

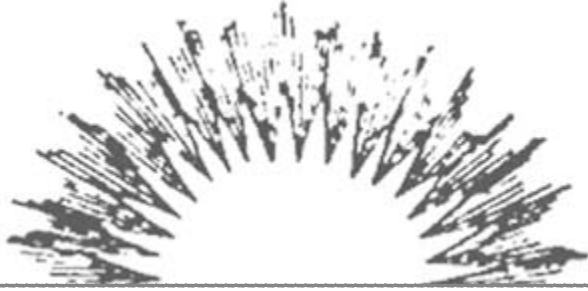
PEOPLE OF THE VOLCANO

ANDEAN COUNTERPOINT IN THE COLCA VALLEY OF PERU



NOBLE DAVID COOK with Alexandra Parma Cook

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NOBLE DAVID COOK, *with Alexandra Parma Cook*

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*This book is for the present peoples of the Colca Valley,
the survivors of conquest and colonization*

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PREFACE



Peru's richly terraced Colca Valley first came to the attention of the outside world with the stunning aerial photographs taken in the early 1930s by the Johnson-Shippee expedition to South America. Published in a series of lavishly illustrated articles in the *National Geographic*, the valley, dominated by glaciated volcanic peaks, intrigued viewers. But it was not until the early 1970s, with the massive irrigation project to channel water from the highlands to the Majes coastal desert, that a road was constructed, breaking the valley's isolation. Almost overnight the valley's people had access to the outside world, to the not far-distant city of Arequipa, and the nation's capital of Lima well beyond. At last the valley's wonders—the great canyon, the flocks of wild vicuña grazing on the puna lands, the richly decorated colonial churches, and the people—were opened to outsiders, simultaneously accelerating the process of change.

My hope is to provide a guide for those who, moved by their experience in the valley, may wish to understand better how its people transformed their landscape, making it what we see today. The work is historical, with an eye fixed on place, the environment. Much of what one views in the valley is the result of what the outsiders, the Spanish, took in the sixteenth century and the way they modified Inca and pre-Inca foundations. The foundations are not just material: not just the waterworks, the households, or the crops that were planted and harvested. Foundations are also social: the way in which human relationships—religious, economic, and social—are constructed to permit survival in a difficult environment. These structures, alien to the “modern” mind, are those that I wish to explore. They are not static but are constantly changing.

I learned of the Colca Valley in 1974, during my tenure as Visiting Fulbright Professor at the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú. The late Dr. Franklin Pease, then director of the Museo Nacional de la Historia, asked me to codirect a group of his students in analysis of a late sixteenth-century census document. That *visita*, or inspection of the *urinsaya* section of Yanque Collaguas for 1591,

provides detailed information on all native inhabitants of the middle Colca Valley, including their names, age, and societal position; their marital status; their condition as tributary; and whether or not they were orphans, widows, or widowers. Their physical condition is noted (blind or deaf, or lame), as well as their occupation and political role. Each person is listed by village and household, under societal categories (upper or lower halves), and *ayllu* (kinship unit). Landholdings are provided by toponym and crop type; even the numbers of llamas and alpacas are given. The possibilities for detailed analysis of demography, society, and economy are rich.

With travel money from the Peruvian office of the Ford Foundation, and after completing preliminary research on the census and supplementary investigations in Lima's National Archive and Library, we set out for Arequipa in August 1974. Our initial mornings were spent in search of other information on the Colca Valley in the Provincial Archive in Yanahuara. In the afternoons some researchers worked in Arequipa's Municipal Archive, while Alexandra Parma Cook and I worked in Yanahuara's parish records. During afternoons we also purchased supplies of food, water, and "camping equipment," and searched for a reliable way to reach the valley. Although it had been recently improved, the gravel road leading to our destination was still an adventurous ten- to twelve-hour trip, requiring a steep climb up the flanks of the volcanic cone of Misti, then across the high puna toward the town of Chivay, the district capital. Rising to 15,000 feet in some spots, the road challenges sufferers of *soroche*, or altitude sickness. Our research design was to establish a base at the village of Yanque, the colonial administrative capital for the province. From there we would conduct a reconnaissance of the valley in search of both material remains worthy of future investigation, and documentary evidence that might remain in local churches, municipal offices, or in private hands. Fortunately, Max Neira Avedaño, a team member from Arequipa's Universidad Nacional de San Antonio, had conducted archaeological research in the valley earlier. He, Eusebio Quiroz, the late Alejandro Malaga Medina, and others in the Arequipa group were indispensable for the project's success.

Critical help in the valley came from the late Maryknoll father Pablo Hagen, who was the resident priest, and from the Maryknoll sister Antonia Kayser. Both served the spiritual needs of the Yanque community, and they operated a first-resort clinic, medical dispensary, and emergency food bank. They were also strong advocates for the villagers. Both held a profound appreciation and respect for the history of the valley's people. They offered "space" in one of the structures that had been part of the original Franciscan convent, simultaneously providing "status" for the team of outsiders. And they opened the "Yan-

que Parish Archive” for our investigation. Not only did we find original parish registers—for Yanque they are fairly complete from 1685 to the present—but even more important, we found colonial censuses for various parts of the valley, comparable in quality to that of Yanque urinsaya of 1591. There was ample information on the valley for many future investigators. Sister Antonia shared selflessly with us and others her hospitality and love of the people of Yanque. Her support during several weeks of archival and field research while we resided in the convent in 1977 remain forever imprinted in our memory.

Over the years numerous institutions have provided assistance. The Fulbright Commission in Lima extended fellowships as Visiting Professor at the Universidad Católica in 1974 and 1984. Marcia Koth de Paredes of the commission enthusiastically supported the opening of the valley to both scholars and the general public. The Ford Foundation provided travel funds for the first expedition in 1974. The National Endowment for the Humanities via the Summer Seminar Program for College teachers in 1976 facilitated readings in anthropological theory at the University of Illinois, helping me probe the complexities of ayllu and moiety. The Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research aided direct investigation in the Colca Valley in early 1977. A Fulbright for Spain in 1985 allowed for tracking down colonial documents in various archives. Mellon Foundation Summer Grants during my tenure at the University of Bridgeport, as well as a year’s sabbatical in 1988–89, permitted sustained research in Spanish collections. Various appointments as Visiting Fellow at Yale University, through the kind intercession of History Department chairs Jonathan Spence, Connie Tottman, and the late John Boswell, gave unlimited access to one of the finest libraries in the United States. Additional related material appeared during research for other books: a John Simon Guggenheim Fellowship in 1991–92, and an American Council of Learned Societies Fellowship for 1998–99, both for investigations in Spanish archives.

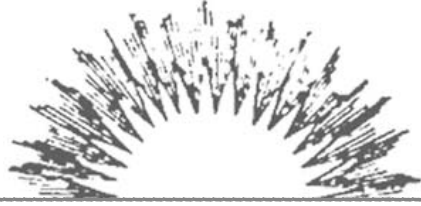
We thank the staffs of various libraries and archives who invariably went out of their way to assist us. In Peru we consulted the Archivo Parroquial de Yanque, Archivo Histórico Provincial de Arequipa, Archivo Municipal de Arequipa, Archivo Nacional del Perú, Biblioteca Nacional del Perú, Museo Nacional de la Historia, and the Archivo del Monasterio de San Francisco de Lima. In Spain we used the Archivo General de Indias in Seville; and the Archivo Histórico Nacional, Biblioteca del Palacio Real, Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia, and the Biblioteca Nacional, all in Madrid. In the United States we worked in the Library of Congress, the New York Public Library, Yale University’s Sterling and Beinecke Rare Book Libraries, the Rosenbach Museum and Library in Philadelphia, and the P. K. Younge Collection of the University of Florida.

In Miami I thank the staff of the Green Library and interlibrary loan department of Florida International University (FIU). Ivan E. Santiago, coordinator of Educational Technology Resource Center at FIU, along with Haig Durant and Rocío González, provided valuable assistance in preparing the illustrations.

The late Antonine Tibesar, O.F.M. (Order of Friars Minor), an expert on the Franciscan Order in the Andes, graciously provided valuable leads, contacts, and photocopies of important material in Rome. Thanks to the generous introduction of Father Tibesar, Father Lobatón, then Franciscan general commissioner in Peru, graciously allowed access to the Franciscan Archive in Lima in 1984. More recently Father Julián Heras, O.F.M., shared fresh insight into the order's history in Peru. A brief notice of the results of our team's efforts in the valley was published in the *Latin American Research Review* in 1975. Within ten years numerous Peruvian academics had conducted research on various aspects of the valley's past and present, all the way from students preparing their baccalaureate theses, to well-established scholars. Outsiders entered the scene; geographer William M. Denevan of the University of Wisconsin secured significant funding to mount an interdisciplinary team with primary focus on agricultural terrace abandonment and restoration. Numerous dissertations, books, and scientific treatises have resulted. David J. Robinson has continued publication of the series of visitas that Franklin Pease initiated in 1977. I thank many specialists for leads, suggestions, and friendly advice: Tom Abercrombie, María Benavides, the late Woodrow Borah, W. George Lovell, Mariana Mould de Pease, María Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, Eldi Flores Nájjar, Frederick Schwaller, Margarita Suárez, John TePaske, the late Theodore de la Torre-Bueno, Nancy van Deusen, Rafael Varón, Steven A. Wernke, and Anne Wightman. And I thank my students who have listened to my musings about the valley's people, and who invariably pressed for more. I especially appreciate the efforts of the La Católica student cohort of 1974, those who have done such excellent work on Andean studies, among others: Amalia Castelli, Guillermo Cock, David Cunza, Ximena Fernández, Elias Mujica, José Luis Rénique, and Efraín Trelles.

Susan Ramírez and Lyman Johnson read and extensively commented on a longer version of the text, and I appreciate their suggestions. The geographer and Colca Valley specialist David J. Robinson provided critical insight as he reviewed both versions. Maps were prepared thanks to the expertise of cartographer Joe Stoll at Syracuse University under the direction of David Robinson. I thank especially my editor at Duke, Valerie Millholland, whose insistent prodding did result in the reduction of the manuscript by more than a third. Its copyeditor, Sonya Manes, did an exceptional job, as did the assistant managing editor, Mark Mastromarino. All photographs were taken by the authors, or by

Greg Cook. Many thanks to Lydia Garibay of the Siglo XXI Editores in Mexico for permission to duplicate illustrations from their edition of the Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala text. The debt to Franklin Pease is incalculable; without his towering intellectual curiosity and enthusiastic prodding, as well as support, the present study might never have been attempted. Alexandra Parma Cook has collaborated from the beginning. She was in the initial group entering the valley in 1974, and she returned in 1977 to share in the tedious collection of parish register data required for demographic and social analysis. She culled the documents for answers to questions we posed during almost continuous discussions. And we shared in research in archives and libraries in Peru, Spain, and the United States. Along the way I completed a monographic examination of the valley's population history, and we jointly authored a microhistory that centered on Francisco Noguero de Ulloa, one of the valley's early settlers. Her critical insight and probing questions have helped shape both past and present arguments. The third part of our Colca Valley trilogy will focus on the endeavors of a Franciscan friar, Luis Jerónimo de Oré.



PART I. FOUNDATIONS

CHAPTER ONE

BENEATH THE SOARING CONDOR



They have come from a *huaca* or ancient shrine that is situated within the confines of the neighboring province of Vellilli, which is a snow-capped peak in the shape of a volcano, set out from the other peaks of the area, and which they call Collaguata. They say that from this mountain or from within it many people departed, and they descended to this province and its valley, and that they have settled in this riverbed. They conquered those who were the natives, ousted them by force, and then remained. . . . Because the volcano from which they have come is called Collaguata, they are called the Collaguas.

—Testimony of valley residents, 20 January 1586, from Juan de Ulloa Mogollón, “Relación de la provincia de los Collaguas.”

The first Europeans to view the Colca Valley in the 1530s surely marveled at its natural beauty. Either descending from the desolate high-elevation grasslands or climbing from the desert Pacific strip, one is impressed by the massive patchwork of irrigated terraces blanketing the river’s slopes. The dense multicolored crops testify to the fecundity of the volcanic soil, and stand in stark contrast to the frigid glaciated peaks towering above the valley and the canyon’s rocky riverbed below. High in the crystal sky a solitary condor soars, spreading its wings, catching the rays of the brilliant sun. Fields, hamlets, and cottages with wisps of smoke wafting upward complete the picture.¹

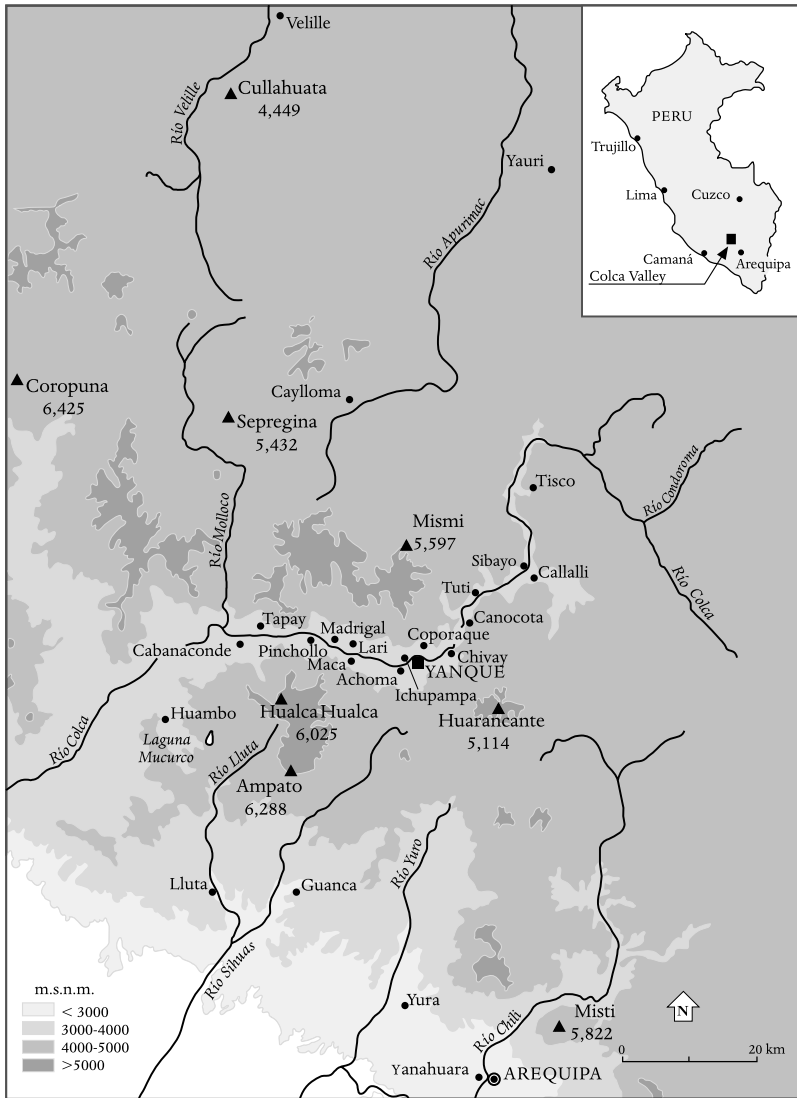
The source of water and life for the Colca Valley’s people is the moisture absorbed by the air as it flows over the Pacific Ocean. The prevailing southwesterly winds push humid sea air upward against the barrier of the Andean cordillera. As the elevation increases the temperature plummets, and humidity is squeezed from the atmosphere to create rain or, in the lofty mountains, sleet and snow. During the wet season, from late November to March, heavy after-

noon showers regularly drench the valley, while on the puna violent thunderstorms assault pastoralists and occasional travelers. The force of the elements, especially thunder and lightning, which the Quechua called *Llapta*, was feared and propitiated by Andeans long after foreigners introduced Christianity.²

In the dry season the snowcapped peaks above the puna bestow life-giving water. The sun, venerated as a spiritual force, has ample power midday to melt snow and ice at the edge of stone and rock, creating trickles, then rivulets. And groundwater emerges from springs, which are also venerated. From melting snow at the edges of the region's volcanic cones and the Patacapuquio, or hundred springs of water found toward nearby Lampa, the Colca River is born. After meandering in the puna behind the peaks of Chachani and Misti the river cuts a valley through the highland mass and flows westerly, falling from 3,300 to 2,700 meters before cascading downward, creating a precipitous gorge, deeper than North America's Grand Canyon. Near the end of the profound canyon the Colca joins a river originating in Condesuyos, creating the Majes, before emptying at Camaná into the Pacific. It is not just the Colca that provides life-giving water. Upper irrigation channels bring water from other glaciated peaks. Water for Achoma is taken from both melting ice near the base of Hualca Hualca from where it is channeled into the upper Sepina, and from nearby springs. On the south side of the Colca, water is channeled from the summits of Huarancante, Ampato, and Sabancaya; while on the north side, Quehuisha, Mismi, and Huillcaya are the main sources. The longest of the irrigation canals reaches thirty kilometers!³

It is in the middle valley, stretching east to west for fifty kilometers, that the bulk of the population is concentrated. The volcanic soil provides a rich foundation for a variety of crops. As early as 2400 BC, inhabitants terraced accessible valley slopes, creating *andenes*, and they constructed irrigation channels to provide water from mountain streams and springs during the long dry season. At higher valley elevations, they grew the grain *quinua* (quinoa) and tubers, especially potatoes and *olluco*; while prized maize was cultivated in intermediate elevations, and squash, beans, gourds, *aji* (chili peppers), fruits, and nuts were produced at lower levels. Autochthonous farmers planted dozens of varieties of grains and vegetables, a diversity lost by contemporary agriculturalists. On the puna vast flocks of llamas and alpacas grazed. They provided wool, meat, and other products; the larger of the camelids transported goods. On the high flat plateaus native straw, called *ichu*, was cut for thatching cottage roofs. Game and fowl as well as fish were abundant.⁴

The Colca Valley's idyllic rural setting has its darker side. Earthquakes pose a constant threat. Two-story stone residences often collapsed and killed dur-



Map 1. The southern region of Peru, from Caylloma to Arequipa (m.s.n.m. = “meters above sea level”)

ing earthquakes. Infants and the elderly were especially vulnerable. Landslides buried or swept away entire villages. Furthermore, the quaking earth often devastated agricultural terraces and irrigation channels. More dangerous were volcanic eruptions. Although such events were rare they caused massive destruction, as on 19 February 1600, when Huaynaputina, in nearby Ubinas province, exploded. A dense cloud of volcanic ash drifted northward, sweeping beyond Cuzco into the Amazon basin. Valley crops were covered and destroyed; the only compensation following such tragedies is soil enrichment. A more gradual tectonic upward shift over several generations likely disrupted the natural flow of water, ruining irrigation systems. Floods do major damage during periods of excessive rainfall; mudslides are as destructive as earthquakes, erasing irrigation channels, even hamlets. And there is the gradual impact of longer-term climatic variations.⁵

In Inca times the territory was the home of two ethnic groups: the Collaguas lived in the upper valley, the Cabanas the lower. Smaller ethnicities shared the valley. The Spanish conquerors created a single administrative unit, calling it the province or the *corregimiento* of Los Collaguas. The confines of the colonial province were supposedly precise; European boundaries were expected to be. But peoples of the valley had kin and, via kin, access to resources in distant locales, even on the desert coastal strip. Andeans viewed basic socioeconomic units as “people,” not “place.” Controversies between conquerors and colonized erupted throughout the colonial era, the result of fundamentally different views of the relationship between people and land. After conquest, the Spanish toiled to make native practice conform to their own preconception that Collaguas could be defined as inhabiting a land with fixed boundaries; they were only partially successful. Colonial bureaucrats delimited the province of the Collaguas on the south by Camaná and Arequipa, on the west by Condesuyos, on the north by Canas y Canchis, and on the east by Urcosuyo. By the Bourbon reforms of the late colonial period, the name was changed to the intendancy of Caylloma, celebrating the silver mines discovered in the northern part of the district in the early 1600s.⁶

The homeland of the Collaguas and Cabanas is vast: the post-Independence district of Caylloma, roughly equivalent in size to the colonial province of Los Collaguas, contains 14,780 square kilometers. Although half the size of Belgium, or three-quarters that of El Salvador, most land is useless for agriculture. Glaciated peaks and rugged mountains constitute much of the province. The relatively level puna, although too frigid for most forms of agriculture, is ideal for herding alpacas and llamas. Exact estimations of the amount of land useful for agriculture is virtually impossible. A 1961 Peruvian agricultural census pro-

vides a figure of 25.95 percent, a little less than 4,000 square kilometers.⁷ By careful analysis of aerial photographs in the 1980s, the Denevan and Treacy interdisciplinary team calculated that the cultivated area in fields in the twelve communities of the middle valley, including both abandoned and terraces, was approximately 14,356 hectares. Of those about 42 percent were abandoned; their estimate does not include the extensive grazing lands of the puna.⁸

Descent from the Volcano

We are unsure if the first people entering the Colca Valley ascended from the coast, clambering into the intermountain valley, or if they descended from the puna, where they might have been hunting. In either case what lay before them was vastly different from the valley's present scenery, and from what the Europeans saw in the sixteenth century. Climatic variations are imperfectly delineated, but specialists believe that the area was then warmer and more humid, with a denser natural vegetation. The agricultural terraces, the distinctive feature of the recent landscape, were absent.⁹ The cultural sequence in the Colca parallels that of nearby highland valleys. Groups evolved from simple hunters, fishers, and gatherers, to sophisticated agriculturalists over the millennia. Two to three millennia before our era, the domestication of plants and animals in Andean America occurred. Centuries before the Inca conquered the region, the basic elements—the irrigation channels, agricultural terraces, and richly varied domesticated crops—were part of the cultural landscape. The advanced socioeconomic organization permitted surplus production of diverse crops, supporting a dense native population.¹⁰

A reconnaissance of the major archaeological sites in the Colca Valley reveals several important ruins that merit careful excavation. Some of the sites consist of large storage facilities for excess agricultural production. The very name by which the valley is now known, *q'olqa*, means “deposit” in Quechua. There were storehouses at Huacallua, near Chivay, and Uscallacta, between Chivay and Yanque. There were extensive storage deposits at Achoma, and others have been catalogued in lower zones at Alto de Betancur (between Lluta and Siguas) and the Pampa de Timiran. Furthermore, traces of fortresslike structures on some of the hilltops overlooking the valley floor remain, including two above Achoma. Burial chambers abound, usually in niches in agricultural terraces or in the more inaccessible parts of the canyon wall and the rocky cliffs above the valley.¹¹

A number of imposing population clusters attract attention. Ullo Ullo, the

original home for many subsequently settled in Yanque under the orders of Viceroy Francisco de Toledo, is a large site with many two-story structures. It is divided into halves by a stream running through the middle, and the sectors are surrounded by walls. Agricultural plots, Yanque Viejo, as the abandoned settlement is called by present villagers, abound with surface potsherds with Inca designs. Ullo Ullo—Ludovico Bertonio in 1612 defined the Aymara word *uyu* as a livestock corral, and *uyu uyu* as “when there are many [corrals] together”—was abandoned around 1572. Viceroy Toledo’s new Yanque on the canyon’s south side was founded on the site of a preexisting hamlet. The Spanish called it La Brota, appropriately meaning “bud” or “sprout.” Several preconquest structures at Yanque are easily identified because of their finely worked stone doorways—with serpents, llamas, and circular patterns resembling snails carved on the surface. Some portals sport solidly carved foundation and corner stones. Lower in the valley, Cabanaconde was the home of the Cabanas.¹²

Archaeological evidence for prehistory of the Colca Valley is abundant, and although much remains to be done, substantial investigation has been conducted during recent decades. The dating and study of likely methods of construction of early terraces, the feature that most informs our vision of the Colca Valley, have been completed. The rough outlines of the ceramic and cultural sequence of the valley are in place. Yet much systematic scientific evaluation lies ahead. Unfortunately, many of the questions we wish to ask about the valley’s past are not amenable to archaeological probing. When and why did the Inca penetrate the valley? Who were their leaders, and how did the locals respond to their intrusion? How did the Inca incorporate valley peoples into their system? What role did religious belief play in this process? What of economic relationships between the Inca and locals? The written record is absent, for the Andeans lacked writing. Yet records were kept in other ways. Quantities were recorded then manipulated by trained accountants, using colored knotted string memory devices called *quipus*. Some Spanish chroniclers report that the skilled *quipucamayo* could “record” chronologies, even recalling numbers of warriors during battles. Also, pictorial “histories” were painted on a variety of surfaces. Such information is difficult to interpret, and much was lost during the shock of Spanish conquest.

Fortuitously through oral history, transferred to writing, the collective memory of the Colca Valley’s peoples persists. “From the information that is passed from parents to children,”¹³ the valley’s past was transmitted from one generation to the next. Oral history can be remarkably accurate in preliterate societies for three generations, approximately a century. It can in broad outline if not in exact chronology be valid longer. European administrators made their

first systematic attempt to collect information on the valley and its history in the village of Yanque on 20 January 1586, a half century after Spanish penetration. A handful of the respondents were born before the arrival of the outsiders. Most who participated in the inquest belonged to the second generation, the children of the conquered. Their testimony stresses the history of the Collaguas ethnic unit, providing tantalizing glimpses of “Incaization” of the valley preceding European conquest.¹⁴

The inquiry stemmed from Philip II’s desire for detailed information on his realm’s resources, both in the Old World and the New. Philip’s representatives diligently compiled many geographical reports in the Indies beginning in the 1570s, asking about the people and their products, their history, and the nature of local society and religion. The *corregidor* (the royal official who governed a district) Juan de Ulloa Mogollón with the scribe Juan Durán oversaw the questioning of Colca Valley residents in the village of Yanque. Over twenty native leaders and outsiders gathered in the plaza to answer thirty-seven questions prepared by officials of the Council of the Indies. It was a short one-day session, and it seems unlikely there were disputes. The questioning was preceded by Mass in the parish church; celebrations with food and drink followed. If there were variations in individual answers, they are imperceptible in the final report. Customarily younger men deferred to community elders. One of the oldest witnesses was García Checa, principal *kuraka* (chieftain, cacique) of Yanque’s *urinsaya* section. Born around 1521 he was old enough to remember life in the valley before the Europeans’ arrival, and he provided insight into his people’s past. Other principal and secondary kurakas, from both the upper and lower halves of the various communities that composed the valley, also spoke. Kurakas were not the only natives contributing. The interpreter Diego Coro Inga, born in Coporaque, provided important testimony. It is unclear where Diego was educated; Franciscans may have taught him in Coporaque’s monastery, established a quarter century earlier. He was both a translator and Coporaque’s notary and teacher of reading, writing, and counting. Select Spaniards also contributed their perceptions of the valley.

Three witnesses were priests: Father Diego Hernández Talavera, curate of Guambo and Pinchollo, arrived in the region around 1561. Father Amado González of Yanque was also questioned, although he had not resided in the Collaguas long. For six years Father Hernando Medel de la Feria attended to the religious needs of Lari, a village downstream from Yanque. He had replaced a Franciscan friar, and his testimony may have been tainted; he was involved in a long conflict with the order and was finally expelled from his parish. The timing of the report was inopportune. Had the inquest been conducted a few years

earlier, when the Franciscans ministered in the valley, or later, when they were reinstated in their *doctrinas* (Indian parishes), they might have provided richer testimony, given their deeper knowledge of the region. The presence of secular clergy in the valley was generally unwelcome, and many locals were petitioning for the restoration of the friars. The mestizo Gonzalo Gómez de Buitrón, who lived in the province for more than twelve years, likewise participated in the inquiry. He knew the valley's kurakas well, but was mistrusted because he was immersed in illegal economic activities. All witnesses were biased in one way or another.¹⁵

The genesis of the valley's peoples was probed first. Witnesses testified that the Collaguas originated in the highlands to the north and east. In the province of Velille in the direction of Cuzco rises a great mountain, an extinct volcano called Collaguata. The witnesses affirmed that their ancestors emerged from it and subsequently settled the Colca Valley. Their origin myth affirms it was not a peaceful settlement; they faced resistance from native residents and succeeded only by warfare. Following fighting the original inhabitants were expelled, and the Collaguas took their lands. The newcomers built strongholds or forts in the direction of the region from which they migrated. "They prove this by some forts, that they call *pucara* in their own language, that are constructed on some of the hilltops that overlook the valley from which they descend to conduct warfare." Intermittent warfare characterized life in the region prior to the Inca conquest. Writing a decade after the Ulloa Mogollón inquest, Coporaque's Franciscan friar Luis Jerónimo de Oré related that "in the province of the Collaguas I knew an Indian who had saved a cloak over which he had sewn the fingernails of the Indians that his ancestors killed, and by memory would boast of having many proofs of lives which had been taken, all to defend the lands of that province."¹⁶ At the local level, skirmishes and battles over both water rights and plots of land were frequent, continuing into the twentieth century.

Informants quickly pointed out there were "two types of people of different language and dress" in the province. The Collaguas venerated the mountain that gave them birth, "and because the volcano from which they have come is called Collaguata, they are called the Collaguas."¹⁷ Similar to the Collaguas, the Cabanas descended from a mountain to populate the valley, but their place of origin was the nearby spectacular snowcapped peak of Hualca Hualca (6,025 m), which thrusts its majestic summit above the village of Cabanaconde. Hualca Hualca's melting snow provides water for the southern side of the lower valley. Similar to the Collaguas, the Cabanas conquered and dislodged earlier inhabitants. The Cabanas genesis myth suggests primacy; they probably entered the valley before the Collaguas. How much earlier is unclear, but enough so they

identified their origins locally rather than in a distant place. The key cultural difference between the Collaguas and Cabanas was linguistic: the Collaguas spoke Aymara. The Cabanas, informants said, “speak in the general language of Cuzco [Quechua], although corrupt and very debased.” Informants noted that in some villages other languages were spoken. Perhaps some were descendants of the valley’s original inhabitants. Observers reported that among the Aymara Collaguas several dialects existed, especially in Pinchollo, Calo, and Tapay.¹⁸

Andean settlement patterns are markedly different from the sixteenth-century Spanish ones, and are difficult to discern from the meager historical record. Ethnic entities needed to secure as complete a set of resources as possible, and sent kin, usually for temporary periods, to access natural resources beyond their primary subsistence base. In the vertical world of the Andes, with many microenvironmental zones lying in close proximity, it was possible to organize the economic structure of society so that each ethnic unit had access to virtually all products necessary for sustenance. Since other groups followed the same survival strategy, a patchwork of ethnic units often shared the same space. Generally, but not always, ethnic interaction was peaceful. Sharing by rotation—for example, a salt mine or fishing site—was normally successful. Production of special crops, such as ají or coca, could have the result that several ethnic units were cultivating in the same general area in a more permanent fashion. With this settlement pattern in mind, the linguistic and cultural variations described in 1586 are comprehensible. The small ethnic-linguistic enclaves still visible in 1586 maintained permanent links with people beyond the confines of the valley. The Cabanas probably had ties with peoples in the direction of Cuzco, perhaps toward Condesuyos, or in the province of Cabanas situated between Cuzco and Lake Titicaca. But they had lived in the valley long enough to associate their origins locally. It is unlikely that the Cabanas were Inca *mitimaes* (migrants) who had been settled in the valley, for had this been the case it would have been reported in the 1586 testimony.¹⁹

The oral report of 1586 tells little of religious practices in the valley prior to Inca expansion. We know their principal *huacas*—anything of spiritual power—were the mountain peaks of Collaguata, Hualca Hualca, Suquilpa, Apoqico, and Omascota. Veneration involved display of respect and awe. There were no trappings of a priesthood with formal ceremony or elaborate ritual cult. Valley witnesses informed Europeans “the custom was adoration, by stopping and bringing the hands together with a demonstration of great humility.” Various types of sacrifices were made. Guinea pigs, the intestines of llamas, small statues or objects of gold and silver, and often corn beer (*chicha*) and coca were offered to appease the mountain huacas. Rarely a young person was left on a

temple platform at the summit of a mountain, as at Ampato.²⁰ The great peaks continue to be respected by valley dwellers. Today Pumach'iri is considered sacred, an Apu, or protector, of the people of the village of Coporaque. Nearby Chumpiña Huito and Yurac Cocco receive similar devotion.

At a more personal level are the ubiquitous *apachitas*, rock piles surviving alongside major foot trails. Weary sojourners after a challenging crossing, perhaps a mountain pass or river, place a small stone in a spot to symbolize the successful passage and to express thanks to the forces that will permit continuation of the journey. After time a rock cluster swells into a large pile, an *apachita*. Contemporary travelers continue to place gifts that keep *apachitas* alive as spiritual forces. Stone objects are powerful symbols in the Andean world, from massive mountain peaks to small pebbles.²¹ Worked stone holds an even more powerful meaning. Not mentioned in the 1586 valley report, but evident in the archaeological and ethnological record, are the *conopas*, carefully crafted stone objects the size of the palm of the hand, depicting fields, houses, corrals, and herds. *Conopas* were and continue to be placed in niches in the walls of homes or hidden by owners and are used to assist in rewarding the family's agricultural efforts with fertility.

Little is known of the pre-Inca political structure of the valley. The Cabanas and the Collaguas were independent *señoríos* (kingdoms), or states in European terminology, each under the leadership of a local lord. In the area under Collaguas control described in the 1586 report, two *kurakas* competed for leadership: one was based in Yanque, the other Lari. The informants' Yanque might even be "Yanque Viejo," or Ullo Ullo, above the river's north bank, not the new Yanque of "La Brota" on the canyon's south side. The north bank prior to Inca expansion was largely Aymara speaking, and was divided into *sayu* (halves). Yanque Viejo lay at the upper end, and downstream was Lari in the middle valley. Informants reported that Yanque was the "village in which the leaders reside." They confided that Lari means "uncle" or "relative," and that "between the Laris and Yanquis, who are brothers that have issued from Collaguata the mountain, they say that they established these two principal pueblos, the one named Yanque, where the most important lords reside, and the other Lari, where the lords that follow stay, and they are as uncles and nephews." This brief passage illustrates key elements of Andean kinship. In Quechua and Aymara the same term is used for father and uncle; your uncle is also your father. Political succession of the *kurakazgo* passed from brother to brother before falling to the subsequent generation. If one's brother died, the surviving sibling took the widow as wife. The children were already classified in Quechua and Aymara terminology as offspring.

At another level the entire valley can be viewed as divided into larger ethnic halves, the Aymara Collaguas on the north side of the river and the Quechua Cabanas on the south. Such a division fits within the framework of Andean cosmology. Another division needs to be considered: a celestial one. The night sky is crystal clear in the high Andes, and native astronomers carefully plotted and discussed patterns in the heavens. They believed the Milky Way split the heavens into halves. Here the Colca River seems to connect with the heavenly star river on the eastern horizon, and the two flow together in the west in the direction of the Pacific Ocean, unifying heaven and earth. The star cluster the Europeans named the Pleiades is called the *q'olqa* in Quechua. The cluster is closely associated with the agricultural cycle in the southern Andes and is used to predict rainfall and indicate when it is time to plant certain crops. Q'olqa means "granary" as well, and implies agricultural fertility. The celestial q'olqa unites with the terrestrial river to provide precious water for the fertility of annual crops in the valley.²²

There were marked cultural differences between Cabanas and Collaguas. In addition to the linguistic distinction, the two groups wore unique clothing and practiced differing forms of skull deformation. The Collaguas wore special cloth bands called *chucos* on their heads. The chuco was placed on infants almost immediately after birth in order to compress, thin, and lengthen the skull as much as possible. Pressure continued to shape the head until the age of four or five, when the binding was removed. Informants explained that the purpose of the custom was to mold the skull to match the shape of the volcano from where their ancestors emerged. The ideal was the perfect "cone head." The Cabanas, in contrast, strove to flatten and widen their heads. The great mountain of Hualca Hualca is not a cone at all; instead it takes the shape of rugged blocks. Not surprisingly the Collaguas told the Spaniards that they believed that their Cabanas neighbors, by widening their skulls, were "very ugly and disproportionate."²³ The Mercedarian friar Martín de Murúa, witnessing results around 1590, vividly described Collaguas and Cabanas skull deformation: "The Collas and Puquinas and other nations of Indians still use the practice of forming the heads of children in diverse manners or figures with much superstition, and in some places make them very long that they call *cayto uma*, making them thin, and making them come to the form of a narrow and long bonnet that they call *chucu*; in other places they make the heads flat and wide in the front. That is called *paltauma*; of these they are all generally from Cabanaconde, because all, young and old, are dressed thusly." Early clergy disapproved of such idolatries and attempted to eradicate them. In the 1570s Viceroy Toledo, shocked at finding that skull deformation continued, issued an ordinance prohibiting the

custom within the region. The practice had serious consequences. The Jesuit observer Bernabé Cobo complained of the risks when describing skull deformation among the Collas around Lake Titicaca. The binding process was painful, at times deadly, and he lamented that “many children died of the pain that they suffered, and it was not uncommon for their brains to be squeezed out or for them to remain sick and crippled for life.” He related “the Collas made their heads long and pointed. They took this to such an extreme that it is amazing to see the old men that I observed with that fashion from their pagan times.”²⁴ For the Collaguas and Cabanas the principal purpose of skull deformation was spiritual; heads of the infants were molded to resemble the principal huaca of their ancestors, the ethnic entity’s place of genesis. Spanish clergy believed it was one of the most hideous native practices, yet in the Colca Valley the custom persisted decades following conversion.²⁵

The Rule of Tawantinsuyu

Tawantinsuyu, the “land of the four quarters,” pre-Columbian America’s largest state, extended from today’s southern Colombia into central Chile, 5,000 kilometers distant. The polity was formed in the century before the arrival of the Europeans by an ethnic group, the Incas, whose homeland was in or near the Cuzco Valley. The Inca state was not the first created in the central Andes; its growth was based on a fully evolved material and political structure. Although there is debate over the nature and chronological evolution of the Inca state and the “official” list of rulers, it is clear that the principal expansion commenced the same century the Europeans sailed westward in search of the Indies. Pachacutec (ca. 1438–71) was the chief figure in the conquest and political integration of the Andean region into a single Inca polity.²⁶

Inca penetration into the Colca Valley is rarely mentioned by early Spanish chroniclers. Our two most thorough yet disappointing descriptions of the region date from the mid-1550s. Both were penned by soldier-bureaucrats with wide experience in Peru. Pedro de Cieza de León related (ca. 1553), “the Hubinas and Chiquiguanita and Quimistaca and Collaguas are among the peoples subject to this city [Arequipa]; they were once very populous and possessed many herds of sheep [llamas]. The war of the Spaniards destroyed part of the one and the other.” Beyond this tantalizing glimpse, Cieza provided little insight into the lives of the Collaguas or their conquest by the Inca.²⁷ Juan de Betanzos, a notary with excellent linguistic abilities, settled in Cuzco in the early 1540s. Betanzos married the Inca *ñusta* (princess) Cuxirimay Occlo, baptized Doña

Angelina Yupanqui, thus securing a unique insight into the Andean past. Living in Cuzco, he had ample opportunity to listen to and question elders, especially his wife's relatives, as he prepared his narrative. He compiled a Quechua Christian doctrine and dictionary prior to 1551; both are lost. Betanzos's wife was a daughter of Yanque Yupanqui, thus directly related to the conqueror Pachacutec. Betanzos's narrative is very much a history of his wife's lineage. Juan de Betanzos related that the Inca conquest of the Collaguas occurred under the Inca Yupanqui Pachacutec. "The captains that he sent to the province of Condesuyo conquered and subjugated until Arequipa, and from there they ascended toward Cuzco, subduing the peoples and provinces of the Collaguas and Canas and those of Urocacha, and from there they went to the city of Cuzco."²⁸

It took several years before a more complete understanding of the history of Inca expansion into the Colca Valley would emerge. Knowledge required someone to live among the valley's people, one who knew their language and was interested in all aspects of their past and present. That person was Friar Luis Jerónimo de Oré, a Creole born in Guamanga (modern Ayacucho) around 1554. His father, Antonio de Oré y Río, was a wealthy *encomendero* (holder of an Indian grant) and silver miner. Luis Jerónimo grew up in a large household where education, especially religious, was emphasized. His siblings read and wrote Spanish and Latin, and they were fluent in Quechua and probably Aymara. Their wet nurses and family servants were *encomienda* (grant of tribute-paying Indians) Indians. Luis Jerónimo became a novitiate in Cuzco's Franciscan monastery, then continued training in Lima where he was ordained by Archbishop Toribio de Mogrovejo on 23 September 1581. Oré was named to serve in the Collaguas in 1590, and as the curate of Coporaque he assisted in preparation of a detailed 1591 census of the region. He spent several years working in the valley, an experience that influenced his later writing. In more than one manuscript Oré mentioned his stay in the Collaguas and recounted the stories he heard about the valley's history.²⁹ His 1598 *Symbolo catholico indiano* includes a geographical and historical description of Peru; the section on the Collaguas is noteworthy: "In the service of Mayta Capac, who had as a wife Mama Yacchi, native of the Collaguas, the Indians of that province made a great building all of copper as the residence for the Inca and his wife, who came to visit her homeland." Oré's work was read widely in Peru in the seventeenth century; his *Symbolo* and later *Ritvale, sev manvale* were required texts for clergy in the Indian parishes in the diocese of Cuzco for decades. The historian Garcilaso de la Vega received a personal copy of the *Symbolo* from Oré while in Spain and mined it in his history of the Incas. Bernabé Cobo borrowed the account to embellish his narrative of Inca control in the Colca Valley.³⁰

In his *Royal Commentaries of the Incas* (1609) Garcilaso de la Vega described in poetic detail the Arequipa district conquests of Inca Mayta Capac. “From Parihuana Cocha the Inca advanced and crossed the desert of Coropuna, where there is a most beautiful and lofty pyramid of snow that the Indians reverently call huaca, for the meanings of this word include that of ‘wonderful,’ which it certainly is. In their ancient simplicity the natives worshiped it for its height and beauty, which are remarkable. Passing the desert, he entered the province called Aruni. Thence he passed to another called Collahua which stretches to the valley of Arequipa.” Garcilaso reported that the Incas experienced no difficulty conquering the region, for the locals were very impressed by the invaders’ ease in crossing the mountains, and believed they must be “invincible and children of the Sun.”³¹

Although Bernabé Cobo’s history was not completed until 1653, the author spent much of the first three decades of the seventeenth century researching. Cobo presented an account of Inca penetration of the Colca Valley that paralleled Oré’s.

When the prince (Mayta Capac) came of age, he took the fringe and the government of the kingdom, and married a lady named Mama Tanca-ray Yacchi, daughter of the cacique from Collaguas; and for this reason, the Indians of that province, as a service to this king, made a house all of copper in which to accommodate them when they went to visit the queen’s kinsmen. Some of the copper was found due to the diligence of the Franciscan friars who teach in that province; from it they made four large bells. The Indians said that the rest of the copper that was missing had been given to Gonzalo Pizarro and his army during the time of the civil wars.

Here Bernabé Cobo borrowed directly from Jerónimo de Oré, without citing his source, a common practice at the time. But Cobo adds information: Mayta Capac had two sons by his legitimate Collagua wife, Capac Yupanqui and Tarco Huaman.³²

The evidence provided by the early Spanish chroniclers is of questionable reliability and limited in scope; at best Inca expansion into the Colca Valley was modestly resisted, if at all. Had there been major resistance—as in the case of the Chanca, Conchuco, Cañari, Chachapoya, Huanca, and Lupaca—both Oré and Ulloa Mogollón’s informants would have been quick to note it. We are less certain of the chronology. In the Oré version, the movement of the Incas into the region comes early, for Mayta Capac is one of the earlier Incas, third or fourth in a chain that extends to the twelfth Inca Huayna Capac, who died

victim of disease on the eve (ca. 1525–1527) of Spanish conquest. In Garcilaso de la Vega's account Mayta Capac was responsible for completion of the conquest of the Collas of Lake Titicaca. He also reputedly moved Inca forces southwest into coastal Moquegua, and late in the reign expanded west and southward. Leading an army of about 20,000 warriors he marched through Velilli, Allca, and Taurisma. Moving further the Inca invaders encountered resistance in Cotahuasi, Pumatampu, and Parihuana-cochca. It took substantial effort to defeat and incorporate these people into Tawantinsuyu. The forces of Mayta Capac continued southward, and took over Aruni, Coropuna, Collagua, and Arequipa. The second narrative tradition, provided by Cieza de León, limits the successes of Mayta Capac to the immediate area around Cuzco, and dates the expansion of the Incas to the time of the ninth ruler, Pachacuti, about the third decade of the fifteenth century. Some historians argue that Mayta Capac is purely a mythical figure.³³

According to oral tradition Inca control of the Collaguas was cemented by marriage of the daughter of a Collagua kuraka to the Inca, thus integrating the Collaguas into the “state” political structure. This type of arrangement was a common device of the Inca during their expansion, with marriages linking the elite of conquered provinces to members of the Inca ayllu. But what of the historical authenticity of a bond between the Inca Mayta Capac and the Collagua Mama Yacchi? In the earliest chronicles outlining the history of the empire, the wife of Mayta Capac was not Mama Yacchi. Cieza de León stated simply: “And because he had no sister he could marry, he took as a wife a daughter of a *señorete*, or captain, of the village of Oma, that was about two leagues from Cuzco, whose name was Mamaca Guapata.” Cobo, perhaps trying to rectify disparate traditions—those of Cieza de León and of Garcilaso de la Vega—in his rendering, decided to combine the two and reported that the Inca married “Mama Tancaray Yacchi, daughter of the cacique from Collaguas.” Cobo created a fictitious person, thus solving the inconsistency in his sources. Cobo also suggested that the marriage was celebrated at the beginning of Mayta Capac's rule, when he “came of age, took the fringe and government of the kingdom.” In Cieza de León's version, the conquest was already complete when he married.³⁴

The oral history Oré recorded was not always based on fact, but on Collagua myths surrounding Inca conquest of the valley, legends that were embellished over several generations after the actual events. Valley residents later believed the Incas conquered the area during the rule of Mayta Capac. The Incas themselves would have encouraged such a view of the events, which would create a longer-standing tie between the two. The real conquest of the Collaguas likely