983), and it possibly has associations with Callahuayas (BARLER 1978:112-7.) Another, older name for Khonkho/Pacajes was "Post-Decadent Tiahuanaco" (MUNIZAGA 1957:111-3; ANDERSEN 1978:23; WILLEY 1971:172). Another name for Colla style is "Black-on-Red" (BENNETT 1948, ANDERSEN 1978:23; BARLER 1978:105).

171 BERMANN 1994:231-5; SCHAEDEL 1996, personal communication. The Inca influence on Pacajes produced a style which is labelled as Inca-Pacajes. (SCHAEDEL 1957:113-5; 1996, personal communication.) PÄRSSINEN (1993) has also noticed that Inca-style ceramics occurred in the Pacajes area before conservatively set dates of Inca conquest (ca. 1470). It may have been a local Altiplano version of Inca and hence may well antedate the Inca occupation a bit (SCHAEDEL 1998, personal consultation.)

172 According to WILLEY (1971:172, vol. two), "The Wancani pottery is described by Rydén as a black-on-brown style, featuring hemispherical bowl forms, and relating both to Tiahuanaco and to Inca in some of its design elements. Thus it may provide a transition between the two."

Gordon McEWAN has recently excavated (1987, 1989, 1991, 1994–99) at the Chokepukio site in Lucre Basin. It was the largest pre-Inca site in the region after the abandonment of Pikillacta and before the emergence of the imperial Incas at Cuzco. It is located on a low hill, quite close to Pikillacta. Radiocarbon samples indicate that its beginnings coincide with the fall date of Pikillacta, i.e. A.D. 900.¹⁷³ Chokepukio has vague resemblances with the architecture of Pikillacta, but a non-Wari local style is represented there too. The dominant excavated ceramic wares are Lucre, Killke, and at top levels, Inca. This site seems to have had a similar function as Pikillacta: to administer the same basin. McEWAN believes that Chokepukio probably was the ethnohistorically known Muyna (Lucre), major seat of power in the region before the intrusion of the Incas.¹⁷⁴ In most recent excavations at Chokepukio the additional radiocarbon dates (taken from the walls of the large niched buildings) have confirmed the occupation coverage of the site for a post-Wari and pre-Inca period.¹⁷⁵ A growing number of Inca ceramics and architectural features from about A.D. 1200 onwards has also been indicated. Consequently, McEWAN views the site more as a proto Inca after that date.¹⁷⁶ While the ceramics is more easily defineable, a large number of architectural remains in this portion of the Cuzco Valley do not seem to correspond to Inca style (which expanded only after 1400). According to McEWAN (1994), the buildings of Chokepukio represents the most impressive non-Inca (post-Wari) remains in the region.¹⁷⁷

The true nature and socio-political meaning of Chokepukio in the southern Peruvian cultural sphere during the Late Intermediate Period is naturally somewhat obscure. Preliminary archaeological evidence strongly suggests that this site was one of several major political seats after the abandonment of Pikillacta and before the rise of the Incas. It may have been, as ISBELL (1991) assumes, “the last holdout of Huari citizens and culture”.¹⁷⁸ According to SAMANEZ FLOREZ (1994), Chokepukio may have been a Quechua-

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- 173 McEWAN et al. 1995:11–16. For the fall of Pikillacta, McEWAN 1978:80, 1991:116. Chokepukio was first excavated by Arminda GIBAJA OVIEDO (1983) (HYSLOP 1990:20–1.) McEWAN presumed earlier (1987:80) that “it hardly seems likely that Wari would have tolerated the construction of a rival center adjacent to Pikillacta during their tenure in the basin, so the later construction of Chokepukio probably marks the end of Wari power at Pikillacta.”
- 174 *ibid.* 80–2. It seems to “have been the major beneficiary of the Wari collapse. They inherited the strategic Lucre Basin and probably gained a certain amount of reflected prestige by virtue of holding the old seat of local Wari power.” The local Lucre and Killke styles are mixed throughout the fill (McEWAN 1994, unpublished paper, personal communication.) Stylistically, the classic Inca ceramic styles seems to be a blending of Lucre and Killke styles (McEWAN, January 25, 1995, personal communication.)
- 175 McEWAN 1996, personal communication.
- 176 DAVIES 1997:111. New radiocarbon dates from Chokepukio, taken from the walls of the large niched buildings, ranges between 1130 AD and 1470 AD (McEWAN October 8, 1997, personal communication.) See also, McEWAN 1995.
- 177 McEWAN 1994 (unpublished paper, personal communication.)
- 178 ISBELL 1991:300. “Chokepukio may represent a provincial Great Walls center, possibly the tenth Huari administrative undertaking, postdating the collapse of the Ayacucho capital” (*ibid.*, 311.)

speaking regional state (from A.D. 900 to 1100/1200) centered at Lucre (Chokepukio) during the Late Intermediate Period.¹⁷⁹

The Chokepukio site is a likely candidate for a seat of one of the dynasties (Tampu-Tocco) presented in Montesinos' chronicle. It may have had a mytho-historical connection to origin legends of the Incas and/or related groups in the area, as its name would indicate: "Golden spring" (or Spring of Gold). Chokepukio could represent a cultural (and dynastic) continuity between Wari and Inca spheres, a kind of perception which the Andeanists are currently searching for.¹⁸⁰

2.2. Linguistic prehistory and glottochronology in the Andes

Three most widely spoken language groups in the Central Andes at the time of Spanish conquest were: Quechua, Aymara, and Puquina.¹⁸¹ Of these, Quechua had a prominent position as the *lingua franca* of Inca empire. It was taught to all administrators and officials at least, including the population transfers (i.e. *mitmaqs*) from Quechua-speaking core areas to distant provinces, in order to spread it to the farthest peripheries of Tahuantinsuyo in a couple of generations of Inca imperial domination.¹⁸² In spite of this linguistic hegemony, in the southern provinces of the realm two other languages, Aymara and Puquina, persisted. Existing roughly in the same areas, Aymara was dominant, while dispersed Puquina-speaking islets occupied peripheral enclaves.¹⁸³

The question of the linguistic affinities of these three groups has not been definitely resolved. Usually Puquina, on distributional grounds, is perceived as the older and its former distribution, especially in the south Central Andes, is considered to have been much more extensive than at time of the contact.¹⁸⁴ Quechua and Aymara, on the other hand, have so many lexical and grammatical elements in common, that these have been formerly grouped into the same

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179 SAMANEZ FLOREZ 1994:36-40. According to him, it extended to Anta, Mollepata, Limatambo, Curahuasi, Calca, Paruro, Quispicanchi, Acomayo, Canas and Canchis. In his scenario, however, it gained independence of the Wari-Chancas by making an alliance with the Killke people, and they expelled the Waris from the valley. During the Late Intermediate Period the two dominant languages in the area, Quechua and Aymara, influenced each other. (ibid.)

180 McEWAN believes that Chokepukio could have been a *pacarina* for one of the founding groups of the Inca empire: the word *pukio* means "spring" in Quechua and *choke* "gold", and origin places in the Andes often were associated with springs or lakes (McEWAN 1995, personal communication.) The name Tampu-Tocco is often associated with Pacaritampu, the Inca origin seat. *Pacari* "origins", *pukio* "spring", and Tampu-Tocco are thus closely related terms mythohistorically. Compare also e.g. URTON (1990) and BAUER (1992), who have presented more thorough survey on Pacaritampu and Incaic origins associated with the Pacaritampu site in the province of Paruro.

181 TORERO 1974, 1975. For Bolivian groups see e.g. BOUYASSE-CASSAGNE 1987; TORERO 1987; MONTANO ARAGON 1992. Muchik in the North Coast was a fourth in importance, as R. SCHAEDEL has pointed out. For language groups in general, see GREENBERG 1987.

182 See e.g. PARDO 1964; KENDALL 1973/1978:44-6; ROJAS ROJAS 1978.

183 See e.g. MONTANO ARAGON 1992; BROWMAN 1994. For the expansion of Quechua, see e.g. TORERO 1975; ROJAS ROJAS 1978. For the Colonial Quechua language and culture, see KUBLER 1946.

184 See for instance, TORERO 1975 and BROWMAN 1994.

family: Quechumaran.¹⁸⁵ Modern linguists have questioned their affinities however, by asking an important question: are the common elements consequences of historical diffusion caused by centuries-old setting on the same areas, where all kinds of social, religious, and political relationships were commonplace between them?¹⁸⁶ In Joseph H. GREENBERG's (1987) grouping of American Indian languages – which is widely accepted today – Quechua and Aymara are distinct groups within the Andean phylum of languages. Puquina (Uro) is grouped within the Equatorial phylum and as a subgroup of Maipuran stock (Arawak).¹⁸⁷ The name Aymara has been replaced by Aru or Jaqi as a language group in most contemporary references today.¹⁸⁸ In the Puquina group the following dialects/languages are usually included: Callahuaya, Uru, Chipaya, Puquina, Caranga, and Uruquilla.¹⁸⁹

Historical linguistics is a developing discipline in the Andean context. Important pioneer studies in the latter area are contributed by Alfredo TORERO (1974, 1975, 1984, 1987, 1990.) Starting with comprehensive study of Puquina (1965, his Ph.D. dissertation),¹⁹⁰ he extended his research to embrace not only the three major groups of languages, but all major linguistic affinities of the Central Andes in prehistorical perspective and development.

Where to locate the linguistic origin seats and cores of diffusion has been one of the key questions in historical linguistics. This problem concerns more Quechua and Aymara (Aru/Jaqi), than Puquina – which has been seen to be living in Altiplano area from times immemorial (but related to tropical lowland languages). Out of this problem the following questions arise:

1. What was the language of the builders of Tiahuanaco civilization?
2. What was a principal language spoken within the Wari imperial sphere?
3. What was the original, 'sacred court language' of the Incas, which Garcilaso de la Vega writes about?

The case of Tiahuanaco is somewhat simpler than the others, since only two possible candidates can be offered: Aymara and Puquina. Most complex is the

185 See e.g. C.F. and F.M. VOEGELIN (1977:21). *Classification and Index of the World's Languages*. Elsevier: New York. See also ISBELL 1983-4.

186 BIRD et al. 1983-4; ISBELL 1983-4. See also e.g. ADELAAR 1986, 1987; ALBO 1988; LAYME PAIRUMANI 1992.

187 GREENBERG 1987:382-4.

188 See e.g. ALBO 1988 (particularly HARDMAN); LAYME PAIRUMANI 1992. Combination of Aymara words *Jaqi Aru* means "human language" (HARDMAN 1988:163.) According to HARDMAN (1987), the Protojaqi was the language of Wari around 400 AD. It was divided to Proto-Aymara, Cauqui, and Jaqaru (Tupe) around 700 AD. Its origin seats were on the southern coast from Nazca to Arequipa. Chinchas spoke Quechua. (LAYME PAIRUMANI 1992:117-9; reference to Martha HARDMAN 1987. "De dónde vino el jaqaru?" [La Paz] V (20-21):3-5.)

189 BOUYASSE-CASSAGNE 1987:116-28; TORERO 1987; BROWMAN 1994.

190 Alfredo TORERO's dissertation '*La Puquina: La Troisième Langue Générale du Pérou*' at the Sorbonne in 1965, is not available, because it has been missing from the library at the University of Paris since at least 1972 (BROWMAN 1994:237 citing T. BOUYASSE-CASSAGNE 1992:133 *Le Lac Titicaca: histoire perdue d'une mer intérieure. Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Études Andines*, 21(1):89-159.)

question of an Inca court language and it will be discussed later. There are two reasonable possibilities for the language of Wari too; Aymara or Quechua, but since the location of the Wari core area seems to have been on the border of main diffusion of both languages, the choice in favor of one or other is difficult.¹⁹¹ Aymara is more often proposed than Puquina as a possible language of the Tiahuanaco civilization. This was the general opinion before the 'Tiahuanacoid split' and is nowadays favored by Bolivian scholars. This question is usually interlocked with the diffusion and origin of the Aymaras.¹⁹² Two theories have been presented:

A) Aymaras were the original inhabitants of the region.

B) They were post-Tiahuanaco late comers, either from the north or the south. The first case settles the problem in favor of Aymara being the Tiahuanaco language, and the second one argues for Puquina. In case B, two major alternatives have been currently presented: Aymara migration from the north, and the migration from the south.¹⁹³ The first is favored by Alfredo TORERO (1974), whereas the principal advocates of the second are Thérèse BOYSSSE-CASSAGNE (1987) and Teresa GISBERT (1987).

The hypothesis of southern migration of Aymaras into Altiplano, presented by BOYSSSE-CASSAGNE and GISBERT, is based on the origin myths of a couple of Aymara groups, and particularly Lupacas. They used Cieza de León's (1553) reference in which Lupaca king Cari claimed to have come from the valley of Coquimbo.¹⁹⁴ There exists also a ten generation genealogy of Cari's family, which would bring his origins close to A.D. 1200 in backward counting (from Inca Viracocha's times).¹⁹⁵ For the origins of the Pacajes group, information is documented in *Relaciones Geograficas de Indias* (ca. 1585), which states that one part of them pointed to lake Chucuito (Titicaca) and others to Carangas region.¹⁹⁶ Based on this information, two or three waves of migrations from northern Chile were suggested.¹⁹⁷

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191 See for instance, TORERO 1975: map on p. 257.

192 See e.g. BROWMAN 1994:241-2. A noted Bolivian scholar favoring this theory is Carlos PONCE SANGINES, for instance (ibid.) See also, BOYSSSE-CASSAGNE 1987:320-1, 370; GISBERT 1987; GISBERT et al. 1987: 134-142.

193 BROWMAN 1994.

194 HYSLOP 1976:101-2 (Cieza de León [1550-3] 1967:138-144. *Del Señorío de los Incas*. Instituto de Estudios Peruanos: Lima.) See also, BOYSSSE-CASSAGNE 1987:320-1, 370; GISBERT 1987; GISBERT et al. 1987: 134-142.

195 HYSLOP 1976:103 (refers to John MURRA / personal communication, 1975.)

196 GISBERT et al. 1987:134. According to testimony of RGI ([1586:tomo ii, Pedro de Mercado de Peñaloza] 1965:334-41): "Los cuales dichos indios *pacaxes* dijeron los indios antiguos haber tenido su origen, unos de la una parte de la laguna de *chucuito* y otros de hacia la parte de los *carangas*, de donde salieron y poblaron en esta provincia en los cerros más altos que hay en ella; y vivían a manera de behetria, sin reconocer señorío de nadie, sin pagar tributo, porque todo era traer guerra unos con otros, y el que más valiente y sabio era entre ellos, ese los mandaba y reconocían por señor." See also, e.g. ANDERSEN 1978:29-30. ANDERSEN believes that the Pacajes could have been the oldest Aymara group in the Altiplano and refers to this document (RGI) as a basis of his argument.(ibid.)

197 GISBERT, ibid.; BROWMAN 1994:241.

In TORERO's hypothesis, Pachacamac and the surrounding Central Coast and the adjacent highlands were the homeland of Quechua language. The nucleus of Aru (Aymara) situated on the South Coast of Peru and adjacent highlands, and Puquina was the language of Altiplano circum-Titicaca Tiahuanaco civilization. (See map 5).¹⁹⁸ The data and method used by TORERO were basically deduced from archaeology and glottochronology, but references to ethnohistory are given too. According to this scenario, Quechua was spoken in a small area around Pachacamac at the Early Intermediate Period, but during the Middle Horizon it spread to presentday regions of Junin, Pasco, Huanuco, and Ancash.¹⁹⁹ Around A.D. 880 (glottochronological date) a major expansion of Quechua in the highlands to further north and south began. In southern Peru territories were conquered from the Aru-speakers, and this may have pushed Aymara to move south from Apurimac and Cuzco area to the Bolivian Altiplano about A.D. 1200 (where they bumped out the Puquina).²⁰⁰ The Aru language was spoken in Ayacucho (Wari) by around A.D. 480 (glottochronological date).²⁰¹ Since Pachacamac enjoyed far-reaching prestige as an oracle, its language (Quechua) was esteemed and it spread peacefully by trade and religious means. A supposed bilingual area was born in Nazca-Ica-Ayacucho region.²⁰² TORERO also believes that this bilingualism characterized Wari imperial politics and expansion. In his interpretation, however, the position of Aru remained dominant most of the time (especially in the Altiplano and southern Peru) – as a matter of fact until the reign of Inca Tupac Yupanqui, who proclaimed Quechua the official language of the Inca empire.²⁰³

Robert McK. BIRD & David L. BROWMAN & Marshall E. DURBIN (1983-4) have hypothesized the Quechua origin by using correlations of a certain type of maize, linguistic terms, and culture. In this view a speckled purple flour maize complex was spread by Wari polity in accordance with the expansion of proto-Quechua from its central coast and adjacent highland cradle.²⁰⁴

The original inhabitants of Cuzco region were Aymara/Jaqi speakers in this model. The pre-Wari northern extent of Aymara would correspond with the model of TORERO, as well as Pachacamac as the cradle of Proto-Quechua. Increased contacts with this coastal polity "was accompanied by a much greater

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198 TORERO 1974, 1975.

199 *ibid.*

200 TORERO 1975:243–54. Actually these do not have to be 'conquered'. This could have been a migratory change looking for better herding niches, and Aru speakers could have shared niches with Puquina (SCHAEDEL 1998, personal communication.)

201 *ibid.*, 249–57. HARDMAN (1988:163) agrees with TORERO and maintains, that during the Middle Horizon Jaqi Aru was spoken by Waris and it became a language of commerce throughout the Andes.

202 For the bilingual area, see *ibid.*; ROJAS ROJAS 1978:47–54; BIRD et al. 1983-4:193, 203–5.

203 TORERO 1975:254–9, 1984:368–71, 377.

204 BIRD et al. 1983–4:passim. Their hypothesis encompass the idea that powerful prehistoric states were capable to mobilize linguistic dispersal significantly.

use of Quechua in Wari governance. The uniformity of the Ayacucho dialect over a wide area around Wari might be explained by a fairly rapid spread, more recently or in a more organized fashion or with less localized substratum effect than for any of the Q1 [Quechua I] dialects.”²⁰⁵

After the collapse of Wari, the maintenance and fixing the boundaries of Quechua, especially in the south, depended much of an existence of a later regional kingdom in that area, as suggested by BIRD et al.²⁰⁶ David I. SAMANEZ FLOREZ (1994) also supports the idea that Wari conquerors were largely responsible of the expansion of Quechua. He further elaborated BIRD et al’s suggestion by maintaining that a Quechua-speaking regional state, centered at Chokepukio (Lucre), dominated the region before the Incas. His general hypothesis, however, is the idea that Quechua originated in the Cuzco region, a claim which mostly have been presented by Peruvian scholars, and particularly natives of Cuzco.²⁰⁷

According to ISBELL (1983–4), the genetic relationship between Aymara and Quechua should be negated to minimum, since “more recent studies of Aymara and Quechua indicate very heavy borrowing from Aymara to Cuzco Quechua dialect that was used in the original comparisons with Aymara.”²⁰⁸ This kind of development is expectable in the scenario in which a major force behind the linguistic dispersal ceased to exist. If the Wari was that force, its regional successor state was probably not powerful enough but to maintain a limited dispersal of Quechua language. After the fall of Wari dominance, the regional languages most likely were revitalized, and consequently, the Aymara strengthened its overall position. One impact of this development, apparently, was heavy borrowing from Aymara to Quechua, and not vice versa.

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205 *ibid.*, 204. BIRD et al. emphasize that especially the dialects of Quechua spoken in the Cuzco region were heavily Aymarized. This was a consequence of extended historical relationships and likely due to “faulty learning of Quechua by Aymara-speaking people learning from the descendants of earlier Wari period colonists... ‘Aymarized Old Cuzco Quechua’, with glottalization, aspiration and other shifts [is] now typical of Cuzco and Bolivian Quechua. Conservative Old Cuzco would have presumably been spoken by upper-class, Wari-introduced people who were farming maize, while indigenous, higher elevation herding peoples slowly shifting to Quechua would have spoken Aymarized Old Cuzco Quechua under this evolutionary model.”(*ibid.*, 194.) For the support of their argument that the Cuzco region was originally dominated by the Aymara, BIRD et al. set forth the following facts: existence of Aymara-speaking towns near Cuzco as late as 1612, groups of Aymara speakers in Abancay and Ayacucho regions as late as 1586 (with traditions of their pre-Incaic presence), the existence of typical Aymara aspiration and glottalization in Cuzco Quechua, the existence of Aymara-associated eight-rowed Bolivian flints in Cuzco region, common toponymic endings in *-ni* or *-ri* related to Aymara, and the existence of certain material culture traits, such as modes of weaving and textile designs, which have significant similarities to those of the Aymara areas of the Bolivian Altiplano. (*ibid.*, 200.)

206 *ibid.*

207 SAMANEZ FLOREZ 1994:passim. He connects Wari with the Chancas and Quechua II (A) with the people of the Cuzco region, developing since the Marcavalle/ Chanapata - period.

208 ISBELL 1983–4:244. MONTES RUIZ (1987:32) maintains, that at the same time with the diffusion of Aymarans in Collasuyo, the Quechuas gained territories in Central Andes in their former regions in Ayacucho and Cuzco. The result of this was that Cuzco Quechua adopted part of the phonology and lexicon from Aymara.

IBARRA GRASSO (1969) had brought forth an idea that during the expansive Tiahuanaco V phase Aymara language and culture extended to southern Peru. During the post-Tiahuanaco times (before the rise of the Incas) there existed a linguistic and cultural continuity of the same people in the same areas and in a somewhat modified form. IBARRA GRASSO sees Killke ceramics as one derivation of this Aymara-Tiahuanaco form, resembling Colla and Mollo ceramics significantly.²⁰⁹ Jose HUIDOBRO BELLIDO (1993) has recently presented similar ideas and emphasizes archaeological testimonies which indicate Aymara occupation in the area.²¹⁰ He refers to studies of Luis BARREDA MURILLO (1991) and points to iconographic similarities between the Killke and Altiplano ceramics. Aymara was the language of Tiahuanaco and Quechua originated from Chíncha and adjacent regions in this scenario. The *chullpa* constructions found at Paucartampu, northeast of Cuzco, is explained by Mollo cultural influence on that region in post-Tiahuanaco phases.²¹¹

The existence of Aymara-speaking Yaro-people in Central Peru has also been a matter of debate. Their principal seats would have been in the present-day provinces of Pasco and Huanuco, but widely adjacent areas were often included in their territory.²¹² Known also as Yarovillca they were connected with a people mentioned by Guaman Poma in his chronicle. Based partly on Guaman Poma's account, some scholars have sought evidences of an existence of a Yarovillca 'empire', which is said to have flourished in Central Peru after the collapse of Wari.²¹³ Hernán AMAT OLAZABAL (1978) has even presented the hypothesis that Yaros were the destroyers of Wari empire. In this scenario the Yaro advance from the south was a primary causal factor for Wari's collapse. They could also represent the '*llacuaces*' of the accounts of the Central Peruvian highlands.²¹⁴

As stated earlier, to build up scenarios of linguistic prehistory and migrations of ethnic groups is close to pure speculation. There is always a problem how to correlate material culture, ethnicity, and language together.²¹⁵ This problem

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209 IBARRA GRASSO 1969:483-594.

210 HUIDOBRO BELLIDO 1993:passim.

211 *ibid.*, 49-55.

212 For Yaros, see e.g. ALVARADO ALVARINO 1978; PACHECO SANDOVAL 1984.

213 Guaman Poma de Ayala claimed his descent from the ancient Yarovillca kings ([1584-1615] 1980:passim.) See for instance, TELLO 1942:51-3; ESPINOZA SORIANO 1975; ALVARADO ALVARINO 1978; PACHECO SANDOVAL 1984.

214 AMAT OLAZABAL 1978:passim. The Yaros were also known by the name *llacuaz*, who were originally a pastoral people. AMAT OLAZABAL based his idea of the origins of the Yaros from the Titicaca area largely on the testimony of Domingo Rimachi (1656), "Que los Llaguazes (Yaros) a oído decir a sus pados que bibian en las punas y que estos vinieron de Titicaca, y que son hijos del Rayo...y se sustentaban de carne de guanaco y llamas y tarucas." (*ibid.*, 614.) AMAT OLAZABAL maintains, that an invasion of a compact and aggressive warrior and pastoral group from south caused the disintegration of Wari empire. They were possible arranged into military castes, whose leaders claimed descent of the Thunder God and adopted names from powerful totemic animals, such as pumas, eagles, falcons, condors, llamas, etc. (*ibid.*, 615.)

215 One staple example in anthropology when all three of these factors coexisted among one major group of people is: the Eskimos in the Arctic periphery.

multiplies in the areas where population density is high, socio-political interaction complex, and setting intermediate between the diffusion centers.²¹⁶ Central Peru apparently was that kind of area.

William ISBELL (1983–4) and David BROWMAN (1994) have criticized the referenced interpretations in archaeo-linguistics and historical linguistics in general, and indicated a number of problems in cultural historical reconstructions based on this kind of data. ISBELL questions the claim that “conquest states and empires spread single languages, establishing linguistic uniformity”, for instance.²¹⁷ He also points to the inaccuracy of glotto-chronology in absolute dating, although its value in relative dating is generally admitted. ISBELL suggests ethno-archaeological studies of the material culture of the speakers of the major indigenous Andean languages to reveal the degree of correspondence between language and material culture.²¹⁸

More recently, BROWMAN (1994) considers the value of the three hypotheses of Aymara origin presented above. In general, it seems that the linguists and ethnohistorians have favored the invasion hypotheses, while archaeologists supported more home-grown models.²¹⁹ For TORERO’s argument of northern Aymara invasion into Altiplano in A.D. 1200 he calls for evidences in material culture record – which are scanty.²²⁰ For BOUYSSÉ-CASSAGNE’s Chilean origin hypothesis he points to a troubling fact that “historically only an Arawak language is documented for the Coquimbo area”. He also adds that BOUYSSÉ-CASSAGNE “has recently reviewed the archaeological evidence provided by Julien (1978) and Albarracín-Jordan and Mathews (1990), noted that it shows no rupture between the ceramics of the Tiwanaku state of the AD 500–1000 and the subsequent Late Prehistoric Aymara groups of AD 1000–1450, and has denied her idea of Aymara invasion from the south during the Late Prehistoric Period.”²²¹ For this may be added, that John HYSLOP (1976) believes that Lupaca king Cari’s claim of his descent from Coquimbo is possibly Cieza de León’s misunderstanding or confusion between the names Cutimbo and Coquimbo.²²² Cutimbo was a hilltop town close to Chucuito, where the largest *chullpas* in the Lupaca territory were concentrated. According to HYSLOP, “it is highly probable that Cutimbo was used as a burial area by very important elite (the Lupaca royalty).”²²³ By using

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216 This kind of linguistic diversity existed in pre-European California too. It was a tribal cultural area with high population density, notwithstanding that the Indians were hunter-gatherers and fishers, and had no socio-political entities beyond the tribelet-level. However, numerous migrations from the outlying areas crisscrossed its fertile valleys or passed through on the way east and south. (See e.g. Robert F. HEIZER & Albert B. ELSASSER 1980. *The Natural World of the California Indians*. University of California Press: Berkeley.)

217 ISBELL 1983–4:246.

218 *ibid.*, *passim*.

219 BROWMAN 1994:241.

220 *ibid.*, 238–41.

221 *ibid.*, 247.

222 HYSLOP 1976:123.

Occam's Razor in weighting choices between Coquimbo and Cutimbo, the obvious solution favors the latter. BROWMAN sets the most heavy support on the third hypothesis, 'The long Bolivian stability hypothesis'.²²⁴ He points for instance to STANISH's (1992) studies and argument, that "household architecture, being fixed in the landscape, is a better marker of ethnicity than portable objects such as ceramics. Ceramics are too mobile, being frequently traded, exchanged or heirloomed, and thus not good measures of ethnicity."²²⁵ There is also a clear linguistic distinction between various Puquina groups, which would not be expected if their dispersal by Aymara invasion were relatively recent in origin (A.D. 1200 or so). Even though there seemingly were no uniform Puquina occupation in the Altiplano for a long time, it does not exclude the possibility that some of them were involved with Tiahuanaco cultural development – concurrently with the Aymaras.²²⁶

Considering the architecture as a marker of ethnicity, we have a specific example of a structure common in the south-central Andes which has frequently been used in this kind of allegations. The *chullpa* tower constructions in the Altiplano (and their existence elsewhere) have commonly been associated with the Aymara speakers. The *chullpa* type sepulchers have a continuous distribution from the Altiplano to Cuzco region. Rows of these kind of tombs exist in Paucartambo, and others close to Ollantaytambo, Lucre, Rucanas, etc. Although archaeological radiocarbon tests are still few, the dates would reveal that *chullpa* construction in the Cuzco area was somewhat earlier than in the Altiplano.²²⁷ William ISBELL (1977) has recently studied the overall distribution of these type of burial constructions in the Andes. ISBELL suggests that their development and spread was related to formation of *ayllu* institution and emergence of states. He concluded that prototype '*chullpas*' were first built in the Chota-Cutervo region (North-Central Andes) between A.D. 200–500. By the end of Middle Horizon they have reached Cuzco region, and not before A.D. 1000 (rather around A.D. 1200) the *chullpas* appeared in the Altiplano. Hence, ISBELL's study casts doubt about the Aymara-*chullpa* association. Moreover, the most impressive *chullpas* around Chuquito belong to the Inca phase (ca. A.D. 1450–1550).²²⁸

The thesis that the Incas had a special and private court language is mainly based on the testimony of Garcilaso de la Vega (1609). According to him: "the Incas had another private language which they spoke among themselves, and

223 *ibid.*, 122–4.

224 BROWMAN 1994:241–8.

225 *ibid.*, 242.

226 *ibid.*, 236–8, 244–7. As a final remarks BROWMAN writes, "Review of linguistic, ethnohistoric and archaeological evidence indicates little or no support for the hypotheses of prehistorically recent (after AD 750) movement of Aymara north into the Titicaca basin from Coquimbo or south from Wari. Evidence points rather to at least a millenium of Aymara dominance of the Titicaca basin and Bolivian altiplano prior to the arrival of the Inka. Existing data indicate that Tiwanaku was an Aymara-speaking polity."(*ibid.*)

227 ISBELL 1997:passim.; SCHREIBER 1993:107; HYSLOP 1976:91-93

228 ISBELL, *ibid.*, 160–288.

which the other Indians did not understand and were not allowed to learn, as it was a sacred tongue. I hear from Peru that this has been completely lost, having perished with the Inca state."²²⁹ It is possible that the Inca court had a special language, which the masses (and foreign elites) did not understand. For any imperial court of the past, which was a sacred, secret, and closed society, a protected, inner circle communication was a powerful means of maintaining an aura of divinity, fear amongst subjects, and dynastic propaganda. When a ruling court was of foreign origin, as they were in a number of cases, the use of secret (own) tongue was a convenient and practical solution. In the case of the Incas this is indeed to be expected, since numerous accounts pointed to their foreign origin. So the question remains: what could have been that tongue?

It seems likely that it was not Quechua, even any sophisticated dialectical derivation from it. This is because our chronicles have pointed out that Quechua was adopted as an official language by Inca Pachacuti, perhaps soon after his first campaigns in the Chinchasuyo district.²³⁰ Why the Incas chose a foreign tongue as an imperial *lingua franca* is a problematic question. One may propose Aymara (Aru) as a possible candidate for the native tongue of the Incas, especially when compared with the current understanding of the prehistoric linguistic topography of southern Peru. As we have noted, Aru was widely distributed throughout that region during the Middle Horizon and the Late Intermediate Period. This can be confirmed by Sarmiento de Gamboa's (1572) account, in which several tribes occupying the Cuzco region at the time of the Inca emergence were listed – with names indicating Aymara origin.²³¹

In my interpretation, however, the Aymara candidacy would be at best a partial answer. There is a third alternative for the Inca secret tongue, which every now and then has been set forth: the Puquina.

Helen Ann BARLER (1978) has written a study of ethnic continuity between Tiahuanaco and Puquinas in the southern Andes. According to her, the

.....
229 Garcilaso de la Vega (1609:lib.vii, cap.i) 1976:87. Translation from Garcilaso de la Vega ([1609] 1966:403).

230 According to Sarmiento de Gamboa, Inca Pachacuti ordered Quechua-speaking *mitmacs* to be sent and that language to be general and official in his realm. This was ordered after Capac Yupanqui's campaign in the north (1572:cap.xxxix / 1942:125.) In ROWE's (1945) chronology this campaign occurred circa A.D. 1462. Close to Cuzco, around Abancay and Curahuasi lived at that time a tribe known by the name Quechua. The Chancas had driven them from the province of Andahuaylas before they engaged the Incas. The Quechuas were allied with Cuzco in this war, and as a token of gratitude the victorious Incas gave them the status of 'Incas by privilege' (ROWE 1946:189.) BRUNDAGE (1967/ 1985:263) believes, however, "that the Incas spoke a variation of Quechua which was the tongue of the Tambos."

231 The tribes occupying Cuzco region at the time of the arrival of the Incas were: Huallas, Sauasirays, Alcabisas, Antasayas, according to Sarmiento de Gamboa ([1572:cap.ix] 1942:58.) In addition, Lares, Poques, and Maras are also mentioned (ROWE 1946:189.) Jose HUIDOBRO BELLIDO (1993:41) has connected the pre-Incaic tribes with Aymara / Tiahuanaco V intrusion into southern Peru and Cuzco region. For Aymara affiliation of these names see also, e.g. URTEAGA 1931: 38-40. For Aymara toponyms in the region, see e.g. LOZA BALSA 1970.

principal and most logical area of Puquina ethnic survival was in the Omasuyo region, northern side of the Lake Titicaca, since “most population movements, invasions, etc., have passed along the other side.”²³² They had a close relationship with the Callahuaya neighbors, whose language became ‘Puquinized’ in the course of time. The status of this language became secret among them, and was used only in professional activities, religious ceremonies etc. Aymara remained a language of everyday use.²³³ BARLER believes that Callahuayas are “the surviving group with the closest links remaining with their postulated ancestors, the Puquinas.”²³⁴ Many sub-Altiplano related traits in Altiplano cultures (such as ridged fields, decorative motifs, psychotropic snuffs, shamanism, etc.) might be explained by the extant ethnic, linguistic, and cultural relationship which the Puquina-speaking populace of the northern Titicaca region had there.²³⁵ Callahuayas were respected herbalists everywhere and they travelled far and wide in the Andes.²³⁶ In the Inca society they occupied a unique position: having a privileged priestly function, perhaps in astrology, divination, curing and so forth.²³⁷ Their presumed pre-Inca culture has been connected with the archaeological pre-Inca style of Mollo, and its influence has been found in the Paucartambo district, eastward from Cuzco.²³⁸ The later Mollo ceramics resemble Inca ceramics in form and decoration, and their principal site Iskanwaya had similar wall niches and trapezoidal doorways which characterized Inca architecture.²³⁹

BARLER cites the study of Enrique OBLITAS POBLETE (1968), who has compared the vocabulary of the secret Inca court language (given by Garcilaso) with the Callahuaya lexicon, and this convinced him of the identity of

232 BARLER 1978:33–9.

233 Beside BARLER, see also e.g. SAIGNES 1983.

234 BARLER, *ibid.*, 54–5. For Callahuayas, see also e.g. SAIGNES 1983; GISBERT 1987:102–125; MONTAÑO ARAGON 1992, tomo III:1–61.

235 BARLER, *ibid.*, 58–84. Writes BARLER (*ibid.*, 82), “In studying the manifestations of Tiahuanaco culture, Rydén early suggested that lowland origins might be indicated by certain major decorative motifs found in the painted polychrome pottery, primarily the jaguar and the serpent.” The building of ridged fields was a widely-spread agricultural practise in lowland South America. One of the most impressive ones existed in the Mojos region adjacent to Bolivian Andes. The fields in Titicaca Basin were unique in the highlands. (*ibid.*)

236 BARLER 1978; ISBELL 1983; SAIGNES 1983.

237 BARLER 1978:129–132.

238 For Mollo connections, IBARRA GRASSO 1969:563-70; BARLER 1978: 112–7; SAIGNES 1983; GISBERT 1987:104–8; HUIDOBRO BELLIDO 1993:passim. For Mollo archaeology, see e.g. RYDEN 1957; PONCE SANGINES 1957; HUIDOBRO BELLIDO 1983.

239 BARLER 1978:117-8, citing the studies of Jorge ARELLANO LOPEZ 1975 (*La Cerámica de las Tumbas de Iskanwaya*. Instituto Nacional de Arqueología. Centro de Investigaciones Arqueológicas en Iskanwaya, Pub. 8. La Paz), who has found Inca influence in wall niches and trapezoidal doorways at Iskanwaya. For similarities in Mollo and Killke Inca ceramics, see also IBARRA GRASSO 1969; HUIDOBRO BELLIDO 1993. Traces of early Inca ceramics and architectural forms has recently been found in the Pacajes region too – dated to circa A.D 1350 – 1450, and slightly earlier too (PÄRSSINEN 1993.) The Iskanwaya could have covered the period of late Tiahuanaco through Late Intermediate to Inca (SCHAEDEL 1998, personal consultation.)

Machhaj-Juyai (Callahuaya) and the esoteric language of the Incas.²⁴⁰

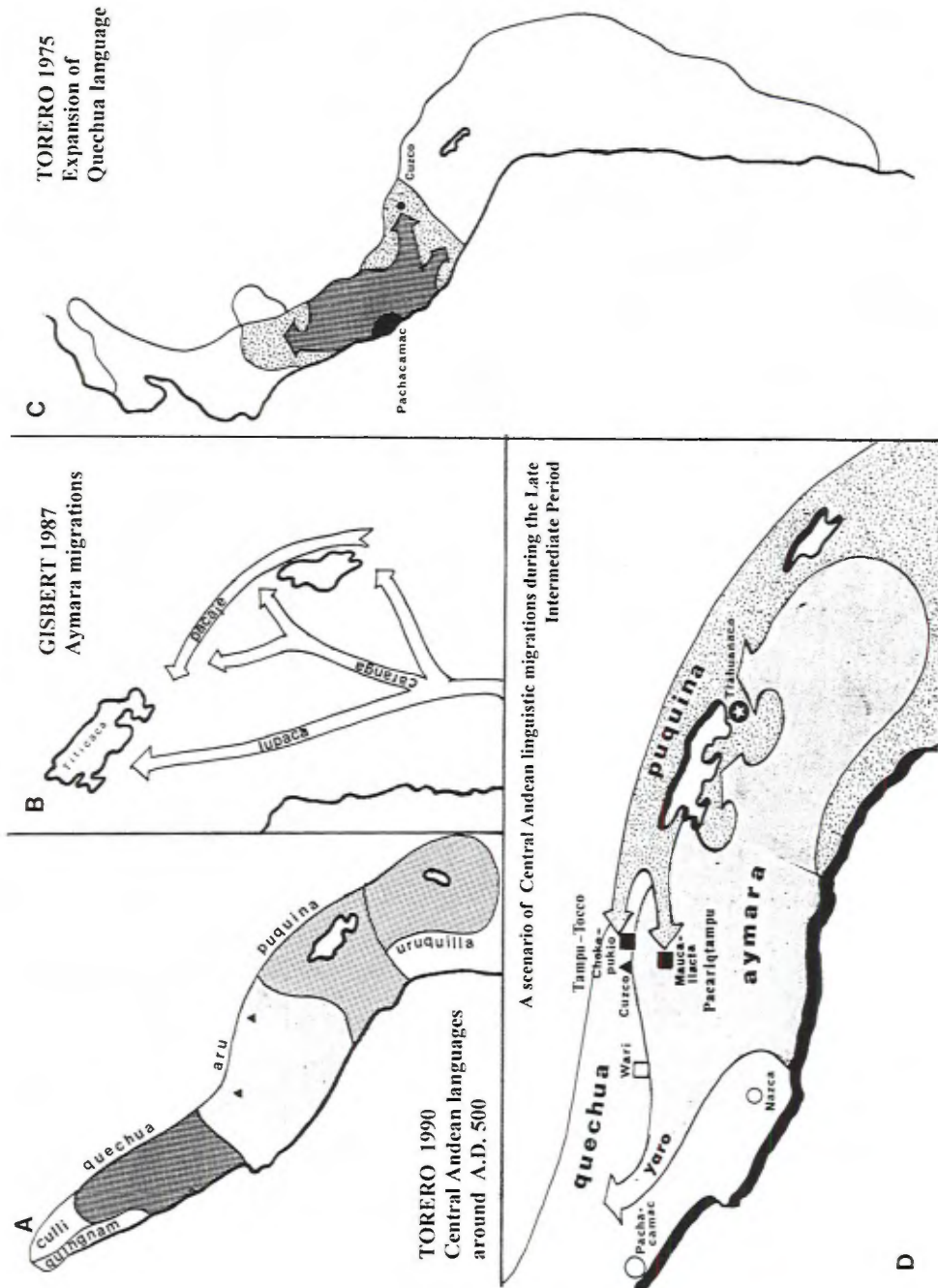
I am confident with the idea, that most people occupying the Cuzco region before the Inca imperial expansion were Aymara speakers. I will return to this topic later, but it seems likely that the Hanan-Cuzcos were the Incas proper, raised to rulership by a usurper, Inca Roca. He was presumably a foreigner, as well as the group accompanying him. Hurin-Cuzcos instead, could have been a dynasty of local origin, and likely Aymara speakers – or at least bilingual. I propose that the Incas ‘proper’ were migrant Puquinas from the Lake Titicaca region.²⁴¹

It seems evident that Hurin- and Hanan-Cuzcos had an important socio-political affinity, although they presumably were distinct dynasties. We may inspect a situation in contemporary Mesoamerica to look for possible analogies to this relationship. In the Valley of Mexico, many statelets combated, flourished, and fell after the collapse of the Toltec hegemony and before the rise of the Aztecs (ca. A.D. 1150–1430). In most cases the founders of these states were migrants from outside the valley. Their ethno-linguistic origin varied: some were Otomies, others presumably Olmeca-Xicalanca and Popoluca, and most of the remainders spoke a rude and ‘barbarous’ dialects of Nahuatl. Once they were settled, they became civilized and adopted a Toltec dialect of Nahuatl, the Nahuatl, as their tongue. At the most sophisticated level of this ‘*nahuatlization*’ the Toltec language became a court dialect of the Aztecs and related tribes. Originally there were two Aztec tribes: the Tenochcas and the Tlatelolcas, occupying adjacent islands in the Lake Texcoco. Both were independent polities until 1473 when Tlatelolco was incorporated into the Aztec empire. The dynasty of Tlatelolco had affinities to powerful Azcapotzalco Tepanecs, whose ethnic origin may have been the Otomi-family of languages, as suggested by Nigel DAVIES (1980). The Tepanecs too, became ‘*nahuatlized*’ soon after their arrival to the Valley. The Aztecs ‘proper’,

240 BARLER 1978:133–4 (compare Enrique OBLITAS POBLETE 1968). The problem in this comparison is that Garcilaso has left hardly more than a dozen words of the secret language. In Callahuaya 70% of the basic vocabulary was from Puquina, 14% from Aymara, 14% from Quechua, and 2% from Uru-Chipaya (according to SWadesh method used by Louisa R. STARK 1972. *Machhaj-Juyai: Secret Language of the Callahuayas. Papers in Andean Linguistics*. Vol.1, No.2, December) (BARLER 1978:54.) The extant Puquina vocabulary is very scanty too. The best original source is a few texts copied by Geronimo de Oré in his *Rituale seu Manuale Peruanum*, which was published in Naples in 1607. It was republished in GRASSERIE 1894 (see Primary sources.) Another collection of Puquina is CREQUI-MONTFORT & RIVET 1925, 1927. Compare also Callahuaya dictionary, OBLITAS POBLETE 1968, and MONTAÑO ARAGON 1992. For the secret language of the Incas, it has also been proposed that it came from a certain language used by Tambo-Indians (See e.g. PATRON & ROMERO 1923 and VALCARCEL 1923.) Compare also, e.g. GISBERT 1987:110–25; RANDALL 1987. TORERO (1975:223–30) has also noticed the close affinity between Puquina and Callahuaya. Extant data seems to indicate that the Callahuaya are a surviving group with the closest links remaining with their postulated ancestors, the Puquina (BARLER 1978:54–5.)

241 For the thesis of Incas as Puquina in origin, compare e.g. Enrique OBLITAS POBLETE 1968. *La Lengua Secreta de los Incas*. Editorial los Amigos del Libro: La Paz; BARLER 1978; ESPINOZA SORIANO 1987.

MAP 5. Prehistoric Central-Andean linguistic distribution



MAP 5. Prehistoric Central Andean linguistic distribution.
 Map A. According to TORERO (1990:245).
 Map B. According to GISBERT (1987:135).
 Map C. According to TORERO (1975:258).
 Map D. A scenario of Central Andean linguistic migrations during the Late Intermediate Period.

i.e. inhabitants of the island of Tenochtitlán, spoke originally a rude variant of Nahuatl until they adopted the Classical Nahuatl of the Toltecs.²⁴²

I think there are good reasons to consider certain major points provided by all three hypotheses (presented by TORERO, GISBERT, and BROWMAN) of Aymara presence in the Titicaca region. First, a part of them may have been original inhabitants – being a minority among the dominant Puquinas. Majority of these farming Aymaras presumably occupied western shores of the lake (perhaps the Collas). The Lupacas and the Pacajes were herders who migrated from the west and south, respectively. Therefore the original territory of Aymara speakers possibly extended from around the lake Poopó in south to Ayacucho in the north as an oblong belt following closely the Pacific shore. The Puquinas (and their relatives) occupied the central parts of Altiplano (circum-lacustrine) in south, east, and north.²⁴³

In referring to the study of BARLER, who has pointed to lowland associations in Tiahuanaco culture (e.g. techniques to build ridged fields), I am tending to favor the idea that the creators of Tiahuanaco civilization were Puquina-speaking people. In this scenario I do not see it unlikely, that a growing number of Aymara-speakers were slowly spreading from the circum-lacustrine outskirts toward the lake during the Tiahuanaco V period, ending around A.D. 1200. Long before the final decline of Tiahuanaco as a political center, these Aymara settlers and their potentates presumably left a significant contribution in the Tiahuanaco culture. During the final phases of the decline, however, the tempo of events and migratory movements presumably quickened. At this moment most of the Lupacas and Pacajes possibly entered on the scene. The Puquina elites with their followers escaped toward the north and west and some of them finally settled in the Cuzco region.²⁴⁴

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242 See e.g. BRUNDAGE 1972; DAVIES 1977b, 1980; HODGE 1984. The ethnicity of Olmeca-Xicalanca is not clear. Their socio-cultural affinities extended from the Gulf coast Olmecs and Chontal-Mayas to Toltecs in the highlands. Archaeologically their most prominent seats of power were in Cacaxtla, Cholula, and Xochicalco. Most probable they were a multilingual group with affinities at least to the Mixtecs, Popolocas, Chontales, and Nahuas. (DAVIES 1977b:106–20, 160–71; Ellen T. BAIRD 1989:105–6, “Stars and Wars at Cacaxtla”, in DIEHL & BERLO (eds.) 1989). For Tepanecs as Otomi speakers, DAVIES 1980:134–41.

243 D.L. BROWMAN has argued (1984, “Tiwanaku: development of interzonal trade and economic expansion in the Altiplano”. In D.L. Browman, R.L. Burger and M.A. Rivera (eds.). *Social and Economic Organization in the Prehispanic Andes*. Proc. 44th International Congress of Americanists, Manchester, 1982, British Archaeological Reports, International Series 194, Oxford, pp.117–42; a citation in ISBELL 1983–4:250) that, “the Jaqi languages, including Aymara, were not associated with maize agriculture, but with camelid pastoralism and the cultivation of tubers such as the potato. High elevation environments appropriate for such an economy stretch from Cerro de Pasco in the north, through the Altiplano to Potosi in the south.”

244 The northern side of the Lake Titicaca was more isolated territory than the southern one. The terrain there is more irregular, while the more level grazing lands on the southern side were more highly valued by the invading Aymara pastoralists. The Puquina survivals on the northern side were thus expectable. (BARLER 1978:39.) John HYSLOP (1976:204) refers to many studies (UHLE 1912, LATCHAM 1928, JIJON Y CAAMANO 1934, VALCARCEL 1939), who conclude that at least some of the groups who peopled Cuzco came from the area around Lake Titicaca. VALCARCEL (1939:212–6; cited in HYSLOP,

As has been stated, the worsening climatic conditions (causing severe droughts, etc., and consequently, leading to the failure of the type of agricultural practise in the Altiplano region), may have been a major factor for migrations. Majority of these original farmers were Puquinas, who during the waning years of Tiahuanaco political power or after its collapse (around A.D. 1100–1250), became refugee groups heading from the outskirts of Titicaca Basin towards southern and northwestern Peru. The Aymaras were moving in from the west and south towards Altiplano, presumably occupying vacant territories and abandoned fields left by the departing Puquinas. Most of them were known as the *llacuaz*, who were predominantly herders.²⁴⁵

As far as the question of linguistic affinity of the Waris is concerned, I am quite convinced that they were the carriers of Quechua language and responsible of its spread especially to the south. I also support the idea of TORERO, that the original language in Ayacucho region and presumably that of the creators of the Wari dominion, was Aymara. Moreover, I agree with BIRD et al., that the growing contacts with coastal polities (e.g. Pachacamac) probably led to much greater use of Quechua in Wari governance. The Waris were therefore largely bilingual, a statement also given by TORERO. I have provided circumstantial evidence for this idea in Montesinos' king list, in which the lexical analysis of the names of the rulers indicate a relatively balanced distribution between Quechua and Aymara (including a minor Puquina affinity) languages. SAMANEZ FLOREZ's idea of Chokepukio as a Quechua-speaking regional-state before the Incas, is well fitting into the picture too. Furthermore, I think in concert with AMAT OLAZABAL, that a migrant Aymara group of Yaros may have effected the collapse of Wari polity to some extent. If they created an 'empire' later on in the Central Andes, it was presumably a confederation, a kind of Andean variant of the Turkish or Mongolian dominions of the Central Asian highlands and steppes.

As stated above, I am convinced that the Incas 'proper' spoke originally Puquina or a related tongue, as studies of BARLER and OBLITAS POBLETE have suggested also. They were the Hanan-Cuzcos and possibly someway associated with the Callahuayas. The Hurin-Cuzcos instead, were most likely Aymara-speakers and more original inhabitants of the region. The Hanan-Cuzcos were presumably a warrior group (led by Inca Roca), which was strong enough to make themselves rulers of Cuzco, but since there were other powerful statelets in the region, they did not achieve a dominant position immediately. By usurping the Hurin-Cuzcos they chose a more convenient

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ibid., 208) points to an important reference in Inca origin myths: the migration to Cuzco was made because of a need for new agricultural lands. The climatic factors do provide an answer to this search.

245 SCHAEDEL (1998, personal consultation.) Compare, e.g. KOLATA 1993:284–98. For *llacuaz*, compare chapter V:1; DUVIOLS 1973; TORERO 1974:107–116; AMAT OLAZABAL 1978. ROSTWOROWSKI (1988/1999:14) has pointed out, that e.g. the migrations of the Incas "were not those of the primitive bands of hunters and herders but an essentially agricultural people concerned primarily with finding good lands to cultivate."

policy in overall governance of the city: exploiting for the first time the later on famous Inca policy, i.e. leaving a nominant power status for the rulers of the conquered. Until the time of Inca Pachacuti an internal strife between the Hurin- and Hanan-Cuzcos accumulated dangerously. The Chanca attack joined the factions into a common front, but after the victory Inca Pachacuti chose to settle once-for-all both these domestic and foreign political problems with a stern hand. He arranged the Hurin-Cuzco *panacas* by giving them a fixed structural status in a newly built Cuzco, and chose a third language, a neutral one, as a common means of communication for the expanding empire: Quechua. It was a practical solution also: most parts of the Chincaysuyo district, where the initial expansion mostly was directed, were already familiar with this language. Into the official mytho-history of new Inca state two origin myths were amalgamated: the Pacaritampu origins of Hurin-Cuzcos and the Titicaca origins of Hanan-Cuzcos. Consequently, in the spatio-social organization of Cuzco and of the empire, the districts of Chinchaysuyo (north) and Antisuyo (east) were associated to the Hanan, and Collasuyu (south) and Cuntisuyu (west) to the Hurin. Or more explicitly, the ancient realm of Wari merged symbolically into Chinchasuyu, and its counterpart, Tiahuanaco, into Collasuyo. Correspondingly, the origin seats of Hurin-Cuzcos were seen in Cuntisuyu, and Hanan-Cuzcos in Antisuyo. The eastern origins of Inca Roca (from Paucartampu and due to Collahuaya connection, from the East Titicaca lowlands) survived in Inca legends, in which a number of Antisuyo symbolic elements were connected to his person, attire, and deeds (compare e.g. Guaman Poma).²⁴⁶

2.3. Tentative circumstantial evidence

There are some additional factors which can be used as circumstantial proofs for my thesis, but these rest on a weaker foundation than the archaeological and linguistic evidence. Their testimonial value remains tentative, but on certain points some interesting results are provided, and these alone had given justification to include them in this presentation. These evidences are taken from the fields of astronomy and art, and the first appears to be the more promising of them.

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 246 For Inca Roca's associations with Antisuyo, ZUIDEMA 1989: 364–83. Guaman Poma refers to Inca Roca as a conqueror of eastern lowlands northwestward from Cuzco (ibid.; Guaman Poma [1584–1615:102] 1980:83). Consequently, Inca Roca was associated with jaguar (ibid.; Guaman Poma [1584–1615:155–6, 268/–271] 1980:133, 243). Moreover, Guaman Poma describes Inca Roca with a green robe, a color associated with forests (ibid.; ibid., [1584–1615:102]) For the social organization of Cuzco and Inca empire, see e.g. ZUIDEMA 1962/64, 1989:101–12, 1990:passim. For Inca mytho-historical relationship with the old Wari domain, see ZUIDEMA 1989:193–218. According to him, Incas perceived Vilcas Huaman symbolically as 'capital of Wari empire'. ZUIDEMA also agrees that the Incas possibly adoted Quechua from Wari as their official language.(ibid.)

Extraordinary astronomical phenomena: a historical rapprochement

As I have stated earlier, extraordinary astronomical phenomena like eclipses of the sun, comets, bright stars etc. were keenly observed in all places and cultures. Many civilizations, like the Chinese, meticulously recorded these events in their annals, and many others preserved them in their oral tradition. Every now and then references to these phenomena are given in Spanish chronicles too, and Fernando Montesinos' narrative has several. It is noteworthy that Montesinos has emphasized astrological skills and knowledge of pre-Incaic Amauta-kings in his chronicle. Most references concern eclipses and comets, but occurrence of supernovas and conjunctions of major planets (like Saturn and Jupiter) may be noticed too.²⁴⁷

I will test the value of my correlation by using historical analogy from the immediate period before the Spanish conquest.

Some chronicles have referred to extraordinary astronomical phenomena which occurred during the last years of Inca Huayna Capac's reign and extending into the Conquest.²⁴⁸ It is commonplace to set a retrospective causal relation to certain extraordinary phenomena, and use them as prognosticated clues for revolutionary events to come. In the case of Inca empire's fall, however, these phenomena are documented.

Listed below are the occurrence of solar eclipses and possibly comets in the Peruvian and Ecuadorean area (which was an important scene of events during the first part of 16th century):

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- 247 For solar eclipses, see OPPOLZER 1887. For comets, see YEOMANS 1991. For supernovas, see CLARK & STEPHENSON 1977. For the conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter, see note 253 below. In the Andean area one natural freak should be noticed also: El Niño (since 1983 this phenomena became universal; SCHAEDEL 1998, personal communication). I do not have a complete record of these events to cover the entire period which I am here referring to, but the Quelccaya glacier study, in which annual precipitation, dust accumulation, temperature, and atmospheric chemistry are measured for the past 1500 years, "there are many frozen signatures of El Niño episodes, which struck in AD 511-12, 546, 576, 600, 610, 650, 681, and at similar frequencies in later centuries" (MOSELEY 1992/1994:209.) For references to these phenomena in Montesinos' account, see ([1644: lib.ii, caps.viii, xiii, xiv, xx] 1882:48, 78-80, 113-4.)
- 248 Garcilaso de la Vega (1609:lib.ix, cap.xv) 1976:238): "Sin los pronósticos que de sus hechicherías habían sacado y los demonios les habían dicho, aparecieron en el aire cometas temerosas, y entre ellas una muy grande, de color verde, muy espantosa, y el rayo que dijimos que cayó en casa de este mismo Inca, y otras señales prodigiosas que escandalizaron mucho a los amautas, que eran los sabios de aquella república, y a los hechiceros y sacerdotes de su gentilidad; los cuales, como tan familiares del demonio, pronosticaron, no solamente la muerte de su Inca Huaina Cápac, mas también la destrucción de su real sangre, la pérdida de su Reino..." Xerez (1534) 1872:106, and Cieza de León ([1550-3:parte i, cap.lxv] 1976:316), have referred to a comet which was seen shortly before Atahualpa's execution. See also, ZIOLKOWSKI & SADOWSKI 1992. For eclipses as evil omens, see e.g. Cobo (1653) 1990:175.

<i>Solar eclipse</i>	<i>Comet</i>
1513 (total)	
1514 (partial)	
1520	
1521 (partial)	1523
1524 (total)	
1525 (partial)	1529 ²⁴⁹
	1531
	1532
	1533

It is important to note that the total solar eclipse in 1513 was the first one to occur in the Ecuador/Peru area for 94 years, whereas the last partial one having been in 1438!²⁵⁰ As thereafter 5 succeeded each other barely within 12 years, one could easily understand what kind of impact these phenomena caused in the minds of Peruvians, whose cosmology essentially focused on the sun. Doomsday prophesies certainly ensued, and frequent observations of comets must have brought grist to this mill. Soon afterwards a group of strange, powerful soldiers appeared on the scene out of the alien world, captured the “sun” (emperor) and conquered the realm. An equally profound, but probably less dramatic imperial collapse happened in Peru about 700 years earlier. The beginning of the collapse of the Wari empire has been dated to A.D. 800–850. Its power possibly survived locally in the Huaro-Pikillacta and other areas for some 100 years or more.²⁵¹ I am convinced that a memory of this event survived in native Andean tradition until the time of the Incas and even thereafter. Montesinos’ chronicle seems to be the only extant source which has preserved historical information of this event. His description of disintegration and the fall of the mighty Amauta-empire fits this picture better than any account of pre-Inca disintegration. According to Montesinos, in the time of Huaman Tacco Amauta, many comets and other marvellous signs were seen. During the reign of his successor, Titu Yupanqui Pachacuti (the last emperor), this celestial play continued: a great variety of comets appeared in the sky. Soon afterwards the empire collapsed.²⁵²

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249 OPPOLZER 1887:plate 130; YEOMANS 1991:411–2.

250 OPPOLZER, plates 126–9.

251 Consult chapter IV:2. Wari surviving enclave-nodes may have lasted well into the 13th century in an isolated valley like Huarney (SCHAEDEL 1985b, 1993; 1998, personal communication.)

252 Montesinos (1644:lib.ii, caps.xiii-xiv) 1882:78–80. “Sucedióle Huaman Tacco Amauta, que fué el sexagésimoprimer rey peruano. En tiempo deste rey se vieron muchos cometas y otras señales prodigiosas, grandes temblores de tierra, que duraron muchos meses...Reinó este príncipe solo cinco años;”(ibid.) And about his successor Montesinos writes: “Era tan grande la turbacion que por estos tiempos tuvieron los habitadores del Cuzco y todas las provincias del reino, así por las señales prodigiosas que cada día parecían en el cielo con tanta variedad de cometas y continuo tembor de la tierra...”(ibid.)

TABLE 5. Occurrence of extraordinary astronomical phenomena in Central Andean area during A.D. 600 – A.D. 1600

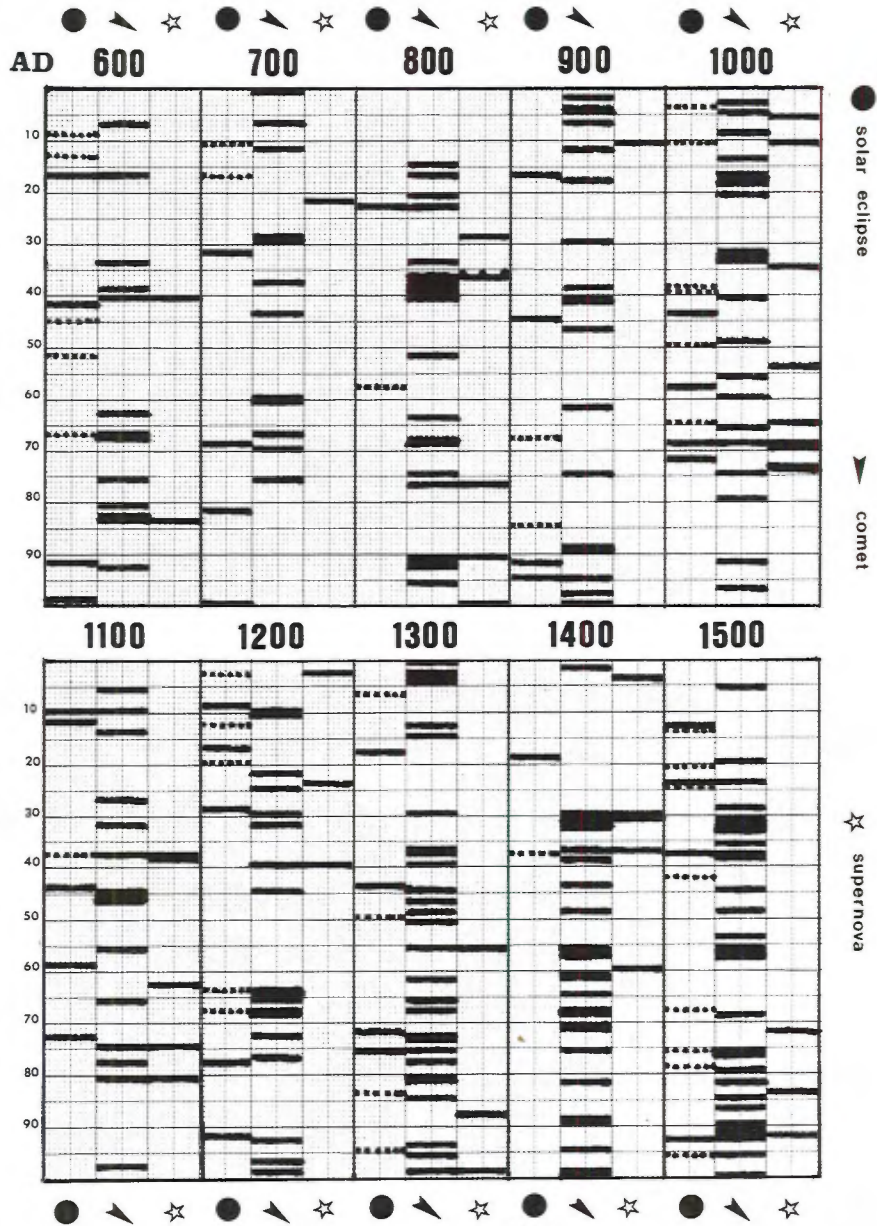


TABLE 5. Occurrence of extraordinary astronomical phenomena in Central Andean area during A.D. 600 - A.D. 1600. Sources of information: OPPOLZER 1887 (solar eclipses), CLARK & STEPHENSON 1977 (supernovas), and YEOMANS 1991 (comets).

Let us now examine the period A.D. 800–50 astronomically. In table 5 all major occurrences of solar eclipses, comets, and supernovas are listed, covering the period from A.D. 600 to A.D. 1200, with focus on the Peruvian highland area. The frequency of these celestial phenomena is remarkable:

<i>Solar eclipse</i>	<i>Comet</i>	<i>Supernova</i>	<i>Other?</i>
800 (total)	815		
	821		
823 (total)			828
		829	
	834		
	837	837 (3!)	
	838		
	839		
	840		
	841		
	(852)		

We can see that these phenomena culminated in the years 828–41. The year 837 seems to have been extraordinary: one comet and three supernovas, of which one was visible 75 days! There was a major cluster of occurrence of comets in 834–841, and in the year 828 conjunction of Jupiter and Saturnus (which happens only once in around 139 years) too.²⁵³

According to Montesinos, Huaman Tacco Amauta reigned only five years.²⁵⁴ Do we have here an astronomical tie-in to be correlated with archaeological data and ethnohistorical records? We cannot be sure, but it is an interesting possibility, and fits well into our chronological reconstruction and interpretation of the ‘Montesianian’ past.

Diagnostic artefacts: ancestral idols and elite burials

In 1927 two caches of small turquoise figurines were found in the ruins of Pikillacta. Each contains 40 sculptured figurines. These are richly garbed and they were taken from what later proved to be an elite compound of that ancient urban conglomerate. Almost all are unique in appearance, having different

 253 OPPOLZER 1887: plates 96–7; CLARK & STEPHENSON 1977:47; YEOMANS 1991:383–4. For three supernovas in 837 and one which was visible 75 days (YEOMANS, 47, 53–6). During the first half of ninth century, two clusters of occurrence of comets can be noticed: 813–23 and 834–852 (see table 5). For the conjunction between Jupiter and Saturnus in 828. This happens only once in around 139 year period (Hannu KARTTUNEN 1997, personal communication; Dept. of Astronomy, Turku University) and it has been connected with the “star of Betlehem” in astrology and popular writings.

254 Montesinos (1644:lib.ii, cap.xiii) 1882:78.

kind of headdresses and tunics by which they could be identified.²⁵⁵ Anita C. COOK has recently (1992) analyzed these figurines and believes that they may represent 40 mythical ancestors of the Wari state. Writes COOK: "In this instance, the Huari figurines seem to embody the concept of life crystallized in stone, or as Inca lore suggests [expressed it], the transformation of the ancestors or deceased rulers into venerated stones."²⁵⁶

I should like to explore COOK's idea, and suggest that these figurines may represent successive kings of the Wari-Amauta dynasty. Their number is close enough to the number of kings given in the Amauta-list (there were some 46 Amautas). One may suppose that the Wari government also used dynastic propaganda (e.g. deployed art) to embellish their mytho-historical image, which was different from the Incas who had to build their image on the pre-existing traditions. Their primary motive (of the Incas) was to delete as much as possible of the pre-existing dynasties, and to reduce the impact of what remained – to a minimum (except in the case of Pachacamac). Our cross-cultural data indicates, that pristine states usually practised different kinds of dynastic propaganda. Some used e.g. artificial lengthening as a method.²⁵⁷ By analogy, I suggest that the figurines of Pikillacta represent the rulers of the Wari (partly probably mythical), and that these indeed correspond to the Amauta-kings in Montesinos' list. If this can be proved through future investigation, these figurines are invaluable pieces of evidence out of the remote ethnohistorical past of the Andes.

These turquoise figurines are rare examples of Andean stone sculpture representing identifiable personal characteristics. A large repertory of Moche and Chimú pottery portraits – with variable individual features – exist from the

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255 For Pikillacta figurines, see VALCARCEL 1933; RAMOS & CONCEPCION BLASCO 1977; RUPPERT 1982; McEWAN 1991:97; COOK 1992. The two figurine caches were found within one of the heavily plastered interior gallery rooms of Pikillacta next to a doorway. One set of these figurines (currently in the Museo de la Universidad San Antonio Abad del Cuzco), is referred to as the Cuzco collection. The other set, housed at the Museo de América, is called the Madrid collection. The first cache was found in a layer of sand 1 m below a stone slab that interrupted the floor. The second cache was found some 4–5 m apart and 2 m below a stone slab that covered the floor. (COOK 1992:344; McEWAN 1991:97.)

256 COOK 1992:346. COOK has paid attention to pairing and possible dual aspects and functions of these figurines. One may also ask if the existence of two sets of 40 figurines should be understood as a representation of dual rulership in Wari governance. I doubt this for the following reasons: a) the figurine sets were found quite apart from each other; should they be associated diarchically, a joint cache with explicit pairing could be expected, b) there are some 20 figurines in both sets which correlate in appearance very much; in a hypothesized diarchical sets all figurines were more likely individual. I think that both sets represent the same and one 'dynasty'. Of course one would expect in finding more than 20 parallels in this case, but I think that one half of the total is a good indicator toward this allegation. The extant differences in the other half may be the due of artists' freedom in expression. Examples of this kind of artistic modification can be found in Mesoamerica, for instance, where the Maya sculptors frequently drew individual hieroglyphs and royal portraits in a different way. The neat figure 40 instead, may have been a mytho-historical number into which the Wari governance wanted to structuralize and associate their dynastic history (quite like the Incas who arranged the 10 *panacas*).

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coastal tradition. Many of them evidently represent Moche nobles and even their kings. At Tiahuanaco a number of tall, skillfully sculptured stone statues and stelae has been found. Most of them apparently represent deities. According to KOLATA (1993), flanking the entry in the Kalasasaya complex, there are series of small rooms, possibly mausoleums to hold the mummified remains of deceased rulers, where to several elegant, sculptured stone portrait heads apparently were associated with. These portraits may have been representations of individual Tiahuanaco rulers, writes KOLATA.²⁵⁸

Richard P. SCHAEDEL (1948, 1952) has provided a reasonable complete primal analysis of the stone sculpture in the Andes. According him, both Huari and Tiahuanaco sites had anthropomorphic monumental sculpture – but not of the life-size ancestor type: much more like oversized deities.²⁵⁹ On the other hand, in the Mesoamerica certain statues (i.e. *stelae*) and low reliefs have presently been identified as representations of kings. Until the 1960's Mayanists generally believed that portraits in *stelae* represented various deities, but nowadays most of them have been identified as former kings.²⁶⁰ SCHAEDEL has recently added, that Huari oversized robed figures could actually be statues of kings.²⁶¹

As has been noticed, the ancestral worship was an essential feature in Andean socio-political life and religion. Mummified corpses of former kings were the most revered objects in this perception. Mausoleum shrines and megalithic chambers were built as much as their tombs as sites of their worship. As ethnohistorical evidence from the Inca times clearly indicates, the mummies of kings were portable, not buried objects. When the Spaniards entered to Cuzco, the Incas carried their mummified kings to a safer place at Ollantaytampu fortress. Later, when the Neo-Inca state was established in the forested Vilcabamba Valley, the mummies were transported there.²⁶²

258 For the existence of stone sculpture in the Andes, compare e.g. SCHAEDEL 1952. For Moche and Chimu portraits, see e.g. KUTSCHER 1950; HAGEN 1965; STONE-MILLER 1995. For Kalasasaya portraits, KOLATA 1993:135–49. For Tiahuanaco sculpture and portraits, see also POSNAN SKY 1912, 1928, 1945.

259 See SCHAEDEL's dissertation *An Analysis of Central Andean Stone Sculpture* (1952). Compare also, SCHAEDEL 1948. The distribution of the pre-Hispanic and pre-Incaic stone sculpture in Central Andes indicates that only the Callejon de Huayllas and isolated cis-Andean sites like Aija had an abundance of "ancestor-like" life-size statues (SCHAEDEL 1948, 1952).

260 See, e.g. SCHELE & MILLER 1986; FIEDEL 1987; SAUNDERS 1989; FASH & STUART 1991.

261 SCHAEDEL (1997, personal communication; 1948:73)

262 See e.g. ISBELL 1997:passim. For Inca mummies and their transfer to Vilcabamba, (ibid., 38-68). Writes ISBELL (ibid., 149), "The mummies were portable, especially among the Incas and in the Chinchasuyu portion of the empire, where they were seated on litters and paraded about the country. Consequently, there is reason to doubt that if a defeated group were driven from its land, or a victorious group moved its capital to a more central location, the ancestor mummies would remain behind in the ruins of old monuments. Furthermore, we know that *huacas* were objects of capture or destruction in warfare – idols and *malqui* mummies were included in the general class...Did new people replacing older occupants allow their shrines, and especially their ancestor mummies, to survive? We do not know with certainty the answer to this question, but it seems likely that in precolumbian conflicts many mummies and human remains were deliberately moved or destroyed."

Several stone chambers have been found from the site of Wari, for instance. They could have housed mummies of Wari rulers, but all have unfortunately been looted.²⁶³ A more likely cause that they have been found empty, can be explained by the Inca analogy above. Apparently they were carried to safety when the disintegration and a threat of intruders were felt too oppressive in the Wari capital. We may speculate that these mummies were carried to the south, perhaps at Pikillacta, where a gallery room at the center of the city housed them for a while. Perhaps their images were carved into turquoise figurines, which were kept at that same mausoleum as their idols of reverence. Once Pikillacta was abandoned the mummified kings may have been kept at Chokepukio or some other site in the region, or carried to more remote place to be finally buried.

Large parts of the Wari site itself are still to be excavated, and much more work in related sites is waiting for archaeological survey. A new Wari site has recently been found from Cuzco region, Huaru, which appears to have been at least the size of Pikillacta. Others await to be revealed. Future research will certainly provide interesting new insights to Wari society and culture. We may hope that some day remains of Wari kings will be found in some of these sites or hidden places elsewhere in the southern Peru. Who they possibly were historically is a topic of the next main chapter of this study.²⁶⁴

The interior main hall of Coricancha, the Inca temple of the sun, as imagined by the artist, Leone Matthis (in Jose Imbelloni: 'Monumentos y escenas del Cuzco antiguo', Revista Geographica Americana, año 7, vol. no. 84, 1940.



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263 For Wari stone chambers, see e.g. BENAVIDES 1991:55–69; ISBELL 1997:181–8..

264 There is a possibility that Huaru may have been a regional capital instead of Pikillacta (McEWAN 1996, personal communication.)

■ V. Pre- 15th Century Reconstruction of Inca Predecessors

1. Montesinos' testimony vs. conservative perception

Two opposite, conservative perceptions have informed diachronical standpoints to Incaic society through the centuries until today. One is the so-called "Garcilasan" viewpoint or "school", which – strongly generalizing – favored an ideal image of the Incan past, and another, the "Toledan school", which presented the Incas in less favorable terms. The chroniclers were grouped (by MEANS 1928) according to their tendencies to one or the other, a kind of subdivision which is largely rejected nowadays, but which dominated Andean research a few decades ago.¹ Although a general grouping of chronicles is more complicated than this, the major works of authors carrying names of the said "schools" were indeed trail blazers for general perceptions and influenced many other writers. It is noteworthy also, that these opposite standpoints fluctuated in popular imagination depending on whatever socio-political trends happen to be dominant.²

Both of these chroniclers appear to have alienated in similar terms from the historical truth: they provided position papers justifying or attacking the Spanish rights. In spite of opposing positions (in terms related to alleged Inca despotism), in one major point their accounts worked in common: both exaggerated the superior impact of the Inca dynasty on Andean history and denied pre-existing civilizations and rule. The Toledan "school" presented the Incas as aggressive conquerors, who created their imperial dominion out of almost nothingness within a hundred years or so. The Garcilasan viewpoint instead, allows a much longer duration for this process and emphasizes Incan

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1 The division into "Toledan" and "Garcilasan" "schools" was introduced by P.A. MEANS in *Biblioteca Andina* (1928), primarily on the basis of chroniclers' critical or sympathetic attitude toward the Incas. John ROWE modified this division in his "Absolute Chronology in the Andean Area" (1945) by making a distinction between chronicles which favored a rapid Inca expansion and those who made that a gradual process. The "Toledan" group corresponds more or less to the first, and "Garcilasan" to the latter. It is noteworthy that both the "Garcilasan" and "Toledan school" presented the Inca history being of a relative short but comet-like duration. Even though the explicit division of chroniclers into 'schools' is rejected today, in scholarly discussion one still perceives a 'gut reaction' as to whether Toledo was a good administrator or an ogre. (SCHAEDDEL 1998, personal consultation.)

2 For instance about the judgement of the value of Garcilaso de la Vega, Harold LIVERMORE (1966:xxix) has written: "Those who have praised or condemned Garcilaso have often done so less out of regard for his own merits than out of the judgement they have formed of the Inca empire. And this is, and must be, a variable standard."

diplomacy as a strategic conquering factor, but equally or even more, stressed the fact, that the Incas were the sole creators of the Andean civilization.³ Several chronicles, however, do give references to pre-Incas and dynasties before them (e.g. early sources like Las Casas). Although these references are mostly very brief and occasional, so many sources are involved, that the sample is both convincing and significant. The single, largest by far, and most important source among them is – Montesinos' chronicle. I have re-grouped the principal chronicles into "canonic" and "divergent" – "schools" in appendix 3b, and out of some 40 sources, one half represent deviant and less-canonic standpoints to the Incaic past. The group of "divergent" chroniclers consists of two subgroups: a) shortened dynasties, and b) extended dynasties. We may label them also as the minimalist and the maximalist tradition. This relative marked disharmony and divergency from the canonic model probably reflects inadequacy of Incaic propaganda to spread their 'official' mytho-historical doctrine uniformly.⁴

Before entering a discussion of Montesinos' testimony vs. conservative perceptions of the Andean past, an introduction to the socio-political situation by and large (at the end of 16th century), and two major opposing viewpoints in colonial writing (the "Toledan" and the "Garcilasan"), should be made. Both presented the canonic model of Inca dynasty; so far as the number of reigns, mytho-historical origins, and very broad outlines of the Inca history, are concerned.

The socio-political world which dominated the Central Andes during the last decades of the 16th and the first decades of the 17th centuries may be called Early Colonial Quechua from the natives' point of view.⁵ In related to colonial writing genre, this period (1572–1650) is also known the Toledan- and post-Toledan era.⁶ It was a time when the Andean native culture and tradition were fighting for its survival against the multiple efforts of acculturation by the Spanish colonial government. The colonial apparatus was most effective on material and superficial levels of culture, whereas on mental and religious aspects less so. The effective extirpation of idolatry, for instance, gained ground only during the period of 'Mature Colonial Quechua' (ca.1650–ca.1750), when the Catholicization of the natives had been mediated by religious concessions to native belief. The peasants spoke Quechua as before, and in fact it was

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 3 MEANS 1928:passim; ROWE 1945. Consult also, Sarmiento de Gamboa (1572) 1942 and Garcilaso de la Vega (1609) 1976.

4 For the 'short' and 'long' dynastic traditions, writes IBARRA GRASSO (1969:437), "Ya hemos visto que las series dinásticas 'cortas' son provincianas [regionales], cosa que sí dice bien Imbelloni, pero ocurre que también la lista 'larga' es provinciana, ya que Blas Valera era de Chachapoyas; lo mismo el 'manuscrito' comprado por Montesinos en una 'almoneda' de Lima, parecía proceder de Quito, según los datos del mismo Montesinos."

5 KUBLER 1946. KUBLER has divided the Colonial era in the Andes as follows: Proto-Colonial Quechua (1534–1572), Early Colonial Quechua (1572-ca.1650), Mature Colonial Quechua (ca.1650–ca.1750), and Late Colonial Quechua (ca.1750–1821) (ibid.) For more about Colonial Indians in Peru, see e.g. SPALDING 1972; WACHTEL 1977; LOCKHART 1982; STERN (1982) 1987; and ANDRIEN & ADORNO 1991. Compare also Guaman Poma's (1584–1613) illustrated chronicle.

6 See chapter I:2.

spreading wider than during the Inca times, though the total native population declined until the end of the Mature Colonial period.⁷ In regional communities, thirty years after the Conquest, e.g. *quipus* were still used for accounting purposes.⁸ As WACHTEL (1977) writes: “despite the collapse of the structures of their society, the Peruvian Indians resisted the process of acculturation which was imposed on them by the Spanish, at least as far as religion was concerned. In other words we have a phenomenon of rejection.”⁹

The name “Toledan” is derived from the most vigorous Spanish viceroy of Peru, Francisco de Toledo. He was sent to Peru (1569) by the Spanish Crown, in order to resolve multiple socio-political problems which prevailed in the Viceroyalty. He faced them with resolution, and acted over-zealously. He crushed the long-lasting Neo-Inca resistance and executed the last Inca ruler, Tupac Amaru. To justify Spanish colonial rule in Peru (and refute Las Casas, whom he disliked) and the elimination of the Incas, he undertook an extensive investigation, which attempted to demonstrate the actual usurpation and the unjust nature of the Inca regime.¹⁰ It was important to “show” that “the Incas were modern tyrants, that before Topa Inga conquered the land there was no general overlord, that the Pope made the king of Spain lord over them and that, since they had no natural or legitimate lord, the king of Spain became their ruler.”¹¹

The first act in this policy was to produce an official statement: *Informaciones que mandó levantar el Virrey Toledo sobre los Incas*. It was a formal inquiry – ordered by the Viceroy – into the Inca history and its institutions, religion etc., and was taken down by means of translators. Some two hundred Indians at eleven different points in Peru (between Jauja and Cuzco) were interviewed during the period November, 1570 – March, 1572. When the gathered information proved to be corroborative for the Toledan view, he sent

7 KUBLER 1946; STERN 1987; ANDRIEN & ADORNO 1991. The Spanish missionaries encouraged the spreading of Quechua in order to facilitate the spreading of Christianity (WACHTEL 1977:150.) See also, ROWE 1982:113. For the demographic collapse in Peru, see COOK 1981.

8 WACHTEL 1977:151. E.g. “during his census ‘visit’ Garci Diez [to Chucuito in 1567] always accepted ‘quipu’ figures as the most reliable evidence of the information he was seeking” (ibid.) The major destruction of the *quipus* started only after the Council of Lima (1582-3), which marked them as items of idolatry (BROTHERSTON 1979:17; ASCHER & ASCHER 1981:157.)

9 WACHTEL, *ibid.*,9. Acculturation seems to have been more highly developed in the north of the country in former Tahuantinsuyu (e.g. Cuenca region) (*ibid.*,159.)

10 HANKE 1969b; HEMMING 1970:411-56; STERN 1987:76-9. For Toledo’s hatred of Las Casas and his ideas, see e.g. HANKE 1969b:87-9. The negative view of Inca history and rulership was initially presented by Licentiate Juan de Matienzo in his book *Gobierno del Perú* (1567). He interpreted the Spanish conquest as the liberation of a racially inferior people, who had fallen under the Inca tyrants. Toledo merely affirmed and tried to document Matienzo’s position. For Matienzo, see e.g. MEANS 1928:391-5; HANKE:96-7; STERN 1987:72-6. Consult also, Matienzo (1567) 1967.

11 HANKE 1969b:89. It is worth noting that, although in viceroy Toledo’s account and in his organ chronicle, the Incas are frequently called usurpers – which would bring forth the idea of powerbroking act on some previous dynasty – it has been used more like an accusing synonym for tyrants in general.

the document to his king.¹² In his conclusive statement he wrote for instance: "Your Majesty is the legitimate ruler of this kingdom and the Incas are tyrannical usurpers."¹³

Toledo's *Informaciones* is a controversial document. Since it contains some detailed regional data, many scholars have been willing to accept it for its ethnographic value.¹⁴ One could ask for instance: why most of the witnesses for Toledo's investigation were senile old men? Were only the "yes-men" chosen? What about the 'leading' questions?¹⁵ Practically all the questions were of yes-or-no character, and suggestive, such as: Is it true that the Indians never

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12 MEANS 1928:479-97; HANKE 1969:89-92; HEMMING 1970:412-5. There were three sets of Toledo's *Informaciones*: the first one starting on March 1571, the second in May and June 1571, and the third enquiry in January 1572. The earlier enquiries (from November 1570 to March 1571 in Jauja, Huamanga, Vilcas, Pina, Limatambo, Mayo, Cuzco, and Yucay) were intended to demonstrate that the Incas were recent conquerors. In the enquiry held in May and June 1571 Toledo sought to show that the Incas were also tyrannical rulers. At a third enquiry, in January 1572, the earliest origins of the Incas were examined. The answers revealed a bitter hatred of the Incas even among some of the minor groups occupying the Inca heartland. (HEMMING, *ibid.*) Consult also, Toledo (1570-2) 1921, (1572) 1940.

13 HANKE, *ibid.*

14 HANKE (1969b:89-7) writes about this controversial attitude toward *Informaciones* by modern scholars and names Roberto LEVILLIER as a most vigorous defender of it. Åke WEDIN (1966:83), on the other hand, emphasizes its propagandistic aspects. PORRAS BARRENECHEA (1986:38) has taken a moderate standpoint to evaluate this source and emphasizes its historical value more than its propagandistic aspects. More than anything it possibly reflects the historical concepts prevailing among the Cuzqueños - which could be distinct from provincial concepts.

15 MEANS 1928:493-7; HANKE 1969b:90; HEMMING 1970:412-3. For the senile old informants: e.g. 5 from Xauxa in 1570 (ages 85-95 years), 4 from Aylo de Arayucho in 1572 (79-94 years), and several informants exceeding 80 years from Yucay in 1571 (Toledo [1570-2] 1921:118-34.) If the ages of these informants were approximately correct (80-95 years), they were born around 1475-90 and had their active adult lives during the reign of Huayna Capac. The Toledan questionnaire occurred 36-38 years after the Conquest. There should have been plenty more potential informants aged between 60-75, who could have given useful information on the nature of Inca rule around 1520-33 by their own experience and more so as hearsay from their elder relatives. MEANS (*ibid.*, 497) concluded, "I feel however, very strongly that enough evidence has now been presented to prove the utter worthlessness of the *Informaciones* of Toledo and, consequently, of the History of the Incas by Sarmiento. In both cases the basis upon which the structure of false testimony, reared by Toledo's will, rests is the evidence of numerous broken-spirited, baptized Indians who were densely ignorant of the truth concerning Incaic history and who constantly contradicted themselves and one another. They were cowed by the martial strength of the Viceroy's government and by the new *spiritual terrorism* [*italics mine*] which Catholic Christianity had put in the place of the old cults; they were unable to speak to their questioners directly because of the barrier of language, and consequently they had to talk through the mediation of an unscrupulous blackguard, Gómez Jiménez, to a ruthless and prejudiced audience - Toledo and Loarte; finally, most of them were in extreme old age when senecitude must have beclouded their memories considerably, and some of them harboured grudges against their former rulers."

MOORE (1958:9-10) has specified: "The Indians were generally illiterate; the questioning and recording of answers was done by Spaniards. The answers were sometimes in the form of prepared statements which were read to a group of distinguished octogenarian Indians, many of them former officials, who then affirmed that what had been read to them was correct. To what extent the answers were those of the Indians, and to what extent the version of the investigator and recorder cannot be exactly determined. There is no doubt from the precisely repeated wording of many answers by different Indians that the hand of the scribe was strong in forming the text."

recognized voluntarily these Incas as their lords, and only obeyed them through fear of great cruelties inflicted against them? Finally, 37 selected Indian informants were summoned to Cuzco, where the testimonies were read out to them. When the interpreter referred the Incas having been but usurpers, *the Indian listeners became angry* [italics mine]. Toledo tried to calm them by stating that, they should be not surprised at this, for the King of Castile had also conquered many kingdoms by arms as the Incas did. Finally, the informants testified as to the correctness of the prepared statement by oath.¹⁶

To get supportive documentation for his cause the Viceroy gave a special task to his trusted administrative officer, Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa: he was supposed to write the true history of the Incas. By using partly the same informants as in *Informaciones* plus a number of additional ones, Sarmiento was ready to present his account to the Viceroy on February 29, 1572.¹⁷ The arguments became confirmed: yes, the Inca rule was illegitimate and the Spanish Crown had freed the native Andeans from their yoke. With his policy thus justified, Toledo launched a profound re-organization program all over his realm. It worked while he was reigning (1569–81), but soon after him the protests against the Spanish rule emerged again. Surviving native nobility held esteem for indirect rule, until the revolt of Tupac Amaru in late 18th century.¹⁸

16 MEANS 1928:496; HANKE 1969b:90–2; HEMMING 1970:415.

17 HANKE 1969b:93–5; HEMMING 1970:414–5. It is noteworthy that these 'Toledan doctrines' were preceded by the affirming writings of Licentiate Juan Matienzo. He went to Peru in 1561 and wrote a history *Gobierno del Perú* (1567) for the purpose of displaying the true nature of native government and related things. In his history 'Mango Capa' had seven successors in office. He refers to Atahualpa's cruelties and gave a general judgement that all Incas were selfish tyrants (MEANS 1928:395; STERN 1987:71–5) Gary URTON (1990:68) suspects, that "Pachacutian" version of Inca history may have dominated when Toledo and Sarmiento gathered their information. According to him, "because of the traits and interests that were attributed to 'Pachacuti Inka' in the mythohistorical traditions that were shared by the descendants of the Inka nobility in the early colonial period, Sarmiento's informants probably associated this name, or title, with the official history of the Inkas. Therefore, the descendants of Pachacuti Inka in Hatun Ayllu/Iñaca Panaqa would probably have been considered the legitimate historians of the empire. As one of the oldest members of Pachacuti Inka's panaqa in Cuzco in the early 1570's, Domingo Pasac would have been recognized as one of the highest authorities on Inka 'history'." Consult also, Matienzo (1567) 1967; Sarmiento de Gamboa (1572) 1906, 1908, 1942.

18 HEMMING 1970:411–73; STERN 1987:76–9; ANDRIEN 1991:121–48. Sarmiento de Gamboa's Inca history provided also an accurate chronology of the Inca rule with individual regnal spans covering a total of 968 years for 12 rulers (Manco Capac to Huascar). According to this chronology, the Inca rule started at A.D. 565 (Sarmiento gives Manco Capac's death at A.D. 665, after a 100-years reign). A grand total covering around 1000 years was apparently aimed at. A marked discrepancy in individual reigns is in the place of Sinchi Roca, to whom only 19 years was allowed. (Sarmiento de Gamboa [1572:caps, xiv-xv] 1942: 75-6). This must have been a lapse from the accountants. For the explanation of such a long rule, Sarmiento says that it was due to healthy climate and because men and nature were in those days more robust, and people did not marry until they were past thirty (ibid., cap.lxxi, p. 189). ZUIDEMA (1962:228) maintains that, it can be concluded "that in the original version of the history of the Inca, as represented by Sarmiento, there was question of a thousand year old Inca Empire in which the ten rulers of both dynasties ruled a hundred years each. This history of the Inca was probably purely mythical. The aims of this history in the Inca view was to give a picture not only of the past of the Inca, but to express the system of the social organization of Cuzco." It is still strange that Sarmiento and

The reason why Toledo's anti-Indian program partially failed, was a strong ecclesiastical opposition. Even before his arrival to Peru he was warned about free-speaking friars who have resided among the natives.¹⁹ As a matter of fact, both his *Informaciones* and Sarmiento's *Historia indica* was partially intended to be a counter-argument for Las Casas' pro-native descriptions.²⁰ When Toledo arrived in Peru, the first Jesuits entered too. From the very beginning they tended to be strong defenders of the Indians, and consequently, a thorn in Toledo's flesh.²¹ They and members of other religious sects tried to prevent the execution of the last Inca. Toledo, fearing the potential opposition for this execution, acted quickly. Only three days after the captured Inca was brought to Cuzco, a sham trial was arranged, and the accused was killed.²² Even though a hard colonial apparatus was grinding to pieces elements of the native cultural heritage and traditions during these decades, the 'subversive' activity of some ecclesiastics did much to prevent the total destruction. It was a history's irony, that both manifestos of Toledo, *Informaciones* and *Historia indica*, were never published during the colonial era, but all of what Las Casas wrote, were.²³ At the same time Garcilaso de la Vega's *Royal Commentaries*, with its ideal view on the Incas, became a best-seller until the times of Tupac Amaru II's revolt (1780), when it was censured.²⁴

Garcilaso de la Vega, also known as "El Inca", was a son of captain Don Sebastian García Lasso de la Vega and Doña Isabel Chimpu Ocllo, an Inca princess and a niece of the emperor Huayna Capac. He was born at Cuzco on April 12th, 1539. His principal work, *Comentarios reales de los Incas* is best known of all chronicles, and it was first published in 1609.²⁵

Garcilaso de la Vega's chronicle has provided abundant information of importance – concerning Inca cultural traditions, social customs, and

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the Toledan governance presented a history of 1000 year Inca rule, when their primal policy was to testify that the Incas were recent conquerors of this land. The only plausible explanation would be in showing that the Spaniards were long waited liberators to free the people from the prolong, tyrannical Inca yoke.

19 HANKE 1969b:87-8; HEMMING 1970:passim.

20 WEDIN 1966:83; HANKE 1969b:87-97.

21 For the Jesuits' activity in general, see chapter III:1.5. HEMMING 1970:passim. The chronicler Guaman Poma de Ayala wrote in favorable terms about Jesuits (Guaman Poma de Ayala [1615:659-661] 1980:623-4; PORRAS BARRANECHEA 1948:13; ADORNO 1991B:256), because many of them were friends of the Indians and interested in native traditions.

22 HEMMING 1970:441-52. Ironically, soon after the execution, Toledo arranged a marriage between Inca Sayri Tupac's daughter, Beatriz Clara Coya and Martín García de Loyola, the commander hero who captured the Inca. Martín García was a great nephew of St. Ignatius, the founder of Jesuit organization. Their daughter, Ana María Lorenza García Sayri Tupac de Loyola was in turn married to Juan Enríquez de Borja, grandson of St. Francisco de Borja y Aragón. Jesuits, always fond of native nobility, were proud that the descendants of their saints were united with the Inca royal family. (ibid., picture 39: text facing p. 418, 459-70, table facing p. 505.)

23 HANKE 1969b:96; HEMMING 1970:415.

24 KEEN 1971:206, 307.

25 MARKHAM 1910:260-84; MEANS 1928:367-8; LIVERMORE 1966:xx-xxiv; MIRO QUESADA 1976:ix-xli. See also, e.g. José Toribio POLO: "El Inca Garcilaso" in *Revista histórica*, tomo I, 1906:230-53.

descriptions of provinces, but regarding to Inca history its contribution is markedly less, at least in by modern conception and critique. The mere fact that Garcilaso wrote his chronicle after forty years of absence from Peru, in Spain, makes many of his statements and accounted facts dubious simply because of memory loss, which is highly to be expected during such an extended period.²⁶

Garcilaso's importance could be summed up in LIVERMORE's words: "Thanks to his mixed Andean-European descent and to his initiation into both his ancestral traditions – a double education which was the privilege, or burden, of his mestizo blood – Garcilaso was able to serve, and did serve, as an interpreter or mediator between two different cultures that had suddenly been brought into contact with each other."²⁷

Garcilaso's *Commentaries* became almost a Bible for many Peruvians,²⁸ and a manifesto of Andean "Utopia" for a number of European writers and scholars during the Enlightenment and the Romantic era.²⁹ It was a commonplace to make comparison between the Aztec and Inca states, and usually the latter enjoyed greater favor in these perceptions. Although Aztec art and intellectual achievements were often admired, the image of their sanguine religion was so pervasive, that the "humane" Incas almost invariably came off better.³⁰ Much of this positive image was due to the writings of Garcilaso. Later, during the period of neo-Romanticism, exemplified by P.A. MEANS (1931), revitalized the image of the Andean welfare-state and extended its idea to benign despotisms.³¹

Garcilaso's work was inspired by the neo-Platonic philosophy of León Hebreo. It may be defined as a re-interpretation of Inca history in the light of 16th century European Humanist ideas. Garcilaso seems to have distinguished

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 26 MEANS 1928:375–6. Garcilaso left Peru for Spain in 1560 (*ibid.*, 371.) He refers himself to his memory loss in Book eight of his work: "I do not know if my memory, relying on my inability easily to rectify its mistakes because of the distance that separates me from my own people, is indeed deceiving me: my relatives, the Indians and mestizos of Cuzco and the whole Peru, shall be the judges of this piece of ignorance on my part and doubtless of many others in my work. I hope they will forgive me, for I am all theirs and have only undertaken a task so out of proportion with my feeble strength as this book, and without any hope of reward from anyone, in order to serve them." (1909:lib.xiii, cap.xi / 1966:502.)

27 LIVERMORE 1966:xii.

28 MEANS 1928:380.

29 The most influential writers of Enlightenment who admired Incaic society and presented them in favorable terms in their writings were Montesquieu and Voltaire, and the latter had two copies of Garcilaso's *Comentarios* in his library (KEEN 1971:253–5.) During the Romantic era, Alexander von Humboldt (who travelled in South America) was one of the foremost advocates of the Incas, who compared their civilization with the Greeks for instance (*ibid.*, 330-1.)

30 KEEN 1971:219, 255, 269, 275, 307. Garcilaso's contemporary Indian chronicler in Mexico, Don Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl, bears comparison with him. He "displays the same mastery of European historical technique; the same massive base of information obtained from native sources; the same tendency to embellish the tribal record; the same ambivalent outlook on the pagan past and the Conquest" (*ibid.*, 198.)

31 *ibid.*, 490; HANKE 1969b:73. BAUDIN (1928) and KARSTEN (1946) favored the idea that the Incas created a first totalitarian and socialist welfare state in history.

three ages in the history of Peru. In the first phase, men had been living savage and uncultured lives. The second age saw the civilizing work of the Incas. The third age inaugurated by the arrival of the Spanish, like allegorical Christians reviving a new civilization on the Roman heritage and realm.³²

Of course much of Garcilaso's gilding image of the Incas was motivated by his sheer maternal bloodties, but he was also undoubtedly writing a defensive response to Toledan propaganda and Sarmiento's anti-Incan mission.³³ The Spanish colonial apparatus in the 1600–1700s obviously did not approve of Garcilaso's popularity, and its political harassment went to extremes during the times of Inca Tupac Amaru II's rebellion, when the Spanish Crown sought to collect all copies of the *Comentarios* that were still in circulation. A few decades later, San Martín, "the Liberator of the South, sought to re-edit the book as a symbol of patriotic fervor."³⁴

Garcilaso de la Vega is the only chronicler who has not given the pre-Incas any credit for anything.³⁵ Sarmiento de Gamboa's Inca history did not refer to pre-Incas much more either: only naming a few tribal groups and stating that

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32 WACHTEL 1977:160–1.

33 HANKE 1969b:72; JARA & SPADACCINI 1989b:29–30. According to WACHTEL (1977:161) "The truth is that Garcilaso wrote his *Comentarios* as a work of polemic: his interpretation is a point by point refutation of the so-called Toledo school of history (after the viceroy). In order to justify Spanish domination, the latter had described Inca government as cruel and tyrannical. Without explicitly admitting a polemical purpose, Garcilaso takes the opposite stance and presents the Inca Empire as the archetype of the Ideal State. His readings of the neo-Platonists favoured such a reconstruction." Writes JARA & SPADACCINI (1989:29–30), "Garcilaso also assigned to the rule of the Incas the same sort of manifest destiny since prior to the Incas everything had been barbarism and ignorance.....His recuperation of Indian traditions from a Hispanic point of view differs from the type of affirmative antidiscourse that one observes in Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala, whose ...*Nueva coronica...* focuses on the vision of the vanquished."

According to MIGNOLO (1989:71), "In colonial Peru, Garcilaso de la Vega was the perfect example of the adaptation (in order to criticize it) to Western literacy..., while Guaman Poma epitomizes the use of alphabetic writing in order to resist the literacy of the colonizer."

34 JARA & SPADACCINI, *ibid.*

35 MEANS (1928:380), who speak so favorably about Garcilaso and followed his account of Inca history in his major work (1931), noticed this defect: "I will content myself, therefore, with saying that the one grave defect of the work is its omission of all reference to the pre-Incaic period" (*ibid.*) When Garcilaso narrates the conquests of various Incas, he had to take a stand on pre-Incaic matters in such cases as Tiahuanaco, Pachacamac, and Chimú. In the first case he passed over the topic quickly by referring to legends that these buildings were made up overnight in the remote antiquity, and to a report of his schoolmate, Diego de Alcobaza, whose description of the site contains a native tradition which maintains that these buildings and statues were dedicated to the Creator of the universe, and some of the statues were ancient men turned to stone for their sins (Garcilaso de la Vega [1609:lib.iii, cap.i] 1976:124–5). On the other hand, Pachacamac cannot be explained away easily, and in this context Garcilaso focused his description to the temple and to the Creator god called Pachacamac, which was adored in the whole coastal area (*ibid.*, [lib.vi, caps.xxx–xxxii] 1976:66–71). For the Chimú Garcilaso writes but briefly, calling the ruler of that nation as "el curaca principal se llamaba el poderoso Chimú", and who was treated as a king. He does not give any descriptions of a mighty Chimú capital of Chan Chan, but refers to the fortress in the valley of Paramunca as a monument built by the Incas in honour of their victory over the Chimús (*ibid.*, [caps.xxxii–xxxiii] 1976:72–77).

there were no governments before the Incas.³⁶ Both of these authors had ideological and political reasons to diminish the fact, that there were pre-existing civilizations in Peru. From the Toledan point of view the conquest of Peru became more legitimate if the evidences of a millenia old civilization (hence: dynasties) could not be indicated. Although the Incas arose into Barbarian “civilization”, their tyrannical rule made the Conquest a beneficial act for the poor natives of the land. Obviously the main line argument of the Catholic Church also willingly supported the idea that the native Peruvians have always been basically simple, child-like, innocent people – which made them ideal masses to be converted to Christianity. Garcilaso answered this pejorative view, but went to another extreme: by making the Incas Creators of True Civilization – comparable with those in the Old World, and even surpassing them in moral sophistication.

Franklin PEASE (1982) has defined the ‘Toledan’ and ‘Garcilasan’ perceptions as two retrospective utopias. The latter is a well-known image of a powerful, benevolent and paternal Andean state, and a second form of utopia. The Toledan one pictured the opposite: a powerful state, but ferociously incapable of any benevolence. “It dominated the whole Andean region with a political apparatus that was solid as it was ‘illegitimate’ or ‘usurping’. In this latter image the conquests were rapid and established a kind of uniformity through terror.”³⁷

The question of Garcilaso’s primary sources of information concerning his Inca history has frequently aroused suspicion among scholars. No doubt, this part of his information was based on his own childhood experiences, and stories heard from his maternal relatives – only to be recollected and written down some forty years after his departure from Peru. He quotes sources like Blas Valera, Cieza de León, and Acosta frequently, but only a few times in the context of Inca history. The question of his use of Blas Valera’s lost works as his source has remained open. As has been noted, he says himself that only half of Valera’s papers were rescued from the pillage during the sack of Cadiz by the English. In around 1596 a Jesuit residing at Cordova, Maldonado de Saavedra, gave him the history of Peru (or part of it) by Blas Valera, a manuscript which has been said to be written in most elegant Latin. Anyway, he refers to Blas Valera’s half-destroyed papers in several places of his account in a convincing manner.³⁸

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 36 Sarmiento states, “Pero averiguase, que, aunque la tierra era poblada y llena de habitantes antes de los Ingas, no se gobernaba con policía, ni tenían señores naturales elegidos por común consentimiento, que los gobernase y rigiese y a quien los comunes respetasen, obedeciesen y contribuyen algún pecho.” ([1572:cap.xiii] 1942:56.)

37 PEASE 1982:182–3.

38 Garcilaso de la Vega mentions in several places in his *Commentaries* ([1609] 1966) that he had only parts of Valera’s papers in his possession. In (lib.i, cap.vi; 19) he writes: “his papers were lost in the sack of Cadiz...I received the remains of the papers which were saved from the pillage...What is missing is the greater and better part. I was presented with the papers by Padre Pedro Maldonado...” In (lib.i, cap.xi; 33): “Padre Blas Valera, as appears from many parts of his torn papers...” In (lib.v, cap.xiii, 269): “Thus far Padre Blas Valera: the passage he refers to has been lost.” In (lib.vi, cap. xxxvi; 369): “This is from Padre Blas Valera. I found it among his mutilated papers, but the part in which he promises to speak of

GONZALEZ DE LA ROSA (1907) has suggested, however, that at the sack of Cadiz the priests were allowed to take their papers with them, and thus Garcilaso may have received Valera's history intact. Be that as it may, the fact remains that he does not refer to a single pre-Incaic ruler in his *Commentaries*, of which there apparently was information in Valera's book. Instead, he informs us, that for a narrative of the events of each Inca's reign, he wrote to his old schoolfellows and asked them to send him accounts of conquests of the Incas. He adds that they sent that information to him, and that is how he got the records of the deeds of the Incas. It is difficult to avoid a suspicion, as writes MARKHAM (1910), that the narratives of historical events in his book were indeed based more on the communication from his schoolfellows than on the history of Valera.³⁹ One possible reason for this informative discrepancy between Valera and Garcilaso could have originated from their distinct native background, which were associated with rivalries between royal clans of Atahualpa and Huascar. Blas Valera was a partisan in favor of Atahualpa and Garcilaso one of his most severe critics.^{39b}

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- rules for judges, marriages, and wills, the armed forces, and the reckoning of the year has been lost, which is a great pity." In (lib.vii, cap. iii; 406): "The chapter of Padre Blas Valera dealing with the general language of Peru to which we have referred was ch.ix of Book II of the *History*, as is seen from the mutilated remains." In (lib.ic, cap.xiv; 573): "Huaina Cápac had died eight years earlier in 1524, after reigning forty-two years, as the torn and tattered papers in which that great investigator, Fray Blas Valera, wrote the ancient deeds of these kings, testify." In (lib.ix, cap.xxiii; 592): "Padre Blas Valera, after telling in his regrettably halfdestroyed papers..."
- 39 GONZALEZ DE LA ROSA 1907:185–6; MARKHAM 1910:263–80. Writes Garcilaso ([1609:lib.i, cap.xix] 1976:45): "Porque luego que propuse escribir esta historia, escribí a los condiscípulos de escuela y gramática, encargándoles que cada uno me ayudase con la relación que pudiese haber de las particulares conquistas que los Incas hicieron de las provincias de sus madres, porque cada provincia tiene sus cuentas y nudos con sus historias anales y la tradición de ellas, y por esto retiene mejor lo que en ella pasó que lo que pasó en la ajena. Los condiscípulos, tomando de veras lo que les pedí, cada cual de ellos dio cuenta de mi intención a su madre y parientes, los cuales, sabiendo que un indio, hijo de su tierra, quería escribir los sucesos de ella, sacaron de sus archivos las relaciones que tenían de sus historias y me las enviaron, y así tuve la noticia de los hechos y conquistas de cada Inca, que es la misma que los historiadores españoles tuvieron, sino que ésta será más larga, como lo advirtiremos en muchas partes de ella." Montesinos has also questioned Garcilaso's use of Valera's works, and wonders why the plunders at the sack of Cadiz would not have sold the entire work of a famous author but only relics of it ([1642:lib.i, cap.5] 1869:356–7): "Y por lo que dice del padre Blas Varela [sic!], respondo que extraño la devoción de los herejos en repartir reliquias de lo saqueado en Cadiz, y en que si fueron por rescate, fuesen los redemptores tan escasos que no lo hiciesen de todas las obras de un autor tan famoso." A few lines later he asks again why he [Garcilaso] has to say that in the sack of Cadiz only relics of Valera's work was used?; "¿para que pues decir que del sacco de Cadiz que hicieron los Ingleses el año 1596 recogió las cenizas ó reliquias de la obra del padre Varela? [sic!]" Read also, GONZALEZ DE LA ROSA 1908, 1908b.
- 39b Sabine HYLAND has given me interesting clues in this matter. According to her (1997, personal communication), "I believe that Valera, who was certainly one of Montesinos' main sources, associated this history [the 'maximalist tradition'] with the new history of Atahualpa. We know that Atahualpa was planning to promulgate a new version of history once he took power. Valera, who was highly partisan in favor of Atahualpa, had conducted interviews with some of Atahualpa's historians. However, it is quite possible that Valera, who had an ideological interest in extending the length of the Peruvian dynasties, may well have embellished this history with material taken from another chronicler, Melchior Hernandez OdeM." [for more of this connection, see chapter V:3.2.]

We do not have information how Montesinos estimated the value of contradictory historical data coming from the pen of Sarmiento de Gamboa. He does not refer to his writings at all. Garcilaso instead is quite well represented in his citations. Montesinos makes it quite clear, that he did not esteem Garcilaso's writings very highly however. In several places Montesinos criticizes Garcilaso's faults, fictional information, or how he "speaks certain things sinisterly".⁴⁰ By looking at the sources of Montesinos (the chronicles

 M. ROSTWOROWSKI (1988/1999:32-34, 107-8) points out e.g. Garcilaso's role in distorting the historical facts of Inca rule. His account of the royal Inca mummies found by Polo de Ondegardo differs essentially from the original report of Polo, even though Garcilaso used him as a source. Garcilaso was descended through his mother from the *panaca* of Tupac Yupanqui, to which Huascar also belonged. Atahualpa belonged to the *panaca* of Pachacuti (*Hatun Ayllu*). The civil war essentially raged between these two factions. The cruelty of Atahualpa's generals toward the faction of Huascar, "affected Garcilaso profoundly and caused him to distort the historical facts...The same passions moved Betanzos in the opposite direction, when he omitted Huascar from his *capaccuna* or list of Inca rulers", writes ROSTWOROWSKI (ibid.) She adds also, that Garcilaso "makes every effort in his chronicle to diminish the image of Pachacutec, who was a prominent figure of rival Hatun Ayllu." That is why he hailed Viracocha of the victory over the Chancas and added to his history an Inca Yupanqui between Pachacutec and Tupac Yupanqui (ibid.)

- 40 See, e.g. Montesinos ([1642:lib.ii, cap.v.] 1869:555), "Lo demás que pone aqui Inca Garcilaso es ficcion y quimera". This sentence occurs only in *Ms. Merced*, not in *Ms. Universitaria*. Most extensively Montesinos uses Garcilaso in the context of speculations on the origin of the name Peru. In this section he points to several faults in Garcilaso's information ([1642:lib.i, cap.v.] 1869:353-8.) In another place (ibid., cap.vii; 1869:521-2) Montesinos estimates Garcilaso as follows: "Fingió muchos sucesos, no indagó la verdad de los que otros autores tratan, apoya con ellos sus dichos y así hablo en algunas cosas siniestramente...Erró en la computacion de los años en que de ordinario se encuentra, y lo peor es que por ser Indio quiere que se le dé todo crédito: y erro el mayor como sería viendo por mi historia en donde por los libros de Cabildos van ajustados los sucesos con años..." ("He invented many events, having not investigated the truth of what the other authors treated, and from this basis he speaks about some matters in a sinister way...He errs in the computation of the years which do not fit into any ordinary frame, and worse is the fact that being an Indian he wants the people to believe what he is writing; and he made his worst mistake as it is seeing in my History where in the books of Cabildo [cabildo = municipal] the events and the years are adjusted...") (Translation mine, with personal consultation in use of certain terms in this text from Richard SCHAEDEL and Oscar PEREZ 1998) In his *Anales del Peru* (1642:Tomo II /1906:45) Montesinos writes: "Todo lo dicho y bautismo deste Inga y afecto con que lo recibí, e sacado de la Historia antigua, manuscrita del collegio de la Compañía del Cuzco que tengo en mi poder y estimo en mucho por ser verdadera y de aquellos tiempos, con que quedan vencidas las ficiones del Inga Garcilaso, y que habló de memoria en esto como en todo, pues no supo quién fué por General de la empresa ni los Oficiales desta jornada. Garcilaso, parte 2, libro 8, capítulo 16." ("All that has been said, and (since) the baptism of this Inga [Tito Cusi Yupanqui] which was received affection, and which I have extracted from the ancient History, a manuscript in the Jesuit [Compañía] college of Cuzco, and which is in my possession, and which I firmly believe holds a truth about those times; with this I see the fictions of Garcilaso to be vanquished, and since he speaks about this as everything else from his memory, because he did not know who was the general of any enterprise nor the officials of their expedition." Translation mine, with personal consultation from R. SCHAEDEL and O. PEREZ 1998.) Here Montesinos refers to the Vilcabamba expedition led by general Martín Hurtado de Arbieto in 1572 (Montesinos, ibid.; Garcilaso de la Vega [1609:parte ii, lib.viii, cap.xvi] 1966:Part Two: 1469-71.) Compare also, HEMMING 1970:425-40. Here we have an interesting reference to a manuscript in possession of Montesinos, which he has obtained from the Jesuit college in Cuzco. At least it seems to have treated contemporary matters and have to do with baptisms.

cited by him in his writings), we can notice almost a total absence of “Toledan” writers, for instance.⁴¹ He may have ignored them intentionally, which seems likely, since the propagated model of Peruvian history presented by Sarmiento and his colleagues differs so profoundly from his notions.

The absence of pre-Incaic accounts in Sarmiento’s and Garcilaso’s writings (and in many other chronicles of their “schools”) is to be expected, as has been noticed. But to explain the general prevailing silence on the pre-Incas, especially in the Cuzco region, calls for answers from the native tradition itself. It seems evident that the Inca official tradition and dynastic propaganda had much to do with this absence. Perhaps the Toledan informants were telling their histories according to their best understanding, and how it was taught to them in the Incan court and school at Cuzco. Perhaps Garcilaso did the same: memorizing what the noble Incas told to him while he was a young lad in Peru. The Incaic propaganda apparently had been most effective in the Cuzco region, where Garcilaso lived his early life and where most of Toledo’s enquiries were made. The pre-Incaic legends survived better provincially as we have noticed. Apparently certain old Cuzco *amautas* were aware of them too, since the Incaic mythographers, as propagators elsewhere, did not destroy all the evidence for good – ‘original copies’ (i.e. *quipus*) at least were presumably saved in secret archives. Be that as it may, the conclusive fact remains: the pre-Incas were deleted on purpose.

Dick IBARRA GRASSO (1969), who has paid much attention to the factors of Inca dynastic propaganda in his study, concludes that,

1. Inca ‘official’ history was a production of Inca Yupanqui Pachacuti.
2. The Inca mythographers added on the ‘official’ tale an allegation that before them there was only ‘*behetrias*’ (i.e. confederacies)
3. The Hurin-Cuzcos were an invented extension to the Inca dynasty.
4. Manco Capac was a mythical hero transferred from ancient Collao tradition to the Inca tale.
5. The large king lists related by Valera-Montesinos belonged to mythical pre-Incaic Colla-Tiahuanaco tradition, which were eliminated from the Inca ‘official’ history.
6. The epithet Pachacuti IX belonged actually to Inca Viracocha, who was the real conqueror of the Chancas and Collas. The name Pachacuti was of Collao origin.
7. At the advent of Spanish conquest, Inca Atahualpa was preparing a similar rewriting of Inca history as did Pachacuti before. His intentions possibly were focused on developing a dynasty which would be centered at Quito.⁴²

41 Compare Appendix 3b and chapter III:3. The only exception is Polo de Ondegardo, who sometimes has been classified in the “Toledan” school of writers (MEANS 1928.)

42 IBARRA GRASSO 1969:623–9. The concept of *behetrias* is commonplace in Spanish historiography. MILLONES (1982:213) characterizes its meaning in the 16th century: “Although its application has been burdened with a stereotyped error that came more from its context than from its etymology. The Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, who is mainly responsible for the diffusion of the term, used “*behetria*” to contrast it with the Inca empire,

Most of IBARRA GRASSO's conclusions are well in accordance with my perceptions of the Inca history and pre-Incaic past. Instead of associating the 'Montesian' kings to Colla-Tiahuanaco, I connect them to the northern empire of Wari and its aftermath. I also agree that Manco Capac belonged to a mythic past much more remote than Inca lore has suggested. The epithet Pachacuti may be etymologically "Colla", i.e. Aymara origin, whereas I am tending to think that he rather than Inca Viracocha was the Inca hero of the Chanca war after all. Nor do I believe that the Hurin-Cuzcos were 'invented', as suggested by IBARRA GRASSO. They apparently were not true Incas, as I have assumed, and more likely they represented a predecessor dynasty holding their seat in Cuzco and/or the Pacaritampu region for a longer period than Inca history has presented us. Moreover, I think that all Inca rulers had both ideological and personal interests to present their dynastic history in the light of current socio-political atmosphere most fitting to each one's individual reign. Therefore, all of them manipulated, more or less, the Inca 'official' history, although possibly none of them did it as profoundly as the usurpers Inca Roca, Inca Yupanqui Pachacuti, and Atahualpa.⁴³

Before entering the reconstruction of the 'Montesian' past, I see it relevant to repeat here the basic arguments why the historicist approach is a better choice than the structuralist one used by many students of Andean history. Equally, even though this historicist approach tangentially follows the path pioneered by ROWE, it also challenges many solutions and interpretations presented by this traditional 'school'.⁴⁴

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- insinuating – by implication and with the skill of his pen – that he was comparing order and chaos, civilization and savagery, etc.” According to ROSTWOROWSKI (*Señorios Indígenas de Lima y Canta*, Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1978:45; whom MILLONES cited.) the original meaning of the word and concept was 'a village whose neighbors, being absolute lords over them, could receive whomever they liked, and was most profitable for them, as chief'. Before 1500 this term was used in the context of Spanish history (SCHAEDEL 1998, personal consultation.)
- 43 Writes BAUDIN (1962:28–9), “In this way the historians of the Inca period described primitive man to audiences who marvelled that they [the Inca] themselves were so remarkably civilized. They passed over in silence, not only all the civilizations previous to the Incas, but also the whole history of the races subdued by them. Outside this dynasty, there was nothing because there could be nothing.” Writes LÉMLIJ (1991:11), “En alguna forma, aunque errada, se podía el número de incas de acuerdo al número de panacas al momento de la llegada de los españoles. Esto es muy relativo porque los incas estaban continuamente reescribiendo su historia.” The revision of Inca history continued until Atahualpa's reign, as we have noticed. IBARRA GRASSO (1969:27–8) writes that, all attempts of reconstructing Inca dynasty is hampered by Pachacutec's deliberate revision in his reign.
- 44 URTON (1990:6–7), in writing about disagreements between historicists and structuralists, says: it is important to note that this debate is not unique, in theoretical terms, to Andean studies, it is found, for instance, in the controversy between 'literal' (or historical) and 'structural' interpretations of Indo-European myths (Dumezil, 1977 [1959]). In addition, a remarkably similar debate to that in the Andes has gone on for several decades in the study of Central African 'historical' narratives. On one side, Vansina [and J.C. Miller on the other] has consistently argued for literal, historical interpretations of the origin myths of kingdoms among the Bantu-speaking peoples of Central Africa...The debate in Central African studies, which is seen in the opposition between literalist and structuralist interpretations of origin myths, is strikingly similar to one in Andean studies concerning the historicity of the pre-Hispanic kings of the Inka dynasty (or dynasties).”

I list below the major allegations given by the structuralists and the traditionalists about the Incaic past. I present these allegations in a somewhat pointed way, to make the distinctions between these interpretations more clear to the reader, although most scholars today do not perceive the Andean past in such a one-sided and tendentious way. My comments and counterparts are given beside the each allegation.

The structuralist interpretation of Inca culture and history

1. *The Incas had no sense of real history. They perceived the past mytho-historically, by means of genealogical structures, and sacred geography. Their concept of time and world view was cyclical. Repetitive World Ages and 'pachacuti' periods characterized their thinking of the past.*⁴⁵ The present study has provided a quantity of evidence which contrasts with this view. The Andean elites apparently perceived their past in a cyclico-linear fashion. Many ideas of native temporal periodization most likely were later diffusive notions either from the Mesoamerican or European tradition.

2. *The Inca origins is completely entangled into timeless mythic structures of the past. Beside Paccaritampu-myth the Titicaca origin myth is often referred to.*⁴⁶ It seems that both origin myths were amalgamated into 'official' Inca mytho-history. In my scenario, the former belonged to Hurin-Cuzcos, and the latter to Hanan-Cuzcos. Both sites were related in a sacred, historical geography.

3. *The Inca dynasty was not an unilinear 'European' dynasty at all, but a dyarchy or triarchy. Its primary function was associated with a complex kinship*

45 See, e.g. WACHTEL 1971/1977; SALOMON 1978, 1982; PEASE 1981; ADORNO 1982; MILLONES 1982; ZUIDEMA 1986, 1989, 1990; BOUYSSSE-CASSAGNE 1987, 1988; NETHERLY 1990; RAPPAPORT 1990, 1994 (Colombian Andes); URTON 1990. Writes SALOMON (1982:10–11), "All were inappropriate because the Andean 'sense of history' demanded not a chain of events, but a pattern of events. That it was, and still is, cyclical, has been well established." NETHERLY (1990:462) write, "Andean historiography concentrated on structural rather than causal relations, that is, relations between people or groups of people rather than processual relations between events. Among other things, the intent of Andean accounts is to define or redefine the social and political order. A historical – in the Western sense – personage or event may be recorded, but this is incidental to the message embedded in the *form* of the account, which reaffirms, for example, the rights of a particular group of their place in the socio-political hierarchy. The form itself can vary according to the canons of Andean principles of hierarchy and kinship with the location of the person who is the point of reference...This places real constraints on the Western use of Andean oral history, particularly the king lists provided by the European chroniclers."

46 See, e.g. ZUIDEMA 1989, 1990; URTON 1990; PEASE 1991b; SHERBONDY 1992. ZUIDEMA (1990:34–5) sums it up, "Indeed, all these histories of ancestors are derived from mythical models similar to those found in other parts of Peru. The Inca authorities used these tales to account for actual situations, within a contemporary administrative, hierarchical, and geographical context, and not to elucidate historical facts. It is nonetheless obvious that these 'histories' can help us to understand how the Incas themselves conceived of their own past."

and genealogical structure that characterized the Inca capital, Cuzco. The Inca ruler had no absolute sovereignty, but was a part of conciliar political organization, where many subsidiary institutions steered or dictated his decisions. The Inca kings were more like titles instead of historical personages.⁴⁷ The chroniclers are in consensus as giving a view of unilinear Inca dynasty; even some structuralists themselves maintain, that the diarchical hypothesis is not well established and lacks sufficient data from the upper level of Inca society.⁴⁸

4. *The accounts of Inca history and society given by most chroniclers are largely untrustworthy. They contain features which are indications of European influence, e.g. Western type monarchy, succession by principle of primogenitura, schools at Cuzco, council of four, etc. The relations of native informants were largely distorted and colored by perceptions which would please the European accountants.*⁴⁹ There was nothing essentially 'European' in the general portrait of Inca society, as described by the most trusted chroniclers, nothing which would not fit into cross-cultural schemas encountered in a number of ancient societies with a comparable level of complexity.

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- 47 See, e.g. DUVIOLS 1979b; PEASE 1981, 1990, 1991b; NETHERLY 1990; ZUIDEMA 1990; URTON 1990; MOSELEY 1992/1994; PÄRSSINEN 1992; REGALADO DE HURTADO 1993. ZUIDEMA (1990:489) points out, "mentioning the word *dynasty* obliges us to think of historical chronology; but dynasty is also, and even more so, a problem of kinship and of a system of kin terms, of age classes and of systems of *mita* services regulated in terms of an annual calendar." Writes (his student) URTON (1990:5), "not only to Pachacuti Inka, but to all the kings who supposedly ruled before the arrival of the Spaniards, is that each name was, in fact, a *title* in a complex dualistic and hierarchial structure of genealogical and administrative positions. The elaboration of this imperial (mythohistorical) administrative structure by native informants in the years immediately following the conquest were transformed by the Spanish chroniclers into a European-style, linear chronology by the representation of this system of hereditary titles, a system perhaps similar to 'positional succession', as a single line of dynastic succession." According to (ZUIDEMA 1986:197), "Inka completely 'burned their books' and showed to the outside world of the Spaniards and non-Inka subjects only their revised model as it reflected the existing political hierarchy. Myths like ones discussed above from Inca Rocca to Pachacuti Inca were also attached, with the same ahistorical unconcern, to later kings: Tupac Yupanqui, Huayna Capac, and Huascar and Atahualpa – all still remembered by informants of the Spanish chroniclers. Mythological history continued to be constructed up to the time of the Conquest, when it merged with Western history... We do not have to doubt that these persons existed, but there is every reason to be critical in accepting events in the generational sequence as given. Chroniclers writing after Molina and Polo de Ondegardo further modified this sequence to make it more and more 'reasonable' to Western understanding."
- 48 Writes NETHERLY (1990:484), "by recasting the political model away from unitary rule toward the Andean variety of collegial rule, where no individual could have power over the whole society, but rather had to negotiate the acquiescence of his co-rulers, heads of important sections of the society, more questions have been raised than have been answered."
- 49 See, e.g. WACHTEL 1971/1977; SALOMON 1978; PEASE 1981, 1991; ADORNO 1986/1991; URTON 1990; PÄRSSINEN 1992 (about Inca schools and council of four). Writes URTON (1990:9), "the chroniclers misunderstood political structures as chronological events, and in the process they effectively historicized what was, at the base of it, an ideology of history that was timeless, repetitive, and fully interchangeable – and integrated – with political, social, and ritual structure."

5. *The astronomical skills of the Andeans were very sophisticated. A socio-political organization of the capital and in extension, the empire, was largely built on basis of a complex manifestation of sacred geography. In this perception the spatio-temporal aspects were combined in exploiting a sophisticated system of calendrics and astronomical alignments, e.g. in the organization of ceque-lines.*⁵⁰ One of the best contributions of the structuralist studies is a more comprehensive understanding of the Andean calendrics, sacred geography, and many ritual concepts. I agree that all these notions had fundamental settings in Andean thought and cosmology, but nothing in them necessitates that their function should be interpreted exclusively in ahistorical, cyclical, and structural fashion.

6. *The favored chroniclers are: Jose de Acosta, Polo de Ondegardo, Betanzos, Molina del Cuzco, Guaman Poma, Pachacuti Y.S., Avila/Huarochiri Ms., and Bernabe Cobo.*⁵¹ The 'emic' cultural perception commonly used in the Andean structuralist research, requires naturally extensive use of native sources, and ethnographically narrated chronicles. The approach of the present study is quite much the opposite in its 'etic' perception, although the use of native sources and ethnographies is equally important.

Traditional historicist interpretation of Inca culture and history

1. *Inca imperial expansion was launched from the Chanca victory ca. A.D. 1438.*⁵² Current archaeological evidence seems to support a view, in which the conquests of the Incas extended to a rather wide area in southern Peru well before the reign of Inca Pachacuti.

2. *Inca origins are mytho-historically connected to Pacaritampu, whence they migrated to Cuzco around A.D. 1200 with the leadership of legendary ancestor, Manco Capac or his son, Sinchi Roca.*⁵³ The chronology of the Inca (presumably Killke) beginnings is currently set backwards in time, at around A.D. 1000. The exact location of the Pacaritampu site is not referred to in the earliest chronicles, it was apparently defined more specifically during the times of Viceroy Toledo for political and ideological purposes.

50 See, e.g. ZUIDEMA 1962/1964, 1975, 1982b, 1989, 1992; URTON 1981/1988; PEASE 1991. Compare also, RAPPAPORT 1990, 1994.

51 Polo de Ondegardo (1559–71) and José de Acosta (1588–90) are primary sources for the presentation of two parallel Inca dynasties. The indigenous sources, Guaman Poma (1584–1615), Avila/Huarochiri Ms. (1608), and Pachacuti Y.S. (1613), present the "emic" view of the Andean society. Molina del Cuzco (1573–75) is important source of the Inca ritual and calendar, while Betanzos' (1551–7) description of the Inca political system reveals features, which could be interpreted as indicators of co-regencial or diarchical practice in Inca governance.

52 See, e.g. ROWE 1945, 1946; MASON 1957/1979; BRUNDAGE 1963/1985; LUMBRERAS 1969/1974; WILLEY 1971; KENDALL 1973/1978.

53 See, e.g. ROWE 1946; MASON 1957/1979; BRUNDAGE 1963/1985.

3. *The Inca emperors were authoritative, capable rulers, who were able to create an immense socio-political entity with a huge network of roads, terraces, cities, etc., dotting the Andes from the Colombian border to Central Chile within a few generations.*⁵⁴ Modern archaeology has long been aware of the fact, that many institutions, constructive works, and administrative ideas had well-established and sophisticated antecedents in Andean societies before the Incas. The Inca conquest state did not possess profoundly unique means to control its territories; they borrowed ideas from their advanced predecessors (e.g. Wari) and contemporary societies of high complexity (e.g. Chimú). Their rulers were as ambitious, pragmatic, even cruel as imperial sovereigns anywhere, and they used dynastic propaganda unscrupulously whenever needed.

4. *Inca Pachacuti as a "Father of victory, The Lion of the Mountain, Organizer of the state, Creator of imperial mystique" etc.*⁵⁵ The historical, superhuman portrait of this ruler is largely derived from the native tradition, and traditional historicist view, in which the imperial development of Inca state was compressed within a chronological framework of some 90 years. In this view it has been necessary to accumulate plenty of deeds and creative ideas in a few reigns, and preferably for the first one in this illustrious line. Perhaps more than this modern interpretation, the emergence of Inca Pachacuti as a super king is due to Inca dynastic propaganda and Inca Pachacuti's own self-assertion, which has intentionally provided this portrait for posterity.

5. *The spread of Quechua throughout the Andes was due to the expansion and colonization of the Incas, whose original language was a derivative of it.*⁵⁶ Many Andean scholars do not agree that the Incas spoke Quechua as their original tongue. Modern studies in historical linguistics provide strong arguments in favor of Quechua-spread throughout large areas in the Chinchaysuyo district during the Middle Horizon and Late Intermediate periods. I have argued in favor of Puquina as having been a language of the Incas originally.

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54 Writes ROWE (1945:281): "In a state ruled as autocratically as was the Inca Empire, a long process of gradual expansion implies a long line of unusually competent rulers, and the slightest examination of the history of other dynasties makes it very clear that a succession of more than two or three able rulers is a very rare occurrence. A series of twelve rulers of the caliber described by Garcilaso is fantastic."

55 Compare e.g. BRUNDAGE 1963/1985, who has given these attributes to Inca Pachacuti. The chronicler who has given the most detailed and praising portrait of Inca Pachacuti and his reign is Juan de Betanzos (1551-7). Cieza de León (1550-3) provides a lengthy description of his reign in rather an objective way, while the accounts of Sarmiento de Gamboa (1572) and Cabello de Balboa (1586) present him in a negative light.

56 See, e.g. ROWE 1946. According to him, all the small tribes in the Cuzco area seem to have spoken Quechua, which also was the language of the Incas (ibid., 185-9.) Writes BRUNDAGE (1967/1985:263): "While the history of *runa simi* [Quechua term for Inca language] has not been established, there seems little doubt that the Incas spoke a variation of Quechua which we can identify as the tongue of the Tambos."

6. *Inca skills in astronomy and recording of history (in quipus) were relatively unsophisticated, especially compared with the Mesoamericans.*⁵⁷ Much due to the advances in structuralist studies this belittling view has now been completely altered. Equally, modern perception of the mnemotechnic sophistication achieved in Andean *quipu*-‘writing’ is far more appreciative than before.

7. *The favored chroniclers are: Cabello de Balboa, Bernabe Cobo, and Sarmiento de Gamboa (only thereafter Cieza de León). Relatively many ‘independent’ chroniclers.*⁵⁸ The chroniclers which have provided the most detailed descriptions of Inca conquests are Sarmiento de Gamboa and Cabello de Balboa. Betanzos and Murua are almost as good sources in this respect, but their more complete works have been available for scholars only since 1987 and 1962, respectively. The account of Murua has significant similarities with that of Cabello de Balboa, of which he apparently used as his source.

All our evidence seems to indicate that the ancient Peruvians (their elites) did have a real sense of history and means to transmit it.⁵⁹ This can be read from their native vocabulary also, in which a clear distinction is made between fictional and factual information. “Quechua language contained a great number of words connected with narration, and that different words were used in the recounting of an event, or a fable, and different again when relating imaginary and wonderful deeds, or the words of a song, etc.”, writes BAUDIN (1962).⁶⁰

.....
57 Writes BAUDIN (1962:157): “Astronomy, which seems to have been of a lower order than that of the Aztecs or Mayas, did not succeed in freeing itself from myths.” Compare for instance V. von HAGEN’s general writings on Incas (1957/1961), where the information of Inca astronomy and even caledrics is minimal.

58 ROWE (1946:194–5) highlights the importance of Cobo, and writes about Cieza de León as follows: “Cieza is very reliable, but tends to generalize instead of giving specific examples, which is a little annoying. He is our principal source for the outlying provinces of the Inca empire.” ROWE also refers to *Cobo as a complete independent source!* (1945:269) Cabello de Balboa (1586) seems to have been ROWE’s favorite chronicler beside Cobo. This writer has provided the chronological frameworks most frequently used for Inca imperial era: reigns of Pachacuti (1438–71), Tupac Yupanqui (1471–93), and Huayna Capac (1493–1525). In the present view on Incaic past the reverence of Cieza de León rises even more.

59 Writes SULLIVAN (1996:164), “it appears to me that the Andean peoples possessed both a historical consciousness and the means to transmit it.” According to MAMANI CONDORI (1989:51–2), “This specialist, independent development of a historiographical tradition, universalized as ‘official history’ under direct state control, stagnated and went backwards as a result of the colonial invasion.”

60 BAUDIN 1962:37 (citing Raúl PORRAS BARRANECHEA: *Mito, tradición e historia del Perú*, PEISA: Lima, 1974:21.) Compare, e.g. *fabula* o *habilla* antigua = *hahua ricuy simi*, *fabulas* contar o *habillas* = *hahuaricuni*, falso testimonio = *ccacimanta tumpay*, phantasma o duende = *tuta ccacchak*, de verdad o verdaderamente no con ficción ni mala intención = *checcamanta sullulmanta* (González Holguín [1608] 1952:105, 458, 522–3, 538, 629). Compare also Aymara, e.g., contar *fabulas* a otro por *passatiempo* = *aminarapitha*, hablar verdad = *toquepa arusitha* (Bertonio [1612] 1879:16, 78, 108, 358). Santo Tomás ([1560] 1951:310) gives also, fiction, *imagingiento*, o *mentira* = *llullay*. For references to past times, compare e.g., *huaymapacha* = antiguamente, o en el tiempo pasado, *mauccarimay* = vocablos antiguos, *paccarik yachay* = costumbres antiguas naturales de cada uno [i.e. tradition], *unay cak* = cosa antigua (Holguín, *ibid.*, 193, 223, 259, 267, 355); *nayrapacha* = antiguamente, *nayraja* = sin tiempo, o antes de tiempo (Bertonio, *ibid.*, 126, 221, 231).

Since most of the other allegations too, provided by either structuralist or traditional historicist interpretation of Inca history, do not correspond very well with the emerging new ethnohistorically influenced interpretations of the Incaic or/and pre-Incaic past, I shall offer arguments and propose better answers and solutions. Most of my commentary to be found in the chronicles belongs to the ‘divergent’ maximalist tradition, although as far as the Incas proper are concerned, the ‘divergent’ minimalist tradition may offer better fitting models to be used. The best available source of the maximalist tradition is Fernando de Montesinos’ chronicle. It provides an ethnohistorical framework which can be interpreted in its broad chronological coverage (some thousand odd years). Its correlation with on-going archaeological and other circumstantial evidence allows it to be hypothesized within the absolute chronology. This is one of the topics of the following last chapters of my study.

My next step is to attempt a reconstruction of who these pre-Incas possibly were. Considering all the political propaganda and ideological manipulation presented above, one should not wonder why primary extant sources relating to pre-Incas are so scanty. Diving into the Andean ethnohistorical past before the Incas should be neither haphazard nor impossible. One source (and a few other supporting ones), Fernando de Montesinos’ chronicle, has largely been dedicated to pre-Incaic dynasties. Why it has not been formally used for this reconstruction before (except a few experimental attempts), is due to its unique nature. I consider this uniqueness as much of a detriment and as a gain – because the long dynasty lists practically monopolize its usefulness. In this study a plentitude of comparative ethnohistorical and cross-cultural data have been used, and the most plausible correlations with up-to-date circumstantial evidence have been found. Thus the next reconstruction attempted will no longer be experimental, but a likely explanation to fill in the general outline and nature of the pre-Incaic past in the Andes.

2. A proposed ethnohistorical setting for ‘Montesianian’ kings

2.1. Possible authentic portions in Montesinos’ narrative

In chapter III:4 I have presented suggestions as to how Montesinos could have manipulated dynastic tradition narrated in his *Memorias*. Obviously inspired

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 According to González Holguín (ibid., 546), the word for ‘history’ in Quechua is, *runap cachcascamanta qquellca*, and, *historiador = runap ccascanta qquellcak*. Santo Tomás (ibid., 333) gives a word for ‘chronicler’ = *pacariscap villac*. Furthermore, *escrituras falsas = llullaqquilleca*, *falsificar carta = quellcacta pallco chani llullachani*, according to Holguín (ibid., 217, 523). *Author = paccarichik ccallarichik*, *relacion = villaricusca* (Holguín, ibid., 426, 657). It is noteworthy, as BRUNDAGE (1967/1985:263) has stated, that much of the vocabulary of the early Quechua has disappeared, “for the friars who compiled the first lexicons had a propensity include pre-eminently those words which would be useful to them in catechizing their Indian charges and convincing them of their sins. In the process many – perhaps most – of the words and concepts relating to status, administration, technology, astronomy, cult, learning, and such have disappeared, for these were areas of which the Indians of New castile in their later abjectness had no need.”

by the Old World dynastic histories, Biblical narratives, and possibly Mesoamerican sources full of stories of heroic kings, he wanted to indicate that Andean tradition was equally fascinating, ancient in origin, and historically elaborate. As a Jesuit and through his suspected Jewish connections, he may have had a special interest in indicating how this Peruvian royal house might have descended from the Hebrew roots. This was not in conflict with the general Western world view in his days, when the Amerindian racial origins were often explained by relations to descendants of Noah. Since thousands of years separated the times of Noah and the Spanish conquest of Peruvian empire, any chronologist working with the Andean tradition must have found the task troublesome. Although he may have had a temptation to build-up a fictitious king list to fill this vast chronological gap after Noah's sons, there is no reason to believe that the names presented by Montesinos were invented. However, it is impossible to say if the regnal spans given in his list are genuine to the original oral text or later interpolations. In using of extended regnal spans, lengthy chronological gaps can best be filled. Despite the overall regnal span chronology presented by Montesinos is not too unrealistic in comparable, relative standards, I am tending to believe that it nevertheless could be a latter-time construction. He may have built a "train of traditions" by making some simultaneous dynastic histories successive. It seems that Montesinos solved the problem by using these two means of artificial lengthening.

There exists a clear segmentation of narrative thickness in Montesinos' text. Three distinctive phases can be separated: a rich and eventful first portion, a poorly documented middle section, and a rich closing part. The paragraphs narrating about Tampu-Tocco rulers are significantly plain.⁶¹ The narrative of Amauta rulers is not much more descriptive, but contains reasonable variation and relative coherence. The most loquacious parts of Montesinos' chronicle are narratives of the Pirua kings and the Incas proper.⁶² Much of this narrative richness seems not to have derived from the original native tradition, but was probably embroidered (and re-arranged) by Montesinos. He seems to have drawn from the Incan traditions to enrich the pre-Incaic cornucopia for interpolation, a tendency which is most clearly present in the first chapters of his chronicle.⁶³ A relative distribution of the various dynastic narratives in Montesinos' text (1882 edition) is as follows (the chapters X and XIV contain distinct dynastic narratives in sequence):

.....
61 For the account of Tampu-Tocco dynasty, see Montesinos (1644:lib.ii, caps.xiv-xv) 1882:82-90.

62 It is not uncommon in oral dynastic accounts that the most loquacious part of the narrative is in the beginning. See chapter II:3 and compare e.g. the narrative form of the Chimú king list (chapter IV:1). For the account of Amauta dynasty, see Montesinos (1644:lib.ii, caps.x-xiv) 1882:60-82. For the account of Pirua-dynasty, see Montesinos (1644:lib.ii, caps.i-x) 1882:1-60.

63 Montesinos (1644:lib.ii, caps.i-viii) 1882:1-50. Compare also chapter III:4.

TABLE 6. Structural chart showing the distribution of regnal narratives in Montesinos' text

	1	2	3		
P i r u a s	PIRUA PACARI MANCO & 5 succ.	AYAY MANCO	TITU HUAMAN QUICHO	T a p u t o c c h u s	
		3	5		
		CAPAC RAYMI AMAUTA			
	6	1			
		TOCA CORCA APU CAPAC	HUAYNA TUPAC		
	AYAR TACCO CAPAC & 1 succ.	7			HUAYNA TUPAC
			5		
	1		AUQUI ATAU HUILLCA		
	TITU YUPANQUI PACHACUTI	AYAR MANCO CAPAC & 5 succ.			2
	4				TUPAC CAURI & 1 succ.
			2		
HUASCAR TITU		TOCO COZQUE			
3					
	3		7		
CAYO MANCO CAPAC & 1 succ.					
4					
	3				
	TITU YUPANQUI PACHACUTI	INTI MAJTA CAPAC			
MANCO AUQUI PACHACUTI & 1 succ.					
1	collapse of the empire	end of the lineage			

TABLE 6. Structural chart of distribution of regnal narratives in Montesinos' text. Blank spaces alternating with the screened ones indicate a distribution of eventless and richly narrated parts in Montesinos' account.

DYNASTIC NARRATIVES OF THE:	Chapters:	Pages:	Pages:	Total:	%
1. Piruas	I – X (to p. 63)	1–60	60	35	
2. Amautas	X – XIV (to p. 84)	61–82	22	13	
3. Tampu-Toccans	XIV – XV	83–90	8	5	
4. Incas	XVI – XXVIII	91–171	80	47	
			171		

As has been noted earlier, the narrative of the first six kings in Montesinos' chronicle appears to be more or less a story of the historical Incas in a new guise. The chapters I to VIII are mostly dedicated to them (pages 1–49). The story of the Incas proper is told in chapters XVI–XXVIII (91–171). Together the 'Incaic' content in Montesinos' book contains 129 pages, or some 75% of the total. The remaining part (25%), which is situated in the central portion of Montesinos' text, is the primary focus of my study.

Any historian may wonder why this relative eventless middle section in Montesinos' chronicle exists. A teller of tales would have plenty of room and liberty to put more "flesh" on the plain dynastic framework given there. It seems likely then, that Montesinos left these accounts as they were and relatively untouched. He concentrated on manipulating and enlarging the 'texts' belonging to the first and latter parts of the narrative. Therefore, from this central and "untouched" part of his narrative we are searching for survivals of reliable ethnohistorical fragments.⁶⁴

Even though the narrative information in this middle section is scanty, it is subdivided into sections of more detail and detailless ones, according to the importance of events and persons concerned (see table 6: structural chart of dynastic narrative). This segmentation appears arbitrary enough to suggest a realistic succession of dynastic events. Certain personages and events always left more traces on folklore; and here in these few pages are brief references to individuals which certainly were not borrowed from the Incaic sources.⁶⁵

It is quite understandable that folklore may have preserved an anecdote of a peculiar king like Tupac Amaru Amauta (chap. XII), who lived in continual melancholy ("without anyone having seen him laugh in all the twenty-five

64 Compare OLRİK's principles in the appendix 7. In §96 OLRİK writes: "The beginning and ending of the narrative ('the free ends of the narrative') offer the least resistance to change. Here, additions – forward or backward in time – are most easily made; but straightforward transformation also happens more easily here, because the narrative situation is not squeezed in between the given parts of the plot." Compare also chapter II:3, and footnote 216, where I have referred to narrative manipulation of the famous Indian epics, which were altered by additions at the beginning and the end. Actually the narrative correspondence with the Incan lore in the first chapters of Montesinos account concerns more specifically the first five kings in his list. The sixth king, Manco Capac II, has but a vague resemblance with that tradition (compare footnote 81 below).

65 Presumably the chapters VIII–XVI (1882:47–96) in the central section of Montesinos' account are the most reliable parts in his account.

years of his reign”), for instance.⁶⁶

Others, who were vigorous conquerors or made other marvellous deeds, could have been called by the honorific title Pachacuti, like the one who’s proper name was Marasco. According to tradition, he was 24th (or 26th) ruler in succession, and fought victoriously close to the coast and Collao; this might make him a possible candidate for one of the actual rulers of Wari.⁶⁷

Most of the information concerning the majority of rulers in the account is plain and reduced to the following facts: name, regnal span, relationship to predecessor or successor, sometimes the age at death, and occasionally a number in succession. This is the kind of simplified information one would expect to find from the *quipu*-records for instance. Montesinos occasionally makes references to sources like *quipus* and to *amauta*-informants, which is consistent with the data he presents in this middle section of his narrative.⁶⁸

One of the most important accounts in Montesinos’ chronicle (from the central part) is a detailed description of a destruction of Amauta dynasty (what I interpret as Wari) and emergence of Tampu-Tocco (LIP-pre-Inca) lineage thereafter.⁶⁹ It is the kind of event which must have left traces in Andean folklore and oral tradition. I believe Montesinos has here left us an ethno-historical description of the destruction of the archaeologically reconstructed Wari empire. Montesinos gives only a vague description of the extent of Amauta ‘empire’, with its capital in southern Peru (Cuzco), and formulating a realm which was a kind of earlier multi-zoned version of ‘Tahuantinsuyo’. One important distinction (in correlated with the history of Tahuantinsuyo) exists in the Amauta-version of the relations to Collao and southern provinces. Several times in the narrative a reference is given to this direction as source of hostile invasion. Two times decisive battles were fought at the Vilcañota pass, which could indicate that this was the actual southern border of Amauta polity (or the northern border of the Tiahuanaco polity).⁷⁰ If this was the case, we have

66 Montesinos (1644:lib.ii, cap.xii) 1882:70. “Sucedióle Tupac Amaru Amauta, primero deste nombre. Vivió este rey en continua melancolía, sin que ninguno de su reino le viese reir en veinticinco años que reinó” (ibid.) Translation from MEANS, in Montesinos (1644) 1920:52.

67 Montesinos (1644:lib.ii, cap.xi) 1882:64–5. Writes Montesinos: “Entre muchos hijos que tuvo Cayo Manco eligió por sucesor en el reino á Marasco Pachacuti, tercero deste nombre, vigésimocuatro rey peruano. En tiempo deste rey, se dice que las gentes que vinieron de nuevo hacian por fuerza entablar grandes idolatrías en toda la tierra... lo que más hizo fué reforzar la gente de guarnicion que tenía entre las dos cordilleras, que por la viá de los Llanos era hasta el rio Rimac, que es donde ahora está la ciudad de Lima, y por la sierra hasta Huánuco. Tuvo su gente una batalla muy sangrienta en el Collao con los bárbaros, de los cuales fueron muchos muertos y cautivos; tuvo otros sucesos prósperos, con que volvió victorioso y triunfante al Cuzco, donde hizo grandes sacrificios en la casa del sol.” (ibid.)

68 For Montesinos’ references to native sources, see for instance (1644) 1882:1–5, 19, 35, 50–7, 68, 73, 77, 82–3. In chapter X (1882: 57) Montesinos writes for instance: “Por esta causa, dicen los antiguos amautas, y lo aprendieron de sus mayores y lo tienen en memoria por sus quipos para eterna memoria...”

69 Montesinos (1644:lib.ii, cap.xiv) 1882:79–84. Consult also appendix 17.

70 Montesinos (1644:lib.ii, caps.xiii-xiv) 1882:75–82. Writes MEANS (1931:170): “Folklore, as preserved by Father Montesinos and other Chroniclers, contains numerous hints of many kinds of calamities, such as invasions by hostile strangers, changes of climate, divine displeasure,

a reference which archaeology has confirmed. If this was the southern border of the Wari (Amauta) empire, it seems that the relationship between Wari (Amauta) and Tiahuanaco (Collao) polities was not altogether peaceful.⁷¹ The destruction of the Amauta empire and consequent events are vividly told in Montesinos' account, of which the following is only an abridged version:

1. From the dissolution of the Amautas to rise of Tampu-Toccans.

Great disturbances occurred in the realm during the later Amauta kings and these culminated in the reign of Titu Yupanqui Pachacuti VI. Invading armies came from all directions and king Pachacuti made sacrifices to the gods. He sent warnings to all governors and captains to be alert and to strengthen fortifications on the borders. While these preparations were being made, news was received that many hordes of hostile warriors were marching north from Collao.

Writes Montesinos:

"Against the people of the Collao he sent some captains, and he sent others to resist the people of the Andes [presumably from Eastern Andes] in the dangerous passes and the bridges over the rivers. Titu Yupanqui, with the main body of his army, arrived at the high mountains which bear the name of Pucara, and he built many andenes" and fortifications [Montesinos' description of them] there.

A fierce battle ensued and the king was mortally wounded by an arrow shot. The king's army lost its courage after this and retired in panic. Almost the entire Amauta army was annihilated, excluding those few who were able to escape to a place called Tampu Tocco – the body of their king with them. The provinces [presumably in Cuzco & vicinity] rose up in rebellion and the people of Tampu Tocco had many dissensions among themselves as to the choosing of a king.^{72a}

.....
epidemics, and earthquakes. The vivid Fourteenth Chapter of the *Memorias antiguas* of Montesinos – one of the most authentic-seeming parts of that work – preserves a definite folk-remembrance of a time full of tumult and terror..."

71 Current archaeological research at the Moquegua region (Southern Peru) has indicated that the relationship between Wari and Tiahuanaco polities was hostile in this area. The Wari conquerors built three fortresses there, until the area fell under the Tiahuanaco domination again. (FELDMAN 1989; RICE et al. 1989; MOSELEY et al. 1991.) The strong defensive constructions and frontier cities in Cuzco region (e.g. Pikillacta) were probably built for this reason also. See chapter IV:2.

72a Montesinos (1644:lib.ii, cap.xiv) 1882:79–83. Translations of P. A. MEANS in Montesinos (1644) 1920:59–62. Abridgement is only partially mine (the rest are from MEANS). Consult also the original text in appendix 17. Archaeologist Luis A. PARDO (1957b:417–29) believes that the site of this battle was some 25 kilometres north from Yauri, at an ancient fortress known as Mollocchahua. See also, PEREZ ARMENDARIZ 1967. According to PEREZ ARMENDARIZ (ibid., 108) this fortress was also called: Orcco Suyo Pucara. For fortifications in this area and their suggested relationship with the account of Montesinos, see also e.g. BINGHAM 1922:116–21. The king was killed by an arrow. According to Alfred METRAUX (1949:230), "The bow was not used by the early Chimu people and was never a popular weapon along the Peruvian Coast. It was known, however, to the people of the Tiahuanaco culture and is often represented on textiles of that period. Stone arrowheads have been found in great quantities at Tiahuanaco. In the Inca army the bow was used by the auxiliary troops from the Tropical forest, but not by the mountain Indians, who were armed with slings and clubs." According to LaBARRE (1948:116) the Aymaras used formerly

2. The beginnings of Tampu-Tocco (as related by Montesinos):

“In each province they elected their own king, and he to whom it was given to be the heir of Titu was Titu Huaman Quicho, a very young boy. The loyal men were few, and could not bear comparison with the other peoples. They went to Tampu Tocco and there they raised him up to be their king, because, on account of the revolts, none could live in Cuzco, all being in turmoil. And, as men came little by little to live at Tamputocco under the protection of the king, Cuzco became almost deserted, and only the ministers of the temple remained there”^{72b}

I jump back in time to record the earlier (Amauta regnal) events in Montesinos' account. Writes Montesinos:

“He left many sons, and, as his heir, Huillcanota Amauta. In the time of this king there came many hordes of people from Tucuman, and his governors retired toward Cuzco. He assembled his forces and prepared a great army. He sent spies to find out what manner of men the enemy were. He learned that they were coming in two armies. He halted with his warriors on a high pass full of snow which is twenty leagues [south of Cuzco], and which is called Huillcanota. There, fortified, he awaited the enemy. He gave battle to the first army, which he conquered easily on account of it being in disorder. The second army, hearing the news, came very confusedly to aid their fellows, and it also was conquered. The king entered Cuzco triumphant, bearing before him the vanquished, naked and with their hands tied. From this event the ancients call this king Huillcanota.”⁷³

The narrative does not make clear to us if the pass was already known by that name (Vilcañota), or was it named afterwards to commemorate this illustrious ancient king.

At that times too there were other movements of people in the Andes, as Montesinos has told us:

“Also at this time there came through the Andes a large number of tribes who surrendered forthwith on condition that they be given lands for sowing, and that they were fleeing from some men very large of body who had taken away their lands from them, because of which they had come seeking some place where they might live.”⁷⁴

References to a relationship of the Amautas with the hegemonies on the coast is another vital point of interest in Montesinos' chronicle. The politics centered at

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bow and arrow as a weapon. He also refers to Bertonio's dictionary where words for archery are included. H. TSCHOPIK (1946:548) also confirms this.

72b Montesinos (1644:lib.ii, cap.xiv) 1882:82-83. For the original Spanish (Ms) account of these events (in chapter xiv), consult appendix 17.

73 Montesinos (1644:lib.ii, cap.xiii) 1882:75-77. Quoted translation of MEANS' from the English edition (1920:55-56). Compare OLRİK's principles in appendix 7. In (§ 130) he writes: “In folklore, the localized narrative is always derived from a real event, and its localization reveals a trace of what really happened.”

74 Montesinos (1644:lib.ii, cap.xiii) 1882:76-77. Translation of P. A. MEANS in Montesinos (1644) 1920:56-7. We may speculate that it was during Huillcanota's reign when the capital was probably moved to Huaru/Pikillacta.

Pachacamac and Chimu areas are several times mentioned.

First time Montesinos refers to this area in chapter IX (Book II), where the events of king Ayar Tacco Capac's reign are told. Writes Montesinos (MEANS' translation):

"While Ayar Tacco Capac was reigning in Cuzco in profound peace... at the end of several days, news was brought that a great throng of strange people had disembarked upon the Coasts from balsas and canoes which formed a great fleet, and that they were settling in the land, especially along the water-courses, and that some men of great stature had gone in advance of the rest. And the amautas [Montesinos is here referring to caste of sages] affirm that the tribes and nations which came at this time were without number. As soon as the king learned of their coming, he sent scouts to find out who these people were, what offensive and defensive arms they carried, and what was their manner of living. The spies returned, and said that whatever the giants arrived, if there were people there, the people of the land were despoiled and subjected; and [they said] that the giants were settling on the whole Coast, and that some of them had gone up into the mountains, and that their government was all in confusion.

When this was learned by Ayar Tacco Capac, he made ready his captains and warriors for whatever might take place; but it was not necessary to do this, for the foreigners remained on the Coasts, it appearing to them impossible that there should be people beyond such lofty and jagged mountains, and so only a few of them passed upward and populated Huáitara and Quinoa, completing some buildings which they found begun with the instruments of iron which they had brought from their own land. Those who remained in Pachacama built a very sumptuous temple to the Creator of all things, as a thank-offering. At this point the amautas, juggling with fate, pretend that the god Pachacama, which is to say 'Creator', created these numberless tribes in the sea and brought them to these regions, and for this they call Pachacama Creator...

The king, Ayar Tacco, distrusting this people who kept settling in some places in the mountains, as at Caxamarca and Huáitara, and throughout the Coasts, set forth from Cuzco with a large army with the intention of reducing and punishing them. He arrived in Andaguailas, and there he learned that the enemy were numerous, ugly and big. He changed his plan, and contended himself with placing garrisons in Vilcas and Lima Tambo, giving definite orders to the captains that they were not to let these strange people get to Cuzco."^{75a}

The enemy did never come anyhow. The king wished to be present himself at Lima Tambo in waiting for them...but, "being thus occupied, and being tired and weary with the many new perplexities which each day brought to him, he died, having reigned twenty-five years. He left as his heir Huascar Titu, the first

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75a Montesinos (1644:lib.ii, cap.ix) 1882:52-56. For references to the *amauta*-informants in the original: "Y afirman los amautas que fué sin número las gentes y naciones que por este tiempo vinieron..." And another place, "Fingen aquí los amautas, trocando las suertes, que el dios Pachacama, que quiere decir 'Criador'..." (ibid.)

of this name, and the twelfth Peruvian king...he returned to Lima Tambo to complete the fortifications which his father had begun against the Chimos, for thus were the very warlike foreign people of Trujillo called, after the name of their king and captain, the Chimo. Every day intensified the news that the Chimos were increasing and improving their fortresses and arms every instant, being mindful, when they were strong within their own houses, to go and conquer Cuzco. Huascar Titu lived all his life in the resolve to resist them, until death took him after he had lived seventy-four years and reigned thirty.”^{75b}

After Huascar Titu, the king Quispi Titu reigned. During the reign of his successor, the ‘Chimu question’ became a current problem again. “This king [Titu Yupanguí Pachacuti II] was determined to make war against the Chimos; for this purpose he sent to the Lord of Vilcas to ask permission for the passing of his troops. The Lord of Vilcas replied that he could not grant it because he did not wish to fall foul of those men who were so strong. So the king determined to make war upon the Lord of Vilcas, which he delayed for some days, during which he died, burdened with years, having reigned...[blank in the original]”^{75c}

Next time Montesinos gives an account of Chimos in context of the reign of king Marasco Pachacuti (chapter XI), who “had many encounters [with them], and he never could gain from the Chimos one palm of land, although he did crush them somewhat. The most important thing he did was to re-enforce the garrisons which he had between the two cordilleras, which lie along the border of the Coastlands as far as the Rimac river where the city of Lima now is, and back to into the mountains as far as Huánuco.”⁷⁶ Furthermore, a few successions later, during the reign of Capac Yupanqui, the power of the people of the coast was greatly limited.⁷⁷ Thereafter no more references to

75b Writes Montesinos (*ibid.*, 56–7): “Dejó por heredero á Huascar Titu, primero de este nombre, duodécimo rey Peruano, el cual llevó el cuerpo de su padre al Cuzco á las casas del Sol, como lo habia él mandado, y despues de haber hecho las obséquias, se volvió á Lima Tambo á proseguir las fortificaciones que su padre habia comenzado contra los chimos, dichos asi los estranjeros de Trujillo, que eran más belicosos, del Chimo, su rey y capitan. Cada dia se reforzaban las nuevas de que los chimos se iban cada instante aumentado y mejorando de fortalezas y armas, para, en estando bien prevenidos, de dentro de su casa, ir á conquistar al Cuzco. Con cuidado de resistirlo vivió siempre Huascar Titu toda su vida, hasta que le cogió la muerte, habiendo vivido sesenta y cuatro años y reinado los treinta.” It is the early Amauta kings (perhaps actually designated Piruas) who came in contact with the Coast. Presumably they have hostilities all along the coast and southern highlands.

75c Translation from MEANS (1920:45). According to the original (Montesinos [1644:lib.ii, cap.x] 1882:60): “Este rey estuvo determinado á hacer guerra á los chimos, para lo cual envió á pedir paso para sus gentes al Señor de Vilcas, que le respondió que no podía, por no ponerse mal con aquellos hombres que tan fuertes estaban; con que trató de mudar la guerra contra el de Vilcas, que suspendió por algunos dias, en los cuales murió cargando de años, habiendo reinado...” In comparison, Montesinos wrote about these events somewhat differently in his earlier Ms. ([1642:lib.ii, cap.x] 1869:50.): “Sugeto así ya el reino, determinó hacer guerra á los Chimbos. Pidió para ello paso al señor de Vilcas que se lo negó por no ponerse mal con aquellas gentes que decia estaban fortisimos. Quiso por esto mudar contra él la guerra y habiendo suspendido por algunos dias murió cargando de años, y no hemos podido averiguar el tiempo que reinó.”

76 Montesinos (1644:lib.ii, cap.xi) 1882:64–5. Translation of P. A. MEANS in Montesinos (1644) 1920:48.

77 *ibid.*, 1882:66, 1920:49.

Chimus or other coastal polities are given until the time of the Incas. According to Montesinos, it was during the reign of Inca Tupac Yupanqui when the Chimu realm was incorporated into the Inca empire.⁷⁸

These accounts are relatively well proportionate with the present archaeological and ethnohistorical perception concerning the nature of the political relationship between the highland empires and the coastal kingdoms during the Middle- and Late Horizons. The references to the Chimus and North Coast are particularly valuable as they reinforce the probability that the early Amautas (and perhaps late Piruas) clashed with Muchik people early on and maintained this hostile *status quo* for 3–4 generations at least. According to present understanding, most of the North Coast was probably not incorporated into the Wari empire.⁷⁹ While the Moche and Chimu cultures were ethnically related and sequential, one may expect mixing up and anachronistic references to be made in historical narratives like this. Hence, here Montesinos' account undoubtedly contain an ethnohistorical reference to early relationship of Wari with the Moche coastal polities. Pachacamac was another polity which rose in prominence during the Early Intermediate and Middle Horizon periods and possibly left some remarks in dynastic and oral tradition too.⁸⁰

In long dynastic lists and extensive oral narratives of ancient origin, a process of transformation caused by a 'generation slippage', 'multiple reign amnesia', or "Moses-in-the-bulrushes"-method' (see chapter II:3 and appendix 5), should be noticed. Practically all these 'methods' are related to OLRİK's principle (§ 194; compare appendix 7), which states that in the narrative, "characters with the same name are confused, or a merged into one". In the "Moses"-method some ancestral hero (or his namesake) may be transferred into a new (later) position in the dynastic history. Multiple reigns or titular names of positional succession may be adjusted either in adding to or deleting titleholders from the tradition. It is quite probable that the king list of Montesinos has been subjected to this kind of manipulation also.

There are several kings whose names are the same, except their consecutive serial numbers. This is a common feature in all long lists of kings and in this respect Montesinos' list looks like any conventional dynastic account.⁸¹

78 Montesinos (1644:lib.ii, cap.xxvii) 1882:157–8.

79 See, chapter IV:2.

80 It is important to note, however, that the nature of the relationship between the Wari and Moche polities is a controversial matter among the Andean archaeologists. Equally the status and impact of the Pachacamac polity during the Middle Horizon is not well defined either. (SCHAEDEL 1998, personal consultation.) Writes SULLIVAN (1996:223), "Opinions differ on whether Pachacamac was dominated by Wari or achieved a measure of independence, but in either case the interchange between the two, while it lasted, was intense."

81 There are 3–5 Manco Capac's for instance. The Manco Capac 'proper' are only three (in the list of *Ms. Universitaria*): the 2nd, the 6th, and the 61th king. The name of the 22th king was Manco Capac Amauta. The 77th king, Manco Capac Amauta II, does not occur in the list of *Ms. Merced*, and may thus be a later interpolation. Guinaldo VASQUEZ (1930:137–8) believes that the names Tini Capac Yupanqui (8th king) and Capac Tinia Yupanqui (12th king) are confused and merged in the tradition. Similarly, he suggests that there was probably only one Huampar Sayri Tupac (instead of two). There are two successive Tupac

I think that especially in the case of Manco Capac one should be cautious in the number of his namesakes 'registered' in the tradition. Obviously the name Manco Capac comprised a charismatic echo similar to the epithet Pachacuti in the Andean dynastic lore. Accordingly, I believe that as there were several Pachacutis, there also were more than one Manco Capac – either historical or legendary in that tradition. As I have stated, the Manco Capac of Incaic lore probably should belong to more remote mytho-historical antiquity than the Incan 'official' dynastic record have presented. I suggest that his proper setting was in the beginning of the Pirua line of kings. The first 'Pirua' was called Pirua Pacari Manco, but his son as Manco Capac. Here again, I think a later interpolation of Manco Capac has occurred; i.e. these two most likely were one and the same character.⁸²

As stated above, the narrative of the first six kings in the Pirua-line is interpreted largely as a story of historical Incas in guise.⁸³ Hence, they could be treated a separate group, as concluded by VASQUEZ (1930) also, although from somewhat distinct point of view.⁸⁴ The sixth king, Manco Capac II, does not fit well into this setting however. He is the only one whose deeds does not accord one-to-one with the interpolated Incan account, and six generations of relatively eventless records followed his reign. Instead, the narrative of his reign contain elements which would match much better with the regnal account of his later namesake, the Amauta king Manco Capac III (or IV), who was the 61th ruler in the list (of *Ms Universitaria*). As told before, during the reign of this later king the Amauta 'empire' had its greatest power – shortly before its collapse.⁸⁵

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- Curi Amautas (54th and 55th king). It is highly probable that here too there was originally only one king with this name. In the list of Piruas the 8th king was Tini Capac Yupanqui and the 12th Capac Tini Yupanqui. Some meshing may have occurred in this place also.
- 82 According to Simone WAISBRAND (1987:50, *Tiahuanaco*, Editorial Diana: Mexico; cited in KLAUER 1990:141, n.29), "Estoy convencida de que entre el primer Manco y la aparición del Inca del lago Titicaca que fundó el imperio de Tahuantinsuyo, se sucedieron en los Andes numerosas generaciones de reyes que llevaban un mismo nombre patronímico hereditario: Manco." Dick IBARRA GRASSO (1969:623–29) maintains also, that Manco Capac was a mythical hero which was transferred from the ancient Colla tradition to the Incaic lore.
- 83 We may set a following correspondence with the canonic history of the Incas (consult, Montesinos [1644:lib.ii, caps.i-vii] 1882:1–47):
1. Pirua Pacari Manco &
 2. Manco Capac I = account of Manco Capac.
 3. Huanacauri Pirua = accounts of Inca Rocca & Yuhuar Huacac.
 4. Sinchi Cozque = account of Viracocha.
 5. Inti Capac Yupanqui = account of Inca Yupanqui Pachacuti.
- In the account of the sixth king, Manco Capac II, only a references to his wars in Tucuman and Chincha, have certain resemblance with the deeds of the following Inca, Tupac Yupanqui.
- 84 VASQUEZ 1930:140. According to him, "Con este soberano [Manco Capac II], parece que termina la primera dinastía, pues fallece durante la peste y sequía que asoló al país. Del soberano siguiente afirma al autógrafo que se retiró a los Andes, y la copia sólo dice 'sucedió' al anterior; consta, por ambos textos, que sus descendientes tuvieron que reconquistar el Cuzco. Es, pues, muy justificada la creencia de que, con éstos, una nueva dinastía vino a reemplazar a la de los piruas, propiamente dichos."
- 85 Montesinos (1644:lib.ii, cap.xiii) 1882:77–8. Writes Montesinos: "Manco Capac, tercero deste nombre ó cuatro deste nombre" (ibid.) Compare also chapter III:4 (correspondence with the account of Saxo Grammaticus). Also the regnal spans given to Manco Capac II and Manco Capac III (IV) are close to each other: 20 and 23 years respectively.

According to Montesinos, most of the reign of Manco Capac II was a time of extensive road- and bridgebuilding, religious reforms, relative peace and prosperity. At the latter part of his reign two fearsome comets appeared in the sky and two notable eclipses of sun occurred. A little while afterwards a plague and a five-year drought devastated the realm. The rivers from Tumbes to Arica dried up and large areas were depopulated. On this occasion Manco Capac, already a decrepit old man, died, having reigned twenty years.⁸⁶

If we use tie-ins of extraordinary astronomical phenomena (compare chapter IV:2.3) and synchronisms with absolute dating, the reign of Manco Capac III would be set somewhere around A.D. 800–825. There were total eclipses of the sun in Southern Peru in 769, 800, 823, and 917. Accordingly, the comets appeared in 776, 813–5, 817, 821, 823, 828, 834, 836–41, and 852.⁸⁷ If the events and characters of these two Mancos should be associated with one setting and the same person - as I believe - the most likely historical plot of this tradition would be in the beginning of the 9th century. At that time the Wari empire was at the height of its power, just before its disintegration started. A reference to a severe drought at this time matches also well with climatological records for the period.⁸⁸ It is quite possible that a severe drought and its consequences may have been an important causal factor which set the process of disintegration of Wari empire in motion. Archaeology has confirmed that this disintegration started in the midst of expansion and building activity⁸⁹ – not a kind of moment when an external threat would be most effective to cause a collapse, for instance. Instead, if an extended drought, depopulation, and other related consequences weakened the hegemony enough, it would soon become vulnerable for internal and external socio-political conflicts. Thereafter crises in the capital, provincial revolts, and foreign invasions were free to let loose.

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 86 Montesinos (1644:lib.ii, cap.xiii) 1882:47–50. Writes Montesinos (*ibid.*), “Al cabo de algunos años hubo dos cometas espantosos, que se aparecian en forma de leon ó sierpe. Mandó juntar los astrólogos y amautas el rey, por haber sucedido dos eclipses de sol y luna muy notables...Sucedió poco despues destos prodigios una peste tan grande en el Pirú, que dicen los antiguos que se despoblaron muchas provincias con la muerte de muchos Señores y plebeyos. Juntóse á esto una sequía tan grande, que duró cinco años; de tal manera, que los ríos que regaban los llanos deste Tumbes hasta Arica se secaron, con que se despobló casi toda esta tierra, quedando algunos pocos habitadores junto á la marina, que se sustentaban con harto trabajo. En esta ocasion murió Manco Capac, ya de edad decrépita, habiendo reinado veinte años.”

87 The occurrences of the eclipses of sun, see OPPOLZER 1887:plates 95–102. For the reported comets, see YEOMANS 1991:383–5. Compare also Table 5 in chapter IV:2.3. The catastrophes presumably started during the latter part of Manco Capac III’s reign. At this time Wari apparently was abandoned (ca. 825 A.D.) and the capital was shifted southward to Pikillacta/Huaro node. The last four kings ruled there until the final disintegration of Wari hegemony (ca. 860 A.D.)

88 According to D. PAULSEN (1976), the archaeological records from the Ecuadorian Santa Elena Peninsula indicate that the Andean climate was dry during most of the Middle Horizon period, and a significant worsening of climate started around A.D. 800. She also suggests that this may have been a major cause for the collapse of Wari. The paleoclimatic records from the Quelccaya ice cap in Southern Peru indicate that there was dramatic variation of precipitation and periods of droughts in the first part of 9th century in the Andes. (KOLATA 1993:284–91.)

It is quite evident that the 'age' of the 'Wari'-Amauta empire left traces in Andean historical tradition. In due time its memory became gilded and obviously was memorized (like the Heroic Mycenaean Age by the Greeks or the Toltec Era in myths of the Aztecs) as a legendary time. The kings of this ancient empire became idealized monarchs of wisdom – true *Amautas* and astrologers. An interesting parallel exists in Tibetan dynastic history. The later Tibetan tradition maintained their preceding ancient imperial time being heroic and its rulers were called: *Chosgyal* (Religious-Kings).⁹⁰

A trend worth noting in the evolution of succeeding hegemonies, is that in certain cases the dynastic tradition which belongs to remote antiquity, and was memorized hundreds of years later, became stereotyped and metamorphosed into a format legitimizing the political needs of later generations. One such change may occur in (trans)-localization, as OLRİK has stated. The original basis of localization may disappear, but the narrative tradition often finds a new setting or plot which the narrator knows better.⁹¹ This is what might have happened to the ancient capital site of Wari – the narratives which belong to its context were later transferred to the site of Cuzco (Pikillacta/Huaro ?).

A special attention should be paid to the geographical, pre-Incaic references in Montesinos' chronicle. The cited toponym of Vilcañota (Huill-canota) has a special importance in his account. There are other regional references mentioned, such as, Chimo, Cajamarca, Huanuco, Pachacama, Vilcas, and Huaitara (Guaitara) – all within the range of the archaeologically reconstructed Wari empire. Interestingly, most of the places whence Anonymous Jesuit collected his *quipu*-information had also a geographic distribution fitting neatly within the supposed archaeological extension of the Wari empire.⁹² The relative fluent later Inca conquest in the Chinchasyo district (which roughly corresponds the Wari empire), could be explained, partially at least, as being carried along the old Wari roads and following ancient *amauta* traditions.⁹³

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89 See, e.g. ISBELL 1991:310-11; J. TOPIC 1991:162; McEWAN 1995a (unpublished paper). SCHAEDEL (1998, personal consultation) suggests that, if the building and expansion was going on in the transposed capital in Cuzco region, Wari in Ayacucho apparently was already deserted. The capital may have been moved from Wari to Pikillacta/Huaro in 800-50 A.D.

90 SHAKABA 1969:53. Consult appendix 14 also.

91 See Appendix 7. According to OLRİK (§ 128), "Even if the original basis of localization disappears, the narrative tradition often finds a new feature that suits the plot, or to which it may be adjusted." In addition, (ibid., § 114) "Altogether, a Law of Approximation applies to the life of the narrative. The narrator will move its horizon, its scenery, and its setting within what he knows, giving the individual expressions, notions, and personal names a familiar color."

92 Compare, chapters III:3 and IV:2. The *quipu*-source localities referred by Anonymous Jesuit: Quito, Cajamarca, Huamachuco, Tarma, Pachacamac, Chíncha, Sacsahuana, Cuzco, and Pacaritampu.

93 Within this district (and particularly in its central areas) where a prolonged tradition of statecraft prevailed, there seems to have been comparable less rebellions than in more peripheral areas of Inca state. For Inca rebellions, see, e.g. BRUNDAGE 1963/1985; ROSTWOROWSKI DE DIEZ CANSECO 1988:122-8. Consult also, Cieza de León (1550-3); Betanzos (1551-7); Sarmiento de Gamboa (1572), Cabello de Balboa (1586), and Murúa (1616).

Vicente FIDEL LOPEZ brought forth the idea (see chapter I:5), as early as 1871, that the king list presented by Montesinos was composed of three major dynasties: the Piruas, the Amautas, and the Tampu-toccans (in addition to a short Inca list). A distinction between the two latter ones is clearly indicated in the narrative as a socio-political change and transition of dynastic seat of power. There is no such a break in the narrative, which would indicate a dynastic change between the Piruas and the Amautas. FIDEL LOPEZ based his hypothesis mainly on the distribution of titles *Pirua* and *Amauta* along the line. The title *Pirua* occurs only in the names of the 1st to 18th kings, and the title *Amauta* was used several times in the central portion of the list. It is noteworthy that only one king of the Tampu-Tocco dynasty had that title.⁹⁴

I have used FIDEL LOPEZ' idea of three distinct dynasties as a working hypothesis in this study. Let us recall the history of Saxo Grammaticus, a Danish chronicler who assembled a continuous dynastic narrative out of several distinct traditions.⁹⁵ Some scholars (UHLE 1912, LATCHAM 1928, and BOEHM de LAMEIRAS 1987), have suggested that Montesinos possibly did the same in his work.⁹⁶ I concur and submit that the long king list of Montesinos was actually a composition of three separate dynastic traditions: of which two possibly were successive and one recent with no antecedent.

Further support for the idea that Montesinos' list is formed of three distinct parts and traditions can be deduced from the analyses and comparisons of the names, regnal spans, and structural forms in this long list of kings (see appendices 8a, 8b, and 8c.) The lexical comparison of the names occurring in this list is perhaps the most promising one. It has been attempted three times before: in the studies of FIDEL LOPEZ (1871), MARKHAM (1920), and VASQUEZ (1930). The inference of each of these analyses is, that the predominant language in Montesinos' list appears to be Quechua pure, archaic, and/or corrupt. The second language of importance is Aymara. VASQUEZ has also found marks of Puquina language in the king list.⁹⁷

My study has provided similar results. An interesting finding is that about 18% of the words/names have a meaning (or a close equivalent) in all three

94 See appendices 1 and 8a.

95 See appendix 7b.

96 UHLE 1912:343; LATCHAM 1928:16-17; BOEHM de LAMEIRAS 1987. Compare also appendix 12.

97 FIDEL LOPEZ 1871:395-412; MARKHAM 1920:9-13; VASQUEZ 1930:149-71. Compare also, FIDEL LOPEZ in Montesinos 1869:325-38. Vicente FIDEL LOPEZ' *Races Aryennes* (1871:345-89) contains a rather representative vocabulary of Ario-Quichua, where many Quechua words are compared with the Sanskrit and Greek words of similar appearance or sound. For more, see appendix 8b. Guinaldo VASQUEZ (1930) disproves in his study the allegation of Jose RIVA-AGÜERO (1910), who maintained that Montesinos' king list is nothing more than an extended series of repetitive Incas, whose names are compiled from the names used by the Cuzcan nobility, common epithets (e.g. Capac and Sinchi), and spurinymms of hills, rivers, and other locatives. If the names in Montesinos' list were legendary, invented or spurinymms, most of them would most likely be short and simple. Instead, the names in Montesinos' list contain a wide variety of one-, bi-, tri-, and quatri-partite names with tri-partite names forming a significant majority. Compare the characteristics of legendary king lists in appendix 4b.

major languages: Quechua, Aymara, and Puquina-group. Moreover, almost half of the names (47%) make sense both in Quechua and Aymara. The pure Puquina element is not well indicated in the king list however. It appears in a disguised form, behind the dominant Quechua and Aymara stratum. Altogether there are some 18% of words with a Puquina-sound, but most of them had also a reasonable meaning either in Quechua or Aymara. However, the presence of Puquina seems to be statistically marked enough to make a concession that this language could have been a parental one, which influenced to a certain extent at least to one of the protagonists of these ancient lineages.

The following analysis, which shows the distribution of these linguistic elements between the various 'Montesian dynasties', has some promising results, which support the data from historical linguistics and my scenario of the pre-Incaic intercollation of these dynasties.

A) The dynasty of Tampu-Tocco has significantly higher percentage of words (45%) which indicate a blending of Quechua and Aymara. The presence of pure Aymara is well marked too. There is also a relative strong Puquina impact in this part of the king list.

B) The dynasty of Piruas has the smallest percentage of Aymara-Quechua blending. Aymara and Puquina elements seem to be well represented. It appears that words of pure Quechua origin are less in this group than in the other two.

C) The dynasty of Amautas has the most extensive repertory of 'intertribal' vocabulary, and the Quechua-Aymara blending is well indicated in the names of its rulers. Pure Quechua has the highest percentage in this group, and the Puquina element its lowest sample.

There are also a number of corrupt forms, words of obscure meaning and origin, and compound words mixed in various ways. Part of these are very likely spelling faults of Montesinos' scribes, who were ignorant of the Spanish transliteration of indigenous orthography, but others may well represent some archaic forms of Quechua, Aymara, and perhaps even Puquina languages (that have disappeared in modern Quechua and Aymara). The existence of linguistic archaisms in such a list of alleged pre-Incaic origin is more than expectable; and in this form it appears more authentic than it would have been if the names were representations of pure Quechua or Aymara. The significant mixing of these two languages in the king list could be another proof of its genuineness.

As the studies of historical linguistics have indicated (see chapter IV:2), the South Central Andean area may have been largely a bi-lingual (Quechua and Aymara) zone from the Middle Horizon through Late Intermediate Period. The hegemony of Wari seems to have been largely a Quechua-speaking polity with a marked Aymara substratum enclosed. After the collapse of Wari, its Quechua-speaking successor-state (Chokepukio), held a dominant position in Cuzco region (see chapter IV:2), where the original inhabitants were mostly

Aymaras in origin. During that period a strong linguistic intermixing of Aymara and Quechua occurred. If there were powerful dynasties who have left records of their king lists, one would surely expect that the both languages had left their markings in them. The king list of Montesinos fulfill well these requirements.

The distribution of common names indicate a closer affiliation between the Amautas and Tampu-Toccans than with the Piruas. On the other hand, the king list of Tampu-Toccans has the highest percentage of names which do not occur among the two other groups. The distribution of titular names provide similar conclusions. The titles Amauta and Auqui occur only among the two latter 'dynasties'. The title Pirua occurs only in the first group, and the titles Apu and Atauchi only among the Amautas. The most common title, Capac, is significantly less represented in the Tampu-Toccan group than among the two others. Equally, the title Yupanqui progressively decreases towards the end of the line.

In the distribution of partite names the Tampu-Toccans have a markedly highest percentage (54%) of bi-partite names (common e.g. in the Inca dynasty). Tri-partite names are most frequent both among the Piruas and the Amautas. One-partite names occur only in the dynastic lists of the Amautas and the Tampu-Toccans.

Bi-partite names are used in 39% and 34% of cases among the first and second groups, while they are most common among the third group (53%). Equally tri-partite names occur in 55% of the cases among the first and second dynasties, while only 28% among the Tampu-Toccans.⁹⁸

The given regnal spans and their derived averages indicate the same three-fold composition (compare appendix 8c). Regnal span averages among the Amautas (27.3) are clearly less exaggerated than among the first (37.2) and the latter group (35.4). As has been noticed earlier, Montesinos' king list has sometimes been compared with the Pharaonic list of Manetho. In the end of appendix 8c I have presented a table where the dynasties of Egyptian Old Kingdom are compared with the 'dynasty' of Amautas in Montesinos' list. They are surprisingly similar in relative distribution and variety of the regnal spans. In both lists 28% of the reigns exceeds 40 years, below 20 years are 28% (Manetho) and 32% (Montesinos), and the medium span of reigns (20–39 years) consist of 44% (Manetho) and 40% (Montesinos) of the total. The average length of reign in Manetho's list is 31.3 and in Montesinos' list it is 27.3 (Amautas; 31.2 in the entire list). All the kings in Manetho's list are historical, but his chronology has doubled the dates of the reigns, which,

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98 Tri- or quadri-partite names appear relatively seldom in Andean nomenclature. Guaman Poma's (1584–1615) account contain several of them. Compare also, Justo Sahuaraura's (1850) lists of Inca descendants in Cuzco, where names like Auqui Tampo Tocto, Inca Titu Ttupac Yupanqui, Auqui Ttupac Amaro, and Ttupa Auqui Ataurimachi, occur.

according to modern conventional chronology, should have averages falling between 15.2. – 16.7. years per reign for this period.⁹⁹ I have used similar averages to build up a tentative conventional chronology for the all three pre-Incaic dynasties presented in Montesinos chronicle. In this reconstruction the historical setting of the Tampu Tocco dynasty is most important and fundamental for sketching out a framework of absolute chronology for the entire king list.

2.2. The dynasty of Tampu-Tocco and the Aucaruna Age

The names and sites of Tampu-Tocco, Pacaritampu, and Tampu have often been compatible and synonymous in Andean research literature and chronicles. All these are connected with the origins of the Inca “race” and lineage.¹⁰⁰ In Montesinos’ account also, a version of the famous Pacaritampu myth is told, but without explicit references to a place (or cave) whence the original brethren emerged. The Tampu-Tocco site occurs only in the latter part of the narrative and without particular connection with the Incas. It was a seat of post-imperial decadent Amauta rulers, according to by Montesinos. Wherein Tampu-Tocco located the chronicle does not state precisely – except referring to the closeness of Cuzco.¹⁰¹

Some scholars have seriously searched for the site of the ‘Montesinian’ Tampu-Tocco in the neighbourhood of Cuzco. The best known of them are Hiram BINGHAM (1915, 1922, 1930) and Luis PARDO (1946, 1957b). BINGHAM, the discoverer of Machu Picchu, firmly believed that this site was the Tampu-Tocco of Amauta kings, and later on a seat whence the first Incas emerged. According to him, Manco Capac led his people around 1300 A.D. from Tampu-Tocco to find arable land by conquest and settling thenceforth at Cuzco.¹⁰² The location of Tampu-Tocco in the Urubamba-valley seems to have

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 99 See appendix 8c. Compare also appendix 6b. The overall chronology of regnal spans in Montesinos’ list appears relatively slightly exaggerated and is in this respect comparable with many ancient dynastic accounts elsewhere. E.g. Jose CABRAL (1913:338), who studied this list, writes: “La cronología de la lista, comparando unos reinados con otros, no es exajerada.” It is noteworthy also, that Montesinos gives reasonable regnal spans for three Incas whose reigns he has recorded: for Huiracocha 45 years and for Tupac Yupanqui 20 years (Montesinos [1644:lib.ii, caps. xxvi-xxvii] 1882:156-8. Moreover, In *Ms Merced* ([1642:lib.ii, cap.xix] 1870:80) Montesinos allows 20-years reign for Inga Roca (“Habiendo gobernado Inga Roca desde la edad de veinte años...”), although in *Ms Universitaria* ([1644:lib.ii, cap.xix] 1882:111) there is a plank in this place.

100 Compare, chapter II:3. The word *tocco* (ttokho) means “window” in Quechua (González Hologuín [1608] 1952:345), and “cupboard on the wall” (alcena en la pared) (Bertonio [1612] 1870:361) in Aymara. Pachacuti Yamqui, as an unique source, has used the term Pacaric Tampo Toco ([1613] 1993:198). For etymology, see also ELORRIETA SALAZAR 1992:165–90.

101 Events related with the common Pacaritampu myth are told in Montesinos (1644:lib.ii, cap.i) 1882:1–9. The narrative of Tampu-Tocco dynasty is told in (1644:lib.ii, caps.xiv-xv) 1882:82–90. According to Montesinos, there was a celebrated cave in Tampu Tocco where the Indians had their origin (ibid.) In chapter XV he confuses the name Pacarictampu and Tampu Tocco, “Hizo tambien en Pacarictampu un modo de Universidad...” (1882:86.)

102 BINGHAM 1922:311.

been more logical than the southern site (in the vicinity of Maucallacta and Pacaritampu) since, according to Montesinos' narrative, the defeated Amauta army and the elite took refuge at a safer and obviously defensible place. Machu Picchu could have filled these criteria.¹⁰³ The problem was to define its proper age. Although most features and outlook of Machu Picchu can exclusively be set in the Incan era, and the traces of older occupation are scanty, BINGHAM held that two distinct architecture styles, some pottery evidences, and ethno-historical references (Montesinos) were enough to make his identification positive.¹⁰⁴ BINGHAM did not consider the possibility that another site close by could have filled his criteria perhaps even better: Ollantaytampu. It was closer to Cuzco and a strong fortress. Its very name, Tampu, fits in the picture. There are evidences of pre-Inca occupation and it was a holy burial site of the Inca rulers – as has been said.¹⁰⁵ Montesinos states that the body of the last Amauta ruler was secretly carried off and deposited in Tampu Tocco after the fatal battle at Pucara.¹⁰⁶

Luis PARDO sought Tampu-Tocco from the opposite direction. He identified it as the site of Maucallacta, close to historical Pacaritampu in the modern province of Paruro. His primary aim was to research Incaic origins, but positive evidences of older occupation in many 'megalithic' sites in southern Peru convinced him of the possible testimonial credibility of Montesinos' chronicle.¹⁰⁷ These older occupational strata, for instance in Maucallacta, have been confirmed by modern archaeology too.¹⁰⁸ This site likely was large enough to have been a capital of a small ancient kingdom, but lacking defensive features and setting, it was more vulnerable to enemy attack than e.g. Ollantaytampu. If connected with the Incas, its location southward from Cuzco correlates better with the accounts of most chronicles than the northward location speculated by some other sources.¹⁰⁹ According to Gary URTON (1990) and Brian BAUER (1992), who have recently studied the connection of the Incan origin myth and archaeology, the neighbourhoods of Maucallacta could have been the Pacaritampu of the Incas.¹¹⁰

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103 *ibid.*, 312–3.

104 BINGHAM 1915:passim.

105 The name Tampu has been associated with a valley close to Cuzco. According to Garcilaso de la Vega, the Tampus lived in the Valley of Yucaj in which the ruins of Ollantaytambo (called Tampu by Garcilaso) situated. See chapter II:2 and Garcilaso (1609:lib.vi, cap.v) 1976: 18–9. Garcilaso adds also that Tampu was a royal cemetery where the intestines of Inca kings were buried after their removal for the embalming of their bodies (Segunda parte, 1616:lib.ii, cap.xxiii) 1976:796.

106 Montesinos (1644:lib.ii, cap.xiv) 1882:82. Writes Montesinos (*ibid.*): "Los de Titu Yupanqui, secretamente, llevaron su cuerpo y lo pusieron como en depósito en Tampu-tocco".

107 PARDO 1946:passim, 1957b:passim.

108 See e.g. URTON 1990 and BAUER 1992.

109 Maucallacta is one of the few sites south of Cuzco (and north of Puno) where dressed stone architecture (with niches) exists (SCHAEDEL 1998, personal communication.) See also, e.g. BAUER 1992:109–23.

110 URTON 1990:passim; BAUER 1992:passim.

Recent excavations carried out by Gordon McEWAN in the neighbourhood of Cuzco and adjacent Lucre Basin, have brought interesting new viewpoints for locating the seat of Tampu-Tocco there (see chapter IV:2). A site called Chokepukio seems to be a good candidate, and I have built my hypothesis and ethnohistorical reconstruction on this basis. Archaeological excavations had demonstrated that its major occupational strata extended from the Middle Horizon Wari to Late Horizon Inca. Chokepukio was not a fortress, but its strongly-walled structures and hill-side position indicates that defensive standpoints were considered important.¹¹¹ Situating close to Lake Muyna and having a warm spring (its name, “Golden Spring”, is a combination of the Aymaran ‘*Choke*’ = gold, and the Quechuan ‘*pukio*’ = spring), it may have been an important *pacarina*, or origin seat for some ethnic group occupying the Cuzco Valley. Quite likely it was the city of Muyna, which is frequently referred to in ethnohistorical accounts.¹¹²

Although Chokepukio rose in prominence during the Late Intermediate Period, it could have been a site of some importance even during the Middle Horizon. This indication is supported by the fact that a Wari causeway was built which connected it with Pikillacta.¹¹³ The architectural features and

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 111 George SQUIER visited this site during the time of his travels in Peru. He writes (1877:422): “The ruins of Muyna impressed me as among the oldest in Peru, and it is not impossible that here was the early seat of the power which afterwards transferred itself to Cuzco. The position, naturally strong, was, as I have said, defended by a high wall. I did not find this feature in any other ancient town of the Sierra, where true forts seem to have been relied on mainly defensive purposes. In other words, the later Incas appear to have given up the system of walling in cities, as we have done, and depended on fortifications or citadels...” Waldemar ESPINOZA’s description (1974:167) confirms these points: “Como se puede percibir, la posición de la llacta de Muyna era defensiva, pues no solamente queda en un sitio elevado, sino, ya lo acabamos de decir, que está también rodeada de una muralla, cosa que no es singular en el Perú, pero lo cierto es que en Muyna la solidez y espectacularidad de la obra arquitectónica es única en la sierra andina. No cabe duda de que su objetivo fue castrense.” See also, McEWAN 1994, 1995. Writes McEWAN (1987:63): “Strategic locations were occupied at the five entrances to the Lucre Basin. On the north side of the basin the sites of Chokepukio and Muyurinapata guarded the Oropesa narrows and the quebrada of the Rio Huatanay.” Chokepukio is a third largest archaeological site (after Cuzco and Pikillacta) in Cuzco region (McEWAN et al. 1995:11.)

112 Gordon McEWAN (1987:80, 1991:99) believes that Chokepukio was the Late Intermediate center Muyna; a suggestion which I have shared in my interpretation. McEWAN suggest also that Chokepukio could have been a *pacarina* for one of the founding groups of the Inca empire. Writes McEWAN (1995, personal communication), “In the architecture at Chokepukio we see the influence of both the Wari and the Incas, especially in the form of great niched halls. I believe that these halls are an ideological relic of the Wari system of ancestor worship which they used on a state level as a propaganda device to integrate conquered populations. This social mechanism was likely introduced by the Wari, continued after the Wari at Chokepukio, and finally picked up and used by the Inca in forming their state. Chokepukio is a very logical place for locating an ancestor cult because it contains a warm spring (Chokepukio means ‘golden spring’ or well in a combination of Quechua and Aymara words) and is located on the shores of a lake...I think that it is entirely possible that Chokepukio was the origin place for the local populations in the Cuzco valley during the Late Intermediate Period.” SCHAEDEL (1998, personal communication) suspects the identification of Chokepukio with Muyna. According to him, Muyna is the name for a polity and might include Chokepukio, but he doubts it. There is a big Inca ruin by the lake after one crosses Rumicolca and that is what he thinks where the main Muyna ruin exists.

113 McEWAN 1991:99. For causeways, writes McEWAN (1987:64): “There are two raised causeways involved in this loop which cross the marsh from Chokepukio to Muyurinapata,

ceramic styles found in the post-Wari Chokepukio reveals a hybrid culture in which the Wari, Lucre, and Killke forms were represented.¹¹⁴ These facts confirm Montesinos' ethnohistorical allegation of the genetic relationship between the Amauta-*realm* and the subsequent Tampu-Tocco dynasty. Also the probable presence of Aymarized element in its socio-historical setting provides further support for the interpretation presented in my study. Moreover, the size and defensive characters of Chokepukio accords with the description of Montesinos' narrative. Finally, an apparent association with an origin seat makes its identification with mytho-historical Tampu Tocco a very likely possibility. It could have been an origin seat for the Muyna-Pinahua ethnic group, whose *pacarina* presumably was known as Tampu Tocco.¹¹⁵

As often is the case, the accounts given in the chronicles (and narrative traditions) are dramatized and should not be taken literally. Archaeology in this site (Chokepukio) and in Pikillacta close by, indicate a rapid cultural and socio-political change around A.D. 850–900, albeit not dramatic, violent

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 and from Chokepukio going toward Pikillacta proper. Since these causeways directly connected major Wari sites it seems reasonable to assume that they were originally built by the Wari."

114 For the diversity of Wari, Lucre, and Killke styles in Chokepukio, see e.g. McEWAN 1987:79-83; McEWAN et al. 1995. Writes ISBELL et al. (1991:52), "The style is strangely incongruous with earlier Huari architecture, and we wonder whether it signals new foreign influences (such as a foreign dynasty on the throne of Huari), a new function (perhaps elaborate palaces for divine kings), cultural revitalization, or something else entirely." Writes ISBELL (1991:300) also, "In view of Huari's depopulation, Chokepukio could represent the last holdout of Huari citizens and culture." There are also *chullpas* and wall tombs in Chokepukio (McEWAN 1991:110, 115.) A special feature in the architecture of Chokepukio are the buildings designated as Type II, i.e. large, niched halls, which probably were associated with the ancestor worship. This kind of hall, *kallanka*, is characteristic in Inca sites, but these apparently had earlier antecedents in Wari Type II structures. In Inca Cuzco some of these buildings were lineage halls for the deceased rulers. The structures at Chokepukio seem to be the transitional link between Wari and Inca forms, as McEWAN (1995a) has suggested. Similar halls are also in Pikillacta, and in one of them the famous turquoise figurines (associated with the ancestor worship) has been found. In Chokepukio skeletal remains have been found in a large ruined wall, which originally contained wall-tombs. The radiocarbon samples collected from wooden beams in similar walls have yielded dates of A.D. 860±60 and A.D. 1255±59. (McEWAN 1995a; McEWAN et al. 1995:15.) For the features of Inca architecture, see GASPARINI & MARGOLIES 1980. We may also think Chokepukio as a kind of Neo-Wari state, similar than the Neo-Incas of Vilcabamba after the collapse of Inca empire. The difference, of course, is that Chokepukio was not isolated like Vilcabamba.

115 As stated in the note 100 above, Pachacuti Yupanqui (1613) has called this origin place: Pacaric Tampu Toco. In Aymara *tocco* means "a cupboard in the wall", i.e. niche (see note 100). In the chronicles references to *toccos* are frequently connected with origins (ELORRIETA SALAZAR 1992:180.) and consequently, with ancestors. When the large halls of niched walls often housed mummies of venerated ancestors, a site where such buildings comprised a marked architectural appearance, could have been called a "House of Niches" or metaphorically "Inn of Ancestors" (Tampu Tocco). I suggest, therefore, that the original name of the place may have been Tampu Tocco. It was possibly renamed as Muyna when a new pre-Incaic dynasty occupied the site. Finally it became known as Chokepukio, possibly during the Incan times. It was spelled Chuque Puquio in early documents (Horacio VILLANUEVA URTEAGA 1982:157, *Cuzco 1689, Informes de los Párrocos al Obispo Mollinedo: Economía y Sociedad en el Sur Andino*, prólogo y transcripción por dr. Horacio Villanueva Urteaga. Centro de Estudios Rurales Andinos "Bartolomé de las Casas", Cuzco; cited in McEWAN 1987:9.) For Tampu Tocco as a possible origin seat for Pinahuas and Muynas, see e.g. ESPINOZA SORIANO 1974:158-9; ZUIDEMA 1989:104-7.

attacks. We may suggest an invasion from the Altiplano (with the ‘Expansive’ Tiahuanaco as a major force behind it), and speculate that a couple of decisive battles were fought on the southern border of the disintegrating Wari polity and perhaps close to its later capital (Pikillacta or Huaro). Thereafter a new order was set in place. We may think that the inner political structure, or imperial power of Tiahuanaco polity was not capable, willing, or strong enough to extend its direct political control to these areas in southern Peru. A prolonged presence of Tiahuanaco culture has not been indicated archaeologically in these regions. Some scholars, however, refers to certain material remains found in Southern Peru and Cuzco region, which have apparent Tiahuanaco cultural characteristics belonging to that particular period. Presumably they may be only random remains of a temporary Tiahuanaco occupation.¹¹⁶

As has been stated previously, a tendency of translocalization sometimes occurs in ancient oral traditions. This could explain why Montesinos speaks about Cuzco and not e.g. Viñaque (Wari). More probably this confusion happened when the locations concerned are situated in the same region. And Cuzco, Pikillacta, and Chokepukio are. Montesinos gives implicit references that the (almost) deserted old capital (Cuzco) was quite close to Tampu-Tocco. This could have been a relation of Chokepukio with Pikillacta, which was left deserted but might have remained a sacred site occupied by some members of the ancient priesthood. We may also take Montesinos’ information in this matter literally, and suggest that Tampu-Toccans were refugee descendants of previous Amautas.¹¹⁷

The dynasty of Tampu-Tocco contains 26 rulers in *Ms Merced*, which is considered more original than *Ms Universitaria* (which listed 28 rulers in this place).¹¹⁸ I have concluded earlier (chapter III:2), that three names in the list of

 116 Scholars (mostly Bolivian and Peruvian) who hold an idea that Tiahuanaco cultural influence extended to southern Peru during the Expansive (Decadent) Tiahuanaco phase (A.D. 800 – 1200), are e.g. IBARRA GRASSO 1969; PONCE SANGINES 1969; BOERO ROJO 1991; HUIDOBRO BELLIDO 1993; and ESCALANTE MOSCOSO 1993. HUIDOBRO BELLIDO also refers to LUMBRERAS (1977, *Acerca de la aparición del Estado Inca, Separata de Cuadernos*, No 24–25, Lima), Luis A. PARDO (1977, Sensational declaración del Dr. Luis A. Pardo. *El Comercio*, 25 de junio, Cuzco), Luis BARREDA MURILLO (1980, *Modelo de desarrollo social prehispánico del Cuzco*, Copacabana), and Carlos MILLA VILLENA (1983, *Génesis de la Cultura Andina*, Lima) (1993:19.) KAUFFMANN DOIG (1980:549) writes instead, “la impronta dejada por la expansión Tiahuanaco-Huari en el valle del Cuzco no aparece muy clara.” HUIDOBRO BELLIDO (ibid., *passim*) mentions an Inca vase (found from Cuzco) with typical Tiahuanaco decoration, a *kero* with Tiahuanaco decoration found from Sacsayhuaman, stone plates where Tiahuanaco-style decorations are carved (found from Velille, Cuzco region), and plaques where the anthropomorphic central-figure of Tiahuanaco Sun Gate is carved (found from Cuzco). All these items are easily transportable. Their appearance in southern Peru can be explained by trading contacts or, as I tend to believe, they may be random remains of a temporary Tiahuanaco occupation in the region.

117 Writes Montesinos ([1644:lib.ii, cap.xiv] 1882:83), “porque con las revueltas no había quien viviese en el Cuzco, por ser todo confusión; y como poco á poco se viniesen los hombres á vivir á Tampusocco á la sombra del rey, quedó el Cuzco casi desierto; sólo quedaron en él los ministros del templo.” Montesinos also writes about the first king of Tampu Tocco, Titu Huaman Quicho, who lived with much moderation for many years, and on certain days went to worship in the temple (at Cuzco) ([1644:lib.ii, cap.xiv] 1882:83.)

118 See chapter III:2. and Appendix 1.

Ms Universitaria (which do not occur in the earlier *Ms Merced*) were possibly inserted by Montesinos. Two of these insertions were made in the Tampu-Tocco list of kings.¹¹⁹ By using my calculative average, 16.5 year per reign (see appendix 6b), the total dynastic duration would be around 429 years. As a fixed chronological starting point we may choose the reign of Huaman Tocco Amauta, whose dates seems to correlate with astronomical tie-ins quite neatly, and which accords also with archaeological dating of the period. So he probably flourished in A.D. 837–41. He was the penultimate ruler of the Amauta empire. Allowing 16.5 year average for this last reign, we may settle the dynastic end at around A.D. 860. This correlates also with the archaeological dating, which sets the collapse of Wari at A.D. 800–50.

In Montesinos' narrative of events, following the disintegration of the Amauta 'empire' and the emergence of a new rule at Tampu Tocco, one might deduce that a period of interregnum prevailed.¹²⁰ It could have lasted years, but considering that a young heir was chosen after a while as a new ruler, I suggest a round ten-year interregnum in this place. Our chronological fixed point would be A.D. 870 then. Counting from then 429 years onwards, the date A.D. 1299 (1300 in round numbers) is arrived at. According to Montesinos, a shortlived "florescence" of Tampu-Toccan dynasty occurred during the reign of its 14th king, Tupac Cauri Pachacuti VII.¹²¹ In my chronology this king flourished

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 119 There are confusive information concerning the reigns and serial numbers in this part of the narrative. The order of succession as given by *Ms Merced* is (according to 'corrected' orthography): Titu Huaman Quicho, Cosque Huamantitu, Cayo Manco, Huilca Titu, Sayri Tupac, Tupac Yupanqui, Huayna Tupac, Huanacauri, Huilca Huaman, Huaman Capac...(in *Ms Universitaria*: Paullu Raymi, Manco Capac Amauta)...Auqui Atau Huilca, Manco Titu Capac, Huayna Tupac, Tupac Cauri, Arantial, Huari Titu Capac, Topa Titu Auqui, Toco Cozque, Ayar Manco, Condoroca, Amaru, Sinchi Roca, Illa Roca, Lluqui Yupanqui, Roca Titu, and Inti Mayta Capac. According to IMBELLONI (1941:291) and VASQUEZ (1930:136), the name Lluqui Yupanqui, is not listed in *Ms Merced*. It appears, however, in FIDEL LOPEZ's Spanish edition of *Ms Merced* (1870:67): "y le sucedió Illatoca que reinó 72 años y le sucedió Lluqui Yupanqui que reinó 45 años y le sucedió Roca Titu reinó 25 años..." Instead, Tini Capac Yupanqui, 8th king (Pirua), is not included in *Ms Merced* but is inserted in *Ms Universitaria*. Both IMBELLONI (ibid.) and VASQUEZ (ibid.) have included the king Ayar Manco II (successor of Condoroca) in the list, which is omitted in *Ms Universitaria*. However, the edition of FIDEL LOPEZ (1869–70:66–7) does not mention him, although FIDEL LOPEZ (1969:336) in his introduction has listed him. It appears to me that the king list of Tampu Toccan rulers presumably contained some 26 names originally, as *Ms Merced* has given us.

120 Titu Yupanqui was killed at the battle of Pucara on the southern border of the realm. His body was secretly carried to Tampu Tocco. The enemy troops were marauding in the country, provinces all rose in rebellion, and "the people of Tampu Tocco had many dissensions among themselves as to the choosing of a king." Finally a very young boy, Titu Huaman Quicho was chosen as king. See, Montesinos (1644:lib.ii, cap.xiv) 1920:61-2. Thomas JOYCE (1912:82-6) has presented a hypothesis, that one major cause for the collapse of Amauta empire might have been a general uprising opened up from "too drastic action on the part of the Amauta dynasty in forcing an unwelcome cult upon their subjects. Possibly they had tried to eradicate the various local forms of worship, and had instituted a religious persecution to which the empire could not submit. Hence the general exodus to Tampu-tocco under a new leader. Indications of some such religious persecution are not wanting in the account of Montesinos...The transference of civil power to Tampu-tocco hints at a revival of Uiracocha worship, and a temporary eclipse of the Sun-cult, which, however, still continued to be practised at Cuzco."

121 Montesinos (1644:lib.ii, cap.xv) 1882:85–7.

around A.D. 1085–1100. I suggest also that Tupac Cauri was a foreigner on the throne of Tampu Tocco. His name indicate an Aymara origin. Equally, the name of his successor, Arantial, appears foreign. Among his successors there are four kings having an apellative Roca in their names. Guinaldo VASQUEZ (1930) has called Tupac Cauri and his successors as a ‘dynasty of conquerors’, and I believe that they represented a new, Aymara-speaking dynasty, who subordinated and replaced the old Quechua-strata on the throne.¹²²

The Yarovilca-dynasty of kings, which has been given us by Guaman Poma (see Appendix 9), could provide some chronological corroboration for the date of collapse of the Amauta-Wari polity. According to AMAZ OLAZABAL (1978), the Aymara-speaking, northward-advancing (from Altiplano) Yaros may have been the destroyers of Wari empire. The dynastic list of Yarovilcas contains 47 names, of which the last one, Llucyac Poma, ruled at the time when general Quisquis was defeated (1534).¹²³ Allowing 14.8 years per reign we would arrive to A.D. 838 as a starting point of the Yarovilca rule. This date also correlates with the idea that a migratory expansion from the south was possibly associated with the destruction of the Wari (Amauta) empire.

Some scholars (and Guaman Poma) have suggested that the Yaros held a hegemonic power in the Central Peruvian highlands for about two hundred years after the disintegration of Wari polity.¹²⁴ It appears that the first ten rulers in Guaman Poma’s list of Yarovilca kings possibly belong to mytho-historical category (see appendix 9).¹²⁵ Thereafter 33 reigns belonging to the *Aucaruna* (The Age of War) phase followed. Last of them, Capac Apo Guaman Chaua II, was ruling when the Yaros were incorporated into the Inca empire. According to Guaman Poma, this Guaman Chaua was his grandfather and a governor of Chinchaysuyo during the reign of Inca Tupac Yupanqui.¹²⁶ Guaman Poma names also four successors for Guaman Chaua. The last of them, as has been

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122 VASQUEZ 1930:147. For nomenclature, compare appendix 8b.

123 For Yaros, see ALVARADO ALVARINO 1978; AMAZ OLAZABAL 1978 and PACHEO SANDOVAL 1984. For Yarovilla-dynasty, consult Guaman Poma (1615:75–6) 1980:59–60. ESPINOZA SORIANO (1975) for instance, has suggested that there existed an empire of Yaro around A.D. 1200 to 1400. According to PACHEO SANDOVAL (1984:41–2), the name *Yaro* does not occur in the early Quechua or Aymara dictionaries. Instead, in the chronicles and *visitas*, and in later toponymic investigation, its etymology has been explained e.g. as “retreat” (Pasco) and “disorder” (Puno). Yaros were also known by an apellative *llacuaz*, which is a synonym of “shepherd” (ibid.)

124 TELLO 1942: 51–3; ESPINOZA SORIANO 1975; AMAT OLAZABAL 1978; PACHEO SANDOVAL 1984. According to ESPINOZA SORIANO (1975:16–7) this realm comprised the mountain areas of the modern provinces of Cajamarca, La Libertad, Ancash, Huanuco, Pasco, Lima, Junin, and Huancavelica. The ethnic groups within this domain were: Loa Tayacajas, Astos, Chinchaycochas, Taramas, Huancas, Yaros, Yachas, Chupachos, and Yauyos. The capital of Yaro hegemony was at Yarush (in Pasco) (PACHEO SANDOVAL 1984:40). According to ESPINOZA (1975:18), the imperial phase of Yaro has been dated to 12–13th centuries (in chronologies where the disintegration of Wari is set around A.D. 1100). See also, PACHEO SANDOVAL 1984:18.

125 Their names have a clear euhemeristic character, which suggest that they are only names of gods interpolated into beginning of the list. See, e.g. SZEMINSKI 1983:96–102. Compare also, appendix 4b.

126 Guaman Poma (1584–1615:75, 165) 1980:59, 145.

stated, ruled at the time of the defeat of general Quizquiz.¹²⁷

The number of Yarovilca rulers accords with the outlines of absolute chronology for the Late Intermediate and Late Horizon periods. By counting backwards from the defeat of Quizquiz (1534) and allowing 14.8 years' average per reign, the beginnings of Guaman Chaua's reign would be placed at around 1460, which is the conventional date (ROWE's chronology) for the Inca conquest of Yaro territory. The Aucaruna Yarovilca dynasty emerged then ca. A.D. 990. If there was a hegemonic phase in its history, we may suggest that it could have existed somewhere between A.D. 1000 and 1200. The reasons for the collapse of Yaro hegemony presumably were quite the same which caused the disintegration of the Wari empire: a worsening climatic conditions, droughts, movements of people, rebellions, and internal strifes. At the same time fell also Tiahuanaco, and little later the Tampu Tocco kingdom.

The time of 'Warring States' in Andean ethohistory is called *Aucaruna* by the later tradition. Some sources agree that this turbulent and warlike time (before the Incas rise to power) lasted a few hundred of years. Modern archaeology has confirmed this view. During this period – archaeologically known as Late Intermediate and covering the time from around A.D 900/1000 to 1450 – at least the following archaeologically known chiefdoms and states flourished: Chimor, Chinchu, Cajamarca, Chanca, Aymara 'kingdoms' in Altiplano, Muyna, and early Inca. It is evident that the hegemony of Wari disintegrated after its fall into politically independent sections. 'Each province selected its own king', as also Montesinos has stated. Apparently the Chimor and Post-decadent Tiahuanaco were the largest, but at the time of the collapse of the latter (ca. A.D. 1200), the major expansion of Chimor had barely begun. It seems quite likely to me that a polity labeled Tampu-Tocco could have been another ranking power at the same time.¹²⁸

The exact number of historical kings in the Amauta dynasty cannot be set with any certainty. *Ms Merced* has listed 46 of them. MARKHAM and MEANS (1920) supposed that some 26 may have been historical rulers. In their chronology the Amauta period extended from around A.D. 350 to 825, or 475 years.¹²⁹ Regnal spans are given for 40 rulers in the manuscripts,¹³⁰ and if the accordant number of turquoise ancestral figures from Pikillacta could be used

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127 *ibid.*, (75) 1980:59.

128 For memories of this tradition in Andean ethnohistory, see chapter IV:1. Compare also appendices 9 and 10 (World Ages of Poma de Ayala). Consult, Montesinos (1644:lib.ii, cap.xiv) 1882:82. In the Altiplano, east from Titicaca the Mollo polity with its rather large capital, Iskanwaya, was another prominent Late Intermediate domain (SCHAEDEL 1998, personal consultation.) For Mollo and Iskanwaya, see also e.g. HUIDORO BELLIDO 1983; ESCALANTE MOSCOSO 1993:300–15.

129 MEANS 1920:xlii-xliv.

130 See appendix 8c. In the king list of Montesinos the central section, which related the Amautas is most complete one in recording regnal spans for rulers. Of the total 46 kings only six have blank in this information.

as a possible clue, we may propose that this may indicate the maximum number of reigns for this dynasty.¹³¹

The actual number of historical reigns may have been less than that. The first names of ancestral kings in the line may have been mythical, euhemerized additions which imperial propaganda produced later. It was a commonplace in original dynasties to use sacred formulas of ten for first mythical ancestors of the line.¹³² By using this argument we may guess that there hardly were much more than 30 historical Amautas in all. By using the standard 14.8 years per reign (extended dynasties) a total span of 444 years is reached, while the standard 16.5 years (macrodynasties) allows 495 years (see appendix 6b). While the total number of kings ranges in confines of both standards, an average of these, 470 years, possible provides a more realistic figure for chronological reconstruction.¹³³ Thereafter the proposed historical setting of the dynasty of Amautas extend from around A.D. 400 (390) to A.D. 860. If there were any historicity in the first 'ten' rulers – the mythical founders of the line – their times would fall to around A.D. 225–400. We may consider them tentatively as paramount chiefs of an early Huarpa chiefdom in the Ayacucho valley.

The historical setting of the Piruas may offer alternative scenarios instead. In the first place (as I have proposed earlier), they presumably did not belong to that early period and in the beginning of the long list of kings, as presented by Montesinos. I suggest that their setting was contemporaneous with the Tampu Tocco dynasty and more interestingly, they probably had affinities with the 'Hurin-Cuzco' 'Incas'. According to another scenario (which is supported by R. SCHAEDEL), they preceded the Amautas in Ayacucho (thereby consistent with Montesinos' account) and were possibly dynastically associated with Tiahuanaco. For more about these scenarios, see chapter V:3.

2.3. The Incan connection

Guaman Poma and some other sources allude to powerful polities in the Cuzco region before the Inca imperial expansion. Most often referred to are: the Ayarmacas, Pinahuas, and Muynas (see Map 6).¹³⁴ Chronicles affirm also that

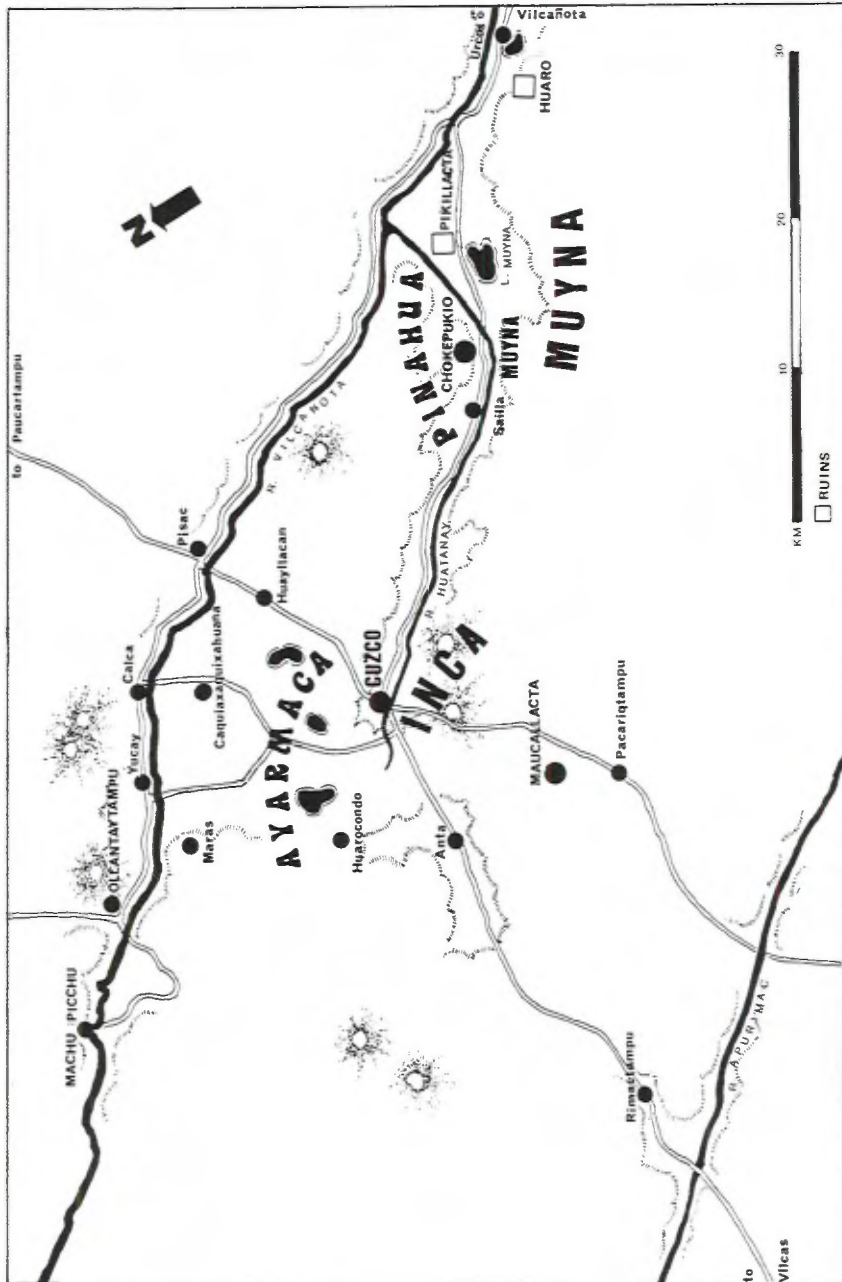
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131 See chapter IV:2.3. We may suppose that the later Wari tradition structuralized the number of reigns in their historical Canon into round figure of 40 (like the Canonic figure of 10 used by the Incas).

132 See appendix 4b. In number of ancient dynasties a first set of rulers are not historical, but eponyms of gods, demigods, or legendary ancestors. Their number vary, but a commonly used figure is 10. In the Andes where a decimal system of reckoning was a commonplace, the number ten was a basic structural unit. In the list of Yarovilca rulers of Guaman Poma, the first ten names apparently were eponymic gods, as stated above.

133 The calculated regnal span average for 470 years is 15.67. This accords with the average reached in the Pharaonic reigns of Egyptian Old Kingdom as fitted into absolute chronology in modern calculations: 15.65 (see appendix 8c.)

134 For Ayarmacas, see ROSTWOROWSKI DE DIEZ CANSECO 1969-70; 1988:26–30. For Pinahuas, see ESPINOZA SORIANO 1974. See also e.g. ES PINOZA SORIANO 1987:31–46; BRUNDAGE 1963/1985:9–41. Consult also, Guaman Poma (1584–1615:80) 1980:63.

MAP 6. Possible political spheres in Cuzco region before A.D. 1438



MAP 6. Possible political spheres in Cuzco region before A.D. 1438. Drawn partly according to ESPINOZA SORIANO (1987:33). Auxiliary data derived from MARKHAM's (1910) map of *Ttahuantin-suyu or the Empire of the Incas*, Cuzco - Departamento de Cuzco 1973, BRUNDAGE 1967 (1985), BAUER 1992, and McEWAN (1996, personal communication).

the Incas had a rival relationship with these polities: diplomatic at best and warring at worst. Finally all these were defeated by the Incas.¹³⁵

As has been stated, the socio-cultural characteristics, political interaction, and ethnohistorical outlines of Cuzco region during the Late Intermediate Period are largely indistinct and questionable still in the current perception. Gordon McEWAN is one modern archaeologist who has brought light to this obscure picture. His studies have particularly enlighten a historical perspective from the non-Inca point of view, from the Lucre Basin, where a major opposing force of the early Incas was located: the Muyna and its allies.

Writes McEWAN (1987), "The groups discussed above amounted to mini-states or super-chiefdoms and each was apparently bent on establishing hegemony over the others. The principal Wari legacy seems to have been the raising of the level of organizational complexity of the polities that it conquered to a relative equality. With the collapse of the central authority, many of these polities were in a position to try out the lessons of empire that they had absorbed through the Wari occupation. Throughout the Andes the Late Intermediate Period was probably characterized by this widespread contending for power. In many cases it was probably a matter of picking up the pieces and stringing them back together, so to speak, to form a new empire. This is apparently what the Inca were able to do using their own ideology and the inherited lessons of state craft, and most importantly the inherited infra-structure, especially the basic highway system."¹³⁶

Competitive powers in the Cuzco region

The Muyna polity apparently was the most powerful one in the region before the reign of Inca Viracocha. The recent studies of McEWAN have provided further confirmation for the allegation that the archaeological Chokepukio was ethnohistorical Muyna. This site controlled the strategic Lucre Basin, and "probably gained a certain amount of reflected prestige by virtue of holding the old seat of local Wari power. This seems indicated in their ceramics and architecture which imitated the old Wari styles. The political arrangements with Andahuayllas, Huaru and Urcos may also have been a hold over of the old imperial regional organization", writes McEWAN (1987).¹³⁷

135 See especially, Sarmiento de Gamboa (1572:xviii-xxv) 1942:81-96.

136 McEWAN 1987:8. Writes SCHREIBER (1992:51), "Archaeological data from elsewhere in the central highlands indicate that the Late Intermediate period was a time of much warfare. Large hilltop fortresses are characteristic settlements in many parts of the highlands at this time. The data suggest that politically much of the highland population was organized at the level of complexity of chiefdoms and complex chiefdoms, and that there was much fighting among the various groups." This view is ethnohistorically supported in Guaman Poma's account (1584-1615) for instance. Writes BRUNDAGE (1963/1985:5): "The value of Huaman Poma's outline is that it presents to us a theory of sierra prehistory not wholly discolored by the pervasive tinting of the Inca apologists."

137 McEWAN 1987:81. For Muyna and Chokepukio connection, see McEWAN 1987:79-82. According to SANTA (1970:129), Muyna may have been Tampu Tocco of the Incas. Compare also previous chapter and chapter IV:2.

A closely related group with the Muynas, the Pinahuas, occupied the Oropesa Basin just to the north of the Lucre Basin. Their territory extended from the confines of the Lucre Basin to Angostura along the northeastern side of the valley. Their principal town, Pinahua, was at the site of modern Oropesa.¹³⁸ The Pinahuas apparently were allied with the Muynas. "Such an arrangement would have had great advantages for the Lucre at Muina since Pinagua was situated as to control the highway running behind Cerro Condor Moqo, the northern approach to Muina", writes McEWAN.¹³⁹ With Pinahua as her frontal ally, and important settlements such as Antahuayllas, Huaru, and Urcos behind, the Muyna formed a powerful confederate mini-state, which was long able to prevent the Inca extension toward the east and Collao region.¹⁴⁰

A third group of importance in Cuzco region were the Ayarmacas. This confederation, which was centered in the region northward from Cuzco, controlled the eastern part of Cuzco valley in those early days. The Ayarmacas were also connected with the Pinahuas, which might have meant that all the three groups mentioned above were ethnically related. The chronicles called their leader Tocay Capac, which apparently was a dynastic title.¹⁴¹ The Ayarmacas were able to contest power with the Incas during the reign of Inca Roca. The Inca-Ayarmaca alliance was formed during the next reign, when Yahuar Huacac married a daughter of Tocay Capac, and the Ayarmaca ruler himself was given an Inca princess to wife.¹⁴²

In some early sources the Ayarmacas and Pinahuas have been connected politically.¹⁴³ According to Murúa the realm of Tocay Capac [Ayarmaca] and

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138 McEWAN 1987:81. See also, ROSTWOROWSKI DE DIEZ CANSECO 1969-70:90-1; ESPINOZA SORIANO 1974.

139 McEWAN, *ibid.* According to him (*ibid.*), "the extent of Pinagua holdings is probably exaggerated somewhat in the documents cited by Espinosa [1974] since the Ayamarca were also occupying the Oropesa Basin. According to Brundage (1967:19-24) the Ayarmacas and Pinaguas seem to have been rather loosely organized and served as a buffer between the more aggressive and highly organized groups in the Cuzco and Lucre Basin." For the alliance of Muyna and Pinahua, see also e.g. BRUNDAGE 1967/1985:24-5. Sarmiento de Gamboa ([1572:cap.xix] 1942:82) mentions Pinahua in association with the Muyna. See also, ROSTWOROWSKI DE DIEZ CANSECO 1969-70:90-91.

140 BRUNDAGE 1967/1985:24-6.

141 ROSTWOROWSKI DE DIEZ CANSECO 1969-70; ESPINOZA SORIANO 1987: 31-46. See also, BRUNDAGE 1963/1985:24-41, 1967/1985:19-25. According to Pachacuti Yamqui ([1613] 1993:216) the wife of Inca Yahuar Huacac was the great-great-granddaughter of Tocay Capac. Tocay Capac himself must have lived at the time of Mayta Capac then (ZUIDEMA 1962:271, n. 94.) According to Sarmiento de Gamboa ([1572:caps.xix, xxxiv] 1942: 82-3, 112), a powerful Ayarmaca *sinchi* called Tocay Capac appeared at the time of Inca Roca and was finally subjugated at the beginning of Inca Pachacuti's reign. For Tocay Capac as a possible dynastic name, ROSTWOROWSKI, *ibid.*, 59.

142 BRUNDAGE 1963/1985:34-40. Consult also, Sarmiento de Gamboa (1572:caps.xix-xxiii) 1942:82-91.

143 ESPINOZA SORIANO (1987:35) and ROSTWOROWSKI DE DIEZ CANSECO (1988:30) have suggested, that the *ayllus* of the Pinahuas and Ayarmacas were affined according to Andean dual moiety principle. Consult also, Guaman Poma ([1584-1615:80] 1980:63) and Murúa ([1590-1609:lib.iii, cap.xxj] 1946:215.

Pinan Capac [Pinahua] extended from Vilcañota to Angaraes in the west.¹⁴⁴ BRUNDAGE (1967/1985) has suggested that the Muynas [& Pinahua] subjugated the Ayarmacas and the Incas temporarily during the reign of weak Lloque Yupanqui.¹⁴⁵ Hence, one may suggest that in Murúa's account we have a reference to the greatest extension of the Muyna (Tampu-Tocco) polity. For the 'temporary subjugation' I believe that the Muyna hegemony span the period of Hurin-Cuzco rule until the time of Inca Roca.

In reconstructing a absolute chronology for these events, I have used two opposing points of reference: the fall of Wari (Amauta) empire (A.D. 860–70 in my reconstruction) and the beginnings of the Inca empire (A.D. 1438 in conventional chronology). As has been stated, a severe drought prevailed in the Andes from A.D. 1245 to 1310.¹⁴⁶ Natural calamities obviously ensued and consequences were felt in socio-political changes, causing migrations etc. Most likely the collapse of Tampu-Tocco as an integrated polity happened during this period, i.e. A.D. 1300 (see previous chapter).

In my reconstructed chronology Inca Roca's ascension is dated to ca. A.D. 1350.¹⁴⁷ With this as our chronological reference point, and another in A.D. 1300, we have a 50-year gap which separate these political events. Montesinos' chronicle allows one hundred years for this interval.¹⁴⁸ What happened during

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 144 *ibid.*; Murúa (1590–1609:lib.iii, cap.xxi) 1946:215. Writes Murúa (*ibid.*), "Así mismo quieren decir fueron Señores *Tocaicápac* y *Pinancápac* desde *Vilcanota* hasta *Angaraes*; y fueron Reyes o reinaron antes de los Ingas..."

145 BRUNDAGE 1967/1985:25. According to him (*ibid.*, 356–7), "The sources quite apparently attempt to disguise the fact that this armed attack on Cuzco was successful. That it was a defeat for Cuzco is proved by Lloque Yupanqui's reputation as weak and cowardly" (referring to such sources as, Gutierrez de Santa Clara, Diego Fernandez, Ramos Gavilan, Antonio Calancha, and Guaman Poma). Writes BRUNDAGE (*ibid.*), "This encounter was the first recorded meeting between the two states. It carried in it the germs of all later Inca history, for the leader of the Muyna forces knew of a god far greater than any the Incas at that time had. This god was not just a common Peruvian *huaca*, he was a *viracocha* and was specifically referred to as the 'Only Lord in the Universe'. So wonderful were his oracular powers that he was able to indicate to the aged and impotent Lloque Yupanqui a wife who would provide him with a son. The correct historical interpretation of this reputed miracle is probably the temporary subjugation of Cuzco and the Ayarmacas to Muyna. At any rate, the prestige of Viracocha was solidly established in Cuzco at this time." Cabello de Balboa ([1586:cap.xii] 1951:280–3) and Cobo ([1653:lib.xii, cap.vi] 1964:68–9) give a little more detailed description of Lloque Yupanqui's reign than Sarmiento de Gamboa ([1572:cap.xvii] 1942:76–8). All of them referred to Inca's relationship with the Huaro polity (in essence Muyna) as peaceful, and give names of its rulers: Huaman Samo and a certain Pachaculla Viracocha who was a wise advisor.

146 KOLATA 1993:287. See chapter IV:2.

147 For Inca Roca's ascension at A.D. 1350 (HILTUNEN 1981; 1993: 59–60.) The estimated regnal spans of Inca Roca (1350–80), Yuhuar Huacac (1380–1400), and Viracocha (1400–38). (*ibid.*) The ascension of Viracocha at ca. A.D. 1400 is from BRUNDAGE's (1967/1985:317, 337–8) chronology.

148 *Ms Universitaria* has a plank in this place, but in *Ms Merced* Montesinos refers to a one-hundred year interval in this place, Montesinos (1642:lib.11, cap.xvi) 1870:68. Montesinos has stated that "Si no es que digamos que este gobierno especial de los ingas fué de cuatrocientos años á esta parte, que esto es verdad, como veremos en su lugar" ([1644:lib.ii, cap.vii] 1882:46). According to him the fall of Tampu-Tocco occurred when 4000 years had elapsed since the Deluge ([*ibid.*, cap.xv] p. 90). This would fall around A.D. 1000. By counting this way, the gap of about one hundred years is reached accordingly.

this period in the valley of Cuzco and its surroundings is a crucial question in my reconstruction.

After the fall of Tampu-Tocco a power vacuum came into existence in Cuzco region. Migrative groups entered on the spot from many directions. Presumably one of them was powerful enough to give a final blow to Tampu-Tocco rule and gain a hegemony in the area. This new power presumably took Muyna/Chokepukio as its seat. They were the ethnohistorical Muyna-Pinahuas, arch enemies of the first "Incas".

Inca Roca was the first king of the Hanan-Cuzco line, but what about his predecessors, the Hurin-Cuzcos? Some modern scholars like María ROSTWOROWSKI DE DIEZ CANSECO have held the opinion that Inca Roca possibly acquired the upper hand at Cuzco from the previous Hurin-line by force. He was the first who adopted the title Inca, first to build a palace for himself, and possibly creator of the *Yachahuasi*-institution.¹⁴⁹ One source, Martin Murúa, informs us that this Inca was involved in the assassination of his predecessor, Capac Yupanqui.¹⁵⁰

The origins of Hurin- and Hanan-Cuzcos

R. T. ZUIDEMA in his study of *ceque* systems of Cuzco (1962/1995), has presented a model (the third presentation) in which the relationship between Hanan-Cuzcos and Hurin-Cuzcos was as that of conquerors to conquered. He bases this argument on Gutierrez de Santa Clara, whose text states that a new city Annan [Hanan] Cuzco was built over against old Cuzco by the conquering Incas and how the king of old Cuzco was pursued and killed by the Inca ruler.¹⁵¹ ZUIDEMA concluded that "the rulers of Hanan-Cuzco were the real Inca and the conquerors of the town, and that the rulers of Hurin-Cuzco were classed as the pre-Inca population."¹⁵²

ZUIDEMAS's argument of 'conquerors' and 'conquered' is also based on an old Andean concept and tradition, in which the original inhabitants of a region were conceived as peasants with metaphorical feminine attributes, and the late-comers – usually conquerors – as pastoralists with masculine affinations. The first group of people were called *huari* or *llactayoc*, and the latter group *llachuz*. They were the Lower (Hurin) and Upper (Hanan) *Sayas* of the common moiety division.¹⁵³ Furthermore, the 'Hanan-saya' people were often

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149 ROSTWOROWSKI DE DIEZ CANSECO 1953:20–30; BAUDIN 1962:53; BRUNDAGE 1963/1985, 1967/1985.

150 According to Murúa ([1590–1609] 1946:62–4, 92), Capac Yupanqui had a wicked concubine which became a wife to his successor Inca Roca. Before that this wife poisoned Capac Yupanqui. We may presume that Inca Roca was involved in this incident.

151 ZUIDEMA 1962:196–200; 1995:320–25. Compare, Gutiérrez de Santa Clara (ca.1595–1603:cap.xlix) 1963:209–16.

152 ZUIDEMA 1962/1964:197.

153 According to URTEAGA (1931:56), "Universalmente extendida entre las viejas razas andinas, la clasificación es una clave para marcar la cronología de las inmigraciones y la calidad de

associated with a migrant warrior class accustomed to bloodshed and sacrifice through their pastoral intimacy with animal slaughter. Their mobility and mastery to use bolas and slings as weapons made them fearsome and able warriors. They preferably worshipped celestial gods, such as Sun (Inti), Thunder (Illapa), and stars, while the *huaris* adorned terrestrial objects, like ancestral mummies for instance.¹⁵⁴

The concept of Andean duality in the moiety division (Hurin/Hanan) as presented in the structuralist model contradicts in its diachronical reasoning. The model of dyarchy where these two division were set ruling simultaneously, does not apply with the idea of ‘conquerors’ and ‘conquered’. The diachrony of ‘before’ and ‘after’ lacks in this scenario. The only reliable interpretation, which fit to the old Andean idea of ‘original inhabitants subjugated by the late-comers’, is in the historical scenario where one dynasty (Hurin) preceded another dynasty (Hanan), as OSSIO (1978) has denoted it.¹⁵⁵

The traditional number of reigns in the Hurin-Cuzco line is five – if the ancestral founder, Manco Capac, is counted. My calculative coefficient in the regnal spans for short singular dynasties is 18.5. years. If Manco Capac is excluded as a mythical character – as many have opted to do – the four reigns

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 los habitantes de una región. Los *hurin* eran, en todos los valles, los antiguos o regnicolas; los *hanan*, los advenedizos o agregados. Entre los aimaras existió, también, la denominación de ‘originarios’ y ‘agregados’, sólo que en este idioma se denominaban los Hanansayas ‘Llaquas’ o ‘Llakahuas’, y los Hurin-sayas, ‘Huari’ o ‘Llactayoc’.” He writes also (ibid., 57), “Los primitivos ocupantes de un valle o tierra fértil, fueron los Hurin; los llegados después, los hanan”, and, “Cuando los aimaras dieron el nombre de Llactayoc al Hurin, se referían a su situación de poblado o villorío, ya que ‘Llantayos’ significa en quichua ‘el habitante original’ de un pueblo.” For the feminine and masculine attributes of these divisions, writes SULLIVAN (1996:217) as follows. “The essence of this hierarchical ordering lay in distinguishing between conqueror and conquered in terms of gender. In this scheme the ‘lower class’, or *llactas*, the original inhabitants of the land, were termed ‘feminine’, and the conquerors, from elsewhere, were called ‘masculine’...First, the self-styled identity of the conquerors as ‘masculine’ suggests that they were nomadic pastoralists, accustomed to tracing descent through the male line. This deduction is corroborated by a second datum, the literal meaning of the name adopted by the upper moiety: *llachua*. This is the Quechua word for the ritual sacrifice of the llamas.” “

154 SULLIVAN 1996:213. According to OSSIO (1978:247), “Por los atributos que se le asocian oposición presenta una estrecha analogía con la oposición Llacuaces/Huari, estudiada por Mariscotti, Duviols y Zuidema...Los Huari adoraban además, de manera principal, a sus antepasados bajo la forma de ‘mallquis’ o ‘momias’, mientras que los Llacuaces, al Sol, la luna y las estrellas.”

155 Writes OSSIO (1978:248), “Es perfectamente explicable que las edades pensadas en términos cosmológicos sucedan a las pensadas en términos genealógicos, pues una característica de la concepción andina del pasado es que la historia sigue un orden ascendente de abajo hacia arriba. Esto se ve claramente en la Historia Incaica donde una dinastía Hurin (Bajo) antecede a una dinastía Hanan (Alto).” OSSIO (1978:249) refers also to the World Ages in Guaman Poma’s chronicle, where the ideas of progression and diachronical ascendancy are presented. The dual division was not a commonplace practise everywhere in the Inca realm either. According to ROWE (1946:262–3), “Each province was divided into two or three parts (*Saya*). The ideal pattern was undoubtedly the dual (moiety) division found among the *Inca* themselves, and the divisions were known as Upper and Lower (*Hanañ-saya* and *Horiñ-saya*) (Cobo, 1890–95, bk.12, ch.24)...However, in very populous provinces, where a dual division would result in moieties containing more than 10,000 taxpayers each, three divisions were organized.” [e.g. in Huancas and Rucanas] (ibid.) According to SULLIVAN (1996:218), the moiety division could have developed during the Late Intermediate Period.

would cover 74 years, which set the establishment of Hurin-Cuzco dynasty at Cuzco somewhere between A.D. 1275 and 1300. If Muyna subjugated Cuzco and the Ayarmacas at the time of Lloque Yupanqui, this could have happened at around A.D. 1300 or shortly thereafter. Consequently, the date of the fall of the Tampu-Tocco dynasty and the emergence of Muyna hegemony become chronologically coexistent then.

It seems reasonable probable that the Hurin-Cuzco rulers (as given by most of the chronicles: Sinchi Roca, Lloque Yupanqui, Mayta Capac, and Capac Yupanqui) were historical personages. In my counting, the reign of Capac Yupanqui could have covered about 30 years, i.e. A.D. 1320–1350.¹⁵⁶ According to Montesinos, during his reign two remarkable comets appeared in the sky.¹⁵⁷ In fact, two significant comets were seen in the year 1337.¹⁵⁸

I think that historical sources and chroniclers have often confused and mixed the names, persons, and deeds of Sinchi Roca and Inca Roca. Probably Montesinos did the same also. Nonetheless, it seems that both individuals existed, and had their lineage foundings in Cuzco. This confusion could also partly explain the attempts to make their lineages coexisting and configurate dyarchical models for Inca dynasty. In my perception instead, these lineages were successive, but not blood relative. Presumably they entered the valley of Cuzco from separate directions, at separate times, and from distinctive dynastic cradles.

The “Hurin-Cuzco’s” could have arrived the valley of Cuzco from the south (Maucallacta/Pacaritampu). They were possibly led by Sinchi Roca, as the narrative affirms. This migration most likely occurred at the time of that great drought and the collapse of Tampu-Tocco hegemony. They settled at Cuzco, but they had to encounter powerful Ayarmacas there.¹⁵⁹ We may believe in the account of Sarmiento de Gamboa, which states that inchi Roca married a daughter of Sañu chieftain, securing this way their settling down by an alliance

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156 HILTUNEN 1981.

157 Montesinos (1644:lib.ii, cap.xx) 1882:113.

158 YEOMANS 1991:401-2. One was visible from May 4, to July 31, and other from June 26, to August 28.

159 A number of original tribal groups occupied the Cuzco valley at the time of the arrival of the Incas. Consult, Sarmiento de Gamboa (1572:cap.ix) 1942:57-60. Five tribal groups known as Huallas, Sauasirays, Antasayas, Alcavizas, and Tambos were the primal occupants of Cuzco valley in the standard version of Inca history (Sarmiento, *ibid.*) The Sauasiray and Antasaya-groups were associated with Sutic-toco and Maras-toco, respectively. Huallas were the first occupants of the valley and were non-Incas. Then the Sauasirays and Antasayas followed, and the Alcavizas and Tambos too. The dynastic lore associated these four groups with the four original brethren: Ayar Cachi (Sauasiray), Ayar Auca (Antasaya), Ayar Uchu (Alcaviza), and Ayar Manco Capac (Tambo). See also a historical reconstruction of the arrival of these groups, BRUNDAGE 1963/1985:9–23.

Tom ZUIDEMA (1962, 1990) has interpreted this narrative interestingly: the three kings and kingdoms (Manco Capac, Tocay Capac, and Pinahua Capac) were associated with the three windows or caves in the mythic narrative: Tampu-toco, Maras-toco, and Sutic-toco. Maras (Tocay) and Sutic (Pinahua) were the names of the two pre-Inca capitals of the region, which lend their names to the two lateral windows in the origin legend. Manco Capac emerged from the central window, Tampu-toco. This tripartition has also been connected with the socio-political organization of Cuzco. (1962:73–82, 1990:7–13.)

with a powerful Ayarmaca faction.¹⁶⁰

The Hurin-Cuzcos apparently had dynastic ties to the Pacaritampu/Mauca-llacta region, and according to my perception, this lineage could have had affinities with the Piruas of Montesinos' chronicle. Their legendary ancestor was Manco Capac and his proper place was probably in the beginning of a more lengthy dynasty than the known canonic one.¹⁶¹ It seems likely that the later Inca tradition found it politically fitting to telescope the Hurin-Cuzco line to five rulers only, but to set Manco Capac in the beginning anyhow. Perhaps this structural truncation was mainly the work of Inca Pachacuti as sometimes has been suggested.

That the Piruas actually could have been related to "Incas" may be seen in the resemblance of the names of the kings in this line with the Incas proper; containing Incaic connotations to such concepts as: Pacari(-tampu), Manco Capac, Huanacauri, Cuzco (Cozque), and Inti. It was also within this dynasty where Montesinos mostly interpolated events from the Inca history. The frequency of corrupt and non-Quechua, and non-Aymara name forms, is most significant in the context of this dynasty; which would indicate, that their names are either archaic or had a closer relationship with some more remote language, like Puquina for instance.¹⁶²

According to *Ms Merced*, there were sixteen kings in the Pirua line.¹⁶³ I have presented earlier (chapter V:2.1), that certain names in this part of Montesinos'

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160 Sarmiento de Gamboa (1572:cap.xiii) 1942:70. The wife of Sinchi Roca was a daughter of Sutic Huaman, *sinchi* of Sañu (ibid.) According to BRUNDAGE (1963/1985:20), the Sañu affiliation probably brought the 'Sutic' tradition of the origin legend into the Sauasiray complex. The Sayasirays (one of the earliest migrant groups of Cuzco) were associated with Suticotico of the origin legend (ibid., 13-4). "The name Sutic (Name) is that of a mountain of Paruro, next to Pacaritambo, and we thus surmise that the Sauasirays had close connections with Contisuyo; they were probably of complex origins" (ibid.,14.) BRUNDAGE also suggests (ibid., 20), that Sinchi Roca may have been a Sauasiray chief-tain.

161 In my interpretation the seat of Piruas proper was at Pacaritampu and the "Hurin-Cuzcos" were affiliated, descendant rulers who resettled at Cuzco. The tradition concerning the "Pirua dynasty" may have derived from the Titicaca area, since Melchior Hernandez, native chronicler of the region, refers to Pirua Pacari Manco. In the same reference context the *quipus* of Pacari tampu are mentioned by Anonymous Jesuit who frequently used Hernandez as his source (Anonymous Jesuit/Valera ca. 1585-90 / 1945:4-5.) See chapter III:3, where Hernandez's contribution is discussed in more detail. In the province of Canchis, close to these areas, is also a toponym known as Pirua Pirua (ESPINOZA GALARAZA 1973:313.), and in the adjacent region Kkana (Cana) an enormous rock Pirhua Paccari is located (PEREZ ARMENDARIZ 1967:107.) Writes PEREZ ARMENDARIZ (ibid.), "Pirhua Paccari es una milenaria caverna al pie del enorme peñon Pirhua, que está ubicado en la cadena Sur de la Provincia Kkana, hoy Espinar, visible desde enormísimas distancias de más de 12 leguas a la redonda, peñon que se yergue como un gigantesco puño, por encima de infinidad de cumbres pero inconfundible y al que los indígenas Kkanas de la provincia y Collavinos de Puno le rinden homenaje de adoración y pletesía y le tributan culto y religioso respeto ofrendándole la coca y el unto para que los libre de las contingencias del amino, del soroche y de cualquier mal suceso, llamándole Hatun Choquepirhua, señor del Oro y la Plata; Poderoso Auqui, cuna de los más remotos antepasados, Mallicu de los Jatun Kkanas."

162 See appendices 1, 2, and 8b. SCHAEDEL (1998, personal communication) think, however, that the Pirua kings may rather belong with the very early Tiahuanacoans that influenced Nawimpukio priests, to give up the old Huarpa religion and emerge as Wari.

163 See Appendix 1.

king list may have been later interpolations. There is also a possibility that the first kings of the line were mythical personages – possibly those first six whose regnal spans were exaggerated and deeds borrowed from the later periods. I presume, therefore, that the Pirua list of kings (in Pacaritampu/Maucallacta) contained only about ten historical rulers originally. If we suppose that the Hurin-Cuzcos left Pacaritampu for Cuzco around A.D. 1275, and use a coefficient of 18.5 years as basis of calculation, the dynastic beginnings would be set to A.D.1090 (or 1100 in round numbers). This fits chronologically with the occurrence of Killke- and related pottery in the Cuzco region and particularly its southward extension from there.¹⁶⁴

At the same time another group may have entered to Tampu Tocco and usurped its ancient dynasty. I have suggested that they were Aymara-speaking conquerors who replaced the old Quechua-speaking dynasty there (see previous chapter). We may surmise, that both of these groups were migrating around A.D. 1100, and at least one of them (possibly both) had their origins in the Titicaca area. One settled at Maucallacta (Pacaritampu) and another at Tampu Tocco (but being parts of the same macro-site). In the later tradition their origins and destinies were possibly merged: the Inca official lore maintained the Titicaca affiliation, truncated the genealogical depth to Manco Capac, and chose the Pacaritampu location as their official *pacarina*, the seat of ethnic origin.

The Inca emergence

The Hanan-Cuzcos apparently were the Incas proper, as has been suggested. Whence did they come? As a matter of fact, Montesinos has given us a plausible clue. Inca Roca may have been a descendant of the preceding Tampu-Tocco royal house. Our chronicler carries this tie via a female relative, princess or queen, Mama Ciuaco (Siuaco), who was said to be mother of Inca Roca. Considering the temporal gap of some 50 years since the fall of Tampu-Tocco line, Mama Ciuaco could well have been a daughter of its last ruler. Let us propose that this “queen” really existed. Her husband could have belonged to the new Muyna-Pinahua-lineage.¹⁶⁵ Possibly she with her son

164 See chapter V:1. Many migrant groups of Late Intermediate Period were not primitive bands of hunters and herders, but essentially agricultural people (e.g. Incas) “concerned primarily with finding good lands to cultivate” (ROSTWOROWSKI 1988/1999:14).

165 For the etymology of Mama Ciuaco, see MARKHAM 1910:58 and ZUIDEMA 1962:269. According to ZUIDEMA, her name was a corrupt form of Mama Huaco. MARKHAM maintains instead, that it might have derived from *Sivi yacu* meaning “gradually increasing ring”. I am tending to support MARKHAM’s explanation, and believe that her name was of Aymara origin. In Aymara the following words existed (Bertonio [1612] 1870): *Chiyngo* = ‘Anillo’, and *Sihuayu* = ‘La pausela del hicho que mado’. In Quechua ‘anillo’ is also *Siui* (González Holguin [1608] 1952), but the Aymara form appears to be more closer to *Ciuaco*. In the northern part of the department of Arequipa, close to Cailloma, is a site called Sibayo. According to ESPINOZA GALARZA (1973:347–8), this name is derived from the ancient Quechua of Cuzco, in which a word *Sihua* means a certain plant called ‘sagitaria’ or ‘paja’. According to LINARES MALAGA (1982:35) the name of this site is a derivation

Roca wanted to overthrow the Pinahua lineage and restore their ancient Tampu-Tocco line and power base. The “Hurin-Cuzcos” probably were subordinate to a Muyna hegemony at that time.

We may suggest that Inca Roca and his followers allied themselves with the Hurin-Cuzcos, who thereafter gained independence from Muyna. Sarmiento de Gamboa’s account probably exaggerates in stating, that Inca Roca in the beginning of his reign, “conquered the territories of Muyna and Pinahua with great violence and cruelty”.¹⁶⁶ The causes to this historical distortion were possibly as much in Inca’s own official mythography as in Toledan propaganda. Muyna apparently held its independence and power until the reign of Inca Viracocha. During this interlude the political arena changed from the dominant status to a kind of equilibrium, in which the both powers warred on each other, but expanded in opposite directions.

Roca, the vigorous new ruler, established a new dynasty in Cuzco and adopted the title *Inca*, which does not have explicit etymological meaning in Quechua, except “Lord”, “King”, “August” etc. as given by various chroniclers.¹⁶⁷ Apparently it was of foreign origin. Burr BRUNDAGE (1963/1985, referring to Guaman Poma), has supposed that this title may have been borrowed or ‘stolen’ from the previous dynasties in the valley of Cuzco. According to Guaman Poma, a dynasty of ‘true’ Incas (Tocay Capac and Pinahua Capac) ruled before the entrance of the ‘illegitimate’ later Incas.¹⁶⁸ Another title, *Ayar*, may have been associated with the Ayarmacas, as suggested by ROSTWOROWSKI. I believe that both of these titles, *Inca* and

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- of “*Shiwa Jaya*”. In the same province (close to Cailloma) another site, Chihuay, is located (ibid., 225.) In the department of Arequipa many locations have a name derived from either Aymara or Puquina (see LINARES MALAGA 1982.) For Montesinos’ account of Mama Ciuaco and Inca Roca, consult ([1644:lib.ii, caps.xvi-xviii] 1882:91–107).
- 166 Sarmiento de Gamboa (1572:cap.xix) 1942:82. English citation from the Hakluyt Society edition of Sarmiento (1908:70–1.) BRUNDAGE (1967/1985:25) maintains also, that Inca Roca’s war against Muyna was probably a raid by Cuzco, having no permanent effects.
- 167 The etymology of the word “*Inca*” is explained as e.g. ‘Señor’ in Sarmiento (1572:cap.xi) 1942:62; ‘Rey o Emperador’ in Garcilaso (1609:lib.i, cap.xxvi) 1976:56–7; and ‘Señor’ in Montesinos (1644: lib.ii, cap.xvi) 1882:92. See also, BRUNDAGE (1963) 1985:25–6. The epithet ‘*Inca*’ appears a little bit like ‘Roman’ of the Classical Antiquity, suggests SCHAEDEL (1998, personal consultation.) for instance.
- 168 Guaman Poma ([1615:79–85] 1980:63–6). The last king of this dynasty was known by the name Tocay Capac. Of the emergence of the second dynasty of ‘Yngas’ writes Guaman Poma (ibid., 84), “Dizen que ellos binieron de la laguna de Titicaca y de Tiauanaco y que entraron en Tanbo Toco y dallí salieron ocho hermanos *Yngas*...” Writes OSSIO (1978:247), “Guaman Poma menciona entre los verdaderos Incas Tocay Capac y Pinahua Capac y el idólatra Manco Capac. Nuestra cronista indio considera que los dos primeros son verdaderos por descender de las cuatro primeras edades y ser hijos del Sol, mientras que Manco Capac y sus descendientes son idólatras e ilegítimos por ser hijo de Mama Huaco, a quien considera ser una hechicera, y no tener padre conocido.” Writes BRUNDAGE (1963/1985:26), “the word ‘*Inca*’ was an honorific term which has no remembered etymology; it was therefore not necessarily a Quechua word. If we assume this, then the historic Incas must have borrowed or stolen an honorific title already in use in a previous period. Huaman Poma flatly states that this was so, and it would seem to be further attested by the fact that of the first seven historic ‘*Inca*’ rulers in Cuzco, one alone bore the title ‘*Inca*’. Not until the reign of Inca Roca is the name seemingly a permanent appanage in the family. But if ‘*Inca*’ were a title from a previous level of history, it must have been reserved for a very high status indeed, for it was not ordinarily borne by a Peruvian *sinchi* until the groups in Cuzco seized upon it.”

Ayar, may have originated from the ethnic constellation of the Ayarmaca-Pinahuas.¹⁶⁹ This group of people probably were ethnically blended Puquina migrants from the interlacustrine Titicaca and Aymaras of Southern Peru. The Incas apparently represented this same blend “arising from a merging of migrants from the Lake Titicaca area with peoples native to the Cuzco region”, as Nigel DAVIES has suggested.¹⁷⁰

As stated above, the Incas gained a secure foothold in the valley of Cuzco by allying themselves with the Ayarmacas. This balance of power turned after the death of Inca Roca. The incipient Cuzco state felt serious disadvantages during the reign of his successor, Yahuar Huacac. His weak rule ended dramatically. According to Cieza de León (1550–3), certain captains of Cunti-suyu, with their soldiers, conspired to kill the Inca. They attacked on him at one of his feasts. Yahuar Huacac took refuge in the temple, but his enemies overtook and killed him and many others. Cuzco was in tumult and many fled from the city. Soon afterwards the conspirators broke up and the leading men of Cuzco chose a new Inca: Viracocha. In the beginning of his reign another uprising took place in Cuzco. Viracocha was campaigning out of the capital when his throne was usurped. The city was parted and many were killed on both sides. The cause of the revolt (which was soon crushed by Viracocha) was apparently internal strifes between the main divisions of Cuzco, as Cieza has insinuated.¹⁷¹

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 169 According to ROSTWOROWSKI DE DIEZ CANSECO (1988:27), “Existe también la posibilidad de que el nombre Ayar, haya sido impuesto posteriormente, después del dominio de los incas sobre los ayarmacas, para justificar una continuidad entre ambos grupos.” ZUIDEMA (1989: 103–7) has suggested, that the Hurin-Cuzcos were possibly related to Pinahuas and the Hanan-Cuzcos with the Ayarmacas (realm of Tocay Capac).

170 According to ESPINOZA SORIANO (1974), the etymology of the word ‘*Pinahua*’ is Puquina with Aymara assimilation. “Actualmente las colectividades campesinas del Titicaca denominan con el nombre de pinagua al girasol silvestre” (1974:159; citing Raúl GALDO PAGAZA 1962:68. *Economía de las colectividades indígenas colindantes con el lago Titicaca*. Ministerio de Trabajo y Asuntos Indígenas. Serie Monográfica No.3, Mimeo.) According to Bertonio’s Aymara dictionary ([1612] 1870:265), *Pinahua* = “Vna mata de yerua que llamó suncho, que echa vna flor amarilla”. For the ethnically blended Incas, DAVIES 1995:39. The names of several tribes and *ayllus* which inhabited the Cuzco valley originally or were early migrants there, have an Aymara or Puquina sound. The original inhabitants (‘*hurins*’) as listed by Sarmiento and Molina, were the Suti-tocco, Maras, Cuicusa, Masca, and Oro. The late-comers (‘*hanans*’) were, the Chavin, Ararayca, Tarpuntaes, Guacay taquis, and Sañuc. (URTEAGA 1931:57.) Consult also, Sarmiento de Gamboa (1572:cap.xi) 1942:63–4. According to Guaman Poma, the original name of the settlement at the site of Cuzco was Aca Mama ([1584- 1615:84] 1980:66). Murúa, who may have exploited Guaman Poma’s information, published it first ([1590-1609:lib.iii, cap.ii] 1946:51.) A certain *ayllu*, the Oro, who may have been primordial inhabitants in Cuzco region, called themselves Oro Acamama (ZUIDEMA 1962/1964:100.) Writes URTEAGA (1931:67), “Quizás si los *urcos* fueron también ramas de *urus*; y que así *tampus*, *urcos*, *urus* y *yucayes*, no sean sino la frondosa ramificación del ayllu matriz *tampu*, cuya pacarina o enterratorio, estuvo en Tampu-ttoco.” According to M. ROSTWOROWSKI (1988/1999:5), the Killke pottery has been tentatively associated with Ayarmaca ethnic groups.

171 Cieza de León (1550–3:lib.ii, caps.xxxvii-xl) 1986:110–20. For the reign of Yahuar Huacac, see Cieza de León (ibid., caps. xxxvi–xxxvii) 1986:108–111; Sarmiento de Gamboa (1572:caps.xx–xxiii) 1942:84–91; Cobo (1653:lib.xii, cap.x) 1964:73–5. Consult appendix 2b (Inca dynastic usurpation), where a reference is given to Cieza de León, who maintains that Viracocha was not the son of Yuhuar Huacac. M. ROSTWOROWSKI (1988/1999:29) points out also that, the military chiefs of Viracocha were identical with the chiefs of Yuhuar Huacac, a “further evidence that Viracocha was not the son of Yuhuar Huacac, although he belonged to the same generation”.

Inca Viracocha attacked Muyna successfully and subjugated it in the beginning of his reign. Inca governor was apparently placed in charge there, until at the closing years of Viracocha's reign the Inca state became seriously threatened: the Ayarmacas, Muyna, and the Chancas rebelled.¹⁷²

During the latter part of the Late Intermediate Period one more ambitious polity appeared on the southern Peruvian warring scene: the confederacy of the Chancas. They may have spoken Quechua and possibly had something to do with the collapse of Wari, as some scholars have suspected.¹⁷³ In any case, they settled in the Ayacucho-Abancay region after the abandonment of Wari sites there. They were numerous, aggressive, and able warriors. The actual Chanca expansion possibly started in the early fourteenth century by their victory over the Quechua tribe at Andahuaylas. The defeated Quechuas retired eastward and allied later with the Incas.¹⁷⁴ Together they were able to compel a victory over the Chancas when they advanced towards Cuzco and the Incas. This war has sometimes been called a Chanca rebellion.

Some sources, like Montesinos and Cobo for instance, state that the Chancas were beaten and incorporated into the Inca sphere already during the reign of Inca Roca.¹⁷⁵ I am tending to think that this is what really happened, and *the later Chanca invasion was indeed a rebellion*. This historical view has also found confirmation in modern archaeological research, which seems to indicate that the Inca expansion started well before the times of Inca Pachacuti. The natural direction of this initial expansion was to the north, west, and south: all directions except the east, which was firmly blocked by the Muynas.¹⁷⁶ It is possible, as some sources have related, that the famous Chanca rebellion occurred during the final days of Yahuar Huacac and Inca Viracocha, his successor, saved the day. However, I am tending to believe more on Cieza de León's account of events in this case too, in which the principal military and

172 Sarmiento de Gamboa (1572: caps. xxv-xxxiv) 1942:94-113. See also, e.g. BRUNDAGE 1967/1985:25-6. According to BRUNDAGE (ibid.), "The state of Muyna, which included Pinahua, Huaru, and Urcos, was now for the first time garrisoned and a formidable Inca captain assigned as its first resident governor." The name of this governor was Huallpa Rimachi, as suggested by BRUNDAGE, who based this assumption in Sarmiento's account, in which this person is named as a close advisor of Inca Viracocha (ibid., 26.) Consult, Sarmiento (ibid.)

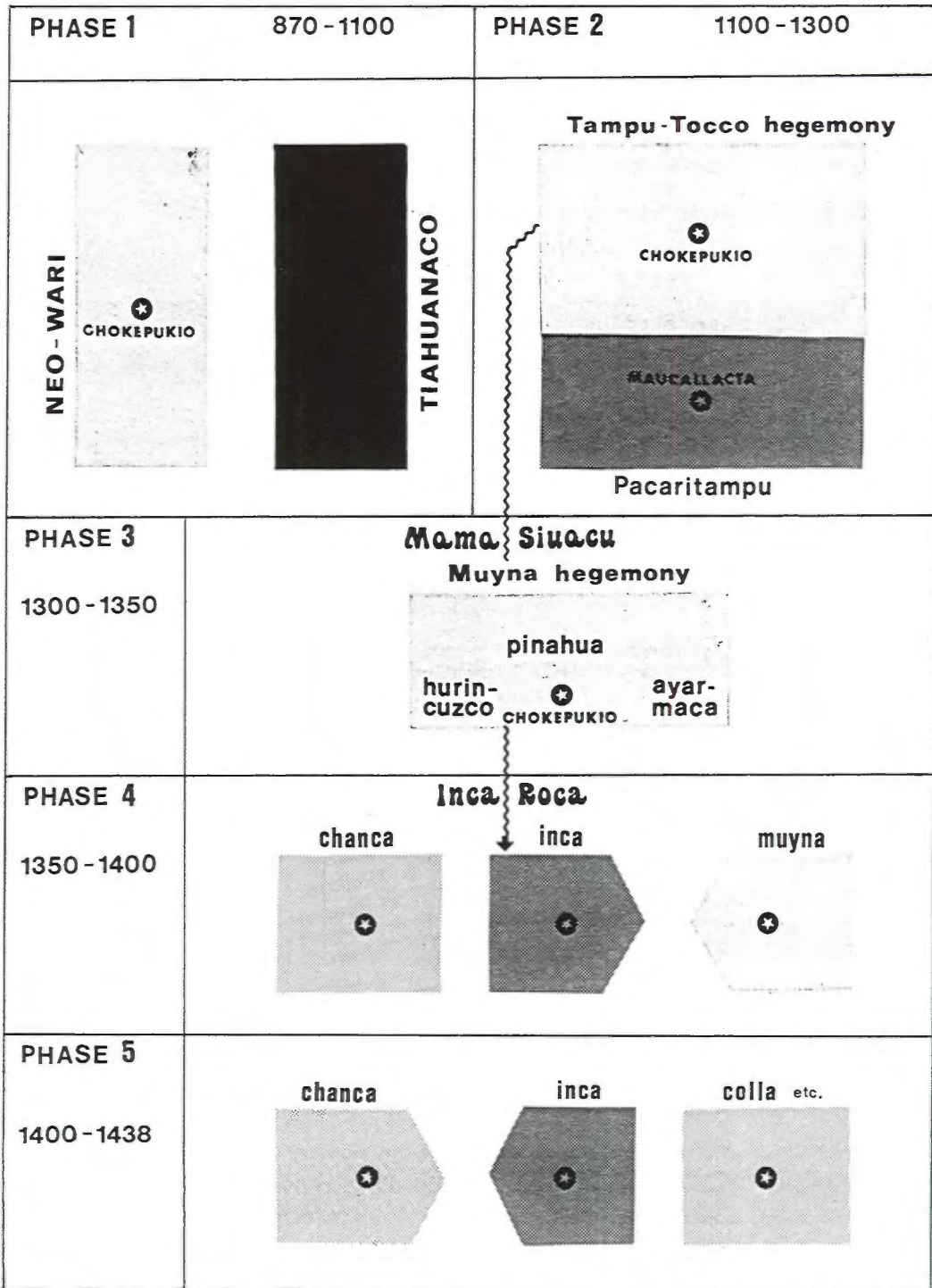
173 For Chancas, read MARKHAM 1871; LAFONE QUEVEDO 1912; VALCARCEL 1939; QUINTANA 1967, 1976; PURIZAGA VEGA 1972; LUMBRERAS 1974b; DILLON 1983; GONZALEZ CARRE et al. 1987; GONZALEZ CARRE 1992. M. ROSTWOROWSKI is one of the scholars who has suggested that the Chancas were somehow responsible of the Wari collapse. According to her (1988/1999:24), "The Chancas seem, rather, to have been hordes dedicated to pillage. It can be hypothesized that, given their indomitable and bellicose spirit, they were responsible for the disintegration of the great Wari hegemony, or at least were the principal culprits in its demise."

174 See works above, ibid. According to SCHAEDEL (1978b:114) the Chancas lived originally in a relatively inaccessible macroniche (headwaters of the Apurimac Basin) and the cause of their expansion "may probably have been due to this very factor, namely a thrust for *Lebensraum*."

175 Montesinos (1644:lib.ii, caps.xxi-xxii) 1882:120-7; Cobo (1653:lib.xii, cap.ix) 1964:73.

176 For modern archaeological perception of the Inca initial expansion, see chapter IV:1. For the Muyna block in eastern frontier, see e.g. BRUNDAGE 1963/1985:74, 1967/1985:24-6.

TABLE 7. A scenario of political interaction in Cuzco region before the rise of the Incas



political achievement of Inca Viracocha was the opening of the eastern frontier to Incan conquest. His epic victory most likely was the subjugation of the Muynas. Still, it is possible that during the turbulent years of his early reign, there was some unrest in the Chanca area too, but in this view I hold that the principal Chanca attack on Cuzco may have happened at the closing years of his reign.¹⁷⁷

The old Viracocha retired and gave a throne to his eldest son, Urcon. Few sources give references to his brief reign, and the most detailed description has given us by Cieza. As stated earlier, Inca Urcon was a impotent ruler with many vices. The subjects of the Incas found a good opportunity to arise against their rule. Rebellions broke everywhere, but the most serious threat on Cuzco became from the northwest and southeast: the Chancas and Muynas rose up in arms.¹⁷⁸

The narrative of the following events likely conforms more or less with the historical truth. One of the youngest sons of Viracocha, Inca Yupanqui Cusi, succeeded miraculously to save the Incas in this extremely dangerous situation. With this victory to him was given (or he took by himself) a title *Pachacuti* "Cataclysm" or "Overturmer of the Earth".¹⁷⁹ After subjugation of the Chancas, Inca Pachacuti apparently gave a blow to Muynas in a manner which resemble the Romans' destruction of Carthage. Writes McEWAN (1987):

"Pachacutec had Muina destroyed; its walls breached and thrown down. Evidence of this can be seen in the ruins of Chokepukio where several of the very large trapezoidal and rectangular structures have been razed and in those structures that remain standing, the interior walls have all been knocked down. After the conquest and destruction of the Lucre stronghold by Pachacutec, it is no longer possible to speak of the Lucre and K'illke as separate polities. They have become the basic constituents of the Inca Empire."¹⁸⁰

177 According to Cieza de León ([1550-3:lib.ii, caps.xli-xliii] 1986:121-8), Inca Viracocha won the territories of Canchis and Canas, and established an important alliance with the Lupacas of Collao. For Viracocha's subjugation of the Muynas, consult e.g. Sarmiento de Gamboa (1572:cap.xxv) 1942:94.

178 For the rule of Inca Urcon, consult Cieza de León (1550-3:lib.ii, caps.xliv-xlvi) 1986:129-36. See also, Herrera (1615:lib.iii, cap.xii) 1952:229-33.

179 For a historian's description of these events, see e.g. BRUNDAGE 1963/1985:72-92. M. ROSTWOROWSKI has presented an idea that Cusi Yupanqui probably chose the ruling name of Pachacutec from the Wari dynastic tradition (1988:60/1999:35). According to her (ibid.), "If it were in fact the Chancas and their related tribes that destroyed the Wari hegemony, the Inca victory would constitute a kind of remote revenge for a legendary defeat that took place centuries earlier. The inhabitants of Cusco at the time of the Inca victory must have preserved myths and memories of this distant past, even though many centuries had passed between end of the Wari period and the beginnings of Inca expansion."

180 McEWAN 1987:82-3. See also, BRUNDAGE 1963/1985:98-101, 1967/ 1985:26. Writes BRUNDAGE (ibid.), "When miraculously the Chanca danger has passed, Pachacuti, the ninth Inca ruler, whose name means 'Cataclysm', turned upon Muina and her confederates and wreaked savage vengeance upon them. The great battle was fought at the Narrows near the place called Huanacancha mentioned above. The *curaca* of the Ayamarcas succumbed and disappeared into the frozen night of an Inca dungeon. Ordered up as a holocaust by Pachacuti, Muina's walls were breached and tumbled down and its people scattered. As a functioning city, it almost certainly was destroyed at this time, to become overnight a *purun*

Inca Pachacuti found it necessary to make a complete reform in many basic institutions and politics of the Inca state. Hard experiences in the policy of his predecessors had taught, that the internal strifes must be settled before an overall imperial expansion could begun. One fundamental problem in this respect was the proper settlement of the status and rights of the Hurin- and Hanan-Cuzcos. The 'conquered' Hurin-Cuzcos apparently had opposed the overlordship of the Hanan-Cuzcos since the beginning of Inca Roca's reign. The assassination of Yahuar Huacac, presumably, was a most dramatic example of this.¹⁸¹

The historical setting of the Hurin-Cuzco 'Incas' has always been a mystery. There were no palaces in Cuzco for these rulers (at least in that Cuzco which Pachacuti rebuilt). Probably all of them lived in Inticancha (in the Lower part of the city).¹⁸² Pachacuti was a fourth or fifth (if the deleted Urcon is counted) king in the Hanan-Cuzco lineage. Equally there were four Hurin-Cuzco rulers starting from Sinchi Roca. They apparently traced their dynastic descent from Manco Capac and his successors (Piruas) in Pacaritampu (Maucallacta). In the

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llacta, 'a ruined city', haunted by apparitions of blood and unsuccessful ghosts of its once hopeful past." BRUNDAGE's description of the destruction of Muyna is based more of the analogies in Inca history, than specific records of it (1967/1985:357.) For the Inca Pachacuti's vengeance on the Ayarmacas, consult Sarmiento de Gamboa (1572: cap.xxxiv) 1942:112-3.

- 181 My presumption that the Hurin-Cuzcos may have been involved in Yahuar Huacac's assassination is based on the fact, that the Contisuyo-faction belonged to this moiety in the traditional Inca demarcation. For Inca structural demarcation, see e.g. ZUIDEMA 1962/1995, 1990. Moreover, in the beginning of Inca Viracocha's reign the strifes between these two factions caused a revolt in Cuzco. A brother of Viracocha, Capac, usurped his throne with the help of nobles of the Hurin-Cuzco lineage (Cieza de León [1550-3:lib.ii, cap.xi] 1986:118). This is also related to my argument, that the Hurin-Cuzcos originated from the Contisuyo district. Anonymous Jesuit & Valera ([ca.1585-90] 1945:20, 33) has implicitly given an accordant explanation for the troubles in the beginning of Pachacuti's reign: the major cause of the Chanca war was the great power the priests had acquired in the country. He states furthermore that the priests in former days had very great powers and that the high priest was more powerful than the king. See also ZUIDEMA 1962:111, 154. The priestly class belonged to the Lower (Hurin) moiety (ibid. 112.)
- 182 ROSTWOROWSKI DE DIEZ CANSECO 1953:156-73; BRUNDAGE 1963/1985: 138-83. See also AGURTO CALVO 1980. For the complete rebuilding of Cuzco, see e.g. Betanzos (1551-7:tomo i, cap. xvi) 1987:75-9. For Hurin-Cuzco rulers living in Inticancha, ROSTWOROWSKI (ibid.) The 'palaces' of Hurin-Cuzco rulers were possibly created in the backyards of Coricancha, near the crossing of Sapi and Tullumayo rivers in Pachacuti's new Cuzco (BRUNDAGE 1967/1985:73-86). According to SCHREIBER (1992:51), "K'illike ceramics found at the Coricancha (the sacred 'enclosure of gold') in Cuzco indicate that it was an important place in Early Inca times as well (John Rowe, pers. comm.) The only candidate sometimes referred to a Hurin-Cuzco palace is that one of Inca Capac Yupanqui's. On the other hand its location is obscure and it has been confused with the name Inca Yupanqui: hence, more possibly it can be connected with Inca Yuhuar Huacac, who has also been called Inca Yupanqui (Cieza de León). Writes ROSTWOROWSKI (ibid., 169), "silenciado las crónicas el nombre de la morada de Yahuar Huacac. Efectivamente no hay mención sobre el lugar de residencia de los Aycaylli Panaca. ¿Sería debido al corto reinado del séptimo soberano, que murió asesinado por los Condesuyo?" IBARRA GRASSO (1969:623-9) have even maintained, that the Hurin-Cuzcos were invented by Pachacuti.

newly written Inca history those ancestral 'Hurin-Cuzco' rulers were not included. A compensation in favor of the Hurin-Cuzcos was a placement of their founding father, Manco Capac, as a progenitor to all 'Incas'. The history of the 'Incas proper' were set to start with Manco Capac & Sinchi Roca's settling at Cuzco. Another concession was a full acknowledgement of the Hurin-Cuzcos as Incas; thenceforth their lineage became artificially linked with the Hanan-Cuzcos 'genealogically'. Pachacuti also ordered mummy bundles to be made artificially as 'living' representatives of Hurin-Cuzco rulers.¹⁸³

Inca Roca apparently dreamed to restore his ancestors' rule and power anew. The Muyna-Pinahuas were hated intruders and foreign rulers in the area. The dynastic ancestors of Roca, however, were intruders also. They replaced (ca. A.D. 1100) the older Quechua-speaking Tampu-Tocco dynasty who called themselves Amautas. The succeeding dynasty seems to have spoken Aymara as their principal tongue, but apparently had certain affinities with the Puquina too. The first ruler of this new dynasty, Tupac Cauri Pachacuti VII, was a conqueror and reformer. He established a school at Tampu-Tocco, where the noble youngsters learned skills of soldiery, counting by the *quipus*, and other important things.¹⁸⁴ It is possible that Inca Roca, when he has established his powerbase at Cuzco, founded the *Yachahuasi*-school in imitation of an institution, which once was functioning at Tampu Tocco. When the dynasty of Tupac Cauri replaced the Amautas in Tampu Tocco, they possibly exploited the administrative skills of this preceding dynasty to some extent. The learned men of the Amauta dynasty may have been selected as teachers in the school. The title of this kind of sage and teacher, *amauta*, could have been established during this time. The Incas, consequently, followed this tradition and borrowed many other ideas too from their predecessors.¹⁸⁵

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 183 Writes ISBELL (1997:62), "Pachacuti Inca made the dynasty magnificent by creating palaces and estates for each ancestor, formalizing his *panaca* of descendants, and guaranteeing his cult. When the Spanish arrived they found Cuzco organized in terms of ten mummies, ten *panacas*, and ten *ayllus*, divided into two moieties of five each." According to MOORE (1958:159, n.58), "The Hanan and Hurin moiety division appears to have had ceremonial and competitive significance rather than any fundamental political importance." According to ZUIDEMA (1962/1964:111-2), the Hurin-Cuzcos were more to be identified with spiritual authority and the Hanan-Cuzcos with worldly authority. In other words, the former were previously ruled by priest kings, and the latter by Inca emperors. After the Chanca war Inca Pachacuti reduced the power of priests (and Hurin-Cuzcos) profoundly (ibid.) Accordingly the Hanan-dynasty launched the expansion, whereas Hurin-Cuzcos reportedly prevailed in matters of religion (ROSTWOROWSKI DE DIEZ CANSECO 1983:131-2; DAVIES 1995:30.) SCHAEDEL (1998, personal communication) sees this as linking the Pinahuas to an early priest dominated lineage.

184 For Tupac Cauri and establishment of a school ('University') at Tampu-Tocco, Montesinos (1644:lib.ii, cap.xv) 1882:85-7.

185 Montesinos writes about Inca Roca's first acts in his reign, e.g. as follows: "Al fin dellos mandó hacer junta de los amautas y quipo camayos: informóse en ella de los sucesos pasados, de las provincias que fueron sujetas á los reyes antiguos del Cuzco, de los naturales de sus habitantes; qué fortalezas tenían, qué modo de pelear, con qué armas, de qué instrumentos bélicos usaban, cuáles habían sido afectos á la Corona y cuáles nó" ([1644:lib.ii, cap.xviii] 1882:100-101.) The Incas had two kinds of schools: one for the noble boys in Cuzco, and the other institution of Acclahuasi for girls. See, e.g. VALCARCEL 1964:180-2. Thomas JOYCE (1912:85) held that, it seems quite evident

The dynasty of Inca Roca's ancestors at Tampu-Tocco were not included in the Inca official Canon either. One reason could be a dynastic break and interval which the foreign Muyna-Pinahua rule caused. This could also have been a compromise for pleasing the Hurin-Cuzcos, whose ancestral links were likewise truncated. On the other hand, an interpolation of Hanan-Cuzco ancestors in between the Hurin-Cuzcos would have caused too much distortion in historical and structural perceptions of the Incan past, that the kind of solutions were not attempted. It is also possible that Inca Pachacuti, who made the latest and most profound restructuring of Inca history, simply deleted the Hurin- and Hanan-Cuzco ancestors from the official lore. He did this at least for his predecessor, Inca Urcon, whose brief reign was crossed out from the list of kings. In this new propagandistic view, the Inca dynasty proper made all the achievements of importance, and Pachacuti took credit for himself as much as possible.¹⁸⁶

The mythographers of Inca Pachacuti apparently solved another problem, the distinctive origin legends, by compromise. The myths of Titicaca and Pacaritampu origins were merged into a hybrid tradition, in which the Creation occurred in Titicaca and the Inca ethnic emergence at Pacaritampu. The latter belonged to Hurin-Cuzco lore, whose ancient seat of power in Maucallacta became assimilated into a legend of origin from the Pacaritampu cave. The dynastic ancestors of Hanan-Cuzcos were possible migrants from the Titicaca area. Their origin legend, in which the sacred elements of a primordial sea, the actual seat of Creation at Tiahuanaco, Creator Viracocha and the Sun, and a primal couple as the Children of the Sun were present, became the dominant one and official doctrine to be circulated through Inca conquest.¹⁸⁷

that the city of Cuzco "was in a fairly flourishing condition by the time that Siyu-Yacu made her great *coup d'état*, for the scene of action was the city itself, and the population was evidently strong enough in numbers to support the new ruler, in spite of the fact that the country to the south refused to recognize him."

186 For Incaic propaganda, see chapter II:3.2. According to URTON (1990:68), "the descendants of Pachacuti Inka in Hatun Ayllu/ Iñaca Panaca would probably have been considered the legitimate historians of the empire." According to ESPINOZA SORIANO (1987:68), "Inca Urco comenzó, pues, a mandar igual que sus antecesores, ocupando más o menos el número 10 de la lista conocida de incas del Cusco, pues se presume de la existencia de otros que fueron eliminados de la historia en forma total y absoluta." M. ROSTWOROWSKI (1988:35-41/1999:15-21) has pointed out that, at least five original *panacas* (Masca, Sauaseray, Yauri, Cusco, and Iñaca) were left out from the canonic ones. Iñaca is the *panaca* where Pachacuti was born, but he abandoned it in order to join the Hatun Ayllu. He tried to merge the latter with the former, but "he was unsuccessful, since they continued to survive as separate entities into colonial times."

187 For Incan origin legends and concept of history, see chapter II: 2.3. According to VALCARCEL (1964:147), "hay otro fragmento de leyenda que se completa con ésta y que dice que cuando Manco Cápac y Mama Ocllo fueron creados y puestos por su padre el Sol en la Isla del lago Titicaca, allí se sumergieron en la tierra y por un camino subterráneo fueron a salir por Pacarectampu. Las comunicaciones subterráneas de *Pacarina a Pacarina* son frecuentes y aparecen en el folklore mismo de nuestro tiempo. Por ejemplo, en Puno hay la leyenda folklórica de que hay un camino subterráneo entre el Cerro Cancharani y el Cusco." According to ESPINOZA SORIANO (1987:36-45), the Incas were "una caravana de emigrantes escapados de Taipicala (Tiahuanaco) a fines del siglo XII." He maintains also, that the language of Tiahuanaco was Puquina and a migration of Aymaras from the south replaced them. Taipicala was destroyed and its leaders were killed. Survivors escaped

In the empire of the Incas part of the former region of the Chancas and the adjacent areas, had a very special significance. It was later called the province of Vilcas, and its capital was Vilcashuaman. According to Inca perception, Vilcashuaman was situated in the geographic center of their realm. It was a major road junction and a big *ushnu*, the imperial throne on top of the pyramid, was constructed there. In this province the Incas also carried out one of their most extensive population transferences. Most of the original inhabitants were forced to settle elsewhere, and were replaced by *mitmacs* from distinct regions of Tahuantinsuyo.¹⁸⁸

Although the basic reasons are unclear to us, it seems obvious that the massive Incaic reorganization of the province of Vilcas had some strategic importance to them.¹⁸⁹ ZUIDEMA (1989) has suggested, that the region and site Vilcashuaman might have meant to the Incas a holy ancient center associated with former Wari civilization.¹⁹⁰

As has been stated, the language of Wari may have been an Aymarized Quechua or Quechuanized Aymara. The origins and status of the tribe called Quechua is problematic however. After the Chanca victory Inca Pachacuti launched several campaigns into the northern territories. He apparently noticed the wide distribution of the Quechua language in this Chinchasuyo district. He possibly learnt that those parts belonged to an early empire which used that language too. As a pragmatic statesman, Pachacuti presumably understood the usefulness of Quechua to govern these important northern parts of his empire, and chose that tongue as the *lingua franca* of expanding Tahuantinsuyo.¹⁹¹

The cultural and political heritage of the Wari-Amauta state may have survived in the Cuzco region, where Chokepukio (Tampu-Tocco) as a Neo-Wari polity was its principal seat of influence. Inca Roca and his Hanan-Cuzco descendants apparently had intimate relationship to that legacy. They may

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 to the lake and through the islands to continent. Some entered to Pacaritampu region. There they remained for a while until the rise of a local leader Manco Capac. Pacaritampu was the same as the site of Maucallacta. It was founded by these migrants. These migrant people of Pacaritampu possible became divided: others, the Tampus went to Ollantaytambu, and others followed Manco Capac to Cuzco. These migrants brought with them many ancient Puquina institutions from Taypicala. (ibid.) Compare universal characteristics in ethnic origin legends, SMITH A. 1987:191-3.

188 ROWE 1946:188; STERN 1987:20; ZUIDEMA 1989:209-17; SCHREIBER 1992:57-8; MALPASS 1993:200-4. For *ushnu*, see e.g. ZUIDEMA 1989g: 402-54 and HYSLOP 1990:69-101. The *ushnu* platforms are found in conquered, non-Inca territories. It seems to have been an Incaic invention, without prototypes in earlier Andean societies. The most massive one was at Huanuco Pampa, but the *ushnu* at Vilcashuaman was the most elegant one constructed by the Incas (HYSLOP, ibid.)

189 SCHREIBER 1992:58.

190 ZUIDEMA 1989:209-17. According to ESPINOZA SORIANO (1987:80), Inca Pachacuti possibly had an idea to form an empire similar to Huari, of which the memory still may have lived.

191 For the Chancas, Quechuas, and speculated relationships with Wari see e.g. MARKHAM 1871; QUINTANA 1967, 1976; IBARRA GRASSO 1969: 575-7; PARDO 1970; PURIZAGA VEGA 1972; LUMBRERAS 1974b; ROJAS ROJAS 1978; BIRD et al. 1983-4; GONZALEZ CARRE et al. 1987; ROSTWOROWSKI DE DIEZ CANSECO 1988; SKAR 1988; KLAUER 1990; GONZALEZ CARRE 1992; SAMANEZ FLOREZ 1994.

have used the knowledge of surviving sages and descendants of the ancient lineages in the art of statecraft, religion and socio-cultural skills. It is possible that the idea to establish a school at Cuzco came to him from these ancient sources, and by giving honour to the wise kings of antiquity, the sages were called the *Amautas*. They may have been a learned group of Aymarized Quechuas, descendants of post-Wari political circles, who brought their contribution in the process of Tahuantinsuyo's Quechuanization too. The original court language of the Incas could have been a blending of Aymara and Puquina tongues. We may suggest that the latter was a root language, whereinto the borrowed Aymara elements were agglutinated. They possibly called it the language of Tambo, as e.g. Bernabe Cobo has suggested. The seat of origin of the Tambos was at Tampu Tocco, apparently the *pacarina* of the Incas proper.¹⁹²

In the following chapter I will present a scenario of pre- 15th century ethnohistorical reconstruction of Inca predecessors, based on all the evidences, testimonial and circumstantial, which this study has produced. Through this investigation one specific scenario has shaped as a whole, which I consider as the most plausible one. Other scenarios remain open, as well as many critical questions, to which I hope will be found sound explanations through a future research.

3. Possible pre-Inca scenarios

Katherine SCHREIBER (1992) has suggested that, "We will never know the names of the Wari rulers, the conquering military leaders that led the Wari expansion." On the other hand, the ethnohistorian María ROSTWOROWSKI DE DIEZ CANSECO (1988) has proposed a question, whether the 'Montesianian' kings were rulers of Wari. She also suggested the possibility that the title Pachacuti, which was adopted by Inca Cusi Yupanqui after his victory over the Chancas, was inspired by the ancient practise of recycling rulers who bore that name.¹⁹³ Cobo (1653), the latest of the principal chroniclers, even if presenting

.....
 192 For Roca's schools and the *amautas*, see chapter II:1. For the original Inca language spoken in the valley of Tampu, Cobo ([1653: lib.xii, cap.iii] 1964:64.) Garcilaso has listed three tribes bearing the name Urcos, Yucay, and Tampu, dwelling down the river Yucay ([1609:lib.iii, cap.xxiii] 1976:51). According to URTEAGA (1931:67), all these tribes were possibly closely related and considered Tampu-Tocco as their *pacarina*. The Urcos may have been the same as Oro or Uru (ibid.) For more of Tampus, see chapter II:3.2.

193 SCHREIBER 1992:268; ROSTWOROWSKI DE DIEZ CANSECO 1988:60. Thomas JOYCE (1912) was possibly the first who presented the idea that the kings in Montesinos' narrative may have been sovereigns of the Tiahuanaco empire (see appendix 12.) As far as I know, ROSTWOROWSKI is the only one scholar (before the present study) who has advanced this hypothesis to be related with the Wari empire. Writes ROSTWOROWSKI (ibid.): "Es sobre la base de este supuesto que nos permitimos aventurar que algunos soberanos waris llevaron el apelativo Pachacutec, y que Cusi Yupanqui optó por el nombre que le recordaba antiguas grandezas de aquella hegemonía, y que posiblemente se sintió heredero de los legendarios señores waris y deseó emularlos (*ver la numerosa lista de soberanos dada por Montesinos. cabe la lejana posibilidad de que sea una lista de los señores waris.*)" (italics mine).

a canonic short version of the Inca history, refers to other sources which state that, “the Incas started to rule much earlier than the historians state and that the Incas were much more numerous”.¹⁹⁴

The present study has provided further confirmation for the common perception that the surviving king list of the ‘Incas’ is a truncated one and intentionally telescoped. This kind of dynastic propaganda, contrary to its opposite method – artificial lengthening, can frequently be uncovered among the secondary-stage imperial societies, which sought justification for their newly founded, latter-day rulership. The Incas and the Aztecs in Mesoamerica can be expected to have indulged in this sort of propaganda and manipulation of historical information. The Mesoamericans perceived their dynastic history like a cyclical chain, where the succeeding dynasties were genealogically and mythologically linked with each other.¹⁹⁵ In this study a similar chain of genealogically and mythohistorically linked dynasties is suggested for testing and applicability in the Andean context. The chroniclers Guaman Poma, Valera, and Montesinos at least have supplied documental support for this kind of perception. I am increasingly convinced that the idea of succeeding dynasties survived in the Andean tradition. The scanty historical references should not be a proof of its nonexistence. Instead, it apparently was not ideologically appropriate for the Incas, who did their best in deleting it from the official lore and historical narrative.

3.1. The most plausible scenario

(based on Rowe-Menzel’s prehistoric periodization in the Andes)¹⁹⁶

Around A.D. 400 a paramount chiefdom emerged in the Ayacucho valley. It had commercial contacts with coastal polities and particularly with the Nazca.¹⁹⁷ Other ties were opened with the people living northwestward (e.g. Recuay) and cultural influences from Tiahuanaco reached the region too. More centralized, theocratic government may have been established around A.D. 500–600, and Wari became a capital city (a totally new massive urban conglo-

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194 Cobo (1653:lib.xii, cap.ii) 1964:59. Translation from, Cobo (1653) 1979:98.

195 Compare e.g. DAVIES 1980; GILLESPIE 1989; RIEFF ANAWALT 1993. Aztec kings considered themselves the direct successors of the Toltec rulers via Culhuacan (and perhaps with the more remote Teotihuacan, pre 800 A.D., also). In the present study occasional references have been given to the allegations concerning affiliation between the Incas and Tiahuanaco. Other scholars have proposed, that this kind of relationship may have existed between the Incas and more recently established Wari empire also. This historical linkage resemble that of the Aztecs in a way: the Wari-Amautas [Toltecs of Tollan] were followed by the Tampu-Toccans [Toltecs of Culhuacan], and these in turn by the Incas [Aztecs]. In between the fall of Culhua rule and the emergence of the Aztecs, a period of Tepanec tyranny took place. One might consider the intrusive Muyna hegemony that dominated the Cuzco area just before the rise of the Incas accordingly.

196 In the chronological framework of this senario I have used the periodization of ROWE-MENZEL 1967. For some dating of Wari and Cuzco sites I have received supplementary information from William ISBELL and Gordon McEWAN (1995-8, personal communication).

197 Archaeologically it is known as the Huarpa culture and it had a rather impressive capital in Nawimpuquio. Compare chapter IV:2.

merate). The presumed language spoken there was Aymara or Quechuanized Aymara.

A newly founded Wari state exploded into an empire during the next century and its rulers possibly used such titles as *Amauta* and *Pachacuti*. The borrowed Quechua influence among the Wari government increased and this tongue possibly became a *lingua franca* of the state. The Waris built roads, way stations, multi-purpose terraces and transferred people according to their economic and political interests. Territorial expansion was rapid. Coastal nodes were established at Pachacamac and Cajamarquilla, and the smaller ones as far north as Nepeña. Southern coast was reached at Moquequa (Cerro Baul) and highland nodes were established in the Cuzco basin (Pikillacta and Huaro). At Moquequa and Vilcañota border the interests of the great Tiahuanaco theocracy were encountered. Diplomacy may have been tried (the early contacts may have been fruitful – especially for Wari), but during most of the time conflicts possibly were to rule. Apparently two important battles were fought between the stationary Wari army and Tiahuanaco troops at Vilcañota pass. The victorious Wari ruler became known as Huillcanota Amauta. A few decades thereafter the Wari empire presumably had its florescence and height of power.

The disintegration of Wari hegemony (especially in its heartland) began soon after A.D. 800. It was presumably caused by such factors as, worsening climate, internal and external strifes; with the crisis raging for several decades. People were on the move and rebellions rose in many nodes. Apparently the central coastal areas and northernmost territories cast off the Wari yoke first. The Wari capital was threatened and the highland seat of government moved to Pikillacta. Many rulers would have sat on the throne during relative brief periods. The empire disappeared but the fragmented state persisted a little longer in Southern Peru (at Huaro/Pikillacta, and possibly along the north central coast south of Santa). With a late burst of aggression from the Altiplano, the last Wari king, Titu Yupanqui Pachacuti, lost his life in a battle at the Vilcañota border. His body was carried to Huaro or Chokepukio and buried in a secret place.

The victorious Tiahuanaco troops may have raided Wari seats of power in Southern Peru. At the same time Aymara-speaking Yaros were migrating, the Chancas likewise, and many other groups too (e.g. into Tiahuanaco Altiplano pastorage). In the midst of this migratory confusion the remnant elites of former Wari nodes sought and found refuge at entrenched Chokepukio (close to Pikillacta), which became known as Tampu Tocco. A young descendant of the Amauta dynasty, Titu Huaman Quicho, was hailed as a 'king'. Language dispersion prevailed in the Southern Peru: the Quechuas, Aymaras, and Puquinas were 'diffusing'. Hegemonies grew weaker in the highlands, although expanding in the coast.

Around A.D. 1100 the worsening climatic conditions apparently caused the waning of Tiahuanaco's political power. Emigrant agricultural groups from the nuclear Titicaca area moved to more fertile territories in Southern Peru.

Some of them were Puquinas, and other Aymarized Puquinas. One group, possibly Puquina-speaking, settled in the Pacaritampu region where a power-base was established at Maucallacta. They may have called themselves the Piruas. Another Titicaca group probably entered in the Lucre Basin and succeeded in taking power at that center. Others occupied the Urubamba and Cuzco valleys and became the ethnohistorical Ayarmacas, Pinahuas (Muyna), and Tambos. Among them the ethnic germs of the later Incas multiplied.

The Aymara-speaking new dynasty at Tampu Tocco was far more powerful than the preceding Wari-Amauta one. It may have established a kind of hegemony in the area, which extended from Ayacucho to the Collao border. The most memorable of its rulers was Tupac Cauri, also known as Pachacuti VII. One of his achievements was a founding of school in his capital. Several rulers of this dynasty bore the name Roca, like one princely breeding of this royal house: Inca Roca.

A severe drought broke out in the mid 1200's and lasted half a century. People were on the move again and politics collapsed. The Tiahuanaco theocracy fell, as well as the dynasty of Tampu-Tocco soon afterwards, around A.D. 1300. A final blow for the latter was given by the Pinahuas. They in turn established their dynastic seat at Tampu Tocco, which henceforthward became known Muyna. A descendant of the Pirua dynasty at Maucallacta (Pacari-tampu), warlord Sinchi Roca, has led his Aymarized Puquina group from the South to the valley of Cuzco a little earlier. Another group, the Ayarmacas, occupied most of the valley and accepted the tribes of Sinchi Roca as their allies – possible for fear of the rising power of Muyna. But soon afterwards, at the time of Sinchi Roca's successor, Lluque Yupanqui, the Muynas stroke by force and subjugated both the Ayarmacas and their new allies.

The Muyna hegemony (ca. A.D. 1300–50) appears to have oppressed the region. A small elite group, descendants of the previous Tampu-Tocco royal house, sought opportunities to restore their past power. Possibly their rule was remembered in a more positive sense than the current one among many tribal groups in the region. An overall conspiracy against the Muyna hegemony was planned. The young prince Roca, who was a son of a daughter of the last Tampu-Tocco king, was chosen as a figurehead for the rebellion. His mother instead, Mama Siuacu, was the prime mover behind it. The Cuzcos and the Ayarmacas were major opposing forces in the ensuing war against Muyna. Roca was a victorious warlord, but Muyna was not beaten. Instead, military stalemate followed, but the Cuzcos had gained their independence. Roca was a champion of liberty and was hailed as king of Cuzco – either voluntarily by its former elite, or as a forced necessity in a new situation. He adopted a local title, *Inca*, to designate his overlordship in the region.

The Incas and the Muynas fought each other every now and then during the next decades. Both politics expanded to opposite directions, while either side did not gain supremacy on one other. Roca carried his expansive politics towards the west and succeeded in subjugating the Chancas in Andahuaylas.

He exploited many traditions from his Tampu-Toccan dynastic heritage; established a school at Cuzco, and gave to national sages a honorific title *Amauta*, according to ancient Kings of Wisdom. Hostilities between the Incas and Ayarmacas emerged also, but the dispute was finally settled. The peace was sealed by the marriage of Yahuar Huacac with the daughter of the Ayarmaca ruler. Yuhuar Huacac was a much weaker ruler than his father, and he could not hold the reins in internal disputes between the Hurin- and Hanan-Cuzcos in his capital city. The unrest was felt in subject territories as well. Finally certain Cuntisuyo leaders, supported by the Hurin-Cuzcos', assassinated Yahuar Huacac. In the midst of turmoil a strong leader, Viracocha, was able to set things in control. It was temporary, however, since soon afterwards when Viracocha was campaigning out of the city, a brother usurped his throne. This pretender was hailed by the Hurin-Cuzcos particularly. Viracocha returned and crushed this revolt also. Thereafter he attacked Muyna successfully and set it to Inca control (leaving an Inca governor in charge there). This happened around A.D. 1400. Viracocha's victorious campaigns continued towards the Collao border, where the Canas and Canchis were subjugated. He achieved diplomatic relationships with Altiplano polities, particularly with the Lupacas. Being an old man he left the throne to his son Urcon, who soon proved to be incapable of ruling. This soon became known in the provinces and the Chancas decided to use an opportunity to rebel against the Incas. The Muynas did likewise, and the Ayarmacas also. This kind of threat was too much for cowardly Urcon, and he evacuated his court at Cuzco. Only a few tribes remained loyal to the Incas, but their support became crucial in the coming events, which led to their final victory. The savior of the nation was a younger son of abdicated Viracocha: Cusi Yupanqui. He took the crown from his brother Urcon and had him killed. Thereafter he adopted the honorific title of ancient rulers: Pachacuti "the change of the world". He was ready and able to set the things in a new order.¹⁹⁸

After the Chanca victory Pachacuti decided to eliminate the Muyna threat for good. Their seat was completely destroyed, and in the meantime the Ayarmacas were severely punished too. With immediate enemies now eliminated, Pachacuti concentrated to complete re-building and re-organization of Cuzco. In that new array the status and setting of Hurin- and Hanan-Cuzcos became finally settled. As a political compromise Pachacuti allowed the Hurin-Cuzco's and their line of rulers to remain a structural part of the new entity. Their status was subordinate, but in the canonic version of Inca history, their last ruler, Capac Yupanqui, was made father to Inca Roca. Manco Capac, the legendary hero from Pacaritampu, was chosen as a common dynastic ancestor. An artificial mummy bundle was made of each Hurin-Cuzco

 198 For events during the reign of Inca Roca, Yuhuar Huacac, Viracocha, and Urcon, see particularly Sarmiento (1572) 1942 and Cieza de León (1550-3) 1986. For a historian's perception of these events, see e.g. BRUNDAGE (1967) 1985 and DAVIES 1995.

ruler and the *panaca*-system was organized, in which these ancestors received a corporate property and proper setting in the beginning of the Incaic Canon.

The names of other Pacaritampu kings were “forgotten”, as well as the dynastic ancestors of the Hanan-Cuzcos in ancient Tampu Tocco. The truncated and structured dynastic formula fit better to made-up mythographic origin of the Incas and spatial re-organization of new-born capital of the empire.

The origin myths of Hurin- and Hanan-Cuzcos were merged. In that story the actual creation occurred in the Titicaca region, where also the primordial couple was born as children of the Sun. Later on they and their ethnic brethren emerged from the caves of Pacaritampu. The Tampu Tocco was localized at that site too: it truly became Pacari-tampu-tocco. Symbolically the Incas perceived themselves as the heirs of Tiahuanaco, whereas referential links to Tampu Tocco heritage was kept in name. The association with the latter was encumbered by the fact, that their seat became occupied by the hated Muynas. This broken connection probably was another reason why the ancestors out of this cradle were eventually forgotten.¹⁹⁹

Pachacuti apparently well-used many eruditions of the ancient government, albeit officially he did not want to give them too much credit. He admired his ancestor, Inca Roca, the builder of *Yacha-huasi* school at Cuzco. This institution became now a cradle of indoctrination and Inca dynastic propaganda. The language of learning, Quechua, was proclaimed to official language of the empire. This was practical also, because in many provinces it already was spoken, especially in the Chinchaysuyo district, where the former Wari-Amautas have spread it. Several *mitma*-groups speaking that tongue has also been living in the Cuzco area since the time of this past empire. In the Inca court it possibly became a third language, since both the Hurin- and Hanan-Cuzcos may have had divergent tongues originally. Before selecting of Quechua as the official language, its function could have been filled the local Aymarized Puquina. It is possible that most ethnic principalities in the Cuzco region spoke variable dialects of Aymara, in which both Puquina and Quechua elements were agglutinated through time. The divergence of Hurin- and Hanan-Cuzco dialects may have been one more reason for Pachacuti to chose a third language as a common tongue. Had he forced the Hurin-Cuzcos to adopt Hanan-Cuzco dialect as the dominant and common one, the disputes between these factions would not have ceased.²⁰⁰

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199 For Incas as heirs of Tiahuanaco; Jeannette SHERBONDY (1992:56) has written: “The Incas linked themselves to Tiwanaku and Titicaca explicitly through their myths...Their ultimate origins were in Titicaca-Tiwanaku, their more immediate origins at Pacariqtambo. They symbolically remembered their Titicaca-Tiwanaku origins as rulers with a ritual for each new Inca king.”

200 For the idea of early Quechua speaking Wari colonies in Cuzco area, BIRD et al. 1983–4:194. The *mitmas* were resettled communities which the Incas moved from their native provinces to newly conquered territories. This policy was not necessarily an Incaic invention, but like many other Incaic institutions, its roots ran deeper in Andean tradition. It is possible that inchoate empire like Wari exploited some corvee policy. Compare e.g. dormitories for corvee laborace recorded by McEWAN (1987). For *mitmas* in general, see e.g. BRUNDAGE (1967) 1985; MURRA 1980, MASUDA et al. 1985; PÄRSSINEN 1992; MALPASS 1993.

In the newly organized dynastic formula and canonic composition of Inca history, facts, myths and legends were intentionally interwoven. There were no setting for the pre-Incaic dynasties and empires. The main purpose of this story was to emphasize the role of the Incas as primordial civilizers and natural leaders of all nations. The 'historical' key points in the Incaic Canon were:

1. Creation at Titicaca and birth of Manco Capac and Mama Ocllo, the primordial couple and the Children of the Sun.
2. The emergence of Manco Capac and the original brethren from the caves of Tampu Tocco at Pacaritampu.
3. Settlement at Cuzco valley by Manco Capac and his son, Sinchi Roca.
4. Hanan-Cuzco lineage was founded by Inca Roca.
5. The victory over the Chancas carried by Inca Pachacuti.

3.2. Other scenarios and critical questions

The scenario presented above is based on numerous circumstantial and testimonial evidences found in many distinct sources. It is fleshed to the bone in a number of details, which could be rationalized only by using historical analogies and cross-cultural data. In spite of its prolonged temporal coverage, the ethnohistorical framework presented above neatly comply with many current archaeological implications and related data on Andean prehistory, and therefore draws interesting parallels between this circumstantial evidence and testimonies in Montesinos' chronicle. There could be alternative reconstructions beside the ones given here, but at this stage of research there are too many questions at issue and too few answers yet available, that there would be grounds for presenting any additional scenarios, whatever superficial they might be. The following reconstruction encompasses the entire time frame but have a distinctive chronological starting point.

An alternative scenario of linguistic spread and archaeological periodization (based on Schaedel's chronology, compare Table 4)

In this scenario the Wari state is seen more like hegemony than a true empire. Over a few hundred years this dominion waxed and waned, and its disintegration was a prolonged process. The time frame of the Middle Horizon is established at A.D. 700–1200/50, and the Wari state proper at A.D. 750–1100 in this chronology.²⁰¹

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201 SCHAEDEL 1985b, 1991, 1993; SCHAEDEL (Fall 1994: Origin of Complex Society: South America. A lecture course in the University of Texas at Austin.); SCHAEDEL (Personal communication. Letter: Richard P. SCHAEDEL to Juha HILTUNEN, July 23, 1997.) According to SCHAEDEL (1998, personal communication), "At 400–500 in the southern shores of Lake Titicaca a huge paramount chiefdom began to be assembled of two anchor points known as Akapana and Calasasaya. It too expanded although in a more peaceful way both north and south. In the north it is clear that Tiahuanaco religion penetrated via Cotahuasi to Moquequa and Wari itself. While there is not much in the way of Tiahuanaco construction types (dressed stone) at Huari and Tiahuanaco sherds are rare, there is no escaping the fact that the Huarpa simple iconography and limited polychrome ware subsequently overcome by penetration of Tiahuanaco iconography. The presumption inescapable becomes that Tiahuanaco iconography had a profound impact at the Wari site and then to have been expelled by its converts to withdrawn to frontiers by the Vilcañota pass."

Archaeological setting

- 600–750 Interraction period (Menzel’s) (e.g. Robles Mojo, Conchapata). Hypothesized Tiahuanaco IV people going north to Ayacucho. Huarpa culture in Ayacucho (Nawimpukio, a paramount chiefdom).
- 750–900 Huari ‘blizkrieg’ expansion mostly northward – up to Moche and Piura via highlands; also drive out Tiahuanaco established border at Vilcañota.
Tiahuanaco Theocratic dominion (Tibetan-like). The Wari hegemony was a conglomerated entity – a kind of ‘Holy Roman Empire’ in the Andes.
- 900–1200 Aesthetic decline – retraction of local cultures. Late lingering Tiahuanaco. Sipan culture on the North Coast and Pachacamac spread its influence on the Central Coast.
- 1200–1480 Late Intermediate proper. Two prototypical states on the coast: Chimor and Chinchu, with surrounding paramount chiefdoms in the Andes region (e.g. Lupaca and Khonko/Post-Decadent Tiahuanaco) in east Altiplano. Emergence of Inca state and culture.

Linguistic setting

- 700–900 Expulsion of Tiahuanaco frontier in the knot of Vilcañota with Puquinas to the south, and Aymaras north to Huanuco knot. Linguistically the north stayed rather unchanged, where Quechua remained a major language, with Culli in the highlands and Muchik on the coast. Diffusion of Aymara southward, leaving “Aque” islands in Huarochiri etc. 900–1200. Quechua began slow push southward – to become principal language in the Cuzco area (Killke). Aymara settlers had to give way to moving Quechuas in Central Peru (an ethnohistorical *wari* contra *llacuaz* movement). The old remains of Aymara speakers were moving towards the Vilcañota knot. Pachacamac may have become a kind of polyglot ‘Vatican’ in the waning Wari dominion.
- 1200–1400 Main flooding of Altiplano with Aymara speakers (crossing the Vilcañota); total marginalization of Puquina.
- 1400–1500 Counterspread of Quechua into Altiplano over Aymara.

Ethnohistorical setting

In the scenario presented above the ‘Montesian’ kings would be placed chronologically at the period between A.D. 750 and 1250. This time frame covers 500 years. Using my regnal span average for multiple dynasties (14.8 yrs/reign), this period could have contained some 34 reigns. The kings of Tampu Tocco would be placed to A.D. 1100–1250, and their number, consequently, is then about 10. In the other scenario (the most plausible one) I have counted some 56 tentatively historical Amauta and Tampu Tocco reigns

in succession. By using the same regnal span ratio the total of 830 years is reached. I consider, however, that the number of successive historical kings in Montesinos' list were somewhat more than 34, which this alternative scenario would allow. This concerns more with the Tampu Tocco line than the Amautas proper. The number of the latter (about 24) is not too far from the number (about 30), which the primary scenario would suggest. SCHAEDEL also suggests, according to this alternative scenario, that the Pirua-line of kings may have belonged to the very beginning of the list, as Montesinos has presented. Hence, they might have been either Huarpa chieftains of Ayacucho or early Tiahuanacans that influenced the Nawimpukio priests.

The Pirua problem

The threefold dynastic division into the Piruas, Amautas, and Tampu-Toccans in Montesinos' account has been one fundamental topic in the present study. It has provided a basis for making the chronological ethnohistoric scenarios whereinto the current archaeological Middle Horizon and Late Intermediate periodizations could have been amalgamated. As has been noted, however, the latter two dynasties (the Amautas and Tampu-Toccans) had a subsequent historical affiliation, which could be logically tied in with a chronological framework. The proper setting of the Piruas instead, has caused problems. In my primary scenario their ethnohistorical setting belongs to the Late Intermediate Period and being situated contemporaneous with the Tampu-Toccans. Moreover, I have proposed a dynastic affiliation with the 'Hurin-Cuzco' Incas for them.²⁰² In giving another origin and setting to this dynasty one should take into consideration the following arguments:

1. Montesinos' account presents them as the *first* dynasty and an emigrant group.
2. Their dynastic nomenclature seems to suggest a southern origin (the circum-lacustrine Titicaca and Puquina linguistic affiliation).
3. The dynastic events associated with the 13th – 16th kings of the Pirua line appear to be authentic historical references to initial contacts between the coastal and highland hegemonies, which should be dated archaeologically rather into the Early Intermediate/Middle Horizon than Late Intermediate periods.
4. The writings of a certain Mercederian friar, Melchior Hernandez, apparently influenced the works of Blas Valera/Anonymous Jesuit in the Titicaca region. He has probably been the very source whence the references to Pirua Pacaric Manco ('primer poblador destas tierras') were taken.²⁰³

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 202 Compare chapters IV:1 and V:2. Regarding to the question of the Piruas I now consider this alternative scenario equally plausible with the preceding one above.

203 For these dynastic events of the Piruas, consult Montesinos ([1644:lib.ii, caps.ix-x] 1882:52–60). Compare also references in chapter V:2.1. For the discussion of nomenclature and etymology, see chapters IV:2.2., V:2.1., and appendix 8b.

Richard SCHAEDEL has particularly emphasized the Pirua problem in my study, and believes that their setting should belong to that early phase which Montesinos is referring to. In the course of my research I also have found additional points of consequence, which has led me to believe that this is a worth-while alternative to be taken into consideration.

According to SCHAEDEL (1999), the Piruas could have been the real Tiahuanaco sent dynasty that was associated with the Wiracocha legend. Then came the Amautas or Waris proper after transforming Tiahuanaco iconography and getting into militaristic-going invasion but not much south of Vilcañota.

SCHAEDEL has also pointed out, that it is extremely important to note that the 13th king (belonging to the Pirhua group) Ayartaco Cupo, got wind of the existence of large coastal settlements and sent spies to see what they were up to. During the reign of his successor, Huascar Titu, this tensed situation continued, and by Titu Yupanqui's time they were engaging both "Chimos" and highlanders from the south. By the time of Marasco (26th now in the Amauta list) they were still waging defensive wars with Chimos and otherwise with Collas and to the east. It was only at the time of the battle of Vilcañota (during the reign of 56th king) when the fights with the coast and northern highlands became stabilized. Between this battle and the reign of Manco Capac III (61th king) Huari reached its peak.

Huillcanota Amauta (56th king) probably flourished around A.D. 800 and Marasco Pachacuti (26th king) around A.D. 500 (see appendix 11). The expansion of Moche principalities on the coast started around A.D. 300–400. At Pachacamac, the first structures of the temple of Ichma (Pachacamac for the Incas) were probably built around A.D. 500. With these archaeological dates as a clue, we may suppose that the events (as reported by Montesinos) concerning the contacts between the coastal people and the highlanders, may have occurred somewhere between A.D. 300 and 500. If this presumption becomes proved to be correct, here we have the very earliest ethnohistorical reference on actual events in the records of Andean prehistory. The historical setting of the Piruas would therefore belong to that period. It is justifiable to assume also, that their dynastic lineage partly run parallel with the emerging Amautas, perhaps contesting of power with them. Anyhow, the argument of rival relationship between these dynasties has already been presented by Fidel LOPEZ in 1871.²⁰⁴

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204 SCHAEDEL (1999, 13 April, personal communication.) SCHAEDEL (ibid.) refers also to a certain finding of 5 pots from one grave in the Rimac. One is Moche V, one is late Recuay, another is a Coastal imitation of a Huari head (paste is fine orange of Maranga), and others are fine orangeware of pre-Middle Horizon Early Lima or Nieveria. This would indicate a date when relative peaceful contacts prevailed. The Moche, Recuay and Wari in the first Tiahuanaco period apparently had good trading relationships. By archaeological cross-dating this phase come out to 500-600 AD that dates close to the times of supposed reigns of Ayar Cupo and other Piruas, with whom the coastal people had a kind of standoff as reported by Montesinos. For the Moche chronology, phases, and major events, see e.g. SHIMADA 1994:2, 78–9. The major cultural development and territorial expansion occurred during the Moche IV phase, or ca. A.D. 450–550 (ibid., 87–93). For Pachacamac,

The writings of Melchior Hernandez are most interesting. I owe gratitude to Sabine HYLAND, who has provided me information of him and his connections with Blas Valera. According to HYLAND, fray Melchior Hernandez was in Potosi in 1579 and 1580, when Valera was there also. Writes HYLAND, "it is quite possible that Valera, who had an ideological interest in extending the length of the Peruvian dynasties, may well have embellished this history with material taken from another chronicler, Melchior Hernandez OdeM. In the Anonymous Jesuit relation, in the 5th footnote, the author cites Melchior Hernandez's Anotaciones for his historical sketch of Pirua Pacaric Manco 'primer poblador destas tierras'. While Hernandez's work has been lost, and much of his early biography is sketchy, it is known that he was a mestizo from the Lake Titicaca region. If Valera (and I've been able to demonstrate from archival material that Valera and Hernandez were in Potosi at the same time and therefore might have known each other) incorporated Hernandez's history into this long version of Peruvian dynasties, he would have been incorporating a history derived, presumably, from the traditions of the Lake Titicaca region."²⁰⁵

SCHAEDEL pays also attention to the nomenclature and etymology of the Piruas. His 'finds' on *pirua* have to do with a reference in WACHTEL – where the word appears as an important item of ritual among the Chipayas and means 'espigo de maiz'. One may infer from this that the reference may go back to a time when the Pirua were flourishing in a circum Titicaca area. All the Chipaya ritual makes a clear separation of the herding economy from agriculture which the Aymaras did not have much of, but presumably the agriculturalists of the (Puquina) ridged fields did.

As has been stated, the Pirua group appears to form a separate entity also from the archeolinguistic point of view. Its nomenclature seems to contain a significant Puquina element within, and several names may represent archaic forms in both Puquina, Aymara, and Quechua languages.²⁰⁶

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 see e.g. UHLE (1903) 1991:xxiii, Introduction by Izumi SHIMADA. According to SHIMADA (ibid.), it appears that the Temple of the Sun was built at least in part over an existing late Lima construction. During ca. A.D. 500–550? there was another major mound some 250 m east of the one found beneath the Temple of the Sun. There is confusion as to whether it corresponds to what historical documents call the Pachacamac Temple. The designation 'Pachacamac' is the term of the Incas given to the local deity called 'Ichma' (transcribed by Spaniards as Irma). The physical location of the Pachacamac Temple where this pre-Incaic cult was focused is now thought to have shifted over time, writes SHIMADA. According to BIRD et al. (1983-84:193), the religious center of Pachacamac emerged at least as early as A.D. 400-550. For the relationship of Pirua and Amauta dynasties, see FIDEL LOPEZ 1871:253-77.

205 Sabine HYLAND (1997, 28 Oct. and 3 Nov., personal communication). Compare also references in chapter III:3.

206 SCHAEDEL (ibid.) Compare, Nathan WACHTEL (*Gods & Vampires: Return to Chipaya*, University of Chicago Press: Chicago 1994). The nomenclature of the dynasty of Piruas appears to contain a relative small percentage of Aymara-Quechua blending. Aymara and Puquina elements seems to be well represented. The words of pure Quechua origin appears to be less in this group than in other two (see, chapter V:2.1. and appendix 8b.) All this indicates a southern origin for this group.

I like to elaborate and conclude the second scenario (according to arguments of SCHAEDEL) as follows: The Piruas could have been an emigrant elite group from Tiahuanaco, which probably settled at Ayacucho somewhere between A.D. 300 and 500. They possibly contested of power with the local lords from whom the Amautas eventually emerged. The Wari dynasty proper (the Amautas) could therefore have been an amalgamation of the Tiahuanacan aristocracy (originally Puquina-speaking) and local lineage of chieftains (Huarpa). All told, we may summarize the possible historical settings of the Piruas as follows (with no priorities in listing, except chronological order):

- * Mytho-historical chieftains (Huarpa) at Ayacucho (ca. 200–400 A.D.)
- * A migrant dynasty from Tiahuanaco (III/IV) settled at Ayacucho (ca. 400–500 A.D.).
- * A rival dynasty (of local origin) to the Amautas at Ayacucho (ca. 400–600 A.D.).
- * Dynastic predecessors of the ‘Hurin-Cuzco’ Incas (ca. 1100-1275/1300 A.D.)

A great number of questions have emerged during this research, and many of them are waiting for sound, good answers. I therefore call for future research, but my obligation in the midst of this subject matter is to provide some guiding clues for this task. I hope that from the research results of the present study and the following suggestive questions, new and better reconstructions and scenarios will emerge – for the benefit of Andean ethnohistorical research.²⁰⁷

Archaeological questions:

- * Is there archaeological evidence of Tiahuanaco influence in southern Peru at the aftermath of Wari collapse, ca. A.D. 850–950?
- * Is there archaeological support for the idea that Huaropikillacta could have been a late capital of the Wari state?
- * Is there archaeological support for the idea that there apparently was a dynastic/ethnic break in Chokepukio/Tampu-Tocco around A.D. 1100?
- * Is there archaeological evidence to indicate political disturbances in the Cuzco area around A.D. 1250–1350?
- * Could the Chancas have been incorporated into the Inca state already during the reign of Roca. Any archaeological evidence?
- * Are there further evidence for the allegation that the Hurin- and Hanan-Cuzcos were distinct groups of origin?

General interpretative questions:

- * Is there any toponomical evidences which could be related to events and names given in Montesinos’ chronicle?

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207 Dr. John W. SMITH (University of Texas at Austin) has provided me some ideas concerning the arrangement and content of the questions presented here.

- * Why has documentary evidence referring to pre-Incaic dynasties survived in the Altiplano particularly?
- * Is the new-found document *Historia et Rudimenta Linguae Piruanorum*, said to be the writing of Anello Oliva and giving biographical references of Blas Valera, truly an authentic testimonial evidence?
- * Could Valera's *Vocabulario* be made up of several volumes?
- * Is there further support for the idea that the Andean elites had perceptions on linear thinking?
- * Was the idea of Four Ages truly borrowed from Mesoamerican cosmology or whence did it originate?²⁰⁸
- * Did the Incas really speak a distinctive court language as Garcilaso has suggested?
- * The possible source and authenticity of Guaman Poma's Yarovillca dynasty list? His invention or genuine Andean tradition?
- * Whether the Andean *llacuaz/huari* tradition refers to dynasties in Montesinos' lists?

A specific area where future research could be useful and important is linguistics. I have approached linguistic evidence only superficially and gained some interesting results, but more professional work carried out by experts in Quechua and Aymara, and regarding Puquina, is needed in this area. The proposed Puquina connection is one important topic to be checked more carefully.

The emergence of state level societies in the Andes have been a focus of many research projects during the past decades.²⁰⁹ From our point of view, the development in the Ayacucho valley is most interesting. The present accumulated evidence suggests that the state of Wari emerged around A.D. 400–600. More research focusing on the nature and limits of the Wari hegemony, as well as its shrinkage and resurgence between A.D. 600–1100 is needed. Current archaeological projects in the Moquegua region and Cuzco in southern Peru particularly, have informed this thesis and helped us revise our understanding of Middle Horizon and Late Intermediate (towards the Late Horizon) cultural and political dynamics in the area. I hope that this ethohistorical synthesis of recent findings will further deepen research on these neglected time periods.

 208 The number four is a sacred universal number and was commonly used in the Andes too. Even the Lakotas of the Northern Plains believed that the buffalo has four legs which represent the four ages of the world (Joseph Epes Brown: *The Sacred Pipe*, Black Elk's Account of the seven rites of the Oglala Sioux. Penguin Books Ltd. (1953) 1979: 6-9.) (I am thankful to Mr. Simo HANKANIEMI, who gave me this information.)

209 See e.g. studies of LUMBRERAS 1972, 1974, 1980; SCHAEDEL 1978, 1985b, 1988, 1991, 1993; JONES & KAUTZ 1981; MacNEISH et al. 1981; DEMAREST & CONRAD 1983; ISBELL 1983, 1987, 1988; KOLATA 1983, 1993; HAAS et al. 1987; SCHREIBER 1987, 1991, 1992; ISBELL & McEWAN 1991; and BAUER 1992b. Compare also the development of chiefdoms in the Americas, DRENNAN & URIBE 1987.

Untapped archival research cannot but expand our limited data base in the Andes. Greatly increasing interest in this mode of investigation during the past decades has revealed new important documentary material. Lost writings of chroniclers Valera and Montesinos wait to be recovered. More biographical information on Montesinos' life is needed, which might lay hidden in some monastery archive close to Seville (or in Peru/Bolivia).

The Montesinos chronicle itself (and his other writings) should be the focus of more analysis. The first book of his *Memorias* was published only once in a scarce periodical (1869–70), and the third book remains unedited. A critical, annotated edition of Montesinos entire work is needed.²¹⁰ Finally, Montesinos should join the new Cieza de León, Betanzos, and Cobo editions in hopefully having adequate English translations.



Amauta (Wari) ruler from the Middle Horizon Andean antiquity. A portrait refined and manipulated by the author from the terracotta bust presented in Annaes do XX congresso Internacional de Americanistas, vol II, Rio de Janeiro (Arthur Posnansky: 'Quienes eran los Incas', Fig. 22).

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210 As a matter of fact, Sabine HYLAND has already started in working with this project (1999, personal communication.)

Part four

Reference Matter



■ VI. Conclusion

The focus of this study has been Fernando de Montesinos' chronicle, *Memorias Antiguas Historiales y Políticas del Perú*, written in the early part of the 17th century. It belongs to some three dozen better known Spanish chronicles (written in 1544–1653) dealing mostly with the Inca culture and history. All references to pre-Incaic traditions or cultures in these chronicles are fragmentary, except for Montesinos' work. He presents a lengthy tradition of pre-Incaic rulers, of which only brief references occur in other sources – in the chronicles of Anello Oliva and Anonymous Jesuit particularly. Montesinos refers to the existence of real writing skills in ancient Peru, which is another puzzling point in his account. A third strange feature has been Montesinos' thesis, that Peru was peopled by descendants of Ophir from Armenia. Taken together, these three 'theses' had made Montesinos' chronicle an oddity among the Andean written sources. Only a few times during a century and half, since this work has been known and published, have any Andeanists taken it seriously.

The aim of my study has been in reassessing the value of Fernando de Montesinos' chronicle as a source of historical information. Its ethnohistorical testimony has been reflected upon, evaluated, and correlated with current archaeological and other circumstantial evidence provided by modern research in the Andes. Correlation of dynastic traditions with absolute dating has been sought. What I found was encouraging and interesting; the new data made me convinced that a second look should be taken at Montesinos' testimony. Hence, the present study provides an attempt to correlate his dynasty lists with current prehistoric periodization in the Andes. Our knowledge of pre-Incaic archaeology has increased and the ethnohistorical account in Montesinos' chronicle has therefore found a more solid correlative basis. My reconstruction is no longer experimental, but a likely explanation to fill in the general outline and nature of the pre-Incaic past in the Andes. I have suggested several potential solutions to the equation. As the voluminous data base receives more analysis, a more elegant solution should not be long in coming.

Scholarly discussion of Montesinos' chronicle and its testimonial value has been practically nonexistent during the past four or five decades. We may summarize the Montesinos-'studies' in two major phases of research: works written until around 1946, and the writings since that date. This watershed is selected mainly because at that time some of the principal pro- and contra commentaries on Montesinos were given, and the old archaeological reconstruction of the Andean past was losing ground for new interpretations, based on accumulative archaeological and ethnohistorical data. Emergent attention on Montesinos can be noticed since the 1980's, and the present study will provide further potential for this redivivus.

The major problems and goals of this study have been concentrated around the three theses of Montesinos: the existence of pre-Incaic dynasties, Peruvian writing skills, and the Ophirian 'theory'. The queries conducted from these primary problems have found adequate solutions. This means that Montesinos' narrative apparently contains authentic ethnohistorical information from the pre-Incaic Andean past. There seems to exist a sound correlation between the Middle Horizon – Late Intermediate archaeological periodization and the Montesinos' historical account. The extant historical tradition presumably was altered and manipulated in many phases of a lifetime of this narrative data. The surviving part went through Inca dynastic propaganda, Toledan reforms, and Montesinos' own treatment, and should be treated as a tradition relic out of great antiquity. The unique nature of Montesinos' account has much to do with the manipulative factors above: the interests of both Inca and Toledan political propaganda were to present a model of a relatively short dynastic history, where pre-Incaic traditions were minimized.

I have found corroborative circumstantial evidence that Don Fernando de Montesinos possibly was a Jesuit. Many of his sources are related with that Society. He was well educated and a scientifically oriented observer like the Jesuits often were. He was also a genuine child of his time, which was Baroque. Thus, far-fetched statements and fantastic stories found in his account should be bound up with this interpretative context. As a Scholastic cleric of the Reformation Era he narrated within the frame of the contemporary Judeo-Christian world view and history – where such ideas as Ophir peopling the Americas were a commonplace perception. Being an official of the Colonial government he had access to sources and places where only few other writers could go. Although Montesinos possibly did not master native languages, he seems to have possessed other abilities, which made him a more diligent historian and writer than many of his contemporaries. Last but not least, he might have had Jewish ancestry (*marrano*), which probably caused some problems in his association with the Society of Jesus. This may explain why his links with the Jesuit Order have not been clarified in historical sources, and also why he himself was so keen with Biblical interpretations in his account. We may suppose that he could have experienced the fate of Father Blas Valera, another Jesuit, who became disgraced by his fellow co-religionists as accused of unorthodox writings, and facing therefore difficulties in having his works published.

My study have indicated, that Montesinos indeed manipulated documentary information. There is no question of falsification, but rather of a certain tendency and zeal to make the text conform to particular predestined ideas. This has been found previously of course, but in this analysis I have shown that he did not do so frivolously. A certain systematization is found in his working and methodology, and this has helped me to edit parts from his work which

indicate fictional bias for this manipulation.¹ After the reduction, editing and critical examination, a certain stratified residue was left; a restoring part, which has been the major focus of my study. It contributes interesting ethnohistorical information from a remote Andean past: survival of pre-Incaic dynastic tradition, which appears to find a sound concordance in current archaeological perception on the Andean past. It also denies the canonical dynasty of having no antecedents worthy of the name 'dynasty'. As has been noted, Montesinos was not a romantic falsifier or an outright fabulist. He used interpolation and deletion as primary methods of reflecting what he considered an insufficiently remembered text. His way of investigative and interpretative procedures must also be viewed through his exposure to the clerical background of Jesuit and Scholastic education. From this perspective he appears to be a serene cleric and conscientious historian. He did not invent the pre-Incaic dynasties however much he rearranged them. This information he acquired from various early sources, e.g. Jesuit and other libraries and archives, where he had access. Moreover, a disqualification of Montesinos' testimony on the basis of his injection of the Ophir-story should have nothing to do with his reporting skills and reliability. And the claim of the existence of some form of writing in ancient Peru is based on a reasonable conjecture yet to be deciphered.

The world views (including notions of history and time reckoning) of European (early Modern age) and ancient Andean have been compared in the present study. According to a commonplace idea, the Amerindians and Europeans profoundly differ in this respect. However, a growing universal database indicate that these distinctions have been exaggerated. The polarizing idea between the coexistence of the cyclical and linear thinking needs a profound revision. I have argued on behalf of the idea that the cosmology of Andean elites (as among most ancient societies) cannot be categorized explicitly cyclical. Instead, a co-existent view, which encompasses both cyclical and linear elements, seems to have been more common, especially among the late pre- or protohistoric dynastic elites. Besides, all the available evidence seems to indicate, that the ancient Peruvians did have a real sense of history and means of transmitting it.

The factor of dynastic propaganda has everywhere been a major 'conductor' to build-up similar kinds of canonic histories; to fulfil needs of ambitious individuals and oligarchic circles. I have paid special attention to effects of sovereign rulership and dynastic usurpation in this respect. The Incas practised this propaganda as much as imperial rulers anywhere. In order to legitimize and justify their historical setting and status in the Andean universe, they formulated their dynastic history into an official Canon, which was written down into *quipu* records. The major architect of canonic Incan historiography

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1 Several writers have accused Montesinos of documentary manipulation (e.g. RIVA-AGÜERO 1910; ROWE 1945; METRAUX 1961). Also MARKHAM and MEANS (1920) in their analysis of Montesinos' king list referred to certain parts in his work which were manipulated information.

was Inca Yupanqui Pachacuti. He was possibly responsible for deleting any pre-Incaic dynastic lore from the official Canon. What was left is a truncated version, which most sources have repeated to us so consistently, that conventional chronology established by J.H. ROWE (1946) set the dynasty beginnings at A.D. 1200.

Inca Pachacuti was not the only “reformer” in Andean history who did this kind of manipulation. Inca Atahualpa committed dramatic, iconoclastic acts against his predecessors’ royal heritage, and the Spanish viceroy Francisco de Toledo used stern methods to destroy the last Incas and secure Spanish order in Peru.² This means, that both the history of the Incas and particularly what is left of their predecessors, has to be perceived through multilevel ‘filters’ of dynastic propaganda and manipulation of testimonial evidence. In spite of these difficulties, the present study has been an attempt of plumbing at the time depths through the distinct historical phases of tradition’s lifetime. This ‘upstreaming’ has not been an experimental adventure, but was carried through with good maps and compasses in a prepared, serious voyage.

In spite of apparent effectivity of Incaic propaganda, all over the Andes occasional pre-Incaic traditions persisted. Legends and oral narratives told about past kings and dynasties, who reigned immediately and in the case of Waris (Huaris), long before the times of the Incas. This substantial pre-Incaic heritage survived mostly in peripheral provinces, and fragmentarily in central regions too.³ By chance, the Jesuits were active in collecting this kind of data. The primary extant sources relating to the pre-Incas are at any rate scanty. The unique information related in Montesinos’ chronicle may be reckoned as an important part of this tradition.

The principal discussion, evaluation, and methodological approach in this study has been concentrated around two main types of diachronic evidence: testimonial and circumstantial. Ethnohistory and oral tradition (memory) are testimonial evidence from prehistory. One major focus of the present study is to exploit this special source and evaluate its testimonial veracity. I have used comparative and cross-cultural data quantitatively to derive indices and test their applicability to Andean data. The emergence of ethnohistorical research from the 1960s until today has brought means and methods to evaluate better the testimonial data of oral tradition. A number of cases have indicated, that oral tradition could contain more credibility than has generally been thought. Circumstantial evidence that can be derived from other fields, like, historical linguistics and archaeoastronomy, has come off fairly well too. By using

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2 Atahualpa in proclaiming himself a new ‘Pachacuti’ (after usurping the throne), ordered historical *quipu*-information concerning the reign of Huascar to be destroyed (besides a persecution of his lineage). Consult e.g. Quipocamayos (1542–44) 1920:3–5. For more, see chapter II:3.2.

3 It is worth noting, that the longest pre-Inca lists are from Northern Peru (Muchik territory) and Ecuador. In the North-Central Highlands also a long list of the Yarovilca rulers (as presented by Guaman Poma) was derived.

advances in archaeology and other techniques, reliable circumstantial evidence can now be deduced on a more firm footing than before.

The problem of oral tradition's veracity especially concerns Andean context and studies. Andeanists cannot use hieroglyphic texts as supportive data, like the Mesoamericanists, but have to rely on Colonial documents, which are based on orally transmitted information from the native past. The Andeans possessed a systematized oral tradition, which used a special mnemonic device, *quipu*, which seems to have been a more sophisticated container of historical information than has been thought. Other mnemotechnics like *tocapu*-writing were obviously used too. Contrary to common expectations, the available present data strongly supports the re-assessed idea, that the ancient Peruvians truly possessed sophisticated means for cognitive communication. They had a variety of methods, and more evidence has emerged that they exploited even phoneticism to a certain extent. It seems that Colonial writing has exaggerated teleologically or unintentionally the novelty nature of European writing for the Andean people.⁴ In all likelihood the Andeans were fully capable of transmitting complicated historical information for posterity. Montesinos, who has laid emphasis on these skills of the natives, appears to have been more on the right track than most other chroniclers. The present study has indicated, that ethnic historiography and oral tradition data is capable of maintaining historical accounts in a relatively unaltered form through centuries, even up to millenia. The temporal depth of 'Montesinian' tradition can be estimated to have extended up to 300–700 years, which is not unrealistic in view of the comparative, cross-cultural data.

In my comparative analysis the dynasty lists are treated as a special phenomenon in universal history. A broad cross-cultural analysis has provided data, which clearly indicates that the regnal span averages, which are commonly used in building up chronologies in non-historical societies, are significantly exaggerated. These chronologies have usually been based on European data, which could provide distorted results. To avoid this chronological twisting, I have used solely non-European comparative data. The present study provides new tools and chronological parameters to validate dynasty lists on a comparative basis. These can better be extrapolated and applied to non-European ancient dynastic traditions than most previous attempts. Montesinos' king list has proved to be most ideal for this kind of testing.

More than any other accounts, the chronicles of Sarmiento de Gamboa and Garcilaso de la Vega have saturated and manipulated our perception of the Inca

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4 See for instance Patricia SEED's article "Failing to Marvel": Atahualpa's Encounter with the Word' in *Latin American Research Review* (Vol. 26, Nr. 1) 1991:7–32. For example Titu Cusi Yupanqui ([1570] 1916:8) has reported that the Spaniards "speak by means of white cloths" (hablar a solas en unos paños blancos) [i.e. books}, which might have been a reminiscent of native Andean practise to read *quillca*- and *tocapu*-markings from the textiles. For Atahualpa showing no astonishment at the letters and paper, consult Xerez (1534) 1985:111, 1872:54.

history and culture. The account of the first was an anti-Inca, propagandist colonial tool in justifying the Spanish Conquest. Garcilaso's work was partly a counterattack for Sarmiento's abuses, but more so an utterly polished view of Inca civilization, which had a marked influence on perceptions of the Incas for centuries to come. Both writers, however, discredited the pre-Incas, albeit for distinct political reasons.

The present study has situated Montesinos' narrative within these two major interpretative 'schools' of Andean Colonial historiography ('the Garcilaso' and 'the Toledan'). The account of Montesinos seems to fit far better within the current perception of Andean prehistoric periodization than either of these chronicles.

Besides these interpretations, my study has also challenged the modern conventional and structuralist reconstructions of Inca history. In relation with them and Montesinos' account I have found a historicist viewpoint a most appropriate approach to a subject matter which concentrates on elite dynastic tradition, re-evaluates ethnohistorical information, uses comparative quantitative analyses, seeks correlation in archaeological periodization, and discusses the dichotomy between cyclical and linear thinking. In fact, the present study recalls the historicist strategy to be revisited. This viewpoint rejects the structural hypothesis of Inca dynastic organization and highlights the intercalation of archaeological and ethnohistorical testimonies instead. In this respect there are no good grounds for invalidating the idea that the unilinear dynastic structure, as recorded by most chroniclers of consequence, was in all probability a working practise among the Incas.

Most allegations provided by either structuralist or traditional historicist interpretation of Inca history do not correspond well with the emerging new ethnohistorically influenced interpretations of the Incaic or/and pre-Incaic past. Therefore I have issued forth arguments and proposed better answers and new solutions. Most of my commentary sources belong to a 'divergent' maximalist tradition, which have preserved some pre-Incaic information. As far as the Incas proper are concerned, the 'divergent' minimalist tradition (short dynasty) may offer better fitting models to be used. The best available source for the maximalist tradition is Fernando de Montesinos' chronicle. Its correlation with on-going archaeological and other circumstantial evidence allows it to be hypothesized within the absolute chronology. As a matter of fact, Montesinos' chronicle is the only extant Andean source into which this correlation model can fit.

Modern research has also revealed interesting loopholes in Montesinos' likely sources. New documentary data seems to support the idea that Anonymous Jesuit was indeed Blas Valera. This is a positive proof that Father Valera's history belongs to the maximalist tradition, which Montesinos adopted and used in his account. The reason why Garcilaso, who used Valera as his source, did not give any references to pre-Incaic kings, was probably political and propagandistic. Valera was a partisan in favor of Atahualpa, while for Garcilaso this ruler represented tyranny and destruction. Therefore, in historical matters, Garcilaso possibly did not concert the ideas with Valera too much.

The general outline and structure of Montesinos' king list reflects marked features of authenticity. The reasonable regnal spans, distribution of titles and other aspects indicate its apparent genuine origins. There are a significant mixing of Quechua and Aymara (perhaps even Puquina) languages in the variety of names, even archaic forms as one can expect to find in accounts which make claims to remote antiquity.

My study and analysis of Montesinos' dynasty list have provided further confirmation for its proposed tripartition into Piruas, Amautas and Tampu-Tocco-dynasties. This could point to three distinct ethnohistorical sources and reference groups. In one possible scenario two of these dynasties perhaps were contemporaneous. In this view the so-called Piruas in the beginning of Montesinos' list should possibly be placed in much later times and co-existing with the dynasty of Tampu-Tocco rulers. Their identity in my interpretation is proposed to be the Hurin-Cuzco "Incas", which the later tradition may have truncated (telescoped) into a much shorter "official" dynasty. Correspondingly the Hanan-Cuzcos were a related but distinct group, which "usurped" the throne of Cuzco. The first ruler in this lineage, Roca, adopted the title Inca from local tradition to designate his status as overlord.

Montesinos interpolated many events belonging to later Inca history into Pirua dynasty. This and other evidence seem to indicate, that he construed his master king list by cutting the "Inca-related" tradition in two, and setting Amauta and Tampu-Tocco-tradition in between them.

The proper setting of the Piruas is more problematic than the rest of Montesinian dynasties. I have proposed a scenario, in which they belong to the Late Intermediate Period and had dynastic affiliation with the Hurin-Cuzco Incas. In another scenario instead, the Piruas might have been an emigrant Puquina-speaking elite group from Tiahuanaco, which probably settled at Ayacucho somewhere between A.D. 300 and 500. There their lineage possibly co-existed a while with the emergent Amautas, who were the Waris proper. One could presume also, that this collateral socio-political development caused tension and rivalry – in which the latter lineage finally gained supremacy. Be that as it may, the Pirua question awaits answers in future.

As the matters stand, I believe that the latest dynastic section, the Tampu-Toccans, can be connected with the archaeological Chokepukio, where interesting excavations have currently been made by Gordon McEWAN. According to my perception, Chokepukio may have been a dynastic seat of a Neo-Wari polity until around A.D. 1100, when it was possessed by a migrant Puquina or Aymara-speaking group from Altiplano. Tampu-Tocco and Muyna may also have had an ethnohistorical connection. Moreover, I believe that Chokepukio/Tampu-Tocco was replaced by the Pinahua/Muyna chiefdom about A.D.1300. The latter held hegemony on Lucre Basin and the Cuzco area until A.D. 1350, when Inca Roca and Hanan-Cuzcos entered on the political scene. When the Incas started to gain ground in Cuzco valley and its vicinity, the power of Muyna was on its way out. It was only at the time of Inca Viracocha when Muyna was finally destroyed. When the Incas arose in

imperial overlordship, the dynastic history was re-written and in that canon the illustrious past of Hurin Cuzcos apparently did not fit, and less so histories of the enemies at Muyna.⁵

The glorious kings of the imperial era have been called *Amautas* in Montesinos' chronicle. I have presented the hypothesis, that the account of these kings in fact should be bound up with the rulers of the Middle- Horizon Wari polity. Some scholars have earlier drawn a parallel between the *Amautas* and a pan-Andean Tiahuanaco ('megalithic') empire, but this hypothesis started to fail when Wari was re-discovered some fifty years ago. It is somewhat surprising, that this ethnohistorical data has not been tested and correlated with the case of Wari after that. The present study has shown that this data could be better tied in with Wari than Tiahuanaco or any model of a pre-Incaic pan-Andean empire. Still, more research and collateral evidence is needed, until we can affirm on a more secure basis that a good number of kings recorded in Montesinos' chronicle and referred to in few other documents, could have been historical individuals from the Andean antiquity. Thus far it seems reasonably likely that there was a dynasty of mighty kings, who ruled the Wari state and called themselves *Amautas*.

The Incaic connection in Montesinos' narrative is most interesting. In the following scenario I have initially relied on Montesinos' account, in which the Incas proper were historically tied in with their dynastic predecessors. The Incas proper were led by Inca Roca (a descendant of the previous Tampu Tocco dynasty), who presumably usurped the Hurin Cuzco throne at Cuzco. He may have liberated the city from the Muyna yoke. During the subsequent reigns a tensed relationship between the subordinant Hurin Cuzcos and the usurpant Hanan Cuzcos prevailed. The situation was changed after the Chanca war. Inca Pachacuti resolved the dispute in giving certain privileges to Hurin Cuzcos and a more permanent status in Cuzco's socio-political organization. The traditions of both sects were merged and a restructured historical Canon was established. The dynastic traditions were truncated and structuralized. According to the political interests of Inca Pachacuti and his junta, the records of precedent dynasties were deliberately forgotten.

All things considered and following the proposed scenario, we may postulate certain critical points in the lifetime of Montesinos' dynastic narrative (as correlated with absolute dating), which are:

1. The collapse of Wari ca. 850–900 AD
2. The collapse of Tampu-Tocco ca. 1100 (Neo-Waris)
3. The collapse of Tampu-Tocco ca. 1300 (Aymara dynasty)
4. The usurpation of Inca Roca ca. 1350

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5 Gordon McEWAN (25 November 1998, personal communication) is convinced, "that the Inca are the result of a merging of the Killke and Lucre peoples and that the Lucre contributed a lot of what they inherited from the Wari. I therefore see rather direct Wari influence on the formation of the Inca state."

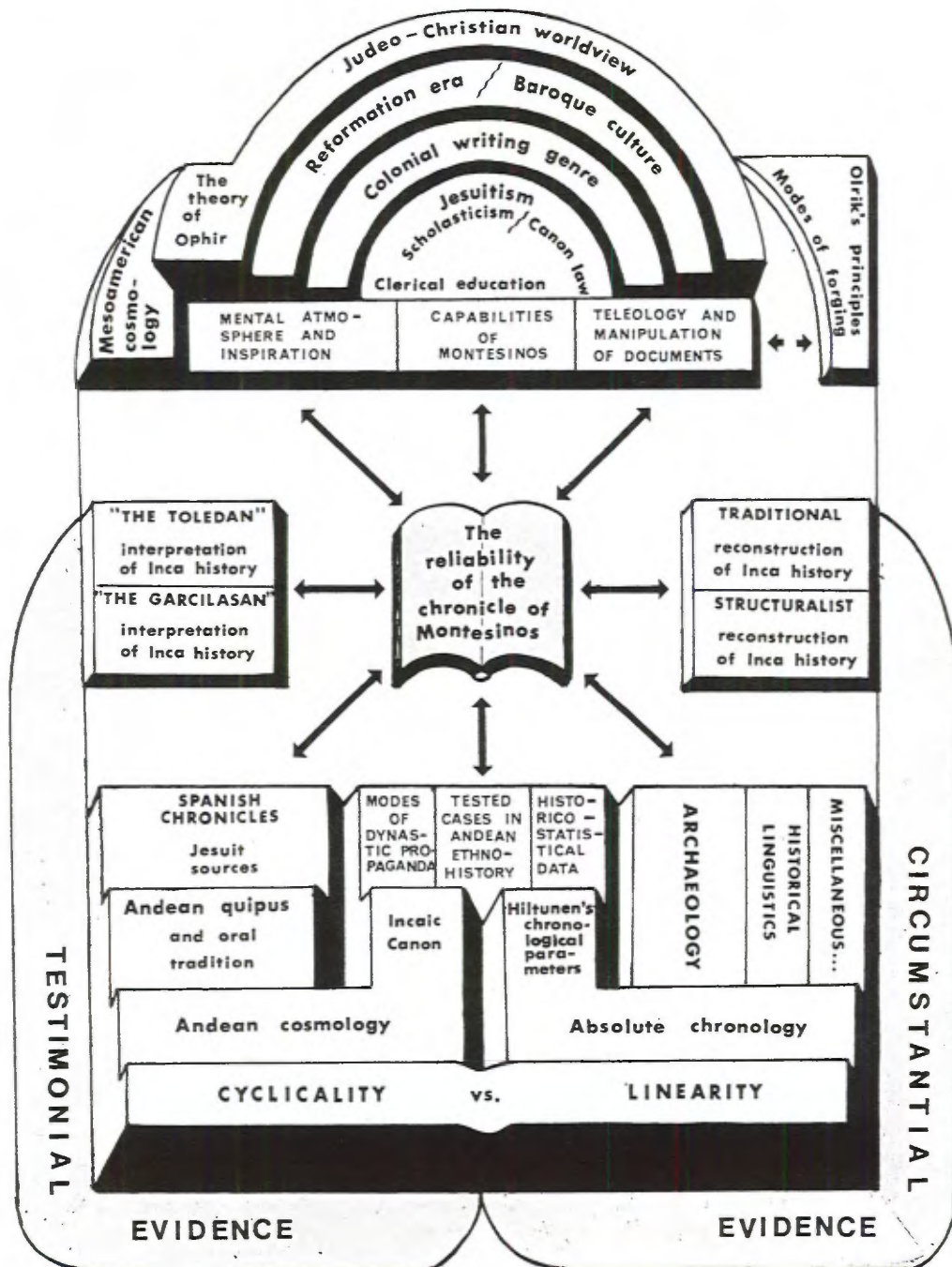
5. The usurpation of Inca Pachacuti ca. 1438
6. The usurpation of Inca Atahualpa 1532
7. Toledan reforms and destruction of *quipus* 1570–83
8. Montesinos' own treatment of the tradition 1638–42

The previous attempt to correlate the Montesian dynasty lists with absolute dating and archaeological periodization in the Andes originates from 1920, in the study of C. MARKHAM and P.A. MEANS. Since that date archaeological and other research has revealed abundant new information (the most important of which is the Wari cultural sphere). Modern research has also given more confirmation on alleged cultural (and perhaps political) relationship between the Wari, Chokepukio and Inca spheres. Accordingly, a complete reappraisal and rediagnosis of Montesinos and his work is a long-felt need in Andean studies. The present study is the first volume on Montesinos, his works and historiography, to appear in a book form during the entire 150-year period of Montesian-research.

This study has demonstrated, that a notable part of the historical content of Fernando de Montesinos' chronicle seems to rest on a more firm and reliable footing than has hitherto been thought. In standing for as one of the Spanish-Andean primary sources of consequence, it is worth to be taken into account more well and truly than before. There are reasonable grounds for drawing a parallel between its historical context and modern archaeological implications, as well as interpretative themes presented above. As a man of letters Montesinos ascends as a skilled author of early Modern Era, who worked in the best scholarly fashion of his times, during which trends like Scholasticism, Jesuitism, Baroque modes and so forth, dominated. He deserves to be given anew his due and respect as his own times did. I should like to share the opinion of Juan Eusebio Nieremberg, a renowned 17th-century Jesuit authority, who has characterized Montesinos as a "*historiador diligentissimo*".⁶

6 Consult, Manuel Rodríguez ([1684] 1990:111) who has quoted Nieremberg.

TABLE 8. A composite graph showing the dynamics of verification around Montesinos' chronicle



■ VII. Appendices

APPENDIX 1. LA CAPACCUNA DE MONTESINOS

Ms Merced *Ms Universitaria* “Corrected” orthography

PIRUAS

Pirua Parimanco	Pirua Parimanco	1. Pirua Pacari Manco*
Manco Capac	Manco Capac	2. Manco Capac I
Huainacavi Pirua	Huanacavi Pirua	3. Huanacauri Pirua
Sinchi Cozque	Sinchi Cozque	4. Sinchi Cozque
Pachacuti I	Pachacuti I	Pachacuti I
Inticapac Yupanqui	Inticapac Yupanqui	5. Inti Capac Yupanqui
Manco Capac	Manco Capac	6. Manco Capac II
Ttopa Capac	Topacapac	7. Tupac Capac
Tini Capac Yupanqui	Tinicapac Yupanqui	8. Tini Capac Yupanqui
Titucapac Yupanqui	Titucapac Yupanqui	9. Titu Capac Yupanqui
Inti Capac Amauri	Inticapac Pirua Amauri	10. Inti Capac Pirua Amaru
Capac Say Huacapac	Capac Sayhuacapac	11. Capac Sayhua Capac
Cape Sinia Yupanqui	Capesinia Yupanqui	12. Capac Tinia Yupanqui
Ayartarco Cupo	Ayartarcotitu	13. Ayar Tacco Capac
Huascar Titu (12)	Huascar Titu (12)	14. Huascar Titu
Quispi Tutu (13)	Quispitutu (13)	15. Quispe Titu
Titu Yupanqui (14)	Titu Yupanqui (14)	16. Titu Yupanqui
Pachacuti II	Pachacuti II	Pachacuti II
Titu Capac (15)	Titu Capac (15)	17. Titu Capac
Paullvicar Phirua (16)	Paullu Hicara Pirua (16)	18. Paullu Ticac Pirua

AMAUTAS

Lloqueti Sagamauta	Lloquete Sagamauta	19. Lloque Tesag Amauta
Cayo Manco Amauta	Cayo Manco Amauta	20. Cayo Manco Amauta
Hirascar Tilupac	Huascar Titupac	21. Huascar Titu Tupac
Manco Capac Amauta	Manco Capac Amauta	22. Manco Capac Amauta
Ticatua (21)	Ticatua (21)	23. Ticac Tupac
Paullo Toto Capac (22)	Paullo Totocapac (22)	24. Paullo Toto Capac
Cao Manco Amauta (23)	Caomanco Amauta	25. Cayo Manco Amauta II
Marasco (24)	Marasco (24)	26. Marasco
Pachacuti III	Pachacuti III	Pachacuti III
Paullo Atauchi Capac	Paullo Atauchicapac	27. Paullo Atauchi Capac
Pachacuti (?)	Pachacuti (?)	Pachacuti (?)
Lluqui Yupanqui (26)	Lluqui Yupanqui (26)	28. Lluqui Yupanqui
Llugu Ticac	Lluqui Ticac (27)	29. Lluqui Ticac
Capacyupanqui (28)	Capac Yupanqui (28)	30. Capac Yupanqui
Topa Yupanqui (29)	Topa Yupanqui (29)	31. Tupac Yupanqui I
Manco Avitopa	Manco Auitopa	32. Manco Auqui Tupac
Pachacuti IV	Pachacuti	Pachacuti IV

Sinchi Apusqui	Sinchi Apusqui	33. Sinchi Apusqui
Auqui Quitua Chauchi	Auqui Quitua Chauchi	34. Auqui Quitu Atauchi
Ayay Manco	Ayay Manco	35. Ayar Manco I
Huiracocha Capac (34)	Huiracocha Capac (34)	36. Huiracocha Capac
Chinchiroca Amauta	Chinchi Roca Amauta	37. Sinchi Roca Amauta
Amaro Amauta	Topa Amaru Amauta	38. Tupac Amaru Amauta
Capac Raymi Amauta	Capac Raymi Amauta (37)	39. <i>Capac Raymi Amauta</i>
Illa Topa	Illatopa	40. Illa Tupac
Topa Amauri	Topa Amauri	41. Tupac Amaru
Huana Cauri	Huanacauri	42. Huanacauri
Toca Corca Apucapac	Toca Corca Apucapac (40)	43. Toca Corca Apu Capac
Auampar Sacri Topa	Huampar Sacri Topa	44. Huampar Sayri Tupac I
Hina Chuilla Amauta	Hinachuilla Amauta (42)	45. Hina Chuilla Amauta
Pachacuti	Pachacuti	Pachacuti V
Capac Yupanqui Amauta	Capac Yupanqui Amauta	46. <i>Capac Yupanqui Amauta</i>
Huapar Sarri Topa	Huapar Sairitopa	47. Huampar Sayri Tupac II
Caio Manco Auqui	Caco Manco Auqui	48. Cayo Manco Auqui
Hina Huella	Hinahuilla	49. Hina Huilla
Inti Capac Amauta	Inticapac Amauta	50. Inti Capac Amauta
Ayar Manco Capac	Ayarmanco Capac	51. Ayar Manco Capac
Yaguar Huquiz	Yaguarhuquiz	52. Yahuar Huquiz
Capac Titu Yupanqui	Capac Titu Yupanqui (50)	53. Capac Titu Yupanqui
Tupac Curi Amauta	Topacuri Amauta	54. Tupac Curi Amauta I
Tupac Curi Amauta	Topacuri Amauta	55. Tupac Curi Amauta II
Huillanota Amauta	Huillcanota Amauta	56. Huillcanota Amauta
Topa Yupanqui	Topa Yupanqui (54)	57. Tupac Yupanqui II
Illac Topa Capac	Illac Topa Capac	58. Illa Tupac Capac
Titu Reyme Cozque	Tituraymi Cozque	59. Titu Raymi Cozque
Huqui Ninaqui	Huqui Ninaqui	60. Huqui Nina Auqui
Manco Capac	Manco Capac	61. Manco Capac III
Cayo Manco Capac	Cayo Manco Capac	62. <i>Cayo Manco Capac</i>
Sinchi Ayamanco	Sinchi Ayarmanco	63. Sinchi Ayar Manco
Huamantaco Amauta	Huamantaco Amauta (61)	64. Huaman Tacco Amauta
Titu Yupanqui	Titu Yupanqui (62)	65. Titu Yupanqui
Pachacuti	Pachacuti	Pachacuti VI

TAMPU-TOCCANS

Titu	Titu Guaman Quicho	66. Titu Huaman Quicho
Cozque Huamantitu	Cozque Huamantitu	67. Cozque Huaman Titu
Cayo Manco	Cuyo Manco	68. Cuyo Manco
Huicatitu	Huicatitu	69. Huilla Titu
Siri Tupa	Sairitupa	70. Sayri Tupac
Tupac Yupanqui	Topa Yupanqui	71. Tupac Yupanqui III
Huayna Topa	Huayna Topa	72. Huayna Tupac
Guara Cauri	Guanacauri	73. Huanacauri II
Huilca Huaman	Huilca Huaman	74. Huilla Huaman
Huaman Capac	Huaman Capac	75. Huaman Capac
	Paulio Taymi	76. Paullu Raymi
	Mancocapac Amauta	77. Manco Capac Amauta II
Auqui Atavilque	Auqui Atavilque	78. Auqui Atavilque
Manco Titu Capac	Manco Titu Capac	79. Manco Titu Capac
Huayna Topa	Huaynatopa	80. Huayna Tupac II

Topa Cauri	Topa Cauri	81. Tupac Cauri
Pachacuti	Pachacuti	Pachacuti VII*
Azantial	Arantial	(79) 82. Arantial
Huarititu Capac	Huarititu Capac	83. Huari Titu Capac
Topa Titu Auqui	Huispatitu Auqui	84. Huispa Titu Auqui
Toco Cosque	Toco Cozque	(82) 85. Toco Cozque
Ayarmano	Ayar Manco	86. Ayar Manco
Condoroqa	Condoroqa	87. Condoroqa
Amaro	Amaro	(83) 88. Amaru
Chinchirroca	Chinchiroca	89. Sinchi Roca
Illatoca	Illatoca	90. Illa Roca
Lluqui Yupanqui	Lluqui Yupanqui	91. Lluqui Yupanqui
Roca Titu	Roca Titu	92. Roca Titu
Yutimarta Capac	Inti Marta Capac	93. Inti Mayta Capac
Pachacuti	Pachacuti	Pachacuti VIII

INCAS

Inga Roca	Ingarroca	94. Inca Roca
Halloque Yupanqui	Alloque Yupanqui	95. <i>Lloque Yupanqui</i>
Maytacapaca	Maytacapaca	96. Mayta Capac
Capaca Yupanqui	Capaca Yupanqui	97. Capac Yupanqui
Sinchi Roca Inga	Sinchirroca	98. Sinchi Roca
Guarguacac	Guarguacac	99. Yahuar Huacac
Huiracocha	Huiracocha	100. Huiracocha
		(Pachacuti IX)
Topa Yupanqui	Topa Yupanqui	101. Tupac Yupanqui
Huainacpac Inga	Huaina Caua	102. Huayna Capac
Huascar	Huascar	103. Huascar

The number of reigns listed does not correspond exactly to the occasional ordinals given by Montesinos in his narrative (numbers in parenthesis). The forms of the names in *MsMerced* are taken from the edition of 1869-70, and those of *Ms Universitaria* from the edition of 1882 and the microfilm-copy of the MS original (1644). The names written in italics indicate Anello Oliva's (1631) references from Valera's *Vocabulario*, with given numerical order as follows: Capac Raymi Amauta (39), Capac Yupanqui Amauta (43), Cuis Manco/i.e. Cayo Manco Capac (64), and (Inca) Lloque Yupanqui (95). Asterisks (*) indicate the names referred to in Jesuita Anomino's account.

APPENDIX 2. CANONIC INCA DYNASTY

According to: Quipocamayos (1542-44), Las Casas (1550-59), Sarmiento de Gamboa (1572), Poma de Ayala (1584-1615), Cabello de Balboa (1586), Murúa (1590-1609), Gutierrez de Santa Clara (1595-1603), Pachacuti Y.S.J.S.C. (1613), Ramos Gavilán (1621), Salinas y Córdoba (1630), and Cobo (1653).

Name	Title	Lineage	Panaca	Relationship	Reign
1. Manco Capac	<i>sinchi</i>	hurin	<i>Chima</i>	son of Sun	ca.1200-(Rowe)
2. Sinchi Roca	<i>sinchi</i>	hurin	<i>Raura</i>	son	
3. Lloque Yupanqui	<i>sinchi</i>	hurin	<i>Auayni</i>	son	
4. Mayta Capac	<i>sinchi/capac</i>	hurin	<i>Usca Mayta</i>	son	
5. Capac Yupanqui	<i>sinchi/capac</i>	hurin	<i>Apu Mayta</i>	son	

6. Inca Roca	<i>inca</i>	hanan	<i>Vicaquirau</i>	son	
7. Yuhuar Huacac	<i>inca</i>	hanan	<i>Aucaylli</i>	son	
8. Viracocha	<i>inca</i>	hanan	<i>Socso</i>	son	
9. Pachacuti	<i>sapa inca</i>	hanan	<i>Iñaca/Hatun A.</i>	son	1438–1471
10. Tupac Yupanqui	<i>sapa inca</i>	hanan	<i>Capac A.</i>	son	1471–1493
11. Huayna Capac	<i>sapa inca</i>	hanan	<i>Tumipampa</i>	son	1493–1525
12. Huascar	<i>sapa inca</i>	hanan		son	1525–1532
13. Atahualpa	<i>sapa inca</i>	hanan		brother	1532–1533

The names of the *panacas* are from Sarmiento de Gamboa. The regnal chronology from Pachacuti to Huayna Capac is from Cabello de Balboa.

Puppet and Neo-Incas

14. Tupac Huallpa	puppet inca			brother	1533
15. Manco II	<i>inca</i>			brother	1533–1544
16. Paullu	puppet inca			brother	1537–1549
17. Carlos	puppet inca			son	1549–1572
18. Sayri Tupac	<i>inca</i>			Manco's son	1544–1560
19. Titu Cusi	<i>inca</i>			brother	1560–1571
20. Tupac Amaru	<i>inca</i>			brother	1571–1572

Regnal dates from HEMMING (1970:501–5).

APPENDIX 2b. INCA DYNASTIC USURPATION

1. **Capac Yupanqui – Inca Roca.** Most sources agree that Capac Yupanqui was the last ruler in Hurin-line and Inca Roca the first king in the Hanan-line. Some scholars (including myself) believe that this change was possibly not a peaceful one. Instead, I think we have reasons to believe that Inca Roca was a usurper, who founded a new lineage to rule at Cuzco.¹

2. **Inca Roca – Yuhuar Huacac.** This change was from father to son, and obviously a peaceful exception.²

3. **Yuhuar Huacac – Viracocha.** Most sources describe Yuhuar Huacac as a weak ruler. According to Cieza de León, he was assassinated by rebellious subjects, and this is a likely historical possibility. Although the ‘prime mover’ behind the act is not known, the next ruler, Viracocha, could be included among the list of suspects.³

4. **Viracocha – Inca Urcon – Pachacuti.** Pachacuti usurped the Incan throne from Urcon. Inca Urcon was a demerited, short-time ruler who was expunged from the canonic list of kings.⁴

5. **Pachacuti – Tupac Yupanqui.** This dynastic change from father to son seems to have been a peaceful incident, according to our best sources.⁵

1 For Hurin and Hanan as distinct, succeeding dynasties, MARKHAM 1910:56–67; URTEAGA 1931; ROSTWOROWSKI de DIEZ CANSECO 1953:22–4; BAUDIN 1955/1962:53. According to Murúa ([ca.1590–1609:cap.xxi] 1946:92), a concubine who poisoned Capac Yupanqui, became thereafter a wife to the next ruler Inca Roca. For Inca Roca as a usurper, see e.g. ROSTWOROWSKI de DIEZ CANSECO, *ibid.*

2 Cieza de León (1550-53:caps.xxxv-xxxvii) 1986:105-111.

3 Cieza de León (1550-53:caps.xxxvii-xxxviii) 1986:110-115. According to Cieza, the murdered Yuhuar-Huacac did not receive the burial honors of his ancestors, and that he left no son (*ibid.*)

4 For Inca Urcon as a *de facto* ruler, Cieza de León (1550-53:lib.ii,cap.xliv) 1986: 129–131. For the killing of Urco by Pachacuti, Sarmiento de Gamboa (1572:cap.xxxiii) 1942:110–2.

5 Sarmiento de Gamboa (1572:xlvi-xlviii) 1942:140–3.

6. **Tupac Yupanqui – Huayna Capac.** It seems that Tupac Yupanqui died relatively young – 40–50 years of age, after reigning twenty. PATTERSON (1992) writes: “Topa Inka died unexpectedly; he may, in fact, have been murdered by members of Iñaqa, his father’s corporation, who disagreed with his choice of a successor. His death provoked an open struggle.” Huayna Capac was too young to rule alone at this time and a certain Hualpaya was nominated as regent. He tried to usurp the throne himself, but with the help of certain loyal officials Huayna Capac’s mother, Mama Ocllo, was able to hold the crown for his son. I suggest that this eminent Queen may have been a regent herself and for a while *de facto* ruler of Tawantinsuyo.⁶

7. **Huayna Capac – Ninan Cuyochi – Huascar.** Huayna Capac may have died of smallpox around 1528 and another crisis of succession ensued. On his deathbed he nominated as his heir Ninan Cuyochi, but soon the plague killed him too. At Cuzco, a second son, Huascar, hastily proclaimed himself a king – possibly without waiting for the official appointment to that position.⁷

8. **Huascar – Atahualpa.** A well known historical usurpation of the later Inca history. Atahualpa seized the throne shortly before the coming of the Spaniards.⁸

9. **Atahualpa –Tupac Huallpa.** After the execution of Atahualpa in 1533, the Spaniards nominated his half-brother Tupac huallpa as their puppet king.⁹

10. **Tupac Huallpa – Manco II.** After a few months ‘reign’ Atahualpa’s commander-in-chief, Challcuchima, probably poisoned this puppet-king. Manco II was nominated as his successor by the Spaniards, but he raised a rebellion and succeeded in establishing an independent Neo-Inca state in the Vilcapampa mountainous forest.¹⁰

11. **Manco II – Sayri Tupac.** Manco II was possibly murdered by few Spanish renegades in 1544. His son, Sayri Tupac, who was nominated as his successor, was a boy of only five who was set under the regency of certain Atoc-Sopa.¹¹

12. **Sayri Tupac – Titu Cusi.** Sayri Tupac held a diplomatic relationship with the Spaniards, which the nativist fractions obviously disliked. He died suddenly in 1561, possibly murdered by the nativists. Titu Cusi was not a legitimate heir as his brother Tupac Amaru. Another violent usurpation quite likely occurred here too.¹²

13. **Titu Cusi – Tupac Amaru.** Mystery overshadows Titu Cusi’s death in 1571. The possibility of a murder is likely. However, Tupac Amaru ruled only a brief time thereafter. He was executed by the Spaniards in 1572.¹³

6 PATTERSON 1992:92. For speculations of poisoning of Tupac Yupanqui, see Cabello de Balboa (1586:xx) 1951:358. For the relatively young age of Tupac Yupanqui at his death, Montesinos (1644:lib.ii, cap.xxvii) 1882:158; BRUNDAGE 1963/1985: 187, 317–8; ROSTWOROWSKI 1988/1999:104. For the succession dispute, Sarmiento de Gamboa (1572:liv-lviii) 1942:152–5; Cabello de Balboa (1586:xx) 1951:353–61. Our sources indicate, that Huayna Capac was born in Tumipampa and was a young child when he succeeded his father (Sarmiento de Gamboa [1572:lviii] 1942:155; Pachacuti Y. S. [1613] 1879:283–93.) According to BRUNDAGE’s (1963/1985:318) chronology, he was born in 1488 and was about five in 1493. I have suggested that Mama Ocllo could have been a regent during ca. 1493–1500. (HILTUNEN 1993:144.) She was also the only queen who probably had her own palace beside *Huacaypata* square, the so-called *Mama Huañunca Huasi* (BRUNDAGE 1967/1985:76–77, 94.) It has also been said that Huayna Capac followed her mother’s advices while she lived (Cobo [1653: lib.xii, cap.xvi] 1964:88.) M. ROSTWOROWSKI (1988/1999:105) has speculated that the regent Gualpaya seized the royal tassel upon the death of Tupac Yupanqui, and “Huayna Capac, after ascending to power, erased all memory of this predecessor (Murúa, 1962, chap.29; Sarmiento de Gamboa, chap.57) and, to avoid further pretenders and conflicts, ordered two of his brothers killed (Guaman Poma, 1936, folio 113).”

7 Cabello de Balboa (1586:xxiv) 1951:387–96; Pachacuti Y. S. (1613) 1879:308–11; BRUNDAGE 1963/1985:263–73.

8 See, e.g. REIMERS 1985.

9 HEMMING 1970:86–117.

10 *ibid.*, 95–220.

11 *ibid.*, 276–9.

12 *ibid.*, 280–303.

13 *ibid.*, 416–449.

APPENDIX 3. IMPORTANT CHRONICLERS ON INCA AND PRE-INCAN HISTORY

Clerics			Others		
			1542-44	Quipocamayos	
1550-59	Las Casas, Bartolome de las	D	1550-53	Cieza de León, Pedro de	S
1552	López de Gómara, Francisco	?	1551-57	Betanzos, Juan de	O
1556	Molina (of Santiago), Cristobal de	?	1555	Zárate, Agustín de	O
			1558/1571	Fernández, Diego	S
			1558	Castro-O. Morejón/'Senores'	O
			1559-71	Polo de Ondegardo, Juan	O
			1563	Santillán, Hernando de	J
			1565	Benzoni, Girolamo	?
			1567	Matienzo, Juan	O
			1570	Titu Cusi Yupanqui, Diego	I
			1571	Pizarro, Pedro	S
			1572	Sarmiento de Gamboa, Pedro	S
			1572-75	Toledo, Francisco	O
1573-75	Molina (of Cuzco), Cristobal de	? X			
1575	Roman y Zamora, Jerónimo	A	1584-1615	Guaman Poma de Ayala, Felipe	I
1585?	Atienza, Lope de	?			
1585-90	Anonimo Jesuita/Blas Valera	SJ X			
1586	Cabello de Balboa, Miguel	SJ ?			
1588-90	Acosta, José de	SJ			
1590-1609	Murúa, Martín de	M	1595-1603	Gutiérrez de Santa Clara, Pedro	? X S
1598	Oré, Luis Gerónimo de	F			
1605	Lizárraga, Reginaldo de	D			
1608	Avila, Francisco de	SJ	1609	Garcilaso de la Vega	X
			1613	Pachacuti Yamqui S., Juan de	I
			1615	Herrera, Antonio de	O
1621	Ramos Gavilán, Alonso	A			
1621	Arriaga, Pablo José de	SJ			
1629	Vázquez de Espinoza, Antonio	C			
1630	Salinas Y Córdoba, B. de	F			
1631	Oliva, Anello	SJ			
1638	Calancha, Antonio de la	A			
1642-44	Montesinos, Fernando de	SJ			
1653	Cobo, Bernabé	SJ			

A = Augustinian C = Carmelite D = Dominican F = Franciscan SJ = Jesuit
M = Mercedarian J = Judge O = Official S = Soldier I = Indian X = Mestizo

APPENDIX 4. METHODS OF DYNASTIC PROPAGANDA AND TRADITION CORRUPTION

(According to HENIGE 1974; MOLLOY 1983; MARCUS 1992; HILTUNEN 1993)

I. Synchronisms

1. Parallel dynastic tie-ins
2. Generation staggering and pedigree synharmonia

II. Telescoping / Compressing / “Structural amnesia”

1. “Hour-glass” structuring
2. Epoch-personification
3. Impotent rule deletion
4. Short-term reign deletion
5. Female reign amnesia
6. Foreign dominance amnesia (incl. usurpers and interregnums)
7. Positional succession adjustment
8. Rotational succession adjustment

III. Artificial lengthening

1. Extended father-son succession
2. Regnal span exaggeration (incl. “gerontocracy”)
3. Genealogical parasitism
4. Euhemerism
5. Spurious adjustment
6. Contemporaneity adjusted as successive
7. Present succession patterns inferred into the past
8. Outright fabrication

IV. Miscellaneous methods

1. “Moses-in-the-bulrushes”
2. Multiple reign amnesia
3. Generation slippage

APPENDIX 4b: 10-FORMULAS IN SACRED ORIGINAL DYNASTIES

J. IMBELLONI (1946:59-61) has paid attention to certain numerical formulas occurring in primeval dynasties of antiquity (*El número sacramental de las genealogías heroicas*.) He refers to Heinrich EWALD, who already in 1842 noticed this tendency in dynastic genealogies. The number 10 was sacred and it was interpolated into chronologies of the mythical past. The following examples are from IMBELLONI:

- Hebrew 10 Patriarchs from Adam to Noah (*Genesis*)
- Ten first rulers of the 1st dynasty of Babylon (*Beroso*)
- 10 Patriarchs from Shem to Terah (*Genesis*)
- 10 eponym generations from Tares to David (*Ruth*)
- 10 royal eponyms of Armenia (*Moisés de Khorenas*)
- 10 epic Peshadads in Persia (*Firdusi*)
- 10 Pitris l. “fathers”, who descended from Brahma (*Manava-Dharma-Sastra*)
- China’s 10 divine periods from Pán-ku to Huang-ti, the first legendary emperor (prehistoria china, en *Pauthier*)

- Odin's 10 ancestors in Skandinavia (*Edda*)
- Ten ancient rulers of Arabia (*Abulfeda*)
- The dynasty of first 10 divine kings in Egypt (*Papiro de Turin*)

These examples indicate, that the initial dynastic epochs were often associated with periods of divine or demigodly rulership. This primeval epoch was usually followed by dynasty/dynasties of legendary (mytho-historical) human rulers. Thereafter semi-historical dynasties followed, until the historical periods were arrived at. The hallmarks of universally common, legendary, and sacred dynastic formulas can be set as follows:

1. Extended number of successions
2. Unbroken father-to-son succession
3. Relative uniform regnal spans
4. Exaggerated regnal spans
5. Short and simple names
6. Spurnonyms frequently in the beginning of the line
7. Euhemerized ties to semi- and historical lines

EXAMPLES:

Ethiopia 4530-3244 BC, 21 reigns, Ave. reg. span 61 (TRUHART 1984:96); China 2852-2205 BC, 9 reigns, Ave. reg. span 42 (ibid., 1985:1124.); Armenia 2350-800 BC, 37 reigns, Ave. reg. span 42 (ibid., 1985:1880.)

APPENDIX 5. METHODS AND MOTIVATION FOR FORGERY

I. EXAMPLES OF MOTIVES

1. IDEOLOGY

a) politics

Onomacritus' oracles, Eikon Basilike, Protocols of the Elders of Zion

b) religion

Donation of Constantine, False Decretals, Medieval relic-manufacturing

c) culture-patriotism

Poems of Ossian, Hanka's Bohemian history, Lebor Gabála of Ireland

d) ecology

Speech of Chief Seattle

2. FINANCIAL GAIN

Journalistic hoaxing, Hitler's diaries, UFO photos, art forgeries, Vrain Lucas' letters

3. PSYCHOLOGICAL REASONS

a) 'positive' aims:

*joking and sensationalism:

Cardiff's giant, Columbus' Log, Kensington runestone, Davenport tablets, Loch Ness photos

*'daydreams' and a need to be accepted:

Piltown Man, Psalmanaazaar's Formosa, writings of Thomas Chatterton, writings of Constantine Simonides, Carlos Castaneda's books

b) injurious aims:

(jealousy, hate and revenge)

War-time leaflets, writings of William Lauder, fake and sham testimonies /i.e. alibis

c) motive conflict:

(fear of punishment and 'pet theory' defence)

Fake and sham testimonies, cheating and 'white lies'

II. EXAMPLES OF METHODS

1. Outright fabrication

Psalmanaazaar's Formosa, Kensington runestone, Hitler's diaries

2. Partial falsification

Chief Seattle's speech, Carlos Castaneda's books, war-time leaflets

a) **Interpolation** (fraudulent additions)

b) **Obliteration** (fraudulent deletions)

3. Other characteristics

a) Intertextual modification

- restructuring
- arbitrary compilation of facts

b) Temporal and spatial adjustment

- anachronism
- (trans)localization

c) Authority opportunism

- imprinting (a specific author emphasized)
- plagiarism (true author 'forgotten')

d) Rationalization and elaboration (original 'corrected')

- narrative perfectionism
- historicizing (from fables to 'facts')

Onomacritus “Father of Fakers” was a Greek who gave false oracles and lived around the sixth century B.C. (MacDOUGALL 1958:178-9.) *Eikon Basilike* represents a faked political defense for the executed king Charles I, which was intended to raise antipathy toward the Cromwellian reign (THORNTON 1992:111-3.) *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* is an invented document (written in the 1890s), which presents Jewish conspiratory plans to enslave the world. It has been used by the anti-Semites since then (ibid.,40-5.) *Donations of Constantine* is one of the most influential forgeries ever made (from 8th C). It was intended to prove that bishops of Rome were rightful inheritors and heads of the Christian Church – an allegation believed in for several centuries (MacDOUGALL 1958:194-203; THORNTON 1992:29-33.) *False Decretals* is a collection of faked documents which worked for similar goals as the *Donations of Constantine* (ibid.,31-2.) *Poems of Ossian* are a famous collection of invented ballads (written by MacPherson in the 18th C), which had a remarkable impact on the Scottish culture-patriotism (MacDOUGALL 1958:112-3; SARSILA 1988:71-7.) P. Wenceslaus Hanka was a Czech philologist (in early 19th C), who fabricated manuscripts to recreate old Bohemian history (MacDOUGALL 1958:113.) *Lebor Gabála* fabricated pre-Patrician Irish history, which contains extensive genealogies starting ca. 1500 BC. (HENIGE 1974:59-61.) Chief Seattle’s famous speech has been used by the ecologist movements around the world since the 1960s to awake sympathies for environmental questions. The original speech of the Indian chief must have been altered quite profoundly to reach the desired impact (HILTUNEN 1992.) A few years ago Adolf Hitler’s diaries appeared in Germany. They were written by Konrad Kujau and the *Stern*-magazine paid Kujau a huge sum for the rights of publication - until all was revealed as a fake (SARSILA 1988:15-7.) Vrain Lucas was a succesful French forger who wrote ca. 27 000 letters alleged to have been written by various eminent historical figures - and he got a good payment of them (THORNTON 1992:125-7.)

I have judged Carlos Castaneda’s books in the ‘positive’ category of psychological reasons, even though they appear to have been partially falsified. Richard de MILLE (1990) has stated in his analysis of Castaneda’s books, that they are valid but un-authentic. Since they were not presented as fictitious, but fieldwork experiences of the author and Don Juan, Yaqui shaman, the question of authenticity has been raised. There are many questionable aspects in Castaneda’s writings: contradictions with the known facts of the Yaqui culture, ‘missing’ fieldnotes, plagiarism, the mysterious identity of Don Juan etc. (MILLE, ibid.) The Cardiff’s giant was a statue made by a certain George Hull in N.Y. state in 1868. It was a kind of joke to ‘prove’ to local Biblical creationists that giants existed formerly in the world. It became famous nationwide until the hoax was discovered (FEDER 1990:27-39.) Rather similar was the case of Piltdown Man, found in Sussex in 1911. It was considered a ‘missing link’ and the amateur-scientist Charles Dawson has been accused of its production – although the final truth is still a mystery (ibid.,40-56.) Columbus’ “missing” log-books have appeared every now and then - all of them being forgeries (THORNTON 1992:20–3.) The question of the origin of Amerindians and their cultures has inspired many forgers – especially during the nineteenth century. There are fake *stelae* with Punic, Phoenician, Celtic etc. inscriptions – all made as evidences of trans-Atlantic cultural diffusion. The Davenport *stela* and Kensington stone are perhaps the best known in this category of fake artefacts (FEDER 1992.)

When a literary fake is done well enough, it contains factual information and is fluently written; hence, its consistently fallacious style may often escape even expert’s attention for long time. Psalmanazaar’s description of Formosa was such a work (early 18th C), for instance. Another forger from the same century, Thomas Chatterton (18th C), produced poems and manuscripts with such a skill that he had admirers in spite of his uncovered cheating. Constantine Simonides (19th C), a Greek, was one of the most skilled forgers of all time. He ‘discovered’ numerous ancient manuscripts which historians used as their sources almost at face value for a long time. For more about

these talented forgers, read e.g. FARRER 1907; MacDOUGALL 1958; SARSILA 1988; THORNTON 1992. William Lauder (18th C) was a forger who also had a need to be accepted, but he received serious setbacks in his efforts. Being embittered he produced a series of writings, which contained false information and accusations against the poet John Milton (MacDOUGALL 1958:123; SARSILA 1988:176-8.) For the psychology behind 'white lies' and cheating I found very informative an article by Heidi KÄRK-KÄINEN (1994), where she presents the ideas of Mirja KALLIOPUSKA who is a Docent of Psychology in Helsinki University.

Compiled from FARRER 1907; GEORGE 1909; JOHNSON 1926; MacDOUGALL 1958; PRAUSE 1969; DYMOND 1974; HENIGE 1974; VINCENT 1974; WAUCHOPE 1974; RADNER & RADNER 1982; SARSILA 1988; WARD 1989; CLIFTON 1990; MILLE 1990; FEDER 1990; WILLIAMS 1991; HILTUNEN 1992, 1993; THORNTON 1992; OLRİK 1992; KÄRKKÄINEN (incl. Mirja KALLIOPUSKA) 1994.

APPENDIX 6: NEW CHRONOLOGICAL PARAMETERS FOR DYNASTIC RECORDING (an application from Hiltunen's M.A. thesis)

I have used extensive comparative data on dynastic lists all around the world in my M.A. thesis (1993) *Pyhitetyt valheet: hallitsija, propaganda ja kronologia Mesoamerikassa* (Sanctified lies: rulership, propaganda, and chronology in Mesoamerica). The aim of this study was to test whether the major principles of dynastic propaganda were used in ancient Mesoamerica (and/or among other complex societies in pre-Columbian America). The American cases confirmed that this kind of manipulation has been an universal phenomenon.¹

A basic unit in dynastic lists is the reign. Actually there is no such a notion than an average regnal span. It is only an artificial parameter used in chronological constructions when dynastic records are naught, poorly documented, or traditional figures appear unrealistic. Historians have often mixed and correlated regnal spans with a dynastic generation. However, these two coexist only when a primogenitural succession was not interrupted. Otherwise, prolonged father-to-son successions are extremely rare in confirmed dynastic histories (see appendix 6c). Cross-cultural data indicates also, that the European dynasties tend to have more frequently extended father-to-son successions than non-European cases. Equally, regnal span averages in Europe have been significantly higher than elsewhere.²

When historians and anthropologists have selected regnal span averages for calculative purposes they usually have picked up examples from the European societies only, and were content to use but a small sample of comparative data – referring willingly to such known cases like England and France. Hence, averages up to 25 years

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- 1 Altogether, some 13,000 reigns and 1000 dynasties have been studied and compared. Principal sources are: STOKVIS (1888); WISE & EGAN (1968); CARPENTER (1978); ROSS (1980); TAPSELL (1983); and TRUHART (1984-8). From the Americas I used dynastic data of Palenque, Tikal, Copan, Petexbatun, Yaxchilán, Tilantongo, Toltec, Totonac, Culhuacan, Aztepotzalco-Tlacopan, Cuitlahuac-Ticic, Toltitlan, Tlaxcala, Quiche, Caxchiquel, Tarascan, Cuauhtitlan, Xochimilco, Chimu, Zaachila, Texcoco, Tenochtitlan, Inca and Miskito.
 - 2 The European average approaches 20 years, while in Asia and Africa the average is three or four years lower. The highest averages can be found in the Central European Medieval principalities: 23-24 years. (HILTUNEN 1993:226-9.)

were resulted. With figures like this the margin of chronological error increases progressively when generational depth grows beyond a few first successions. To avoid this problem and discrepancy, I chose comparative data exclusively from the non-European ancient societies. The Modern period examples are included only in those few cases when the ancient line of succession extended to later times (e.g. in Far East). In comparison with the pre-Columbian dynasties of America, the best analogies came from Asia.³ Most African and Polynesian dynasties are excluded, because the documentation of these is poor and historical depth relatively thin. Appropriate data for comparative purposes can be derived from cases of hereditary monarchies only.⁴ Although this form of government was overwhelmingly dominant before the modern era, I found it relevant to exclude nomadic dynasties (Turks, Mongols, Arabs etc.) from the sample. This is because their dynastic histories were usually more turbulent and incoherent than among more stabilized, sedentary societies. The nomadic states were relatively short-lived with regnal spans clearly below the cross-cultural averages.⁵ Furthermore, examples are all chosen from the better documented historical periods only. Remote past data is avoided, except in those few cases (mainly from the Near East) when the dynastic records appears reliable enough.⁶ I have calculated dynastic regnal averages for three categorial groups separately: short or singular dynasties (up to 12 successions), macrodynasties (13 to 35 successions), and extended or multiple dynasties (36 up to over hundred successions). This is because the averages irrevocably decrease when the dynastic line extends through multiple, cumulative successions. The summary of my calculative results are as follows (compare Appendix 6b):

1. MULTIPLE DYNASTIES

Ancient Near East	14.8 yrs
India and adjacent areas	14.9 yrs
Far East	14.6 yrs
	<hr/> 14.8 yrs

2. MACRODYNASTIES

Ancient Near East	16.0 yrs
India and adjacent areas	17.2 yrs
Far East	16.2 yrs
	<hr/> 16.5 yrs

3. SINGULAR DYNASTIES

Extended father-to-son succession	20.4 yrs.
Other cases	18.5 yrs. ⁷

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- 3 The best examples are in the ancient Near East, including Egypt and Mesopotamia.
- 4 Presidential and electoral governments are excluded, for instance.
- 5 HILTUNEN 1993. One example: 38 Khans ruled at Golden Horde during A.D. 1227-1502, allowing only 7.2 years per reign! (TAPSELL 1983:280-1.)
- 6 The factors of dynastic propaganda and manipulation of the king lists have been taken in account too.
- 7 HILTUNEN 1993. The highest averages in singular dynasties are usually reached when an extended father-to-son succession occurred. In these cases 20.4 year yardstick could be used (see appendix 6c). In most other cases the mean figure falls around 18 or 19 years. These results and figures have been re-checked for the present study. David ROHL (1995:379-81, appendix B) compared also dynastic records (329 reigns) of 19 ancient Near Eastern states and arrived at an average regnal span of 16.75 years, which correlates with

APPENDIX 6B: THE AVERAGE REGNAL SPAN FOR CALCULATION PURPOSES

Dynasties are grouped in two categories: middle-size macro-dynasties and extended multiple-dynasties. This is because the regnal span average irrevocably decreases when the dynastic line extends. The numeral limits for these categories are chosen rather arbitrary: macrodynasties (13 up to 35 successions) and multiple dynasties (from 36 up to over a hundred successions.) Short, singular dynasties (below 12 successions) are not included here.

A: MACRODYNASTIES

Ancient Near East (- up to ca. A.D.600.)

	Period	Nr. of reigns	Average	
EGYPT (Old K.)	?2686-2181 BC.	33	15.3	(ROSS 1980:169-70.)
EGYPT (Middle K.)	2133-1786 BC.	15	23.1	(ROSS,172-3; TRUHART,139)
ESHNUNNA	?2030-1727 BC.	21	14.4	(ROSS 1980:198.)
LARSA	2025-1763 BC.	14	18.7	(ibid., 323.)
ISIN	2017-1794 BC.	15	14.8	(ibid., 276.)
EGYPT (New K.)	1552-1070 BC.	32	15.0	(TRUHART 1984:143-4.)
HATTI	?1430-1203 BC.	14	16.2	(ibid., 2135.)
ISRAEL	?1015- 732 BC.	21	13.4	(ibid., 2073.)
TYRE	?990- 694 BC.	17	17.4	(ROSS 1980:543-4.)
JUDAH	922- 587 BC.	23	14.5	(TAPSELL 1983:353.)
NAPATA	?760- 319 BC.	26	16.9	(TAPSELL 1983:302.)
MACEDONIA	588- 309 BC.	27	10.3	(TRUHART 1986:2877.)
PERSIA	559- 330 BC.	13	17.6	(TRUHART 1985:1995.)
CARIA	?520- 320 BC.	13	15.4	(ibid., 2141.)
SPARTA (Eryyp.)	491- 227 BC.	13	20.3	(TRUHART 1986:2870.)
SPARTA (Agid)	488- 219 BC.	19	14.1	(ibid., 2869-70.)
MACCABEES	413- 37 BC.	25	15.0	(TRUHART 1985:2075.)
EGYPT (Lagids)	305- 30 BC.	18	15.2	(TAPSELL 1983:290.)
PONTUS	301 BC- 27 AD.	13	25.2	(TRUHART 1985:2144.)
CAPPADOCIA	301 BC- 17 AD.	20	15.9	(ibid., 2141.)
NABATHEA	?169 BC-106 AD.	13	21.1	(ibid., 1802.)
PARTHIA	140 BC-128 AD.	24	11.1	(ibid., 1959.)
OSRHOENE	132 BC-242 AD.	29	12.9	(TAPSELL 1983:354-5.)
MESENE	127 BC-112 AD.	15	15.9	(TRUHART 1985:1958.)
HIMYAR	?245- 577 AD.	22	15.0	(TAPSELL 1983:361.)
SASANIDS	208- 651 AD.	32	13.8	(ibid., 382-3.)
AXUM	?486- 915 AD.	28	<u>15.3</u>	(TRUHART 1984:101-2.)
			16.0	

.....
 my figure. Besides ROHL, I have found reasonable regnal span averages used in the works of Samuel LAING (1844:383, in his edition of *Heimskringla*), F.E. PARGITER (1922:179-83, in his study of ancient Indian tradition), and Eli LILLY (1954:275-6, in Indiana Historical Society's edition of *Walam Olum*). LAING allowed 18 year averages for ancient Saxon and Scandinavian dynastic genealogies. PARGITER used the same figure in building up hypothetical chronologies for several extensive Vedic Era king lists documented in *Puranas*. Interestingly, Eli Lilly used a low mean figure - ca. 14 years - in testing a chronological framework for the list of some one hundred Lenape chieftains, accounted in the ancient North American chronicle of *Walam Olum*. Moreover, Ivor WILKS (1964:396-8) used a figure of 14.787 for average expectation of reign in his chronology of the Akwapim state in Ghana. Compare also attempts to build up reasonable chronologies for early Sumerian king lists with incredible regnal spans, e.g. in YOUNG 1988, 1991.

India and adjacent areas (- up to ca. A.D.1600)

GUPTA	?310- 550 AD.	13	18.4	(TRUHART 1985:1347.)
TOMARA	736- 1152 AD.	20	20.8	(ibid., 1382.)
PARAMARA	792- 1150 AD.	17	21.0	(ibid., 1426.)
CHOLA	?846- 1310 AD.	25	18.5	(ibid., 1494-5.)
CHUDASMA	907-1472 AD.	29	19.5.	(TAPSELL 1983:417-8)
CHAULUKYA	941- 1240 AD.	14	21.3	(FRUHART, ibid., 1406-7.)
GANGAWAMSA	1132-1452 AD.	18	17.7	(ibid., 1451-2.)
MITHILA	1325-1532 AD.	14	14.8	(ibid., 1392.)
VIJAYANAGAR	1336-1685 AD.	31	11.2	(ibid., 1510.)
BAHMANI SAHI	1347-1526 AD.	16	11.2	(ibid., 1518-9.)
KHANDESH	1370-1601 AD.	16	14.4	(ibid., 415.)
			<u>17.2</u>	

Far East (- up to ca. A.D. 1600)

QIN	821- 337 BC.	26	18.6	(TRUHART 1985:1135-6.)
WEI	812- 209 BC.	34	17.7	(ibid., 1137-8.)
CHENG	805- 374 BC.	25	17.2	(ibid., 1139-40.)
CHU (Xiong)	740- 223 BC.	26	19.9	(ibid., 1128-9.)
QI	685- 221 BC.	24	19.3	(ibid., 1132.)
JIN	679- 375 BC.	21	14.5	(ibid., 1135.)
TAMPADIPA	613- 878 AD.	15	17.6	(ibid., 1652.)
BOHAI	698- 926 AD.	14	16.3	(ibid., 1164-5.)
JAVA (Sanjaya)	?732- 947 AD.	13	16.5	(ibid., 1698.)
PAGAN	1044-1325 AD.	14	20.0	(TAPSELL 1983:483-4.)
SINGAS.-MAJAPAH.	1222-1478 AD.	18	14.2	(TRUHART 1985:1699-17.)
KENG TUNG	1243-1501 AD.	16	16.1	(ibid., 1661.)
TERNATE	1257-1533 AD.	21	13.1	(ibid., 1696.)
PEGU	1287-1581 AD.	23	12.8	(ibid., 1657-8.)
TAUNG-NU	1296-1540 AD.	18	13.5	(ibid., 1655.)
AVA	1364-1555 AD.	15	12.7	(TAPSELL 1983:484-5.)
			<u>16.2</u>	

Average 16.5

B: MULTIPLE DYNASTIES

BABYLON	?1894- 539 BC.	104	13.0	(ROSS 1980:59-62.)
ASSYRIA	1813- 609 BC.	83	14.5	(TAPSELL 1983:375-6.)
BOSPORUS	?480 BC-342 AD.	52	15.8	(ibid., 271-2.)
ARMENIA	401 BC-387 AD.	55	14.3	(ROSS 1980:33-6.)
GEORGIA	30 -1727 AD.	102	16.6	(TAPSELL,345;ROSS,224)
			<u>14.8</u>	
MAGADHA	546- 28 BC.	42	12.3	(TRUHART 1985:1346-7.)
CEYLON	483 BC-1508 AD.	175	11.4	(ROSS 1980:128-33.)
KESARI	474-1132 AD.	44	14.9	(TRUHART 1985:1448-9.)
GANGA	?496-1432 AD.	56	16.7	(ibid., 1447-8.)
KASHMIR	596-1589 AD.	89	11.1	(TAPSELL 1983:419-21.)
TIBET	?600-1641 AD.	43	24.2	(TRUHART 1985:1064-6.)
CHALUKYA (East)	611-1118 AD.	35	14.4	(ibid., 1493.)
NEPAL	?879-1768 AD.	63	14.1	(TAPSELL 1983:422-3.)
			<u>14.9</u>	

CHINA	221 BC-1912 AD.	178	12.0	(TAPSELL 1983:456-60.)
SILLA-KORYO	57 BC-1392 AD.	91	15.9	(ROSS 1980:314-7.)
JAPAN	259-1989 AD.	117	14.8	(TAPSELL 1983:480-2.)
CHAMPA	?270-1471 AD.	77	15.6	(ibid., 493-5.)
CHENLA-KHMER	?500-1420 AD.	56	16.4	(TRUHART 1985:1729-31.)
NANCHAO	649-1253 AD.	44	13.7	(ibid., 1173-4.)
VIETNAM	1009-1788 AD.	55	14.1	(ibid., 495-7.)
			<u>14.6</u>	

Average 14.8

APPENDIX 6c: EXTENDED FATHER-SON SUCCESSION IN DYNASTIC HISTORIES

A transference of royal power from father to son, or rather to the eldest one (a principle of primogenitura), is commonly considered a norm and ideal in dynastic successions. In practise, this seldom realized except through few successive generations. David HENIGE (1974) has studied this problem and practise, and noticed that the cases when father-to-son succession exceeds eight to ten successions are extremely rare in well documented phases of historical dynasties. In these cases the average dynastic generation can be estimated and counted. HENIGE (1974:72) worked that way, and chose the following comparative examples for his study:

Ampurias	11 successions	931-1313	34.9
France	11 "	996-1316	29.1
Foix	10 "	1070-1391	32.1
Lippe-Detmold	15 "	1196-1650	30.3
Nassau-Weilburg	13 "	1472-1866	30.3
Brandenburg-Prussia	11 "	1486-1786	27.3
Denmark	10 "	1534-1839	<u>30.3</u>
			30.6
Assam (Ahom)	10 "	1407-1644	23.7
Hué (Nguyen)	12 "	1485-1777	24.4
		total average	26.2

I present here a more extensive comparative data, which - contrary to HENIGE's sample - is selected from non-European societies. The minimum number of generations used here is eight.

Near East

ASSYRIA	1013 - 772 BC.	11	21.9	(TAPSELL 1983:375-6.)
EGYPT	947 - 725 BC.	9	24.6	(ROSS 1980:177.)
JUDAH	835 - 608 BC.	10	22.7	(ROSS 1980:294-5.)
FATIMIDS	909 - 1130 AD.	10	22.1	(TAPSELL 1983:291.)
ASSASSINS	1090 - 1256 AD.	8	20.7	(TRUHART 1985:2039.)
SHOA	1700 - 1865 AD.	9	18.3	(TAPSELL 1983:319.)
			<u>21.7</u>	

India and adjacent areas

ASSAM	355 - 594	12	19.9	(TAPSELL 1983:426-5.)
SAURASHTRA	907 - 1400	25	19.7	(TAPSELL 1983:417-8.)
TIBET	1013 - 1624	25	24.4	(TRUHART 1985:1066.)
JAIPUR	1128 - 1534	18	22.5	(TAPSELL 1983:411.)
ORISSA	1192 - 1434	11	22.0	(TAPSELL 1983:428-9.)
JAFFNA	1215 - 1450	11	21.3	(TAPSELL 1983:448.)
RAJASTAN	1537 - 1761	12	18.7	(TAPSELL 1983:408-9.)
KACHH	1654 - 1948	13	22.6	(TAPSELL 1983:418.)
UIDAPUR	1597 - 1761	10	16.4	(TAPSELL 1983:408.)
			20.3	

Far East

CHENG	672 - 500 BC.	10	17.2	(TAPSELL 1983:464.)
CHOU	606 - 368 BC.	11	21.6	(TAPSELL 1983:455.)
YEN	601 - 222 BC.	24	15.8	(TAPSELL 1983:463.)
LU	509 - 255 BC.	11	23.0	(TAPSELL 1983:450-1.)
HAN	399 - 238 BC.	9	17.9	(TAPSELL 1983:467.)
TANG	712 - 827	8	14.3	(TAPSELL 1983:458.)
ARAKAN	788 - 957	9	18.7	(TAPSELL 1983:486.)
KOREA	1211 - 1349	8	17.2	(TAPSELL 1983:479.)
NA-KHI	1382 - 1671	15	19.3	(TRUHART 1985:1175-6.)
KEDAH	1472 - 1709	10	23.7	(TRUHART 1985:1751.)
BANTAM	1526 - 1690	8	20.5	(TAPSELL 1983:504.)
CHINA	1616 - 1875	10	25.9	(TAPSELL 1983:460.)
			19.6	

Average: 20.4

APPENDIX 6d: EXTENDED REGNAL SPANS IN DYNASTIC LISTS

A common feature in certain dynastic lists, which are referring to remote antiquity, is regnal span exaggeration. To find out a probable and reasonable distributional frequency for extended reigns (50 years and over) *de facto*, I compared ca. 13,000 confirmed regnal spans (out of some 1000 dynasties, including Europe) by consulting R.F. TAPSELL's book *Monarchs, Rulers, Dynasties and Kingdoms of the World* (1983). The dynasties are selected from the well documented historical periods only, and their continental distribution is as follows:

Europe	ca. 305 dynasties	ca. 4210 rulers
Asia	ca. 555 "	ca. 7100 "
Africa	ca. 120 "	ca. 1775 "
Oseania	3 "	17 "
America	7 "	85 "
	990 "	13 187

In TAPSELL's listing the regnal spans are not given for some 70 rulers in Africa, 224 in Asia, and 8 in America. These have been subtracted from the calculations below. The extended reigns are divided into the following categories: 50-59 years, 60-69 years, 70-79 years, and 80 odd years.

Continent	Total nr. of reigns	50+	60+	70+	80+	Total	Percentage
Europe	4210	91	29	7	1	128	3.0
Asia	6876	114	37	9	2	16	2.3
Africa	1705	20	3	-	1	24	1.4
Oseania	17	1	-	-	-	1	
Americas	37	1	-	-	-	1	
	12 845	227	69	16	4	316	2.4

The following deductions ensued:

- One reign is likely to exceed 50 years per each 40 successions.
- One reign is likely to exceed 60 years per each 145 successions.
- One reign is likely to exceed 70 years per each 640 successions.
- One reign is likely to exceed 80 years per each 3200 successions.

Another embellishment commonly used in dynastic propaganda is an image of uninterrupted succession. Actually usurpations broke dynastic lines in a general frequency of every fourth or fifth succession. According to TULLOCK (1987:162), this occurred in about every fifth succession. I arrived at the mean coefficient 4.3 by comparing dynasties of Babylonia, Assyria, Judah, Abbasid-caliphs, Khmer, England, Ottoman-turks, Vijayanagar, and Russia (altogether 368 reigns, of which 85 rulers were deposed by usurpation) (HILTUNEN 1993:167.) I also used my data for checking the distribution and occurrence of female reigns among dynasties in general. Out of 9200 reigns in total (from TAPSELL 1983), there were 210 women or 2.3 %. (HILTUNEN 1993:239-44.)

EXAMPLES of some historical "Methuselahs":

Pepi II (Egypt) 2269-2175 BC. 94 yrs.; Tae-jo (Koguro) 53-146. 93 yrs.; William I (Toulouse) 950-1037. 87 yrs.; Gedun Truppa (Tibet) 1391-1475. 84 yrs.

APPENDIX 7: PRINCIPLES OF LIFE AND SURVIVAL OF ORAL NARRATIVES (according to Axel Olrik)

Axel OLRİK was a Danish professor of folklore who specialized himself in Medieval Scandinavian folklore, legends, and comparative religion. He wrote numerous articles and books related with these topics, but his major work, *Nogle Grundsætninger for Sagnforskning* ([1921] 1992: Principles for Oral Narrative Research) was composed between 1905 and 1917. Only a portion of this book, the famous "Epic Laws" (translated to German and English) have been widely known until 1992, when the first complete English edition appeared.

It has been said that OLRİK's *Principles* represent the most comprehensive methodology in research of oral verbal art ever devised by a single person (Bengt HOLBEK in Introduction of 1992 edition.) "The formulation of laws that govern folktales and distinguish them from other forms of narration influenced the analysis of folklore and had a great impact also on literary and biblical studies" (Dan BEN-AMOS 1992:introduction.) "These sets of propositions become in themselves a deductive model which is applicable to narrative traditions of different peoples in different languages and cultural areas"..... "The 'epic laws' are diagnostic tools with which a trained person can recognize the oral qualities of a text that is currently available in script or print" (ibid.)

Sources of OLRİK's research largely originated from the old Scandinavian tradition, *sagas* and heroic legends. He had a special interest in Saxo Grammaticus and his *Gesta Danorum*, and both his M.A. and Ph.D. theses concentrate on the first nine of Saxo's sixteen "books" – those which deal with prehistoric times. He indicated that a large portion of Saxo's Danish tradition actually derived from the Icelandic and Norwegian sources. By the inspiration of Danish narratives in *Gesta Danorum* "he developed the epic laws, which were, then, means of discerning oral material in ancient literary sources" (HOLBEK 1992:introduction.)

Selected modification formats from A. Olrik's Principles:

(Including examples of how Montesinos' text illustrates these principles. Passages which most likely can be connected with the modifications found in Montesinos are italicized):

§32...*The most common characteristic is a tendency to elaborate the style so as to elevate it to the level of the reader's taste. The setting and the characters are also commonly elaborated. Conversely, what is vulgar or offensive is often omitted. Similarly, what is too unbelievable is avoided, or rather, it is replaced by something similar that looks less unreasonable (i.e., is rationalized). Compare e.g. Montesinos' style as a Baroque author.*

§36. *When two forms of the same narrative are told as independent events following each other without the narrator realizing their close connection, they present a special form of conflation called 'doublets. It is probable that certain characters and events in Montesinos' narrative may be these kinds of 'doublets'.*

§91. *The changes which the narratives are most constantly subjected are 'reduction' and 'expansion'. Reductions results from faulty memory or poor narrative ability; expansion is due to the desire for a lively and full presentation. As has been noted, Montesinos obviously made these kinds of modifications, and perhaps similar changes occurred in the 'original text' also. Compare also dynastic propaganda.*

§96...*The beginning and ending of the narrative ('the free ends of the narrative') offer the least resistance to change. Here, additions - forward or backward in time - are most easily made; but straightforward transformation also happens more easily here, because the narrative situation is not squeezed in between the given parts of the plot. We can find that the beginning and closing parts of Montesinos' narrative are packed with events, while the central portions have remained comparatively plain. This could also have resulted from dynastic propaganda, which frequently used 'hour-glass' formulation.*

§97. The individual reasons for change are primarily the following:

1. Within the narrative itself: a) to clarify a blurred point in the plot; b) to illustrate an important episode; c) to bring the acting characters in close connection with the protagonist and the plot of the narrative; d) *to provide fuller development, better argumentation, and further effects of the events mentioned in the narrative.*
2. In the mind of the narrator: a) *a need to shape the plot in such a way that it corresponds to the sympathy he feels...*b) *to bring the plot into agreement with what he considers reasonable (rationalism), either by removing what seems to him unreasonable, or by consciously emphasizing its incredibility.*
3. *From other narrative material: the narrative is mixed with or on some points is brought closer to other narratives that the narrator knows.*
4. *From the external world: the narrative is influenced by circumstances close to the narrator in time and space with regard to a) the mentality of his period and b) external reality.*

In intermixing Biblical characters and chronologies into his narrative, Montesinos did these kinds of modifications.

§100. A particular reason for change among those features of a narrative originating in the narrator's own mind is rationalism, i.e., an endeavor to abolish the existing contrast between the fantastic way of thinking in the narrative and his own idea about what is sensible. Rationalism may develop in two directions:

a) *Historicizing, i.e., features that are too fantastic are supplanted by the closest possible features from what is considered the real world. This technique is used when the narrator considers the narrative to be essentially true.*

b) *Ironizing or parodying, travesty, i.e., the narrator himself tells the unbelievable, but he intimates that he finds it unreasonable.*

Montesinos historicized Andean tradition into Judeo-Christian concepts and temporal frameworks.

§114. *Altogether, a Law of Approximation applies to the life of the narrative. The narrator will move its horizon, its scenery, and its setting within what he knows, giving the individual expressions, notions, and personal names a familiar color.*

Montesinos seemingly built his narrative setting within the 'horizons' of the better known Incas and his own Judeo-Christian world.

§117. *The most decisive proof that a narrative originated in a horizon alien to the narrator is found when he places it within one horizon, whereas its own proper names, incomprehensible to him, reveal it as belonging to another horizon.*

§118. The traditions of a people may to a great extent preserve the old horizon, even though the people emigrate. Thus the Anglo-Saxon heroic tradition has a horizon that corresponds to the ancient homes of the people in the arenas by the North Sea and the Baltic.

As the present study has indicated, the names of the ancient kings in Montesinos' list seem to contain a marked Puquina and Aymara impact within its Quechuanized appearance - an indication of an ancient origin.

§119. A narrative is said to be 'localized' when it is not only placed at a certain scene, but also connected to certain places in such a way that they are perceived as evidence of the truthfulness of the narrative...

§128. *Even if the original basis of localization disappears, the narrative tradition often finds a new feature that suits the plot, or to which it may be adjusted.*

§129 The origin of localization. Localization can come into existence in three ways:

1. The content of the narrative may essentially be in agreement with the real events and be a real record of local conditions.

2. The narrative may come into existence as the imaginative explanation of some conspicuous circumstance or other (origin legend, etiological narrative)

3. An already existing narrative may be placed in a new setting and localized there. The seat of Inca Cuzco may be an example of this kind of (trans)localization. In Montesinos' narrative this city had a history extending through several ages, although its archaeological span is much shorter.

§130. *In folklore, the localized narrative is always derived from a real event, and its localization reveals a trace of what really happened. Compare e.g. Vilcañota localization.*

§135. A conception that is retained in the tradition of the people, even though its actual meaning is forgotten, is called a 'survival' or 'rudiment'.

§138. Within narratives, survivals may appear partly as epic survivals, partly as cultural survivals.

§141. *Any break of the epic coherence must, at least for more poetically elaborated oral narrative composition, be considered a survival of a historical reality that has not been totally incorporated, or as a survival of a narrative form.*

In Montesinos' narration this kind of break occurs between the closing events of Tampu-Tocco-period and the rise of the Incas.

§142...*A narrative arises out of survivals from a vanished culture when a permanent or frequently repeated cultural feature ceases to exist, but is remembered as an event (or as part of an event) that once happened.*

Compare e.g. references to Vilcañota-border battles in Montesinos.

§193. Subordinate characters with identical roles in the narrative are merged into one character.

§194. *Characters with the same name (1) are confused, or (2) are merged into one.* Several namesakes occur in Montesinos' king list. It is highly probable that some of them were confused or merged.

§195. *Original time intervals are completely disregarded insofar as they do not express a certain causal relation. It is obvious that the native Andean concept of time and history expressed in their tradition became modified and restructured into European schemes by the early chroniclers.*

APPENDIX 7B: THE CASE OF SAXO GRAMMATICUS¹

Saxo Grammaticus was a famous Danish clerical author, whose occupation, focus of writing, and posthumous reputation has much in common with Montesinos. His case illustrates certain problems which our approach to the Montesinos-theme has brought forth. Saxo worked with orally transmitted written tradition, and produced an epic narrative of Danish history in the 13th century. Alleged as a fabulist historian, he had a reputation which also has supported conjectures of hoaxing.²

Saxo Grammaticus lived in the twelfth century (c. 1155–1220), which has been labeled as '1100s Renaissance'.³ Very little is known of his life, and some pieces of this information have simply been deduced from his major work *Gesta Danorum* 'Story of the Danes', which he wrote between ca. 1185 and 1216.⁴ He was a Sjælland Danish by birth and obviously had a good education, since he worked his productive years as a secretary under Bishop Absalom at Lund. He seems to have been a cleric, although the extant scanty facts do not prove this indisputable.⁵ However, he was a patriotic, enthusiastic writer, who got willing support from his mentor, Bishop Absalom.⁶

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1 I am indebted to Lauri KEMPPINEN (1996, personal communication at the Advanced Seminar in Cultural History, Turku University) of the idea to consult Saxo Grammaticus and his work.

2 For Saxo Grammaticus and his works, see Saxo Grammaticus (1208-18) 1905, introduction by Frederick POWELL; Saxo Grammaticus 1979-80, commentary by Hilda Ellis DAVIDSON; JOHANNESSEN 1978; STRAND 1980; SKOVGAARD-PETERSEN 1987, 1988.

3 JOHANNESSEN 1978:308-12; STRAND 1980:18-23. Saxo was probably born after 1150 and before 1158, according to POWELL 1905:7 (Introduction in Saxo Grammaticus). I set his birthdate arbitrarily in the middle of these dates.

4 See, e.g. JOHANNESSEN 1978; STRAND 1980; Saxo Grammaticus 1905, introduction; Saxo Grammaticus 1979-80, introduction and commentary.

5 See, e.g. Saxo Grammaticus 1905 (Introduction):6-17; JOHANNESSEN 1978:308-339; Saxo Grammaticus/Hilda Ellis DAVIDSON 1979-80: 1-13; STRAND 1980:268-76.

6 Saxo Grammaticus 1905 (Introduction):5-17; JOHANNESSEN 1978:passim.

Gesta Danorum was a work ordered by Bishop Absalom, and it was well fitting into the prevailing socio-political atmosphere in Denmark. The 'Twelfth century Renaissance' was an active time for tracing traditions, not only from the Greek and Roman antiquity, but from local sources as well. At that time the best and most famous Icelandic *Eddas* were written: e.g. Snorri Sturluson's *Heimskringla*. In the meantime Geoffrey of Monmouth wrote his *Historia Regnum Britanniae*, and both these works had an impact on Saxo's History of the Danes.⁷ *Gesta Danorum* contains 16 books, which are thematically divided into four groups of four: books 1-4 are telling tales of the world before Christ, books 5-8 covering the prehistoric period until the Conversion (c. 800), books 9-12 about the growth of the new church in Denmark, and books 13-16 treating the time from establishment of the archbishoprics until Saxo's time.⁸ The themes of Saxo's work concentrated exclusively on dynastic affairs, conquests, succession disputes, and personal deeds of heroic rulers. The first eight books contain 'histories' of some 60 prehistoric kings of Denmark, and the rest treats historically known events from the ninth century to Saxo's own time (c. 1200).⁹

*'Huggery-muggery Saxo Grammaticus
as a historian hadn't much flair;
One might have said he was Supererogatory,
had he not mentioned the Hamlet Affair'*

James MICHIE¹⁰

Writes Ellis DAVIDSON (1980): "These lines sum up fairly enough, albeit a little cynically, the general opinion of the work of Saxo Grammaticus held by English scholars. There is a tendency to assume that he collected his information in magpie fashion, wherever its glitter caught his roving eye, and assembled it uncritically in the early books of his history in a rich but disorganised way. The first nine books...are regarded by many as no more than a hotch-potch of ancient legends, speeches from heroic poems, selections from Icelandic sagas, rationalised myths, bits of Danish folklore, references to genealogies, echoes from Latin chronicles, and snippets from Virgil, Valerius Maximus, Martianus Capella and other approved authors who featured in university syllabuses of the early Middle Ages. His Latin style is recognised by all as being of an elaboration unusual for his time, and consequently not easy to read; it is to this, it is assumed, that he owes his title of Grammaticus."¹¹

The Ms *Gesta Danorum* was first published in 1514.¹² It became popular and was received with considerable enthusiasm, especially in Scandinavia. Particularly in the 19th century Romance, its interestingness increased enormously. Scholarly debate ensued also, circling around the questions of Saxo's general reliability and the

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7 JOHANNESON 1978:308-39; Saxo Grammaticus/Hilda Ellis DAVIDSON 1979-80:1-14; STRAND 1980:8-28; URPIAINEN 1993:119-28. Two other major works possibly influenced him: Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Anglorum* and Paulus Diaconus' *Historia Langobardorum*. Saxo probably modeled his *Gesta Danorum* on these two national histories, which he cited (M. EMELITY in *Dictionary of Scandinavian History* 1986:524-5. Ed. by Byron J. Nordstrom. Greenwood Press: Westport & London.) Paulus Diaconus worked in the court of Charlemagne and completed his work ca. A.D. 780 (SKOVGAARD-PETERSEN 1987:70-3.) For Icelandic *Eddas*, see e.g. KRISTJANSSON 1988.

8 Saxo Grammaticus 1905; Saxo Grammaticus/Hilda Ellis DAVIDSON 1979-80:6.

9 Saxo Grammaticus 1905; Saxo Grammaticus 1979-80.

10 Saxo Grammaticus/Hilda Ellis DAVIDSON 1979-80:1.

11 *ibid.*

12 Saxo Grammaticus 1905 (Introduction by F.Y. POWELL):9-16.

authenticity of historical content in his epic work.¹³ Since then, several scholars have studied Saxo's works and some steps toward re-evaluation have been taken. Kurt JOHANSSON (1978), for instance, has pointed out that Saxo Grammaticus was one of the most talented prosaists in his times, and his primary aim was not to write a history of his people in the ordinary sense (he used no dates for example), but give a special attention for artistic expression, moral teachings, canonic laws, philosophical questions, allegories, natural phenomena etc.¹⁴ More recently studies of Saxo have been done by Inge SKOVGAARD-PETERSEN (1987, 1988).¹⁵ She has paid a special attention to sources of Saxo's inspiration and his view of history, and strengthened the argument that numerous exterior, non-Danish sources influenced him. Saxo's history ought to be seen as an utopian one, but for many present day Danes it still seems to be a good source of patriotism, which has provided to Denmark its prehistory.¹⁶ With reference to Saxo's sources, "he claims that he had looked at, decyphered and translated old songs carved on stone. Secondly, he emphasizes that learned Icelanders had told him much about Danish history, and finally he mentions what Absalom had told him of his own and other's experiences".¹⁷

Iceland's isolated location made it an ideal place for preserving ancient Scandinavian language and lore in the more original form through centuries. Its *skaldic* literature and *eddaic* poetry flourished between A.D. 800 and 1200, and produced the finest and most famous *sagas* of the time. As has been told, the most eminent Icelandic author was Snorri Sturluson (1179-1241).¹⁸ His *Heimskringla* is a fine compilation of kings' *sagas* and an epic of the Norwegian nation and royal house.

At least two principal sources influenced Saxo's dynastic narrative. These are the so-called *Ynglingatal/saga* and the *Skjoldungasaga*. The former is preserved in its most complete form in Snorri Sturluson's *Heimskringla*, and the latter in the work of a Danish scholar, Arngrimur Jónsson.¹⁹ The *ynglingas* were primarily the ancient kings of Sweden (and progenitors of the Norwegian royal house), and the *skjoldungas* former kings of Sjælland (major island in Denmark). The king lists contain 36 and 38 names, respectively.²⁰ In the beginning of both lists few names of gods and demigods are

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13 *ibid.*; JOHANNESSON 1978:7-17; URPIAINEN 1993:passim. See also SKOVGAARD-PETERSEN 1987.

14 JOHANNESSON 1978:passim. Saxo Grammaticus/Hilda Ellis DAVIDSON 1979-80:2-14.

15 SKOVGAARD-PETERSEN has published several studies on Saxo, and her dissertation, *Datidernes herre var naer. Studier i Saxos historiesyn*, was published in 1987.

16 SKOVGAARD-PETERSEN 1987:passim; 1988:93. Saxo for the presentday Danes, see e.g. *Danmarks historie*, Bind 10. Historiens historie. Redigeret af Soren Morch. Gyldendahl: Copenhagen. 1992:24-7.

17 SKOVGAARD-PETERSEN 1988:88.

18 KRISTJANSSON 1988:passim.

19 The *Ynglingasaga* begins with the demigod Odin's journey from Asia to Scandinavia. He settled with his followers first in Sweden and established a kingdom there (in Uppsala). After several successions an internal strife ensued, and some refugees migrated to Norway and founded an independent state there. The name of their first king was Halfdan Whiteleg (*Hvitbein*). The rest of the chronicle treats about the Norwegian dynastic history. See, *Heimskringla* 1844; TRUHART 1986, Part III/1:2809-11 (Denmark), 2836-8 (Norway), 2846-8 (Sweden); URPIAINEN 1993:119-28. According to Andrew A. STOMBERG 1931:70-6 *A History of Sweden*, The MacMillan Company: New York, Snorri's *Ynglingasaga* is principally based on a poem by Thjodolf of Hvin for the purpose to show the glorious ancestry of Ragnvald, cousin of Harold Fairhair of Norway. Therefore a connection was made with the ancient family of Uppsala kings. For the early Swedish rulers, see e.g. NERMAN 1952. The most current and complete study of the *Ynglingasaga* is Claus KRAG's (1991) *Ynglingatal og ynglingesaga*. The original text of *Skjoldungasaga* is lost, but it is preserved in Latin translation or retelling by Arngrimur Jónsson the Learned (1568-1648), whereas some matters related with it have been preserved in other sources too (KRISTJANSSON 1988:163.)

20 See e.g. KRAG 1991:178-193.

included; an indication of euhemerism, as has been noted. Certain names occur in both lists, but a clear majority are diverse – which points to a separate origin of each tradition.²¹ Albeit this tradition primarily survived in the Icelandic-Norwegian sources, its original setting belongs to the southern Sweden and adjacent regions in Denmark. Beside the tradition of *ynglings* and the *skjoldungas*, a number of shorter, local lists of highkings have survived too. If these dynasties and chiefdoms ever existed, they obviously had a competitive warring relationship most of the time, and their traditions became mixed in the minds of latter-time chroniclers.²²

According to the tradition, the dynastic setting of the Swedish *ynglings* was in (Old) Uppsala, and the seat of the Danish *skjoldungas* at Leithra (Roskilde).²³ A correlation between the Early Medieval archaeological remains and these traditions has largely remained unsettled. A few possible tie-ins have been traced out of Swedish prehistory however. It has been proposed, for instance, that the four major mounds around Old Uppsala were the actual burial places of successive kings, Aun, Egil, Ottar and Adils, as the tradition says. These mounds have been dated archaeologically at ca. 475-550 A.D., which is in accordance with the traditional chronological dating of these kings.²⁴

Most names of the prehistoric kings in Saxo's narrative were obviously not invented by him. Notwithstanding, the long list of sequential rulership in the prehistoric Denmark seems to be his compilation. Apparently he used for this purpose many distinct sources of folklore and dynastic tradition – Icelandic, Norwegian, Swedish and the local ones. For his defence one must say, that he did not make a statement that he was writing a genuine history but an epic narrative of the early Danish past.²⁵ Certain modes of dynastic propaganda (and possible conjectures of forging) may be deduced from the structures of this compilation: artificial lengthening of the kinglist by adjusting some contemporary names as successive, making outer-social tie-ins, using euhemerism etc.²⁶ Saxo's view is a subjective and idealistic interpretation of this past, built up into a coherent story mainly for patriotic purposes.

In the works of Saxo and many other writers of his time a tendency to *interpretatio Christiana* is also clearly seen. This means a chronological and narrative tie-ins with

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21 *ibid.*

22 For distinct dynastic traditions and separate chiefdoms, see e.g. TRUHART 1986:2809-2811, 2846-2848.

23 *ibid.* See also KRAG 1991:passim.

24 For difficulties to correlate archaeology with the *Ynglinga*-tradition, see KRAG 1991:205-252. The principal defender of this tradition has been Walter ÅKERLUND, a Swedish scholar, who published his major work *Studier över Ynglingatal* in 1939. In using a multidisciplinary approach (archaeology, philology, history of religion and mythology) he found some evaluation for *Ynglingatal's* historicity – particularly from the sites of Vestfold and Old Uppsala. He referred to the Old English poem *Beowulf*, in which several names of kings of the *Ynglingatal* occurs also (KRAG 1991:27-34, 254-55.) Professor Birger NERMAN (1952) has supported ÅKERMAN's view on Swedish prehistory in his *Sveriges konungar och drottningar genom tiderna*. He believes that most of the kings named in *Ynglingatal* may belong to actual history, albeit most what is told about them may be made-up stories (1952:22.) According to KRAG (1991:265), in the heroic poetry (and *saga* literature) "there is a tendency to remodel events which were once historical very soon afterwards, so that only the names correspond to historical reality. This is true of the common Germanic heroic poetry and it can be seen in the Old Norse material." For dating of Aun, Egil, Ottar, Adils and their mounds, see e.g. NERMAN 1952:passim; *Nationalencyklopedin* 1992:323, Sjunde bandet. Bokförlaget Bra Böcker: Höganäs, Sweden.

25 Most names of the kings mentioned by Saxo also occurred in the so-called *Skjoldungasaga*, which seems to have based on an older tradition (see e.g. KRAG 1991:passim.) For Saxo's sources, see e.g. SKOVGAARD-PETERSEN 1987:passim.

26 Compare, chapter on dynastic propaganda (II:3) and Appendix 4.

Biblical worldview and Classical history, for instance.²⁷ A major divide between the heathen and Christian time in Saxo's work may be seen as an allegory from the Old and New Testament. The whole fifth book is a narration of but one person, king Frothi III, legendary conqueror, who flourished at the time of the birth of Christ, and was perceived as a Nordic counterpart for emperor Augustus.²⁸ Another borrowed inspiration from the Biblical sources may have been an occasional usage of 14-generation dynastic formulas.²⁹ It has been proposed by Claus KRAG (1991), that the existence of euhemerism in Scandinavian dynastic tradition may also have originated from the inspiration of the Bible.³⁰

APPENDIX 8a: STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS OF THE NAMES ON MONTESINOS' LIST

A: DISTRIBUTION OF TITLES AND NAMES

(according to 'the corrected' orthography)

	Piruas	Amautas	Tampu-toccans	TOTAL
I. Names common to all three dynasties:				
Capac	11	14	5	30
Tupac	1	13	5	19
Manco	3	10	4	17
Titu	5	4	7	16
Yupanqui	5	7	2	14
Pachacuti	2	4	2	8
Sinchi	1	3	1	5
Ayar	1	3	1	5
Paullu	1	2	1	4
Amaru	1	2	1	4
Inti	2	1	1	4
Cozque	1	1	2	4
Huanacauri	1	1	1	3

.....
 27 Claus KRAG (1991:67-73) uses the term *Interpretatio Christiana* in the context of euhemerism, for instance. For this tendency, see e.g. JOHANNESSON 1978 and SKOVGAARD-PETERSEN (1987, 1988).

28 JOHANNESSON 1978:336; Saxo Grammaticus/Hilda Ellis DAVIDSON 1979-80 (Commentary):72.

29 According to KRAG (1991:180-2), in certain Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon dynasties 14-generation sequences were favored. This figure may have originated from the pedigree of Jesus in the Gospel of Matthew.

30 KRAG 1991:67-73. I disagree, since this kind of dynastic modification has been found in a number of cases around the world. Compare, chapters on dynastic propaganda (II:3) and appendices 4 and 5.

2. Names common among the Amautas and Tampu-Toccans:

Amauta	14	1	15
Auqui	4	2	6
Huilca	3	3	6
Roca	1	4	5
Huaman	1	4	5
Lluqui	3	1	4
Illa	2	1	3
Sayri	2	1	3
Raymi	2	1	3

3. Names common among the Piruas and Amautas:

Ticac	1	2	3
Huascar	1	1	2
Tacco	1	1	2

4. Names among the Piruas alone:

Pirua	4
Tini	2
Sayhua	1
Quispe	1

5. Names among the Amautas alone:

Cayo	4
Apu	2
Atauchi	2
Huampar	2
Huqui	2
Hinac	2
Curi	2
Tesaq	1
Toto	1
Marasco	1
Huiracocha	1
Yahuar	1
Quitú	1
Toca	1
Corca	1
Nina	1

6. Names among the Tampu-Toccans alone:

Huayna	2
Quichi	1
Cuyo	1
Atau	1
Cauri	1
Arantial	1
Huari	1
Huispa	1
Toco	1
Condor	1
Mayta	1

B: DISTRIBUTION OF PARTITE NAMES

	Piruas	Amautas	Tampu Toccans
One-partite		1	4
Bi-partite	7 39%	16 34%	15 54%
Tri-partite	10 55%	26 55%	8 29%
Quatri-partite	1	4	1
	<hr/> 18	<hr/> 47	<hr/> 28

APPENDIX 8b: LEXICAL COMPARISON OF THE NAMES ON MONTESINOS' LIST

The following analysis is an attempt to find the relative dominance of Quechua or Aymara languages in the nomenclature of Montesinos' king list, and to conceive whether there exists a marked variability between the proposed three distinctive dynasties. The relative proportion of Puquina (particularly in the beginning and the end of the dynasty lists) is also sought for. Two separate sets of comparison are necessary, because the names occur in quite a distinctive forms in the original (Ms) and later lists ("corrected" by modern scholars, who have reasoned that the names were almost exclusively Quechuan) (see MARKHAM 1920, for instance.) I emphasize the original forms of the names, albeit some of them obviously were corrupt, others possibly archaic forms etc. However, I am convinced by making only a general overview, that Quechua and Aymara are dominant languages in the list, while the presence of Puquina remains a possible but experimental hypothesis – much due the lack of good dictionaries of that language. Similar results have also brought about the analyses of FIDEL LOPEZ (1871), MARKHAM (1920), and VASQUEZ (1930).

For Quechua, the dictionaries of Santo Tomás (1560) and González Holguin (1608) have been used. Wherever these two are convergent, any special reference to either one has not given. Otherwise the abbreviations ST (Santo Tomás) and GH (González Holguin) are used. For Aymara, the dictionary of Ludovico Bertonio (1612) is consulted. The principal sources for Puquina have been, Raoul de la Grasserie (1894) (abr. = G), and CREQUI-MONTFORT & RIVET (1925, 1927) (abr. = C-R). In addition, a Puquina-related Callahuaya language is occasionally consulted too. Sources of Callahuaya are the dictionaries of OBLITAS POBLETE (1968) (abr. = OB) and AGUILO (1991) (abr. = A). References to other sources are marked by asterisk (*). An abbreviation for a corrupt form is (C). References to studies of FIDEL LOPEZ (1869, 1871), MARKHAM (1920), and VASQUEZ (1930) are also given in certain cases where the translation of words have been obscure and various propositions has been given as an explanation. I have used the abbreviations (LOP), (MAR), and (VAS), in these contexts.

A. ANALYSIS OF THE NAMES FROM THE MS. ORIGINALS

	Quechua	Aymara	Puquina etc.
AMARU	serpiente	duro	serpiente (OB)
AMAURI (C ?/ amaru)			
AMAUTA	sabio	sabio	
APU	señor grande	señor	
APUSQUI	<i>apuskepay</i> =general (*)		
ARANTIAL	<i>ranti</i> =substituto (*) <i>lanti</i> =sucesor		
ATAUCHI	principe (*)		<i>atachi</i> =pregunta (OB)
ATAUILQUE (C ?)			
AUITOPA (C ?)			
AUQUI	noble (GH)	padre	
AYAR	quinua silvestre (GH)		<i>ayara</i> =leña (A)
	matador (VAS)		<i>ayara</i> =madera (OB)
AYAY (*) (GH)	<i>aya</i> =cuerpo muerto	<i>aya</i> =huso de hilo	<i>aysay</i> =estirón (A)
CACO (LOP)	<i>cacuk</i> =azotador		<i>kakho</i> =un edad
CAO (C ?/ cayo)	<i>cay</i> =this (MAR)		
			<i>cau</i> =brugería (LOP)
CAPAC	rey	<i>ccapaca</i> =rey	<i>capaca</i> =rey (G)
CAPE (C ?/capac)			<i>qapen</i> =tres (A)
CAURI (*)		rayz de la totora	
CAYO (LOP)	<i>cayan</i> =festivo	<i>cayu</i> =pierna religiosa (C-R)	
CHAUCHI (*) (GH)	<i>chhauchu</i> =cepa	<i>chaysi</i> =chato de nariz	
CHUILLA (ST)	<i>chulla</i> =nones	<i>chulla</i> =manojillo	<i>chuulli</i> =tripas (A)
CONDOROCA (GH)	<i>cuntur</i> =condor		<i>conturi</i> =buitre
CORCA	<i>qorqay</i> =montón de piedras (*)		
COZQUE (GH)	<i>cuzca</i> =allanar	<i>cusca</i> =igual	
CUPO	cresto (LOP)		<i>cupu</i> =féretro (OB)
CURI	oro	<i>ccuri</i> =de dos	
CUYO			<i>cuyu</i> =fruto (OB)
HICARA		<i>hiccarpaatha</i> =desterrar	
HINA (*) (GH)	<i>hina</i> =desta manera	<i>hina</i> =vamos	<i>hinanti</i> =tos (G)
HUACAPAC (C ?)			
HUAMAN	halcón		gavilán (A)
HUAMPAR (*)	triángulo (GH)	<i>huampu</i> =barco	
HUANACAURI	Arco Iris (VAS)	<i>cauri</i> =rayz de la totora	
HUAPAR	gloton (LOP)	<i>huapatiña</i> =lana	
HUARI (LOP)	dios de la fuerza	liquido	vicuña (A)
HUASCAR	<i>huasca</i> =soga (GH)		<i>wasqay</i> =azotar (A)
HUAYNA	mozo	mozo	
HUICA (C ?/huillca)		<i>vicu</i> =nombre	
HUILLA	<i>huillani</i> =decir (*)	<i>vila</i> =sangre	
HUILLCA	un árbol	<i>villca</i> =sol	
HUILLCANOTA		casa del sol	
HUIRACOCHA	un Dios	<i>vira</i> =suelo	Spaniards (G)
HUISPA	<i>huispalla</i> =hembra metálica (*)		
HUQUIZ (*)	liquido (VAS)	<i>hukhi</i> =unas piedras	
ILLAC/ILLA (GH)	el piedra vezar	un piedra	
ILLATOCA		<i>illatanca</i> =sombrero	
INTI (*)	sol	sol	
LLOQUETE (C ? /lloque)			
LLUQUI	izquierda mano	<i>loqhue</i> =tonto	izquierda (A)
MANCO		<i>mallco</i> =cacique	<i>malku</i> =condor (A)

MARASCO (*)		<i>mara</i> =año	
MARTA (C ?/ mayta)			
NINAQUI	<i>nina</i> =fuego	<i>nina</i> =fuego	
PACHACUTI	cien veces (ST)	tiempo de guerra	<i>pacha</i> =tierra (A)
PARI (C ?/pacari)			hueco (A)
PAULLU (*)		<i>paullatha</i> =cubrir la casa	
PIRUA (*)	troj (GH)		troje (A)
QUICHO	<i>quichani</i> =abrir	<i>quichutha</i> =estar triste	
QUISPI (GH)	<i>quespi</i> =cristal	<i>quespi</i> =cristal	
QUITUA (GH)	<i>quito</i> =paloma	<i>quito</i> =tortola	
RAYMI	mez de diciembre (GH)	/solstico	
ROCA (*) (VAS)	<i>ruca</i> =fortaleza	<i>loca</i> =medida	
SACRI (?)	perverso (LOP)		
SAGAMAUTA (C ?/tesag amauta)		<i>sakha</i> =sentido	<i>saqa</i> =cerco (A)
SAIRI	tabaco (GH)	<i>sauri</i> =hueso	
SAY (C ?/ sayhua)			
SAYHUA (GH)	mojon de tierras	termino de las tierras	
SINCHI	fuerte (GH)		<i>sinki</i> =oscuro (C-R)
SINIA	<i>sunya</i> =delgada (LOP)		<i>sini</i> =huevo (C-R)
TACO	un arbol (ST)	<i>ttacca</i> =una manada	<i>tacu</i> =punto (OB)
TARCO (LOP)	<i>taricu</i> =usurpar	<i>tarcu</i> =un arbol	
TAYMI (raymi?)		<i>taypi</i> =medio	un rio en Lambayeque, en voz yunga (VAS)
TICAC (*)	<i>tica</i> =adobe	<i>tica</i> =adobe	<i>tica</i> =maguey (OB)
TICATUA (ticac tupac?)		<i>ticatha</i> =hazer adobes	
TINI		<i>ttini</i> =mujer cercana al parto	
TITU (GH)	nombre de un Inca	<i>ttittu</i> =qualquiera cosa hecha con gran primor	
TITUPAC (C ?/ titu tupac)			
TOCA (GH)	<i>ttocay</i> =saliva	hoyo	
TOCO (GH)	<i>ttoco</i> =ventana	<i>ttokho</i> =ventana	
TOPA	señor (GH)	caña	<i>tupay</i> =rajada (A)
TOTO (C ?/ tutu)			
TUTU	nombre	grande (A)	
YAHUAR	sangre	<i>yahua</i> =un flor	
YUPANQUI	<i>yupani</i> =contar	<i>yupa</i> =cosa de estima	

B. ANALYSIS OF THE NAMES OF "CORRECTED ORTHOGRAPHY"

	Quechua	Aymara	Puquina etc.
AMARU	serpiente	duro	serpiente (OB)
AMAUTA	sabio	sabio	
APU	señor grande	señor	
APUSQUI	<i>apuskepay</i> =general (*)		
ARANTIAL	<i>ranti</i> =substituto (*)	<i>lanti</i> =sucessor	
ATAU (GH)	ventura en guerras		(C-R) <i>ata</i> =boca
ATAUCHI	principe (*)		<i>atachi</i> =pregunta (OB)
AUQUI	noble (GH)	padre	
AYAR (GH)	quinua silvestre		<i>ayara</i> =leña (A)
	matador (VAS)		(OB) <i>ayara</i> =madera
CAPAC	rey	<i>ccapaca</i> =rey	<i>capaca</i> =rey (G)
CAURI (*)		rayz de la totora	
CAYO (LOP)	<i>cayan</i> =festivo	<i>cayu</i> =pierna	(C-R) religiosa

CONDOROCA (GH)	<i>cuntur</i> =condor	<i>conturi</i> =buitre	
CORCA	<i>gorqay</i> =montón de piedras (*)		
COZQUE (GH)	<i>cuzca</i> =allanar	<i>cusca</i> =igual, <i>kuskesitha</i> =retocar	
CURI	oro	<i>ccuri</i> =de dos	
CUYO			(OB) <i>kuyu</i> =fruto
HINAC (*) (GH)	<i>hina</i> =desta manera	<i>hina</i> =vamos	
HUANACAURI	Arco Iris (VAS)	<i>cauri</i> =rayz de la totora	
HUAMAN	halcón		gavilán (A)
HUAMPAR (*)	triángulo (GH)	<i>huampu</i> =barco	
HUARI	Dios de la fuerza (LOP)	liquido	vicuña (A)
HUASCAR (GH)	<i>huasca</i> =soga		<i>wasqay</i> =azotar (A)
HUAYNA	mozo	mozo	
HUILLA	<i>huillani</i> =decir (*)	<i>vila</i> =sangre	
HUILLCA	un arbol	<i>villca</i> =sol	
HUILLCANOTA		casa del sol	
HUIRACOCCHA	un Dios	<i>vira</i> =suelo	Spaniards (G)
HUISPA	<i>huispalla</i> =hembra metálica (*)		
HUQUIZ (*)	liquido (VAS)	<i>hukhi</i> =unas piedras	
ILLA (GH)	el piedra vezar	un piedra	
	grande, <i>illapa</i> =trueno	<i>illapu</i> =rayo	
INTI (*)	sol	sol	
LLOQUE	izquierda mano	<i>loqhue</i> =tonto	<i>lloqhe</i> =izquierda (A)
MANCO		<i>mallco</i> =cacique	<i>mallku</i> =condor(A)
		<i>manca</i> =un comida	
MARASCO (*)		<i>mara</i> =año	
MAYTA (*)	por donde? (ST)	<i>maytha</i> =dar	
NINA	fuego	fuego	
PACARI (GH)	<i>paccarin</i> =amanecer	noche	noche (G)
PACHACUTI	cien veces (ST)	tiempo de guerra	<i>pacha</i> =tierra (A)
PAULLU (*)		<i>paullatha</i> =cubrir la casa	
PIRUA (*)	troj (GH)		troje (A)
QUICHO	<i>quichani</i> =abrir	<i>quichutha</i> =estar triste	
QUISPE (GH)	<i>quespi</i> =cristal	<i>quespi</i> =cristal	
QUITU (GH)	<i>quito</i> =paloma	tortola	
RAYMI (GH)	mes de diciembre	/solstico	
ROCA (*)	<i>ruca</i> =fortaleza (VAS)	<i>loca</i> =medida	
SAYHUA (GH)	mojon de tierras	termino de las tierras	
SAYRI	tabaco (GH)	<i>sauri</i> =hueso	
SINCHI (GH)	<i>cinchi</i> =fuerte		(C-R) <i>sinki</i> =oscuro fuerte (A)
TACCO (ST)	<i>taco</i> =un arbol	<i>ttacca</i> =una manada	<i>tacu</i> =punto (OB)
TESAG (VAS)	<i>teece/tecsi</i> =eterno, origen		
TICAC (*)	<i>tica</i> =adobe	<i>tica</i> =adobe	(OB) <i>tica</i> =maguey
TINI		<i>ttini</i> =mujer cercana al parto	
TINIA (GH)	<i>tinya</i> =atabal		
TITU (GH)	nombre de un Inca	<i>ttittu</i> =qualquiera cosa hecha con gran primor	
TOCA (GH)	<i>ttocay</i> =saliva	hoyo	
TOCO (GH)	<i>ttoco</i> =ventana	<i>ttokho</i> =ventana	
TOTO		<i>tutu</i> =nombre	<i>tutu</i> =grande (A)
TUPAC (GH)	<i>tupa</i> =señor	<i>tupa</i> =caña	<i>tupay</i> =rajada (A)
YAHUAR	sangre	<i>yahua</i> =un flor	
YUPANQUI	<i>yupani</i> =contar	<i>yupa</i> =cosa de estima	

For *Apusqui* (FIDEL LOPEZ 1871:348), also ‘el que honra a sus antepasados’ (VASQUEZ 1930:152, referring to FIDEL LOPEZ).

For *Arantial* (Mossi 1860:225), a possible corruption of Ranti Alli (VASQUEZ 1930:152).

For *Atauchi* (FIDEL LOPEZ 1871:349), ‘feliz’ according to FIDEL LOPEZ (VASQUEZ 1930:153).

For *Ayay*; this may be a corrupt form of Ayar (VASQUEZ 1930:153).

For *Cauri*; ‘Creador’ according to Pablo PATRON (VASQUEZ 1930:154). ‘Unico, antiquo’, according to MARKHAM (ibid.).

For *Chauchi*; ‘agudo, inteligente, perspicaz’ (Quechua), according to FIDEL LOPEZ (1869: 331).

For *Corca* (ESPINOZA GALARZA 1973:209).

For *Huampar*; ‘hijo perfecto’ according to FIDEL LOPEZ (ibid., 155). ‘Tiara’ according to Jesuita Anonimo ([ca.1585-90] 1879:159).

For *Hinac*; ‘exigente, precipitado’ in Quechua, according to FIDEL LOPEZ (VASQUEZ 1930: 155).

For *Huilla* (Mossi 1860:127).

For *Huispa* (Mossi 1860:129), ‘cadena’ (Quechua) according to VASQUEZ (1930:157).

For *Huquiz*; ‘el primitivo’ in Quechua, according to FIDEL LOPEZ (1869:333; VASQUEZ 1930:157.) Intercalary days, according to MARKHAM (1920:11).

For *Inti*; according to Molina del Cuzco ([1573-5] 1873) the Inca name for the Sun was *Punchau*. According to Pachacuti Yamqui ([1613] 1873:90, 101, 112) Inti was originally the Sun god of the Collas, whom the Incas later adopted. See also, MARKHAM 1873:xii- xiii. Franklin PEASE (1968:70) suggests also, that the Incas worshipped Viracocha before their imperial era. The Solar cult was adopted and introduced ideologically by Inca Pachacuti. Compare also, DEMAREST 1981.

For *Marasco*; a tribe Maras (Aymara?) + co-participle, reflective form, according to MARKHAM (1920:11). ‘muy sanguinario’ in Quechua (*mari*=matador, sanguinario and *achka*=muy) according to FIDEL LOPEZ (1869:330).

For *Mayta*; according to Garcilaso ([1609:lib.iii, cap.i] 1976:123) this proper name had no special meaning in Quechua. According to FIDEL LOPEZ (1869:337), it may be a derivation of *Maytu* (Quechua), meaning ‘cobijar, proteger, defender’.

For *Paullu*; According to FIDEL LOPEZ (VASQUEZ 1930:158) it may be a derivation of *Paylluini* (Quechua), meaning ‘recompensador’.

For *Pirua*; the ancient name of the planet Jupiter, according to Jesuit Anonimo ([ca.1585-90] 1879:137-40).

For *Roca*; according to Blas Valera (in Garcilaso [1609:lib.ii, cap.xvi] 1976:93) this word means ‘Principe prudente y maduro’ (without indicating in which language). *Ruccu* = very old man (MARKHAM 1920:11) According to J.A. LIRA (SANTA 1970:55) *Ro'ka* means ‘noble de corazon’ or ‘liberal’.

For *Ticac*; ‘constructor’ in Quechua, according to FIDEL LOPEZ (1871:399).

The number of distinct words in the nomenclature of Ms original is about 83. Out of these at least 14 seems to be corrupt forms, whereupon the actual number would be about 70. The number of words derived from the “corrected” orthography is even less: 60. The linguistic distribution of these words can be set as follows (MSO: Ms. original; COR: ‘corrected’ orthography):

MSO	COR	Words having meaning in:	Percentages:
56	53	Quechua	
54	48	Aymara	
28	22	Puquina, or a related language	

			MSO	COR	Average
13	11	Quechua, Aymara, and Puquina	19%	18%	18.5%
31	30	Quechua and Aymara	45%	48%	46.5%
4	5	Quechua only	6%	8%	7%
9	5	Aymara only	13%	8%	10.5%
9	7	Quechua and Puquina	13%	11%	12%
3	3	Aymara and Puquina	4%	5%	4.5%
-	1	Puquina only	0%	2%	1%

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We may estimate the relative strength of each of these linguistic sets within the three dynastic groups of Montesinos, by counting every nominal word and comparing them with the lexical listings above. I have made this counting by using word forms from both orthography. The relative strengths are given in percentages.

	MS ORIGINAL			'CORRECTED' O.			AVERAGES:		
	Piruas	Amautas	T-Toccans	Piruas	Amautas	T-Toccans	Piruas	Amautas	T-Toccans
QUECHUA- AYMARA-PUQUINA	14 32%	43 37%	16 28%	17 36%	48 38%	18 28%	34%	38%	28%
QUECHUA-AYMARA	15 34%	44 38%	25 44%	15 32%	48 38%	30 46%	33%	38%	45%
QUECHUA	-	5 4%	1 1%	1 3%	5 4%	2 3%	1%	4%	2%
AYMARA	4 9%	5 4%	5 9%	3 6%	5 4%	3 5%	8%	4%	7%
QUECHUA-PUQUINA	8 18%	8 7%	5 9%	8 17%	9 7%	7 11%	17%	7%	10%
AYMARA-PUQUINA	3 7%	11 10%	5 9%	3 6%	11 9%	4 6%	7%	9%	7%
PUQUINA	-	-	-	-	-	1 1%			1%

Corrupt forms 4 6 4

APPENDIX 8c: ANALYSIS OF THE GIVEN REGNAL SPANS ON MONTESINOS' LIST

	<i>Ms Merced</i>	<i>Ms Univers.</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Relation</i>
Piruas				
1. Pirua Pacari Manco	60+	60+	100+	
2. Manco Capac I		30	50	son
3. Huanacauri Pirua	50	50	90	son
4. Sinchi Cozque Pachacuti I	60+	60+	100+	son
5. Inti Capac Yupanqui	50	50	100+	son
6. Manco Capac II	20	20	v.o.	son
7. Tupac Capac				succ.
8. Tini Capac Yupanqui				son
9. Titu Capac Yupanqui			v.o.	son
10. Inti Capac Pirua Amaru			80+	succ.
11. Capac Sayhua Capac	60	60+	90+	son
12. Capac Tinia Yupanqui	40	40	90+	heir
13. Ayar Tacco Capac	25	25		son
14. Huascar Titu	30	30	64	heir
15. Quispe Titu	3.5		30	son
16. Titu Yupanqui Pachacuti II			v.o.	heir
17. Titu Capac	25	25		son
18. Paullu Ticac Pirua	30	30		succ.
Amautas				
19. Lloque Tesag Amauta	50	50	v.o.	heir
20. Cayo Manco Amauta			90+	heir
21. Huascar Titu Tupac	33	33	75+	son
22. Manco Capac Amauta	50	50	80+	son
23. Ticac Tupac	30	30		son
24. Paullo Toto Capac	19	19		succ.
25. Cayo Manco Amauta II	30	30		heir
26. Marasco Pachacuti III	40+	40+	80	son
27. Paullo Atauchi Capac Pachacuti (?)			70	son
28. Lluqui Yupanqui	14	14	30	son
29. Lluqui Ticac	8	8	30	heir
30. Capac Yupanqui	50	50	80+	heir
31. Tupac Yupanqui I	18	18	v.o.	son
32. Manco Auqui Tupac Pachacuti IV	50	50	v.o.	son
33. Sinchi Apusqui	40	40	80+	son
34. Auqui Quito Atauchi	4	4	29	son
35. Ayar Manco I			60	succ.
36. Huiracocha Capac	15	15		heir
37. Sinchi Roca Amauta	20	20		succ.

38. Tupac Amaru Amauta	25	25		succ.
39. Capac Raymi Amauta			v.o.	succ.
40. Illa Tupac	3	3	30	heir
41. Tupac Amaru	4		30	heir
42. Huanacauri	4	4		heir
43. Toca Corca Apu Capac	45	45		succ.
44. Huampar Sayri Tupac I	30	32		son
45. Hinac Huilla Amauta Pachacuti V	35	35		heir
46. Capac Yupanqui Amauta	35	35		heir
47. Huampar Sayri Tupac II				succ.
48. Cayo Manco Auqui	13	13	v.o.	heir
49. Hinac Huillca	30	30		heir
50. Inti Capac Amauta	30	30+		heir
51. Ayar Manco Capac				heir
52. Yahuar Huquiz	30	30	v.o.	succ.
53. Capac Titu Yupanqui	23	23	100+	heir
54. Tupac Curi Amauta I	39	39	80+	succ.
55. Tupac Curi Amauta II	40	40		son
56. Huillcanota Amauta	60	60	90+	son
57. Tupac Yupanqui II	43	43	90	son
58. Illa Tupac Capac	4	4		succ.
59. Titu Raymi Cozque	31	31		heir
60. Huqui Nina Auqui	43	43		heir
61. Manco Capac III	23	23	v.o.	succ.
62. Cayo Manco Capac	20	20		heir
63. Sinchi Ayar Manco	7	7		son
64. Huaman Tacco Amauta	5	5		succ.
65. Titu Yupanqui Pachacuti VI				heir

Tampu Tocco dynasty

66. Titu Huaman Quicho				heir
67. Cozque Huaman Titu			25	heir
68. Cuyo Manco	50	50		succ.
69. Huillca Titu	30	30		succ.
70. Sayri Tupac	40	40		succ.
71. Tupac Yupanqui III	25	25		succ.
72. Huayna Tupac	37	37		succ.
73. Huanacauri II	10	10		heir
74. Huillca Huaman			60	heir
75. Huaman Capac			40	heir
76. Paullu Raymi			19	succ.
77. Manco Capac Amauta II				heir
78. Auqui Atau Huillca	35	35		succ.
79. Manco Titu Capac	27	72		succ.
80. Huayna Tupac II	50	50		heir
81. Tupac Cauri Pachacuti VII			80+	heir
82. Arantial			70+	son
83. Huari Titu Capac			80+	heir
84. Huispa Titu Auqui		18	70+	succ.
85. Toco Cozque			80	heir

86. Ayar Manco	22	22	v.o.	heir
87. Condoroca			80	heir
88. Amaru				heir
89. Sinchi Roca	41	41	70+	succ.
90. Illa Roca	72	72		son
91. Lluqui Yupanqui	45	45		heir
92. Roca Titu	25	25		succ.
93. Inti Mayta Capac	27+	27+		heir
Pachacuti VIII				

v.o. = very old

Regnal spans are given for 72 rulers of the total 93. The average length of reign is 31.2. The ages of 35 rulers are given, and for additional 11 a reference to their advanced age is given, but without exact numbers.

According to dynastic divisions of the Piruas, Amautas, and Tampu-Toccans, the regnal spans (and averages) distribute as follows:

	Total nr. of reigns	Spans given for	Average
Piruas	18	13	37.2
Amautas	47	40	27.3
Tampu-toccans	28	19	35.4

The highest averages occur in the first part of the Pirua-list: 42.5 years per the ten first rulers.

Out of 92 cases, the dynastic relationship between successions is as follows:

Son	28 times	30%
Heir	38 times	42%
Successor	26 times	28%

The king list of Manetho compared with the list of Montesinos

Montesinos has sometimes been called '*Manethón of Peru*'.¹ Manetho was a high priest of Heliopolis (fl. 3rdC. B.C.), who wrote a history of Egypt. His king- and dynasty list and chronology has been a traditional reference source to the Egyptian ancient history, even though his dates are highly exaggerated and his chronology contains overlappings in some places.²

I have compared Manetho's regnal span chronology with the conventional modern one, which is based on archaeological and epigraphical data. Moreover, the reigns are itemized into regnal span categories of 50 years and over, 40-, 30-, 20-, 10-, and below 10 years, and these figures have been compared with the corresponding ones in Montesinos' list.³ The most 'compact' sections in both king list have been chosen for this comparison: the period of the Old Kingdom from Manetho's list (dynasties I-VI with 46 kings), and the period of Amauta-kings (40 kings whose reigns are given) from

1 See e.g. IMBELLONI 1941:271-4.

2 See e.g. PETRIE 1903; ROHL 1995.

3 PETRIE 1903:10-86; TRUHART, Part I, 1984:137-39; ROHL 1995:15.

Montesinos. Regnal span	MANETHO	MONTESINOS
50 years or over	7	5
40 - 49 years	6 13 / 28%	6 11 / 28%
30 - 39 years	7	11
20 - 29 years	13 20 / 44%	5 16 / 40%
10 - 19 years	5	5
9 years or less	8 13 / 28%	8 13 / 32%
	46	40

According to Manetho, the kings of the I-VIth dynasties ruled around 4777-3335 B.C. This allows 46 kings for 1442 years, with an average regnal span of 31.3 years. Actually the Manetho's list gives 51 names for this period, but this discrepancy is due to occasional overlappings and mixing-up of certain names. One can notice the degree of exaggeration in Manetho's regnal spans, when his chronology is compared with the modern chronological periodization of the Old Kingdom Egypt. This period have generally been dated to ca. 2850-2150 B.C. (TRUHART 1984) or ca. 2920-2150 B.C. (ROHL 1995).⁴ This allows 46 kings for 700-770 years, with an average regnal span of 15.2-16.7 years. From these figures one can see, that Manetho's chronology actually doubles the conventional periodization of the Old Kingdom.

APPENDIX 9: THE YAROVILCA-DYNASTY OF GUAMAN POMA

(Absolute dates given below are applied from my chronological parameters. Compare chapter V:2.)

Tercera Edad: Purun Runa

1. Capac apo Yaro Bilca Pacarimoc ca. A.D. 838
2. Runto Poma Uira Cocha
3. Carua Poma Uari Uira Cocha Runa
4. Ynti Guaman Uira Cocha
5. Yllapa Poma Uari Uira Cocha
6. Ticze Uari Uira Cocha
7. Condor Uari
8. Nina Uari
9. Cuci Poma Uari
10. Ticze Uira Cocha Ynga

.....
4 PETRIE, *ibid*; TRUHART, *ibid.*; ROHL, *ibid.*

Quatro Edad: Aucaruna

- | | |
|----------------------------------|---------------|
| 11. Capac apo Tingo Poma | ca. A.D. 990 |
| 12. Nina Raurac Poma | |
| 13. Cuyllor Poma | |
| 14. Curi Poma | |
| 15. Raqui Guaman | |
| 16. Quincho Poma | |
| 17. Curi Poma | |
| 18. Condor Chaua (I) | |
| 19. Poma Bilca | |
| 20. Llacxa Poma | |
| 21. Ancas Poma | |
| 22. Auqui Poma | |
| 23. Atoç Guaman | |
| 24. Zinche Poma | |
| 25. Apo Poma | |
| 26. Macho Poma | |
| 27. <i>Castilla</i> Poma* | |
| 28. Poma Chaua | |
| 29. Guayac Poma | |
| 30. Rupay Capcha Guaman | |
| 31. Guayanay Poma* | |
| 32. Uiza Curaca | |
| 33. Guaman Uiza | |
| 34. Sulca Guaman | |
| 35. Guaman Chaua (I) | |
| 36. Ancau | |
| 37. Apo Condor | |
| 38. Apo Nina Quiro | |
| 39. Apo Pichiu | |
| 40. Ylla Poma | |
| 41. Apo Pachacuti | |
| 42. Condor Chaua (II) | |
| 43. Capac apo Guaman Chaua (II)* | ca. A.D. 1460 |
| 44. Capac apo Guaman Lliuyac | |
| 45. Capac apo Guayac Poma | |
| 46. Capac apo Carua Poma | |
| 47. Capac apo Llucyac Poma* | ca. A.D. 1534 |

.....

* The name of the 27th ruler, *Castilla* Poma, is an oddity: "Lion of Castile". Following the ruler Guayanay Poma (31th ruler) accompany a statement: "Los que nacieron juntos"(Guaman Poma 1615:75.) Whether this is a list of parallel kings or successive ones is not clear. Guaman Chaua II (43th ruler) was Guaman Poma's grandfather (ibid., 165.) During his time the Yarovilca kingdom was incorporated into the Inca empire. Guaman Chaua was nominated as a governor-general of the Chinchasuyo district and he also held the position of Inca's "*segunda persona*"(ibid., 165.) He was followed by other governors ('rulers' 44-47) until the last one, Llucyac Poma, who was reigning at the time of general Quisquiz' defeat (ibid., 76.) Names of powerful animals, such as pumas (Poma), hawks (Guaman/Huaman), and condors (Condor), are well represented in this list of rulers. See also, e.g. BUSTIOS GALVEZ 1956.

APPENDIX 10. COMPARISON OF WORLD ERAS FROM DIFFERENT CHRONICLES

	Guaman Poma (1615)	Salinas y Córdoba (1630)	Montesinos (1642)
1st Age	830	1000	1000
2nd Age	1312	500	1000
3rd Age	1132	1000	1000
4th Age	2100	1100	1000
	5374 years	3600 years	4000 years

As have been stated earlier (chapter III:4), the idea of the World eras (as presented by Guaman Poma and Montesinos), was possibly borrowed from the Mesoamerican cosmology. Buenaventura Salinas y Córdoba used the same names as Guaman Poma for four World ages, but within a distinct chronological frames. He may have copied these ideas from Guaman Poma or from another source (Warren L. COOK 1957:xxxviii-xxxix. In: Salinas y Córdoba 1630/1957, introduction.)

Montesinos' dynastic chronology does not fit one to one with Guaman Poma's World Eras. Notwithstanding, the dynasty of Piruas could be seen in corresponding with the first age, the dynasty of Amautas with the second and third, and the fourth age (*Aucaruna*) with the Tampu-Toccans.

Montesinos, while building up his master-chronologies with extensive World Eras of Suns and *pachacuti*'s, he made certain lapses in his calculations, which would give us another positive proof that he did not invent the king list and perhaps even the regnal spans either. Instead, he tried to intermingle various chronological traditions - using a Procestrean way if necessary and obviously not paying too much attention to structural research (compare appendix 10b).

1. Montesinos' first dynastic period: from coming of the Ayars (660 years after the Deluge) to the 16th king. This period covers 1340 years. Regnal spans are given to ten rulers - making 398 years in total (averaging 39.8 years). While there are 942 years left for only six rulers, the chronology is out of all proportion here. A period of 500 years should have been used instead.

2. Another span of the Sun (1000 years) extends from the time of the 16th ruler (Titu Yupanqui Pachacuti II) to the 65th ruler (Titu Yupanqui Pachacuti VI). Out of 49 rulers given for this period, the regnal spans are given to 42. This makes 1148 years in total with regnal averages of 27.3 years. There are 7 rulers left, which would allow some 191-200 additional years if the same ratio is used. The total, 1339 years, exceeds the chronological frames set at this place by Montesinos. He might have thought of a period of 1500 years insted 1000 in this place.

3. Montesinos' Inca dynasty is set within another Sun, which culminated during the reign of Huiracocha (Pachacuti IX). One thousand years separated the events of Tampu Tocco collapse and Huiracocha's reign in this chronology, which is far too much for only seven Inca rulers in this place.

Montesinos' factual macrodynastic chronology is 3340 years, which is far short from Guaman Poma's total, but much closer to the figures of Salinas y Córdoba. His intention could have been to build up a chronology for 3500 years (1000 + 1000/+500 + 1340/-500) or perhaps even up to 4000 years.

World Ages of Guaman Poma

1. **Vari Viracocha Runa.** Duration: 830 years.

The first white people descended from those who survived the Flood in Noah's Ark. These people lived in caves and under the rocks and they were incapable of useful work. In this world there were many kinds of beasts, which were often killed or made captive. They learnt the skills of ploughing and sowing, and they worshipped Viracocha and Pachacamac as their gods.

2. **Vari Runa.** Duration: 1312 years.

The people of the second age built small dwellings of stone and covered their bodies with the skins of animals. They respected the law and lived in peace. They cut out terraces in the ravines and worked with irrigation.

3. **Purun Runa.** Duration: 1132 years.

These Indians multiplied like ants and populated the lower levels of the land, where the climate was temperate and warm. *They built real houses and made villages with open squares. The roads which they constructed still exist at the present day. They always built in stone and their clothing was made of woven materials. Their artistry extended to tapestries and feather works. They mined gold and silver, which they worked into diadems, bracelets and other jewellery, vases, and ceremonial clothes. The rulers and military leaders were chosen from among the legitimate children of nobility. Their laws were exemplary. Sometimes armed struggles broke out, but the life was generally mild and charitable. But the people increased in numbers and the competition of resources ensued and quarrels arose between groups.* There were a variety of tribes, ways of life and each group tended to have its own dialect.

4. **Auca Runa.** Duration: 2100 years.

The people of this age abandoned the pleasant valleys and settled in the high mountains because of their fear of war and since disputes existed between distinct tribes. *They erected fortresses with walls stoutly built in stone. In these wars there was much loss of life and each side was led by its own king in person.* Defeated settlements were sacked and looted, and those who were most warlike amassed enormous riches. *Successful warlords adopted names of ferocious animals, and passed them down to their descendants.* The realm was divided in four quarters and each had its own king. *Highest offices were held by those who could trace their descent from the old rulers. And there were also wise men who could foresee coming events by observation of the heavenly bodies.* Young men were made to work on the roads in the intervals of fighting. *The roads and bridges were not well built or formed into a connected system, so that each territory was more or less isolated. Astrologers were often consulted and the knowledge of these wise old men (amauta runa) has survived into the present time. The Indians had the ability to record all that happened over the years by using knotted and coloured cords.*¹

The total duration of all four ages was 5374 years. The fifth age was that of the Incas and Guaman Poma gives 1496 years for eleven reigns (to Huayna Capac).²

.....

1 Guaman Poma (1584-1615:49-74) 1978:24-31, 1980:40-58. (italics mine)

2 Guaman Poma (1584-1615:114) 1980:93. According to PEASE (1981b:153, 1991b:150), Guaman Poma's vision of Andean "Ages" was metaphorically connected with Judeo-Christian chronology as follows:

1. Uari Viracocha runa	1. Adam and Eve	Compare also various calculative reconstructions of Guaman Poma's Eras by MROZ 1989, 1992.
2. Uari runa	2. Noah	
3. Purun runa	3. Abraham	
4. Auca runa	4. David	
5. Inca runa	5. Jesus Christ	
6. Spanish age (España en Indias)		

APPENDIX 10b. LOS PACHACUTIS

A. EPITHETS IN MONTESINOS' NARRATIVE

Ruler's name and serial number			Definition of the epithet
4. Sinchi Cosque	PACHACUTI	I	"a thousand years after the Deluge were completed"
16. Titu Yupanqui	PACHACUTI	II	"second age of the world"
24. Marasco	PACHACUTI	III	"because of the happy events of his reign"
31. Manco Auqui Tupac	PACHACUTI	IV	because "of the good laws which he gave"
44. Hinac Huilla Amauta	PACHACUTI	V	2500 years "since the Deluge were completed"
64. Titu Yupanqui	PACHACUTI	VI	3000 years "since the Deluge were completed" and because of the great wars (collapse of the empire)
78. Tupac Cauri	PACHACUTI	VII	3500 years "since the Deluge were completed" and because of his reforms
90. Inti Mayta Capac	PACHACUTI	VIII	4000 years "since the Deluge were completed" and (the end of monarchy)
97. (100.) Huiracocha Inca (Pachacuti		IX)	Sixth Sun "since the Deluge" begun

The order of serial numbers follows *Ms Merced* (which is considered to be more original). The serial number of Inca Huiracocha is obviously manipulated in *Ms Universitaria*: in order to reach the even number 100 by using a few interpolated names.

B. CHRONOLOGY OF THE RECURRING MACRO CYCLES

Name and serial number	Sun	years since Creation	years since Deluge	<i>pachacuti</i> -periods	number of reigns between cycles/regnal averages
Pachacuti I	4.	I	2000	1000	4.-15. 11 91
Pachacuti II	16.	II	3000	2000	1000 16.-
Pachacuti III	24.		?	?	
Pachacuti IV	31.		?	?	-43.27 18.5
Pachacuti V	44.			2500	500 44.-63.19 26.3
Pachacuti VI	64.	III	4000	3000	500 64.-77.13 38.4
Pachacuti VII	78.			3500	500 78.-89.11 45.4
Pachacuti VIII	90.	IV	5000	4000	500 90-
Pachacuti IX	97.*	V	6000	5000	1000 -97. 7 143

Note: Pachacuti IX is Huiracocha Inca. Suns (*Soles*) are analogous with the Mesoamerican concepts of World ages. References to Creation and the Deluge are correlations to Biblical chronology. * Note the discrepancy in Inca Huiracocha's serial number in the *Ms Merced* (97) and *Ms Universitaria* (100).

C. STRUCTURAL MODEL BY JOSÉ IMBELLONI (1941)

Total number of rulers: 88

Number of corresponding ages: 4

Total number of Pachacutis: 8

Number of reigns per Pachacuti: 11

I Sun: 22 rulers 2 *Pachacutis*
II Sun: 22 “ 2 “
III Sun: 22 “ 2 “
IV Sun: 22 “ 2 “

Year 500	Pachacuti	I		
Year 1000	Pachacuti	II	I	Sun
Year 1500	Pachacuti	III		
Year 2000	Pachacuti	IV	II	Sun
Year 2500	Pachacuti	V		
Year 3000	Pachacuti	VI	III	Sun
Year 3500	Pachacuti	VII		
Year 4000	Pachacuti	VIII	IV	Sun

APPENDIX 11. A TENTATIVE LIST OF PRE-INCAN KINGS

A. A dynasty of Amautas at Wari and Pikillacta

Ca. 10 mythical ancestors (Huarpa chieftains ?)

Ca. 30 rulers between A.D. 400 and 860

Ca. 400 - 500 Ca. 6 rulers

Ca. 500 - 520 *Marasco Pachacuti*. Founder of the state

Ca. 520 - 780 Ca. 15 rulers

Ca. 780 - 800 *Huillcanota Amauta* “The Great”

Ca. 800 - 841 Ca. 6 rulers

Ca. 841 - 860 *Titu Yupanqui Pachacuti VI*

Ca. 860 - 870 Interregnum

B. A dynasty of Tampu-Toccans at Chokepukio (Ca. 25 rulers from A.D. 870 to 300)

B1. A dynasty of Amautas

Ca. 870 - 900 *Titu Huaman Quicho*

Ca. 900 - 1100 Ca. 12 rulers

B2. A usurpant Aymara dynasty

Ca. 1100 - 1115 *Tupac Cauri Pachacuti VII*

Ca. 1115 - 1285 Ca. 10 rulers

Ca. 1285 - 1300 *Inti Mayta Capac*

C. A dynasty of Pinahuas at Muyna (Chokepukio) between A.D. 1300-1400

Inca suzerainty between A.D. 1400-1440. Muyna destroyed by Pachacuti after the Chanca victory.

D1. A dynasty of Piruas at Maucallacta (Pacaritampu).

Ca. 10 rulers between A.D. 1100 and 1275/1300.

D2. A dynasty of Piruas at Ayacucho (migrants from Tiahuanaco)

Ca. 10-12 rulers from A.D. 400 to 600.

Manco Capac / Mythical ancestor

E. A dynasty of Hurin-Cuzcos at Cuzco. 4-5 rulers between A.D. 1275-1350

F. A dynasty of Incas at Cuzco (Hanan-Cuzcos)

Ca. 1350 - 1380 *Inca Roca*

Ca. 1380 - 1400 *Yuhuar Huacac*

Ca. 1400 - 1438 *Viracocha*

Ca. 1438 - 1440 *Urcon*

Ca. 1440 - 1471 *Pachacuti*

Ca. 1471 - 1493 *Tupac Yupanqui*

Ca. 1493 - 1500 *Mama Ocllo and Huayna Capac*

Ca. 1500 - 1528 *Huayna Capac*

Ca. 1528 - 1532 *Huascar*

1532 - 1533 *Atahualpa*

**APPENDIX 11b. COASTAL DYNASTIES:
an ethnohistoric scenario**

(A tentative correlation of the Lambayeque and Chimu king lists with current prehistoric periodization in the North Coast of Peru. The absolute dates [pre-Colonial], dynastic affinities, and ethnohistoric rapprochement are largely results of the present study.)

A1. The Naymlap-dynasty at Chotuna (Lambayeque) KOSOK's chronology:

Middle-Sican (A.D. 900 - 1100)			
1. <i>Naymlap</i>	Ca. 900 - a	Ca. 1000-	a
2. <i>Cium and Zolsdoni</i>	- v	-	v
3. <i>Llapchilulli, Escuñaín and others</i>	- e	-	e
4. <i>Mascuy</i>	- r	-	r
5. <i>Cuntipallec</i>	- a	-	a
6. <i>Allascunto</i>	- g	-	g
7. <i>Nofan-Nech</i>	- e	-	e
8. <i>Mulumuslan</i>	-	-	
9. <i>Llamecoll</i>	- 16.7 yrs.	-	25 yrs.
10. <i>Lanipatcum</i>	-	-	
11. <i>Acunta</i>	-	-	
12. <i>Fempellec</i>	Ca. - 1100	Ca. - 1300	

The 'Naymlap'-flood (*El Niño*) occurred around 1100.

A2. Chimu and Inca governors at Lambayeque

Chimu Inca

1. <i>Pongmassa</i>	(?) Ca. 1400	-	a	Ca. 1400	-	:
2. <i>Palesmassa</i>		-	v		-	:
3. <i>Oxa</i>		-	e		-	:
4. <i>Llempisan</i>		-	r	Ca. 1475	-	:
5. <i>Chullumpisan</i> (1st brother)		-	a		-	:
6. <i>Cipromarca</i> (2nd brother)		-	g		-	:
7. <i>Fallenpisan</i> (3rd brother)		-	e		-	:
8. <i>Xecfuinpisan</i>		-		Ca. 1525	-	:
9. <i>Efuichumbi</i>	Fl. 1550's			Fl. 1550	-	:
				Ca. 17 yrs.		

B1. Pre-Taycanamo dynasty at Chan Chan

Early Chimu I (A.D. 900 - 1100)

Ca. 10-12 rulers /deleted Ca. 900 - 1100

B2. The Taycanamo-dynasty at Chan Chan (Chimu proper) from Lambayeque

The Canonic king list

Chimu (Early II, Middle, and Late) Ca. (1100 - 1470)

1. <i>Taycanamo</i>		Ca. 1100 -	a	Ca. 1200 -	a
2. <i>Guacricaur</i>	t		v	-	v
3. <i>Nancenpinco</i>	r		e	Ca. 1275 -	e
4. ?	u		r	-	r
5. ?	n		a	-	a
6. ?	c		g	-	g
7. ?	a		e	-	e
8. ?	t			-	
9. ?	e			-	
10. ?	d			-	
11. <i>Minchanzaman</i>		Ca. - 1470		Ca. - 1475	
				17.6 yrs.	25 yrs.

Actual number of rulers: around 20-22 during A.D. 1100 - 1470

B3. Inca and Colonial governors at Chimor

Inca Colonial

Dates (fl.)

1. <i>Chumuncaur</i>	Ca. 1470 -	a	Ca. 1475 -	:
2. <i>Guamanchumu</i>		v	-	:
3. <i>Ancocoyuch</i>		e	-	:
4. <i>Cajacimcim</i> (<i>Don Martín</i>)	1535	r	Fl. 1530's	:
5. <i>Don Cristobal</i>	1540's	a	-	:
6. <i>Don Rodrigo</i>	1550's	g	-	:
7. <i>Don Pedro Oxa Guaman</i>	1560's - 1580's	e	-	:
8. ?			-	:
9. ?			-	:
10. <i>Don Antonio Chayhuac</i>	1604		Fl. 1600's	:
			14.9 yrs.	

APPENDIX 12: EVALUATION OF MONTESINOS BY VARIOUS AUTHORS (highlightings mine)

Friar Juan Eusebio NIEREMBERG 1643-47? *Varones Ilustres*. Tomo IV. (Referred to in Manuel RODRIGUEZ [1684, lib.i, cap.x] 1990:111. *El descubrimiento del Marañon*. Madrid.):

“El licenciado don Fernando Montesinos, historiador diligentísimo, que peregrinó más de mil leguas por averiguar de los papeles y archivos originales las cosas que escribe en la segunda parte de su “Ofir de España o Anales Peruanos”.

Friar Manuel RODRIGUEZ [1684, lib.i, cap.x] 1990:111. *El descubrimiento del Marañon*. Madrid.

“el padre Iuan Eusebio Nieremberg, en el tomo cuatro de *Varones Ilustres*, citando otro autor cuidadoso en averiguar los de este padre y de otros del reino del Perú; refiérlos el padre Eusebio sumariamente y así los debo también referir en este su propio lugar: ‘El licenciado don Fernando Montesinos, historiador diligentísimo...’

(MAFFEY y RUA FIGUEROA 1871-72, Tomo I:482; cited in José Toribio MEDINA. *La Imprenta en Lima*. Tomo I, 1965:317.)

“El padre Rodríguez, en *El Marañon y Amazonas*, dice que ninguno conocio mejor que Montesinos las antigüedades del Perú.”

Juan de VELASCO 1789 (1946, Tomo III:188.) *Historia del Reino de Quito*. Quito.

“Apenas hay punto de la historia moderna que se halla escrito por verios autores como este. Lo publicaron primero las Letras anuales de la Compañia el año de 1602, y los siguientes: el P. Juvencio Hist. Soc. part V tomo 2o lib. 23o 9o N 18: Licenciado Fernando Montesinos, en su Ofir de España o Anales peruanos: el P. Juan Eusebio Nieremberg, *Varones ilustres* tomo 4o; el P. Manuel Rodriguez, *Marañon o Amazonas*, lib. 1o. cap. 10; el P. José Casani. *Varones ilustres*, tomo 3o; y aun el señor Condamine, *historia de los viajes* tomo 51.

En lo más de ellos, para decir verdad, se hallan graves equivocaciones y errores muy crasos. El que menos mal escribe, es Montesinos, porque exceptuadas algunas noticias de puras relaciones, sacó todo lo demás del archivo público de la ciudad de Quito. El que escribe peor que ninguno es el P. Casani, porque los indigestos materiales que recogió de esta y de las otras misiones, lo scondiio de manera, que dió a luz un continuado error en los sucesos, en la cronología, y mucho más en la geografía de los países de que hace memoria. Sería perder inútilmente el tiempo, el querer mostrar los errores y equivocaciones de cada uno. Basta lo dicho, y basta añadir que nada diré yo, que no conste de los manuscritos originales, así del archivo público, como del que fué Colegio máximo de Quito.”

Henri TERNAUX-COMPANS 1840:vii-xv. *Mémoires historiques sur L'ancien Pérou*.

“Si l'on admet comme véritable tout ce que contient l'ouvrage du licencié Montesinos, que nous donnons aujourd'hui au public, il change entièrement la face de l'histoire du Pérou; il fait remonter jusqu'à l'origine du monde un empire auquel on n'accordait que quelques siècles d'antiquité. Dans mon opinion, Montesinos a beaucoup exagéré; mais je suis cependant convaincu que la civilisation du Pérou est plus ancienne que la domination des Incas, et que les monuments de Tiaguanuco lui sont antérieurs... Montesinos était au Pérou plus d'un siècle après la conquête, ce qui rend certainement ses assertions suspectes. Il veut prouver que ce pays était le même que l'Ophir, et il établit, pour prouver la vérité de ce système, une longue série de rois entièrement inconnus à tous les historiens; d'un autre côté, sa longue résidence dans le pays, ses rapports officiels avec les chefs indiens, plusieurs manuscrits composés sous la direction de Fr. Luis Lopez, évêque de Quito, mort en 1588, et qu'il acheta à Lima, ont

pu lui apprendre bien des choses qu'ont ignorées ses prédécesseurs...

Tout ce qui regarde l'ancienne Amérique est encore si obscur, que je n'ose émettre une opinion sur le degré de confiance que mérite Montesinos; mais dans tous les cas, j'ai cru devoir insérer son ouvrage dans ma collection, ne fût-ce que pour appeler la discussion sur un point si important de l'histoire; j'en ai supprimé la première partie qui ne contient qu'une foule de raisonnements sur l'Ophir et sur la route que suivaient les flottes de Salomon pour y arriver, j'ai pensé qu'il suffirait d'en donner une courte analyse. Elle commence par une longue dissertation sur les noms que l'on a donnés au Nouveau Monde et sur ceux que l'on aurait pu lui donner. L'auteur passe ensuite à celui du Pérou et essaie de démontrer qu'il vient d'Ophir et que c'est ce pays que visitaient autrefois les flottes de Salomon. Comme ces arguments ont été souvent reproduits, entre autres dans l'ouvrage de Garcia, il est inutile d'en parler ici. Montesinos passe ensuite en revue les différents auteurs qui ont traité du Pérou...

Pour faire suite à cet ouvrage Montesinos a composé une Chronique du Pérou dont nous possédons un manuscrit et que nous publierons dans la suite de cette collection."

William PRESCOTT (1847) 1874 (Vol.II):74-5. *History of the Conquest of the Peru*. London. "Another authority, to whom I have occasionally referred, and whose writings still slumber in manuscript, is the Licentiate Hernando Montesinos. He is in every respect the opposite of the military chronicler who has just come under our notice [i.e. Pedro Pizarro]. He flourished about a century after the Conquest. Of course the value of his writings as an authority for historical facts must depend on his superior opportunities for consulting original documents. For this his advantages were great. He was twice sent in an official capacity to Peru, which required him to visit the different parts of the country. These two missions occupied fifteen years; so that, while his position gave him access to the colonial archives and literary repositories, he was enabled to verify his researches, to some extent, by actual observation of the country.

The result was his two historical works, *Memorias antiguas historiales del Peru*, and his *Annales*, sometimes cited in these pages. The former is taken up with the early history of the country, - very early, it must be admitted, since it goes back to the deluge. The first part of this treatise is chiefly occupied with an argument to show the identity of Peru with the golden Ophir of the Solomon's time! This hypothesis, by no means original with the author, may give no unfair notion of the character of his mind. In the progress of his work he follows down the line of Inca princes, whose exploits, and names even, by no means coincide with Garcilaso's catalogue, - a circumstance, however, far from establishing their inaccuracy. But one will have little doubt that the writer merits this reproach, after reading the absurd legends told in grave tone of reliance by Montesinos, who shared largely in credulity and the love of the marvellous which belong to an earlier and less enlightened age.

These same traits are visible in his *Annals*, which are devoted exclusively to the Conquest. Here, indeed, the author, after his cloudy flight, has descended on firm ground, where gross violations of truth, or at least of probability, are not to be expected. But any one who has occasion to compare his narrative with that of contemporary writers will find frequent cause to distrust it. Yet Montesinos has one merit. In his extensive researches, he became acquainted with original instruments, which he has occasionally transferred to his own pages, and which it would now be difficult to meet with elsewhere.

His writings have been commented by some of his learned countrymen, as showing diligent research and information. My own experience would not assign them a high rank as historical vouchers. They seem to me entitled to little praise, either for the accuracy of their statements or the sagacity of their reflections. The spirit of cold indifference which they manifest to the sufferings of the natives is an odious feature, for which there is less apology in a writer of the seventeenth century than in one

of the primitive Conquerors, whose passions had been inflamed by long-protracted hostility. M. Ternaux-Compans has translated the *Memorias antiguas* with his usual elegance and precision, for his collection of original documents relating to the New World."

Mariano E. RIVERO & John J. TSCHUDI 1855:51, 65-6. *Peruvian Antiquities*. New York (original Spanish edition was published in 1851).

"The author, a native of Osona, in Spain, visited Peru a century after the conquest, at two different times, and travelled fifteen years through the viceroyalty, devoting himself with great eagerness to the ancient history of the memoirs of the Incas, collecting all the traditions and songs of the natives, gathering knowledge from the most learned Indians relative to past events, profiting by the unpublished manuscripts, compiled under the direction of F. Luis-Lopez, bishop of Quito, (consecrated in 1588), and studying antiquities with so much zeal, that none equalled him in archaeological knowledge...

The memoirs of this author treat of the ancient history of Peru, in a mode so original and distinct from all others, that we can easily perceive it to be a production alike novel and unknown...

From this exposition, we see that the work of Montesinos cannot stand analysis. It will be at once noticed that the foundation on which the author erects his history, i.e. the identity of Peru with the country of Ophir, and the continued communication of Armenia with the New World, is a gratuitous hypothesis, and simply an exposition of the historical investigations of the Spanish authors who occupied themselves, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, with the subject of the discovery of America. But further, the memoirs of Montesinos present so many contradictions, so many chronological errors, and such manifest incorrectness, that it is only with the utmost precaution and much distrust that such documents can be made of at all. In spite of his erudition, and the large amount of knowledge which his earnest search could gather during his long residence in Peru, his history does not present a character worthy of credit, and the succession of Peruvian monarchs seems very arbitrary. Doubtless, in the later periods of Peruvian history, the relations of Montesinos present a degree of authenticity superior to that of Garcilasso de la Vega; and in spite of his errors and defects, these memoirs form an important element in the historic literature of Peru."

William BOLLAERT 1860:123-4. *Antiquarian, Ethnological and Other Researches in New Granada, Equador, Peru and Chile*. London. "The 'Memorias Peruanas' of Montesinos is worth referring to by the student of ancient Peruvian history. He visited Peru a hundred years after the conquest, travelling fifteen years through the viceroyalty. His favourite idea was that Peru was the Ophir of Solomon, and that America was peopled from Armenia.

Five hundred years after the Deluge (4004 B.C.) begins the catalogue of the monarchs, whose names are quoted by Montesinos, amounting to 101, previous to conquest of the country by the Spaniards. I have been unable to learn how or what manner he obtained his materials for the 'Memorias'. With the learned reviewer of Rawlinson's "Herodotus," (in the January volume, 1860, of the "Edinburgh Review,") as applicable to the Montesinos Memoirs, I think that we ought to be curious to learn how much truth is hidden under romantic disguise. But for this the student in Peruvian history has no hieroglyphics or written language. There were the Quipos, but the Quipocamayos, or readers of the knotted strings, have passed away and left but a very small key to their wonderful art. It would be worthwhile to ascertain, if possible, the real meanings of the names of the Incas as given by Montesinos, as also of the names of the months given in brackets by Rivero and Tschudi... A critical examination and comparison of the first Quichua, Aymar , Chicha-suyo, Quito, Guarani, and other vocabularies and grammars would be of service."

Vicente FIDEL LOPEZ 1871:135-6, 254, 412. *Les Races Aryennes du Pérou*. Paris.
“La preuve que j’en vais donner est des plus convaincantes, et ressort des erreurs mêmes de l’histoire. Le seul écrivain qui ait essayé de nous donner quelque idée de la chronologie péruvienne est le visitador Montesinos, qui, à la fin du XVI^e siècle, parcourut l’Amérique et recueillit avec soin, de la bouche même des Amautas, les traditions antiques du pays. Comme nous le verrons plus lois, toutes les fois qu’il s’agit de la relation des saisons avec les astres et de la disposition de l’année civile, cet auteur fait preuve d’une ignorance absolue: c’est pour cela que ses affirmations ont une valeur des plus considérables...

De tous les livres qu’on a écrits sur les antiquités péruviennes, un seul a pris à tâche de reproduire franchement et naïvement le texte des traditions qui couraient parmi les populations de l’Amérique méridionale: je veux parler des mémoires de Montesinos. Les autres écrivains ont eu la prétention, malheureusement peu justifiée, de réunir les récits populaires en corps d’histoires: ils ont établi entre les diverses matières qu’ils avaient recueillies un ordre purement imaginaire, et confondu sans raison ni critique les légendes différentes de tribus qui, pour être de même race et de même origine, n’en possédaient pas moins chacune ses traditions particulières et ses chants nationaux, complètement indépendants de ceux des peuples frères.

L’unique moyen d’établir les fondements d’une histoire péruvienne est donc d’étudier avec un soin minutieux la série des traditions qui s’étaient conservées dans la mémoire des indigènes...

Au Pérou, comme partout ailleurs, il a fallu des siècles innombrables pour que la civilisation arienne apportée par les tribus asiatiques pût achever son oeuvre. Montesinos, le seul qui ait relevé ce fait, est donc un chroniqueur exact et bien informé; les autres sont des historiens du genre de Rollin, plus soucieux de théories que de légendes et de traditions populaires.”

Eugenio MAFFEY & Ramon RUA FIGUEROA 1871-72. *Bibl.min.esp.* t. I, p. 482. Madrid. Cited in: José Toribio MEDINA. *La Imprenta en Lima*. Tomo I, 1965:317. “Natural de Osuna. Fué presbítero y licenciado en sagrados cánones. Pasó en 1628, en la armada del conde de Chincón, al Peru, en donde residió hasta 1642 ó 43, siendo muy apreciado por su ilustracion y conocimientos en las ciencias físicas. El padre Rodríguez, en *El Marañón y Amazonas*, dice que ninguno conoció mejor que Montesinos las antigüedades del Perú. Poseyó numerosos Mss. que compró en Lima de la propiedad del obispo de Quito don Luis López, cuya circunstancia y el haber registrado los archivos de Trujillo, Lima, Potosí, etc., le hacen pasar como autor verídico y fehaciente, por más que, en nuestro concepto, aparezcan equivocadas algunas de sus noticias insertas en las Memorias del Pirú, que debió tomar, sin depurarlas, del enmarañado y revuelto arsenal de los cronistas y anotadores peruanos del siglo XV, no todos instruídos, ni menos desapasionados. Como visitador del Peru, recorrió Montesinos diferentes veces aquellas dilatadas provincias, siendo la historia de las minas, su beneficio, productos y vicisitudes uno de los objetos principales de sus investigaciones, que consignó en sus *Memorias*, las cuales dejó sin terminar, especialmente en los sucesos relativos á los últimos años de su residencia en el Peru.”

Clements MARKHAM 1871:284, 293, 296-7, *On the geographical Positions of the Tribes which formed the Empire of the Incas*. London. (This early opinion of Markham is in a striking contrast with his latter ones. See, e.g. 1920) “15. Fernando Montesinos. “Fernan Mendez Pinto was but a type of thee, thou liar of the first magnitude”! (1652.)

Many centuries must have elapsed before an aggressive policy became a leading feature of the government of the Yncas, and, baseless as the chronicle of Montesinos certainly is, the Ynca civilization is much more likely to have required a period represented by his hundred Yncas, than by the dozen of the more generally reliable authorities, for its full development.”

“Detailed history, based on native information (discarding the absurdities of Montesinos), is only to be met with in the pages of the Ynca Garcilasso; but, so far as it goes, it confirms the above conclusion.”

Clements MARKHAM 1873 (Introduction:xvii) in Molina: *An Account of the Fables and Rites of the Yncas, by Christoval de Molina*. Transl. and edited by Sir. C. Markham. “Montesinos both wrote after Salcamayhua, and is totally unreliable. The Indian Salcamayhua was intimately acquainted with the language, which was his own, and he received the traditions from his own people. But neither he nor Molina corroborate one of the fabulous stories told by Montesinos; whose pretensions to having received his list of a hundred kings, and other absurdities, from the Indian *Amautas* or wise men, and discredited by the absence of all corroborative testimony. It is clear that Montesinos was ignorant of the Quichua language, and his work, in my opinion, is quite inadmissible as an authority.”

John BALDWIN 1872:261-76. *Ancient America, in Notes on American Archaeology*. New York. “The only Spanish writer who really studied the ancient history of Peru in the traditional and other records of the country was Fernando Montesinos, who went there about a century after the Conquest. He was sent from Spain on service which took him to every part of Peru, and gave him the best possible opportunities for investigation. He was a scholar and a worker, with a strong inclination to such studies, and, during two periods of residence in the country, he devoted fifteen years to these inquiries with unremitting industry and great success. He soon learned to communicate freely with the Peruvians in their own language; then he applied himself to collect the historical poems, narratives, and traditions. He succeeded in getting assistance from many of the older men who had learned of the *amautas*, and especially of those who were trained to read the quipus. Nothing was omitted which could aid his purpose. In this way Montesinos made a great collection of what may be called the old Peruvian documents, and gained a vast amount of information which no other writer had used or even sought to acquire... Those who criticise Montesinos admit that ‘his advantages were great,’ that ‘no one equaled him in archaeological knowledge of Peru,’ and that ‘he became acquainted with original instruments which he occasionally transferred to his own pages, and which it would now be difficult to meet elsewhere.’...”

It has been the fashion to depreciate Montesinos, but I find it impossible to discover the reasons by which this depreciation can be justified. It is alleged that he uses fanciful hypotheses to explain Peru. The reply to this seems to me conclusive. In the first place, he is, in this respect, like all other writers of his time. That was an age of fanciful theories. Montesinos is certainly no worse than others in this respect, while he has the merit of being somewhat more original. He brought the Peruvian civilization from Armenia, and argued that Peru was Solomon’s Ophir. Undue importance has been accorded to several of the old Spanish chroniclers, whose works contain suggestions and fancies much more irrational. In the second place, his theories have nothing whatever to do with his facts, by which they are sometimes contradicted. He found in Peru materials for the scheme of its ancient history, which he sets forth. Readers will form their own estimates of its value, but no reasonable critic will confound this part of his work with his fanciful explanations, which are sometimes inconsistent with it...

There is another objection, which must be stated in the words of one of the critics who have urged it: ‘Montesinos treats the ancient history of Peru in a mode so original and distinct from all others that we can perceive it to be a production alike novel and unknown.’ If this means anything, it means that it was highly improper for Montesinos to find in Peru what was ‘unknown’ to poorly-informed and superficial Spanish writers, who had already been accepted as ‘authorities.’ It would have been singular if his

careful investigation, continued through fifteen years, had not given him a great amount of information which others had never taken pains to acquire. His treatment of the subject was 'original and distinct from all others,' because he knew what other writers did not know. His information did not allow him to repeat the marvelous story of Manco-Capac and Mama-Ocillo, nor to confine Peruvian history to the time of the Incas. But when the result of his inquiries was announced in Europe, Garcilasso and others regulated the fashion of Peruvian studies, and the influence of their limited and superficial knowledge of the subject has been felt ever since.

The curious theories of Montesinos may be brushed aside as rubbish, or be studied with other vagaries of that age in order to understand its difference from ours; but whoever undertakes to criticise his facts needs to be his equal in knowledge of Peru. His works, however, tell us all that can ever be known of Peruvian ancient history, for the facilities for investigation which existed in his time are no longer possible."

George E. SQUIER 1877:166-7. *Peru. Incidents of Travel and Exploration in the Land of the Incas*. London.

"Montesinos, in his apocryphal history, speaks of a body of strangers, called Chimus, who had introduced themselves on the coast, bringing new idolatries, and, by superior valor, reducing the scattered tribes between the mountains and the sea. They were represented to have come by water, in canoes, and to be giants, and warlike... We hear no more of the Chimus in Montesinos relatively until the reign of the ninety-seventh Inca, Topa-Yupanqui, who, marching from Quito along the coast, found the Chimus in full revolt (Montesinos nowhere mentions their reduction)... Balboa, whose relation is more in accord with that of Montesinos than that of Garcilasso, states that when the Inca Capac Yupanqui had finished a campaign against the Chingas, he turned against their allies, the Conchucos, who had their capital in Caxamarca."

M. JIMENEZ de la ESPADA 1882. Dedicatoria (in Montesinos' *Memorias...*) ESPADA has written an uncritical, factual introduction to this edition of Montesinos' *Memorias*, with biographical notes and background information on his major work. (Compare chapter I:5.)

Chauncey THOMAS 1891:5-6. *The Story of Inca Rocca*. Boston.

"It will be seen by those familiar with the literature concerning ancient Peru that the author of the following pages has adopted the chronology of Frenandez Montessinos, rather than that of Garcilasso de Vega and other contemporary writers, who are commonly quoted as the best authority. In this, the writer follows the lead of Baldwin, who, in his 'Ancient America', ably defends the much discredited Montessinos from the contemptuous slurs of many writers, contemporary and modern. It must be remembered that in the sixteenth century, as well as in much later times, all facts were looked upon with theological eyes, and all thought was necessarily brought into strict accord with theological dogmas...

Montessinos, by his long residence in Peru, his genuine interest in the people and their history, so unusual in a Monk of that time, and the fact that he alone of all the Spanish priests, gained the confidence of the natives and learned from them in their own language a vast amount of their legendary lore, entitles him to great consideration. He claimed to have learned to read the Quippu, that remarkable instrument by which the Peruvians kept their records. From these sources he claims to have gathered information which shows that one hundred and six kings, beginning with Manco Capac, ruled over Peru in a nearly unbroken line."

E. LARRABURE y UNANUE 1893:103, 105, 368-9, 379-80. *Monografias Historico Americanas*. Lima. "Este analista compuso con algunas tradiciones peruanas una leyenda, cuya falta de verdad se descubre por la naturaleza de los detalles que ofrece. En

efecto, refiriéndose a sus propias investigaciones, dice el licenciado Montesinos que las primeras tribus que poblaron el Perú vinieron de la Armenia 500 años después del diluvio; agrega luego, mezclando siempre sus creencias personales con las tradiciones indígenas, que dichas tribus llegaron bajo la dirección de cuatro hermanos y otras tantas hermanas...

Pero trae en seguida una lista de cien soberanos, consignando escrupulosamente el número de años que reinó cada uno y diversos datos biográficos, hasta el desgraciado Huáscar. Y es curioso notar que todos estos pirhuas reinaron durante largos periodos, lo cual permite al licenciado distribuirlos cómodamente en el espacio de los siglos transcurridos, desde el VI después del diluvio, hasta principios del XVI de la era cristiana. Y no copio aquella lista de nombres incas porque la creo pura fábula, por más que el autor nos asegure que sacó sus noticias de los *quipus*.

¿Por qué los escritores que precedieron a Montesinos y que llegaron al Perú precisamente un siglo antes que él, no traen aquella lista? Cómo pudo escaparse noticia de tal importancia a los cronistas cuyos informes he extractado? Así, sospecho que los críticos modernos que se dejan guiar únicamente por Montesinos y tratan de levantar monumentos históricos con las obras del licenciado, construyen sus edificios sobre deleznable arena...

Si sus noticias no pueden merecer completo crédito y no están siempre de acuerdo con las versiones de otros cronistas respetables, como Cieza de León y Garcilaso, en cambio son dignas de estudio y constituyen una fuente importante de consulta."

W. Golden MORTIMER 1901:29, 200. *History of Coca*. New York. "An attempt has been made to trace the people who established this early empire from various nations of the Old World. Montesinos, an ancient Spanish chronicler, declares that they came from Armenia about five hundred years after the deluge, while other theorists connect them with the Egyptians, with the early Hebrews, and with the Chinese. (Note): A Dominican [sic!] missionary who visited Peru one hundred years after the Conquest, and travelled for fifteen years through the viceroyalty. He gives a line of one hundred and one sovereigns prior to the Conquest. Garcilaso de la Vega mentions certain hieroglyphics used by the wise men of Cuzco, and Montesinos, who is not always the best authority, declared that in the early ages the use of letters was known among the Incan people, but had been lost during the reign of Yupanqui."

Mitchell HUMPHREYS 1903:34-67. *Dauer und Chronologie der Inkaherrschaft*. Rostock.

"Das Inkaheer lief Gefahr vernichtet zu werden, aber Tupac-Yupanqui gewann schliesslich doch die Oberhand und zwang den tapferen König, sich zu ergeben Montesinos, der sonst so viel Unglaubwürdiges erzählt, giebt hier eine Darstellung der Tatsachen in Bezug auf die Unterwerfung des Chimus, die uns sehrzutreffend erscheint, denn er stützt sich dabei auf eine richtige Berücksichtigung der lokalen Verhältnisse... Man kann nicht, wie Desjardins und Wiener, Montesinos Verfahren für einen Irrtum erklären, der nur daraus entstanden sei, dass Viracocha manchmal mit dem Beinamen Yupanqui genannt wurde...

Dieser sagenhaften Erzählung Montesinos ist wenig Glauben beizumessen doch bleibt sie nicht ohne Interesse für unsere Untersuchung...

Entwicklungsgang des Inkareichs entsprechend etwa Montesinos ohne dessen Inka-bezeichnungen zu beachten, als einen sehr langen anzusetzen."

Pablo PATRON 1906:289-303. La Veracidad de Montesinos (compare, chapter I:5)

"Lo cierto es, que, en el cargo de visitador, que ejerció dos veces, exploró todo el Perú; al punto que en quince años había recorrido 1,500 leguas y atravesado sesenta veces la Cordillera de los andes...

Montesinos puede haber pecado de crédulo, pero no ha sido nunca impostor y por esto

es que ha sido bien tratado por los autores antiguos...[referring to Rodríguez]

Aparte de estos cotejos conviene examinar hasta qué punto están á una con la verdad histórica las principales aseveraciones de Montesinos. Ellas son dos: la existencia de una cultura pre-incaica y también la de una escritura primitiva, perdida después y reemplazada por los quipus. La primera es hoy un hecho perfectamente averiguado y en el cual están acordes los historiadores más notables...

Cualquiera que sea el valor de esta escritura y lo que hoy pueda entenderse de ella, lo cierto es que Montesinos es el único que nos ha conservado la noticia de un hecho tan importante. La demostración es tan completa, que, aunque no se supiera nada sobre la existencia de escritura pre-incaica, siempre se llegaría á deducir su realidad en vista de ejemplos aducidos...

Con todo, Montesinos merece ser considerado entre las fuentes históricas más importantes, como lo ha probado la exposición anterior. Vacíos y errores los tiene, sin duda, pero en esto no se diferencia de los demás historiadores y cronistas de Indias, que, cual más cual menos, todos se encuentran en mismo caso."

Manuel GONZALEZ de la ROSA 1907:190-198. El Padre Valera primer historiador peruano.

"No hallamos en el mismo caso que en el plagio de Garcilaso. Muchos han atacado á Montesinos como á aguél, tratándolos de falsarios y novelistas, sin pensar en que no eran otra cosa sino meros copistas, con la diferencia que el primero cita con frecuencia al autor que copia y el otro nó. Los aficionados á estudiar la historia antigua del Perú lo han hecho hasta ahora á la ligera, y de igual modo, por no meditar bastante la materia, han lanzado el calificativo de falsario al ver que Montesinos es el único autor conocido hasta ahora que hace remontar la historia del país á una remota antigüedad y menciona una larguísima serie de soberanos, desmintiendo así la rutina de los doce incas oficiales del Cuzco...

Sin querer aquí trazar la biografía del autor del Ofir, declaramos que tenemos muy pobre idea de él, personalmente considerado, y lo creemos uno de los mil clérigos aventureros que pasaban á América, más á hacer fortuna que á escribir la historia de los indios; por lo mismo, creemos que no consagró á estas materias sino el tiempo sólo necesario para copiar ó extractar la obra de Valera, escrita muchos años antes, como lo acreditan su trabajo sobre los metales, su larga residencia en Potosí y las sesenta veces que cruzó la Cordillera, como hombre de negocios más bien que de bufete...

De hoy en adelante sabremos que la teoría de la gran antigüedad de la civilización peruana, confirmada hoy por la argueología, no reposa ya sobre la frágil autoridad del plagiario Montesinos, sino sobre la autorizada palabra de su verdadero autor, que había bebido en la fuente misma, el sabio mestizo Blas Valera... Pronto someteremos á los peruanistas un estudio que preparemos acerca de la interpretación del monolito de Tiahuanaco, en el que se verán confirmadas en globo las teorías históricas de Valera, aunque muy desfiguradas por Montesinos."

Sir Clements MARKHAM 1910:11-12, 40, 305. *The Incas of Peru*. New York. "The long list of Kings of Peru given by Montesinos did not originate with him, but was due to earlier writers long before his time. He, however, collected some interesting traditions, but his absurd contention that Peru was peopled by Armenians under the leadership of Noah's great-grandson Ophir destroys all confidence in his statements... The writer was credulous and uncritical, and his information was collected a century after the conquest, when all the instructed Indians who could remember the days of the Incas had passed away. Little credence has, therefore, been given to the list hitherto. But Dr. Gonzalez de la Rosa has recently adduced good reasons for the belief that Montesinos merely copied the list of kings, which was well known long before his time... ..his mind was full of a chronology based on the date of the deluge approved by Holy Church. Starting with all this nonsense, he read the works on Peru

already published in his time, and finally fell in with the list of kings at La Paz. He tried to turn it into what he thought was history by adding events taken from the works on the Inca history, to the bare record of the names of kings...In short, having read the history of the Incas in other works, and seeing the long list of early kings without any events, he took the accounts of Inca events, and of their customs and ceremonies, and distributed them among the reigns of the ancient kings."

Sir Clements MARKHAM 1920:6-13. Introduction (in Montesinos' *Memorias...*) (compare, chapter I:5)

"It is thus established that Blas Valera was the anonymous Jesuit, and that he obtained the list of Kings from the Amautas of an early generation, which was copied, without acknowledgement, many years afterwards by Montesinos..."

He seems to have made a copy of the Valera List of Kings, probably at Chuquiapu (La Paz) with the notes; and no doubt this led him to the idea of writing a history of his own, based on the list. He constantly alludes to Amautas, consulted by him; but if he really consulted any, they were a century off the time when the Inca rule existed, and records were efficiently kept. Montesinos was disqualified for such a task by strong preconceived opinions...His very uncritical mind also unfitted him for what he undertook."

José de RIVA-AGÜERO (1910:23-4,75, 530-42) 1952. *La Historia en el Perú*. Doctoral thesis. Madrid. (citations from CABRAL 1913:308, IMBELLONI 1941:268, and PARDO 1957:iv-viii.) "Porque decir, como González de la Rosa, que Montesinos juntamente con Garcilaso habían plagiado al padre Valera (cuando distan toco coelo los Comentarios de la parte de las Memorias historiales que trata de los Incas), es violentar en extremo las cosas y desvirtuar el concepto de plagio. Reconozcamos de buen grado que Montesinos no es original, que tomó su sistema - o la mayor parte de él - de escritos preexistentes. El mismo confiesa que lo ha copiado de un libro manuscrito de autor ignorado, que le aseguraron que fué obra de un quiteño, inspirado por el obispo Luis López. Pretencio este manuscrito, sin duda, al conjunto de trabajos que llegaron a manos de los jesuitas y que tanto extraviaron a algunos de ellos. Pero, ¿por qué hemos de creer, repito, que fué de Valera? ¿Por que hemos de acusar a Montesinos de plagio, y multiplicar así, sin necesidad ni verosimilitud, las suposiciones de hurtos literarios? Si Montesinos no ha pretendido el lauro de la originalidad, ¿qué más le daba decir que copiada a fray Luis López que no a Valera? ¿Que tácita conjuración fué ésta de Montesinos, Garcilaso y los mismos jesuitas para ocultar unos, y desnaturalizar y retazar otros, la historia de Valera, y opacar en cuanto pudieran su memoria? Todo ello es rarísimo, desconcertador, laberíntico, casi absurdo..."

Resultaría un tremendo embaucador, culpable de la infinidad de mentiras que se contienen en la falsísima *Relación anónima*, en el inexacto *vocabulario* y en las fantasmagóricas *Memorias historiales*, responsable de la sistemática y desvengonzada deformación de la historia peruana, de esta especie de nuevos *cronicones* en que han venido a caer tan be neméritos eruditos."

"que primero, Montesinos extrajo su relato sobre las edades preincaicas de trabajos manuscritos anónimos, los cuales ya habían inspirado a varios jesuitas; segundo que en esos trabajos hay una parte verdadera i comprobada, por la ciencia moderna; pero esa parte es mínima i está cubierta i entremezclada con toda especie de falsedades, exageraciones e interpolaciones, debidas algunas a los mismos indígenas i muchas al primer compilador español, que parece según todas probabilidades pudo haber do un gran falsario; tercero, que, Montesinos, puesto que recorrió el Perú, cien años después de la conquista, no ha podido recoger de boca de los naturales, sino mui corrompidas tradiciones."

"En mi opinión, es en esta parte de sus *Memorias Historiales* un mero copista de anteriores trabajos. Por eso tampoco hay porqué deslumbrarse con la concordancia que existe entre su serie cronológica de reyes preincaicos y la de los nombrados por el

jesuita de la Relación anónima y el del vocabulario que cita el padre Oliva. Es seguro que los tres han bebido en la misma fuente de informaciones.” “Montesinos está destinado a ser para la primitiva historia del Perú lo que Manetón para lo del Egipto...” “con todo esto queda en definitiva que Montesinos no es sino muy pequeña parte historiador fehaciente; que es inadmisiblesu larga serie de noventa reyes preincaicos, y que sus Memorias históricas constituyen una maraña de tradiciones, apócrifas las unas, corrompidas las otras, todas ellas barajadas y embrolladas en laberíntica confusión.”

H. BEUCHAT 1912:589-94. *Manuel d'Archéologie Américaine*. Paris.

“Mais tous s'accordent à reconnaître que Manco Ccapac fut le premier des Incas; seul, Montesinos fait exception. Cet auteur prétend qu'avant les Incas, deux dynasties régnèrent sur le Pérou, celles des Pyruas et les Amautas. Il donne une liste de ces souverains, qui comprend 101 noms. Nous ignorons sur quels documents s'appuya Montesinos pur établir cette liste, mais un fait certain est que le titre d'Amauta appartenait à certains prêtres du clan des Incas. D'après Montesinos, le premier souverain qui aurait pris le titre d'Inca ne serait pas Manco Ccapac, mais bien Sinchi Rocca que tous les autres chroniqueurs considèrent comme son successeur...

Ayar Uchu Topa fonda Ccozco, épousa sa soeur aînée et se fit adorer comme fils du Soleil, sous le nom de Pyrhua-Manco, premier emereur de la dynastie mythique des Pyruas...

Montesinos parle avec quelque détail de l'histoire de cette partie de l'Argentine, mais la plupart des indications qu'il nous fournit sont légendaires et se rapportent à des dynasties imaginaires...

Thomas JOYCE 1912:77-8, 80, 186. *South American Archaeology*. London. “Our view of the history of Peru must inevitably be coloured by the degree of authenticity which we assign to the writings of Montesinos. While nearly all of the early writers give a list of twelve or thirteen sovereigns, Montesinos records about one hundred. For a long time it was believed that his account was of no value, and it was attributed to an indiscriminating credulity or a fertile imagination. But quite recently evidence has been brought to show that his list may have been copied from the work of Blas Valera, a chronicler, quoted extensively by Garcilasso, whose writings, believed to have been lost, were universally recognized as evidence of the greatest value. As will be seen, the archaeology of Peru supports the theory that an extensive empire existed in days long prior to the first Inca of the shorter list, but it seems strange that Garcilasso, who had access to the manuscript of Valera, should have made no allusion to the earlier rulers. Most chroniclers, including Montesinos, start their history with the same myth, which will be related immediately, and nearly all of them give the last twelve sovereigns in the same order. It seems possible that these later rulers alone bore the title of Inca, and that the earlier kings of Montesinos, if his list be accepted, were known by other titles...

It is impossible, in view of the recent attempt to prove the authenticity of this author's account, to neglect it entirely; no doubt many of the incidents belong more properly to the later history, and it seems in some cases as if Montesinos had duplicated certain events, assigning them in modified form both to the early period and what may be called the Inca period proper; but a short sketch of the events as chronicled by him will be useful as throwing a little light upon the archaeology which will be discussed later...

If this interpretation of archaeological evidence is correct, there seems yet more reason to believe that the account of Montesinos is based on genuine tradition, garbled and perverted if it is true, but containing nevertheless a substratum of fact. The rulers of his early list, viewed in this light, become the sovereigns of the Tiahuanaco empire.”

Max UHLE 1912:343 "Los orígenes de los Incas" En: *Actas del XVII Congress Internacional de Americanistas, Buenos Aires 1910* (cited in: CABRAL 1913:354, 364; IMBELLONI 1941:272-3.)

"Este origen de la historia primitiva de los incas sería por sí solo suficiente para evidenciar el carácter, no mítico sino puramente fantástico, de la larga lista de incas gobernantes, extendida sobre millares de años en la obra histórica de Montesinos y otros que le siguieron...

Me imagino que la forma aislada de las tradiciones originales aparece todavía en los trozos que, en combinación diferente, forman la base de las Memorias de Montesinos y cuyo arreglo arbitrario ha producido su cronología absurda."

Jorge CABRAL 1913:315-70. *Los Cronistas e Historiadores de Indias*. Buenos Aires. "El único historiador importante que ha sostenido la existencia de este imperio fué el licenciado Fernando Montesinos...Montesinos es el único de los historiadores españoles que nos da una lista de los antiguos reyes del Perú. Mucho se ha discutido y aun por muchos años quedará como uno de los misterios de la historia precolombina esta lista de los antiguos reyes del Perú. Hemos dicho ya al tratar de los cronistas é historiadores la importancia que Montesinos tiene como autor fidedigno y seguro. Alrededor de sus 'Memorias Historiales y Políticas' se han trabado verdaderas batallas respecto de su autenticidad y de su buena fé. De sus más ardientes defensores, ha sido uno de nuestros grandes historiadores, don Vicente Fidel López, quien ha estudiado con verdadero cuidado la lista de reyes que Montesinos presenta en su obra, y de este estudio ha sacado la conclusión de que en el Perú preincaico hubo dos castas rivales, la de los sacerdotes ó amautas y la de los guerreros ó piruas, que por largo tiempo se disputaron el mando... Las excavaciones y descubrimientos efectuados en Tiahuanaco han comprobado de una manera categórica la afirmación de Montesinos en lo que se refiere á la existencia de un grande imperio preincaico con una cultura sólida y positiva...

No hay duda de que Montesinos, que fué muy amigo y protegido de los jesuitas, encontró su cuadro de dinastías preincaicas entre los papeles de la Compañía y se apresuró á transcribirlo. Sería hipótesis improbable en sumo grado suponer que, habiendo sido como lo fué, asiduo concurrente á la biblioteca de los jesuitas de Lima y muy prolijo investigador, no hubiera tropezado con aquellos trabajos; y que por mera coincidencia hubiera obtenido identidad perfecta en los nombres y aproximación tan grande en la serie de sucesión de aquellos soberanos...

No es, pues, el licenciado Fernando Montesinos un deliberado inventor de patrañas, pero no es tampoco el portentoso revelador de una vasta región histórica que algunos imaginan. Es un compilador de tradiciones preincaicas amontonadas por otros cronistas hoy desconocidos, en las cuales una partícula de verdad se ahoga y pierde bajo inmenso cúmulo de alteraciones y falsificaciones...Y no se diga que la conformidad entre Montesinos y los autores que admitían dinastías cuzqueñas anteincaicas, puede provenir de haber acudido todos ellos á una fuente común: á las tradiciones de los amautas y á los cantares indígenas de que Montesinos hacen mención, repetidas veces. Ya vimos que el mismo Montesinos declara que sus más importantes noticias las obtuvo de un libro manuscrito...

Si no fue el padre Blas Valera, como parece demostrarlo claramente Riva Agüero en el estudio transcripto, el autor primitivo de la lista de reyes preincaicos que Montesinos nos da, esta lista no puede tener toda la importancia y el relieve que tendría si se conociese con seguridad que su autor fué el jesuita peruano. Y si esta es la causa de que ella no merezca ser considerada con atención, una vez que su autor ha dejado de tener una verdadera autoridad en el campo de la historia crítica, ella queda reducida á la categoría de lo problemático y de lo poco seguro. Con todo, la lista de Montesinos merece ser estudiada con cierto cuidadoso detenimiento y para ello la transcribimos á continuación...

Fundamentada así, sobre una confederación, la dinastía de los Incas tiene toda la solidez y la importancia que le reconocieron los primeros descubridores y el problema de las dinastías de la monarquía peruana concluye, siendo resuelto, como hemos tratado de demostrarlo, por la sucesión lógica de cuatro dinastías [Piruas, Amautas, Tampu Tocco, Incas (dinastía Cuzqueña)], que abarcando un período cuya extensión no podemos fácilmente calcular, realizan una obra tan estupenda como es difícil que encontremos, en igualdad de condiciones, otra parecida en la Historia de la Humanidad.”

Hiram BINGHAM 1915:173. The Story of Machu Picchu. *National Geographic Magazine*, February.

“The most satisfactory accounts of Tampu-tocco occur in the writings of Montesinos...[He] appears to have given himself over entirely to historical research. He traveled extensively in Peru and wrote several books. His history of the Incas was spoiled by the introduction, in which he contended that Peru was peopled by Armenians under the leadership of Ophir, the great-grandson of Noah! More recently, however, Sir Clements Markham, the dean of Peruvian archaeologists, and other students of the history of the Incas, have been inclined to place greater credence in the statements of Montesinos...”

The record stones may be the remains of the old system which was abandoned by the advice of the soothsayers, as Montesinos has it. As a matter of probability, it seems likely that the invention of more convenient *quipu* caused the far more uncertain ‘record stone’ to disappear... Finally, there is nothing in Montesinos’ account of Tampu-tocco which calls for conditions or characteristics not found at Machu Picchu... Firstly, the requirements of Tampu-tocco as described in Montesinos are met at Machu Picchu and not at Paccaritampu...”

BINGHAM 1922:118, 309. *Inca Land*. Boston and New York. “Montesinos, one of the best early historians, tells us of Titu Yupanqui, Pachacuti VI, sixtysecond of the Peruvian Amautas, rulers who long preceded the Incas... The skeptic may brush it aside as a story intended to appeal to the vanity of persons with Inca blood in their veins; yet it is not told by the half-caste Garcilaso, who wanted Europeans to admire his maternal ancestors and wrote his book accordingly, but is in the pages of that careful investigator Montesinos, a pure-blooded Spaniard...”

Philip A. MEANS 1917:236. An outline of the culture-sequence in the Andean area. Washington.

“Regarding that culture which is known as ‘Tiahuanaco’ or ‘Megalithic Empire’, Fernando Montesinos is the most important authority. His *Memorias Antiguas*, written about 1640, is now considered to be based on at least some fact. Dr. Gonzalez de la Rosa, by proving that Montesinos received information from Blas Valera, has given tangible reasons for valuing him as an authority...”

MEANS 1920:xi-xvii. Introduction (in Montesinos’ *Memorias...*) (compare, chapter I:5) “Probably no one of the older writers and historians who have treated of ancient America has received more abuse at the hands of later critics than has Father Fernando Montesinos...”

Like Valera, he was a Jesuit...

Therefore, in spite of the fact that the *Memorias historiales* are blemished by a vulgar credulity on the part of their author that is truly astonishing, and in spite of the fact that much of what they now contain is obviously apocryphal, it is impossible to regard the *Memorias* in any other light than as the mutilated form of the perfectly sound *Vocabulario histórico* of Valera. Montesinos, therefore, is one of the most important of the earlier writers on Peru...

The most obvious reason for the neglect and abuse which Montesinos has received at the hands of many writers is his credulity and his blind acceptance of the Scriptures as an authority on ancient Peruvian history...taken up with this absurd

belief [theory of Ophir] it is likely that they, more than any other single thing, have served to damn the book as a whole. In order to profit by the great amount of perfectly genuine folklore concealed in the *Memorias*, one must first strip away all the husks of credulity and superstition, all the distorted and mis-stated events, and all the apocryphal statements. The next step is that of comparing the folklore thus exposed to view with all other varieties of evidence touching upon ancient Andean history. This comparison, when carried out with proper caution and great care, reveals an extraordinary degree of correspondence between all types of evidence, and it serves to corroborate my dictum that the *Memorias* do contain a large measure of perfectly genuine pre-Inca folklore. This is the method which I shall follow..."

Guinaldo M. VASQUEZ 1918:65-86. El rededor de las "Memorias". *Revista Universitaria*, Vol.II. Lima.

"La cronología de Montesinos es enrevesada, y, a veces, contradictoria. En ella se perciben claramente los esfuerzos que hizo el Licenciado para adaptar la cuenta del manuscrito que le servía de base (y que se atribuye al P. Valera) y la de los amautas de Pacaritambo (que parece se contenía también en el mismo manuscrito), a la cronología de la Vulgata y a la Versión de los Setenta, respectivamente, esfuerzos que, por haber quedado incompletos, produjeron la necesaria confusión y el consiguiente descrédito del autor de las 'Memorias'.

Felizmente, tuvo Montesinos la sinceridad de referirse, en sus cómputos, al autor del manuscrito de una manera terminante, por lo menos en el Cap. I, y, aunque con menos precisión, en el Cap. X, al afirmar que, 'según la cuenta de nuestros historiadores, la entrada del cuatro sol (o millar de años) de la Creación, corresponde a la segunda edad del mundo', así como, también tuvo la de citar con frecuencia los cálculos de los amautas. Pero, es bueno advertir que respecto de estos últimos, no tuvo reparo en atribuirles muchas veces su propio parecer.

Ahora bien, esas citas me han permitido rastrear el origen de muchos de sus datos, y así, corrigiendo algunos y confirmando otros, puedo presentar en esta monografía, un ensayo de reconstrucción de la cronología peruana y en especial de la ante-inca."

Leland LOCKE 1923:35. *The Ancient Quipu*. New York.

"Licentiate Fernandez Montesinos went to Peru in 1629. The list of kings given by Montesinos has been substantiated from other sources, giving some additional weight to the credibility of his records which he claimed to have acquired from quipus through learned natives."

Ricardo E. LATCHAM 1928:16-17. *Los Incas, sus orígenes y sus Ayllus*. Santiago de Chile (cited in: IMBELLONI 1941:272.)

"A nuestro modo de ver, esta larga lista y las frecuentes repeticiones no pueden resultar, sino de una serie de relaciones de los mismos hechos, recopilada de diferentes fuentes. Es muy posible que el autor de la lista haya recogido sus datos de representantes de los diversos ayllus que tomaron parte en los acontecimientos, y, como es natural, tanto los nombres de los participantes, como los detalles de los hechos mismos variarían según la tradición de cada ayllu..."

El error de Montesinos ha sido no haber comprendido que estas series de su lista fuesen contemporáneas y tratar de darles una cronología continua que lleva hasta tres mil años atrás."

P.A. MEANS 1928:402-11. *Biblioteca Andina*. New Haven. "This writer, one of the most discussed and most misunderstood of the chroniclers of Peru, was born at Osuna, in Spain, about 1600..."

"He possessed numerous manuscripts...and this circumstance, coupled to that of his

having examined the archives of Trujillo, Lima, Potosí, etc., make him pass for a truthful and trustworthy author, however much, in our opinion, some of the statements in his *Memorias del Pirú* may appear to be mistaken. He must have taken them, without sifting them, from the jumbled and confused mass of knowledge represented by the Peruvian chroniclers and commentators of the XVth century, not all of them well educated, and still fewer dispassionate in their opinions...The great thing to remember about Montesinos is this: He was but a repeater who re-uttered things said by persons earlier and more authoritative than himself...

The trouble was, however, that Montesinos was rather a fool at times. When we compare him with his co-religionists, Acosta, g.v., Cobo, q.v., and Valera, q.v., we find that his mentality is far below the level of that limpid sagacity which is their chief characteristic. He assumed that the date of the Creation was historically fixed at 4004 B.C., and that the universal deluge occurred in 2200 B.C...

These absurdities [incl. theory of Ophir] have seriously obscured the true importance of the *Memorias antiguas* of Montesinos. But we must not let them blind us to the fact that, underneath all his vulgar credulity, Montesinos was the preserver of a definite body of entirely authentic folklore derived from unimpeachable sources by Father Valera and others...It was shown that the ancient history of Peru as contained in the *Memorias* agrees remarkably well with what other early writers and modern archaeology have to tell us...

Much has been said against Montesinos on the score of his gullibility and imprecision, his editors and translators being among the sharpest of his critics. Yet he has always had his defenders, notably Father Manuel Rodríguez, almost a contemporary of his...In later times too, Montesinos has had champions, among them that much-neglected writer John D. Baldwin, who, in 1872, was among the first to give Father Montesinos a due credit for his labour...

As Sir Clements Markham has said, Father Montesinos was a literary pirate. But, because he pillaged richly laden vessels from whose holds he extracted treasures of folklore and of history, as well as much rubbish, he managed to bring to port many priceless bits of information half hidden under a mass of trivialities..."

P.A. MEANS 1931:68-70, 170. *Ancient Civilizations of the Andes*. New York.

"The best light that we have on the early history of the highlands and of the coast and on the relations between their inhabitants at this early period is provided by Father Fernando Montesinos...He was *rara avis*, an ignorant and gullible Jesuit. Nevertheless, his *Memorias antiguas historiales del Perú* is a book of importance for us because it embodies, albeit in garbled form, the historical data gathered by an earlier and infinitely more intelligent Jesuit, Father Blas Valera...

As it originally stood, the Valera list was probably a fairly accurate and detailed history of the highland folk in pre-Incaic and the Incaic times. This, then, was the material which Father Montesinos...used as a basis for his *Memorias*, but in so doing added thereto much apocryphal matter and certain distortions of Valera's work...

It is well to note in passing that Father Montesinos always speaks of the earlier kings as the list as ruling from Cuzco...It is not until he comes to the reign of the earliest historical Inca that he mentions Tiahuanaco by the name, but he does so then in an interesting fashion, mentioning the 'kings of Vilcas, Guáitara (Huáitara), and Tiaguanaco.'

From this we may safely infer that these localities – and very many others likewise – had their local dynasties, probably of great antiquity... Folklore, as preserved by Father Montesinos and other Chroniclers, contains numerous hints of many kinds of calamities, such as invasions by hostile strangers, changes of climate, divine displeasure, epidemics, and earthquakes. The vivid Fourteenth Chapter of the *Memorias antiguas* of Montesinos – one of the most authentic-seeming parts of that work - preserves a definite folk-remembrance of a time full of tumult and terror during which superstition overwhelmed orderly religious thinking, a time, also, of wide-spread disruption on the part of central government supplemented by a setting-up

of innumerable small tribal communities throughout the highland zone. We are told that at length a remnant of the formerly ruling caste of Cuzco – *not* of Tiahuanaco – sought refuge in a place called Tampu Tocco...”

Arthur POSNANSKY 1928:218-21. Quienes eran los Incas. Rio de Janeiro. “Hasta entre los mismos cronistas del siglo XVI se copiaron los unos de los otros y cualquiera que lea con alguna atención todo aquello se dará cuenta que todo lo escrito descansa sobre una primera información original. la misma siempre con excepción de las crónicas de Montesinos del que es dable suponer que era o un gran mentiroso o que verdaderamente bebió de fuentes folklóricas más amplias que los otros... ...con excepción del licenciado Fernando de Montesinos que como hemos dicho anteriormente, era un genial mentiroso o efectivamente pudo beber de fuentes más genuinas y que dá una serie de 101 Incas en sus memorias.”

Louis BAUDIN 1928:17-18. *L'Empire socialiste des Inka*. Paris.

Le Père jésuite Fernando Montesinos est sans contredit l'auteur le plus discuté du Pérou. Ses chronologies extravagantes et ses affirmations hardies ont été longtemps un objet de risée; mais voici qu'aujourd'hui il remonte lentement la pente de l'opinion et, par une réaction naturelle, il est en passe de devenir, comme l'affirme Fidel López 'un des historiens les plus probes et les plus instruits Pérou'. Montesinos est en effet un des premiers auteurs qui ait affirmé que les Péruviens connaissaient autrefois l'écriture et que des grandes civilisations avaient existé avant celle des Inka. Si la première affirmation n'a pu être contrôlée par les découvertes archéologiques. Certaines fouilles récentes viennent même de prouver la véracité de quelques informations de détail. C'est ainsi que des objets d'origine chilienne trouvés en Equateur ont permis de constater que Montesinos dit vrai quand il raconte que l'Inka employa pour conquérir les provinces du nord des troupes recrutées dans les régions situées au sud de l'Empire. De la Riva-Agüero prétend que Montesinos a été 'trop réhabilité'; nous sommes tentés de la penser, car on trouve dans son oeuvre bien des 'legendes absurdes'. Nous ne devons ni croire en lui les yeux fermés, ni refuser de le consulter. Malheureusement, il s'est occupé de l'histoire des faits plus que de celle des institutions.

Montesinos, quoique tard venu, a dû certainement posséder des renseignements précieux, car il acheta des manuscrits composés sous la direction de Fr. Luis López, évêque de Quito, et il connut probablement une partie de l'oeuvre aujourd'hui perdue de Blas Valera, dont nous avons parlé; il parcourut pendant plus de 15 ans le Pérou, où il fut curé de Potosi et à deux reprises chargé d'inspections. Il se vante d'avoir traversé 60 fois les Andes; à la fois ecclésiastique, aventurier, spéculateur, dur pour les Indiens qu'il catéchise de force, il est une des figures les plus caractéristiques de l'époque coloniale.

Ses *Memorias antiguas historiales y politicas del Perú*, écrites en 1652 [sic.], ont été publiées à Madrid en 1882, dans le tome 16 de la *Colección de libros españoles raros ó curiosos* et traduites en français par Ternaux-Compans dès 1840.”

Domingo ANGULO 1930. El Licenciado Fernando de Montesinos (in Montesinos' *Memorias*...). ANGULO has written the best available biographical notes on Montesinos on factual basis. (Compare chapter I:5.) “De ello ciertamente que debemos dolernos, ya que su [Montesinos] labor como cronista merece bien de la posteridad; y más si se tiene en cuenta, que en la época en que él escribía sus *Memorias Historiales* y sus *Annales del Perú*, apenas si había cronista que se aventurase a registrar archivos y compulsar sus noticias con documentos auténticos, pues los autores de crónicas conventuales e historias prodigiosas de varones venerables y siervos de Dios, entonces muy en boga, solían por lo regular llenar sus obras con tradiciones más o menos fidedignas, dando singular importancia a lo exótico y peregrino, como bien lo comprueba nuestro Mtro.

Calancha; y cuando habían de tratar del gobierno o instituciones del Perú precolombino, o de los hechos de la conquista, se contentaban con transcribir o extractar a los antiguos cronistas de Indias, sin añadir un adarme de investigación propia.

En cambio, nuestro Montesinos procura en lo posible documentarse, y para ello recorre solícito el vasto Virreinato del Perú, y de Quito a Potosí anda de ciudad en ciudad revisando los libros de éste y de aquel Cabildo, requiriendo relaciones auténticas del siglo XVI, y concordando con ellas los hechos ya relatados por los historiadores que le precedieron, copiando documentos y acumulando datos para las obras que traía entre manos.”

Guinaldo M. VASQUEZ 1930:131-71. Apendice. De Derredor de las “Memorias Historiales” (in Montesinos’ *Memorias...*)

“El genial historiador don Manuel Gonzales de la Rosa me ha asegurado que de estos capitanes hablan también el P. Morúa y muchos cronistas antiguos - No cabe, pues, discutir acerca del gran fondo de verdad que continen las listas de monarcas de Valera y Montesinos...

El jesuíta que escribió la ‘Relación Anónima’ la apya en numerosas informaciones de conquistadores, indios nobles y quipocamayos, cuyos nombres declara a veces; y aunque la veracidad de esta relación es en extremo dudosa, bien puede ser que encerrarán indicaciones más o menos alteradas sobre el imperio megalítico. Lo único que queda en claro es, pues, que los jesuítas poseyeron uno o varios escritos que ofrecían de los sucesos y reyes del Perú un relato muy semejante al de Montesinos. Ese relato tenía de seguro un fondo verdadero, pero viciado por la confusión de los hechos y acontecimientos, tan frecuente en los tiempos primitivos, a consecuencia de la corrupción de las versiones; y, en fin, por la consciente o inconsciente falsedad de mismos compiladores espales, que se apresuraron alinear en riguroso orden cronológico y genealógico las raras anécdotas y oscuros mitos de que alcanzaron conocimiento. No hay duda que Montesinos, que fué muy amigo y protegido de los jesuítas, encontró su cuadro de dinastías pre-incaicas, entre los papeles de la Compañía, y se apresuró a transcribirlo.

Tal es, por lo general, el concepto moderno del valor de las ‘Memorias’, cuya lista de monarcas keshuas, en su mayoría, procuraré depurar aquí, por lo mismo que se conviene en que ‘no es Montesinos un deliberado inventor de patrañas’, sino un escritor que encontró, por lo menos, en la ‘Relación Anónima’ las líneas generales de su relato.”

Horacio URTEAGA 1930:iii-vii. Preambulo, in Montesinos’ *Memorias...*

“Las ‘Memorias Historiales y Políticas del Perú del cronista don Fernando de Montesinos fueron tenidas, hasta hace poco, como las más fantásticas y artificiales narraciones sobre el viejo Imperio peruano, y su autor avezado a la inescrupulosidad propia de aquellos tiempos ‘que eran los de Román de la Higuera y los de la boga de los Cronicones y de Anio de Vitervo’, cuando no bautizado con la lapidaria frase de Markham, era arrojado fuera de las ilustres listas de los historiadores verídicos y escrupulosos; pero a pesar de todo ese acerbo depreciativo de la crítica de toga, Montesinos, día a día, rescata su crédito, gracias a la paciente labor de la arqueología y de la más severa e imparcial crítica rectificatoria...”

Por todo lo apuntado, ya no era posible prescindir a la incorporación, en los documentos históricos peruanos, de las noticias del Licenciado osonese, las cuales, leídas con atención y al amparo de los comentadores citados, merecen el mayor respeto y pueden prestar señalados servicios en la crítica histórica.”

URTEAGA 1931:25. *El imperio Incaico*. Lima. The last sentence refered from UHLE 1912:325. “Existió, así, en un largo periodo de tiempo una estructura política y civil, que si no nos atrevemos a afirmar que estuvo centralizada bajo la acción de un solo gobierno, conceptuamos, fundamente, que la caracterizó, por lo menos, una vasta

federación de grandes reinos, y quizás el recuerdo de esas variadas soberanías recogidas por Montesinos, lo tentaron a edificar sus tres grandes dinastías de reyes y la sucesión de sus 92 monarcas. Lo que sí está fuera de duda, es que las manifestaciones de esa cultura obedecen al mismo espíritu, tienen la misma tendencia, y se imponen de tal modo a la reflexión de los arqueólogos, que éstos declaran, por boca del más autorizado de ellos, que la contemplación de los restos, esparcidos por la región andina y cisandina, elevados en épocas anteriores a los incas, 'permiten inducir que en la sierra y la costa del Perú existió una civilización bastante homogénea, cuya posición cronológica respecto a la de Tiahuanaco, es completamente segura'."

Miles POINDEXTER 1930:190-1(bk.I), 86, 264-5(bk.II). *The Ayar Incas*. 2 vols. New York. "As eighty-five kings of Ayar race preceded the first King of the Cuzco dynasty after the exile in Tampu-tocco, Ayar Manco, in the Blas Valera list as appropriated by Montesinos, - however mythical many of the names may be and however uncertain the particular dates assigned to them, - it is probable that the advent of this ruling race in Peru, or rather the establishment of their rule over the indigenous Quichua people, occurred 2,000 years or more before the Christian era. The general character of the history as related by the Amautas (Wise Men) to Blas Valera and the light it throws on the Ayar culture and conduct and the fact that it covers a vast period of time are of more significance than its details..."

In general outline the tradition as recorded by Montesinos, no doubt, correctly describes the early peopling of Peru...

After this there was a line of forty-six monarchs, -thirteen of whom bore the title Amauta, - called the Amauta dynasty, who were undoubtedly from the same ruling race as the previous Pirua monarchs. The Amautas were 'learned men, keepers of records and revisers of the calendar.' Many of them, no doubt, belonged to the priesthood, and the epoch of their rule corresponds (in its political character) to that of the priest kings of Egypt, the prophets of Israel, and the Brahmins of India."

Walter H. BLUMENTHAL 1931:27. *In Old America*. New York.

"Returning from our digression, it is necessary to mention Fernando Montesinos, a zealous Dominicanian [sic!] whose missionary efforts were directed in the vicinity of Lima from 1629 to 1642. He was twice Visitador of Peru during that time, and a diligent student of the traditions and antiquities of the Incas. In his 'Memorias antiguas his toriales del Peru' (circa 1652 [sic!]; first published, Paris, 1840) he holds that Peru was Ophir, that America was peopled by repeated migrations from 'Armenia', the first under the leadership of Ophir, and subsequently the fleet of Solomon sailed thither. After expatiating on the route followed by the fleet or fleets, Montesinos contends that the name Peru is a corruption of Ophir. By a transposing of syllables to Phir-o, and by natural transition, Ophir had in time become Phiru, Piru, Peru! This is amusing if, as Garcilasso assures us, the name Peru was unknown to the Incas."

Joseph BRAM 1941:12, 21. *An Analysis of Inca Militarism*. New York. Fernando Montesinos lived in Peru for at least fifteen years. He engaged in research on mining and while doing this work he explored all parts of the country. Later, he became Rector of the Jesuit Seminary in Trujillo. He was always interested in ancient Peru and purchased a number of historical manuscripts. His *Memorias Antiguas del Perú* contains the list of Inca rulers mentioned above, copied from the manuscript of Blas Valera. Although Montesino's writings are extremely unreliable, they nevertheless contain data on early Peru that are found nowhere else.

In the period between the sixth and tenth centuries there existed, according to Fernando Montesinos, a powerful and politically advanced civilization in the highlands...

The ruins of Tiahuanaco, Chavín, and several other localities in the highlands prove incontrovertibly that complex cultures preceded the Inca state; consequently

Montesino's chronicles are not completely without basis in fact. However, they are so confusing as to make their use for historical reconstruction extremely difficult."

Jose IMBELLONI 1941:261-3, 273-4, 301, 336, 341-50. La Capaccuna de Montesinos (compare, chapter I:5.)

"El fin que se propone nuestra monografía no es precisamente el de historiar las fluctuaciones del favor popular o del áulico con respecto a Montesinos. Si quisiéramos reunir todas las peroraciones y panegíricos que se han pronunciado en su defensa y alabanza, así como las acusaciones e injurias de que se le ha hecho objeto, tendríamos que disponer de un buen tomo en 4° mayor...

Lo curioso es que esta mezcla de admiración y de condena, este lenguaje *agro-dolce*, representa el modelo de las fórmulas críticas elaboradas a partir de 1850 hasta hoy con respecto al valor de las *Memorias Historiales*, si se exceptuá a los escritores que, haciéndose paladines de Montesinos, han salido a la lidia llevando su nombre como estandarte...

Bajo este aspecto podríamos decir, también nosotros, que Montesinos es el Manethón del imperio peruano; aunque en verdad, más que a Manethón, se parece a Beroso, con sus 86 reyes míticos de la Caldea...

Por mi cuenta, nada me importaría esa conducta, si no fuera indicio fehaciente de que la imperiosa necesidad sentida por nuestro jesuita, de no salirse de la obediencia canónica, ha sufrido los efectos de una fuerza no menos imperiosa, en sentido contrario. Manifiestamente Montesinos, a pesar de temer la condena eclesiástica, se ve forzado a seguir las Escrituras de modo imperfecto: una vez toma de ellas el intervalo Diluvio-Nacimiento y otra vez el lapso Creación-Diluvio, pero nunca los dos al mismo tiempo...

El examen cuidadoso de los reinados nos revela que desde el monarca 16° hasta el 45° reina un gran desorden en la lista, con evidentes interpolaciones, cambios en la sucesión y otras manipulaciones capaces de introducir inconsecuencias y contradicciones en gran número...

Estos indicios son más que suficientes para deducir que Montesinos no ha trabajado en el primer momento con el *Vocabulario* de Valera, sino con un manuscrito similar que registraba 88 reyes anteriores al primer Inca... Por fin, al encontrar en Montesinos una posición cuaternaria, fiel a los 4 Soles o Edades de la cronología clásica americana, tenemos una prueba más de que su fuente primitiva no fué Blas Valera, sino otro manuscrito muy afín al de Poma de Ayala y Salinas, en el cual – sin embargo – los Pachacuti de media Edad ya habían empezado a jugar un papel secundario, que luego encontró un desarrollo tan exagerado en Valera... En cambio el desaliñado Montesinos, mal estilista y desordenado elaborador de papeletas, tiene el mérito de haber creído, con toda su ingenuidad, en la veracidad de una quimera, y por esto se ha convertido, providencialmente para nosotros, en el conservador de elementos reconstructivos de positiva importancia...

Una de las esperanzas que desearía ver pronto realizadas, es que pueda brindar a los estudiosos una edición completa de *Ophir de España*, de la que salga nítidamente perfilada la personalidad de este clérigo singular, empapado de tradiciones judías, quien escribió una historia del Perú a guisa de capítulo digresivo del Viejo Testamento."

H. HORKHEIMER 1943:18. *Historia del Peru. Epoca prehispánica*. Trujillo.

"Fernando de Montesinos. Secretario del Obispo de Trujillo. Sus 'Memorias antiguas historiales y políticas del Perú' fueron escritas a mediados del siglo XVII, es decir, Montesinos era uno de los últimos cronistas. Por mucho tiempo se le consideraba como autor de poca confianza. Entretanto se comprobó que en la obra de Montesinos, a lado de ciertas fantasías e imposibilidades se hallan varias informaciones contradictorias a las relaciones de otros cronistas pero sin embargo correspondientes a la realidad."

Luis A. PARDO 1946: La Metrópoli de Paccaritampu; 1957:18-40. (compare, chapter I:5) “La mayor parte de los cronistas y especialmente, Garcilaso de la Vega, niegan la existencia de una civilización preincaica, por eso la tesis de Montesinos y la existencia de cien emperadores pre-incaicos ha sido duramente combatida...

Como se ve pues, ante la rehabilitación del Licenciado Montesinos, por órgano de unos de los más auténticos historiadores, sentamos la premisa de que antes de la época incaica existió una civilización adelantada y que después de haber llegado probablemente, a su apogeo entro en decadencia, semejante a la del Imperio Romano y que a la larga fué desplazada por frecuentes invasiones que se sucedieron, especialmente, por el lado Sur, no estamos muy seguros, pero es probable que hayan sido los collas...

Así nació Paccaritampu, capital y metrópoli de los refugiados Amauttas, adquiriendo los contornos de esplendor y grandeza; al decir de Montesinos se establecieron Universidades, y escuelas donde se adiestraban en el manejo de las armas, en la ciencia de los números y de los quipus...

“Las migraciones de Paccaritampu, han sido hechos efectivos y la personalidad de Manco Ccapac, una realidad histórica, así lo confirman nuestros eminentes historiadores: Fernando de Montesinos, Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, Jose de la Riva Agüero, Horacio H. Urteaga y el Dr. Luis E. Valcárcel.”

PARDO: 1934:52. “Las tres fundaciones del Cuzco”. *Revista Universitaria*. (cited in IMBELLONI 1941:282.)

“que la fama de Garcilaso de la Vega se haya extendido por todas partes, al extremo de constituirse en la única obra de consulta i estudio, con menoscabo de otros cronistas, como la de Montesinos, cuya obra importantísima es casi desconocida, a pesar de ser una de las fuentes más valiosas de la primitiva historia del Perú.”

PARDO: *Historia y Arqueología del Cuzco*; 1957:58-70. “Otra de las fuentes que vienen en nuestro apoyo son las ‘Memorias Historiales’ de Fernando de Montesinos, obra de gran significación, que trae una lista de 101 emperadores, pero que hasta hoy, no se le ha tenido casi en cuenta, ni se le ha dado el valor que tiene, en el campo histórico del Perú...”

Son unas figuras que aparecen grabadas en las piedras y en las rocas, esas representaciones jeroglíficas provienen, seguramente, de aquella generación de hombres que florecieron en las altas regiones del Andes, como dice Montesinos...

En el campo histórico, y especialmente ante la crítica, la relación de Montesinos, ha sido una cuestión debatida; argumentos contundentes, en contra y en pro, apasionadamente se han sostenido...”

PARDO: Biografía del Licenciado Don Fernando de Montesinos i crítica de su obra, in *Memorias...*; 1957:ii-viii.

“Durante su estadía en el Perú, se hizo mui amigo de los padres de la Compañía de Jesús, habiendo deseado según algunos historiadores, ingresar a esta Orden, por esta razón, los Jesuitas del Cuzco, le brindaron toda clase de atenciones i le abrieron las puertas de sus archivos, con le que cosechó mayor número de valiosos datos, para continuar escribiendo sus obras...”

La obra de Montesinos, ha originado las discusiones más acaloradas sobre la lista de emperadores que como ningún otro cronista ofrece; pues, para nosotros, sea ésta, falsa o cierta, tiene inmenso valor de penetrar en ese nebuloso campo de la Pre-historia, tal es el período preincaico; pues, si bien ya otros cronistas sospechaban en la existencia de una cultura anterior a la de los Incas, Montesinos es el primero que la afirma, afirmación que la Arqueología hoy está en confirmar...

La relación de Montesinos, su notabilísima lista de reyes, los numerosos restos arqueológicos y principalmente la disparidad de cálculos acerca de la duración del Imperio Incaico, son causales para admitir la efectividad de lo que sostiene Montesinos. Es tiempo i un deber ineludible de iniciar i de ahondar las nuevas corrientes de renovación histórica, sobre la base de que la cultura andina es muy vieja, su largo proceso de levantamiento i caídas abarca milenios de años quizás...”

John H. ROWE 1945:274. *Absolute Chronology in the Andean Area*.

“Montesinos is a special problem, as his account of Inca history is inseparable from the tale of a long list of pre-Inca kings which precedes it and which, in spite of much heated controversy, has never been carefully evaluated. Certainly, the long list of kings was never part of the official version of Inca history, and it is most unlikely that it was ever invented in Cuzco. Montesinos himself may have passed through Cuzco, but he probably never lived there, and he did not get the list of kings from Blas Valera, the only other chronicler who preserves it, for the two men’s lists are very far from agreement. In any case, the list bears all remarks of a late invention, of the same sort as Plato’s Atlantis: the deeds ascribed to the pre-Inca kings are projections of actions which the standard version ascribes to later Incas, and the names of the kings are similarly reflections of Inca titles. The king list, however, deserves a paper to itself.”

John H. ROWE 1946:197. *Inca Culture at the Time of the Spanish Conquest*. Washington.

“Fernando Montesinos, who wrote about 1642 (Montesinos 1882), pretends to give a long list of pre-Inca kings, which has been accepted at face value by number of historians of the Inca. Whatever the value of this list may be for the study of Indian legends, it is worthless as history, and I am inclined to be suspicious of his incidental remarks on Indian customs.”

Thor HEYERDAHL 1952:633-6. *American Indians in the Pacific*. London.

“Montesinos was a Jesuit who came to America in 1628, and went the same year or the next to Peru, where he was first Secretary to the Bishop of Trujillo and Rector of the Seminary...

In his work on early historic memories of Peru Father Montesinos (1642) took at least two false steps which have caused him to receive more abuse from later critics than he probably deserves. He attempted at the opening of his work briefly to link the early Peruvian account of Viracocha’s flood with the Biblical description of Noah, thus purposely mixing his own belief and theory with the quoted Inca text. Later he copied freely, without acknowledgement, the information contained in various Jesuit archives to which he had access...

We can do no more than render these statements as they were written by Father Montesinos. If the source of his statements on writing in ancient Peru is the same as his source for the pre-Inca genealogical line – Blas Valera – then the value of this information is quite apparent. It is not easy to believe that Father Montesinos simply invented the whole story, in view of the abundant information to which he had otherwise free access in the early Jesuit archives and among the native Peruvians.”

Dewey FRANSWORTH & Edith FRANSWORTH 1953:24, 29, 36 *Book of Mormon evidences in Ancient America*. Salt Lake City.

“Fernando Montesinos, the Spanish historian of Peru, says of the Peruvians: ‘That nation was originated by a people led by four brothers, the youngest of these brothers assumed supreme authority, and became the first of a long line of sovereigns.’...

This is undoubtedly a history of the Lamanite kindom [referring to Montesinos’ list], and our best writers give it a run of about 2,000 years, or by Book of Mormon time from Laman’s reign to the coming of the Spaniards...

Taking the 107 kings of the Lamanites and multiplying by 20, as other writers feel more in line, we have 2014 years. They are almost in line with Book of Mormon history, as Lamanite kingdoms could have been set up about 550 B.C. plus 1530 A.D. which would equal 2080 years.”

Harold T. WILKINS 1956:142-4. *Mysteries of Ancient South America*. New York.

“Fernando Montesinos, whose authoritative ‘Memorias Antiguas Historiales del Perú’

was largely copied from the lost and most valuable MS. 'Vocabulario Historico del Perú', of the learned Jesuit, Blas Valera, son of a Peruvian lady and a conquistadorian soldier... Montesinos, repeating what Blas Valera had collected of oral traditions and history, from the mouths of Peruvian priests and nobles, in the days just after the Conquest, says that...

True, it may be that the Inca tribe of Cuzco did not rise to Imperial power till A.D. 1100, and that, as Bartolomé de la Casa (who was in Perú in A.D. 1532) says, other dynasties of chiefs ruled in the Andes before that date, of A.D. 1100. That does not alter the fact that Blas Valera's informants among the Peruvian priests and the descendants of the old amautas, living in the late sixteenth century of our era, were neither fools, liars nor romancers."

Alfred METRAUX 1961:36-8. *Les Incas*. Paris.

"La publication, en 1840 et en 1888, du manuscrit d'un moine espagnol, Montesinos, introduisit quelque confusion dans l'historiographie de l'ancien Pérou. Cet auteur, qui écrit sa chronique entre 1636 et 1642, un siècle donc après la conquête, n'en donne pas moins une liste de quatre-vingtreize empereurs ayant précédé les Incas pendant une période d'environ quatre mille ans, le Pérou n'étant d'ailleurs, selon lui, que le royaume d'Ophir du roi Salomon. Bien que situés dans ces époques reculées, les rois de la longue chronologie de Montesinos portent des noms quechuas qui sont souvent ceux des souverains historiques du XVe siècle de notre ère. Le silence des chroniqueurs les plus anciens et les plus dignes de foi, le caractère fabuleux de les annales préhistoriques ont valu à Montesinos une fâcheuse réputation. Beaucoup d'érudits le négligent. Cependant, un mystère subsiste. Ces dynasties préincainques ne peuvent avoir été inventées de toutes pièces par Montesinos. Celui-ci a probablement utilisé un manuscrit du Père Blas Valera, déposé au couvent des jésuites de La Paz. Or, Blas Valera, fils d'un conquistador et d'une Indienne de Chachapoyas, n'est pas une autorité négligeable. Garcilaso de la Vega l'a abondamment cité, et nous possédons de lui un traité: *De las costumbres antiguas de los naturales del Peru*, qui n'est point sans intérêt. Quelques historiens modernes se sont demandé si Montesinos n'avait pas miraculeusement sauvé de l'oubli les noms des monarques de l'empire mégalithique, dont les Incas auraient tardivement recueilli l'héritage. Aujourd'hui l'hypothèse 'mégalithique' a été totalement abandonnée et peu d'anthropologues croient survécu dans le souvenir de quelque barde ou 'maître des cordelettes'. On a pensé trancher la difficulté en supposant que Montesinos avait mis en ordre chronologique des listes de chefs de lignage ou de roitelets contemporains. Il est possible que l'auteur du manuscrit dont Montesinos s'est servi ait effectivement procédé de la sorte.

Si, d'un point de vue historique, l'oeuvre de Montesinos est de faible valeur, elle n'en est pas moins importante par ce qu'elle nous révèle des conceptions cosmogoniques des Incas. Les dynasties des rois préhistoriques sont réparties en périodes de mille ans, au terme desquelles surgissent des cataclysmes. Comme chez les Mayas et les Aztèques, à chacun de ces quatre millénaires correspond un 'Soleil', et une humanité différente dont le nom nous est fourni par d'autres chroniqueurs. Le premier âge fut celui des *Wari-Viracocha-runas*, des hommes du dieu Viracocha; le second des *Wari-runas*, les hommes sacrés; le troisième des *Purun-runas*, ou hommes sauvages, et le quatrième des *Auka-runas*, des guerriers...

Montesinos, ou plus exactement Blas Valera qu'il a suivi, n'a malheureusement pas compris le caractère purement mythique des événements qu'on lui rapporta. Dans le cadre d'une cosmogonie, il a introduit des noms de souverains de fantaisie, doublets de ceux des Incas auxquels ont été ajoutées des épithètes variées. Pour la bonne mesure, des noms d'animaux et de localités complètent cette liste."

Raúl PORRAS BARRENECHEA 1962:389-91. *Los Cronistas del Perú*. Lima.

"Si el Licenciado Montesinos hubiera vivido en nuestra época hubiera sido radiestesista, scoutista o arqueólogo. En el siglo XVI este cura trota-mundos, y amante

de la astrología fué buscador de archivos y tesoros, e inventor de dinastías y períodos incaicos de miles de años como los días de la Biblia...

En el fondo, este párroco frustrado y este cronista con inventiva, fué un hombre inquieto, curioso, inofensivo y hasta útil...

No es que no hubiera una civilización pre-incaica, brillante y adelantada antes de los Incas, como lo demuestran monumentos y objetos interpretados por la moderna arqueología científica. La hubo, y tan larga y elástica como ella quiere, pero su historia no es la que nos ha trazado Montesinos, así como pudo haber escritura, pero no fue la que Montesinos nos cuenta que se enseñaba en la 'Universidad del Cuzco', en pergaminos y 'hojas de plátano' varios siglos antes de Jesucristo. En Montesinos es cierta la verdad general, la tesis histórica o el elemento histórico que menos veracidad requiere que es la leyenda e imaginario el dato concreto o cronológico. Pudo haber 50 ó 90 reyes no son seguramente los de lista que se procuró Montesinos. La verdad histórica tiene un acento infalsificable. Los 90 reyes de Montesinos llevan nombres combinados de los nombres incaicos conocidos - Mancos, Ayares, Huaynas, Yupanquis, Amarus - con artificiosidad descubierta...

Entre los hechos atribuidos a estos 90 reyes hay algunos que son naturalmente ciertos, derivados de las historias y tradiciones incaicas sobre los Incas verdaderos. Lo que no es cierto es el personaje a quien se atribuyen...

Montesinos fue un buen conocedor del pasado incaico, pero su obra trasciende la mistificación, sus noventa reyes idénticos y monótonos, calcados sobre los Incas auténticos, dan la impresión de uno de esos juegos de espejos en que unas cuantas imágenes que repiten cien veces iguales en una perspectiva interminable...

De la Memorias de Montesinos se puede extraer para la historia algunas leyendas y tradiciones sobre costumbres incaicas y quemar alegremente, y sin remordimiento, todo el castillo de cañas de sus dinastías, guerras e invasiones. Sus Anales, en cambio, colectados en fuentes más seguras que los quipus y los Cuentos de Indios, - como los Archivos de los Cabildos, escribanías y corporaciones, - son historia efectiva y documentada y hay en ellos, como reflejo de la verdad, algunas escenas llenas de gracia descriptiva, verdadera estampas de época: entradas de virreyes, escenas de cabildos, y finos apuntes sobre personajes e indumentarias y naturalmente noticias sobre minas y tesoros."

Tom ZUIDEMA 1962:221-2. *The Ceque System of Cuzco*. Leiden.

"Montesinos' chronicle is considered to be of little value by present-day authors on the culture of the Inca, for they all held that the existence of a dynasty of more than a hundred rulers was impossible. It appears, however, that other chroniclers of proved reliability tried to harmonize the history of the Inca - which they all presented as beginning with Manco Capac - with the duration of one Pachacuti, or sun. It can, on the one hand, be concluded from this that in all the chronicles Inca history had the same character as in Montesinos' work. On the other hand Montesinos' version of the history of the Inca can be regarded as being no more than a reasoned elaboration of the tradition of the five worlds which he was not the only one to be acquainted with."

Hans BAUMANN 1963:154. *Gold and Gods of Peru*. New York. "A Spanish historian, the Jesuit Fernando Montesinos, made a list of one hundred and two Amautas, each of whom had reigned for about thirty years in the Kingdom of the Giants [sic: BAUMANN's 'archaeological' term.] The first ruler was called Pirua Manco and the kingdom of Pirua was called after him. According to Montesinos it was in the year 1220 B.C. that the Amauta Pirua Manco took over his kingdom. Who was this Montesinos who wrote so confidently about Pirua and where did he get his information? Montesinos came to Peru in the year 1628. There he remained for fifteen years, baptizing the Indians, inspecting mines, and traveling widely through the countryside. When he returned to Spain, he wrote a book so full of improbable tales that scholars have dubbed him

the Münchhausen of Peru. Indeed, many historians considered it a thick pack of lies from beginning to end, and it is true that many of the statements which Montesinos makes are pure invention. According to him, for instance, the first Peruvian was Ophir, a descendant of Noah!

But what Montesinos wrote about the hundred Amauta kings was not pure invention. He got that from a book written by a certain Blas Valera. And Blas Valera is much more reliable source than Montesinos."

Curtis WILGUS 1963:597-8. *Colonial Hispanic America*. New York. "A Jesuit historian about whom there is much controversy concerning the accuracy of his work is the credulous and naive Fernando Montesinos (b. ca. 1600), who went Peru about 1629 and remained until at least 1642. Generally he seems to have repeated many facts as they came to him with little or no investigation. However, he preserved much valuable information in his *Memorias antiguas historiales políticas del Perú* (Buenos Aires, 1870) which deals with the pre-conquest period, and in his *Los anales del Perú* (2 vols., Madrid 1906) which covers the post-conquest period...The complete work as planned by the author under the title *Ophir de España* has never been printed in any language."

Åke WEDIN 1966:12-3, 91. *El concepto de lo Incaico y las fuentes*. Göteborg.

"A pesar de haber dicho Markham en el primer capítulo que hay que atenerse a los principios de la crítica de las fuentes, resulta que luego da crédito a una lista de reyes presentada por Montesinos (1642), en la que difiere éste de las fuentes mucho más tempranas y seguras. La causa de este renacimiento de Montesinos, inesperado y corto, es que este cronista habla de los tiempos pre-incaicos, lo que coincidió, en cierto grado, con los nuevos resultados arqueológicos...

Salinas y Córdoba, Anello Oliva, y Montesinos son buenos ejemplos de la creciente dependencia de crónicas anteriores...

Fuera de las fuentes mencionadas de las cuales se ha valido Oliva hay que añadir el Vocabulario de Valera, utilizado también por Montesinos. Después del auge que tuvo la obra de Montesinos a causa del descubrimiento arqueológico de las culturas pre-incaicas, la estimación se ha entibiado otra vez, de grado en grado."

Victor PEREZ ARMENDARIZ 1967:101-18. "Origen del Imperio de los Incas". *Revista del Museo e Instituto Arqueológico*, Num.21. Cuzco.

"A esa época lejana se refiere también la división del Cuzco, en Hanan Cuzco y Hurín Cuzco, o sea Cuzco alto de los verdaderos Reyes Incas y Urín Cuzco de los Ayaras intrusos, que les disputaron el poder y se adueñaron de la parte más, para consolidar su total ocupación. Esta interpretación de la Historia Antigua, está ceñida a la verdad, los hechos relatados han ocurrido y tan ciertos que están consignados en la *Crónica Antigua del Licenciado Montesinos*...

Ningún historiador podría asegurar, en qué época precisa ocurrió la intromisión de los Reyes Ayar; así como en el estado actual de los conocimientos históricos, ya sería infantil creer que la historia del Perú antiguo, es la obra de los catorce emperadores de Garcilaso de la Vega. Así mismo la Historia del Licenciado Montesinos es la reconstitución del gobierno de numerosos Reyes que fueron olvidados y que sólo debido al trabajo paciente y tenaz consagración del Padre Blas Valera fueron recuperados, sin que nadie pueda dudar su veracidad; pero como en la antigüedad no existieron crónicas escritas y los hechos memorables, solo estuvieron confiados a la transmisión oral, que se hacían de generación en generación, estas transmisiones han debido sufrir verdaderos trastornos, tanto en la orden, como en la sucesión de los hechos ocurridos. En la cronología de los Reyes de Montesinos se nota claramente que el autor dificulta consignar los hechos acaecidos, en cada reinado...

Después de miles años que pasaron de la fundación del Imperio Incaico por Manco Capac y Mama Ocllo, ocurrió la invasión de los Ccollas Kkanas mandados por los

Hermanos Ayar, esta invasión de los Pirhuas se remota también a muchos siglos anteriores a la llegada de los españoles pues parece ser una verdad evidente que los catorce Emperadores de Garcilaso de la Vega, no son sino los 14 últimos Reyes de la larga dinastía de los 107 reyes consignados por el Blas Valera, de cuyos estudios se apropió el Licenciado Montesinos que nunca supo explicar de donde o de que fuente consiguió esta larga lista de Reyes peruanos que gobernaron el antiguo Perú.”

Dick Edgar IBARRA GRASSO 1969:40, 625. *La Verdadera Historia de los Incas*. La Paz. (compare, chapter I:5)

“Naturalmente toda la relación de Montesinos no debe tomarse como la supervivencia de una tradición histórica, por más que deformada, sino como una concepción mítica sobre las edades pasadas del mundo, así como en la antigua Grecia teníamos las edades de oro, de plata, etc. de modo que poco o nada histórico puede haber en ella. En cambio, como lo veremos mejor más adelante, nos hallamos ante el problema de si esa relación mítica sobre las edades pasadas del mundo es procedencia Incaica o preincaica, pudiendo ser tiahuanacota incluso...”

En cuanto a la lista ‘larga’ de la dinastía, de Montesinos y Blas Valera, parece evidente que se trata de tradiciones míticas provenientes del período cultural pre-incaico (Colla-tiahuanacota), y que en la historia ‘oficial’ se hizo lo posible por eliminarla, ya que no se presenta ninguno de los cronistas que más fielmente nos transmitieron la historia enseñada.”

John HEMMING 1970 (n. 125). *The Conquest of the Incas*. New York.

Nineteenth-century authorities such as Marcos Jiménez de la Espada and Sir Clements Markham thought that the polygonal stones might have come from an earlier ‘megalithic’ culture somehow linked with Tiahuanaco. They were comparing Peru with Greece, where Schliemann had been excavating Mycenae, whose megalithic walls are built in a polygonal style. These nineteenth century authorities were impressed by a fanciful list of centuries of Inca rulers that was produced by the seventeenth-century chronicler Fernando Montesinos.”

F. GUERRA 1971:194. *The Pre-Columbian Mind*. London. “There is a certain amount of controversy regarding the work of Fernando Montesinos (c. 1600- c.1645)...

He was a good scholar and collector of documents, particularly those on the pre-Columbian Peru gathered by the Bishop of Quito Luis López de Solís (c. 1530-1606). Montesinos also relied on the manuscripts of P. Valera, and well known chronicles by Cieza de León, Zarate and Garcilaso de la Vega. Despite his errors in the correlation between the Biblical sequence and Peruvian history, and his belief that Peru was inhabited by the descendants of Noah and his grandson Ophir, Montesinos shows extraordinary vision in the interpretation of Peruvian history. His critics fail to understand that Montesinos, as Gibbon did 150 years after the Roman Empire, pointed out that the rise of the Inca hegemony was also the result of the moral and political decay of the Mochica and Chimú civilizations, where among other things, sodomy was prevalent.”

Elisabeth della SANTA 1973 (tomo II):143. *Historia de los Incas*. Arequipa.

“Pero los pasajes demasiado nebulosos de Montesinos impiden ser categórico acerca de lo que, lógicamente, se deduce del texto. No hay duda: la crónica de Montesinos contiene algunos datos muy novedosos y originales. Pero no creo que este cronista copió en Blas Valera su lista de los reyes pre-Incas, como lo afirma Markham. Poque si Blas Valera había confeccionado estas listas, Garcilaso hubiera hecho mención de ellas, aún para criticarlas.

En cuanto al valor de su lista de los reyes Incas, Montesinos modifica bastante las listas clásicas, tanto por los nombres como por la posición relativa de algunos de los Incas... Resulta que Montesinos rompe con el fondo clásico de las tradiciones y

como no **corrige las divergencias y contradicciones de sus datos, echa sobre lo ya sabido, matices inesperados y sumamente curiosos.**”

John V. MURRA (1955) 1980. *The Economic Organization of the Inka State*. Greenwich.

“(note 52, p. 83): Montesinos and Cobo report in identical words that some soldiers had cotton blankets wrapped around their bodies and that others carried round shields of palm leaf and cotton.

(p. 148): A king may have sent merchants ‘to make their exchanges’ and to spread rumor that the monarch was really the son of the Sun: this technique is of course widely used in pre-literate or semiliterate states; one only wishes one’s source were earlier and more reliable than Montesinos.

(p. 174): Elsewhere we have seen that ‘rebels’ were made into yana, yet the fact that the men were accompanied by their families would suggested that Montesinos was right when he suggested that Cieza’s ‘hostages’ were mitima, since the chroniclers emphasize that the latter were always moved with their families. (note 94, p. 185): This author, so popular in Cuzco, claims that the first rebellion took place against Viracocha, which is unlikely, if we accept J.H. Rowe’s chronology. In any case the significance of Montesinos’ report lies not in the dating but in the treatment of the ‘rebels’ which he reports.”

Rogger RAVINES 1980:83. *Chan Chan, Metropoli Chimú*. Lima

“Se han señalado y las escasas noticias sobre el origen y dinastía Chimú de la primera época y, fuera de las mencionadas en el manuscrito de 1604, los únicos datos conocidos provienen del licenciado Fernando de Montesinos, quien alude a unos belicosos gigantes de nombre chimú fueron detenidos en su avance sólo por el 25º monarca inca de la fabulosa lista de este historiador.”

George KUBLER 1984:205. *Written Sources on Andean Cosmogony. Recent Studies in Andean Prehistory and Protohistory*. Cornell University.

“Fernando de Montesinos was a mining metallurgist working in Peru 1629-1644. His chronology for Peru extends 4500 years since the Biblical Flood. This span falls short of the *Leyenda de los Soles*. But it lists 103 rulers (Imbelloni, 1941:302, 316-319). Two pachacutis mark one sun of 1000 years. Nine pachacutis are four elapsed suns and a fifth present one. This calculation follows an earlier one by Blas Valera, as cited by Garcilaso (1967, Bk II, ch. 6). The term *pachacutiy* also means ‘end of the world’ in the dictionaries (Holguín, 1608; Torres Rubio 1603) both Quechua and Aymara.

The emerging position of Montesinos today is that he was on the whole in line with the thought of his time. That he is out of line with our time, is a measure of our continuing reluctance as historians to accept the values governing the thought of other centuries and peoples.”

Brigitte BOEHM de LAMEIRAS 1987: Fernando de Montesinos. ¿Historia o mito?

“Los temas mayormente discutidos en torno a la validez testimonial del material histórico de la crónica son, sin embargo, la larga lista de gobernantes incas y la posibilidad de una escritura jeroglífica en los Andes...”

Los elementos que componen la periodización de Montesinos concuerdan aisladamente: la creación, el diluvio, la referencia a mil años para cada ‘edad’ y el término ‘sol’. Estructuralmente los mitos son diferentes: el de Montesinos corresponde totalmente a su idiosincrasia cristiana y a la necesidad de legitimar en un contexto ritual el dominio español...”

El valor de los testimonios de Montesinos lo encuentro, más bien, al situarlos en el contexto de su propia sociedad: el Perú colonizado del siglo XVII. Las opiniones desfavorables sobre el cronista – tan frecuentemente expresadas por los historiadores de los siglos XIX y XX – surgen, sobre todo, por comparación con las fuentes del siglo XVI.

Los autores éstas se encontraban en plena acción evangelizadora, inmersos en la polémica y en el proceso de sentar las bases de la incorporación del indio americano a la historia mundial.

Montesinos no participa de estos incentivos. La colonia está instituida, la evangelización, aparentemente, realizada...

Es posible que Montesinos haya topado con documentos históricos preincas o contemp poráneos de éstos escapados a la censura oficial. De hecho se han recopilado una serie de tradiciones regionales discrepantes, por ejemplo, del antiguo territorio chimu y, en general, de los valles costeros. Valdría la pena comparar estas versiones con los eventos a que hace referencia Montesinos...

En este sentido, es probable que también la afirmación de Montesinos sobre la existencia de una escritura jeroglífica anterior a la oficialización de la historia, a la prohibición de las letras a los que no pertenecían a la nobleza inca, deba tomarse en serio. Otros investigadores ya han reunido evidencias contenidas en otros documentos y han enumerado las representaciones pictóricas conocidas."

Linda J. SELIGMANN 1987:149. *The Chicken in Andean History and Myth.*

"But even in Montesinos' long list of 102 kings, most probably copied from Blas Valera and 'edited' by Montesinos (1930 [1604]), all of the names of kings belonging to the Inca dynasty except Gualpa are repeated in previous dynasties.

(note 9, p. 164): Blas Valera, from whom Montesinos is thought to have copied his long list of Inca rulers, received his valuable information in the sixteenth century from the older quipukamayuqs, officials specialized in recording important historical and administrative knowledge within Inca empire by means of knot system."

Alfonso KLAUER 1990:15, 140-1. *Tahuantinsuyo, el condor herido de muerte.* Lima.

"En este contexto, adquiere gran significación un dato solitariamente sostenido por el cronista Fernando de Montesinos. Este atribuye a Sinchi Roca, precisamente, una gran victoria sobre los chankas...

(nota 28) Así, la versión de 103 Inkas del cronista Fernando de Montesinos (Vease Valcárcel, ob.cit.T.6,p.75) tendría bastante más asidero y valor que el que se le ha dispensado hasta ahora."

Thomas C. PATTERSON 1991:47-51. *The Inca Empire.* New York. "Another Inca origin myth, probably recorded by Blas Valera in the sixteenth century and copied by Fernando Montesinos (1930:63-86), is a genealogy that lists the names and deeds of ninety rulers before the Incas inserted themselves in Peruvian monarchy...

The genealogy of the Peruvian monarchy recorded by Montesinos incorporates [sic. suggests] the view that history was repetitive. The splendor of a highly civilized empire was terminated abruptly by cataclysmic events that plunged the world into the barbarism of a dark age characterized by small, politically autonomous communities, whose members lacked proper respect for authority and advocated a variety of practices the Incas viewed as typical of animals rather than of civilized, cultivated human beings. The impressive ruins and stone sculpture still visible at Tiahuanaco were incorporated into some Inca constructions of a usable past as evidence of a prior civilization...

The fifth premise of the various dynastic traditions, including Montesinos's, is a dual one. They acknowledge the presence of earlier state-based societies, shrouded by the mists of time, and they indicate that the imperial state organized by the Incas was recent and short-lived..."

Franklin PEASE 1991:21. *Los últimos incas del Cuzco.* Madrid.

"Mientras el primitivo gobierno de la ciudad sagrada estuvo en manos del grupo sacerdotal, que un cronista considerado extravagante, Fernando de Montesinos, llegara a identificar con una dinastía de amautas, los sinchis parecen haber permanecido subordinados a dicho poder, siempre siguiendo la información de las crónicas, hasta el

momento en que la invasión de un grupo foráneo - los chancas – provocó una crisis que bien pudo permitir a un sector de la élite – el militar, identificado con los sinchis – tomar el poder...

(Nota 9) Montesinos es, sin duda, un autor poco fiable en cuanto a la información ‘histórica’ que proporcionó. Tiempos atrás, a inicios de siglo, autores como Riva Agüero llamaban la atención acerca de la discutible calidad de sus informaciones históricas (Riva Agüero 1910:69 y ss). Hoy puede decirse que mucha de la información que proporcionó puede muy bien no responder a datos obtenidos en los Andes, sino la adecuación de algunos de estos a una estructura de pensamiento cristiana; así ocurre con sus ‘dinastías’ de incas, identificables con los días de la creación bíblica (John H. Rowe, comunicación personal). Hoy, para Montesinos, como para todos los cronistas, debe valer una observación: oyeron ‘datos’ míticamente explicados y los transformaron en historias, adecuándolas a la historia tal como se entendía en el mundo europeo.”

Fernando ELORRIETA SALAZAR & Edgar ELORRIETA SALAZAR 1992:207, 234. *La Gran Piramide de Pacaritampu*. Cusco.

“Entre los cronistas que a nuestro parecer proporcionan informaciones valiosas respecto a uno de estos tantos calendarios, tal como es el solar y sus distintas fases históricas evolutivas, se encuentra el tardío cronista Fernando de Montesinos, quien pese a su discutida obra, es uno de los pocos que se remite a tiempos antiquísimos en los cuales se habían logrado ya, calendarios desarrollados...”

En los relatos del cronista Fernando de Montesinos encontramos toda una tradición de grandes fiestas de carácter fúnebre en los enterramientos de los reyes de Tamputocco, tanto en la dinastía de los Piruas, Amautas, Tamputoccos e incluso Incas.”

Georgina MENESES 1992:105-6. *Tradición oral en el imperio de los Incas*. San Jose, Costa Rica.

“Casi todos los cronistas, excepto Montesinos, coinciden en afirmar que no existió escritura en el Twantinsuyo, a pesar de reconocer, sí, la increíble anotación de la historia y de leyendas que registraban en los quipus...”

Habíamos dicho que Montesinos era la excepción. Bien, este cronista asegura que existió un tipo de escritura que la hacían sobre piedras sobre hojas, pero que raíz de una rebelión fueron consultados los sacerdotes y dedujeron que las quilleas, como se llamaban las letras, tenían que ver con el asunto. Así, de inmediato y definitivamente, fue abolida la práctica, so pena de muerte. Inclusive, ‘un amauta que inventó caracteres habría sido quemado vivo’.

No obstante, debemos aclarar que, durante mucho tiempo, los relatos de Montesinos se han tomado como fantasiosos y poco apegados a la verdad. Aunque, nos dice Baudin que, últimamente, los estudios arqueológicos realizados están probando como ciertas algunas de las aseveraciones del jesuita, que se tenían como irrisorias.

Es probable que este cura haya tenido mayor visión que sus congéneres, o quizás, menos prejuicios contra la raza indígena; de todos modos, hasta el presente no se ha podido aclarar la versión, sobre la escritura, que da Montesinos.”

Norbert SCHIFFERS 1992:46. Cronistas del siglo XVI-XVII como fuentes de la investigación Aymara, en BERG & SCHIFFERS (1992).

“Los noventa reyes prehistóricos, de los cuales sabe Montesinos, son remitidos al reino de las fábulas.”

Nigel DAVIES 1995:21. *The Incas*. Niwot, Colorado. “A variant of this theme is the version of Montesinos, who, not content with an enlarged succession of Inca rulers, names a bewildering array of supposedly pre-Inca kings. The list, now generally discounted, achieved a short-lived credibility in the work of Clements Markham, *The Incas of Peru*.”

TABLE VI.: THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE ANDEAN COUNTRIES BASED ON MODERN ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH—continued.

COAST CULTURES	APPROXIMATE DATES.	MOUNTAIN CULTURES.
<p>Early Chimu-Nasca Culture. An outgrowth of the Archaic culture. Woven fabrics, pottery and textiles; gold and silver were known. A high level. Buildings of adobe.</p>	<p>A.D. 200.— A.D. 500.</p>	<p>Early Tiahuaco Culture. Not in touch with contemporary culture on the coast. Stone buildings were made. Pottery was still much like Archaic culture pottery. Carvings crude but would-be realistic.</p>
<p>Middle Chimu-Nasca Culture. In this period a lively trade with the interior grew up, and toward the end of it influences from the art and civilisation of Tiahuaco became strong on the coast, notably at Pachacamac and in the Trujillo district (where the Chimu kingdom was).</p>	<p>A.D. 500.— A.D. 900.</p>	<p>Middle Tiahuaco. In the early part of this period influences from the coast raised the level of the Tiahuaco culture considerably. Much better buildings, pottery and metal objects were made. Art became more and more rich and conventional. At the end it became decadent.</p>
<p>Late Chimu-Nasca lasted a very long time (about A.D. 900—1400). It was a continuation of former coast periods. Considerable progress in architecture was made. There were a series of strong states along the coast, each one ruling several valleys. That of the Chimu (in northern half of the coast), and that of the chief Cuzimancu (around Pachacamac and Lima) were the strongest.</p>		<p>Late Tiahuaco. This was merely the decadent survival of the last period. Climatic causes probably militated in the decay. Population seems to have shifted to the Cuzco region. Much lower level of culture than formerly. Lasted about 900 to about 1100.</p>
<p>Inca period. Between 1425 and 1470, the Inca Pachacutec began to add the northerly parts of the coast to his empire, the southerly parts have been previously added about a century earlier. Inca government and Inca culture became very strong on the coast.</p>	<p>1425—1531.</p>	<p>Inca Empire. About 1100 the Inca tribe near Cuzco began to gather together the fragments of the former empire. Little by little Inca power made good its authority over other confederacies and chiefdoms. By the time of Mayta Capac (about 1250) it was a strongly centralised state. From about 1450 to 1531 was the height of the Inca Empire.</p>

1531: Francisco Pizarro invades the Inca Empire, then ruled by Atahualpa.

APPENDIX 13. REPRODUCTION OF MEANS' (1920) TABLES VI AND VII

TABLE VII.: AN APPLICATION OF THE LIST OF KINGS IN MONTESINOS TO THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL CHRONOLOGY OF THE ANDEAN COUNTRIES IN PRE-COLUMBIAN TIMES.

KINGS.	APPROXIMATE DATES.	EVENTS AND CULTURES.
Ayar Tacco Capac; Titu Yupanqui Pachacuti; Huascar Titu Tupac; Cayo Manco Anaua; Maraca Pachacuti; Capac Yupanqui; Inca Yupanqui; Inca Pachacuti	275—500	Proto-historic chiefs reigning in the mountains. Archaic culture arriving from north and flourishing.
Sinchi Apusqui; Capac Raymi Anaua; Ayar Manco Capac; Huascar Anaua; Titu Yupanqui Pachacuti II.	500—900	Chimu civilisation establishing itself on the coast, growing out of Archaic Culture. Even at this early period, to judge by Montesinos, there were occasional clashes between the coast people and those of the mountains. The latter built fortresses to protect themselves from incursions, and there were several wars between highlands and coast.
Toco Cozque	900—1100	A very brilliant period for both the mountain- (i.e., Tiahuaco) culture and for the Chimu civilisation on the coast. The cult of Viracocha became firmly established in the highlands, being analogous to that of Pachacamac on the coast. Army and calendar reforms in the highlands. Few or no hostilities with the coast people.
The Incas	1100—1531	A decadent period, that of "Tambo Tocco," marked by many wars and invasions from all sides, and by the breaking up of the old Tiahuaco empire. The gradual up-building of the Inca empire.

N.B.—This Table takes notice of none of the putative generations of "kings" which must have intervened between those named here, all of whom have a character of more or less complete historicity. (See Table IV., for the putative generations.)

APPENDIX 14. TESTIMONIES FROM PREHISTORY

During the past few decades promising results and progress has been achieved in the field of ethnohistorical research. Plausible historical reconstructions are made on the grounds of prehistorical testimonies, which have been carried from the remote past by oral transmission and simple mnemotechnic aids. I present here some of the most popular and convincing examples out of this research. The cases are from the areas which contextually and historically are best applicable as testimonial analogies for the present study.

Certain culture areas in Asia and Europe have more comparative research value than those in Africa and Polynesia. Nevertheless, in Europe oral tradition societies cannot easily be found. These survived longer in peripheries, the far North and in the islands. Oral traditions from Scandinavia and British Islands have become widely known around the world.¹ Extensive royal genealogies have been kept in Ireland (most of them fabricated and created for propagandistic reasons).² One of the most cherished and famous tradition of all-time, the legend of King Arthur, originates from England. Literature around this legend is inexhaustible. One more attempt to identify historical Arthur behind the confusing and contradictory legends, is presented in a recent book by Graham PHILLIPS and Martin KEATMAN (1992) *King Arthur. The True story*. This is a careful historiographic study in a coherent working way. Interestingly, author's search led to uncovering some vital evidence for Arthur's historicity and revealing truthful explanations for the origins of particular elements in this legend.³

Another famous and long standing European legend is the story of the Trojan war and associated events. Troy became a mythic seat and many later dynasties (e.g. the Romans) claimed their descent from its royal house.⁴ Homer, a supposed compiler of

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1 Note the Icelandic and Norwegian sagas, for instance. Compare also Saxo Grammaticus in the appendix 7b.

2 For Ireland's extensive genealogies, see TRUHART 1988, Part III/2:3661-3685. E.g. the dynasty of Mileadh covers a period from 1016 BC to A.D. 405, and contains ca. 125 successions. For fabrication of these histories, see HENIGE 1974:60-1.

3 Extensive Celtic genealogies are known also from Scotland (TRUHART 1988, Part III/2:3564-8). One could consider the Celtic genealogies in Wales more reasonable instead (starting from 4th C) (ibid.,3574-80.)

Graham PHILLIPS and Martin KEATMAN (1992) have identified certain Owain Ddantgwyn, a ruler of the kingdom of Dyfed (488-519) as a possible candidate for the historical Arthur. His power base seems to have been at Viroconium (in northern Wales), which was a large Roman-period city. It was almost abandoned in the early 5th century, but during the few decades around 480-520 it had an astonishing 'Renaissance' - an unique phenomena for any Roman settlement at that time. All this has been confirmed by archaeology, especially recent excavations (1979-) at Viroconium. Owain emerges as a Celto-Roman warlord whose victorious campaigns against the Anglo-Saxon invaders (especially at the epic battle of Badon - presumably occurred at Bath/Cornwall in 493) gave him such a prestige, that for a while most British tribes held allegiance on him as their highking. As far as the legend of Knights of the Round Table and search of the Grail are concerned, they are seemingly later inventions - except the personages Mark, Tristan, and Modred, who might be historical characters. Even the magician Merlin, most legendary of all protagonists in the story, seems to have had a historically identifiable prototype. And last but not least, the mythical grave of 'Arthur' may be situated at Berth (in Wales), where the ancient burial site for the local kings is located. PHILLIPS and KEATMAN have recently made a similar research on another mythic character of England's past: *Robin Hood, The Man Behind the Myth* (1995). In the same manner as with the case of Arthur, their effort uncovered more historicity behind the legend than many previous attempts of investigation.

4 For European dynasties (especially the Romans and Franks) claiming their descent from Troy, HAY 1977:59-67; BUTTERFIELD 1981:94, 190. According to Juha SIHVOLA (a docent in History in the University of Helsinki), a trend of re-evaluation of old written sources and oral traditions is currently going on in the Ancient and Medieval historical studies. He refers to the descriptions of e.g. Livy and Dionysus the Halicarnesian about early

this epic story (*Iliad* = 'a poem about Ilium'/Troy), may have lived in the 9th century BC. The major problem with the Greek historical research has been the centuries-long 'Dark Age' in between the Mycenaean civilization and the Classical times. This reminds one the 'dark age/Arthurian age' in England's history. In Greece literacy was lost during that period and the gap was filled by oral tradition. The discovery of Troy by Heinrich Schliemann in the late 19th century (while he used Homer's descriptions as his clues), has become a prime example of how epic narratives could contain pieces of historical truth otherwise long since forgotten.⁵

The narrative of the lost continent of Atlantis by Plato is possibly the most popular epic story ever known. For centuries its historical seat has been sought all around the world. By using Plato's references a clue, its most frequently supposed setting was in the midst of Atlantic Ocean. However, several scholars are by now tending to situate it in the Mediterranean. Current research supports the idea that the story of Atlantis is essentially genuine oral tradition, which has only been elaborated by the ancient Greek historians. Its socio-cultural setting seems to have been the Minoan Crete and especially at Thera, where a tremendous volcanic eruption around 1600 B.C. destroyed the entire civilization.⁶

In Asia I have concentrated mainly on two areas, the Near East and Northern India - including Tibet. The dynastic histories of Khmer Cambodia, imperial China, and early Japan contain some marginal interest,⁷ but Tibet is more important, since it was both

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- Rome, which are generally considered as products of imagination or anachronisms, but the current research and correlation with archaeological data has revealed that these descriptions contain more historical basis than has been thought. SIHVOLA (January 27, 1998, personal communication).
- 5 For Homer, *The Iliad* 1990, Introduction by Bernard KNOX. For the Greek 'Dark Age', BUTTERFIELD 1981:126-31. For the 'Arthurian Age' as a 'Dark Age'(400-650) in Britain, Geoffrey ASHE & Leslie ALCOCK & Raleigh RADFORD & Philip RAHTZ & Jill RACY 1969(chart in p.xi) *The Quest for Arthur's Britain*, Pall Mall Press Ltd., London.
- 6 I almost missed this famous example. Thanks to a clue from Kimmo KUMPULAINEN (1997), who referred to recent excavations at Thera, I sought more information of this case. An interesting view of these recent excavations at Crete and Thera can be read from the book of Charles PELLEGRINO: *Unearthing Atlantis* (1991), Vintage Books: New York. According to this research, the actual date of Santorini's eruption occurred in 1627 B.C. (based on dendrochronological and glaciological analyses from several places around the world.) Plato's chronological reference to this event as being occurred some 9000 years before the times of Solon (ca. 600 B.C.), is thought to have been a tenfold exaggeration. In using the figure of 900 years instead, the date of Minoan collapse could neatly be reached. According to PELLEGRINO (ibid., 152-3): "If the tale Solon heard in Egypt was a genuine though not clearly understood memory of Minoan Thera and Crete, there is no indication that he knew it. To him, the story was merely grist for his mill. He had an epic poem in mind, which, according to Plato, he began outlining before his death, substituting Greek names for Egyptian ones (Atlantis for Keftiu?)[sic. Egyptian name for Crete], and adding historical and geographical details. Had Solon finished the poem, he would today be as well remembered as is Homer for his *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. But he died, and the unfinished manuscript was handed down through his family. Nearly two hundred years later Plato realized the dramatic possibilities of the story, and began his own version."
- 7 For the dynastic history of Khmers, see e.g. CHANDLER 1983. Most interesting is the short imperial phase during the reign of a megalomaniac king, Jayavarman VII (1181- 1220). After the fall of the Angkorean dynasties around 1300, a centuries-long 'dark age' followed in Cambodia too. In the dynastic history of Japan, a most interesting matter for the present study is the role of the dynastic founder, Jimmu Tenno - 'son of the Sun' - who was a culture-hero similar to Manco Capac for the Incas. See e.g. R.H.P. MASON & J.G. CAIGER (1972) 1975 *A History of Japan*, Charles E. Tuttle Company: Tokyo. For the history of China, first dynastic phases, Legendary emperors (2852-2205 BC), Xia (2205-1766 BC) and Shang (1766-1401 BC) (TRUHART 1985, Part II:1124-5), which contain mostly mythical information, could provide interesting parallels too. In all these three areas, Cambodia, Japan, and China, the dynastic founders were seen more like culture-heroes, who brought civilization into barbarious lands.

temporally, geographically, and to some extent also socio-culturally analogous with the Andean civilization. These two areas are unique examples of remarkable mountain-civilizations in world history. Both also created magnificent empires and were ruled by sacred sovereigns. Early dynastic history of Tibet is largely based on oral tradition, and I have used Erik HAARH's study (1969) of this topic here.⁸

In Northern India the Vedic and the Puranic traditions offer us additional useful analogies. Like the Trojan legends their narrative focus has also concentrated around a epic prehistoric war. Much research effort in *puranic* studies has been dedicated to building up chronologies for the long dynastic genealogies, and to fix a reliable date for the ancient Mahabharata war. This ancient incident, a fact or a fiction, divides *puranic* histories in two phases: dynasties before and dynasties after the war. Puranic tradition is considered one of the most confusing and dubious among the major civilizations of antiquity; its reliability has to be sought behind a prolonged re-editing process extending from around 7th century BC until 3th century AD.⁹

The Near East is an obvious area to search for traces of ancient dynastic histories and extended oral traditions. Dynastic histories are rather well recorded in Pharaonic Egypt and Mesopotamia, and therefore may yield useful comparative information for my study – but this is a disadvantage too.¹⁰ Only the Israelite kingdom and the Biblical tradition

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- 8 For Tibet's history and dynasties, see RICHARDSON 1962; SHAKABPA 1969; HAARH 1969; ROSS 1980:530-1; TRUHART 1985, Part II:1063-8. The imperial period of Tibet was c. A.D. 620 - 850 (SHAKABPA 1969:25-54), being thus contemporaneous with another mountain-empire, Wari in the Andes. (McEWAN 1987:1-6, 79-80.). A period of disintegration extended from 850 to 1247 (SHAKABPA 1969:54), which roughly corresponds to the disintegration in the Andes following the collapse of the Wari empire. The time of imperial kings became a heroic age for the Tibetans - called *Chosgyal* (Religious-Kings) (ibid., 53). Antedating their time there were 32 prehistoric kings, of whom much of the information has been derived from oral sources (HAARH 1969.)
- 9 For the confusing chronologies of Puranic tradition, HENIGE 1974:61-4. *Puranas* or 'old narratives' were mostly composed during the 4-7th centuries in India. They dealt with the histories of several ancient dynasties (e.g. Solar and Lunar lineages) starting around 3102 BC (mythical date). The most extensive line contain 126 successions down to the times of Buddha (ibid; Srisa CHANDRA VIDYARNAVA 1916, 1916b.) F.E. PARGITER (1922), and A.D. PUSALKER (1951/1965) have tried to build up a chronology for this confusion, but with little success, since the fixed historical points are so scanty in this data. The most important *puranas* is called *The Matsya Puranam* (5thC-) 1916 (transl. and pub. in Allahabad.) For a long-lasting process of re-editing the *puranas*, FÄLT 1983:296. For manipulation of this tradition, see e.g. SHARMA 1979. In using my chronological parameters (appendix 6): interesting results could be reached with certain Puranic genealogies/dynasties. Perhaps the best 'recorded' Puranic lineage is the macro-dynasty of Magadha. Ascending from the fixed point of accession of Chandra gupta Maurya (322 B.C.), there were four dynasties and 42 kings ruling the post-war Kaliyuga age. PARGITER (ibid.) has estimated the date of the epic war around 850-950 B.C. One should use a coefficient for multiple dynasties, i.e. 14.8 years, in this place. Counting backwards from 322 B.C. the year 943 B.C. is reached (14.8 x 42), which correlates with PARGITER's estimate fairly well.
- 10 For the dynastic histories in Near east and Biblical lands, see e.g. MALAMAT 1968; ROUX (1964) 1972; SETERS 1981; PARPOLA 1982; QUIRKE 1990; MILLARD et al. (eds.) 1994; ROHL 1995. The accurate chronology in Mesopotamia begins around 911 BC. From that time on there exists an unbroken *limmu*-list (Assyrian officials replaced yearly), which contain also information about the astronomical phenomena. The Neo-Babylonians kept records of these phenomena too, and with these means important synchronism could be set within the absolute chronology (ROUX 1972:40; HENIGE 1974:192-5.) The Chinese observations frequently corroborate the Near Eastern and European data (YEOMANS 1991:362-7.) In Egypt accurate and absolute chronology started in 664 BC. Counting backwards from that date up to 2100 B.C. a growing margin of inexactness is met - until between 2100 and 3200 B.C. a shift can be 100 or more years (KITCHEN 1982:239.) David ROHL (in *A Test of Time*, 1995) has brought forth interesting new archaeological evidence of how the Pharaonic chronology should be set backwards some 350 years, and by this adjustment a better correlation between the Egyptian and Biblical events is to be achieved.

could offer better analogies. The main reason is, that Israelites were far more oriented to oral tradition than their advanced neighbours. Their much debated dynastic history and the Holy Bible itself is a prime example of this. Until this day Biblical scholars have argued even the historicity of King David, for instance. All this because the kings of Israel were not preoccupied with setting up pillars and monuments with inscriptions praising their acts. Almost all we know of their acts and deeds is based on oral data written in the Bible.¹¹ But now it seems that some synchronism has been found. A couple of recently found Moabite stelas and an Egyptian inscription (all dated around 9thC BC) contain references to the King and 'House of David', which seems to confirm the existence of the founders of that dynasty for first time from external sources.¹²

David ROHL has presented interesting new archaeological evidence not only for the existence of famous Israelite kings, but also for the lives of Joseph, Moses and Joshua in his book *A Test of Time* (1995). According to his theory, the traditional Pharaonic chronology has been set some 350 years out of the line. Dates should be counted downwards so that the times of Ramesses II, for instance, were around 925 BC and not in 13thC BC. The reason for this chronological disproportion is in dynastic modifications, where contemporarity has been adjusted as successive. ROHL maintains that, at least the 21st and 22nd Dynasties were partly contemporaneous. Due to these corrections a better correlation between the Biblical events and Pharaonic records is attained. The times of Joseph can be dated to ca. 1660 BC. He seems to have been a Grand Vizier of Amenemhat III, the most powerful *pharaoh* of the Middle Kingdom. Evidences of Israelite occupation in Egypt fit better archaeologically with this new chronology, whereas their Exodus seems to have occurred somewhat earlier than has been thought

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 11 Apparently the books of the Bible were written and compiled by several authors during a period of some 1000 years (900 BC - A.D. 100). The major interest in the Israelite historiography arose only during and after the Exile (586-538 BC). The Books of Kings, for instance, were compiled at that time. There undoubtedly existed official 'court histories' from the reigns of David and Solomon, and these along with the oral data were used as frames for the narratives to be included into Holy Scriptures. The time of the unified monarchy became a glorified golden age and patriotic inspiration for the Israelite nation (HAY 1977:12-37; BUTTERFIELD 1981:80-117; CHAVALAS 1994; LONG 1994; MILLARD 1994; YAMAUCHI 1994). The lack of Israelite kings' interest in raising royal *stelae* is explained by the monotheistic reasons: praises could be dedicated only to Jahveh (BUTTERFIELD 1981:98; GORDON 1994.) I am grateful to Dr. Richard SCHAEDEL who introduced me to this current Biblical data, which has given good support for evaluating oral tradition.

12 There are two important stelas known as Mesha and Tel Dan. The latter was recently found in Dan. The Mesha stela claims a 9thC victory for the Moabite King Mesha over the Israelites. Both seem to contain a reference to King David's royal house, but in the Tel Dan stela this is pointed more clearly. The language is Aramean and its reconstructed text seems to contain the following references: "Jehoram son of Ahab, King of Israel" and "Ahaziah son of Jehoram, king of the House of David". This evidence is not indisputable however. Two schools of Biblical scholars, the "Minimalists" (who contend that David is merely a literary creation) and the "Maximalists" (who support David's historicity) are constantly face to face with these questions. See, LEMAIRE 1994 and FREEDMAN & GEOGHEGAN 1995. For the dispute between the Minimalists and Maximalists, read e.g. "Face to Face: Biblical Minimalists Meet Their Challengers", *Biblical Archaeology Review*, Vol. 23, No.4, July/August 1997. An interesting confirmation for the 'Maximalist' viewpoint comes from a tenth century B.C. Egyptian inscription, where a leading Egyptologist, Kenneth A. KITCHEN, has recently suggested a reading which could refer to Biblical king David. It is associated with a place-name listed by Pharaoh Sheshonq I on a victory scene at Karnak. If correct, this mention of David dates no fewer than some 50 years after the great king's death! (Hershel SHANKS in 'Has David Been Found in Egypt?' *Biblical Archaeology Review*, Vol.25, No.1, January/February 1999).

- around 1400 BC. This date accords with the archaeological relocating and narrative of the Holy Land's conquest.¹³

As a matter of fact, the American areas useful for comparison are no more referable than most of the areas chosen from the Old World. There are only two large regions in the Americas (outside the Andes), which have been the focus of extensive archaeological, anthropological, and ethnohistorical research: the North American Indians in the present US and the Mesoamerican civilizations.¹⁴

North American Indians as an analogy correspond categorically examples chosen from Africa and Polynesia, but the mere fact, that they are Amerindians, makes the comparison more important. The importance of Mesoamerica is based on the fact, that along with the Central-Andes, there developed the most complex and sophisticated civilizations in Pre-Columbian America. Curiously, some key socio-political and cultural aspects met in Mesoamerica were more parallel with the Mesopotamian civilization than the Andes.¹⁵ E.g. the Mesoamericans and the Andeans were quite different in the political arena. As in Mesopotamia, the Mesoamerican polities were most of the time rather small kingdoms and citystates, whereas the emergent empires could be characterized more like powerful hegemonies than compact territorial entities. In the Andes instead, empire-building was more effective and territorially more extensive. Therefore the empires in the Andes correspond more closely to certain Old World societies than any other in the Americas.¹⁶

- 13 ROHL 1995:passim. Some new viewpoints have also come forth considering historical memories from the Patriarchal narratives. Ronald S. HENDEL (1995) summarizes as his opinion, that "the patriarchal narratives of Genesis are a composite of historical memory, traditional folklore and narrative brilliance". There might have even been a historical Abram - at least a place name (a fort during the United Kingdom?) in Negev (a place where the Biblical Abram lived) from the 10th century BC, seems to indicate that. Another set of evidences comes from Haran and the upper Euphrates, the Amorite heartland, which was associated with Abram's lineage. Many Biblical names can be identified from this region. HENDEL believes, that some memories in the patriarchal narratives could have been preserved over 500 years in oral tradition, until these were written down no earlier than the 9th or 8th centuries BC (ibid.) Kenneth KITCHEN who has examined the Patriarchal narratives (1995) in the Bible, summarizes his viewpoint on oral tradition's credibility in this case as follows: "We may compare the patriarchal narratives with the 'Tales of the Magicians' (Papyrus Westcar) from Egypt dating to about 1600 B.C. This document relates some tall tales of magicians at the royal court during the Old Kingdom in about 2600 B.C., a thousand years earlier. Yet, despite the timelapse and the tallness of the tales, all four kings are strictly historical figures (known from other documents), given in their correct sequence. The three founders of the next dynasty are then named in the right order. Some of the magicians are also known historical figures, while others bear names from that distant period. *So, picturesque narratives do not guarantee that the characters are fiction.* [italics mine]. This in part answers the question as to whether traditions about supposedly real people could have handed down from, say, about 1600 B.C. (Joseph) to about 1200 B.C. (Moses), then on to about 950 B.C. (Solomon) - and be canonized in the fifth century B.C. (Ezra) - while retaining essentially reliable information."
- 14 Compare general works, for instance WILLEY 1966, 1971; FIEDEL 1987, and *Atlas of Ancient America* 1986.
- 15 The Mesoamerican and Mesopotamian cultural parallels, see SORENSON 1976. I have also discussed with Prof. Simo PARPOLA (Assyriologist) of this subject. For Mesoamerican and Andean cultural parallels and differences, see e.g. NORDENSKIÖLD 1931:1-76.
- 16 NORDENSKIÖLD 1931; CLAESSEN & SKALNIK (eds.) 1978; JONES & KAUTZ (eds.) 1981; HAAS 1982; CONRAD & DEMAREST 1984; DOYLE 1986; HAAS et al.(eds.) 1987; SCHREIBER 1992; MARTIN & GRUBE 1995. See also *Atlas of Ancient America* 1986. SCHAEDEL has remarked on the difference between the Mesoamerican and Andean state development and defines the Andean form approaching more closely to "Oriental despotism" than the former (1995 Spring semester Advanced Seminar in the University of Texas at Austin, titled: Socio Cultural Dynamics, South American Archaeology.) Read also, COLLIER et al (eds.) 1982 and COLLIER 1982.

The difference between the Andes and Mesoamerica is also seen in the modes and degree of oral transmission (co-existent with the written records). The advantage was far more favorable for the latter. The Mesoamerican Mayans, for instance, were as literate as any ancient civilized society in the Old World.¹⁷ Their historical accounts written in monumental inscriptions belong to the most accurate records ever made in human antiquity. In Mesoamerica vast ethnographical data has been gathered by certain active (sympathetic) missionaries and native writers soon after the Spanish conquest, whereas in the Andes this Las Casas-type empathy was scarce.¹⁸ Numerous dynastic accounts are recorded in the chronicles, and the currently deciphered Mayan script reveal relative unbroken royal successions for extended periods in most important cities.¹⁹

In spite of the advanced degree of written communication, oral tradition has always been closely connected with it in Mesoamerica too. This concerns especially with the so-called western branch of the Mesoamerican written tradition within where e.g. the Aztecs belonged.²⁰ Besides genealogies and dynastic records, migration legends were popular themes too. Most famous migration records are from the Aztecs, but other Nahua-speaking people favored these themes as well.²¹ In the Mayan area, where recent studies have shed light to the Classical period histories, the data for post-Classic time is scanty and have to rely largely on ethnohistorical records written down during the early colonial times. Particularly interesting are the accounts which narrate the movements of the Itzas. Itzas or Chontals, were a kind of 'Vikings' of Mesoamerica during the Terminal Classic period (800-1000), and descriptions of their acts and voyages were handed down into Post-Classic and early colonial times in various ethnohistorical documents.²²

Once we are now able to read the Mayan inscriptions, several names, dates, and events mentioned in these ethnographies have found interesting correlation from the

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 17 For literacy among the Mayans, BROWN 1991; MARCUS 1992. Compare also, DIRINGER 1948; GAUR 1984.

18 For Mayan inscriptions, see e.g. GOCKEL 1988; COE 1992; SCHELE & FREIDEL 1990; MARCUS 1992; HILTUNEN & TALVITIE 1993. For ethnographic material in Mesoamerica, see CLINE 1972-75 and GIBSON 1975. Consult also, GARCIA GRANADOS 1952-3. For ethnographic material in the Andes, see e.g. STEWARD 1946, Vol.2; WILGUS 1963, Appendices E and F. For Colonial writing in general, see WILGUS, *ibid.*; JARA & SPADACCINI (eds.) 1989. SCHAEDEL (1996, personal communication.)

19 For dynastic accounts in the chronicles concerning Central-Mexican societies, see e.g. *Codex Chimalpopoca* (1558-1570) 1992; *Codex Xolotl* (16thC) 1951; *The Chronicles of Michoacan* (1541) 1970 (Craine & Reindorp); *Historia chichimeca* (1600-1608) 1891 (Ixtilxochitl); and the larger works where dynastic accounts are included, *Florentino codex* (1577) 1950-69 (Sahagun); *Monarquia Indiana* (1615) 1969 (Torquemada). For Mayan dynastic inscriptions, MARCUS 1987, 1992; GOCKEL 1988; MICHEL 1989; SCHELE & FREIDEL 1990; CULBERT 1991, 1991b; FASH & STUART 1991; MATHEWS & WILLEY 1991; SCHELE 1991; BARDSLEY 1992; and SCHELE & MATHEWS 1993. For Mixtec and Zapotec dynastic history, read e.g. SPORES 1967; FLANNERY & MARCUS 1983 and MARCUS 1983.

20 UMBERGER 1981; MOLLOY 1983; MARCUS 1992. The demarcation line between the so-called Western and Eastern branches of Mesoamerican written tradition crossed around the isthmus of Tehuantepec. Phoneticism was more developed in the east (e.g. the Mayas), whereas the writing of the Westerners' contained more pictographic elements. See, John JUSTESON: "The origin of writing systems: Preclassic Mesoamerica", *World Archaeology*, Vol. 17, No.3:437-58.

21 DAVIES (1973)1977, 1977b, 1980; UMBERGER 1981; MOLLOY 1983; HODGE 1984; SMITH 1984; DIEHL & BERLO (eds.) 1989; GILLESPIE 1989; HEYDEN 1989.

22 For Itzas, SHUMAN 1977; FOX 1987; BALL & TASCHEK 1989; DIEHL & BERLO (eds.) 1989; KOWALSKI 1989; WREN & SCHMIDT 1991; CHASE & CHASE (eds.) 1992; FOX et al. 1992. See also BARRERA VASQUEZ & MORLEY 1949 *The Maya Chronicles*.

ancient written data.²³ The time depth of tradition survival in this place is about 600 years. But there seems to have been in the Mayan area another case where the oral tradition may have survived even a 1000 years!

This is only a tentative hypothesis, but it is an interesting possibility, that the Tzeltal-Maya tradition of Votanide-kings may be a remote reflection of the resident Classic period rulers at Palenque. The first European visitor in the region of Palenque (in 1773) was Friar Ramon de Ordoñez y Aguilar, who wrote a book *Historia de la creacion del cielo y de la Tierra*. In that book he claimed having heard an amazing story from the local Tzeltal-Indians. It is a story of a foreign king Votan who came overseas (from the Near East according to Ordoñez' interpretation), and established a dynasty and prosperous empire in the region. The dynasty contained 18 names (calendar spurinymys) and it was replaced later by a dynasty of Nahua-invaders. The 11th ruler of the line was a hero-king particularly remembered.²⁴

The lengthy and well preserved inscriptions of Palenque have been crucial in importance for the decipherment of Mayan script. Therefore the ancient dynasty of Palenque is well known, with seemingly unbroken succession (about 18-20 rulers between A.D. 431 and c. 800) and incidently, the 11th ruler, Pacal II, was the most prominent king of his dynasty. In the name of the last ruler an impact of Nahuatl can be noticed, and archaeology has also confirmed the Nahua-Chontal intrusion into the area at this time.²⁵ It is quite possible, that they overtook the city and had their own dynasty replaced there for a while - as the tradition confirms. At that time the Classic Maya civilization was in wane and the central regions of Yucatan peninsula became emptied of people. Those who have occupied these areas were Cholan speakers, whereas adjacent with their territory and close to Palenque lived the Tzeltal-Mayans, a related but distinct group of people.²⁶ Since the Cholans were carriers of Classic civilization and the Tzeltales lived a culturally simpler life, it can be deduced that they could have preserved a tradition of their neighbours, but structured it into a form which is easier to remember: as day-names in their calendar.

In North America two genres of oral tradition interest us: tribal migration legends and accounts of successive leaders (often these two are merged). North American tribal traditions are filled with migration legends and this genre is reflected in anthropological writing in the latter part of 19th century. Most of it was collected from groups who lived in the eastern Woodland area. The best known samples are from the Ojibwas, Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Iroquois, Lenapes, Tuscaroras, Shawnees, Quapaws, Natchezs and the Cherokees. The validity of these accounts has been tested with synchronisms

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- 23 ROTSMAN 1982; FOX 1987; KOWALSKI 1989; SCHELE & FREIDEL 1990; WREN & SCHMIDT 1991; FREIDEL 1992; POHL & POHL 1994. The major problem with the Post-Classic Maya history in compared with the Classical times, is a lack of texts and inscriptions. Writing did not disappear at the Classic collapse, but the erecting of *stelae* and writing on monuments gradually ceased during the Terminal Classic times (800-1000). Therefore we have to rely so much on the ethnohistorical accounts for the Post-Classic times. See e.g. SCHELE & FREIDEL 1990. I got current information on the correlations between Mayan inscriptions and ethnohistorical accounts in an Advanced Seminar at Austin (Texas) held by Dr. Linda SCHELE during the Spring semester 1995.
- 24 BRASSEUR DE BOURBOURG 1858, tome I:68-97; TOMPKINS 1976:77-83; TRUHART 1984, Part I:480; HILTUNEN 1993:130, 173-5.
- 25 GOCKEL 1988; SCHELE & FREIDEL 1990:216-61; SCHELE & MATHEWS 1993:91-165.
- 26 For Cholan speakers, see Nicholas A. HOPKINS (1985:1-5) "On the History of the Chol Language", In: *Fifth Palenque Round Table*, 1983, Vol.VII. Gen. ed. Merle Greene Robertson. Pre-Columbian Art Research Institute: San Francisco. For Chontal-Mexican (Putun/Itza) intrusion in the area, see e.g. BALL & TASCHEK 1989; SCHELE & FREIDEL 1990:381-9; FOX et al. 1992.

from the linguistics and archaeology, but results in most cases have shown a great discrepancy as one might expect in genres like this. Still, some cases may contain a nucleus of factual history in them, like the traditions of Choctaws, Chickasaws, Lenapes, Quapaws, and Cherokees for instance.²⁷ Archaeology has occasionally indicated *in situ* development of cultures for a prolonged period of time, despite tribal accounts are narrating movements of people. An interesting case in point has come forth in recent studies in the High Plains area by Karl SCHLESIER (1994). He has shown, that e.g. the Cheyennes, who have been thought as being a rather recent migrants from the Ohio valley, were in fact living in their historical seats almost from the time of the birth of Christ.²⁸

The best known tribal account from North America is *Wallam Olum*, narrative migration legend of the Lenape-group (Delaware) of Indians. It contains almost one hundred successive generations of chiefs and is in this respect analogous with Montesinos' document. Its compiler or recorder (1820s) was a famous learned man, Constantine Rafinesque, who, like Montesinos, has been accused of fabulist writings. His reputation has been improved considerably in present times, much due to his contributions in the field of epigraphy. There also seems to exist a moderately sound correlation between *Wallam Olum's* account and the Mound Building cultures in the Ohio-valley.²⁹

- 27 For the North American tribal migrations, HALE 1883; BRINTON (1884) 1969 (Lenape); GATSCHET 1884 (Creek); THOMAS 1890 (Cherokee); CUSHMAN 1899 (Choctaw, Chiskasaw, Natchez); NORWOOD 1938 (Lenape); WALLACE & REYBURN 1951 (Tuscaroras); LILLY 1954 (Lenape); HYDE (1962) 1975 (Iroquois etc.); DEWDNEY 1975 (Ojibwa); HOFFMAN 1990 (Quapaw); SCHLESIER 1994, 1994c (Plains groups). The historicity of Lenape migrations is an unsettled question and related with the authenticity of their tribal document, *Wallam Olum*. Quapaws were a tribe (now extinct), which belonged to the Dhegiha-group of Siouan speakers. The historical seats of that group were on the margins of the Plains, but there is unquestionable evidence that they originally lived in the Ohio valley (HYDE 1975; HOFFMAN 1990). The southern Appalachian Cherokees had a tradition of their former seats in the Ohio valley, and this appears also to have based on historical facts (THOMAS 1890:6-18; BRINTON 1969; MAILS 1992:25-40.) Two related tribes, Choctaws and Chickasaws, had a tradition that their original seats were beyond the Mississippi. Whence they possibly migrated cannot be stated explicitly, but according to current linguistic classification (GREENBERG 1987), the Muskogean speakers (including Choctaws and Chickasaws) were part of a larger phylum labeled as Penutian, which had major territories in the western and southern parts of North America.
- 28 SCHLESIER (1994) has connected the archaeological Besant-culture (A.D. 1-400) with the historical Cheyennes. His argument is based largely on the survival of 'ethnicity markers', shrines, pictographs, ritual objects etc. I am grateful to Dr. R. Robert ROBBINS, who presented SCHLESIER's ideas in his Advanced Seminar at Austin (The University of Texas) and with whom I talked several times during the Fall semester 1994.
- 29 The editions of *Wallam Olum*, by BRINTON (1884); by Indiana Historical Society (1954); by McCutchen (1993). There are 97 chiefs listed in the narrative proper plus 11 or 12 more in the supplementary 'Fragment' (which makes it as the most extensive list of rulers extant in the Americas). Constantine Samuel Rafinesque-Smaltz (1783-1840) is one of those people on whom there never was, is not now, and never will be, agreement, writes Michael COE (1992:89). He was born in Turkey to a French father and a German mother, and became a curious legend in his own time. Having perhaps a kind of 'Leonardo-syndrome' he devoted himself to dozens of occupations and disciplines - and in many arenas also successfully. He was e.g. a historian, archaeologist, geographer, philologist, philosopher, poet, antiquarian, and author. His published works from various arenas contained 938 items. He spent his most active career in Transylvania University (Kentucky) as a professor of Historical and Natural Sciences (1819-1826). For more about him, see STUART 1989; WILLIAMS 1991:98-115; COE 1992:89-91; McCUTCHEN 1993:5-10. A question has sometimes been raised if *Walam Olum* is a forgery, imagined by the fanciful, talented but 'crazy' mind of Rafinesque (BRINTON 1969:154-9; WILLIAMS 1991). Another explanation for its origin is a suggestion that it was created by missionary-influenced, nativist Lenapes to retain self-identity during the turbulent years in Indiana

I present here one example where tribal oral tradition seems to correlate with the outer tie-ins and synchronisms rather neatly. It is the account of the foundation of the Iroquois League. A special interest in testing this case is found in the Atotarho dynastic chronology, where more reliable regnal span averages are used (see appendix 6b.)

The foundation of the Iroquois league

<i>Iroquois oral tradition</i> ³⁰	<i>Deduction</i>
several informants to L.H.Morgan:	100+200:2 = 150
“100-200 years before the coming of the whites”	1609-150 = 1459 ³¹
Onondaga chief to H.Hale:	6 x 25 = 150
“six generations before the coming on the whites”	1609-150 = 1459
John Buck Skanawati (1882):	1882-400 = 1482
“400 years ago”	
Old people in the Six Nation reservation:	3 x c.65 = 195
“three human lifetimes before the coming of the whites”	1609-195 = 1414
David Cusick (Tuscarora):	1656 ³²
thirteenth Atotarho ruled when the Eries were destroyed.	13 x 17 = 221 1656-221 = 1435
<i>Outer-social tie-ins</i>	
Huron confederacy established	c. 1440 ³³
<i>Astronomical phenomena tie-ins</i>	
Seneca tradition: “total solar eclipse”	June 28, 1451 ³⁴
Mohawk tradition: “total solar eclipse”	“ “
One version of the Iroquois tradition: “Deganawidah blotted out the sun”	“ “
<i>Archaeological tie-ins</i> ³⁵	
During the Chance-phase:	1400 - 1500
social interaction increased, ceramics became more homogenous, palisades around the villages became smaller etc.	

These traditions and synchronisms seem to support strongly the founding date of the league at around 1450. This differs quite much from the more conventional date - 1572 - which is often referred to in modern literature.³⁶

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 (HENIGE 1982:95.) However, considering the role of Rafinesque in its production, scholars have emphasized certain points, which strongly contradict a possibility, that he might have been an inventor or a forger (compare editions of *Walam Olum* by BRINTON 1969 and Indiana Historical Society 1954.)
 Currently a new interest have arisen in Constantine Rafinesque and his works. These has been re-evaluated and his contributions in many fields have now acknowledged (COE 1992:89-91.) One such arena is Mayan epigraphy. He was the first scholar to try the decipherment of this script. Though his interpretations were mostly superficial, he was the first to identify and understand the principles of Mayan mathematics, and made the rightful deductions on the native origin and different contexts of the script. He presented these ideas for instance in his correspondence with J.F. CHAMPOLLION in 1832 - ten years

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- before J.L. STEPHENS and F. CATHERWOOD, and the rediscovery of Mayan civilization (ibid.) Charles BOEWE (1988) has also written in Rafinesque's favor, including upholding the existence and veracity of the *Walam Olum* ("The Other Candidate for the Volney Prize: Constantine Samuel Rafinesque." In: John Leopold, ed., *Volney Essay Prize II*. D.Reidel: Dordrecht, Germany.) For *Walam Olum's* correlation with the Woodland archaeology, consult e.g. its critical edition (1954).
- 30 TOOKER 1978:418-21. The coefficient 25 per a generation is plausible for shorter periods, but in extended intervals 20 years per generation is a more expected average (see appendix 6c). For the figure 65 chosen as an average 'human lifetime'; in an extensive comparative study of 8000 ancient Amerindian skeletal remains from 100 sites in North America, the ages of 70 or over were extremely rare. The comparison was made between agricultural and nonagricultural populations, and life expectancy was somewhat higher in the former group. Among the agriculturalists 60-70 year aged people existed in small portion, therefore the average 65 is used here. See, A.J.JAFFE (1992:251-63) *The First Immigrants from Asia. A Population History of the North American Indians*. Plenum Press: New York and London.
- 31 According to Thomas McELWAIN (Iroquois himself), an Iroquois generation is calculated at 25-75 years admittedly, but not precisely (McELWAIN 1998, personal communication.)
- 32 Cusick 1827:35. According to Cusick (ibid.), about the time when the XIIIth Atotarho ruled "the Eriens declared a war against the Five Nations; a long bloody war ensued; at last the Eriens were driven from the country". The final defeat of the Eries occurred in around 1656 (Marian E. WHITE 1987:415-6, in HNAI, Vol. 15, Washington). In using a dynastic coefficient 17/16.5 (compare chapter II:3 and appendix 6b) the total period for thirteen 'Atotarhos' would be 221 years. Hence the calculative result: 1435 (1656-221). In using figure 16.5 instead, the result is 1442 - which is more closer to the date 1450.
- 33 The formation of the Huron confederacy (4 tribes) apparently occurred in three phases. Huron tradition claims that two original groups, the *Attignawantan* and *Attigeenongnahac*, formed an alliance around A.D. 1440. The two other groups were possibly refugee migrants from the St.Lawrence valley settlements destroyed by the other Iroquois around mid-sixteenth century. The *Arendahronon* joined soon after that, but the fourth tribe, the *Tahontaenrat*, possibly not until around 1610 (HYDE 1975:89; William ENGELBRECHT 1985:176-7.) *New York Iroquois Political Development*. In: *Cultures in Contact*, Ed. by William W. Fitzhugh. Smithsonian Institution Press (a reference from Bruce TRIGGER 1976:157-163. *The Children of Aataentsic: A History of the Huron People to 1660*. McGill-Queen's University Press: Montreal and London.)
- 34 One version of the tradition states, that at the time when the Senecas joined the League, there was a total solar eclipse when the corn was getting ripe (TOOKER 1978:420; a reference from P.A.W: WALLACE 1948:399 *The Return of Hiawatha*. New York History 29(4).) Another version states, that a total eclipse occurred when the Mohawks were about to attack a Seneca village. It happened when the corn was receiving its last tilling. The sign ceased the attack and the Senecas joined the League (TOOKER 1978:420; a reference from W. CANFIELD 1902:23-40, 197-8 *The Legends of the Iroquois, told by 'the Cornplanter'* A. Wessels: New York.) A third eclipse record stated that Deganawidah blotted out the sun at the time of founding of the League (TUCK 1978:327.) A total solar eclipse was visible in central New York state in 1379, 1451, and 1672 (OPPOLZER 1887.) The last one is out of question (the League was in function in early 17th century when the first Europeans arrived), and the year 1379 seems to be too early, especially when other data supports the middle figure. June 28, 1451 is a Julian calendar date.
- 35 TUCK 1978; Matthew DENNIS 1993:43-75, *Cultivation a Landscape of Peace*. Cornell University Press: Ithaca and London.
- 36 The traditionally accepted date, 1570-2, for the foundation of the Iroquois League is based on J.N.B. HEWITT's (1894) assumption, that the confederacy was formed in response to the aggression from the St.Lawrence-area about 1560-70 (he suggested also the date 1559). There are number of other varying assumptions in a range of A.D. 1000-1610, the earliest date taken from the native tradition, which states that in the time of Jacques Cartier's visit (1534), the 33rd Atotarho was presiding over the League (B. JOHANSEN 1982:22, *Forgotten Founders*. Gambit Inc., Publishers: Ipswich.) William N. FENTON, the modern dean of the Iroquois studies, has recently summarized the proposed dates of the founding of the Iroquois League in his current Book, *The Great Law and the Longhouse* (University of Oklahoma press: Norman, 1998). He also favors the early date, which he sets to around 1500 - mostly reasoned by ongoing archaeological research and corroborative tie-ins from the Huron ethnohistoric tradition (ibid., 69).

Appendix 14b. Mnemonic devices

Jan VANSINA (1985) has divided the mnemotechnic devices in three categories: objects, landscapes, and music.¹ One cannot usually perceive landscapes as mnemonic devices, but historical sites, like tombs, ruins, battlefields etc. contain aetiological information of the past.² Melodies and rhythm help us to recall memories, and rhymed phrases are easy to repeat over and over again. However, these two means are unintentional and casual methods for memorizing. Everywhere people have used also technical objects to keep recording and memorize events, names, and numbers, which individuals and societies have considered important.³ Even though conventional writing is not usually categorized within this context, it might be there, since all writing is essentially a memory aid. Because the pre-Columbian America offers an adequate selection of all categories of mnemotechnic devices, the following comparative examples are taken from this area.⁴

The North American Indians used a rather advanced picture writing, *wampum-strings*, and *winter counts*, of which a brief description is given here. In Mesoamerica a true phonetic writing developed among the Mayans and Zapotecs, whereas their neighbours used less advanced systems. In the Andes, some sort of picture writing existed, and a special form of mnemonic aid known as *quipu*.⁵

Garrick MALLERY (1893/1972) has made a classic study of the picture-writing used by the American Indians.⁶ Substances where the pictures were made varied widely: stone, bone, skins, sand, wood, bark, shells, textile fabrics, clay, copper, quills, etc.⁷ Despite the good progress in studies of petroglyphs and Southwestern clay ideograms during the recent years,⁸ I consider it more relevant to focus in better known examples from this arena: *wampum*-belts made of shell, pictograms drawn on bark and wood, and *winter counts* painted on hide.

The pictographic writing of the prehistoric Eastern Woodland Indians in its best forms impressed early European travellers and missionaries. Better known were the pictograms of the Micmac, Ojibway, Iroquois, Delaware (Lenni-lenape), and Powhatan tribes.⁹ Micmac-writing is perhaps the most controversial of these, since it developed into a hieroglyphic system (in the 18th C) resembling the Egyptian script. This was a work of French missionaries, who in this way made it easier to convert and teach the Indians. On the other hand, the *Jesuit Relations* of the year 1652, give a brief description

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1 VANSINA 1985:44-7.

2 *ibid.*, 187-9.

3 For the mnemonic technical objects, DIRINGER 1948:26-31; GAUR 1984:18-32.

4 For writing as a memory aid, GAUR, *ibid.*, 25. For the Pre-Columbian variety of mnemotechnic aids, see e.g. MALLERY (1893) 1972.

5 *ibid.*; MARCUS 1992.

6 A special emphasis in MALLERY's work has been given to petroglyphs, symbols in *winter-counts*, and pictograms from the Eastern Woodland area.

7 *ibid.*, 205-222.

8 PATTERSON 1992; CUNKLE 1993; SCHLESIER 1994. A distinctive rock art styles has been identified and plausible associations with certain historical tribes is indicated too. The dating of petroglyphs has become possible by the method of *Accelerator mass spectrometry* (AMS), which measures rock varnish leaching during an extended period (J.E. FRANCIS & L.L. LOENDORF & R.I. DORN 1993:711-37, "Ams radiocarbon and cation-ratio dating of rock art in the Bighorn Basin of Wyoming and Montana", *American Antiquity* 58(4).) James CUNKLE (1993) has worked with the decipherment of symbols occurring in pottery and have found interesting correlations with the Sign language symbols used by the Plains Indians.

9 HODGE 1910, Part. 2:242-5; TOMKINS 1969; BRINTON 1969; MALLERY 1972; DEWDNEY 1975.

how the Indians used a very special kind of ideograms, which they drew on a piece of bark.¹⁰ From the same early period (1670) has survived another note from Virginia, where an observer named John Lederer described how the Powhatan Indians had certain hieroglyphic wheels called 'the memory of the gods', in which they marked a sign in each year to keep count of time.¹¹

The Ojibwas and Iroquois around the Great Lakes had a similar kind of system. The Ojibwas used birch-bark scrolls where the sacred chants were drawn, to be used in the ceremonies of *midéwiwin*. The 'midé' markings are very conventionalized and contain abstract notions, which were readable only for few members of a 'midé' society. Three basic categories of scrolls were: origin-, migration-, and specific *Midé*-scrolls. In the migration-scrolls the illustrated route correlates surprisingly well with the geography in a wide area. These notions together with the Ojibwa oral tradition situated their tribal origin seats somewhere around the St. Lawrence River, although archaeology has not indisputably supported the idea. Same kind of migration stories were told among the Iroquois, scraped on bark-scrolls or embroidered in *wampums*.¹²

The best known and most complete pictographic document from aboriginal North America is *Wallam Olum*, tribal account of the Delaware Indians. Notwithstanding most of its pictographs correspond well with the related markings found among other woodland tribes (Ojibwas and Iroquois, for instance), its origin is disputable.¹³ Accordingly, some scholars have tried to follow these tribal markings and reconstruct migration routes for Lenapes. For instance, a new annotated edition of *Wallam Olum* by David McCUTCHEN (1993) is far-fetching in its interpretation: the Lenape-nation started its migration beyond the Bering strait!¹⁴

Beside the pictographs drawn on wooden sticks and bark-scrolls, the eastern woodland Indians were known for their use of mnemotechnic devices called *wampums*. These were belts made of special beads of *quahaug*-shells, with conventional pictographs skillfully embroidered into them. The Iroquois were famous users of these belts and they had special *wampum*-keepers, who preserved the information connected with them by oral transmission for many generations. The English officials who had frequent and intimate contacts with the Iroquois chiefs during the 18th century, were quite astonished how the Indians were able to read extended stories from simple belts with only few signs in them, and (as they sometimes cross-checked the given information) with such an accuracy.¹⁵

A very special mnemotechnic aid was created by the Northern Plains Indians: the *winter-count* calendars. Several of them have survived in museums and the majority of them cover year-by-year accounts from around 1770 until ca. 1900.¹⁶ Best examples are from the Lakota group of tribes (Sioux) and Kiowas.¹⁷ In the light of available

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10 For Micmac-writing, MALLERY 1972:666-72; Barry FELL (1976) 1989:253-76, *America B.C.* Pocket Books: New York. Fell compares Micmac hieroglyphs with the ancient Egyptian and Libyan characters.

11 HOWARD 1979:5; ROUNTREE 1989:50.

12 DEWDNEY 1975. For the migrations of the Iroquois, HYDE 1975; TEHANETORENS 1976.

13 BRINTON (1884) 1969; BLACK 1954; LILLY 1954; VOEGELIN 1954; WEER 1954. The most complete critical edition is published by the Indiana Historical Society in 1954.

14 *Walam Olum* 1993. Translated and annotated by David McCutchen. For Iroquois and Lenape migration routes, see e.g. HYDE 1975.

15 MALLERY 1972:228-31; MOLLOY 1977.

16 MALLERY 1886, 1972:266-328; HOWARD 1960, 1979; CHENEY 1979.

17 HOWARD 1960. For Kiowa calendars, see James MOONEY 1898. *Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians*. In: 17th Annual Report of the BAE. Smithsonian Institution: Washington.

evidence, it seems that *winter-counts* were historically of rather recent origin in the Plains, but once we know, that the Lakota-group migrated from the margins of eastern forest to the High Plains around 1770, it is not unlikely that they brought this invention with them. This kind of tradition could have been wide-spread in the Woodlands in prehistoric times – as the case of the Powhatans might suggest.¹⁸

What makes the *winter-count* calendars peculiar is their obvious linear principle – concerning the notion of time. A commonplace explanation for this would be, that the *winter-counts* were influenced by early missionaries in the area. Another criticism is focusing on the events selected to characterize each year in these calendars: frequently bizarre and trivial incidents were emphasized, while at the same time important battles etc. occurred; hence, the Indians did not have a real sense of history. Those who have carefully studied *winter-counts* and the tribal traditions of these people, have simple, reasonable explanations for these contradictions. First, bizarre events are easily to remembered and they were better fixed into the idea of a calendar (which was an important subsidiary function of these counts, along with that they were accounts of tribal history). Secondly, if they were influenced by the missionaries, why there are no marks of any ‘feedback’ in them? Their general spiral form and indigenous pictographic style are further proofs of their native origin, but how old they are, is much harder to answer. Historians have noticed that most events referred to in these tribal accounts are remarkably accurate, and consistent with the general history and chronology known of this period.¹⁹

A true writing developed in Pre-Columbian America too. The idea was created in Mesoamerica and the Olmecs were its possible inventors around 1000 BC.²⁰ The most sophisticated form of indigenous writing developed among the Mayas. They had a working phonetic system and the Zapotec writing had a strong impact on its initial development from around 500 BC onwards.²¹ The Mesoamerican writing tradition separated into two major subtraditions rather early on: the western and the eastern. The western tradition remained much simpler, and it preserved iconic forms with little emphasis on phoneticism. Its best known later users were the Mixtecs and Aztecs. The eastern tradition, on the other hand, was more sophisticated and used abstract notions and phoneticism in a much greater scale than the westerners. The Zapotecs and the Mayans belonged to this group.²²

During the recent decades a true breakthrough in the field of Mesoamerican epigraphy has been achieved. The decipherment of Mayan hieroglyphs is a major contribution in the field, and it has inspired to study other Mesoamerican systems as

18 MALLERY, *ibid.*; HOWARD 1960; HYDE 1975. For Powhatan ‘winter counts’, HOWARD 1979:5; ROUNTREE 1989:50.

19 MALLERY 1886:89-99, 1972, *ibid.*; HOWARD 1960, 1979:6; CHENEY 1979. For critics of bizarre events selected in *winter-counts* LOWIE 1917:164.

20 DIBBLE 1971; GAY 1973; JUSTESON 1986; EDMONSON 1988; MARCUS 1992.

21 JUSTESON 1986; MARCUS 1992. For Zapotec hieroglyphics, see WHITTAKER 1980 (he uses many comparative examples from the Mixtec and Aztec scripts too). For principles of Maya writing, see for instance J.E. THOMPSON (1950) 1960. *Maya Hieroglyphic Writing. An Introduction*. University of Oklahoma Press: Norman; John F. HARRIS & Stephen K. STEARNS 1992. *Understanding Maya Inscriptions*. The University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Pennsylvania: Philadelphia.

22 WHITTAKER 1980; EDMONSON 1988; MARCUS 1992. For the western tradition, see SMITH 1973 (Mixtec); GALARZA 1980 (Aztec); UMBERGER 1981 (Aztec). For phoneticism in western tradition, NICHOLSON 1973. Consult also Pre-Columbian *codices*: *Codex Bodley* (1960, Alfonso Caso/Mixtec); *Codex Borgia* (1993, Ed. by Gisele Diaz and Alan Rodgers/Mixtec); *Codex Colombino* (1912, Cooper Clark/Mixtec); *Codex Nuttall* (1975, Zelia Nuttall/Mixtec); and *Codices Mayas* (1977, Antonio Villacorta y Carlos Villacorta).

well.²³ By this research the understanding of Mesoamerican historical past has increased enormously. A case in point are the Classical Mayas. Until the 1960s scholars held the opinion, that their society was a kind of Utopia: a peaceful, ahistorical (the content of writing), astronomically orientated and isolated theocracy in the shade of evergreen jungle.²⁴ Current research has completely reversed this picture. The warring Mayas have entered on the historical scene, with competing dynasties and ambitious rulers using means of propaganda and religious ideology in struggles of power.²⁵ Curiously enough, the first explorers in the Mayan area, John STEPHENS and Frederick CATHERWOOD, were on the right track – yet from the beginning. Already in the 1830s they instinctively made the rightful assumption of the nature of inscriptions and ruins which they encountered: there should have existed grandiose cities with kings and their histories were graven in the monuments.²⁶ It was only the later scholars who lost their ‘Occam’s razor’.

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- 23 For the history of the decipherment of Mayan script, see COE 1992. Among the most distinguished scholars in this field have been Linda SCHELE (1986, 1990, 1991, 1993); Nikolai GRUBE (1995); Michael COE (1992); John JUSTESON (1986); Joyce MARCUS (1976, 1987, 1992, 1992b); Peter MATTHEWS (1991); David FREIDEL (1992, 1993), and Victoria BRICKER 1986. *A Grammar of Mayan Hieroglyphs*. Middle American Research Institute Publication 56, Tulane University: New Orleans. Two examples of new study areas: LANGLEY 1986 (marks of Teotihuacan writing); MOSER 1977 (Nuiñe writing).
- 24 This cultural scenario was very much due to the opinions of a single dominant authority in the field, Sir Eric Thompson, during c. 1930-60 (COE 1992.) The first anthropological study among the Mayas, which was carried out by R. Redfield in early 1930’s, also gave support to the idea of mild, peaceful Mayas (SCHAEDEL 1996, personal communication.)
- 25 SCHELE & MILLER 1986; SABLOFF 1990; SCHELE & FREIDEL 1990; MARCUS 1992; COE 1992; HILTUNEN & TALVITIE 1993.
- 26 STEPHENS (1841) 1988:69-73, 297-8, 324-6.

APPENDIX 15. ABSOLUTE CHRONOLOGY

There was no absolute chronology or means for absolute dating before the times of Isaac Newton. Moreover, the basic elements of Western linear thinking in temporal context were not present then either. As a matter of fact, it was only in late 1920s when the scientific methods had advanced to a point when absolute dating for prehistoric periods became possible.¹

The development and components of absolute time and chronology can be summarized as follows:

1. The Gregorian calendar reform.

In 1582, Pope Gregory XIII proclaimed a calendar reform, in which 10 days were dropped out of the almanac. This correction was due to the recession of Easter Sunday date (artificial time) in relation with the natural time of the actual year, which had been caused by the inexactness of Julian calendar.²

2. The Julian period.

A French philologist, Joseph Scaliger, published his major chronological work, the *Opus novum de emendatione temporum* in 1583, where the principles of the so-called Julian period were presented. Scaliger fixed together three extant temporal cycles – two astronomical (the Dionysian 532-year cycle and the Metonic 19-year cycle) and one socio-political (15-year indiction) – resulting to a period of 7980 years. This macrotime era was labelled the Julian, because it counted years of the Julian calendar. A fixed starting point for the period is 4713 B.C.³

3. B.C./A.D. dating system.

Domenicus Petavius, a Jesuit scholar from France, published the key work setting out the B.C./A.D. system, in 1627. The conventional point of reference, the birth of Christ, represented for Petavius not the actual event, but an agreed upon point from which all events could be dated.

Although the Julian period allowed a synchronization of all past epochs, Scaliger did not use the conception of absolute time. It was Petavius who based his chronology on a single, continuous, and linear frame, which includes all possible historical events without specific temporal location.⁴

4. Analytical geometry.

In 1637 a French philosopher René Descartes published his *Discourse on Method*, in which principles of analytical geometry were presented. Henceforth it became possible to build exact relationship between the number and space. Furthermore, when a union of number and time became realized, an important distinction between time and duration could be perceived. This distinction made it possible to think by absolute units of time.⁵

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1 It was not until 1929, when astronomer A.E. DOUGLASS from the University of Arizona (Tucson) had adequate sequences, which could apply dendrochronology (tree-ring dating) to specific prehistoric Indian sites of the Southwest. The radiocarbon dating method was first presented in 1949 by chemist Willard LIBBY (FAGAN 1991:42-3.) "The practise of historical research in the modern era", in WILCOX's (1987:4) words, "is closely linked, both conceptually and historically, to Newtonian time."

2 PARISE 1982:294, 318-9; AVENI 1990:116-7. The reform was immediately adopted by all Catholic countries, but faced rigid resistance by the Protestant nations until the eighteenth century (ibid.)

3 WILCOX 1987:196-203; AVENI 1990:129. The reason why Scaliger used the Julian calendar and not the Gregorian one, for the basis of his Julian period, may be related with his Protestant background. Petavius was a Catholic and that was a time of intense quarrels between religious divisions (WILCOX, 208.) It has been stated also, that Scaliger called the period Julian after his father Julius Scaliger (PARISE 1982:318.)

4 WILCOX 1987:8, 203-9; AVENI 1990:127.

5 WILCOX 1987:20-6.

5. The Newtonian time.

Isaac Newton was the first who combined the parameters of Julian period, B.C./A.D. dating system, and applications of analytical geometry in to chronological studies. Newton presented his new chronology in *Chronology of Ancient Kingdoms Amended*, which was published in 1728. Absolute time played an essential role in Newton's redating. According to him, all time was ultimately traceable to astronomy. Absolute time is related to absolute space, and Newton used the spatial aspects of Pharaonic kingdoms to reinforce his chronology.⁶

6. Absolute, astronomical chronology

Even the Newtonian time was not perfect. In terms of absolute parameters, one year's disparity in chronological constructions prevails in our conventional calendar and dating. In the historical B.C./A.D. system the year 0 is lacking. The year A.D. 1 follows directly the year 1 B.C. By using the Julian period chronology instead – favored by e.g. astronomers – this disparity becomes corrected. The day 0 of the Julian era fell on 1.1.4713 B.C., and from then on an uninterrupted day count extends to the present. When applied to the Gregorian calendar, the eclipse dates, for instance, can be determined precisely.⁷

ABSOLUTE DATING OF PREHISTORY

The major methods in dating prehistory were developed within spheres of archaeological research in the 20th century. Two methods, the dendrochronology and radiocarbon dating, have dominated the field until present. They can be used separately, but the current advances in dendrochronology have made these methods more complementary to each other. The vague dates derived from C14 analyses can be calibrated by dendrochronological curves.⁸

Dendrochronology or tree-ring dating was developed in the Southwest US, an ideal region for this kind of research; dry terrain where local pines were perfectly suitable for analysis, and a seat of a millenium-old Pueblo cultural heritage. The father of the method was astronomer Andrew E. DOUGLASS from the University of Arizona. After years of research, he finally published his results in 1929, stating that he had a continuous year-to-year chronology from A.D. 700 to 1229, enabling dating of some forty Pueblo sites.⁹

In spite of dendrochronology's evident benefits, it took some time until the method was exploited outside the Southwest. A major problem for its use is the availability of suitable trees and samples – which are not extant everywhere. For each area its own

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6 *ibid.*, 22-23, 208-15.

7 *ibid.*, 215. The Julian period has been used in the *Maya Long Count* calendar correlations, for instance. The zero day used in this context has been January 1, 4712 B.C. (Julian), instead of 4713 B.C. in the Civil Calendar. See, e.g. Christopher JONES (1984:52), *Deciphering Maya Hieroglyphs*, The University Museum: Philadelphia. The use of Julian calendar dates in Maya chronology is relevant also, because correlation with dates given in early Colonial documents (which used the Julian count) become easier that way.

8 CERAM 1973; FAGAN 1991; ROHL 1995. The most important contribution which dendrochronology has provided for current archaeological and historical research is its use in calibrating C14 dates and samples. There are occasional problems too. According to David ROHL (1995), "the radiocarbon calibration curve supplied by the science of dendrochronology shows that there is close agreement between the standard decay curve of C-14 and the dendro-calibration for the last two and a half millenia, but at around 500 BC the two begin to diverge.... [until] by 7000 BP [the gap] has risen to 630 years....Until such time as this problem can be sorted out, I would only be prepared to advocate the adoption of uncalibrated dates in support of a relative, but not an absolute, chronology." (1995:388, Appendix C.)

9 CERAM 1973:108-116; FAGAN 1991:42.

dendrochronology has to be built.¹⁰ However, since the first experiments of DOUGLASS, this method has developed considerably.¹¹

In 1949, University of Chicago chemist Willard LIBBY published a revolutionary radiocarbon dating method. It is based on the physiological principle that every living organism absorbs radioactive carbon in the atmosphere, and after its death, the isotopic carbon (¹⁴C) starts a decay at a statistically known and measurable rate. The radiocarbon half-life is 5730 +/- 40 yrs. and the "present", by convention, is set at 1950. Radiocarbon dating is reliable and useful for samples which do not exceed 50,000 years. Best results are derived from wood and charcoal, while e.g. bone and shell are biochemically unstable and can provide unreliable results. Still, modern bone geochemistry insures that radiocarbon dates on bone may yield accurate dates too.¹²

In the 1980s, a new technique of radiocarbon dating, which exploits accelerator mass spectrometer (AMS dating), was developed. There different carbon forms in a sample are separated at high speeds in a circular particle accelerator. The "isotopically heavier ¹⁴C atoms fly off the racetrack and crush into a strategically placed mass spectrometer, which instantly counts them." This technique makes radiocarbon dating faster and workable on much smaller samples.¹³

There are problems with the radiocarbon dating also. Since this technique does not allow a precision better than +/- 100 years, the dating results often conflict with historical sources in certain well documented cases of antiquity. But in cases when there is "a significant difference between radiocarbon and historical dates, it is the latter which need to be revised to match the former", as M. BAILLIE has argued.¹⁴ On the other hand, since radiocarbon techniques do not give complete precision "some people prefer to describe [it] as 'chronometric' rather than 'absolute'".¹⁵ Two modern scholars, M. BAILLIE (1991) in studies at Thera, and David ROHL (1995) in his chronological work at Egypt, have faced serious problems with conventional historical dates and radiocarbon dating. The famous eruption of Thera has recently been set around 1680 BC by radiocarbon dating, while a new convincing discovery of pumice sets the date far below that. The eruption of Thera is dated to the reign of Pharaoh Ahmose (18th dyn.) in the conventional chronology, which correlates well with the new found pumice sample dated at ca. 1550-1480 BC.¹⁶ However, in ROHL's new chronology, the times of

10 CERAM, *ibid.*

11 For the current advances in dendrochronology, a more sophisticated methods have enabled the development of tree-ring chronologies based on oak trees and other temperate species and elsewhere, chronologies acting as a useful check on radiocarbon dates (FAGAN 1991:42.) There are also dendrochronologies of the *sequoia* and bristlecone pines, where the reading of tree-rings may extend over a period of a few thousand years, but in other areas chronology has to be constructed from many shorter-lived trees (e.g. in Turkey) by 'wigggle-matching' the rings (ROHL 1995:388.) A leading current dendrochronologist, M. BAILLIE (1991) has written: "In terms of absolute chronology the science of dendrochronology is superior to the disciplines of archaeologists and historians. The method is based on a natural clock securely anchored to the present day. In comparison, archaeology and ancient history are relative dating schemes with no uncontested fixed points before the mid 1st millennium B.C. Dendrochronology thus represents the ultimate chronological yardstick." (ROHL 1995:386-7, Appendix C, citing M. BAILLIE 1991:17-22, "Dendrochronology and Thera: The Scientific Case" in *Journal of the Ancient Chronology Forum*, 4.)

12 FAGAN 1991:43; MELTZER 1993:67-8.

13 MELTZER, *ibid.*

14 ROHL 1995:387, Appendix C. ROHL does not specify a source of this citation.

15 DYMOND 1974:38.

16 ROHL (1995:385-6) refers to M. BIETAK's discovery of pumice within a stratified context at Tell ed-Daba (Ezbet Helmi), and makes a cross-reference to study of J. LASKEN (1992), "The Radiocarbon Evidence From Thera: An Alternative Interpretation", in *Journal of the Ancient Chronology Forum*, 5. For Thera, compare chapter II:1.1.1. and appendix 14, n6,

Ahmoose should be set around ca. 1200 BC instead, and accordingly, the Thera incident then belongs to later times (i.e. the) 13th dynasty.¹⁷

Alongside with the dendrochronology and the carbon C14, several other dating methods have emerged. In dating pottery a method known as thermo-luminescence is developed. It measures the emission of light from heated particles in pottery.¹⁸ Primitive rock art and petroglyphs have been very difficult to date until a new sophisticated technique called cation-rate dating was invented. It measures rock varnish leaching and provides a relative sequence of ages in a given area, which then can be calibrated by numerical methods e.g. radiocarbon. The method is further elaborated by using AMS-technique to date organic matter collected underneath the varnish.¹⁹ Furthermore, there is a method called AAR (amino-acid racemization), "which works off postmortem changes in the structure of amino acids, and uranium series dating, based on the radioactive decay of long lived isotopes of uranium.²⁰ Paleo-magnetism and obsidian hydration are other methods that can be used to rectify Carbon 14 procedures.²¹

Climatology and astronomy are two disciplines which have an important auxiliary role in historical research and dating of prehistory. Climatology and dendrochronology are closely associated, since environmental changes of climate through ages are readable from the thickness of tree-rings, for instance. In analyzing this data one could 'read' quite precisely when e.g. extended drought have pressed certain region.²² The climatic factors have had important impacts on cultural changes all over the world. The collapse of the Anasazi-civilization is but one example of this.²³ Similar studies are made in the Andes too. Since tree-ring data is scanty in this area, other climatologically perceivable subject matter has been used. Allison PAULSEN (1976) studied a usage of prehistoric walk-in-wells in the Santa Elena Peninsula, Ecuador, and found evident episodic alternation caused by climatic changes in the region. This study indicated, that extensive dry periods occurred during the Middle- and Late Horizon, while the Late Intermediate Period was humid. PAULSEN concluded, that the major factors behind the initial expansion of Wari and Inca empires may have been climatological.²⁴ Another study has been carried out by L. THOMPSON et al. (1982-89) at the Quelccaya glacier in southern Peru.²⁵ There the sediment layers in ice cores provide a record of annual

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where the dating of Minoan collapse ("Atlantis") is discussed. If the pumice dating is accepted (average as 1515 B.C.), then the referred 900 years before Solon (ca. 600 B.C.) is neatly reached.

17 See ROHL 1995:passim.

18 DYMOND 1974:37; FAGAN 1991:43.

19 Alex PATTERSON (1992:xii), *A Field Guide to Rock Art Symbols of the Greater South west*, Johnson Books: Boulder; J.E. FRANCIS & L.L. LOENDORF & R.I. DORN (1993:711-37), "AMS radiocarbon and cation-rate dating of rock art in the Bighorn Basin of Wyoming and Montana", *American Antiquity*, 58(4).

20 MELTZER 1993:68.

21 FAGAN 1991:43; SCHAEDEL (1997, personal consultation.)

22 See, e.g. CERAM 1973:108-116.

23 *ibid.* Dendrochronological data indicates, that a severe drought prevailed in the Southwest between AD 1276 and 1299. This may have been a major factor for the abandonment of several pueblos and general migrations in the area. The Anasazi "Golden age" terminated and "modern" Pueblo (IV)-culture emerged e.g. in Rio Grande Valley. For multiple reasons of pueblo abandonments, see e.g. Linda S. CORDELL (1979:147-51), "Prehistory: Eastern Anasazi" in *Handbook of North American Indians*, Vol.9 Southwest. Smithsonian Institution: Washington.

24 PAULSEN 1976:121-32.

25 KOLATA 1993:285, 310, referring to L. THOMPSON & L. HASTENRATH & B. ARNAO 1979, "Climate ice core records from the tropical Quelccaya ice cap", *Science* 203:1240-3; L. THOMPSON & J. BOLZAN & H. BRECHER & P. KRUSS & E. MOSELEY-THOMPSON & K. JEZEK 1982, "Geophysical investigations of the tropical Quelccaya ice cap", *Journal of Glaciology* 28(98):57-68; L. THOMPSON & E. MOSELEY-THOMPSON

precipitation for the past 1500 years. There too are evidences of severe climatological anomalies spanning decades, like a great drought between AD 562 and 594. Another major drought occurred in between 1245-1310. On the other hand, a clearly wetter period prevailed from 760 to 1040.²⁶

The occurrence of extraordinary astronomical phenomena, such as comets, supernovas, and solar eclipses can be retrieved and dated into the remote historical past. When the observations are well enough recorded and carefully described, these events can be fixed into absolute chronological framework. Astronomical events have been correlated with the ancient Mesopotamian and Chinese records, for instance.²⁷ When references are derived from written oral data the margin of error in interpretation and dating naturally increases. Anyhow, there are interesting cases when astronomical tie-ins can give important additional evaluation for oral records. The founding date of the Iroquois league is a good example of this (compare appendix 14.)

A conventional reference source to historical solar eclipses (total and partial) is Ritter von OPPOLZER's *Canon der Finsternisse* (1887), which contain records extending from 1200 BC to AD 2160. It is important to note, however, that there are marked differences in frequencies of ecliptical occurrences locally. In Peru, for instance, only one total and two partial solar eclipses occurred during the 1400s, while the previous century had 10 altogether!²⁸ A good reference source of chronological occurrence of comets is Donald K. YEOMANS' *Comets* (1991), where recorded naked-eye observation of comets extends from about 1000 BC to AD 1700. The oldest records are from Chinese, Grecian, Babylonian, Korean, and Japanese sources.²⁹ Although relevant Pre-Columbian American records are almost nonexistent, it is potentially possible that the most important comets (visible several days to months) recorded in the Old World, were simultaneously observed in the Americas too. The supernovas instead, are more unusual phenomena than eclipses or comets. A very spectacular supernova (lasting 22 months) apparently had been seen in the Western Hemisphere in AD 1054, for instance. Archaeoastronomers are quite convinced, that a record of this phenomena is expressed in several Amerindian rock art drawings in western North America.³⁰

I have presented types of synchronisms in (chapter II:1) and basic categories for measuring relative time in (chapter II:2). Synchronisms relevant for absolute dating are astronomical tie-ins and archaeological tie-ins (C14 dating etc.) Relative time parameters useful to be correlated with absolute chronology are documented references to extraordinary natural events like droughts, volcanic eruptions, earthquakes, epidemics, comets and eclipses.³¹ Numerous references to these kind of phenomena exists in Spanish chronicles, and Montesinos' narrative is one where a particular emphasis is given to them (compare chapter V).

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& J. BOLZAN & B. KOCI 1985, "A 1500 year record of tropical precipitation records in ice cores from the Quelccaya ice cap, Peru", *Science* 229:971-3; L. THOMPSON & E. MOSELEY-THOMPSON 1989, "One-half millenium of tropical climate variability as recorded in the stratigraphy of the Quelccaya ice cap, Peru" in D.H. PETERSON (ed.) *Aspects of Climate Variability in the Pacific and Western Americas. Geophysical Union Monograph* 55(17), American Geophysical Union: Washington D.C.

26 MOSELEY 1992:28; KOLATA 1993:284-91.

27 For Chinese records, see e.g. YEOMANS 1991:42-8, 362-424. For Mesopotamian records, see e.g. ROUX 1972:40-1 and HENIGE 1974:192-4.

28 OPPOLZER 1887, plates 120-9.

29 YEOMANS 1991:362-424.

30 For supernovas, see CLARK & STEPHENSON 1977. For the AD 1054 supernova, see *ibid.*, 48 and e.g. Kenneth BRECKER & Michael FEIRTAG (eds.) (1979:37), *Astronomy of the Ancients*, The MIT Press: Cambridge.

31 Another category of importance is arbitrary recurrent social events, such as investiture to office (e.g. royal inauguration), which I have dealt in chapter II:2, 3 more precisely.

APPENDIX 16a. A REFERENCE FROM ANELLO OLIVA'S CHRONICLE

Oliva's testimony from ([1631:lib.i, cap.ii, § xiii] 1895:70-2). I quote this important statement here in its entirety (italics mine):

“de los Reies Yncas del Peru que fueron todos los referidos y conforme la opinion mas cierta y reciuada de todos, no dexare de decir aqui tambien como ay otra no mal fundada *que los Incas Reies del Peru fueron muchos mas en numero de los que e referido por que en un vocabulario antiguo de mano del Padre Blas Valera que traxo consigo el Padre Diego de Torres Vasquez desde Cadiz quando vino al Peru muy inteligente de la lengua quichua y grande escudriñador de las antiguallas del Peru y de sus Incas, y que como thesoro escondido teniamos guardado en la libreria del colegio de Chuquiabo y por buena dicha ube a mis manos hallo estos racones sobre el nombre de un Rey llamado Capac Raymi – ‘Capac Raymi Amauta fue un rey del Peru que tuuo estos tres nombres y fue muy sabio filosofo. Este gouerno quarenta años en tiempo del quarto sol antes del nacimiento del Señor, hallo los Solsticos y llamolos Raymi de su nombre y el de diciembre quiso que se llamase Capac Raimi Solstico mayor, por que entonces son en el Peru los dias mayores de todo año. El otro Solstico que cae por Junio quiso que se llamase Ynti Raimi vel sullo – Raymi Solstico menor por que entonces son los dias menores de todo el año en el Peru. Este hico que Comencassen el año desde el Solstico de diciembre, auiedo hasta su tiempo comencado el año desde el equinocio de marco. Finalmente los Peruanos llamaron al mes de diciembre Capac Raimi en memoria deste Rey que fue el trigessimo nono Rey del Peru.’ Hasta aqui este auctor que siendo verdadera su opinion auiedo auido tantos Reyes en el Peru aun antes de la uenida de Christo Señor Nuestro, pues este de quien hace mencion por aquel tiempo fue el trigessimo nono Rey. hemos de decir que despues del y de la encarnacion del Verbo eterno ubo otros muchos Reies que se confirma con lo que luego dice el mismo auctor de Capac Yupanqui Amauta de quies afirma fue Rey 43 y luego de Capac Lluqui Yupanqui que fue Reynouenta y cinco y de otro Cuius Manco que fue Rey 64 del Peru, Y conforma a este principio ba nombrando en su vocabulario no acabado por que solamente tiene hasta la letra H, otros Reies distinctos de los que tengo contados en la Genealogia de Manco Capac.*

Desta opinion saco dos conclusiones. La primera no ser muy cierta la del Inca Garcilaso de la Vega en la primera parte de sus comentarios que tratando de los Reines Incas del Peru hace en diuersas partes de su historia a los yndios deste reino tan barbaros y saluages que ni tenian Rey, ni Señor y tan faltos de policia y de viuinda urbanica y de comunidades que nunca supieron della hasta que lleugo Manco Capac con su muger reduciendolos el por una parte y la mujer por otra y que con los reducidos de entrambos se fundo y edifico la ciudad del Cuzco. *Digo ser falsa esta opinion porque si mucho antes de la venida de Christo Señor nuestro al mundo ubo reies en el Peru y tan sabiosque distinguieron y pusieron nombres a los cursos del sol de entender es que tendrian sabidura y gouierno para regir a sus Vassallos y tener alguna forma y figura de Republica.*

La segunda conclusion que saco es, que quando Manco Capac hijo de Atau y nieto de Guayanay, no aya sido el primero Rei Inca del Peru por la racon dicha, *pues ubo otros muchos antes del*, por lo menos seria el restaurador desta dignidad y grandeca real en el Peru por que hallandola como por el suelo y no estimada la leuanto y pusso en el estado que hemos visto y fue el primero que de su cassa y cepa tuuo en señorio destos Reinos y le dejo a sus hijos y descendientes que se acabaron con la entrada y conquista que alcanzaron los Valerosos Españoles deste nuevo Mundo, lo qual como aya sucedido y entrado el sancto euangelio nos dira el capitulo siguiente.”¹

1 *ibid.* Oliva refers to Capac Raymi Amauta as the 39th ruler of Peru, which corresponds the serial-number given in *Ms Universitaria* of Montesinos. The 43th ruler Capac Yupanqui Amauta in Oliva, has a serial number 46 in *Ms Universitaria* instead. For Cuius Manco is given the serial-number 64 in Oliva and 68 in *Ms Universitaria*. The 95th ruler, Capac Lluque Yupanqui, accords with Montesinos also. See list of these correspondences e.g. in IMBELLONI (1941:286-9.)

APPENDIX 16b. REFERENCE TO A NEW-FOUND NAPLES-DOCUMENT (*Historia et Rudimenta...*)

There is a curious, recently found document, which, if its authenticity can be verified, will provide extra information on Valera's life, work, and of his death. It was apparently written by two Jesuits, Joan Antonio Cumis and Joan Anello Oliva, and a special attention in its content is given to *quipu*-writing.

The manuscript is called *Historia et Rudimenta Linguae Piruanorum*, and it consists of nine folios of Spanish, Latin, and ciphered Italian texts. It was found from Miccinelli's private archives in Naples in 1985. After four years of research with the document, two Italian scholars, Clara MICCINELLI and Carlo ANIMATO, published a small volume, *Quipu: The Talking Knots of the Mysterious Inka* (1989), but it did not receive much attention in academic community.²

It was around 1610 when Father Joan Antonio Cumis "begins drafting the document, writing a few pages in Latin. He tells of the censorship to which Valera was subjected by the Jesuits, and of the destruction of nearly all of his writings, many of which were critical of Jesuit policies in Peru [emphasis mine]. According to Cumis, some of these were saved, and later given to a noble of Inka descent by Valera."

Writes Father Cumis:

"I am convinced that the news that I am about to put down on record will remain a memorable moment for the Peruvian people, news that was reported to me by the former curaca Mayachac Azuay upon his arrival at Cuzco, when the conquistadores were executing Tupac Amaru. This curaca provided me with a lot of interesting information particularly about the half-breed Father Blas Valera, whom he had known personally. This old and noble curaca knew Blas Valera, who had been a defender and spiritual guide of his people, but the friars contested him because he took sides against the Spaniards who tortured the native Quechua in order to obtain their gold..."^{2b}

Thereafter Father Cumis gives a description of literary *quipus*:

"I visited...archives for those quipus that tell the true story of the Inka people and that are hidden from commoners. These quipus differ from those used for calculations as they have elaborate symbols [emphasis mine]... which hang from the main string... These royal quipus do not exist anymore; they were burned by the Spaniards out of ignorance, and by many priests...The scarceness of the words and the possibility of changing some term using particles and suffixes to obtain different meanings allow them to realize a spelling book with neither paper, nor ink, nor pens...[The] curaca emphasized that this quipu is based by its nature on the scarceness of words, and its composition key and its reading key lie in its syllabic division..."

And the document states also that,

"There is a general quipu used by everyone for numbering and daily communication and other quipu for keeping all religious and caste secrets, known only to the Kings, the Virgins of the Sun, the Priests, and the Philosophers. [Many of] these latter quipus, which could easily be read by Valera, were destroyed by the Spaniards [emphasis mine]. The Inka authorities collected the most significant of them and locked them up in arks of unripe gold...in order to avoid their falling into hands of the Catholic priests. A monolith was fastened to the arks as ballast, and they were plunged into Lake Titicaca and hidden in the Orcos Valley."^{2c}

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2 DOMENICI & DOMENICI 1996:50-6. See also in the same volume (*Archaeology*, p.2) introductory writing of Peter A. YOUNG. Viviano DOMENICI is science editor of the Milan daily, *Corriere della Sera*, and Davide DOMENICI a freelance science writer from Bologna.

2b *ibid.*,52.

2c *ibid.*,52 and 50.

Next Joan Anello Oliva possessed the document, and dated his numerically ciphered Italian additions on July 30, 1637 and May 7, 1638. Oliva gives some further information on *quipus* and named as his major informant a particular Indian *quipocamayoc*, Chahuarurac. He also refers to certain symbols called *tocapu*, which appear in Inca weavings. Much of his text is devoted to biographical information about Valera, who was the son of an Inca woman and Alonso Valera. Oliva “describes in great detail Valera’s early life: his falling-out with the head of the Jesuit order, General Aquaviva, over the conduct of missionaries in Peru; and his reassignment to Spain, where he was thought to have died around 1596.” But, according to Oliva, Valera did not die at that time [emphasis mine]:

“I met him in the spring of 1611 in Santa Cruz de la Sierra, when, according to the [Jesuits], he should have been officially dead. In the mission’s courtyard were assembled the Indians to whom I was devoting all my strength. Thereupon my eyes were captured by the half-breed with white hair that I considered a new member of the group. I will tell immediately that the old man [greeted] me with our saying ‘For the greatest Glory of God’ [in Latin]. The Indians to whom I was teaching the doctrine had told him about my predilection toward them, and that was how Father Valera revealed himself to me. The one who, according to Society had already been freed of the distress of the present time stood in front of me, ready to confide his whole life.”^{2d}

According to Oliva, Valera had written a history of the Incas and of the conquest in Spain, but could not publish it under his own name – fearing reprisals by the Jesuits. Instead, he gave the manuscript to the chronicler Garcilaso de la Vega, who included only portions of the work in his *Royal Commentaries*. Oliva then tells us that, in 1598 Valera returned secretly to Cuzco, where he went into hiding with the help of Gonzalo Ruiz, a fellow friar. Later, Oliva met Valera, and the three Jesuits undertook the publication of Valera’s book on the Inca. “Since Valera was believed dead by the Jesuits and neither Ruiz nor Oliva could expose themselves as traitors, the trio sought someone who would not be censured by the Jesuits and would willingly lend his name to the *Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno*. According to Oliva, the Indian Guamán Poma de Ayala was selected ‘for his faults of arrogance and vainglory and because he boasted titles of nobility’.”

Ruiz was then entrusted with recopying Valera’s text and drawings. Valera returned to Spain and died there in 1619. According to Oliva, he was buried in the town of Alcalá de Henares near Madrid, along with a quipu on which he had knotted ‘the story of the Inkas’.”^{2e}

At the next stage (after Oliva), in 1737, an Indian, Juan Tacquic Menendez de Sodar, entrusted the manuscript to the Jesuit Pedro de Illanes. According to Illanes, this happened in the sacrum of S. Francisco Saverio of the Society of Jesus in Concepción, Chile. He added a note in Spanish, and a cover bearing the title *Historia et Rudimenta Linguae Piruanorum*. In 1744 Pedro de Illanes sold the manuscript in Naples to Raimondo di Sangro, Prince of San Severo. A record of this transaction is preserved in the city archives. In 1927, Duke Amedeo di Savoia-Aosta, a member of Italy’s royal family, gave the document (in Naples) to a fellow army officer, Riccardo Cera. Next, in 1951, a relative of Cera, Jesuit Carlo Miccinelli, examined the manuscript and an enclosed *quipu*, and showed them to some anthropologists and representatives of Museum of Man in Paris. The museum was interested in acquiring it, but the Miccinelli’s did not want to sell. Clara MICCINELLI, Carlo Miccinelli’s cousin, then comes across the manuscript in 1985, and published the named book of it in 1989. In 1990, Laura Laurencich MINELLI, University of Bologna’s professor (a scholar of Andean studies),

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2d *ibid.*,52-3.

2e *ibid.*,53.

begins studying the document.^{2f}

The question of an authenticity of this document is most interesting of course. A preliminary examination has been made by professor MINELLI. According to her, "signatures on the Naples manuscript appear to match those on authentic documents by the same authors. Moreover, the watermarks on some of the sheets are similar to late sixteenth-century European watermarks, and the substance of the pigments used in the drawings attributed to Valera appears to be South American [emphasis mine]. The ink binder in the main text of the manuscript itself has crystallized over the years and in some places has perforated the paper, which is in need of conservation."^{2g}

According to Bruce MANNHEIM, director of the Center for Latin American Studies at the University of Michigan, "the vocabulary lists in the Naples manuscript are of a type appended to several colonial writings, most notably the *Doctrina Cristiana y Catecismo para Instrucción de los Indios...*, an ecclesiastical document dating to 1584. From its sound, scribal practise, and grammatical forms, however, the Quechua itself is likely of northern, probably Ecuadorian, origin and resembles that used by Jesuits in the mid- to late seventeenth century - no earlier."

Comments from several other scholars has been received too. Gary URTON is skeptical about the manuscript's authenticity. According to him "the most disturbing aspect of the document is its claim that Guamán Poma de Ayala is not the true author of the *Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno*." On the other hand, John ROWE is more receptive, saying that "the manuscript is not a fake, though its historical content is rather spurious."

The document awaits a more thorough examination, including tests of analyzing the inks, paints, and paper that were used. As URTON says, until then we have to withhold judgement.^{2h}

2f *ibid.*,54.

2g *ibid.*,54-5.

2h *ibid.* Catherine JULIEN from the University of Western Michigan in Kalamazoo, "agrees with ROWE about the manuscript's authenticity and the spurious nature of some of its contents" (*ibid.*, 56.) There are drawings of some literate, phonetic *quipus* in Naples document. According to URTON, these has a resemblance to certain symbols presented by Léon de Rosny in his book *Writing and Hieroglyphics of Different Ancient and Modern People* (1870), and to *quipus* collected to the American Museum of Natural History. These are the so-called Middle Horizon *quipus*, "which vaguely resemble those described in the Naples document, but how the manuscript's system of decipherment might apply to these *quipus* remains to be seen."(*ibid.*) Sabine HYLAND (Columbus State University, Georgia) is another scholar who is quite convinced of the authenticity of this document. For more about this, see chapter III:3 of the present volume.

APPENDIX 17. A SPECIMEN OF TEXT FROM *Ophir de España* (Lib.ii, cap.xiv). (Ms *Universitaria*; courtesy of the Biblioteca Universitaria de Sevilla).

Chapter 14 of the Second Book of Montesinos' chronicle is considered as one of the most authentic part of his work. There is a vivid description of the final days of Amauta empire and the beginnings of the subsequent Tampu-Tocco dynasty.

En el tiempo de ferrey ser uieron muchos cometas y otras señales prodixiosas grandu temblor de tierra quiduraron muchos mueres fueron tan notables que los auitadores andauan confusos y hixieron grandu sacrificios al Illatua huira cocha y a la medu tierra que llamauan Pachamama Pidiondoles y otras señales y tan prodixiosas se combi tieron en bini Rey no este Piru pero lo que auis de ca opouu henedu y successor a Tituyupan qui Pachacuti queu Arco de nombre del 62 Rey Peruano llamaronle Pachacuti por que cumplior en su tiempo, 3000 años de de el diubis y conellos el 4^{to} sol de la creacion del mundo y son quatro mil años por que en su tiempo y uinieron grandu exortados de gentes ferocissimas en palos Andes como pal Brasil y por hauiatize firme hixieron grandu guerras y conellas se perdieron las letras que hasta este tiempo durauan -

Capitulo 14 de la turbacion que Causso en el aylo la entrada de sentes Libranas en el piuu acuya causa se perdieron las letras

Herat un grande latuor Caion que por estos tiempos tuuieron los auitadores de Cuzco y todas las Proximas del Reyno asi por las señales prodixiosas que cada dia parecian en el aylo contanta Variedad de cometas y continus temblor de Naturaa y dstruccion de los edificios como por la multitud de gentes que por todas Partes Venia publicando la dstruccion y expulsion de los auitadores del Reyno qual Rey Titu Yupanqui Pachacuti lleuo de congo xas y mel ancolias no abordia sino a hazer sacrificios a los dioses aumentaua e le labitica por que los señores Tarputas y alcahuilas y otros chicheros y sacerdotes

le

le dexeron que en las once años de los animales hauiamos muy malos
pronosticos y malos sucesos entodo y quelchequi quañti amaban
ala adbersefatuna predominaua entodos las cosas que contes alrey -
Contra del Rey Titu mando aperuuir a todos sus gouernadores y aldo
capitanes y hizo prouisioni y defensas fortificando los presidios y
fortalezas mandando que todos estuuieron en vela y que las prouision
se multiplicaren por todas partes estando en esta prouision tubo auiso
que muchos tropas de gentes venian marchando por la via del colliado
y que los hombres feroces que por los Andes venian se iban acercan
do y que entre ellos se hauia algunos de color prieto y lo mismo los de los
llanos y todos hauian lo ordenado grupos exultos y venian tra
yendo los campos y apoderandose de los pueblos y ciudades los gouerna
dores de las tierras por donde passauan no hauian podido resistirle ya
si determino el Rey juntar el poder para oponerse a esta gente contra
los del colliado y embio algunos Capitanes y otros para que se opusieron
a los de los Andes en los puros peligrosos de las puercas y Pios -
Titayupanqui con la mayor gruesa de su exército lleuó aloi con el
altis que llaman de Tucara hizo alarueda muchos Andenes ca
nas y trincheas con sola vna entrada angosta y nel primer he
mo y otra a horras en la segunda entrada y llegando a bedon
y a tamana en los demas se hallaron lo mas alto donde el Rey
tenia su tienda y las vituallas necesarias de manera que todo era
vna pñña y todo el exército estaua dentro de los Andes y y entre an
bas fortalezas estando asi fortalecido el Rey tubo nueva de que
el enemigo venia cerca y contra el por el valle de los Suyos salio
adelante

adar la batalla que fué muy rrenida diéronle al Rey Titu y
panqui que andava en sus andas de oro por todas partes al oírlo
sugente y flechazo y como los que lleuaban las andas, rieron tanta
sangre de Acazo al Rey tendido en ellas diéron los que yaban los
con grande turbacion y omeano con mano conio la voz de llamar
se al Rey para exercito con que todos los soldados perdidos como se
retiraron a las fortalezas con el cuerpo de un Rey difunto -
Siguiéron los enemigos a la lance y en el mueron muchos capitanes
de ambas partes los de Titu y panqui secretamente lleuaron a buen pto y lo
pusieron como en depositos en Tlapaco de aqui se mudaron a las montañas que
congrando y un quieto se lleuaron a ditiua en baraxas para que diessen
la guerra de entresar los cuerpos no la dieron y en breu tiempo se oír
pición y infuionaron los ayres de manera que de ambos se oírto mu
rieron casi todos de un los Amates que de los contrarios quedarian qui ni un
soldados vivos los que les se retiraron a las Andes de donde muchos enfer
mos los de Acazo al Rey los mataron todos y de estos los que quedaron
vivos se fueron a tanpoto de donde en ditiua la ptiua de del Rey y
laud de la muerte del Rey se caían en todas y las de Panpoto se truenon
muchas discusiones sobre ellas y el Rey con esto se pcedo. El gouernor de
Somonarquía Peruana y en mas de 400 años no lo hio en un y se pcedi
ron las leyes en cada Prouincia Mexicana a Rey a que dió lugar
se al bueno de Titu llamado titulo que amon quicho muij nino
Los leales buanpotos y no podían contratar a los demas que oírse a Pan
poto gallicalearon por Rey por que con las rebueltas no haúa qui
en breu se enleuara por se de confusión y como poco se hio en
los nonbre arriuir a Panpoto a las ombra del Rey que de el se co
cau ditiua solo quedaron en el los ministros del templo -

E. Llanos

El Auca Conguito en Tancooco con el Rey nro Los fie
 de vasallos por que halli esta Auca tan celebrada d'end' d'ien
 - las cosas de los Amautas que tubieron Origen los Indios afirman
 do por cosa cierta que xamas le auvista halli terremotos p'el
 - m'ua ni temblores por que la fortuna persiguiera al nro Rey le
 pudieren depositar y esconder en la Auca como en grado de go
 aedad el Rey nro con mucha consideracion muchos años llamo se Rey
 de Tancooco y no de la uca ni en su aca en el tiempo algunos
 dias de eso por bendero a Cozque Huamanitita nro 25 años
 deste y de los demas sucesores no se cuenta cosa memorable
 hasta la formaçion de la uca -

Acosque Huamanitita succedio cuyo manco Rey no 50 años
 dest' succedio Huicaitu Rey no 30 succedio Saiu tupa Rey no
 40 succedio Topa Supanqui 1º de este nombre Rey no 25 succedio Huayna
 topa 3º de este nombre que se reformo la uca de la uca y por consejo
 de los Amos los de 20 Rey no 30 años de Sopo heredero a Hua
 nacauri Rey no 10 años de Sopo heredero a Huilca Tokamon Rey no
 60 años de Sopo heredero a Huaman cupac Rey no 40 años succedio
 Paulo Taymi Rey no 19 de Sopo heredero a Manacopac - Amauta
 g'ate Auqui ataulupe Rey no 35 años Sinto este mucha gente con los
 Los reueñes y ataxale lamuete sus intentos succedio a Moncitu Ca
 pac Rey no 32 años de Sopo heredero a Huaynato pas 2º de este nombre
 Rey no 50 de Sopo heredero a Topa Caui 1º de este nombre a quien
 llamaron de espus Pachacuti que fue 7º de este nombre que reinara
 en los reinos siguientes.

Capit

■ Glossary

ACLLA/ACLLAHUASI: a girl or a woman chosen for royal or religious service. The building where they lived and worked was called *Acclahuasi*.

AMAUTA: group of sages or philosophers, who worked as teachers, councillors, and historians in Inca state. It was also a title of sagacious ancient kings in Montesinos' chronicle.

ANTI: eastern forest regions of the Andes. The Incas called the eastern quarter of their empire: *Antisuyo*.

AUDIENCIA: a judicial administrative council in Spanish colonial America.

AUTO-DA-FÉ: inquisitorial act, e.g. burning at the stake.

AYLLU: kinship group, clan, or lineage believed to have a common ancestor. Basic social unit in the Andes.

BEHETRIA: free town, tribal community or chiefdom in the middle level of socio-political complexity. (See also n. 42 in chapter V:1.)

CANCHA: royal family yard or enclosure in the Andean cities.

CAPAC: title of a paramount chief or king among the Aymaras and Quechuas.

CAPACCUNA: *Capac* (king) + *cuna* (plural particle) = line of kings; i.e. dynasty

CASQUI: postal runner and messenger on Inca roads.

CEQUE: sacred lines radiating out of Cuzco or in other major cities.

CHULLPA: stone-built burial towers in the Titicaca area and Southern Peru.

CIUDADELA: "citadel" or "fortress"; this Spanish word has been used e.g. for definitions of great architectural enclosures in Chimu capital Chan Chan.

CODEX: native paper- or leather-book from Mesoamerica, which contain astrological, religious, or historical accounts written in pictograms or hieroglyphs.

COLLAO: hispanized spelling of the country around Lake Titicaca. It is derived from the Colla tribe. The Incas called the southern quarter of their Empire: *Collasuyo*.

COMPañIA: common abbreviation of the *Compañia de Jesús* (i.e. Jesuits).

CONQUISTADOR: Spanish conquering soldier in the Americas.

COYA: principal wife of the Inca emperor.

CURACA: tribal chieftain or major provincial lord in Andean community. They were often nominated by the Incas as officials within their own infrastructure.

CUNTISUYO: western quarter of Tahuantinsuyo as the Incas called it.

DENDROCHRONOLOGY: a scientific method to build up absolute chronologies by tree-ring analyses.

ENCOMIENDA: a new-found colonial landowning apparatus; an area allotted to a renowned Spaniard, to whom the local inhabitants owe tribute.

GLYPH: a contraction of hieroglyph. In Mesoamerican epigraphy it indicates an elementary sign within a glyphic compound.

HANAN/HURIN: upper and lower (respectively) halves or moieties in the Andean sociopolitical structure.

HUACA: sacred object, shrine, burial place, or other location in Andean cosmological and ethnogeographical thinking.

HUAMANI: Inca province, which might have functioned as a major sociopolitical unit in the Wari state also.

INCA: a title of Inca ruler and his royal family. Presumably the first king who adopted this title was Inca Roca. As a specific sign of their divine status they wore golden disc-plugs in their ear-lobes.

INDIES: The New World (The Americas) according to Spanish official and colonial definition.

INTI: the Sun and major deity in Inca pantheon.

INQUISITION: Roman Catholic institutionary Court, which examined the practise of heresy and idolatry, and carried out a struggle against them.

KALLANKA: A large rectangular hall with niches or windows. Typical for Inca architecture, but it had antecedent forms in earlier periods also.

KERO: wooden drinking cup.

KILLKE: archaeological period in the Cuzco region predating Inca imperial expansion (presently dated around A.D. 1000-1400).

LICENCIADO: Spanish term for a holder of a university degree equivalent to Master of Arts. In another context it means lawyer.

LIENZO: Spanish word for painted canvas or indigenous codex where pictographs were painted.

MALLQUI: mummy bundle, meaning literally "a tree with fruits" in Quechua. The *mallquis* of Inca rulers were worshiped as living beings.

MITA: rotational, public labor service in the Inca state.

MITMAC: Inca governmental colonists transplanted from the place of their ethnic origin to a new location.

NAHUA: a major group of linguistically and socio-culturally close nations in the Central Mexican plateau.

OCCAM'S RAZOR: a Scholastic method and dictum popularized by 14th century Nominalist scholar William Ockham. *In literatim* it means: multiplicity ought not to be posited without necessity, (Encycl. Brit., Vol.16:858, 1973) but in logistics and scientific deduction it states implicitly, that one should avoid unnecessary assumptions and consider the simplest and most natural solution to be a plausible one.

PACARINA: a place of origin, which could be a watery site, rock, cave etc. in the Andean cosmogony.

PACHACAMAC: the principal Creator god among the coastal people, which the Incas adopted into their pantheon. It became an equivalent to Viracocha, the Creator god in the highlands.

PACHACUTI: a royal honorific title, commonly translated into "cataclysm". It could have been a native Andean cyclical element in their historical thinking.

PAITITI: a legendary country in the Amazonia forest associated with *El Dorado* and Inca gold.

PANACA: group of descendants of a former Inca ruler, whose responsibility was to take care of his mummy and heritage. There were 11 royal *panacas* in Cuzco at the event of Spanish conquest.

PIRUA: the name having a double meaning: "granary" and the planet Jupiter. According to Montesinos, it was also a title of the first rulers of Peru.

PROBANZA: Spanish colonial document containing legal testimonies.

PUKARA: Andean hilltop fortress.

QUECHUA: a tribe living near Abancay, and the official language of the Inca empire.

QUELLCA (Quillca): native Andean word for drawing, or pictures in general. The concept widened to comprise the idea of writing in European sense during the colonial times.

QUIPU: knotted string, which was used as mnemotechnic device in the Andes.

QUIPUCAMAYOC: an official, accountant, or secretary, who used and understood the informative content of the *quipus*.

RELACIÓN: Spanish official account or report.

SAGA: Scandinavian oral narrative, which focuses on legendary and epic histories of the past.

SCHOLASTICISM: general term for a science mainly practised during the Middle Ages. One of its principles was a notion, that the teachings of the Church were absolutely true.

SCYRI: a title of pre-Incaic rulers in Ecuador, according to Jesuit chronicler Velasco.

SEGUNDA PERSONA: ruler or a chieftain in a secondary position, according to Spanish chronicles. Usually a ruler of Lower/*Hurin* moiety.

SEÑORIO: Spanish term for an ethnic polity.

SINCHI: title of Andean warlord.

SUYO: one of the four quarters of Inca Empire.

TAHUANTINSUYO: meaning “Realm of the four quarters” or “Four corners acting together” in Quechua. The Inca name for their Empire.

TAMPU/TAMBO: inn or storehouse along the Inca roads.

TIAHUANACO: legendary seat and city beside the Lake Titicaca. It was a capital of a remarkable Middle Horizon polity, and a mythic seat of origin for the Incas.

TOCAPU: a finely woven shirt used by Andean nobles. It was frequently decorated into checkerboard form, in which individual signs may have been used as a kind of “writing”.

USHNU: raised platform used as a imperial seat, particularly in Inca provincial capitals.

VILCAÑOTA: a high pass and shrine in the mountains, which divide the Bolivian Altiplano from southern Peruvian basins.

VIRACOCHA: the principal Creator god in the Andean highlands.

VISITA/VISITADOR: colonial administrative survey or inquiry usually carried by a person who was in charge of visits. Its purpose was to facilitate administrative operations by collecting e.g. census information.

WAMPUM: a mnemonic device used among the Woodland tribes in eastern North America.

WINTER-COUNT: a mnemonic device used among the tribes in North American Plains area.

WORLD VIEW: a notion equivalent to cosmology. A corresponding Spanish term is ‘*cosmovision*’ and the German one ‘*Weltanschauung*’.

YACHAHUASI: a school at Cuzco for youngsters of higher and provincial nobility.

YANACONA: a class of government servants or retainers exempt from formal tribute.

YARO: descendants of Aymara-speaking migrants living in the presentday departments of Pasco and Junin in Peru.

YUPANQUI: a royal title used by several rulers in Andean history. It means “honoured” and its frequency made it almost a “surname” for Inca nobles.

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ABBREVIATIONS IN BIBLIOGRAPHY

DEHA	Diccionario Enciclopédico Hispano-Americano
EJ	Encyclopedia Judaica
EWB	Encyclopedia of World Biography
HLAS	Handbook of Latin American Studies.
HNAI	Handbook of North American Indians
IL	La Imprenta en Lima
NCE	New Catholic Encyclopedia
RGI	Relaciones Geográficas de Indias (Primary Sources)

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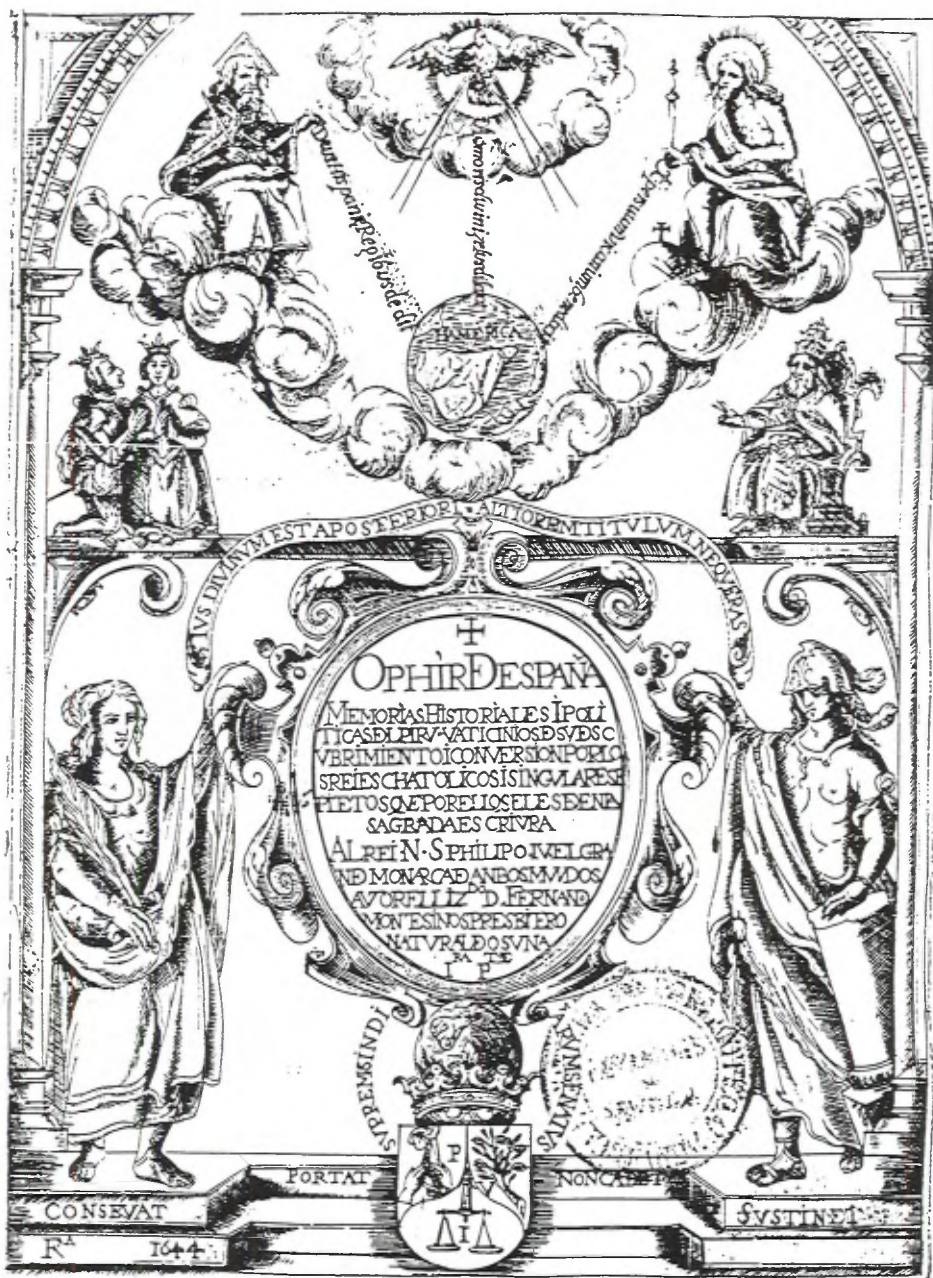
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