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THE INCAS:

INSIDE AN AMERICAN EMPIRE

COURSE GUIDE

Professor Terence N. D'Altroy

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

The Incas:

Inside an American Empire

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Course Syllabus

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Photograph courtesy of Terence D'Altroy

About Your Professor

Terence N. D'Altroy

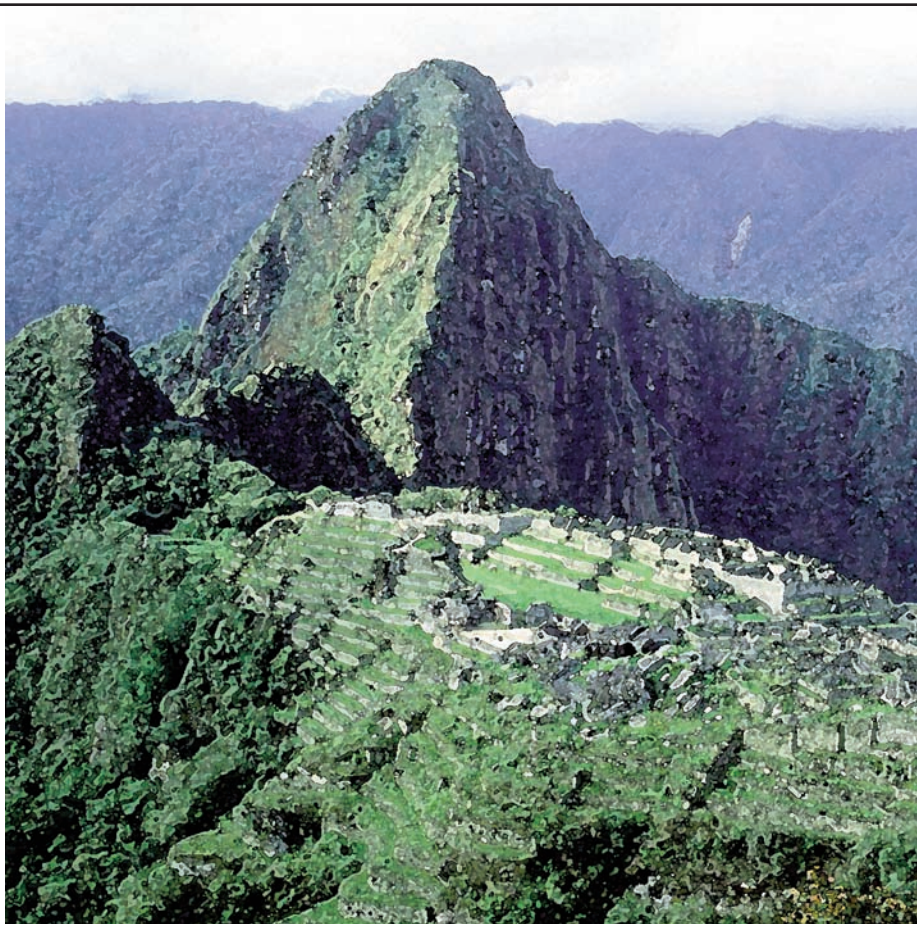
Terence N. D'Altroy is a professor of anthropology at Columbia University, director of the Columbia Center for Archaeology, and one of the world's leading Inca specialists. He is the author of *The Incas, Provincial Power in the Inka Empire;* coauthor, with Christine A. Hastorf, of *Empire and Domestic Economy;* and coeditor of *Empires.*

Dedication

To Mary, Susan, Alison, and Jenny, in loving memory of Lawren.

Acknowledgments

As in any research project or publication, authorship of the final product owes a great deal to many more people than appear under the title. I first would like to express my thanks to the editors and their colleagues at Recorded Books, who extended the invitation to create this lecture series and then were more than encouraging in seeing it through to the end. To John Alexander and Matt Cavnar, especially, I would like to express my gratitude for their relaxed professionalism in designing the project, recording the lectures, and supplying excellent sandwiches. It has been a real pleasure working with Donna Carnahan, James Gallagher, and Ed White in creating the booklet that complements the lectures. A great proportion of the success that *The Incas* may enjoy can be laid at their doorstep. A special thanks also goes to the institutions and colleagues who graciously provided images for the booklet, notably Brian Bauer, Larry Coben, Chad Gifford, and Ramiro Matos. And finally, love and thanks to Mariela and Niki, for being there.



Introduction

The Incas were a small ethic group from the southern Peruvian highlands who created the greatest empire ever seen in the independent Americas—an empire of 10 to 12 million people. Inca history, largely presented to us by the conquering Spanish, reveals a rich culture of stunning achievement.

In many ways, Inca life was defined by its unique geographical setting in the Andes, whose climate influenced everything from the crops the Incas grew to the altitudes in which they lived. This course focuses on Inca life at the height of empire, the society's origins, its military, religion, ruling structure, and finally, the Incas' legacy today.

Suggested Reading for this Course

You will get the most out of this course by reading Dr. D'Altroy's book, *The Incas,* published by Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2003. This book is available on-line through www.modernscholar.com or by calling Recorded Books at 1-800-636-3399.

Lecture 1:
Portrait of the Incas:
An Introduction

Before beginning this lecture you may want to . . .

Read Terence N. D'Altroy's *The Incas,* pp. 1-23.

Introduction:

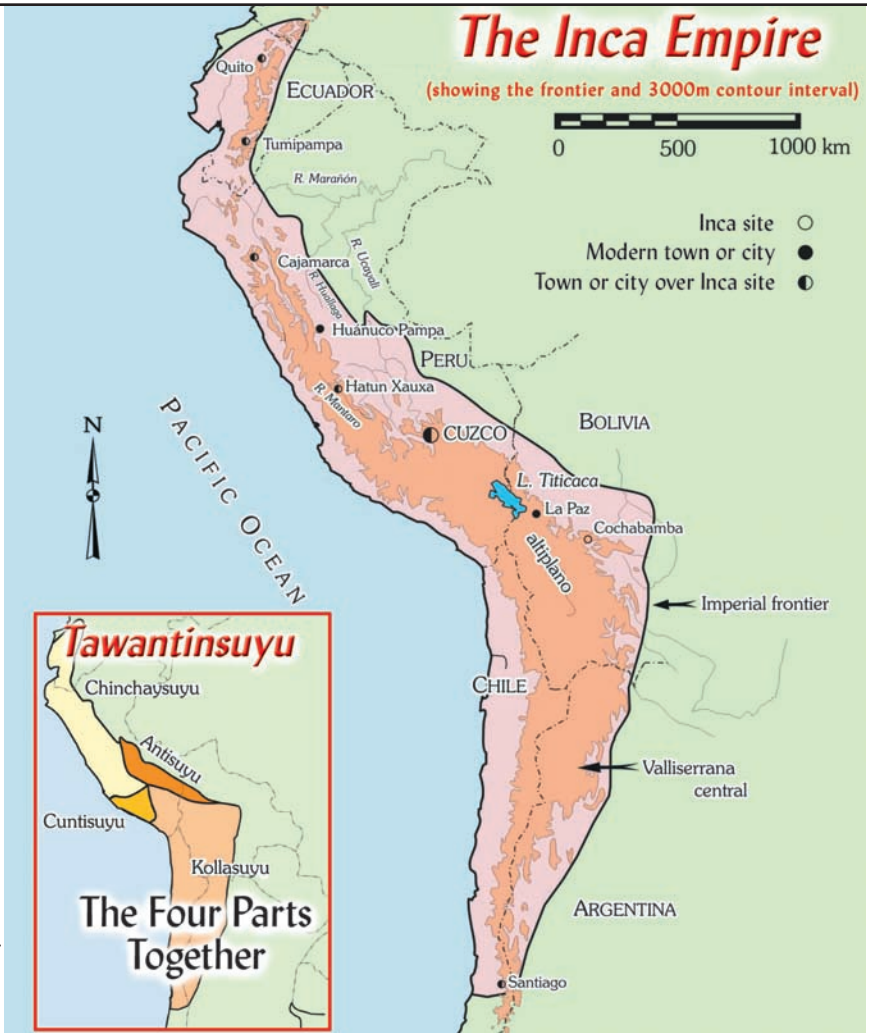
This lecture introduces the Incas, a small ethnic group from the southern Peruvian highlands who created the greatest empire ever seen in the independent Americas. It begins with the encounter between the Spaniards and the Incas in 1532 that led to the downfall of *Tawantinsuyu* (The Four Parts Together), as the Incas called their vast domain in the South American Andes. It then explains what kinds of information we have available to understand the Incas, who did not have their own writing system, as did most ancient empires. Instead, we have to rely on Spanish chronicles and reports, based on observations and interviews with the Incas, and on modern archaeology.

Issues . . .

1. What were the Spaniards' first impressions of the Incas?
2. How have the Incas been portrayed over the years?
3. How can we understand the rise and character of the empire, considering that the Incas had no writing system that we can decipher?

First Impressions

1. In November 1532, a Spanish force of 168 soldiers led by Francisco Pizarro invaded the Inca empire and triggered the collapse of the largest polity seen in the native Americas. Everywhere the Spaniards went, they saw the imperial imprint in provincial centers, roads, the royal capital of Cuzco, and a redesigned social order. They were astonished to hear that—according to Inca history—the empire was just three generations old and that the Incas themselves claimed a past of only thirteen generations.
2. The collapse of an empire of 10 to 12 million people with no known challengers seems inconceivable, but the highly personalized nature of Inca leadership, the bloody politics of succession, and the resistance of subject societies made Inca rule a fragile veneer in many ways.
3. Scholars have called Tawantinsuyu everything from a communistic utopia to an enlightened monarchy to a totalitarian state, and they can't even agree if the Incas ruled an empire. How could one polity inspire such contradictory views? A partial answer is that no one who grew up in Tawantinsuyu ever wrote about it and there was no native Andean writing system that we can decipher yet. Moreover, the Incas presented many differing views of their history, so the Spanish authors had to choose among conflicting views, and the Spaniards themselves had differing agendas, selective interests, and depth of knowledge.



What Is an Inca?

1. Properly, an Inca is a member of an ethnic group living in and around Cuzco in the southern Peruvian highlands. There were about 100,000 of them in 1532. Inca also means "ruler," as in *Sapa Inca* ("unique Inca").
2. The Incas appeared on the archaeological landscape by about AD 1000 to 1200, and became imperial rulers in the fifteenth century AD. They called their language *runasimi* ("human speech"), but today we know it as *Quechua.*

What Is an Empire?

1. Empires were the largest and most heterogeneous of the ancient societies, often containing hundreds of societies with millions of subjects. There could be myriad languages and the territory of an empire could

cover many hundreds of thousands of square kilometers. Typically, an expansionist state lay at the core of power, dominating subject societies through a combination of military, economic, political, social, and ideological policies. In the Old World, ancient empires included New Kingdom Egypt, the Assyrians, Romans, Parthians, Sassanians, Mughals, Qin and Han Chinese, and Mongols. In the New World, there were the Aztecs, Incas, and maybe the Wari.

2. We often hold up the Romans as the exemplar of ancient empires, but the Romans were exceptional in the scope, duration, and intensity of their rule. Instead, we need to investigate from a comparative framework ranging from indirect to direct rule. We also need to look at things at the local level to get a real flavor of what life in the Inca empire was like.

Sources of Information: How Do We Know about the Incas?

1. Since the Incas had no written language, we have to depend heavily on Spanish documents. The first conquistadores gave us impressions written without time for reflection or understanding of the civilization they were observing. They were followed by soldiers, administrators, and priests, who prepared their manuscripts as part of their duties or for personal gain through publication. Colonial court cases also provide a rich source of information. By the time that the Spaniards took a real interest in the Inca realm, their witnesses provided memories colored by time, political and economic objectives, and wariness of Spanish repression. So our historical documents have been filtered by translators, scribes, and Spanish biases, mores, and interests.
2. Native Andeans did not begin to write their own accounts until the beginning of the seventeenth century. Their writings mixed Christian history and theology with rose-colored accounts of the ancient past.
3. Inca archaeology has a long history, but it has usually been focused in the Cuzco heartland. In the last couple of decades, studies in the provinces have greatly enhanced our understanding of the empire.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING

Consider

1. How do the ways that Andean and European peoples remember their pasts affect our ability to understand history today?
2. How do modern views of empires color our understanding of the Incas?

Suggested Reading for this Course

D'Altroy, Terence N. *The Incas*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2003.

Other Books of Interest

Betanzos, Juan de. *Narrative of the Incas*. Trans. and eds. Roland Hamilton and Dana Buchanan. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996.

Cobo, Bernabé. *History of the Inca Empire*. Austin: University of Texas, 1979 [1653].

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Guaman Poma de Ayala, Felipe. *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*. Eds. John V. Murra, Rolena Adorno, and Jorge Urioste. Siglo Veintiuno, México, D.F., 1980.

Julien, Catherine J. *Reading Inca History*. Iowa City, IA: University of Iowa Press, 2000.

Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, María. *History of the Inca Realm*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Rowe, John H. "Inca Culture at the Time of the Spanish Conquest." *Handbook of South American Indians*, vol. 2, pp. 183-330. Ed. Julian Steward. Washington, D.C.: Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 143, 1946.

Websites to Visit

The Guaman Poma website provides his complete chronicle in English — www.kb.dk/elib/mss/poma/

Lecture 2:
The Land and Its People

Before beginning this lecture you may want to . . .

Read Terence N. D'Altroy's *The Incas,* pp. 22-47.

Introduction:

This lecture describes the natural setting in the Andes and outlines essential cultural features that the Incas drew upon in creating their empire.

The Natural Setting

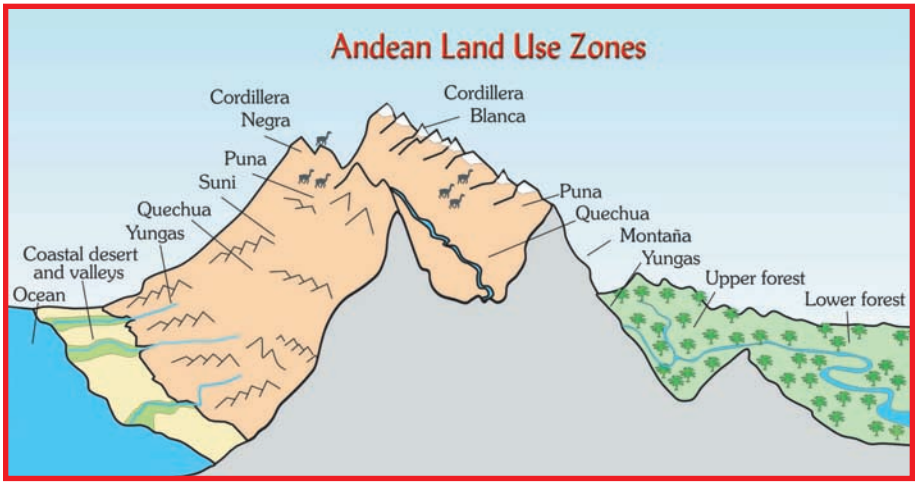
1. The Andean environment is molded by a conjunction of geography, geology, and climate. In a trip covering 200 km by air east from Lima to the Amazonian jungles, we would pass from coastal desert, through mountain valleys, and across snow-capped peaks to the tropical Amazonian forest.
2. The Andes are young, active mountains, consisting primarily of parallel eastern and western ranges. The land experiences frequent earthquakes, and active volcanoes are found along the length of the range.

Climate

1. The highly varied climate conditions drive the annual activities of farmers and herders. The western slopes are dry, while the eastern slopes form part of the warm jungles. A rich coastal marine biome provides small fish and shellfish.
2. Periodically, the global climatic event *El Niño* (named after the Christ child because it hits the Peruvian coast near Christmas) causes torrential rains to fall along the coast, destroying crops and irrigation systems.
3. The central Andean environment has five basic zones that can be exploited for human use: (a) the coastal valleys, which can be irrigated to grow maize, squash, cotton, and other crops; (b) the *yungas,* or piedmonts, which were coveted for their coca lands; (c) *quechua,* the highland valleys, productive for maize in their lower reaches, and for potatoes and quinoa above about 3,600 m; (d) the *puna,* or high grassland, which is the habitat for the two domesticated camelids (llama and alpaca) and their two wild relatives (guanaco and vicuña); and (e) the *montaña* and eastern forests, productive in maize, coca, and fruits.
4. In prehistory, as remains true today, about two-thirds of the population lived above 3,300 m (10,000 ft).

Predecessors

The Inca empire was built on thousands of years of predecessor societies, who developed many of the features that the Incas adopted into their empire. Societies based on marked social classes existed from the beginning of the first millennium AD among the Moche of Peru's north coast. The foundations of state political organization date to this era or a little earlier, as do economies that were both highly specialized and interdependent. Highland states with urban centers arose at Wari, in southern Peru, and Tiwanaku, on the south (Bolivian) side of Lake Titicaca in the mid-first millennium AD. The Wari developed a number of features that the Incas adopted into their empire, including provincial centers linked by a road network and a method of accounting that depended on a kind of knot-record called a *khipu*.



Inca Archaeology

The study of Inca archaeology has a long and often distinguished career, dating back to the nineteenth century. The main figures of the early days were more adventurers than scientists, but some of their contributions to archaeology are still valuable. Among the outstanding figures were Ephraim George Squier, Charles Wiener, and Antonio Raymondi.

Just before 1900, a major figure appeared on the Andean archaeological scene—Max Uhle. A remarkably energetic researcher and prolific writer, Uhle set about developing a pan-Andean chronology using the innovative combination of comparisons of ceramic types and analysis of stratigraphic deposits.

Inca archaeology did not really catch the public's attention until 1912, however, when Hiram Bingham announced his discovery of Machu Picchu, one of the world's most spectacular archaeological sites.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING

Consider

1. Did environmental conditions merely set the stage for the human occupation of the Andes or did they have a determining effect by limiting the possibilities for agriculture and animal husbandry?
2. What aspects of the Inca empire were made possible by the accomplishments of predecessor cultures?

Other Books of Interest

Flannery, Kent V., Joyce Marcus, and Robert G. Reynolds. *The Flocks of the Wamani*. New York: Academic Press, 1989.

Moseley, Michael. *The Incas and Their Ancestors*. Revised edition. New York: Thames and Hudson, 2001.

Websites to Visit

1. *The Andes* website provides inks to numerous sites about the history, culture, and daily life of the people of the Andes — www.andes.org/bookmark.html
2. University of Pennsylvania website by Professor Charles Erickson features an article entitled “Ancient Raised Field Agriculture: Applied Archaeology in the Bolivian Amazon” — www.sas.upenn.edu/~cerickso/applied3.html
3. Stanford University website by John Rick provides images and maps of archaeological sites of the prehistoric Andes — www.stanford.edu/~johnrick

Lecture 3:
The Origins of Inca Society

Before beginning this lecture you may want to . . .

Read Terence N. D'Altroy's *The Incas,* pp. 48-61.

Introduction:

This lecture describes how the Incas explained their own origins and early history, including their emergence from the cave of origin and their journey to Cuzco. It then turns to their history before emerging as the dominant power of the Andes in the fifteenth century AD. Finally, we consider how recent archaeological research places the Inca rise to local power in a modern chronological framework, expanding the Inca rise to power from one to two centuries.

Issues . . .

1. How did the Incas account for their own origins and their history before the imperial era?
2. How well does an archaeological perspective on the history of the Cuzco region—and by inference the Incas—correspond to the Incas' own view of things?

Mythological Origins

1. According to the Inca histories, the original eight Incas were called forth from the origin cave called the Inn of Dawn (*Pacariqtambo*) by the creator god Wiraqocha. The ancestral four brothers and four sisters—paired up as couples—emerged from the central of three caves, while two other ethnic groups appeared from the lateral mouths. The principal pair were Manqo Qhapaq and his sister/wife Mama Oqllu.
2. The Incas and their companions slowly made their way north (about 30 km). Along the way, one belligerent brother was tricked into being sealed in the origin cave, another was turned into a pillar of stone, and a third was transformed into a pillar at the site of Cuzco.

From Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, 1936 [1613]

Manqo Qhapaq, the mythical first ancestral ruler as illustrated by the native chronicler, Guaman Poma

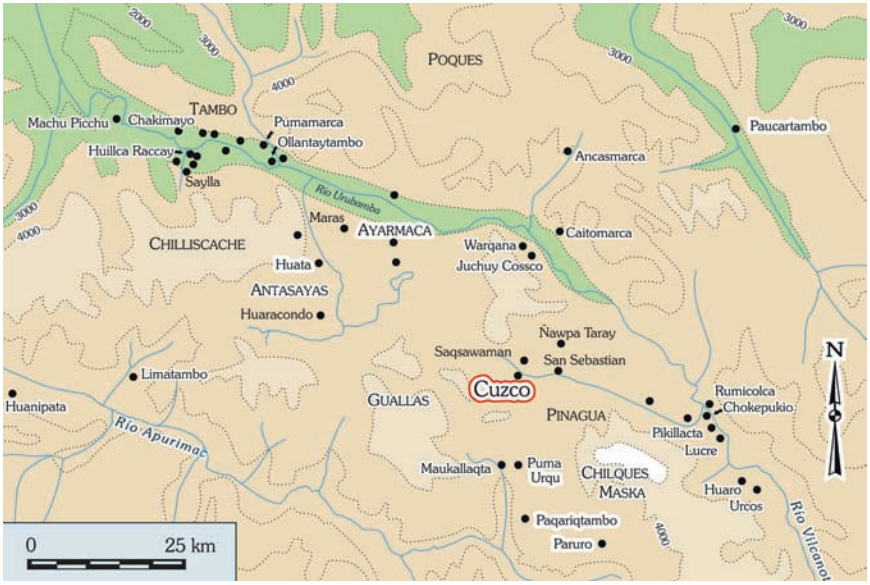
3. The Incas recognized Cuzco as their promised land when they saw a grand rainbow traversing the valley and threw a golden rod that stuck in the soil. After winning a series of conflicts with the area's inhabitants, the Incas settled into their new home.

Early History

1. The second ruler, Zinchi Roq'a, succeeded his father and married a local woman, initiating a practice that allowed the Incas to expand their influence in the region through political/marital alliances. The succeeding five rulers slowly consolidated their power through political sagacity, intrigue, and warfare.
2. Wiraqocha Inka, the eighth ruler, involved the Incas in the conflictive politics of the Lake Titicaca area by forming an alliance with the Lupaqa. During his reign, the Incas were attacked by a neighbor to the west, the Chankas, the resolution of which in the Incas' favor touched off the imperial era about AD 1438.

Archaeological Evidence

1. The pre-imperial Inca era, known as the Killke phase, began about AD 1000. It featured small communities occupying an area about 60 km across, centered on Cuzco. The largest Killke towns probably housed a few thousand people. By about AD 1200, the area seems to have been an island of relative peace in an Andean landscape troubled by internecine warfare.



Important groups and Killke sites

2. Recent archaeological investigations indicate that the Incas had begun to dominate the Cuzco basin early in the fourteenth century AD. The beginning of the transition from the pre-imperial to imperial styles of material culture and architecture at that time suggests that the region was becoming integrated within a single polity about a century before the narrative histories recalled.

Puma Orqo: The ancestral cave from which the Inca ancestors emerged

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING

Consider

1. How did the Incas' mythological history play into their claims to rule the known world?
2. When history and archaeology collide, what can we do to help resolve the conflicts?

Other Books of Interest

Bauer, Brian S. "Pacariqtambo and the Mythical Origins of the Inca." *Latin American Antiquity*, 2:7-26, 1991.

Bauer, Brian S., and R. Alan Covey. "Processes of State Formation in the Inca Heartland (Cuzco, Peru)." *American Anthropologist*, 104(3): 846-864, 2002.

Betanzos, Juan de. *Narrative of the Incas*. Trans. and eds. Roland Hamilton and Dana Buchanan, pp. 7-18. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996.

Cobo, Bernabé. *History of the Inca Empire*, pp. 103-129. Trans. Roland Hamilton. Austin: University of Texas, 1979 [1653].

Urton, Gary. *The History of a Myth: Pacariqtambo and the Origin of the Inkas*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990.

Urton, Gary. *Inca Myths*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1999.

Websites to Visit

Dr. Bruce Owens' (Sonoma State University, Rohnert Park, CA) website provides research papers and other information on early- and pre-Inca archaeology — www.members.aol.com/owenbruce/welcome.htm

Lecture 4:
The Formation of *Tawantinsuyu*:
The Inca Empire

Before beginning this lecture you may want to . . .

Read Terence N. D'Altroy's *The Incas,* pp. 62-85.

Introduction:

This lecture looks at the Inca rise to power in the fifteenth century AD, tracing out the ways in which 100,000 Incas coupled diplomacy with military action to dominate the 10 to 12 million people of the Andes. It also introduces the imperial-era Inca rulers.

Issues . . .

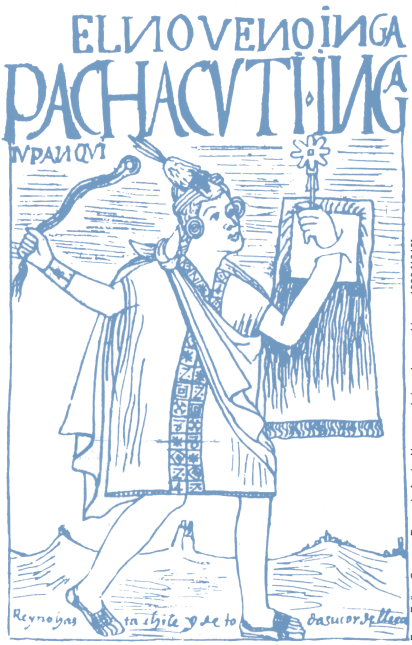
1. How did the Incas expand their domain to control such a large expanse of territory in such a short period of time?
2. What was the sequence of expansion?
3. How much faith can we place in the narrative accounts that the Incas passed on to the early Spanish authors?

Context

1. The imperial-era accounts were elegiac histories filtered through translators, scribes, and Spanish mores and views of history. So the tales of the meteoric rise of Inca power are filled with all the heroics and exaggerations of the grand sweep of history as told by the victors.
2. Even though many oral histories coincided on important points, there were many contradictions among sources on the nature and timing of crucial events and on the roles of central characters.

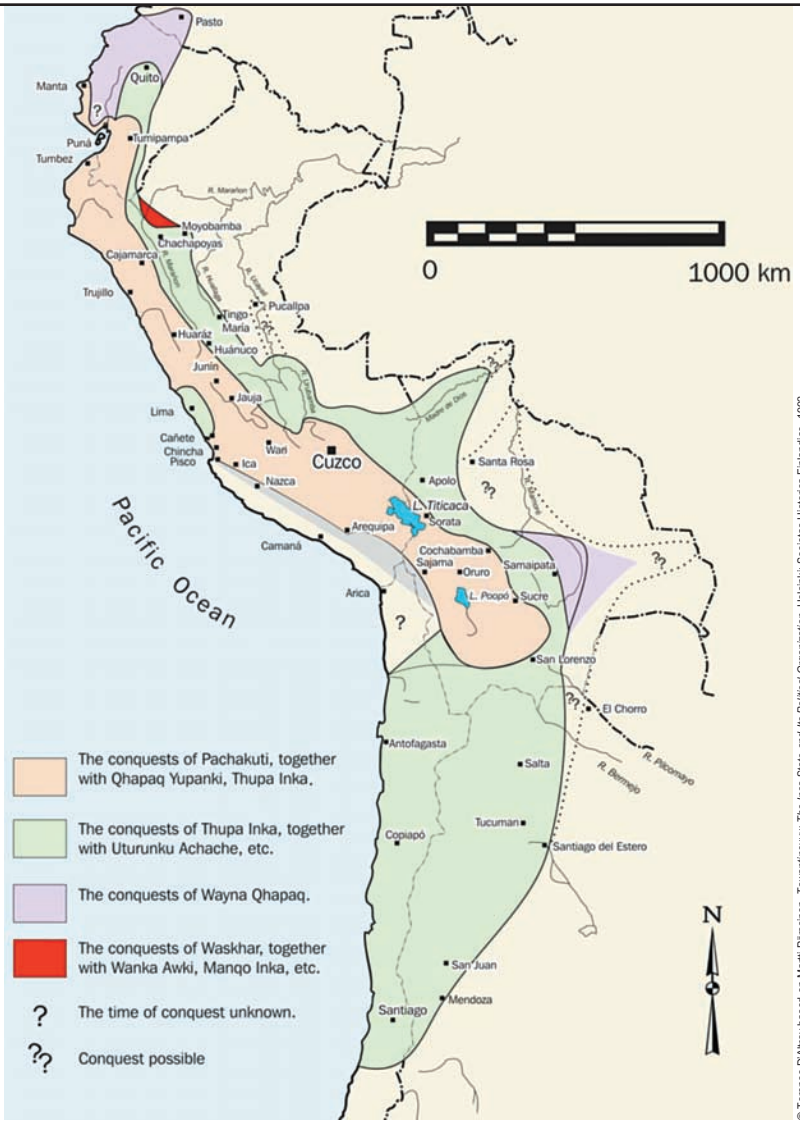
The Great Expansion

1. The conventional story we are told is that, during the reign of Wiraqocha Inka (eighth ruler on Conventional King List, p. 40), the Incas were embroiled in alliances



From Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, 1936 [1613]

Pachakuti dressed in military garb holding a sling and mace by Guaman Poma



© Terence D'Altroy based on Martti Pärssinen, *Tawantinsuyu: The Inca State and Its Political Organization*, Helsinki: Societas Historica Finlandiae, 1992

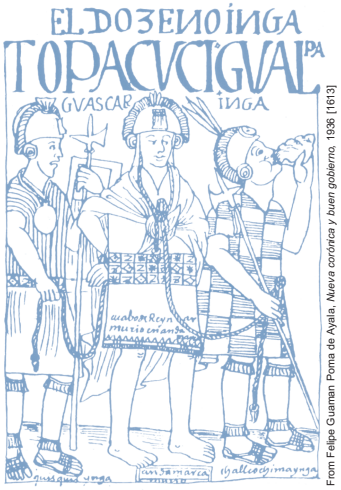
The sequence of Inca dynastic conquests that established the Inca Empire prior to the arrival of the Spanish in 1532.

and clashes with several neighboring societies. When they were attacked by the Chankas, Wiraqocha retreated to a fort, but one of his younger sons, named Inka Yupanki, successfully defended Cuzco against the onslaught with supernatural help. This son then usurped the throne and took the name Pachakuti, meaning "cataclysm."

2. Modern scholars often follow the chronicler Cabello Valboa by citing AD 1438 as the milestone date when Pachakuti seized the throne. His actions reportedly launched a brilliant string of rapid conquests, so the empire is usually conceived as having endured a scant century.

Through a combination of conquest, diplomacy, and enticements, the Incas under Pachakuti dominated Peru's southern highlands and much of the Bolivian *altiplano,* and ventured to the central Peruvian coast. He ceded military command to his son Thupa Inka Yupanki about AD 1463 and applied his energies to building Cuzco.

3. Under Thupa Inka Yupanki's military leadership, the Incas dominated the peoples north to central Ecuador. They took the Peruvian north coast and sortied east into the *montaña.* He was elevated to the throne upon Pachakuti's death, ca. AD 1471. During the last years of his father's life and under his own rule, Thupa Inka Yupanki put down rebellions in the Bolivian *altiplano*, secured northwest Argentina and northern Chile, and took the south and central Peruvian coasts once and for all.
4. The era of his son, Wayna Qhapaq, conventionally lasted from AD 1493 to 1526. It featured suppression of new revolts, expansion of Inca rule in the *montaña* and north Ecuador, efforts to take western Ecuador, and solidification of the southeastern frontier in Bolivia and Argentina. Much of his reign was dedicated to improving imperial administration. He died in Ecuador during an epidemic of hemorrhagic smallpox that preceded the Spanish invasion.
5. Two of his sons, Waskhar and Atawallpa, waged a horrific dynastic war that Atawallpa won just as the Spaniards arrived in 1532.
6. Despite the dates often cited (above), radiocarbon dating suggests that the rise of Inca power probably took more than a century in the Cuzco heartland, beginning by the early fourteenth century, and that the imperial expansion began near the start of the fifteenth century (see preceding lecture), not in the mid-fifteenth century.



From Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno,* 1936 [1613]

From Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno,* 1936 [1613]

Waskhar (left) and Atawallpa (right) clashed in a final dynastic war that ended just as the Spaniards arrived in the Inca empire.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING

Consider

1. We often think of imperial expansion as being driven by warfare, but what combination of belligerent and more peaceable methods did the Incas use to expand their domain?
2. What sorts of challenges did the Incas meet as they expanded their realm?

Other Books of Interest

Betanzos, Juan de. *Narrative of the Incas*. Trans. and eds. Roland Hamilton and Dana Buchanan, pp. 23-30, 81-96, 115-117, 124-127, 147-148. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996.

Cobo, Bernabé. *History of the Inca Empire*, pp. 130-171. Austin: University of Texas, 1979 [1653].

Lecture 5:
Inca Militarism

Before beginning this lecture you may want to . . .

Read Terence N. D'Altroy's *The Incas,* pp. 201-230.

Introduction:

In this lecture, we examine the character and role of militarism in the Inca empire, looking first at strategy, then at military organization, fortifications, recruitment policies, armaments, battle tactics, and rewards.

Issues . . .

1. What was the overall Inca military strategy?
2. What were the Incas' military tactics?
3. How did the Incas mobilize and maintain their military forces?

The Nature of Inca Warfare

1. Diplomacy, reward, and enculturation were essential to the Incas' success, but warfare still lay at the heart of the process both symbolically and practically. While they used negotiations to gain dominion over many peoples, the Incas' power and self-image hinged on their military capacities. Their armies met considerable opposition over the decades, so that military activities placed enormous demands on their resources. To meet their military goals, the Incas created a network of internal garrisons, frontier forts, and a remarkable logistical system of roads, support facilities, and depots.
2. The Incas owed much of their success to strategy and logistics, not to tactics, training, or technology. The Inca military excelled in their preparatory organization, as their battlefield command and conduct drew from traditional methods applied on a grander scale. Even in 1532, the army consisted mostly of modular units of conscripts using their own weapons and led by their own lords, waging war as labor duty to the state.

From Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, 1936 [1613]

The first road for males, as illustrated by Guaman Poma, was to serve as a warrior (*awqa-kamayoq*). Warriors were usually age 25 (or 33) to 50 years old.

Military Strategy

1. When the Incas began their imperial expansion, they were neither the most populous, most powerful, nor richest people of the central Andes. The military situation dictated that the Incas economize in their use of force, because they lacked the resources to enforce hands-on control over all the societies that they dominated. The early imperial-era successes probably owed much to alliances, conscription of defeated foes, and confrontation of target societies with overwhelming force.
2. The practical methods of annexing new subjects coupled diplomacy and coercion. Customarily, an army that was mobilized in the agricultural off-season approached a targeted society with overwhelming force. Messengers would offer favorable terms of surrender: compliant subject elites received gifts and could expect to retain or enhance their status, while communities were allowed to keep many of their resources.
3. As the empire matured, the Incas moved from expansion to more stable dominion. The goals of military policy shifted from acquisition toward pacification and securing frontier areas, achieved through founding garrisons, resettling restive peoples, and fortifying frontier hot spots. The need to sustain large forces at great distances from home for extended campaigns also favored development of a network of storage depots along the roads.
4. The overall system toward the edges of imperial control can best be characterized as a strategy of defense-in-depth (Rawls 1979: 146). This approach relies on self-contained strongholds and mobile forces deployed between or behind them.

Fortifications and Garrisons

1. Fortified strongholds are not abundant in most of Tawantinsuyu. Forts were built near hostile frontiers, primarily in northern Ecuador and along the southeastern frontier, but the Inca realm did not have a fixed border in the sense that modern nation-states do. The restricted use of forts makes sense in terms of the largely offensive character of Inca warfare, because the Incas did not have to defend a home territory against invasions by major powers, and they usually carried the battle to the enemy. An especially high concentration of Inca forts lay near Quito, especially at Pambamarca, but few fortified sites were found in the heartland.
2. Most frontier fortresses were neither large enough nor manned with personnel adequate to preclude all potential incursions by outside forces. Instead, they seem to have been designed to deter raids or cut them off from behind.

Military Organization

1. Even in 1532, the Inca command structure was not complex by the standards of ancient empires. The ruler, as commander-in-chief, drew most officers from his immediate kin. The king's military role changed in emphasis from battlefield command to strategic planning as Inca warfare shifted from chiefly predation to imperial expansion.

2. In keeping with the dual organization that pervaded Inca rule, two or four commanders were often appointed to lead a campaign or army. At least in late campaigns, military units were organized in a decimal structure, made up of soldiers from particular ethnic groups led by their own lords.
3. Both Inca oral histories and Spanish accounts state that the Incas could field armies in excess of 100,000 at a time, although we should view the high-end estimates skeptically.

Recruitment of Personnel

1. Military service under the Incas was a broad, but not universal, labor duty of adult males. In principle, all sound, married males whose age grade fell in the range of 25-30 to 50 years were subject to call-up on a rotating basis. They were often accompanied on campaigns by their wives or other close kin. Unmarried men whose age grade fell in the range of about 18 to 25 bore messages and cargo. Many boys were trained in the martial arts in their home communities so that they would be capable warriors when called upon. When a campaign was being planned, the military leaders sent out word to the lords of selected ethnic groups to mobilize the personnel required.
2. The Incas' personal guard was drawn from Cuzco's aristocracy, called *orejones* ("big ears") for their large earspools. Later rulers also supplemented their guard with warriors from other societies. On campaign, the guard was a well-ordered force in the low thousands.
3. Inca armies included few military specialists other than officers and the *orejones.* The notion of a voluntary career soldier or mercenary in the rank and file was outside the scope of Andean military practice, but over time the Incas professionalized the military by settling colonist garrisons and dedicating certain societies to soldiery (e.g., *Chachapoyas*).
4. Many adult males were exempted from service, because (1) they were privileged, (2) they had special skills that allowed them to be assigned to other duties, or (3) their people were thought unreliable.

Ritual and Ideology

1. Ritual and ideology pervaded Inca militarism from strategy to tactics. The preparation for campaigns incorporated divination, fasts, feasts, and sacrifices.
2. When the Incas marched into battle, they carried an array of idols, or *waq'a,* with them.

The Army on Campaign

1. When the Incas set off on campaigns, they dispatched multiple contingents, stretching out their departures. Porters, wives, servants, and other personnel formed a substantial entourage that may have approached the number of combatants.

2. The road and *tampu* system were designed largely to assist military operations, but even the provincial centers were not equipped to shelter thousands of soldiers. The large armies apparently camped in tents.

From Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, 1936 [1613]

Inca warriors about to do battle; a warrior at the top right carries a *waq'a* into the fray.

Logistics

1. Besides the road network, the most renowned aspect of the Inca supply system was the array of storehouses, which stockpiled an enormous variety of food, arms, clothing, and other items throughout the empire.
2. The Incas relied on llama caravan and human porters for transport.

Battle Tactics and Weaponry

1. Most battles for which we have accounts were described as either great melees on open terrain or assaults on fortified strongholds. Two favorite tactics were feigned withdrawals coupled with pincer counterattacks and flanking maneuvers.
2. The Inca battle formation was organized by ethnic group, each one of which specialized in its own arms and wore its own distinctive martial vestments. Flurries of arrows, sling stones, and javelins preceded hand-to-hand combat by troops who wielded maces, clubs, and spears. The emperors were carried into combat on litters, wielding slings or spears. The Incas' preferred weapon was a stone or bronze star mace mounted

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Inca storehouses in the Upper Mantaro Valley; the inset shows the scale of the storehouses in proportion to the human form.

on a wooden handle. Another favorite was a hard, double-edged, palm-wood club shaped like a sword. The bow and arrow were a late addition to the Inca army's repertoire, as warriors from the jungle were drafted into service. Soldiers often wore quilted cloth armor that was so effective against Andean weapons that many Spaniards discarded their own metal plate in favor of the lighter protection.

From Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, 1936 [1613]

Inca warriors armed with a variety of weapons; javelins, spears, maces, axes, and clubs among them.

Triumphs and Rewards

1. Victories in war were celebrated in grand fashion, most prominently by triumphs in Cuzco led by the generals or the emperor himself. To show off the defeat of a foe, the Inca tread upon his head in the Golden Enclosure or in the main plaza in front of the massed throngs of Cuzco's residents. Inca rulers fashioned the heads of some foes into drinking cups, while defeated lords were also flayed and the skins of their bellies made into drums that were taken into battle or played at ceremonial events in Cuzco.
2. Individual valor was elaborately rewarded, though clear distinctions were made between the awards granted to nobility and commoners, reinforcing the class structure of Inca society.

From Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, 1936 [1613]

Capac Apo Guaman Chaua, *segunda persona* of Thupa Inka Yupanki and grandfather of Guaman Poma

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING

Consider

1. What role did militarism play in the Incas' self-image?
2. How could a largely agrarian and pastoral society mobilize the resources that were needed for the great military campaigns that the Incas waged?

Other Books of Interest

Bram, Joseph. *An Analysis of Inca Militarism*. Monographs of the American Ethnological Society 4. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1941.

Hyslop, John. *Inka Settlement Planning*, pp. 146-190. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990.

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Websites to Visit

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Lecture 6:
Cuzco:
The Navel of the Universe

Before beginning this lecture you may want to . . .

Read Terence N. D'Altroy's *The Incas,* Preface and pp. 109-125.

Introduction:

This lecture gives us a tour of the sacred Inca capital of Cuzco, the royal palaces and temples, and the fortress/ceremonial center of Saqsawaman at the head of the city. It describes life for the residents of the capital, including who had access, the kinds of activities they carried out, and the creation of an ethnic microcosm around the city intended to mimic the empire's layout.

Issues . . .

1. During the imperial period, the Incas renovated their capital to create a city worthy of ruling an empire. How did they design their center?
2. What activities were pursued in Cuzco? Who was allowed to participate?

Cuzco's Layout

1. A small mountain city, Cuzco consisted mostly of temples, plazas, and housing for the empire's royalty, nobility, and their retainers. Our knowledge of Cuzco is patchy, because it was damaged by fire and earthquake in the Colonial period and was periodically renovated by the Spaniards. Even so, we know that the capital formed a spatial metaphor for Inca society and their world. Laid out in the form of a puma, the urban core (40 hectares) was reportedly designed by the first imperial ruler, Pachakuti. The fortified complex called Saqsawaman formed the head, while the body consisted of Upper and Lower Cuzco—sectors occupied by the upper and lower halves of Inca royalty.

Cuzco's Puma Design

2. Ethnic lords and colonists were settled nearby in a dozen neighborhoods that echoed their position in the empire. Within the next 60 km

Hatunkancha (in "lower" Cuzco) west exterior wall detail

lay country homes for living and dead emperors, their kin, other Inca nobility, and privileged ethnic groups. The heartland also housed service personnel—domestic staff, temple attendants, artisans, accountants, and farmers—bringing the total population of greater Cuzco to about 100,000.

3. The street plan consisted of straight roads that were irregularly arranged to fit the topography of the sloping land and perhaps the puma figure. The central district contained two main avenues that ran the length of the city and were crosscut by six other streets.
4. Two adjoining plazas lay at Cuzco's center: *Awkaypata* ("terrace of repose") and *Kusipata* ("fortunate terrace"). Containing a central platform and covered with sand in which offerings were buried, *Awkaypata* often hosted the mummies of the dead emperors for ceremonies of state.

The Major Architecture

1. Royal palaces and religious compounds dominated the central architecture. The compounds facing *Awkaypata* were probably the most impressive. *Hatunkancha* ("great enclosure"), *Amarukancha* ("serpent enclosure"), and *Q'asana* were royal palaces.
2. The ten royal kin groups (*panaqa*) maintained residences in Cuzco, while the non-royal kin lived in settlements beyond the center.
3. The most important religious complex was the *Qorikancha,* or Golden

Enclosure, more commonly known today as the Temple of the Sun. Located a couple of blocks to the southeast of *Awkaypata*, the temple was the focal point in the Incas' sacred geography. The temple's rooms housed many effigies, most importantly *Punchao,* or the image of the Sun itself. Nearby lay a maize garden with birds interspersed among the plants; the garden was accompanied by a herd of camelids attended by their keepers. All were executed in precious metals. The Creator God's temple (*Kiswarkancha*) and *Pukamarka* ("Red Town") were also important shrines.

4. *Saqsawaman*, the grandest architectural complex in the empire, lay on a rocky promontory above Cuzco. The facility was actually a combination of ceremonial complex, fortress, and magazine. The zig-zag walls today provide a vantage point for re-enactments of Inca Sun ceremonies.

Other Features

1. A series of sacred agricultural fields were scattered throughout the city, and Cuzco's outskirts boasted a great quantity of storehouses (*qollqa*), from which the inhabitants were provisioned.
2. Cuzco's organization was also closely tied to both the landscape and the cosmos through an array of at least 332, and probably more than 400, shrines (*waq'a*). Many of the shrines were springs, stones, and mountain peaks, each with its own name and link to Inca history (see Lecture 9 for more details).

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING

Consider

1. When the Incas redesigned their imperial capital, Cuzco, what were their priorities?
2. How did the Incas work with architecture and space to create a sacred city worthy of their aspirations?

Other Books of Interest

Hyslop, John. *Inka Settlement Planning*, pp. 29-68. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990.

Rowe, John. "What Kind of a Settlement Was Inca Cuzco?" *Ñawpa Pacha*, 5:59-77. Berkeley, 1967.

Websites to Visit

1. Website about Cuzco and its environs by a native Peruvian and former professional tour guide in the city — www.qosqo.com/qosqo/index.html
2. Tourist travel site with many fine panoramic images of Inca ruins and locales — www.destination360.com/peru.htm

Lecture 7:
The Royal Estates

Before beginning this lecture you may want to . . .

Read Terence N. D'Altroy's *The Incas,* pp. 126-140.

Introduction:

This lecture describes the royal estates in the Vilcanota/Urubamba Valley, known popularly as the Sacred Valley of the Incas. The discussion covers Machu Picchu, Ollantaytambo, Pisac, and other manors along 100 km of landscaped river valley, which housed the grandest architecture found anywhere in the Andes.

Issues . . .

1. The imperial expansion put vast amounts of wealth and labor in the hands of the Inca elites. How did they use those resources in the creation of the royal estates?
2. A 100-kilometer stretch of the Vilcanota/Urubamba drainage below Cuzco is often called the Sacred Valley of the Incas. It contains some of the most spectacular archaeological sites ever erected in the Americas: Machu Picchu, Pisac, Ollantaytambo, Wiñay Wayna, Patallacta, and others. What was the nature of the royal estates and what kinds of activities were pursued there?

Creation of the Royal Estates

1. Every ruler from Wiraqocha Inka onward owned countryside properties and provincial estates. Earlier monarchs may have also had manors. Inca Roq'a and Yawar Waqaq's descendants lived in villas near Cuzco, where they venerated the mummies of their ancestors.
2. Rulers claimed their properties in many ways, including carving out new estates and commandeering expanses that were already developed. Pachakuti and Thupa Inka Yupanki held estates at locations that commemorated their military victories. Waskhar converted state lands and personnel into his own estate east of Huánuco, and Thupa Inka Yupanki won some estates through a game of chance played with the Sun himself. Rulers also appropriated properties when the dust settled from political conflicts.
3. Some estates were created through formidable engineering works, as when Wayna Qhapaq's holdings in Yucay were reclaimed from swamp and Waskhar's estate at Pomabamba was developed by diverting a river to create new land.

Royal Estates along the Urubamba River

1. The Incas' penchant for melding land forms and structures is one of the most distinctive features of their approach to designing the manors. All exhibit elegant terracing, waterworks, and masonry that are seldom seen in the rest of the empire.
2. The estates were designed to provide access to a wide range of farmed, gathered, and hunted resources. As many as 4,000 to 4,500 workers were settled at the manors to serve their lords.

Pachakuti's Main Estates

1. Several of the most spectacular Inca sites have been identified as royal estates of Pachakuti, most prominently Pisac, Ollantaytambo, and Machu Picchu.
2. Pisac's main architecture consists of a set of residential structures and a temple complex built around a large carved rock. The slopes below the settlement are graced with splendid terraces that cascade hundreds of meters downslope.
3. Ollantaytambo, 40 km downriver, exhibits a striking combination of regular layout and architecture tailored to rugged land forms. The site was a planned residential settlement with palaces, religious and defensive structures, storehouses, roads and bridges, terraces, and waterworks. To the west, above a grand set of terraces, lie the complexes now called the Fortaleza and its Temple of the Sun.
4. Machu Picchu is celebrated as one of the world's archaeological splendors. Brought to the world's attention in 1912 by Hiram Bingham of Yale University, the site's spectacular setting on jungle cliffs imparts enormous grandeur to the manor. The site contains a main, lower area called Machu Picchu ("old hill") and an upper area on a sugarloaf peak called Huayna Picchu ("young hill"). Machu Picchu itself contains sets of agricultural terraces and two complexes of elegant architecture flanking a main plaza. Among the site's most striking features are the sixteen fountains and many carved granite outcrops incorporated into the architecture. The most prominent rocks are the *intiwatana*—thought by some to be a sun gnomon—at the peak of the temple complex on the site's west side, the nearby monolith carved to imitate the eastern horizon, and the carved bedrock within and underneath the so-called *torreón.* The *torreón* was probably used to record the June solstice and Pleiades' rise. Recent archaeological research shows that the settlement's residents formed a typical population cross section, and were not dominated by young virgin women, as was mistakenly reported by the early expedition. Most residents were probably occupied in a combination of farming, craftwork, household service, and ceremony.

Other Well-known Estates

1. Wiraqocha's main estate lay at Juchuy Cuzco ("Little Cuzco"), about 30 km north of Cuzco, where his son Pachakuti built him a manor to live out his life after being deposed.
2. Thupa Inka Yupanki's best-known estate was a rural villa at Chinchero, about 30 km northwest of Cuzco. Chinchero was a planned residential settlement that contained a large central plaza and platform mound along with agricultural and residential terraces.
3. Wayna Qhapaq's main estate in Yucay was centered at the residence called Quispiguanca ("white rock"). Its holdings included forty named parcels where maize, sweet potatoes, and the warm-weather crops of coca, chili pepper, cotton, and peanuts were cultivated. It included woods that were home to deer, while fish and reeds were grown in an artificial pond.

Summary

Overall, the royal estates exemplify elite life in the heartland during the imperial era. Their designs, which were modified and adapted to natural features, symbolize an intensive interaction between humanity and the powers of the cosmos. They epitomize how prime resources were converted into private domains held first by the ruler and, after his death, nominally held in a trust for his reverence.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING

Consider

1. How did the Inca royal families use the land, labor, and other resources available to them to create grand manors?
2. Why were the royal estates so crucial to the politics of power in Cuzco?

Other Books of Interest

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Burger, Richard L., and Lucy C. Salazar, eds. *Machu Picchu: Unveiling the Mystery of the Incas*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004.

Niles, Susan A. *The Shape of Inca History*. Iowa City, IA: University of Iowa Press, 2000.

Protzen, Jean-Pierre. *Inca Architecture and Construction at Ollantaytambo*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Wright, Kenneth R., and Alfredo Valencia. *Machu Picchu: A Civil Engineering Marvel*. Reston, VA: American Society of Civil Engineers, 2000.

Websites to Visit

1. Official United States Congress biography of explorer Hiram Bingham, who became a United States Senator in the 1920s — http://bioguide.congress.gov/scripts/biodisplay.pl?index=B000470
2. Excellent photographic travelogue for the Central Andes — www.wideview.it/travel/Peru_Bolivia_2003/en_menu.htm
3. Yale University provides an exhibit entitled “Machu Picchu: Unveiling the Mystery of the Incas.” — www.peabody.yale.edu/exhibits/inca

Lecture 8:
At the Heart of Power

Before beginning this lecture you may want to . . .

Read Terence N. D'Altroy's *The Incas,* pp. 86-108 and 231-237.

Introduction:

This lecture outlines the nature of Inca political life, discussing the ruler and his sister/wife, along with their duties and perquisites of office, and their continuing roles after death. It describes how the ten royal kin groups of Cuzco allied with or faced off against the rulers in imperial politics.

Issues . . .

1. What was the structure of Inca government? On a grand scale, how did they organize their domain?
2. What was the nature of the political organization in Cuzco, the heart of power?

Origins

1. The traditional view, popularized by the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, is that the Inca emperor ruled his peoples through a homogeneous political system in which all activities, from birth to death, were regulated. The ruler was a wise, benevolent, and valiant man who took care that no one in his domain went hungry.
2. That view is largely propaganda, since the land was made up of hundreds of different societies, ranging in their political organization from independent villages to the full-fledged empire of Chimor on Peru's north coast. In practice, the Incas tailored a

Ethnic groups in the Central and North Andes

standardized package of policies to local conditions, producing a variegated political landscape, and left subject communities largely to their own devices for their welfare. As a result, Inca government was really an umbrella overlying a highly diverse subject terrain. The intensity of rule in any given region varied according to Cuzco's interests, the local conditions, and the response to Inca dominion.

Political Geography in Outline

The name the Incas gave to their domain was *Tawantinsuyu,* which means "The Four Parts Together." The four parts were *Chinchaysuyu* (i.e., the northwest and most prestigious part, which took most of highland Peru and Ecuador and the coast); *Antisuyu,* the northeast part, which took in the eastern jungles and slopes of the Andes; *Kollasuyu,* the southeast and largest part, which took in southeastern Peru, highland Bolivia, the northern half of Chile, and part of northwest Argentina; and *Cuntisuyu,* the smallest part to the southwest, which took in the area from Cuzco to the south Peruvian coast.

Cuzco's Political Organization

1. In it simplest form, Inca government was a monarchy in which rule passed from father to son. The ruler was assisted, counseled, opposed, and perhaps even deposed by the ten royal Inca kin groups, called *panaqa.* They were the descendants of the past Inca rulers, whose mummies continued to participate in political affairs through mediums assigned to speak and listen to them. The structure of government beyond the royalty was a highly stratified affair, based on kinship, class, ethnicity, and hereditary access to positions of power.
2. The ruler was called the *Sapa Inca* ("unique Inca") and was expected to be generous, wise, and valiant. He took an honorific name upon ascending the throne, marrying his sister at the same time. Both his enthronement and death were celebrated with grand ceremonies, including sacrifices of camelids and children.
3. Women, especially the queen (*qoya*), were powerful figures in Inca politics. They brought counsel, status, and their own wealth into their marriages. Just like their husbands, their mummies continued to participate in politics after their death.
4. The royal descent groups (*panaqa*) were formed upon the death of the ruler, through a practice called split inheritance. In this practice, the throne passed on to the most able son, while the remaining descendants of the deceased king formed a kin group that attended his mummies and cared for his estates in perpetuity.
5. In order to reduce conflict over successions, the Incas instituted the practice of royal incest, marrying the ascending ruler to a sister and thus reducing the pool of potentially legitimate candidates for the next transition. They also established a co-regency, in which a designated son took on some of the role of ruler while his father was still alive. Even so, every imperial succession was attended by intrigue, coup or coup attempt, and murder, even of the ruler himself.

The Conventional Inca King List of the Prehispanic Era

Name as Ruler	Gloss	Conventional Dates of Rule
1. Manqo Qhapaq	Powerful [Ancestor]	~
2. Zinchi Roq'a	Warlord Roq'a	~
3. Lloq'e Yupanki	Honored Left-handed	~
4. Mayta Qhapaq	Royal Mayta	~
5. Qhapaq Yupanki	Powerful Honored	~
6. Inka Roq'a	Inca Roq'a	~
7. Yawar Waqaq	He Who Cries Bloody Tears	~
8. Wiraqocha Inka	Creator God Inca	~
9. Pachakuti Inka Yupanki	Cataclysm Honored Inca	AD 1438-1471
10. Thupa Inka Yupanki	Royal Honored Inca	AD 1471-1493
11. Wayna Qhapaq	Powerful Youth	AD 1493-1526
12. Waskhar Inka	Golden Chain Ruler	AD 1526-1532
13. Atawallpa	~	~

Thirteen Inca Kings as Illustrated by Guaman Poma

The first five kings (top row of illustration) are the five kings from Lower Cuzco. The middle five kings (middle of illustration) are the five kings from Upper Cuzco. The three kings depicted in the bottom row are the last three kings whose descendants were not yet integrated into the royal hierarchy when the Spaniards arrived in 1532.

Table © Terence N. D'Altroy; Illustrations: From Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, 1936 [1613]

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING

Consider

1. How did politics, genealogy, myth, and raw power converge to create the Inca political order?
2. Why were the mummies of past kings and queens essential to Inca politics?

Other Books of Interest

Cobo, Bernabé. *History of the Inca Empire*, pp. 185-207. Trans. Roland Hamilton. Austin: University of Texas, 1979 [1653].

Julien, Catherine J. "How Inca Decimal Administration Worked." *Ethnohistory*, 35:257-279, 1988.

Pärssinen, Martti. *Tawantinsuyu: The Inca State and Its Political Organization*. Helsinki: Societas Historica Finlandiae, 1992.

Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, María. *History of the Inca Realm*, pp. 97-134. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

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Lecture 9:
Powers of the Sky and Earth, Past and Present

Before beginning this lecture you may want to . . .

Read Terence N. D'Altroy's *The Incas,* pp. 141-167.

Introduction:

This lecture describes the beliefs and religious practices at the heart of Inca culture, including worship of the Sun and other deities of the sky, land, and water; the divine emperors, alive and dead; the ceremonial cycle and shrine system of Cuzco; and the mountaintop shrines that are the world's highest archaeological sites.

Issues . . .

1. What was the ideology that underpinned Inca rule and gave meaning to their lives?
2. Who were the main gods and what were the main orders in the official Inca religion?

Origins

1. Inca ideology combined history, religion, belief, and politics. It was built on traditional Andean beliefs, but elevated the Incas, their ancestors, and gods over all others.
2. The Incas believed in an animate landscape in which spirits inhabited the hilltops, springs, rocky promontories, caves, and other natural features. They attended to omens seen in the heavens and made sacrifices to many gods and sacred locations. They used one term—*waq'a*—to describe any thing, person, or place with transcendent power.

The Inca Pantheon

1. *Wiraqocha* was the creator god, but was not worshiped directly to a great extent. The principal Inca god was *Inti,* the Sun, who was the centerpiece of the official religion. He was married to *Mama-Quilla,* "Mother Moon," and was the father of the sitting ruler. The Sun was represented as a small seated boy made of gold (*Punchao* or "Day"). The High Priest of the Sun (*Willaq Umu*) was probably the second most powerful man in the empire. The Sun had its own set of resources, including farms, herds, and service personnel. Gold was thought to be the sweat of the Sun and silver the tears of the Moon.
2. *Inti-Illapa* (the thunder or weather god) was the third most important deity, while *Mamacocha* (Mother of the Lakes and Sea), *Pachamama* (Earth Mother), and *Pachacamac* (Maker of the Earth, deity of earthquakes, and a coastal oracle of great antiquity) were all important members of the pantheon.

3. The Incas built up an elaborate mythology around the stars and constellations. One group of three stars were known as the granary (*qollqa;* known to Europe as the Pleiades), because their appearance signaled the beginning of the agricultural season.

Calendrics and Astronomical Observations

1. The Incas knew a great deal about solar and lunar calendrics and maintained calendars based on the cycles of each. They probably adjusted the calendars on a monthly basis, so that they remained coordinated over time.
2. The Incas did not understand the nature of eclipses and the appearance of comets, so those were frightening events that required a vigorous response of sacrifice and ceremony.

The Ceremonial Cycle

1. The Incas maintained an elaborate ceremonial calendar, based on the solar and lunar cycles.
2. The most important ceremonies were for the June solstice (*Inti Raymi,* or Sun Festival) and the December solstice (*Qhapaq Raymi,* or Magnificent Festival). The Queen's Festival, in July or August, featured a purification ritual (*citua*).

Cuzco's Network of Shrines: the *Zeq'e* System

1. The *zeq'e* (line) system was an elaborate ritual complex. It contained at least 328 and probably more than 400 shrines (*waq'a*) linked by imaginary lines radiating out from the Golden Enclosure or Terrace of Repose in central Cuzco. The shrines consisted largely of natural features of the landscape (e.g., springs, stones, mountain passes), the built environment (e.g., buildings, burials), and objects (e.g., the brother images of the rulers).
2. The most common offerings were *Spondylus princeps* (thorny oyster) shell, cloth, coca, and camelids. Human sacrifice was owed to thirty-one of Cuzco's shrines and was also practiced for the investment and death of a ruler, among other momentous events. The chroniclers wrote that as many as 4,000 individuals—generally children chosen for their beauty—could be sacrificed at a time, but no archaeological evidence supports this scale of sacrifice.

Mountaintop Shrines

Mountaintop shrines have gained importance recently, as archaeologists have found a series of shrines with offerings of gold, silver, and shell statuettes of humans and camelids, along with occasional human sacrifices. Among those sites is Llullaillaco, Argentina, the world's highest archaeological site (6,739 m), and the better-known Nevado Ampato, Peru. The shrines seem to have been dedicated to the Sun, the Moon, and the sea gods.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING

Consider

1. How did the Incas blend their own mytho-history with Andean concepts of the sacred and supernatural to create their imperial ideology?
2. What was the Incas' relationship to the sacred landscape?

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Websites to Visit

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2. Anthropologist Frank Salomon's website features an excellent image gallery — www.anthropology.wisc.edu/chaysimire/index.htm
3. *National Geographic* website on Incan mummies — www.nationalgeographic.com/channel/inca

Lecture 10:
Growing Up Inca

Before beginning this lecture you may want to . . .

Read Terence N. D'Altroy's *The Incas,* pp. 177-204.

Introduction:

This lecture explores social life among the Incas and their life cycle from birth to death, and their continued life after death.

Issues . . .

1. What was the basic social order of class, kin, gender, and community within Inca society?
2. What was the life cycle like for members of Inca society? Were there special celebrations for particular events during life, such as puberty, marriage, or death?

The Stages of Life

1. According to the chronicler Guaman Poma, the Incas charted the progression of life stages according to people's perceived ability to contribute. Perhaps following Inca census categories, he illustrated ten stages, or "roads," of life for males and ten stages for females. His first road for a male was an adult married man (warrior), holding the decapitated head of an enemy. His female counterpart was a married woman, industriously weaving on a backstrap loom. Then came two categories of increasingly older people, followed by the infirm. The last six categories ran in descending order of age, from adolescent boy messengers and marriageable girl spinners down to infants in the cradle.

From Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno,* 1936 [1613]

The first road for females

2. Childbirth was not an especially celebrated event, but at the age of about two, a child's hair was cut and he or she was given a childhood name.

3. Education for most children consisted of learning the crafts of their parents, such as weaving for girls and hunting for boys. Male children of the nobility were apparently taught more formally in intellectual, cultural, and military affairs. The only girls who were formally trained were the Chosen Women (*aqllakuna*), who were taken from their families at the age of about 10. They lived in sequestered quarters (*aqllawasi*), were taught religion and to make fine cloth and beer, and were generally given in marriage to favored men or joined the adult women's religious order (*mamakuna*).
4. A girl celebrated the passage to a marriageable state at her first menstruation. Boys celebrated their rite of passage through puberty as a group, at the age of about 14. The male children of the Inca aristocracy went through an elaborate series of processions, sacrifices, races, and other ceremonies; they received their large earspools at this time.
5. Marriage bonded both individuals and kin groups. Brides and grooms generally selected their partners from the opposite side of a large group of their kin, called an *ayllu,* which owned and exploited resources collectively.
6. Death signified a change of status, but not disappearance from the social group, as mummies of the deceased were tended and consulted for many years—even centuries—after death. The status and ethnic identity of the deceased were frequently represented in their burial goods or in aspects of their burial treatments.

Gender Complementarity

1. Male and female roles were inseparable complements in Inca social life. This relationship was found at the core of economic activities, such as farming and herding, and ceremonial activities. It was also enshrined in Inca mythology and in the Inca pantheon.
2. Kin terms were used to conceive relations between humans and the supernatural.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING

Consider

1. What kind of life could a young Inca boy or girl look forward to as he or she grew up? How would the life of the other 99 percent of the population have differed?
2. What were the relationships between males and females in Andean and Inca society?

Other Books of Interest

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Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, María. *History of the Inca Realm*, pp. 137-181. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Rowe, John. "The Age Grades of the Inca Census." *Miscellanea Paul Rivet Octogenario Dicata II, XXXI Congreso Internacional de Americanistas*, pp. 499-522. Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, México, D.F., 1958.

Silverblatt, Irene. *Moon, Sun, and Witches*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987.

Lecture 11:
Provincial Rule

Before beginning this lecture you may want to . . .

Read Terence N. D'Altroy's *The Incas,* pp. 15-19 and 246-247.

Introduction:

In this lecture and the next, we explore how the Incas ruled their vast array of provinces and we sample what it meant to be an Inca subject in different parts of the empire. Topics for the present lecture include the provincial administration, the colonization program that resettled as many as 3 to 5 million people for political, military, religious, and economic ends; life in the local villages; and the kinds of rules that the Incas established in their efforts to regulate the hundreds of different societies they governed.

Issues . . .

1. When the Incas expanded their domain to rule a land of about one million square kilometers, with inhabitants numbering 10 to 12 million, they were faced with an enormous organizational challenge. Where did they take advantage of existing social, political, and economic forms and how did they innovate?
2. What kinds of cultural transformations did the Incas attempt to impose on their subjects?

Overview

1. By the end of their run of power in 1532, the Incas ruled a population that outnumbered them by about a hundred to one and whose political formations varied widely.
2. The Incas ruled the central part more intensively than the far north and south, and much of the north Peruvian coast.
3. They also built an extensive system of provincial installations linked by a vast road network.

Provincial Rule

1. The Inca provincial administration is often called a bureaucracy, but it consisted more of an umbrella of ethnic Incas directing regional ethnic lords who would likely have succeeded to office among their own peoples.
2. There were at least eighty provinces, with the most found in the northwest part (*Chinchaysuyu*). A province was thought of more as a population than a region. Each province was divided into two or three parts, each of which was supposed to contain close to 10,000 households.

3. A province was usually governed by an ethnic Inca, assisted by a variety of functionaries. He was supposed to supervise the census, apply labor requirements, maintain the infrastructure, and pass judgment on disputes.
4. A decimal administration lay at the heart of provincial rule. In this system, heads of household were organized into a hierarchy that included units of 10, 50, 100, 500, 1,000, 5,000, and 10,000. Each unit from 100 households upward was directed by a hereditary local lord, called a *kuraka.* The decimal administration seems to have been applied in the central part of the empire, where the societies most closely resembled the Incas themselves.
5. Periodically, a census was taken of the provincial populations; it was supposed to be updated annually. The census accounted for males and females separately, according to their age grades and marital status.

The Knot-record (*khipu*) Recording System

1. The Incas kept their records primarily through an ingenious mnemonic device known as a *khipu,* or knot-record. A single *khipu* consisted of a longitudinal cord to which a series of multi-colored pendent cords were tied. The position and color of each cord held particular significance. Knots were tied at positions along each pendent string. The knot-record keepers (*khipu kamayuq*) memorized additional information that allowed them to interpret each *khipu's* meaning.
2. We have not yet broken the code of the *khipu,* but scholars think that most *khipu* were dedicated to recording numerical information (for example, census records, tax accounts, military organization, and calendrics). About a third of the *khipu* were more literary in their content, including histories and even poetry.
3. In 1923, Leland Locke showed that the system was based on a decimal (base-10) system. He found that units (i.e., 0-9) were recorded at the bottom of the pendent strings, where a single granny knot marked 1, and knots with a certain

From Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno,* 1936 [1613]

Khipu kamayuq: Guaman Poma's illustration with "abacus" in corner

number of loops recorded that number (e.g., four loops for the number 4). Zero was marked by the lack of a knot in the units position. Tens (i.e., 10, 20, . . . 90) were recorded at the next position up, and so forth through hundreds, thousands, and finally ten thousands.

4. Testimony to the Spaniards about labor obligations shows us the cultural ordering of information on the *khipu.*

Regulating Social Life

1. The Incas did not have a formal legal code, but applied aspects of their own culture to subject societies. Most of the strictures were intended to protect the rights and perquisites of the elites. Others provided sanctions for sexual misbehavior, stealing, witchcraft, or disobeying state orders.
2. Some rules were intended to protect the subject populace against abuse by the elites.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING

Consider

1. What kinds of methods did the Incas use to rule the different kinds of societies drawn into their realm?
2. What did the Incas do to apply their own culture to their subjects?

Other Books of Interest

Ascher, Marcia, and Robert Ascher. *The Code of the Quipu*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1981.

Locke, Leland. *The Ancient Quipu or Peruvian Knot Record*. New York: The American Museum of Natural History, 1923.

Malpass, Michael, ed. *Provincial Inca*. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1993.

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Quilter, Jeffrey, and Gary Urton, eds. *Narrative Threads*. Austin: University of Texas, 2002.

Urton, Gary. *Signs of the Inka Khipu*. Austin: University of Texas, 2003.

Urton, Gary. *The Social Life of Numbers*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1997.

Websites to Visit

1. *National Geographic* report on the discovery (in 1999) of the remains of an early Inca site in the Vilcabamba region of the Andes — www.news.nationalgeographic.com/news/2002/03/0314_0318_vilcabamba.html#main
2. *The Harvard Khipu Database Project* by Dr. Gary Urton — www.khipukamayuq.fas.harvard.edu/ -
3. Short biography on Dr. Frank Salomon and his research into deciphering khipu records — www.sarweb.org/scholars/scholars/individuals/scholars99/salomon99.htm

Lecture 12:
Building the Empire

Before beginning this lecture you may want to . . .

Read Terence N. D'Altroy's *The Incas,* pp. 231-246.

Introduction:

This lecture continues our exploration of Inca provincial rule, including the network of 2,000 provincial centers and the 40,000 km of road that connected them. It provides a capsule view of a variety of provincial regions, showing how the Incas adapted to local conditions.

Issues . . .

1. The Inca empire is renowned for its extensive network of roads and provincial installations. How was the system designed and organized?
2. How did the Incas try to plant the imperial imprint on its subject societies?
3. How did imperial rule vary from province to province, as the local situation differed?

Provincial Installations

1. The Incas managed provincial affairs of state through a network of regional centers and secondary facilities, called *tampu.* John Hyslop estimates that there may have been 2,000 or more *tampu.*
2. The archaeologist Craig Morris (1972) points out that the provincial centers fell into disuse following the Inca collapse, because they formed a kind of artificial urbanism. He observes that they were usually founded in locations without significant local occupation and lacked independent craft, residential, or market activity. Their positioning often reflects more concern for interregional contacts than local affairs. During most of the year, no more than about a quarter of

From Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno,* 1936 [1613]

Guaman Poma's illustration of a storehouse accountant reporting to the emperor Thupa Inka Yupanki

the housing may have been used. The architecture often used local techniques and materials, but the designs were Inca. The great storage facilities and emphasis on temporary housing underscore that they were designed to support traveling armies and part-time occupants. Morris concludes by noting that none of the centers on the main highway had a significant cemetery, indicating that even the Inca personnel felt that they were present only temporarily.

3. The provincial system met several needs, including administration, ceremony, production and storage facilities, and military requirements.
4. The grandest centers lay along the main mountain highway between Lake Titicaca and Quito. North of Cuzco were Vilcaswaman, Hatun Xauxa, Pumpu, Huánuco Pampa, Cajamarca, Tumipampa, and Quito. South of Cuzco lay Hatunqolla, Chucuito, Chuquiabo (La Paz), Paria, and Charkas.

The Architecture of Power

1. Inca centers were designed around what Gasparini and Margolies (1980) call the "architecture of power"—buildings and large plazas intended to reinforce the image of the empire's might. The Incas did not dedicate buildings to purely administrative functions, such as accounting or holding audiences. Most centers reflect an intense preoccupation with ceremony and sacred space. At least six sites were called "New Cuzcos," built in the conceptual, if not actual, image of the capital: Huánuco Pampa, Inkawasi, and Hatunqolla in Peru; Quito and Tumipampa in Ecuador; and Charkas in Bolivia.
2. The two main kinds of architecture were enclosed compounds (*kancha*) used for residence and craft production and enormous one-room, elongated halls (*kallanka*) used for hospitality and temporary housing. Other important architectural forms were religious structures, such as the temples to the Sun, and sequestered sectors devoted to the Chosen Women (*aqllakuna*).

The *kallanka* of Inkallakta

The largest single-roofed room in the Western Hemisphere when it was built around 1500, the *kallanka* (gabled hall) in Inkallakta, Bolivia, measures 78-by-25 meters. The far wall today stands over 40 feet high, and would have been significantly higher when constructed. The roof was supported by twenty-four enormous columns. The site was excavated in 2001.

The Road System

1. The Inca royal highway (*qhapaq ñan*) unified the empire physically and conceptually. The network linked together about 40,000 km of roadway, based on a highland and coastal route, joined by transverse routes that crossed from the coast to the highlands and into the eastern lowlands. Much of the highway was based on traditional routes, including some that had been built centuries earlier.

Inca Road Upper Mantaro Valley: The main Inca highway between Cuzco and Quito, as it passed out of the Upper Mantaro Valley heading onto the Huaricolca Puna

2. The roads provided conduits for rapid communication, personnel movement, and logistical support, while stamping imperial domination on the countryside. Soldiers, porters, and llama caravans were prime users, as were nobles and other individuals on official duty. Other subjects were allowed to walk along the roads only with permission. Relay messengers (*chaski*) were stationed at intervals of about 6 to 9 km to carry everything from news from the battlefront to fresh marine fish for the ruler in the sierra.
3. The highway has a reputation for straightness, but straight stretches rarely run for more than a few kilometers and the roads are filled with minor adjustments to the terrain. The grandest highways were neatly paved with cobbles or flagstones, but the majority of the roads employed dirt, sand, grass, and other natural surfaces. The finest paved roads were concentrated between the *altiplano* and Ecuador and along the routes that linked that stretch of highway and the coast.

Resettlement

1. About a quarter to a third of the population was resettled under Inca rule. The most renowned program moved entire communities hundreds of kilometers to create enclaves of colonists called *mitmaqkuna.* The main reasons for resettlement were to disperse societies that posed threats to Inca security, to congregate economic specialists whose products were destined for state use, and to claim a divine mandate over the Andes.
2. The colonists were supported from state resources only until they could sustain themselves on the lands they received, and they were required to maintain visible markers of their ethnic identity. Even so, they have

been notoriously hard to recognize in the archaeological record, probably because their identifying markers were made of cloth.

3. Local resettlement complemented the long-distance program, as many a community moved downslope, which gave them access to better farmlands and reduced their threat to the Incas.

The Varieties of Provincial Rule

1. **Huánuco, Peru:** This region's five ethnic groups were intensively integrated into the empire, first as a subject province and then partially as an imperial estate. The elaborate regional center, Huánuco Pampa, is the grandest Inca site anywhere outside the heartland. One of the "New Cuzcos," the city covered about two square kilometers, contained more than 4,000 buildings, and could house up to 15,000 people at a time.
2. **Coastal Peru:** Peru's north coast had already seen 1,500 years of state society when the Incas arrived and the Chimu empire stoutly resisted the Inca advances. The Incas held the Chimu ruler hostage in Cuzco and divided control among local lords who ruled valley-wide territories. Sites built according to Inca canons are rare along the north coast and the Incas governed the dense populace primarily from installations partway into the highlands. The intensive rule on Peru's south coast contrasted starkly with these policies. The Incas established important centers at Lima La Vieja and Tambo Colorado, and the Chincha were so esteemed that their lord fell to Spanish arms at Atawallpa's side in Cajamarca.
3. **The Lake Titicaca Basin:** This region held abundant attractions for the Incas, for the lake lay at the center of the Incas' vision of their genesis and the *altiplano*'s wealth made it an early target for Cuzco's expansionist aspirations. In 1532, the peoples living around the lake had been formed into about thirteen provinces, and major colonies were established for economic and religious ends. The

The Lake Titicaca Basin showing the Inca Road and surrounding communities

most prominent centers in the northwest basin were Hatunqolla and Chucuito, while a major religious enclave was created at Copacabana, near the origin point of the universe.

4. **The South Andes:** Southern Kollasuyu, the empire's southeastern quarter, is often considered marginal to Inca interests because of its low population, relative lack of large installations, and distance from Cuzco. Even so, regional surveys have now recorded around 400 Inca sites or settlements with Inca sectors in south Bolivia, Chile, and Argentina. Most appear to have been involved in mining, agriculture, or military activities.
5. **Highland Ecuador:** The Incas fused two extremes of imperial strategy in highland Ecuador: indirect rule through local chiefs and construction of their second capital at Tumipampa. Tumipampa and Quito were the most important centers, but Ingapirca is the most spectacular site, and over 100 fortified sites belonging to the Inca era have now been recorded. The lands around Tumipampa were transformed by the resettlement of colonists right around the city.

Frontier Relations

The Incas enjoyed a geographic advantage unique among pre-modern empires—at the apex of their power, no foreign competitor could threaten their dominance. Even so, Tawantinsuyu's frontier traversed over 4,000 km of mountains, jungles, and plains, across which the Incas maintained a flexible array of relations. In many areas, they promoted economic and cultural ties beyond the limits of their military and political control.

This zig-zag wall on a hill immediately north of Inkallakta's monumental core, reminiscent of Sacsayhuaman in Cuzco, marks and protects one of the two major entrances to the Bolivian site.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING

Consider

1. Why did the Incas build such a vast road system and network of provincial installations throughout the provinces?
2. Were the impacts of Inca rule the same throughout the empire, or different, depending on the circumstances?

Other Books of Interest

Gasparini, Graziano, and Luise Margolies. *Inca Architecture*. Trans. Patricia J. Lyon. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1980.

Hyslop, John. *The Inka Road System*. New York: Academic Press, 1984.

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Malpass, Michael, ed. *Provincial Inca*. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1993.

Morris, Craig. "Inka Strategies of Incorporation and Governance." *Archaic States*, pp. 293-309. Eds. Gary M. Feinman and Joyce Marcus. Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 1998.

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Morris, Craig, and Donald Thompson. *Huánuco Pampa: An Inca City and Its Hinterland*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1985.

Salomon, Frank. *Ethnic Lords of Quito in the Age of the Inka*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

Websites to Visit

1. *Water History* features a technical, but very informative, paper entitled "Ancient Machu Picchu Drainage Engineering" by Kenneth R. Wright with Alfredo Valencia and William L. Lorah — www.waterhistory.org/histories/machupicchu/
2. Water History also provides a paper entitled "Raised Bed Irrigation at Tiwanaku, Bolivia" (at the south end of Lake Titicaca) — www.waterhistory.org/histories/tiwanaku/
3. Dr. Larry Coben provides excellent images of Machu Picchu and Inkallajta, among other sites — my.name-services.com/64980/page99.htm

Lecture 13:
Provisioning the State and the Sun

Before beginning this lecture you may want to . . .

Read Terence N. D'Altroy's *The Incas,* pp. 287-310.

Introduction:

This lecture describes the vast independent economy that the Incas set up, including great farms, enormous storage facilities, and vast herds of llamas and alpacas. We examine how subjects were drawn into the state economy through labor taxes and then turn to the remarkable array of objects made for and used by the state.

Overview

1. The standard view of the Inca economy is that all productive resources —farmlands and herds—were divided into three parts: state, Sun, and community. The influential mestizo author, the Inca Garcilaso, asserted that no one went hungry, because the state and community took care of everyone. Those views contain elements of truth, but they also simplify things and gloss over the difficulties of making a living in the complex Andean environment and the wide variety of economic systems that were drawn into Tawantinsuyu.
2. The Inca economic system did not have an efficient transportation system for bulk goods and did not have a major population center that sucked up the produce of the empire, so the state and Sun provisioning system had to be replicated from each province to the next.
3. Although there were some kinds of special-purpose money and markets within their domain, the Incas relied primarily on a labor tax for the production of their agro-pastoral and craft products.

From Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, 1936 [1613]

Guaman Poma's illustration of Inca farming

Foundations of the Inca Economy

1. The Incas claimed all resources in the land and created an economy that was independent of the household and community economies, whose products were not taken.

2. Lands and herds were set aside for the state and the state religion, while many communities retained many of their ancestral resources. Some provinces were converted wholesale into state or church domains, while others were barely touched. All wild and mined resources were ostensibly property of the Inca, but in practice many remained in the hands of local societies.

Labor Taxes

1. The Incas underwrote their economy by requiring that all hale heads of household (*hatun runa,* "big men") render rotating labor service, which took about two to three months a year. There were about thirty-seven to forty-two different kinds of duties that needed to be fulfilled, ranging from farming and herding to military service, guard duty, and portage to mining and making craft goods.
2. The rationale for the labor tax was that the Incas claimed all resources in the empire. People were provided with leadership and were given access to their traditional resources in return for their labor duty.
3. Many people were exempt from the general tax, including lords whose households numbered 100 or more and entire ethnic groups that were given over to particular tasks, such as military duty, dancing, and litter-bearing.

Specialized Production

1. Over time, the Incas came to rely on specialized colonies of farmers, herders, and artisans, resettled from their home communities to lands especially productive in particular kinds of goods. In this way, the Incas produced vast quantities of cloth, pottery, and other craft products.
2. A large number of individuals were separated from their home communities and converted to lifelong servants.

State and Sun Farms

1. Large state farms were founded in several locations, notably Cochabamba (Bolivia), Arica (Chile), and Arequipa and Abancay (Peru), where maize, cotton, coca, fruits, and other crops were grown for state use. Up to 14,000 workers were devoted to individual farms (Cochabamba).
2. Farms for the Sun were also set up, but they were smaller than those of the state. The entire province of Chuquicache, on the north side of Lake Titicaca, may have been given over to the Sun.
3. The Incas had an elaborate ceremonial sequence tied to the agricultural cycle.
4. There is a standard sequence in which the plots were reportedly cultivated: the state, the Sun, and the community. That may have been more elite ideology than practice, however, since the ecology of the Andes requires that crops be put in according to the local conditions, not according to state edict.

Pastoralism

1. The Incas initially requisitioned most of their llama and alpaca herds from existing flocks, drawing heavily from the peoples of the Titicaca basin.
2. Overall, state herds may have numbered in the millions.
3. Prime uses of the herds were for cloth, food, and provisioning and transportation for the military.

Storage

1. A vast storage system, replicated in Cuzco and throughout the provinces, bridged the gap between production and use. The largest facilities had over 2,500 buildings that contained everything from food to military supplies to feathers for decorating cloth.
2. Local lords kept the system operating for about twenty years after the fall of the empire, not only to supply the Spaniards, but also because they feared the Incas would return and call them to account.

Artisanry and Artistry

1. In a land with no writing and where people spoke scores of languages and subscribed to a wide variety of cultural values, there was no common symbolic system. Standardized Inca craft products thus served the dual role of imprinting the state's presence on the social landscape and transmitting messages of power and status. The Incas don't seem to have created many objects for display, but had a clear artistic style and aesthetic represented in their artisanry.
2. The Incas relied on the existing craft and artistic capabilities of their subjects to meet their demands.
3. Inca material objects and architecture were not personalized. There were few representations of humans, even in portable objects. The built environment seems to have provided spaces for ceremony and other activities rather than providing representations of human or godly accomplishments.
4. Weaving was probably the most highly valued craft, and textiles were the most important ceremonial and status objects. Metal objects were also highly significant, because gold was the sweat of the Sun and silver the tears of the Moon. Regrettably, most objects of precious metals were melted down in the Spanish furnaces. Cuzco-style polychrome pottery is the archaeological hallmark of Inca presence throughout the Andes, but it was probably not especially high in the Inca hierarchy of craft objects, except for its value in underwriting state-sponsored hospitality. Inca stone working was one of the great wonders of the empire, but it was probably mostly accomplished with simple stone and maybe bronze tools. Blocks were shaped in the quarry, dragged to their final positions, and finished in place.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING

Consider

1. How did the Incas take advantage of the resources and skills of their subject peoples to create the economy of the state and Sun?
2. How did the Incas deal with the problems of a challenging environment, inefficient transportation, and resistance by subject peoples to create their imperial economy?
3. What role did material culture play in transmitting messages among an illiterate populace?

Other Books of Interest

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Protzen, Jean-Pierre. "Inca Quarrying and Stonecutting." *Ñawpa Pacha*, 21:183-219, 1983.

Lecture 14:
Invasion and Aftermath

Before beginning this lecture you may want to . . .

Read Terence N. D'Altroy's *The Incas,* pp. 311-324.

Introduction:

This lecture describes the Spanish force under Francisco Pizarro that invaded and brought down the empire in 1532-33, the first encounters between Pizarro and the Inca prince Atawallpa in Cajamarca, the Inca's capture and execution, the Spanish march to Cuzco, and the pillaging of the Inca capital. It briefly describes the creation of a new Inca state at Vilcabamba in the upper jungles northwest of Cuzco, the Incas' efforts to throw off Spanish rule, the capture and execution of the last Inca ruler in Cuzco in 1572, and the Inca legacy today.

Issues . . .

1. How could a troop of 168 Spaniards bring down the most powerful empire ever created in the ancient Americas?
2. What were the Spaniards' goals in invading Andean South America?
3. What problems did the Spaniards encounter as they sought to bring the Inca empire under their control?
4. What were the short-term and long-term impacts of Spanish rule on the Incas and their subjects?
5. What is the Inca legacy today?

The Spanish Invasion

1. The invasion of South America that brought down the Inca empire was an extension of the occupation of Mexico and Central America that began soon after AD 1500.
2. Until 1527, a series of expeditions, some led by Francisco Pizarro and his partner Diego de Almagro, had worked their way into Colombia and down the Ecuadorian coast to little profit. In 1528, Bartolomé Ruiz captured a treasure-laden raft along the Ecuadorian coast and a number of boys who would later serve as interpreters for the first encounters with the Incas.
3. News of Ruiz's success helped Pizarro to obtain a royal concession as governor of the unknown land and to assemble a force of 168 men, most of whom had already spent ten to twenty years in the Americas.
4. After founding a series of settlements along the coast, Pizarro led his troops to Cajamarca, an Inca provincial center in the Peruvian high-

lands, where the Inca prince Atawallpa was resting after just winning an extended dynastic war with his half-brother Waskhar.

5. On November 15, 1532, Pizarro's surprise attack captured Atawallpa in Cajamarca's main plaza, killing about 7,000 Andeans in the process, without the loss of a single Spaniard.
6. After eight months of captivity, during which he made good on paying a ransom of about $50 million for his release, Atawallpa was garroted on July 26, 1533, ending independent Inca dominance.

On to Cuzco

1. Atawallpa's death triggered grief in half the empire and rejoicing in the remainder. The Spaniards immediately installed another brother, named Thupa Wallpa, as a puppet through whom to rule.
2. They set south toward Cuzco, overcoming periodic armed resistance, but Thupa Wallpa died along the way, probably of a Spanish-introduced illness.
3. Near Cuzco, yet another prince, named Manqo Inka, joined the Spaniards as co-ruler, and they entered the capital triumphantly on November 15, 1533. Manqo Inka was installed as ruler in December in a grand ceremony, attended by the mummies of his royal ancestors.
4. By 1536, Manqo Inka had become disenchanted with Spanish co-rule, as the conquistadores pillaged the capital and treated the Incas badly. He raised a rebellion that included failed sieges of Cuzco (1536-37) and Ciudad de Los Reyes (i.e., Lima, 1536).
5. The Spanish victories can be attributed to a coincidence of factors: (a) the Incas' initial underestimation of the threat; (b) the political split caused by the civil war, which created a ready-made host of Spanish supporters; (c) the technological superiority of the European arms, armor, and horses; (d) the greater Spanish flexibility and aggressiveness in military encounters; (e) the temporary nature of Andean military service by soldiers and herders drafted into service; and (f) the inability of the Incas to find a leader who could marshal a unified resistance.

The Neo-Inca State

1. The early Inca defeats did not end their aspirations for self-rule, but simply sent the resistance into the eastern forests at Vilcabamba, where they maintained a neo-Inca state until 1572.
2. Under successive Inca rulers Manqo Inka, Titu Cusi, and Thupa Amaru, the Incas mounted campaigns that harassed the Spaniards from the eastern slopes and punished their Andean collaborators through raids and massacres.
3. Vilcabamba finally fell in 1572 to an expedition mounted by Viceroy Toledo, who executed the last Inca ruler, Thupa Amaru, in Cuzco, despite appeals on the captive's behalf by many Spaniards. On September 24, 1572, the last of the Inca kings was marched into the

plaza of his ancestors' majesty and beheaded, bringing an end to the lineage that had descended from the Sun to rule the Earth.

Spanish Rule

1. Over the first two decades of Spanish rule, the Andes were riven by civil wars among the conquistadores, which resulted in the murders of both Francisco Pizarro and his estranged partner, Diego de Almagro.
2. Major reformations were imposed by Viceroy Francisco de Toledo in 1570-72, which included moving vast numbers of Andean peoples from their traditional communities to new settlements (*reducciones*) near points of Spanish control.
3. The Spanish civil wars, forced labor, and pestilence wrought devastation on the Andean populace, reducing it by about 50 percent in many places within about forty years of the invasion; in some coastal valleys, the population ultimately fell to as little as 5 percent of its 1532 size.
4. The Incas and other Andean peoples raised a series of rebellions throughout colonial rule, including a clandestine movement called the Taki Onqoy, or "Dancing Sickness." As memory of the Incas as living, oppressive rulers began to fade from the popular consciousness, another image of late prehistory as a glorious epoch began to coalesce among Andean peoples, not just the Incas themselves. Over the centuries, the myth of Inkarrí took form. He was a syncretic figure who blended the Inca with the *rey* (Spanish king), a man who would return to the Andes to free the native peoples from the bondage into which the Spanish conquest had cast them.

The Inca Legacy

1. The legacy of Tawantinsuyu continues to shape the people and cultures of western South America, especially in the Peruvian highlands where many communities still follow traditional ways of life. Most importantly, life is still defined by links among close kin and an ethic of mutual support. The relationship of the people to the land and sky still retains a vibrancy that is expressed in the knowledge, beliefs, and cycles of ceremonies practiced by many communities.
2. The Incas still retain enormous potency in the self-image of the Peruvian nation. For a time in the 1980s, the national currency was called the *inti,* named after the Sun god of the Incas, and the currency of recent times is still named the *sol*, that is, the Spanish word for the Sun.
3. There is no more compelling reminder of the cultural weight of the Incas in modern society than the protests surrounding the presidential election in Peru in 2000. When a massive rally was staged in Lima to protest the political process, it was called "The March of the Four Parts," that is, "The March of the Inca Empire."

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING

Consider

1. Was the Spaniards' conquest of the Andes almost a foregone conclusion once they invaded, or did the particular circumstances of the moment provide an unusual opportunity for the conquest to be successful?
2. As the Spaniards slowly took control over the peoples previously ruled by the Incas, what were the impacts on the native populations, culturally and physically? What kinds of resistance did the Andean peoples put up?
3. How does the image of the Incas resonate among Andean peoples today?

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You'll get the most out of this course if you have the following book:

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This book is available on-line through www.modernscholar.com or by calling Recorded Books at 1-800-636-3399.

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