

## WHAT KIND OF A SETTLEMENT WAS INCA CUZCO?

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It is common practice among students of settlement patterns to make a distinction between cities and ceremonial centers, considering the two as exclusive categories.<sup>1</sup> The term "city," like many of the categories we use cross-culturally, has very definite referents in our own cultural tradition, so that its use implies a comparison with European cities. A city should have a large resident population. A ceremonial center is usually understood to be a place where public facilities are located but which has a small resident population. The scattered residents of the surrounding area assemble at the center periodically to conduct religious ceremonies and public business. The classification of settlements in a few simple logical categories like these is very likely to obscure the variation which in fact has existed in diverse cultural traditions. Inca Cuzco provides a good illustration of this point.

Cuzco was the political and religious capital of the Inca Empire, a state which, at the time of the Spanish invasion in 1532, extended over 36° of latitude on the west side of South America. The empire included a narrow coastal strip and the ridges and plateaus of the Andes mountain chain behind it. The Inca government was highly centralized under an absolute ruler, and it supported a state religion which it imposed on the provinces. What was the Inca capital like?

In answering this question there is both literary and archaeological evidence on which we can draw. Both must be used with some caution, however. The Inca settlement was systematically burned by the Incas themselves when they besieged the Spanish garrison of the place in 1535, and thereafter the Spanish residents rebuilt it promptly as a city of Spanish type. Only eyewitnesses who saw the Inca capital before 1535, therefore, were in a position to give an accurate account of what Inca Cuzco looked like. We have five brief descriptions of Cuzco by qualified eyewitnesses. Two, one by Francisco Pizarro and the other by his secretary, Pedro Sancho de la Hoz, were written on the spot in 1534; an anonymous one, the *Noticia del Perú*, was written about 1535; a fourth, by Juan Ruiz de Arce, was written in 1543, and the fifth, by Pedro Pizarro, was not written until 1571.<sup>2</sup> In addition, some details can be retrieved from the official record of the distribution of house lots to the Spanish settlers in 1534.<sup>3</sup> Later documents provide information on the composition of the population, social and ceremonial organization, and administration. Recording of this type of information was more effective after some Spanish residents learned to speak some Inca, and some Incas learned Spanish. The archaeological evidence must be interpreted with discretion, because the Spanish settlers who rebuilt Cuzco after the fire of 1535 used Inca builders, who at first produced buildings in Inca style for their Spanish masters. Occasionally, but not in every case, a few details reflecting European ideas enable us to identify this early Colonial construction.

Cuzco is situated on an alluvial fan at the head of a mountain valley. Its elevation is between 11,000 and 11,500 feet, but since it is in the tropics, only thirteen and a half degrees south of the equator, it enjoys a reasonably equable climate. It was only a small village until about the middle of the 15th century A. D. when the Incas began to acquire their empire. The first great Inca conqueror, Pachakuti, rebuilt his capital to make it more appropriate to its new dignity.<sup>4</sup> Imperial Cuzco was a deliberately planned settlement; according to Inca tradition, Pachakuti made his plan with clay models of the buildings.<sup>5</sup>

Cuzco proper was an area in the heart of the modern city between two small rivers, the Huatanay and the Tullumayo. The Incas canalized these rivers and straightened their courses.<sup>6</sup> The buildings in the area between the two rivers were handsomely constructed, some being built entirely of dressed stone, while others were built partly of stone and partly of adobe. There were also buildings built entirely of adobe. The roofs were all of thatch.<sup>7</sup> The built up area itself was not fortified, but on a steep hill overlooking it the Incas built an imposing fortress with walls of heavy masonry.<sup>8</sup>

The area between the rivers was laid out in the shape of a puma (see plate XXXIV), the fortress representing the puma's head and the point where the rivers come together representing the tail. This point is still called "The Puma's Tail" in Inca.<sup>9</sup> The space between the puma's front and back legs constituted a great public square used for ceremonies; it was paved with pebbles. The streets were straight but somewhat irregularly arranged to fit the topography of the site and the puma figure; in consequence, none of the blocks was square, and the blocks varied greatly in size. The streets were narrow, paved with stones, and with a stone-lined water channel running down the middle.<sup>10</sup>

It was not just the area of the puma which was laid out according to a plan. The Inca planning extended to the whole Cuzco valley for about seven miles below Cuzco proper and some of the higher country on the sides of the valley as well. In this area the rivers were canalized and much of the valley land was terraced.<sup>11</sup> The valley was dotted with residential settlements, some of which, for some purposes, were considered part of the capital.<sup>12</sup> The buildings in these settlements were for the most part built of field stone and adobe; dressed stone masonry was rare in the Cuzco Valley outside of Cuzco proper. The Spanish conquerors were particularly impressed by the numbers of storehouses built in clusters on the slopes around the valley.<sup>13</sup> These storehouses were large buildings arranged in rows with spaces between them.

One of the Spanish writers who saw Cuzco before the fire of 1535 estimated that the area between the rivers contained about 4,000 residential structures.<sup>14</sup> Another estimated that there were more than 100,000 buildings in the entire valley, including the storehouses.<sup>15</sup> Impressionistic estimates tend to be high, but there were evidently a lot of buildings. The archaeological evidence confirms this conclusion,

but there has been so much destruction, and erosion on the hillsides, that we cannot use the archaeological sites to obtain more precise figures than the eyewitness estimates.

Now that we have examined the physical appearance of Inca Cuzco, let us ask next what its buildings and other facilities were for and who occupied them. These questions are so interrelated that they must be considered together.

The Inca emperor owned lands in all the provinces of the empire, and these lands were cultivated for him by his subjects as a form of tax.<sup>16</sup> The crops from these imperial lands were in part stored locally and used to support the local Inca administration; in part they were forwarded to Cuzco, held in the storehouses there, and used to support the central government. Craftsmen and specialists of various kinds also contributed labor to the government, which thus collected goods other than farm products. Such goods also were stored in the provincial storehouses and in the ones around Cuzco. There were also some craftsmen who worked full time for the government.<sup>17</sup> In this system the imperial government dominated the collection and redistribution of goods, and there was a minimum of private trade. Markets were established in the towns, however, for the exchange of local products.<sup>18</sup> The market of Cuzco was across the river from the public square used for ceremonies and thus outside of what I have called Cuzco proper.<sup>19</sup> It is quite possible that this location was chosen deliberately to symbolize the limited and unofficial character of private trade.

One of the peculiarities of the Inca imperial system was that no ruler could inherit anything from his predecessor. All the property of a deceased ruler passed to his other descendants, who formed what we can call a corporation ('ayllu or panaqa) to exploit it in the name of their royal ancestor, at the same time caring for his mummified body and maintaining his cult. A new ruler had to secure new lands and servants to support his government, so that with each new ruler the system became increasingly burdensome on the provinces.<sup>20</sup> At the time of the conquest most provinces had been forced to provide land for four successive Inca rulers, beginning with Pachakuti.

Pachakuti, who initiated this system, also provided estates in the area around Cuzco for eight of his ancestors, half of whom were probably mythical, and he organized corresponding corporations of their real or supposed descendants.<sup>21</sup> The eight corporations supposed to be descended from rulers earlier than Pachakuti must have had houses in Cuzco, because their members were expected to attend certain ceremonies in the capital and assume ceremonial responsibilities. We have no reliable record of such houses, however. Pachakuti and his successors had residences or palaces in Cuzco, sometimes more than one, the establishments being maintained after their deaths by the corporations descended from them.<sup>22</sup>

The rulers from Pachakuti on also had palaces in the country, and

some of their descendants lived in these.<sup>23</sup> There were also many members of the royal corporations who lived in the residential settlements near Cuzco, particularly in Cayaucachi and Wimpilla.<sup>24</sup>

For ceremonial purposes, ten of the royal corporations were paired with ten noble ayllus or descent groups representing other elements of the traditional population of the valley which the royal Incas were willing to have associated with them on a lower status level. The members of the noble ayllus did not live in Cuzco proper but in the residential settlements around it.<sup>25</sup>

The government made a distribution of food to the Incas of Cuzco every four days, taking it from the imperial storehouses.<sup>26</sup> It seems likely that the noble ayllus were included in this distribution as well as the royal ones.

The greatest native noble of each province was required to maintain a house in Cuzco and live there for four months each year.<sup>27</sup> The sons of these nobles resided in Cuzco continuously, to learn Inca and acquire a personal loyalty to the Inca administration.<sup>28</sup> The provincial nobles were expected to provide themselves with servants for their establishments in Cuzco by settling a contingent of their own people in one of the residential settlements nearby.<sup>29</sup> The greater Cuzco area thus became a microcosm of the entire empire.

There were at least three major temples of the state religion in Cuzco proper, and some others outside of it in the greater Cuzco area.<sup>30</sup> These temples were served by numerous professional priests, who probably resided in the capital.<sup>31</sup> There was also a convent of Chosen Women.<sup>32</sup> All these establishments had servants; one early Spanish writer estimated that the chief temple of the Inca religion, the so-called Temple of the Sun, had more than 4,000 servants, male and female.<sup>33</sup> The royal corporations no doubt had substantial numbers of servants also.

An early eyewitness account stressed the fact that no poor people lived in Inca Cuzco.<sup>34</sup> Presumably this statement was not meant to include the servants of the nobility and the religious establishment, but it gives us ground for supposing that no non-nobles except the servants lived in Cuzco proper.

A number of regulations and customs contributed to the prestige of the capital. No gold, silver, or fine cloth could be taken out of Cuzco once it was brought in.<sup>35</sup> The accumulated treasure protected by this regulation can be measured by the fact that the loot of Cuzco by the Spanish invaders amounted to nearly \$12,500,000 in gold and silver.<sup>36</sup> Another regulation was that no one might enter or leave the capital at night.<sup>37</sup> The places along the main roads where travellers lost sight of Cuzco were shrines.<sup>38</sup> No one was supposed to approach Cuzco without a burden on his back, and even nobles had to assume a symbolic burden before entering the capital.<sup>39</sup>

Part of the prestige of Cuzco derived from the fact that it was the seat of the imperial government, and part from its importance as a religious center. In addition to the temples of the major deities of the state religion, the Creator, the Sun, and the Thunder, there were many lesser shrines in and around the capital where regular sacrifices were made.<sup>40</sup> Some of them were merely places associated with former rulers or their wives, an indication of the sanctity attributed to the Inca rulers. In an elaborate system of ceremonial organization, a shrine was assigned to each day of the year, and a royal corporation with its corresponding noble ayllu was put in charge of the regular sacrifices of each month.<sup>41</sup> The regular sacrifices included, in addition to the ones at the particular shrines of the month, the sacrifice of a llama in the main square of the capital every day at sunrise, noon, and sunset. The daily sacrifices were made in the name of the Sun, with a prayer that He keep on his regular course.<sup>42</sup>

Each province of the empire was required to send one of its principal cult objects to Cuzco every year. The provincial cult objects were installed in all honor in the chief temple of the state religion, where they served at the same time as hostages for the good behavior of their worshippers and as reminders that Cuzco was a religious center for the entire empire. Each year when new cult objects were brought the provincials were allowed to take back the ones that had remained in Cuzco the previous year.<sup>43</sup>

As I commented at the beginning of this paper, to call a place a city implies some comparison with cities of the European tradition. Physically and in the size of its population the Inca capital looked enough like European cities so that the Spanish invaders had no hesitation in calling it a city. So, for example, the secretary of the Spanish expedition wrote in 1534: "The city of Cuzco, because it is the chief one of all, the one where the rulers had their residence, is so large and so beautiful that it would be worthy to appear even in Spain."<sup>44</sup> Yet when we see who lived there and what went on in Inca Cuzco it is evident that Pachakuti's puma-shaped capital was also a ceremonial center. Perhaps we need further exploration of the limits of variation in human settlements.

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#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup>For example, Rowe, 1963.

<sup>2</sup>Porras Barrenechea, 1948, p. 88; Sancho de la Hoz, cap. XVII; 1938, pp. 176-179; Noticia del Perú, 1918, pp. 330-331 (ms., fol. 10 v. and 11); Ruiz de Arce, 1933, p. 368; Pizarro, 1944, various passages as cited below.

<sup>3</sup>Rivera Serna, 1966, pp. 468-473.

<sup>4</sup>Betanzos, caps. XI-XII, XV; 1880, pp. 62-78, 106-116; Sarmiento de Gamboa, cap. 30; 1947, pp. 174-175.

<sup>5</sup>Betanzos, cap. XVI; 1880, p. 108.

<sup>6</sup>Sancho de la Hoz, cap. XVII; 1938, p. 177; Noticia del Perú, 1918, p. 330 (ms., fol. 10 v.); Betanzos, cap. XIII; 1880, pp. 79-82 and 85; and many later references. Fragments of the Inca retaining walls of the Huatanay can still be seen below Cuzco opposite San Sebastián.

<sup>7</sup>Noticia del Perú, 1918, p. 330 (ms., fol. 11). The thatching on important buildings was very elaborate. There are descriptions of it in Pizarro, 1944, p. 132, and Cobo, lib. 14, cap. III (1890-95, vol. IV, p. 166). Pizarro was one of Cobo's sources. However, thatched roofs in the Inca tradition were still being made in Cobo's time (first half of the seventeenth century) and long after. Markham and Squier, in the nineteenth century, described and illustrated an elaborate thatch roof in the Inca tradition which they observed on a round building called Sondorhuasi [Suntur-wazi] in Azángaro (Markham, 1862, pp. 193-194 and plate opposite p. 193; Squier, 1877, pp. 392-395 and engraving, p. 394, apparently based on a photograph).

<sup>8</sup>The most important early references to the fortress are Sancho de la Hoz, cap. XVII; 1938, pp. 177-179; Ruiz de Arce, 1933, p. 368; Cieza de León, Crónica del Perú, cap. XCII; 1922, pp. 293-294; Pizarro, 1944, pp. 88-89. For extracts of some later accounts, see Valcárcel, 1934-35, tomo III, pp. 14-24; tomo IV, 171-179. This article also contains plans and data deriving from the clearing operations sponsored by the Peruvian government in 1934.

<sup>9</sup>The puma figure is illustrated in plate XXXIV by an outline drawn on a copy of Squier's map of Cuzco (Squier, 1877, p. 428). The outline shown is somewhat approximate, since Squier's map is not accurate in all details and is published on a very small scale. I have traced on the spot the Inca walls marking the outline and details of the puma, in so far as these walls have been preserved.

Betanzos refers to the identification of the city with a puma as follows: "After Inca Yupanqui [Pachakuti] had given and distributed [the house lots of the city of Cuzco in the way you have already heard, he gave names to all the sites and house lots, and the city as a whole he named "lion's body," saying that the landholders and residents of it were members of the lion, and that his person was the head of it" (Betanzos, cap. XVII; 1880, pp. 116-117). "Lion" was and is the common Spanish term for a puma. Betanzos also refers to the place name Pumap Chupan, "puma's tail" (cap. XVI; 1880, p. 112).

Sarmiento gives a closely parallel account: "After Topa Inga Yupanqui [Thupa 'Inka Yupanki] inspected the whole land and returned to Cuzco, as he found himself idle, he remembered that his father Pachacuti had called the city of Cuzco "the lion city," and had said that the tail was where the two rivers join which pass through the city, and that the body was the plaza and the settlements around it, and that the head was lacking, but that some one of his sons would provide it. And so, consulting with the nobles about the matter, he said that the best head he could make for it would be a fortress on a high obstruction on the north side of the city" (Sarmiento de Gamboa, cap. 53; 1947, p. 233).

It was Professor Manuel Chávez Ballón of the National University of Cuzco who first observed that the outline of the puma could be traced in the surviving Inca walls of Cuzco. It is one of many important and original contributions which Professor Chávez has made to our understanding of the Inca capital.

<sup>10</sup>Sancho de la Hoz, cap. XVII; 1938, pp. 176-177.

<sup>11</sup>Sancho de la Hoz, cap. XVII; 1938, pp. 177 and 179; Betanzos, cap. XII; 1880, pp. 72-74; Sarmiento de Gamboa, cap. 32; 1947, pp. 179-180. Much Inca terracing is still preserved, notably around Larapa (ancient Rarapa), west of San Gerónimo. Buried Inca terraces have been found in road and house building since 1960 on the lower slopes of Picchu and Puquin and have been largely destroyed by quarrying (information from Leandro Zans Candia and Fidel Ramos).

<sup>12</sup>The settlements which, for some purposes, were treated as parts of the capital were Tococachi [T'oqokachi] (where the parish of San Blas was founded after the conquest), Carmenca [Qarmenqa] (Santa Ana), Cayaucachi [Qayawkachi] (Belén and Coripata), Sañu (San Sebastián) and Wimpilla (at the place now called Camino Blanco, south of the Huatanay River). The locations in which the names of the Inca settlements are shown on Squier's map are incorrect. The settlements just listed are the ones closest to the core area between the rivers. Other settlements ("pueblos") mentioned for the upper Cuzco Valley are Yacanora [Yakan'ura], Rarapa, and perhaps Andamarca [Antamarka] in Antisuyu (Cobo, lib. 13, cap. XIV; 1890-95, vol. IV, pp. 22-30; Cakra and Quicalla in Collasuyu (same, cap. XV; pp. 31-39); and Choco [Choqo] and Cachona [Qhachuna] in Cuntisuyu (same, cap. XVI; pp. 39-46). Of these other settlements, only Rarapa and Choco have been positively identified with archaeological sites. The approximate location of Yacanora and Cachona is known because the place



names have survived. More research may locate some of the rest. There are several large Inca occupation sites in the valley the ancient names of which are not known.

Garcilaso gives a list of settlements around Cuzco which is reproduced on Squier's map in a schematic fashion (Garcilaso de la Vega, *Comentarios reales*, lib. 7, cap. VIII; 1945, tomo 2, pp. 104-106). He names Tococachi, Cayaucachi, and Carmenca, which are in my list; Colcampata, Pumacurcu, and Pumapchupan, which are places located within the puma outline, and Rimacpampa, Chaquillchaca, and Huacapuncu, which were probably settled after the conquest. The other names he gives (Cantutpata, Munaicena, Pichu [i.e., Picchu], and Quillipata) I can only explain as place names added for symmetry.

It should be noted that the areas between the puma shaped heart of the capital and the residential settlements surrounding it were open cultivated terraces, with few or no buildings in them (Garcilaso de la Vega, lib. 7, cap. XI; 1945, vol. II, pp. 110-114). The remains of buildings in Inca style to the west of the Huatanay River are probably all early Colonial Spanish work done by Inca builders. In at least two cases the early Colonial date is certain, in one because Garcilaso says the building in question was built at his father's order in 1555 (previous reference, p. 112), and in the other for structural reasons (Calle Santa Teresa).

<sup>13</sup>Sancho de la Hoz, cap. XVII; 1938, pp. 178-179; *Noticia del Perú*, 1918, p. 330 (ms., fol. 11); Betanzos, caps. XII and XIII; 1880, pp. 75-77, 82-85; Segovia, 1943, p. 35; Pizarro, 1944, pp. 75-76, 82-86.

There are fewer remains of Inca storehouses visible on the hills around Cuzco than the reports in the chroniclers would lead one to expect. However, there is much evidence of massive erosion, and some of the terraces on the lower slopes are deeply buried as a result. It may be that the erosion has destroyed the foundations of some groups of storehouses. The largest group of storehouses of which the foundations are still visible is at Qhata-q'asa, on a hill south of Belén. The buildings are square (about 6 x 6 meters interior measurement) or rectangular (6 x 7.5 meters in measured examples). This information is based on a reexamination of the site in 1967; when I first visited Qhata-q'asa in 1941 I jumped to the conclusion that it was a dwelling site, because there was Cuzco style pottery on the surface (Rowe, 1944, pp. 51-52). However, the sherds are all from large storage jars, and the spacing of the buildings is more like that of Inca storehouses at other sites and unlike the residential pattern as it can be observed at such sites as Ollantaytambo and Machu Picchu.

<sup>14</sup>Ruiz de Arce, 1933, p. 368.

<sup>15</sup>Sancho de la Hoz, cap. XVII; 1938, p. 179; Segovia, 1943, p. 33: "When the Spaniards first entered it [Cuzco] there was a great quantity of people [there]; it would be a town of more than 40,000 property owners in



the city alone, for [including] the suburbs and neighboring districts around Cuzco to [a distance of] 10 or 12 leagues, I believe that there would have been 200,000 Indians, because this was the most densely populated [part] of all these kingdoms." Segovia saw Cuzco before its destruction by fire but did not write this passage until 1553. The figure he gives for "the city alone" would be a possible one if it were meant to include the closest outlying settlements, which it commonly did.

<sup>16</sup>Castro and Ortega Morejón, 1936, pp. 237-239; Ortíz de Zúñiga, 1967, pp. 25-26 (ms., fol. 10-10 v.), and see index, p. 322; there are many contemporary and later testimonies to this system, but the two cited are particularly convincing, since they reflect the tax system from the standpoint of the provinces.

<sup>17</sup>General: Cieza de León, *Señorío de los Incas*, cap. LVIII; 1880, p. 89. Metal workers and potters were brought to Cuzco from the coast (Cieza de León, *Señorío de los Incas*, cap. LVIII; 1880, p. 219; *Discurso*, 1906, p. 160). Metal workers were assigned also to the provincial capitals (Cieza de León, *Señorío de los Incas*, cap. XX, LVI, LVII; 1880, pp. 75, 210, 219). A list of specialized occupations is given by Falcón, 1918, pp. 149-151.

<sup>18</sup>The earliest reference to town markets I have found is Estete's remarks on the market at Jauja at the time of the first Spanish visit there in 1533 (Estete, 1938, p. 94). In the first book of records of the cabildo of Cuzco there is a reference dated November 27, 1534, to the small plaza of the Collao market, perhaps to be identified with Limacpampa Chico (Rivera Serna, 1966, p. 476).

<sup>19</sup>The location of the general market of Cuzco is not specified by any of the eyewitnesses of the conquest, and the possibility that it was held in the present Plaza de Armas cannot be completely ruled out. However, this plaza, the Inca Hawkeypata, was used primarily for religious ceremonies and government business, and it would have been an inconvenient place to have market stalls. All the sixteenth and seventeenth century sources which mention the Cuzco market, from 1551 on, place it in Cusipata [Kusipata], across the river (Betanzos, cap. III; 1880, p. 10; Borregán, 1948, pp. 81-82; Murúa, lib. 4, cap. 2; 1946, pp. 368-370; Guaman Poma de Ayala, 1936, p. 339-341; Garcilaso de la Vega, *Comentarios reales*, lib. 7, cap. XI; 1945, vol. 2, p. 113). There are two illustrations of the old Cusipata market, one of about 1615 but perhaps based on earlier observation (Guaman Poma de Ayala, 1936, p. 1041 [1059], and one of shortly after 1650 (the Monroy panorama; Kubler, 1952, frontispiece). In the Monroy panorama there appear to be some stalls in the Plaza de Armas also; by the early twentieth century the market had taken over the northern half of this plaza, the sellers still using the traditional type of arched tent stalls shown in Guaman Poma (Means, 1931, fig. 153).

<sup>20</sup>The general principle of no inheritance of royal property is stated emphatically by Sancho de la Hoz, cap. XVII; 1938, p. 179; Cieza de León,

Señorío de los Incas, cap. XI; 1880, p. 37; cap. LXI; 1880, p. 234; and Pizarro, 1944, pp. 51-53. The details of how the principle applied in the provinces can be seen in the *Relación de Chíncha* (Castro and Ortega Morejón, 1936, pp. 237-239, especially p. 239 where the following quotation is found). "They made a house for him [Guayna Capa] in all the provinces; they gave him women from all over the kingdom and fields [for cultivation], because they [the Inca rulers] considered it to be a point of honor not to take over or use a woman or a field or a servant or anything which had belonged to their parents; rather, in all the valleys these had to be provided, and if the Christians had delayed [in coming to Peru] all the fields and women and Indians would have [become the property] of the Sun and the Incas and their sisters and of the shrines, for all these had servants and houses and fields of their own." Pedro Pizarro recounts that Huascar, "annoyed one day with these dead [his ancestors], said that he ought to order them all buried and take from them all that they had, and that there should not be dead men but living ones, because [the dead] had all that was best in the country" (Pizarro, 1944, p. 53).

<sup>21</sup>Betanzos, cap. XVII; 1880, p. 127; Sarmiento de Gamboa, caps. 19, 34, 47; 1947, pp. 145, 182, 221. The argument that the first four Incas of the standard list are mythical is a complex one, better presented in another context, but it is worth while noting here that no bodies corresponding to Manco Capac [Manqo Qhapaq] and Lloque Yupanqui [Lloq'e Yupanki] were preserved in 1559 when Juan Polo de Ondegardo collected the bodies of the Incas (Sarmiento de Gamboa, cap. 14; 1947, pp. 134 and 138; Cobo, lib. 12, cap. IV; 1890-95, vol. III, p. 132). The alleged descendants of the first four Incas lived mainly at Wimpilla and Cayaucachi, according to the authors just cited, so their estates were probably close to Cuzco. The corporation descended from Inca Roca ['Inka Roq'a] had its headquarters at Rarapa, where his body was found (Sarmiento de Gamboa, cap. 19; 1947, p. 146; Cobo, lib. 12, cap. IX; 1890-95, vol. III, pp. 146-147), that of Yahuar Huacac [Yawar Waqac] at Paullu, near Calca (Sarmiento de Gamboa, cap. 23; 1947, p. 156; Cobo, lib. 12, cap. X; 1890-95, vol. III, p. 151); and that of Viracocha [Wiracocha] at "Caquia Xaquixaguana" on the heights above Calca (Sarmiento de Gamboa, cap. 33; 1947, p. 182; Cobo, lib. 12, cap. XI; 1890-95, vol. III, p. 155), probably the site known in modern times as Huchuy Qozqo, "Little Cuzco."

Pachakuti lived in Condorcancha [Kuntur-kancha], somewhere to the north of the Plaza de Armas of Cuzco (Cobo, lib. 13, cap. XIII; 1890-95, vol. IV, p. 13); he also had a "hut" where he slept at Coracora [Qora-qora] on the Plaza de Armas (Cobo, lib. 13, cap. XIII; 1890-95, vol. IV, p. 15). Topa Inca's town residence is less well attested; it may have been at Pucamarca [Puka Marka] where he built temples of the Creator and the Thunder (Cobo, lib. 13, cap. XIII; 1890-95, vol. IV, pp. 15 and 16). He may have preferred to live nearby in the country at his palace of Calispuquio (see below). Huayna Capac's palace was the Caxana, on the north side of the Plaza de Armas, built by his brother, Cinchi Roca (Sarmiento de Gamboa, cap. 58; 1947, p. 239; Cobo, lib. 13, cap. XIII; 1890-95, vol. IV, p. 16). Huascar's town palace was Amarucancha ['Amaru-kancha], on the Plaza

de Armas where the Jesuit church now stands (Sarmiento de Gamboa, cap. 63; 1947, p. 253). There was also a structure which the Spanish called "Huascar's fortress" on the northeast corner of the plaza (Rivera Serna, 1966, p. 469). He had another residence at Colcampata [Qollqampata] which later was occupied by Paullu Topa [Pawllu Thupa] (Sarmiento de Gamboa, cap. 63; 1947, p. 253).

<sup>23</sup>Pachakuti had a "house for sacrifices" at Patallacta [Patallaqta], overlooking Cuzco, where he died (Cobo, lib. 13, cap. XIII; 1890-95, vol. IV, p. 10; Sarmiento de Gamboa, cap. 41; 1947, p. 202. He also "developed" Tambo (Ollantaytambo) as a country residence (Sarmiento de Gamboa, cap. 32; 1947, p. 180, and cap. 41; 1947, p. 202). Topa Inca had a palace in the country north of the fortress of Sacsahuaman at Calispuquio (Sarmiento de Gamboa, cap. 54; 1947, p. 235; Cobo, lib. 13, cap. XIII; 1890-95, vol. IV, p. 13) and another at Chinchero (Sarmiento de Gamboa, cap. 54; 1947, p. 234). Huayna Capac [Wayna Qhapaq] had his country residence at Yucay (Sarmiento de Gamboa, cap. 58; 1947, p. 239); Huascar [Waskhar] in his birthplace in the Lucre Basin, the place from which he received his name or vice versa (Sarmiento de Gamboa, cap. 63; 1947, p. 252).

<sup>24</sup>Manco Capac: Cobo, lib. 12, cap. IV; 1890-95, vol. IV, p. 132; Lloque Yupanqui: Cobo, lib. 12, cap. VI; 1890-95, vol. IV, p. 138; Mayta Capac: Cobo, lib. 12, cap. VII; vol. IV, p. 141. We have no direct statement regarding the descendants of Cinchi Roca, but his body, which it was their duty to care for, was preserved in Wimpilla (Cobo, lib. 12, cap. V; 1890-95, vol. IV, p. 135). The bodies of the Incas were collected in 1559 by Juan Polo de Ondegardo. A lost report of his on the matter is probably the source of Cobo's information and the parallel account in Sarmiento de Gamboa.

<sup>25</sup>Sarmiento de Gamboa, cap. 11; 1947, p. 120.

<sup>26</sup>Betanzos, cap. XIII; 1880, p. 88; Polo de Ondegardo, 1940, p. 147.

<sup>27</sup>Sancho de la Hoz, cap. XVII; 1938, p. 176; Ruiz de Arce, 1933, p. 368; Segovia, 1943, p. 33.

<sup>28</sup>Cieza de León, Crónica del Perú, caps. LXXXIX and XCII; 1922, pp. 289 and 295; same, Señorío de los Incas, cap. XIV; 1880, pp. 50-51; Bandera, 1881, p. 101; Segovia, 1943, p. 33.

<sup>29</sup>Cieza de León, Crónica del Perú, cap. XCIII; 1922, pp. 296-297. There were, however, no Chilques in Cuzco (Segovia, 1943, pp. 31-32), and the number of Collas was restricted (Cieza de León, Señorío de los Incas, cap. LV; 1880, p. 207). There was apparently some attempt made to have the people from a particular part of the empire live in an outlying settlement which was in the direction of their home provinces; for example, the Chachapoyas and Cañares, who came from the northern part of the empire, were settled in or near Carmenca, through which passed the main Inca road to the north (Cieza de León, Crónica del Perú, cap. LXXVIII;

1922, p. 259; Levillier, 1940, pp. 133-134).

<sup>30</sup>The major temples in Cuzco were Coricancha [Qori-Kancha], the chief temple of the state religion, called "the Temple of the Sun" by the Spaniards, although all the official Inca deities were worshipped there (Rowe, 1944, pp. 26-41); Quishuarcancha [Kiswar-kancha], a temple dedicated to the Creator (Molina, 1943, pp. 19 and 30); and Pucumarca [Puka Marka], a building complex containing shrines of both the Thunder (Molina, 1943, p. 30; Cobo, lib. 13, cap. XIII; 1890-95, vol. IV, p. 15) and the Creator (Cobo, lib. 13, cap. XIII; 1890-95, vol. IV, p. 16).

The chief temples located outside of Cuzco but in the immediate vicinity were Chuquimarca [Choqe Marka], a temple of the Sun on the hill of Manturcalla [Mantur-qalla], where the festival of 'Inti Raymi was celebrated at the winter solstice (Molina, 1943, pp. 27-28; Cobo, lib. 13, cap. XIV; 1890-95, vol. IV, pp. 25-26; lib. 13, cap. XXVIII; 1890-95, vol. IV, p. 111); Puquincancha [Pukin-kancha], a temple of the Sun on the slope of Puquin Hill, behind the modern cemetery of Cuzco (Molina, 1943, p. 7; Cobo, lib. 13, cap. XVI; 1890-95, vol. IV, pp. 44-45), and Huanacauri [Wanakawri], on a high hill on the Cuzco skyline southeast of the city (Rowe, 1944, pp. 41-43). Huanacauri was a shrine of the Inca royal house, associated with its origin myth.

<sup>31</sup>There is little information on Inca priests in the accounts left by the earliest visitors to Cuzco. This state of affairs is particularly unfortunate, as the state religion was one of the first things the Spanish conquerors destroyed. Bartolomé de las Casas, writing in Spain in the period 1561-66 on the basis of reports received from Dominicans and clerics in Peru, remarks: "It has not been possible to determine the kind of order of the priesthood and ministers of the temples and gods of the kingdoms of Peru, nor their number and differentiation, except that there was a chief priest whom they called in their language Vilaoma [Wila 'uma] and other priests subject and inferior to him. It is said that the priests were married" (Casas, cap. CXXI; 1909, p. 371. Note the parallel passage in Murúa, lib. 3, cap. LX; 1946, p. 314). A little more can be added from other sources. Segovia says that the high priest was a close relative of the emperor (Segovia, 1943, p. 37), and there is much other testimony to this effect. Manco Inca's high priest at the time of the Spanish occupation of Cuzco was his brother. Cieza says that the high priest lived in the Temple of the Sun in Cuzco (Cieza de León, *Señorío de los Incas*, cap. XXVII; 1880, p. 107). Pedro Pizarro describes some priests of the Sun whom he saw in Cuzco (Pizarro, 1944, pp. 78-79).

Garcilaso says that all the priests in the Temple of the Sun in Cuzco who offered sacrifice were Incas of royal blood, and that the rest were "Incas by privilege" (Garcilaso de la Vega, *Comentarios reales*, lib. 2, cap. IX; 1945, vol. I, p. 84). Such an arrangement would be quite in accord with the Incas' preoccupation with inherited status. It is supported by a statement in Acosta, probably based on an earlier report by Polo de Ondegardo. Acosta says that the priests who distributed a special kind of maize dumplings, in a ceremony which he compares to Christian communion, were of the lineage of Lloque Yupanqui (Acosta, lib. 5, cap. XXIII; 1954, p. 166). Molina has a

contradictory account of this ceremony, putting it in a different month. He says that the distribution was made by a priest of the Sun (1943, p. 37), and elsewhere he says that the priests of the Sun were called Tarpuntaes (1943, p. 29). Tarpuntay was the name of a noble but not royal ayllu. Cobo, who had access to the reports of both Polo and Molina, chose to follow Molina (cf. Cobo, lib. 13, cap. XXV; 1890-95, vol. IV, p. 102). After the middle of the sixteenth century there were evidently some discrepancies in the traditions about the Inca priesthood.

I have not cited the account of the Inca priesthood given by the Anonymous Jesuit, since his model is manifestly the hierarchy of the Catholic Church. For the benefit of the curious, however, I have included a reference to his work in the bibliography (Anonymous Jesuit, 1879).

<sup>32</sup>Of the earlier sources the best are probably Betanzos, cap. XI; 1880, p. 66; Cieza de León, *Señorío de los Incas*, cap. XXVII; 1880, pp. 106-107; Polo de Ondegardo, 1940, p. 139; Casas, cap. CXXVI; 1909, pp. 335-336. Pedro Pizarro also discusses the Chosen Women (Pizarro, 1944, pp. 79-82).

<sup>33</sup>Segovia, 1943, p. 37. Betanzos says that Pachakuti endowed the Temple of the Sun with 200 yanacunas (servants) to cultivate its lands.

<sup>34</sup>Sancho de la Hoz, cap. XVII; 1938, p. 176.

<sup>35</sup>Cieza de León, *Crónica del Perú*, cap. XCII; 1922, p. 295; *Señorío de los Incas*, cap. XXI; 1880, p. 50; Borregán, 1948, pp. 81-82; Pizarro, 1944, p. 91.

<sup>36</sup>Loredo, 1958, p. 113. The sum is 700,113,880 maravedis, which, at 2.04 to the sol of 1966-67, gives S/.343,193,078. The sol at that time was at about 26.80 to the dollar, so the loot of Cuzco amounted to something like \$12,432,540. This figure does not include the gold and silver sent from Cuzco for the ransom of Atahualpa.

<sup>37</sup>Casas, cap. CCLVIII; 1909, p. 674.

<sup>38</sup>For example, Cobo, lib. 13, cap. XIII; 1890-95, vol. IV, p. 20 (Urcoscalla on the road to Chinchaysuyu). Two such places are listed in the following chapters for Antisuyu and two for Cuntisuyu.

<sup>39</sup>Polo de Ondegardo, 1940, p. 146.

<sup>40</sup>List in Cobo, lib. 13, caps. XIII, XIV, XV, and XVI; 1890-95, vol. IV, pp. 9-46, probably based on a lost account by Cristóbal de Molina (*Relación de las guacas*, cited by Molina, 1943, p. 75).

<sup>41</sup>These are my inferences from a detailed study of the ceremonial organization of Inca Cuzco which I am preparing. The present paper grew out of a projected introductory chapter to this work.

<sup>42</sup>Cobo, lib. 13, cap. XXV; 1890-95, vol. IV, p. 96, probably from Polo de Ondegardo.

<sup>43</sup>Cieza de León, Señorío de los Incas, cap. XXIX; 1880, pp. 114-115; Polo de Ondegardo, 1940, p. 154; Molina, 1943, pp. 29, 44-46.

<sup>44</sup>Sancho de la Hoz, cap. XVII; 1938, p. 176.

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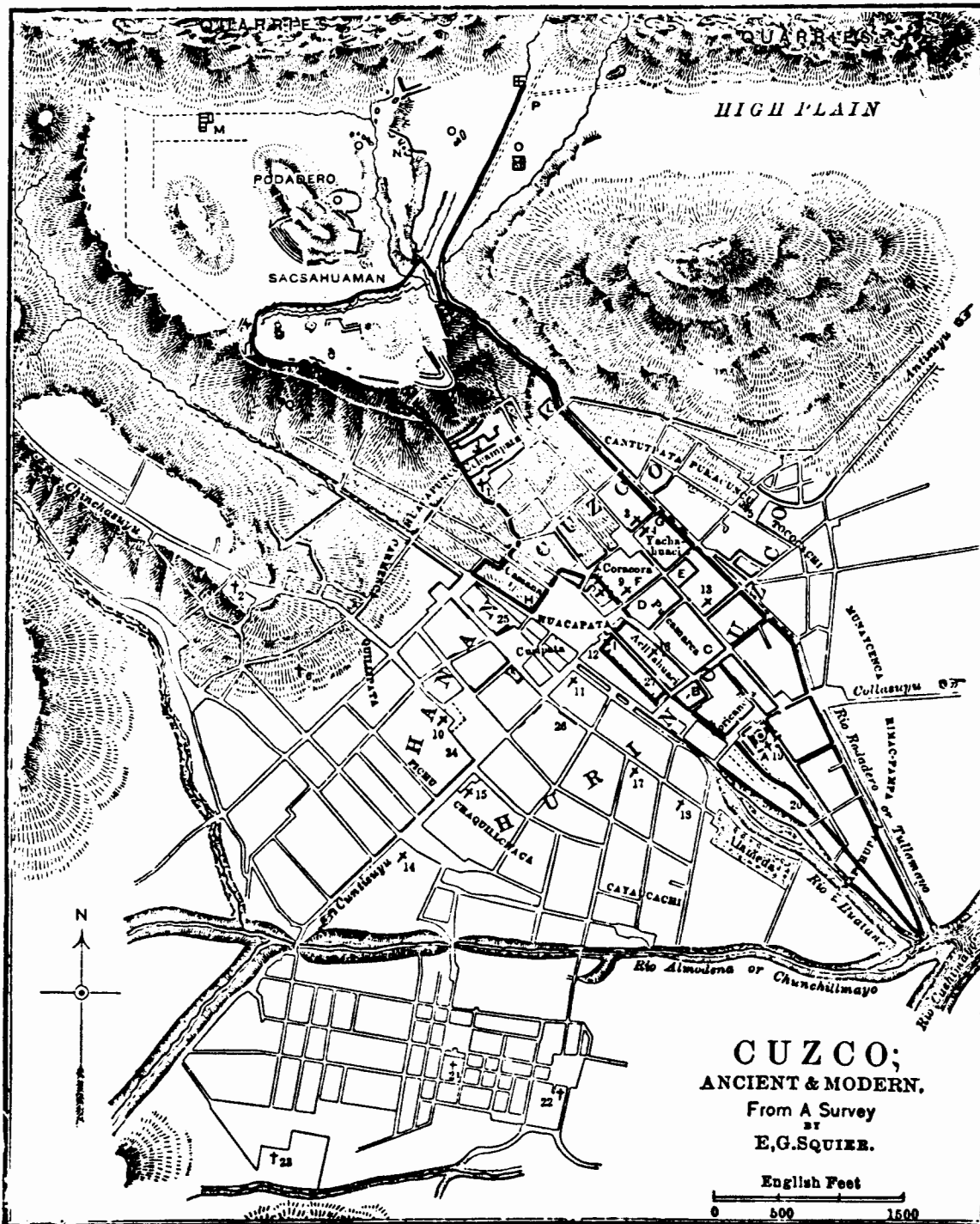


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**CHURCHES.**—1. San Cristobal; 2. Santa Ana; 3. Los Nazarenos; 4. San Antonio; 5. San Blas; 6. Beaterio de Arcopata; 7. Jesus Maria; 8. La Catedral; 9. Capilla del Santiago; 10. San Francisco; 11. La Merced; 12. La Compania; 13. San Agustin; 14. Hospital de Hombras; 15. Santa Clara; 16. Santa Catalina; 17. Beaterio de San Andrés; 18. Beaterio de Santa Rosa; 19. Santo Domingo; 20. Beaterio de Ahuacpinta; 21. Santiago; 22. Belen; 23. Iglesia del Panteon; 24. University; 25. Prefectura; 26. House of Municipality; 27. Prison. **INCA RUINS.**—A. Temple of the Sun; B. Palace of Virgins of the Sun; C. Palace of Inca Tupac Yupanqui; D. Palace of Inca Yupanqui; E. Palace of Inca Rocca; F. Palace of Inca Viracocha; G. Palace of Yachahuasi, or the Schools; H. Palace of Inca Pachacutic; I. Palace of Huayna Capac; J. Palace of Manco Capac; K. House of Garcilasso de la Vega; L. Intahnatana, or Gnomon of the Sun; M. Ruins of Inca building; N. Chingana chambered rock; O. Carved and chambered rocks; P. Inca graded road, leading to quarries; Q. Pila, or Bath, of the Incas. Black lines showing ancient Inca walls.

Plate XXXIV. Map of Cuzco after Squier (1877, p. 428) with the outline of the puma added. Not all of Squier's identifications of Inca buildings are reliable.