

COVERING THE EARTH

Mapping the Walkabout in Andean *Pueblos de Indios*

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Abstract: I discuss how the chorographic view of landscape in Spanish cartography was at variance with the perspective of terrain represented in Andean mapping media when both traditions converged upon the implementation of the Crown-mandated surveys known as the "Relaciones Geográficas del Peru" (1577–1586). These surveys were collected and transcribed by modern editors for publication. The sole map included in the Relaciones may have been due to the self-interest of the Spanish author. The continued use of Andean media and the art of "memory mapping," both of precontact origin, may explain why indigenous mappings did not enter the Relaciones record. This memory activity was, and is still, manifested during the ritualized traversing of community-held land boundaries. Therefore, the few extant paper-like mappings had been appended to land-litigation documents. I examine how the visualized route and the naming of topographical features underlie three sixteenth-century mappings and their accompanying judicial accounts (relaciones). These mappings and accounts display the native Andeans' adaptation of precontact place identification practices to Spanish boundary-marking methods. The mappings demonstrate a hybrid cartographic art, which combines manuscript and block print within the pictorial format. In one of the maps the artist-scribes include a relación in Quechua (and its Spanish version), a rare example of this genre in Andean letters. Indigenous cabildo authorities, exemplified by Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, adopted writing practices by recording place names. This activity led to a pan-Andean lexicon of toponyms for judicial purposes. Contemporary ethnographic research on current walkabout customs could further elucidate the genesis of these Colonial Andean mappings and lead to the recovery of other specimens.

A GEOGRAPHY WITHOUT MAPS?

By the end of the sixteenth century the native Andean's most salient participation in the culture of alphabetic writing involved the inscription of juridical documents on behalf of the conservation of community

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lands. The adjudication of entitlements was conducted by both Spanish and native Andean authorities who walked a course of topographical features and constructed markers that bound a *pueblo de indios*,¹ or township. The Spanish conceived this practice, known as *amojonamiento*, as a lineal pathway in order to inspect, place, or repair *mojones*, or cairns. On the other hand, native Andeans envisioned the reconnaissance of *mojones* and natural features, or *saywa*, as a circular route known as *muyuriy*. Accounts of *amojonamientos* and the *muyuriy*, then, entered the judicial record as a *relación* or manuscript narrative account within the juridical plea known as *petición*. Therefore, these land adjudication accounts form a substantial part of archived holdings in the national libraries of Latin America, such as the Archivo Nacional de Bolivia in Sucre, where they are identified by the general rubric of “Tierras e Indios,” and in the Archivo General de la Nación (AGN) in Lima, Peru, as “Títulos de Comunidades.” In contrast to the Viceroyalty of New Spain, however, where litigants generally included a mapping of terrain along with the adjudication documents (*acordados*), land claim dossiers (*archiverios*) originating in the Andean *pueblo de indios* lack pictorial representations of land parcels or community jurisdictions. Thus, pictorial representations of terrain have rarely reached notarial holdings in the national archives of Peru and Bolivia.

Considering the capacity of *kipu* (knotted-yarn registry) to record the dimensions of landholdings, and possibly, of place identifiers² or of petroglyph, textile, and stone art,³ to mimic terrain and watercourses, the dearth of mappings is not due to the native Andean’s lack of expertise in representing topography pictorially or symbolically. I suggest that the reason for this archival lacuna is that the *kurakas*, or indigenous authorities, of *pueblos de indios*, apparently, rarely produced “*croquis*,” or paper mappings. If a *croquis* was produced, it was, and is still, kept by an individual claimant in an *archiverio*, or personal dossier, or in the custody of the governing authority on behalf of the community. More importantly, instead of *croquis*, native Andeans have depended upon “memory mapping” through the *muyuriy* as well as stone and clay to portray, conserve, and manifest their relationship to the landscape.

The five sources—textual, pictorial, and sculptural—that guide my discussion on how Native Andeans and Spaniards responded to the exigencies of representing their environment through land-marking and

1. I use the term *pueblos de indios* to specify those hamlets resulting from Viceroy Francisco Toledo’s policy by which the inhabitants of dispersed Indian settlements were relocated in order to facilitate their evangelization. They are now denominated *comunidades campesinas*.

2. Salomon, 2005: 218–219, 229–230. Urton, 2005. Galen Brokaw, personal communication, 2005.

3. See, respectively, Figures 2, 3 and 4. Also, Pardo 1936: 6–17, Lumbreras, et al., 2004:31, and Silverman-Proust, 1988: 221–233.

mapping are 1) An ethnographic treatise, “Descripción y relación de la provincia de los Yauyos” and a chorographic map, “Piru y la provincia de los Yauyos,” produced in 1586 by a Spanish *corregidor*, or governor, at the behest of the Crown; 2) terminology in the historical annals of Juan de Betanzos (1551) and Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa (1572) for land-marking practices and mapping modes originating in the pre-Hispanic era; 3) a pre-Hispanic petroglyph and postcontact scale models of landscapes; 4) two relaciones for restitution of lands: one includes a mapping of the Province of Guamanga in the Department of Ayacucho (from the 1590s) and the other, an account (1558 to 1570) of land marking and modeling of coca plantations in the valley of Chillón, Provinces of Canta and Huarochiri, Department of Lima; and 5) two rare indigenous mappings from Santo Domingo de Cocha Laraos, in the Province of Yauyos, Department of Lima.⁴ The first mapping is a symbolic representation of land-marked terrain interspersed with captions penned in alphabetic script in 1595. The second one, dated 1597, contains two relaciones that might be transcripts—albeit partial—of the verbal proceedings of a *muyuriy* (circular reconnaissance, see Appendix). They are possibly the earliest extant examples of judicial relaciones written in the *lengua general*, or Quechua of Cusco.

In view of the substantial—eighty-six—extant mappings in the dispersed corpus of the “Relaciones Geográficas de Nueva España,”⁵ in contrast, for Peru, I find that historical and judicial documents, as well as landscape models, are our primary sources of knowledge on Andean mapping modes and ritualized practices that are precursor to mapping as a scribal act. As for the Peruvian and Mexican relaciones, an in-depth comparison of their literary and ethnographical aspects, for instance, lies beyond the intended scope of this study. Instead, what is at issue here is not the geographical treatises themselves, but the fact that, within the corpus of relaciones spanning two continents, there is a substantial difference between the abundance of mappings in the case of Mexico as opposed to the almost complete omission thereof in Peru.

First, I shall address primarily the cultural and historical circumstances in the pueblos de indios that could account for the pictorial omission in the Peruvian relaciones. Second, I discuss the various ways native Andeans articulated the use of print and graphic art with their memory mapping of the community domain. To this end, I draw upon the geographer, William G. Gartner’s, survey, “Mapmaking in the Central Andes,” (1998) in which he presents a typology of “formal” and “informal” mapping that contrasts “inscription of spatial knowledge” with “analogical expression or performance of spatial knowledge,” respectively (Gartner

4. The author engaged in fieldwork in Laraos (2000), Santa Rosa de Quibi (2005) and Chiara (2005).

5. Robertson, 1965.

1998, 257). In the category of “inscribed” land lore, Gartner includes mapping artifacts as diverse as croquis, ceramics, and textiles in which inscription constitutes encoded knowledge, such as graphics on paper, motifs woven into cloth, or bands painted on earthenware. On the other hand, analogical expression encompasses performative acts by which a community reproduces its perceived social and religious relationship to the domain, for instance, in the rite of tracing the layout of plots on an earthen arena during a community’s annual apportionment of lands.

Instead of validating the polarity of analogical expression in a structural schema, my stance is to explicate how the performative aspect is manifested in the inscribed or sculpted cartographic medium. Therefore, I modify Gartner’s dichotomy by indicating the extent to which memory mapping as ritualized act informs alphabetic or iconic inscription of landscape knowledge at the time Spanish governors were concerted introducing European cartography in the *pueblos de indios*.

ONE CORREGIDOR’S COMPLIANCE WITH THE KING’S WRIT

In the Viceroyalty of Peru, the governorships of both the *pueblos de indios* and Spanish municipalities were enjoined by the Council of the Indies’ 1577 mandate to describe and represent pictorially their polities according to fifty assignments, which were included in an *interrogatorio*, or survey form. I shall focus on the reception and implementation of assignment ten because it mandates a *traza*, or mapping of townships and environs, which was intended to accompany the *relación*, or survey response: “El sitio y asiento donde los dichos pueblos estuvieran, si es en alto o bajo o llano, con la traza dellos.”⁶

By the time of the first completed survey in Peru, the “Descripción y relación de la provincia de los Yauyos” in January 15, 1586, a century had passed since native Andeans participated in a state-mandated reconnaissance of their lands. During his reign (1471–1493), Tupac Inca Yupangui traversed the kingdom appointing *kurakas* to rule regions recently conquered by his militia (Betanzos 1987, 96–87). The inquest that he carried out among the most fearsome of polities, the Soras and Lucanas, engaged the *kurakas* and the peoples they would govern in providing the Inka with information about the yield of their lands, along with mappings

6. Jiménez de la Espada, [1577] 1965, 87. In an amended version of the *instrucción y memoria* this assignment reads: “El sitio y asiento donde los dichos pueblos estuvieren, si es en alto, o en bajo, o llano, con la traza y de signo en pintura de las calles, y plazas, y otros lugares señaladas o monestarios como quiera que se pueda rascañar facilmente en un papel, en que se declare, que parte del pueblo mira la medio día o al norte.” From the “Descripción de Teozacoalco y Amoltepec, por su corregidor Hernando de Cervantes, 9 de enero 1580.” *Relaciones Geográficas de México*. Nettie Lee Benson Latin American Collection, University of Texas, Austin.

(“*pinturas*” and “*modelos*”), all of which would facilitate a policy for the assimilation of diverse ethnic groups into the ever-expanding Inka state (Betanzos 1987, 96–87).

Similar to the kurakas’ enterprise in the service of Tupac Inca Yupangui, the Viceroy Francisco de Toledo (1570–1582) and Martín Enríquez (1583) would administer King Philip of Spain’s survey mandate. The Crown intended that the completed surveys would serve as an instrument to further legitimate its claim to New World lands, and their unification within the trans-oceanic Spanish empire, just as the Reyes Católicos had forged the Spanish state in the Iberian Peninsula upon their ascension to rule in 1475. The viceroys might have been mindful, as well, of the peninsular unification of kingdoms as occurring contemporaneously, but coincidentally, to the consolidation of ethnic groups within the Inka state by Tupac Inca Yupangui, a feat held in the “living memory” of native Andeans, and recorded by Spanish chroniclers of Inka history (Betanzos 1987, 96–87).

It is uncertain how many of the survey reports were completed for the provinces of Peru and thereafter received by the Council of the Indies. As far as is known, the cabildo authorities of fourteen provinces composed *relaciones* of their respective jurisdictions between 1582 and 1586.⁷ However, none of these reports, known as the *Relaciones Geográficas de Indias*—Peru, apparently, included the *traza* of surveyed towns and territory in Peru as required in assignment ten. In contrast, in the Viceroyalty of New Spain, many such maps were painted and, accompanied by their reports, sent to the Council of the Indies from where they were later disseminated to private or state manuscript collections and repositories in Europe and the Americas.

The inclusion or omission of the mapping in a *relaciones* manuscript would have been happenstance, as the task of composing a *traza* was not always delegated to the same collaborators who assisted the *corregidor* in redacting the survey report. Also, if Indian or Ladino artist-scribes were indeed assigned mappings, they would not by choice compose art nor write on Crown-supplied paper that could be folded into folio-sized pages. Instead, to produce mappings they would more likely have employed parchment sheets, paste board, hide panels, or textile sheaths. Thus, given the compliance with assignment ten by the provincial *corregidores*, apart from one exception, I am not aware of other topographies charted on larger than folio sheets that had been folded into reports departing Peru,

7. My count of the known *relaciones* is based on Jiménez de la Espada’s 1965 edition of volume 1. In his 1881–1887 edition of the four volumes constituting the *Relaciones Geográficas*, particularly volumes II–IV, there are several additional *relaciones* of provinces in the Viceroyalty of Peru, which in the colonial period included parts of present-day Ecuador and Argentina. I refer in this article only to the *relaciones* from Alto and Bajo Peru, which comprise Bolivia and Peru, respectively.

such as in the case of the Mexican Relaciones maps, which still show their custodial care marks when readied for dispatch in a standard dossier.

Of the fourteen Spanish officials who drew up the extant Relaciones, only three claim that a map was prepared. Don Andrés Vega, compiler of “La descripción que se hizo en la provincia de Xauxa por la instrucción de S. M. que a la dicho provincia se invio de molde” (today called Jauja instead of Xauxa) dated May 16, 1582, states that “Al décimo capítulo, se remiten al modelo que irá con esta relación” (Jiménez de la Espada 1965,[1582], 168). Further on, the corregidor again refers to a forthcoming map (“como parecerá en el modelo”) that will include newly established pueblos de indios located in the montaine region, “los Andes,” in the province of Jauja (172). However, it is not known whether the map was ever composed and, moreover, received by the Council of the Indies. In the “Relación de la ciudad de Guamanga y sus términos,” the regidor (town councilman) entrusted with the survey, Pedro de Rivera, claims that he already completed assignments ten and sixteen.⁸ Here, Rivera clearly distinguishes his responsibility to include a map of the terrain of Guamanga from the assignments delegated to his other collaborators. Likewise, the corregidor of La Paz, Diego Cabeza de Vaca, reveals he is sending a traza with the relación: “la ciudad está poblada en una ladera algo agria, trasada por orden de cuadras, como se verá con la trasa della que con esta va” (Jiménez de la Espada 1965 [1582], 345–346) But, in the end, the whereabouts of these mappings are also unknown.

In the “Descripción y relación de la provincia de los Yauyos,” completed on January 15, 1586,⁹ the corregidor of that province, don Diego Dávila Briceño, does not divulge whether he complied with assignment ten. However, he would have been aptly suited to carry out this task, as he states he had walked the interior and confines of the Province of Yauyos likely referring to the amojonamiento (land title adjudications) of the twelve *doctrinas*, or centers of evangelization, in which he had founded thirty-nine reduction villages.¹⁰ The corregidor and his company of native Andean authorities would have been familiar with amojonamiento protocols and perambulatory survey (*muyuriy*) rituals. The inspection party followed the most direct (“*derechera*”) path from one saywa or mojón, to the next (“*punto a punto*”), depending upon the proximity of a given landmark.

8. “A las nueve e diez, diez e seis, diez e siete, diez e ocho y diez e nueve preguntas, está respondido en la segunda [Question 10] y tercera; y por las que no son a nuestro cargo, se pasa.” The text of question 16 reads “En todos los pueblos de Españoles y de Indios se diga, el asiento donde están poblados, si es sierra o valle, o tierra descubierta y llana, y el nombre de la tierra, o valle y comarca do estuvieren” (Jiménez de la Espada 1965 [1582],189)

9. The map, which is undated, is included in the survey dossier held in the Real Academia de la Historia in Madrid.

10. “ninguno la puede mejor describir que yo el dicho corregidor, pues la he medido a pasos” (Jiménez de la Espada 1965 [1582],164).

If a mountain peak or a mountain range is inaccessible to the entourage, then these landmarks are viewed and venerated from the nearest vantage place.¹¹ As the *corregidor* and *kuraka* approached a *saywa*, one of them voiced the claim by calling out its name while pointing to it with the left hand and holding the titles in the right hand. At the same time, the native Andean elders wafted incense smoke in the direction of the *saywa* or *mojón*, thereby honoring its protective duty to the boundaries of their lands.¹² This gesture of honoring each *saywa* can be traced to its pre-Hispanic homologue in the act of proffering “tribute” to places of veneration or use value in the community to which the cult was entrusted.

In the end, despite having ordered and led numerous *amojonamientos*, Dávila Briceño eschews the *traza* of any one of the *pueblos de indios* and their lands in the jurisdiction of his governorship. Yet, of all the maps of the provinces of Peru that might have been drawn at the behest of the Crown, only the one entitled “*Piru y la provincia de los Yauyos*,” (figure 1) fortuitously, has been preserved to the present day. Moreover, its authorship is confirmed where the *corregidor* states in an inscription at the left of the map: “*De los yndios de adentro esta provincia de los yauyos anan yauyos y lorin yauyos escribiola Diego Dávila Briceño por mandado de su Magestad.*”

While we may never know the circumstances that resulted in the *lucnae* in the survey manuscript dossiers, where a mapping would have been inserted, I would venture that Diego Dávila Briceño’s survey report and map had likely reached its destination intact, given the strategic location of the Province of Yauyos in respect to the neighboring city of Lima, a journey of three days from the head of the *Corregimiento* of Yauyos, Santa María de Jesús de Guarochiri. Dávila Briceño states in his report that the principal post road from Lima, scaling over the “*Idolos de los Yauyos*,” or *sierra* of Huarochiri (figure 1, top center) to the valley of Jauja, and there on to Guamanga, Cusco, and Potosi, supported the most foot and hoof traffic and the most lucrative way-stations in the entire kingdom of Peru (Bauer 2000, 162–163). Given that Dávila Briceño supervised trade and correspondence on this heavily traversed thoroughfare, he would be responsible for the sure and prompt passage of dispatches of the survey dossiers from the provincial *corregimientos*, some from as far away from the viceregal capital at Lima as Santa Cruz de la Sierra, and Potosi in Alto Peru.

11. Expedientes Coloniales Adicionales, Archivo Nacional de Bolivia, EC Ad., 1746.1 [1703]

12. “con los títulos en la mano derecha, haciendo capas por algunos indios viejos de todos los mojones y deslindes de tierras.” The *muyuriy* protocols described in this document were valid before 1703 because the official status of community elders and of *kipukamayuc* in those proceedings is recorded as early as 1559. (Rostworowski 1988, 83, 248). The role of the elders as ritual officiants is well documented. See Bauer, 185–200.

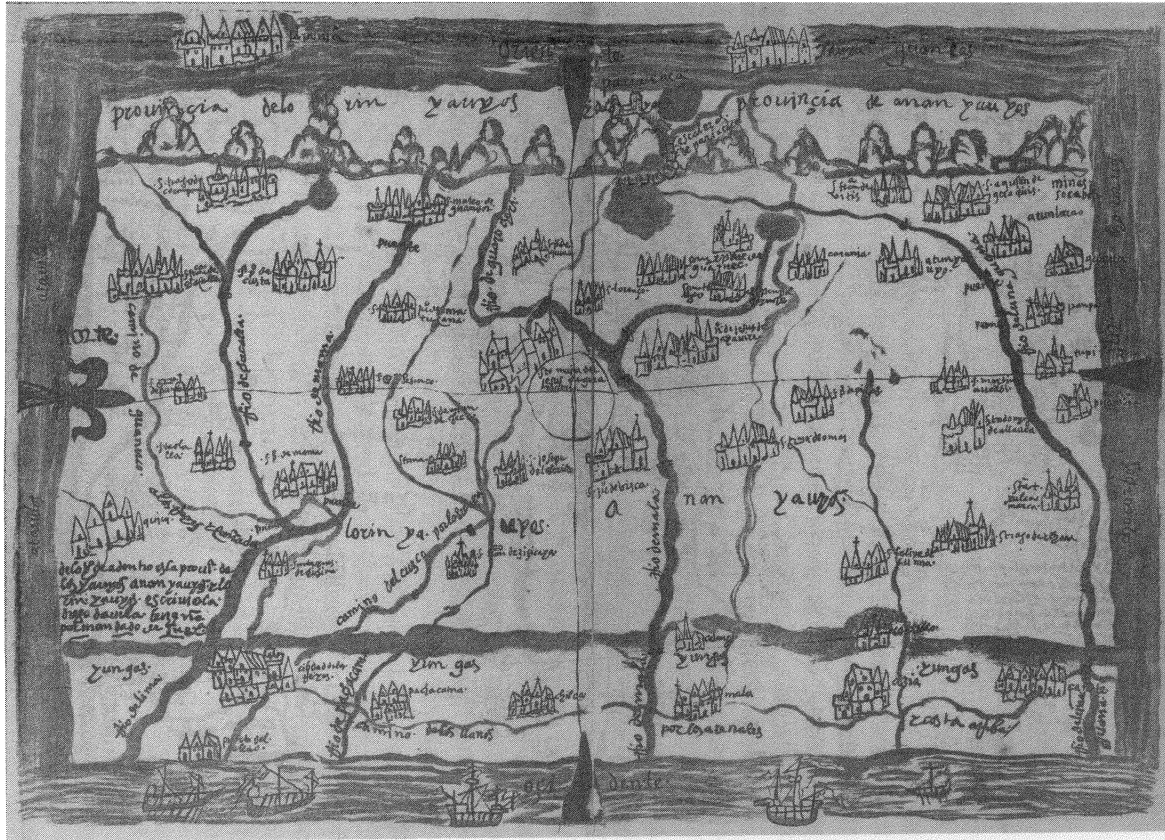


Figure 1 Map of Piru y la provincia de los Yauyos (1586) drawn by Diego Dávila Briceño. Reproduction from the *Relaciones Geográficas de Indias—Peru* (1881–1897). 33 x 25 cm. Courtesy of the Nettie Lee Benson Collection, University of Texas, Austin. Dávila Briceño shows numerous reduction vil-lages located between intermontaine river systems descending from the Andes to the Pacific ocean, such as Santa María de Jesús de Guarochiri at center and Atun (Cocha) Laraos at upper right along the River Lunaguana (Río Cañete).

As for the map itself, Dávila Briceño plants his geographic panorama of the Province of Yauyos eastward from the shores of Peru, thus amplifying the scale called for in assignment ten. In presenting a bird's-eye view of the province, he respects the pre-Hispanic division of inhabited terrain into two halves (moieties): Hatun and Hurin Yauyos, or Upper and Lower Yauyos, whose inhabitants had constituted an important Inka-governed polity.

Thus, instead of trazas, a formidable logistical task, Dávila Briceño pictures, selectively, localities that had figured importantly in the Spanish exploration and settlement of south-central Peru, among them, the principal temple complex of the cult of Pachacamac. The Spanish invaders' desecration of this sanctuary in 1533, and later, Dávila Briceño's destruction of the neighboring temple to the deity of Mama, the consort of Pachacamac, would precede the "extirpation of idolatries" movement in this province. Dávila Briceño established Cocha Laraos, which strategically overlooks one of the largest Inka *moya* or graded circular terraces for agricultural use. Furthermore, extensive pasturage ranges for camelid and sheep herding, and the great silver lode in the *puna* zone had constituted a diverse base of subsistence from well before Inka rule.

The corregidor centers Santa María de José de Guarochiri as the *axis mundi* of his map because this settlement had conserved its longstanding privilege as government seat of the macro-ethnic polities of Yauyos that predated their incorporation into the Inka state. If he were to have included the traza of any one of the localities he pictures on his map, this pueblo de indios would probably have been his choice. He proudly describes the metropolitan church and the *hospital de indios* that was constructed during his long tenure as governor of the province. He also established the cattle drive trail so that the herds driven to market at Lima from breeding ranches in Quito and Cuzco would traverse a *via* separate from the post-road. In the naming of the five *repartimientos* he commends himself for his labor in incorporating the Yauyos peoples into nucleated communities, thereby complying with the pan-Andean reduction policy mandated by Viceroy Toledo. Therefore, I suggest that the autobiographical aspects of Dávila Briceño's "Descripción y relación" could have been the genesis of his map. The place names and captions, which corroborate with the text of his report, would have served him as a pictorial *probanza de méritos*, or exit review, of his governorship. Thus, it is possible that the fortuitous conservation of the map of Yauyos was due to Dávila Briceño's anticipation of submitting his *probanza* to the Crown upon completion of his office.

Whereas the collaboration of nine native Andean underwriters is recognized by their corregidor in the *descripción* of Jauja, it is noteworthy that none of the Yauyos authorities signed their names, nor are they cited by Dávila Briceño at the conclusion of his *relación*. Whatever led

to this omission, Dávila Briceño chose to fulfill his mapping obligations by eschewing evidence of his experiential knowledge of the layout of pueblos de indios that he would have gained through the survey (muyuri). Thus, we could view his panoramic map as tending toward the inscribed modality, according to Gartner's bivalent scale.

THE MEDIA OF MAPPING

Before examining the indigenous cartographs presented below, I shall address terminology for modes of terrain marking and representation that originated in the pre-Hispanic era as attested to by the Spanish officials, Juan Diez de Betanzos and Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, whose knowledge of the means and media of mapping in the Andes drew upon their collaboration with descendants of Inka nobility.¹³ Betanzos, a regidor of the Cabildo of Cusco during the 1550s, based his history on his wife Doña Inez Yupangui's account of her royal ancestors, Inca Pachacutec Yupangui and Tupac Inca Yupangui. Sarmiento de Gamboa, a mariner and historian in the service of Viceroy Toledo, compiled his history of the Inkas in 1572 through collaboration with the kurakas of *ayllus*, or land-based extended kin groups in the valley of Cusco. Furthermore, Sarmiento de Gamboa's knowledge of the Cusco landscape would have been informed by his experience aboard ship as *piloto*, those navigators who were the first to apply their knowledge of sea charting to surveying terrain of the former Inka empire (Cieza de Leon 1991 [1547–1550], 121–125).

Juan Diez de Betanzos derived his knowledge of the media for landscape and settlement representation through a mandate issued by Tupac Inca Yupangui to the Soras, an ethnic group that he had recently subjected to his rule, and also from a dialogue recorded involving this Inka monarch and the same ethnic group. In the mandate Tupac Inca Tupanqui states that “él en el entretanto *diese la traza del tal pueblo* hiciese hacer de barro la figura de los tales edificios que ellos le enviarían allí maestros que la supiesen bien hacer ansi de cantería” (Betanzos 1987 [1551], 47).¹⁴

Betanzos then reports the dialogue that took place during Tupac Inca Yupangui's campaign against the Soras between this Inka and his *orejones* or lord-ranked state administrators and captains of militias who had accompanied him from Cusco:

TUPAC INCA YUPANGUI: ¿Cuál de aquellos señores de aquellas provincias (Soras, Lucanas, and Chancas) era el que había movido aquella junta?

OREJONES: Los señores de los Soras.

13. Betanzos and Sarmiento de Gamboa (unfortunately) did not register Quechua terms for mapping and amojonamiento while they transposed their collaborator's recitations of Inka history into Spanish narrative prose.

14. The emphasis in this and the following texts is mine.

TUPAC INCA YUPANGUI: Está bien . . . ¡Qué (the Soras) guiasen y encaminasen mi campo en aquel derecho! (In that place) . . . aquella es la *pintura y dibujo* que ustedes (the advisors) me habían visto hacer . . . cuando me fueron a rogar que tomase la borla . . . (and he told them) de aquellas puentes e caminos que hasta allí había hecho" (Betanzos 1987 [1551], 90)¹⁵

Betanzos also records two other mandates pertaining to the survey of lands and resources of the Soras which Tupac Inca Yupangui, after the decisive conquest of his most formidable adversaries, the Chancas, issued in order to govern them and exact tribute:

1) el Ynga les mandó que le dijese qué tenían en sus tierras y que posibilidad alcanzaba cada uno y que le dijese la verdad porque él tenía ordenado de poner en cada provincia de cada uno dellos un orejon señor natural de los del Cuzco . . . luego los caciques mandaron traer allí *los quipos memorias que ellos tienen y ansi mesmo por pinturas* lo que ansi tenían e poseían y *del arte y suerte que era la tierra* e provincia de cada uno dellos . . . (Betanzos 1987 [1551], 96–97).

2) ... que ansi mismo los tales oregones tuviesen cargo de *mirar los límites* y territorios que cada provincia tenía y que se los *amojonasen* y que si alguna provincia comarcana a ella o pueblo tuviese necesidad de tierra por la demasiada gente que tuviesen que le enviasen en *pintura el arte y manera* de las tales tierras y provincias para que él las quería igualar porque iguales partes y *amojanarselas* (116).

At the outset of Sarmiento de Gamboa's inquiry the kurakas of Cusco (circa 1570) informed him of their earliest source of histories on the settlement of the Cusco valley and the advent of the Inka dynasty. As would happen with the Crown-mandated survey enterprise, Tupac Inca Yupangui's predecessor, Pachacuti Inca Yupangui, had convened in Cusco elder historians from the provinces of the realm to provide accounts about the lands and origins of their peoples. The histories produced by Pachacuti's mandate, rendered pictorially on large wooden tablets, called *tablones* were displayed in a chamber in the temple of the sun in Cusco. The accounts manifested through this "visual library," as interpreted by bards appointed by the Inka, were disseminated among the general population during the ensuing generations (Sarmiento de Gamboa 1988, 49). Thus Sarmiento de Gamboa's inquiry, perhaps the first to have been carried out since the epochal survey of Pachacuti Inca, enjoined the kurakas to recount to him the Inka's histories as told to them by their forefathers and mothers (49).

The Inka also appointed . . .

personas (orejones) que fuesen por todas las provincias que tenía sujetas, y las tanteasen y marcasen y se las trajesen figuradas en *modelos de barro al natural*. Y así se hizo. Y puestos *los modelos y descripciones* delante del inca, tanteólos, considerados *llanos y fortalezas*, mandó a los visitadores que morasen bien lo que él hacía. Y luego empezó a derribar las fortalezas que le parecía, y aquellos pobladores mudábalos a sitio llano, y a los del llano pasábalos a las cuchillas y sierras, tan lejos unos de otros y cada uno tan lejos de su natural, que no se pudiesen volver a él (Sarmiento de Gamboa 1988 [1572], 110).

15. I have arranged Betanzo's narrative into a dialogue and identified the speakers.

The relocation of these peoples, known as *mitmaqkuna*, within and beyond their native provinces persisted thereafter in the memory of descendants of the generation that Tupac Inca Yupangui had incorporated into the kingdom. The kurakas, who informed Sarmiento de Gamboa, remembered that the Inka's perusal of the clay maquettes (*modelos de barro*) of settlements in the Province of Lucanas prompted him, with the thrust of his hand, to smash them, thereby issuing an edict for the orejones to implement, namely the obliteration of mountain strongholds, which signified to the people control of their provincial homelands. Thus the symbolic gesture of the Inka heralding destruction became conflated with the creative acts attributed to the divinity Wiraqucha, who had caused the Cordilleras to rise in serrated form and the rivers to course through their foothills (Betanzos 1987 [1551], 11; Sarmiento de Gamboa 1988 [1572], 43). Nevertheless, the memory of the Inka's grant of entitlement to lands as a legitimization of residency for the newly displaced peoples persisted, and even surpassed their recall of devastation and dispersal. The kuraka recalled that the orejones took stock of the productivity of the lands by recording the yields in khipu and designating the amount of produce proffered for tribute. Remembered also were the artists and weavers who composed "paintings" of the ground upon which they trod and of near and faraway landscape features open to their gaze. In the perspective of the viewer, these representations of topographical features mimicked the contours of the earth's terrain. Thus, the depictions had become known among the kuraka of the Southern Andes as *carpa tira*, or covering of the earth,¹⁶ for when laid before them for perusal these rollout sheets literally embraced the ground.

Betanzos's and Sarmiento de Gamboa's collaborators also informed them of what they remembered most of all from their elders: the arrival of lord-ranked *amojonadores* with the Inka's mandate to represent on *modelos de barro* the stone pillar saywas they had erected as boundary markers at the juncture of regions or as way-marks on the Royal Roads. The *amojonadores* included a stonemason and a *medidor*, or surveyor,¹⁷ who also served as a judge, designating for the peoples repatriated on Inka land grants water sources and the routing of irrigation troughs that determined allotments of fields for cultivation and pasturage.

For a people who believed that the landscape had been formed by divinities, the arrival of Inka emissaries must have appeared unprecedented and imposing inasmuch as humankind could merely mandate and implement change on the land's face. For while the Inka's grandiose enterprise entered the state historical record on khipu, the people recalled

16. Term from Platt et al. (2006 [1637], 734–35). See also Bertonio (1984, 31). *Carpa*; Toldo, y tambien vela del nauio. *Qarpa—Tierra: Canopy—earth* (my translation).

17. *Una Caucho [Huna – kuchuq]: Lord—Cutter. Cona Raqui Inka [Qunakuq Rak'ikuq Inka]: the donor, the distributor Inka, from Guaman Poma 1980, 324–327.*



Figure 2 Pre-Hispanic petroglyph possibly of water resources. 1 x 1.5m. Actual, unidentified terrain in San Salvador, Department of Cusco, Peru. Figure traced from a rock face courtesy of Silvia Florez Delgado. The circles at upper left may indicate headsprings feeding a hydraulic system and the spiral, a graded circular terrace. The circles at mid left may indicate a series of springs or symbolize the water wealth of a settlement.

through their oral traditions (Taylor 1999, 88–91) that it was the numinous reptile tracing its path in the soil that had indicated the layout of water courses upon which land parcel designation and cultivation depended. Thus the people, envisioning the mythical reptilian trace as a template for mapping, likely recorded their knowledge of watercourses and adjacent lands in petroglyphs (see figure 2).

To my knowledge, no topographical clay maquettes produced by Inka amojonadores have survived. However, an approximation of these possibly unfired and unadorned (“*al natural*”) figurines is apparent in the stone amulets (“*Kallasqa*” from Pardo 1936, 15) fashioned for ceremonial use that represent natural and constructed watercourses embedded in mountain-scapes, as well as homesteads and cultivated areas. The replica of an actual, but unidentified, terrain shown in figure 3 is an example of how modelers represented these locations.

In the lower half of the model the sculptor crafted *laymi*, or the seven field-set, which are cultivated according to a rotational calendar. The *laymi* are punctuated with several nodules, which are possibly *saywa* whose names would identify *taqa*, or sectors, of these individual fields. The *laymi* appear separated by canals for the irrigation waters of upland origin, whose entry is possibly represented by a cleft in a stratum of bedrock at the mid upper half. The third *laymi* from the left is terraced on its upper slope and the sixth has furrows descending to a *taqa*. The first *laymi* abuts

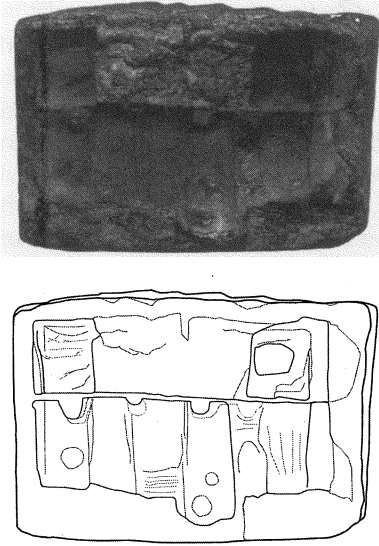


Figure 3 A landholding containing seven laymi, or parcels, in the lower half of the extension. The sculpted mounds may indicate natural or constructed features that mark and identify claim to the individual plots. The terrain in the upper half, at a level superior to the agricultural area, contains an irrigation water source, possibly a reservoir, and circular terraces. The uncarved portions may indicate rocky outcrops or escarpments and canals for collecting run-off waters that descend into the two declivities. Possibly Pre-Hispanic. Hematite. 7 by 5 cm. Private collection.

what might be a subterranean reservoir and the sixth a terraced declivity. The incised detail of the terrain, especially the emphasized modeling of saywas, indicates that the muyuriy could have informed the layout of the laymi and other features on the model.

WALKING, MAPPING, AND WRITING

The solitary instance of the mapping of the Province of Yauyos in the Peruvian *Relaciones Geográficas*, which was constructed according to European models, limits our knowledge of the cartographic techniques that native Andean peoples would have employed to represent on paper-like products their inhabited environment. Nevertheless, we have at our disposal three pictorial representations of native Andean-held lands to draw upon in characterizing cartography produced by native artists, such as it had evolved after the time the *Relaciones* survey mandate reached the Viceroyalty of Peru. I shall discuss the role of the muyuriy in the making of mapping media based on the three mappings and on the *relaciones* produced by the foremost native Andean historian, Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, and by the native Andean authorities of the Valley of Chillón and Cocha Laraos.

Nuestro título que nos dio Tupac Ynca Yupangui de nuestros tierras y mojones

In 1597, Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala left his homeland once again in the province of Guamanga to present to the Audiencia at Lima a

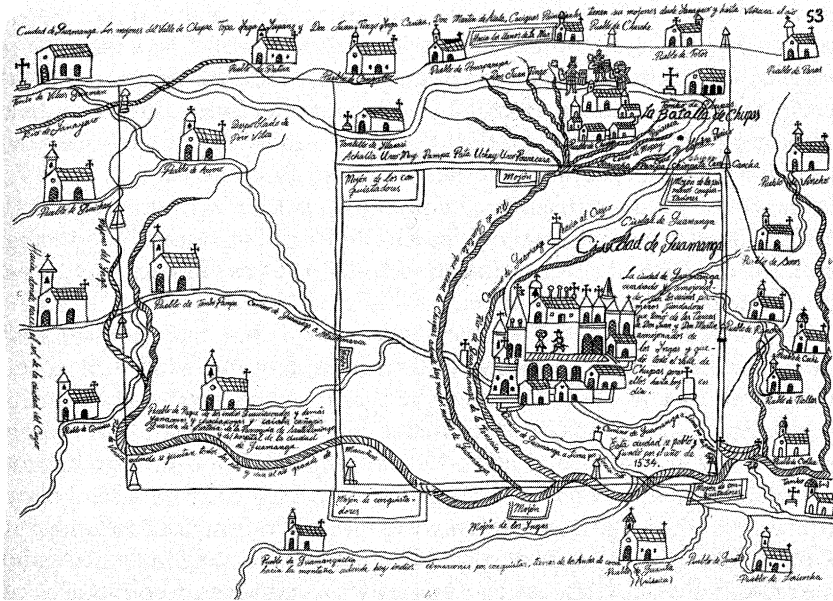


Figure 4 Carta of the city and province of Guamanga. Nineteenth-century facsimile of the original croquis attributed to Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. From Elias Prado Tello and Alfredo Prado, 1991. The city is bounded by “cairns of the conquerors” and two already existing landmarks dating to Inka governance. Place names located on the *muyuriy* pathways line the upper border of the city bounds at the river confluence.

nearly forty-year accumulation of notarized documents conserved in an archiverio in support of an ancestral land claim.¹⁸ This compendium includes a *merced* (land grant), numerous *peticiones* and a *carta* (croquis; Prado Tello 1991, 334). The *carta* (figure 4) is noteworthy for the following reasons: 1) it is the only known Colonial era mapping of San Cristóbal de Guamanga and the *pueblo de indios*, Santa Catalina de Ranta Vilca de Chupas, 2) it is well-crafted in the artistic style of Guaman Poma’s cityscapes,¹⁹ 3) it comes from a region—province of Guamanga, seat of the Soras, Lucanas, and Chanca ethnic groups—that,

18. The first edition of transcripts of the various documents (spanning the years 1560 to 1646), some of which were contained in Guaman Poma’s dossier (1560–1598), Prado Tello published in *Y no hay remedio* (1991, 159–410). During the 1594 *Visita* of Guamanga and again in 1597 during the “Comisión de Composición y Venta de Tierras en el distrito de Huamanga,” Guaman Poma may have further pressed his claim to ancestral lands before Crown officials.

19. In Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala’s *Nueva coronica y buen gobierno*, the personages depicted on the *Mapa Mundi* and in the town plan of Guamanga, and the *mojones* situated on the royal road entering and leaving the city in another drawing are similar to figures in the *carta*, all of which might substantiate Guaman Poma’s authorship (Guaman Poma de Ayala 1980, 913–915 and 968–969, respectively). Prado Tello appends both the original and a later copy of the *carta*. I reproduce the latter for its greater legibility.

as we have seen in the above section, fortuitously has provided the most extensive historical context for terrain and town plan representation media in the native Andean tradition, 4) the petitions accompanying the carta contain relaciones that allow for recontextualizing the precontact muyuri practices as reported by Betanzos and Sarmiento de Gamboa, and, 5) if Guaman Poma had been the artist commissioned to provide a “modelo” of the province of Guamanga for the Crown-mandated Relaciones, he thereby would have fulfilled the objectives of producing a view of its capital city that followed the directives of assignments ten and sixteen of the survey form.

The merced, carta, and the peticiones pertain to the suit Guaman Poma, on behalf of his living kinsmen, Alonso Mamani, Alonso’s wife, Ynes Coca, and Martín de Ayala, brought against “usurpers” who claimed the prized arable lands at Chiara Urco in the valley of Chupas²⁰ upon which their ancestors had settled as *mitmaquna* from the province of Chachapoyas at the behest of the Inka.²¹ This merced, a notarized copy (*traslado*) of the original granted by the Viceroy in June 1560 to Guaman Poma’s forebears, kurakas don Juan Tingo, don Guaman Mallki de Ayala, and Domingo de Ayala, served to verify the extent and boundaries of lands in the valley of Chupas that Tupac Inca Yupangui had distributed to their ancestors, who hence administered those lands held in common as Patronato del Inca (Prado Tello 1991 [1560], 339–341). Thus, as depicted in the carta, from the crest mark of Chupas the three kurakas direct their proprietary gaze upon the valley zones before them, a stance Guaman Poma employs to legitimate his kin’s land entitlement.

We now turn from the historical rationale of Guaman Poma’s land claim to the pictorial and textual techniques he employed to substantiate the suit, specifically in the carta and in two relaciones in his petition, which I indicate as I [1598] and II [1597] (Prado Tello 1991, 171, 367–369).²² In the carta Guaman Poma crafts the province of Guamanga as a map representation similar to Dávila Briceño’s panorama of Yauyos (figure 4). Then, he places at the corners of the *cadastro* the four “Mojones de los Conquistadores,” which the Spanish founders established to mark the confines of the city of Guamanga. As Guaman Poma was well aware,

20. The “Valley of Chupas” is in actuality a series of highland slopes located at a higher elevation than the valley of Ayacucho (9,050 feet).

21. The suit also names other newcomers to the lands such as Mestizos, Indians, Spaniards and the nuns of a convent in Guamanga. In 1587 the Chachapoya recovered their lands through the auspices of the Cabildo of Guamanga in recompense for services to the local court of justice. In effect, the Guaman Poma and Chachapoya claims conflict because during the litigation period (1587 to 1600) the royal court advocated the rights of both parties at different times. Zorilla (1977) transcribes a compendia of documents originally in the Archivo Departamental de Ayacucho (ADA) known as the *Compulsa Ayacucho*, which constitutes the legal proceedings of the Chachapoya against Guaman Poma de Ayala.

22. The dates follow the chronological order of the compendia.

Tupac Inca Yupangui had ordered a saywa placed at the junctures of jurisdictions. While he could have placed as artifice a “Mojón de los Ingas” in the middle of the upper and lower boundaries of Guamanga, it is more probable that through this placement he was attending to the indigenous concept of division of terrain in two halves. Instead of a symmetrical view of divided space, Guaman Poma indicates symbolically with these saywa the midpoint, or *khuska*, in an extension of lands. In the early human occupation of the Andes, before the European arrival, lineage groups under patronal tutelage coalesced around large alluvial stones that were naturally embedded in the earth known throughout the Cordillera as *wanka*.²³ Thus, the inhabitants of a community would conceive of *khuska* as the virtual center of their terrain where a natural feature is located that they venerate and claim as progenitor.

Sarmiento de Gamboa, as he traversed Cusco, would have been familiar with a saywa of alabaster stones that was purportedly located in the midst of a throughway between the Inka ceremonial enclosures Cusicancha and Coricancha. This saywa constituted Cuzcocala, which marked the division of the upper and lower sectors of Cusco, Hanan Saya and Hurin Saya, respectively.²⁴ Because of Cuzcocala’s pivotal location, Bernabé Cobo recorded this saywa as one of the hundreds of *huacas*, or shrines, that were dispersed throughout the urban and rural radius of Cusco.²⁵ Thus, Cobo, and Sarmiento de Gamboa before him, would have heard that this *mojón de piedra* marked the place where Manco Capac and Ayar Auca, the founding brothers of Cusco, took possession of their domain according to the saying: “Ayar Auca Cuzco huanca,” which transliterates as Ayar Auca—in the middle—alabaster stone.²⁶ In sum, *khuska* not only signaled the mid point of sector separation in the urban cadastre but also the city situated in the midst of the kingdom of Tawantinsuyu, in which the reigning Inka monarch was perceived as its corporeal center (Ramírez 2005, 22–23).

Guaman Poma includes in his petition two relaciones of Quechua place names for landmarks, which he refers to as “mojones y saywas.” In relación I, regarding saywa, he may be referring both to natural features and to pre-Columbian markers constructed in situ. He also might be naming

23. A historical reference to *wanka* in the *Relaciones Geográficas* (Jiménez de la Espada 1965, 166) states that the Guanca peoples remember Inca Capac Yupangui’s entrance into the valley of Jauja where he designated as *habitus* for that population a long stone of a man’s stature which the residents called “*guaca rumis*” (sic) or *wanka rumi*. I suggest that *guanca/wanka* became the Hispano-Quechua term *guaca/waka* because I have not yet found it recognized as *sui generis* by contemporary indigenous peoples.

24. This homonym is a fusion of *khuskan qaylla* or Near the Mid Point.

25. I gloss Cusco (*khuska*) as the seam of two halves. This saywa is named Cozco in Cobo (1954): See also Bauer (2000, 207) where Cuzcocala is glossed Near (the stones) in the Middle (of the road).

26. This phrase is “*mojón de posesión*” in Sarmiento de Gamboa (1988 [1572], 59).

saywas that were recognized as mojonos according to the amojonamiento. In sum, while saywas generally refer to stele-like forms, rock arrangements or natural rock formations; they can also refer to particular places (as listed by Guaman Poma in his relaciones). These are the cultivated valley parcels, tree stands, pasturage, and fairgrounds among various “use values” for a designated terrain insofar as its economic value accrues to a pueblo de indios or lands claimed by individuals.²⁷ Apart from natural resources deemed saywa, Guaman Poma indicates sites of religious or astronomical observance, places where historical events occurred and those pertaining to mythological lore.²⁸ The saywa of Viracocha and Inka’s Hawk mark the place where the eighth monarch, Viracocha Inca, fed a *waman*, or kestrel (*Falco sparverius*). Thus, Guaman Poma, as he petitioned for the restitution of lands could also have intended to conserve his kin’s cultural and historical memory, which had been invested in the naming of saywa.

In relación I Guaman Poma presents the sixteen “mojonos y saywas” that he claims within his familial lands on the northward watershed of the Cordillera behind the valley of Chupas (see carta). This relación, identical to that inserted by Guaman Poma in the narrative on “Indios” in his *Coronica y buen gobierno* (Guaman Poma 1980, 847), originates in the 1597 muyuriy that he requested to substantiate the suit that he brought before the Royal High Court in Lima. Although relación II is inscribed as alphabetic text, Guaman Poma lays it out as if it were a map portrayal of the Valley of Chupas. He arranges in columns across the page sets of saywa place names for each of four *lomas*, or rolling hills, that lie on this domain. Then, mindful of the ecological and altitudinal characteristics of each loma, he separates the sets with a description of their yield.

Guaman Poma’s arrangement of saywa toponyms as discrete sets may indicate one solution to representing terrain by the native Andean who employed pen and paper.²⁹ In effect, I suggest that in ordering the saywa toponyms for the fourth loma, he draws upon the boustrophedon—a mode of writing in alternate lines (left to right)—or “as the ox plows,” which was a native recording mode common in the Andean region as well as in Mesoamerica.³⁰ If one walks the course of the fourth loma bounds

27. Prado Tello, 1991, 171, 269. *Allpa chaca* (arable soil—bridge), *Molle Pampa Patu* (Pepper Tree Plain), *Caxa cancha cuzconan* (mountain pass—corral—road to Cusco), and *Colla Cato Pampa* (Colla Fair Plain), respectively.

28. Prado Tello, 1991, 368–369. *Illa Wasi* (Planet star—hall), *Viracocha Pampa* (Plain of Inka Viracocha), *Wamanin Inkap* (Inka’s Hawk), respectively.

29. Guaman Poma himself, possibly, acted as scribe of at least this portion of the 1597 petition. For commentary on the comparative stylistics of the petitions and the *Coronica*, see Adorno 1991, xxvi–xxvii.

30. For Peru and Bolivia, the iconic sequencing in pictorial catechisms (Que. Qillqa Lipichiy) inscribed in hide. See Hill Boone (2000, 220) for the “reading” sequence of place glyphs in the Mexica migration history.

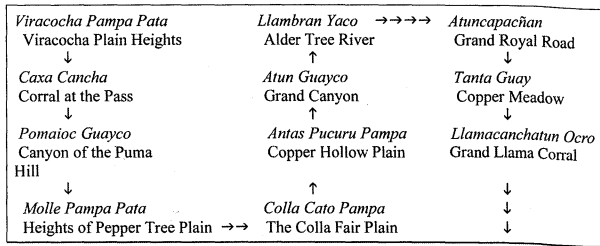


Figure 5. The trajectory of the *muyuriy* that links saywas located on the fourth loma of the community of Chiara

today, it is evident that Guaman Poma employed the track of the plow pattern to mimic the circularity of the *muyuriy*:³¹

Although Guaman Poma renders the Mojones del Inga as a caption within a geometric icon in the carta, he eschews a pictorial form for the three saywas whose names he pens along the boundary in the fourth loma area (lower right of the Guatata river confluence). In aligning these saywa, Guaman Poma may not have intended to indicate their actual location, but rather to represent the direct course traversed between them. Thus, his experience of *muyuriy* procedures underlies his visualization of local topography, which, in effect, he inscribes as a list in relación I, as a boustrophedon (see above) in relación II, and as a perambulation segment on the carta.

Through Guaman Poma’s service as scribe and interpreter for Visita authorities in 1594,³² he would have become familiar with the *muyuriy* protocols and rituals, and especially of the conventions for recording saywa names. From 1560 to 1598, during which the transcripts of Guaman Poma’s suit accumulated, the missionary clergy, who had the most proximity to the native Andeans, were devising the grammatical, lexical, and orthographical epistemology of the Quechua language. Therefore, as the recording protocols of boundary identification and legitimization were being established, the various renderings in writing of name voicing by the scribal cadre during the *muyuriy* would evolve by consensus into an orthographical convention that enabled lexicalization of place terminology.³³

31. The serpentine trajectory is corroborated by the author and Eusebio Quispe of Chupas (Ayacucho, Peru 2005).

32. Pereyra Chávez (1997 [1594], 267–268) transcribes an Expediente that was originally in the Archivo Departamental Ayacucho Cabildo-Legajo 39, 1594–1771.

33. Judging from published diccionarios (1560 to 1609), lexicalization also occurred at the ecclesiastical level as clerics adopted concrete Quechua words and phrases to convey concepts of Christian doctrine.

Posterior to Tupac Inca Yupangui's bestowal of lands and their boundary markers (Prado Tello 1991, 345) to newly incorporated ethnicities of the realm, the saywa names that were recorded in colonial amojonamientos had undergone phonological deformation and merger, as in the case of compound terms. Therefore, deciphering saywa names presents a formidable challenge to the modern reader of Quechua. Do these changes in the enunciation of saywa names reflect a lexical code honed by use of the scribal cadre? Could there have existed various discourse forms or dialectal differences reflected in the native Andean's communication of place names? I suggest that the original enunciation of saywa names persisted in everyday indigenous speech while the writing of abbreviated or fused saywa toponyms, due to the scribe's manipulation of voiced names, became the normalized code. Today, one finds numerous place names in community and archival judicial documentation and on modern maps that are transcribed with almost invariant orthography, such as the widely cited *palpa* [*pallqa*] (fork, as in road or river) or *quilca* [*inquill qaylla*] (near the medicinal plant garden).

The difficulty in parsing toponym phrases has been heightened by the invention of new terms, namely through the fusion of words from the Spanish and Quechua agricultural lexicons. In effect, the more common usage of *mojón* in place of saywa at present has led to the semantic overlapping of *mojón* and the Quechua word *muhu*, seed or seed patrimony of a community, which has resulted in the term *mujún*.³⁴

*"Que fue Topa Ynga Yupangui . . . confirmo a todos
nuevamente las dhas tierras"*³⁵

Having dealt with European chorographic conventions and Andean memory mapping, which Guaman Poma drew upon while drafting his carta, I return to the sculptural media of mapping discussed earlier. While Guaman Poma, as interpreter-scribe, probably had access to a cabildo supply of paper when he composed his petitions and carta, other native Andean authorities resorted to precontact modeling media for representing their domains. In the valley of Chillón, at least until 1567, the kurakas of pueblos de indios had sponsored the crafting of "modelos" of their community's lands as evidence of land claims. They produced traditional clay models even as they collaborated with the scribal culture of cabildo and doctrina, where paper documents would have been the preferred medium. Mediation between the kurakas, cabildo officials and doctrina clergy was incumbent on the khipu and alphabet-literate *escribano quipucamayo*, as he also participated in the fashioning of modelos, which accompanied litigation documents destined to the Royal High Court (Rostworowski

34. Frida Callañaupa Gibaja, personal communication (2005).

35. Julio Chauco, witness; Rostworowski (1988, 156).

1988, 155, 248). One such claim, brought forth between 1558 and 1570,³⁶ involved the descendants of the Yauyos mitmaqkuna, which had been assigned by Tupac Inca Yupangui to cultivate coca parcels in Quibi, whose harvest supplied the royal court. However, a neighboring ethnicity, the Canta, also laid claim to Quibi because they had worked in the coca fields before the Inka conquered the central coastal area. As a result, the kuraka of Quibi and his adversary the kuraka of Chacalla, who also governed the Yauyos laboring in Quibi, presented to the Real Audiencia at Lima their respective *modelos* and *pinturas* as visual evidence of the location and boundaries of their claims. During the Audiencia hearings, the terrain represented in the *modelo* of Chacalla was found not to concur with that of the lands modeled by the Quibi. Thus, the Audiencia mandated both a *modelo* and a *pintura* that would represent the lands in toto of the three contenders. But, the Chacalla having destroyed theirs (“lo avían hecho pedaços”), Juan de Alvarado, an interpreter of the Audiencia, now acting as arbiter, enjoined an assembly of elders to fashion anew this comprehensive *modelo* under his supervision.

For his part, the Dominican Provincial friar, Gaspar de Carbajal, during the litigation ordered seventy-seven mojones of stone and clay, measuring an *estado*, or a man’s stature, placed at intervals of 144 arm widths³⁷ across the terrain to bound the upper and lower reaches of Quibi. This *amojonamiento*, to my knowledge, is the earliest documentary evidence in Peru of the peninsular mode of land marking, called *el apeo*, in which the *seriate* *mojón* was erected throughout a domain.³⁸ These *mojones* would augment the existing land boundary markers, Chuquicoto, or Golden Rock Cluster, which may have been the geographical center of the precontact Quibi peoples and the *saywa* that Tupac Inca Yupangui had designated as the division between the upper and lower valleys south of the Chillón watershed. Furthermore, the *doctrina* clergy of the Quibi constructed a chapel atop the natural pre-Inka *saywa*, Chuquicoto, and placed a cross upon it, which thereafter stood as the departure point of the *amojonamiento*. Thus, guided by Fray Carbajal, the setting of markers would henceforth separate ethnicities and domains and accordingly, diminish the people’s allegiance to the numinous attributes of the primordial *saywa* as the locus of the precontact valley settlement.

36. Rostworowski (1988) transcribed the Quibi, Chacalla, and Canta litigation documents, which are identified as Justicia 413, Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla, Año de 1567, Lima. This compendium, beginning in 1559, does not include a formal *muyuriy* document but instead descriptions of limits noting toponyms and the number of *mojones*, which marked boundaries.

37. “doze e doze bracas del uno al otro,” *ibid.* 261.

38. See García Llarragueta (1987). See also Vassberg (1985, 109–111) on the *ley de Toledo* (1480), which “during the entire following century constituted a fundamental legal instrument of royal protection of communal properties” (my translation). Fray Carbajal could, then, be acknowledging the directives stipulated in that law.

As the litigation concluded, Fray Carbajal conducted an amojonamiento-muyuriy of the two sets of mojonos. Finally, by consensus of the contending parties, a comprehensive modelo and painting of the lands of Quibi, Chacalla, and this time those of Canta, were presented to the Real Audiencia (Rostworowski 1988, 155, 217, 248–249, 259–261, 277). Nevertheless, however effective the interpretation of the muyuriy depicted in the painting and modelo might have been, the suit of the Valley of Chillón kuraka was decided ultimately, not upon the consensual location of mojonos, but rather on the social status of the contenders. As a result, the Yauyos of Quibi retained their labor rights among the coca cultivars since their claim was upheld on the basis of the original Inka royal order. Likewise, notwithstanding Guaman Poma's claim that Tupac Inca Yupanqui had granted Chiara Urco to his lineage, in the end the Chachapoya, as former landholders, regained their legitimate usufruct of those lands.³⁹

As for the fate of modelos after presentation to the Audiencia, despite their role in the corroboration of petitions for boundary recognition, these earthen cartographs probably were not consigned to Viceregal chancelleries, but returned to the pueblos de indios where they would be subject to a precarious destiny. Although the witnesses in the Chillón valley suit do not describe the size and topographical features of the now disappeared modelos de barro, they may have resembled the palm-held stone representations of landscape that have been conserved up to the present (figure 3).

*Kay rayanchikta Inka Yupanqui kikin puriq*⁴⁰

The absence of the indigenous perspective in response to the Crown's mandate to produce modelos presents a quandary. However, in addition to Guaman Poma's carta, we have recourse to two other representations of terrain and place naming by native Andean artists that allow us to elucidate the culture of mapping. Both date to the decade posterior to the redaction of the Relaciones Geográficas surveys. In the two mappings, dated 1595 and 1597 respectively, of the pueblo de indios, Santo Domingo de Cocha Laraos,⁴¹ the artist-scribes, combining pictograph and alphabetic writing, avail themselves of native spatial perspectives for the depiction of ancestral domains. These mappings, or *papelones*, in the parlance of the present-day municipal authorities, were produced

39. Guaman Poma failed to appear at the decisive muyuriy of Chiara Urco in 1600 and, at the end of that year, was sentenced to corporal punishment and banished from Guamanga (Zorrilla 1977, 60).

40. Inca Yupanqui himself was the one who walked this our boundary.

41. Archivo General Nacional (AGN) Lima Legajo No. 3, Cuaderno 41c. Títulos de Comunidad. Mapa de los límites del Repartimiento de Laraos y Aymaraes del distrito de Laraos, Provincia de Yauyos, 1597. I thank Sabine MacCormack, who published the two maps (MacCormack 1997) for informing me of them.

in the same province, Yauyos, that Dávila Briceño had described in his *Relaciones Geográficas* report a decade earlier.⁴²

The papelones are rare and perhaps unique examples of sixteenth-century Andean cartography. Various hands collaborated in their composition just prior to the first books that would be printed at the press established in Lima in 1598. The scribe of each papelón pens the saywa names in Gothic and Roman letter strokes, perhaps imitating the scripts in writings held by the doctrina clergy or typefaces in Spanish imprints that had reached the Viceroyalty of Peru through the book trade. While the identity of the two scribes is unknown, the author of both relaciones in Papelón II (not shown here) is probably the *escribano nombrado*, or official scribe, identified by his signature, don Xristobal Canchaalaya. He pens the relaciones in a chancery cursive that might be derived from the model scripts in the penmanship primer of Giovanni Battista Palatino (1566).

Papelón I (shown in figure 6), especially, could be akin to the aesthetic of the Chillón valley residents' painting that, along with the modelo, had accompanied their litigation documents. Indeed, instead of acting primarily as a device for separating each place name block, the conical figure rendered in Papelón I might have originated in pictorial, sculptural, and textile iconographic traditions. Here, the placement of cone-shaped separators as pictographs mimics the circular mountain peak range, the most distinctive topographical feature in Qocha Laraos. In effect, the artist has transferred symbolic motifs from Andean art traditions to the new medium of painting.⁴³

The curvilinear pattern of pictograph and scriptural plane is most salient in Papelón I. It becomes attenuated in Papelón II where the artist adheres to a lineal diagram in order to display the saywa names. Inasmuch as the rectangles that enclose saywa names in the figure share the linearity of the document, the cartographic conventions employed in Papelón I appear to have ceded to those of the manuscript in the hands of the artist-scribe of Papelón II. As a result, this artist has created a perspective in which he and the reader are viewing it from the same frontal vantage point. In contrast, the artist-scribe of Papelón I depicts the saywa locations as if the observer and the corporate entity were situated at a hypothetical central point within the community, an omni-orientation still rendered in present-day Andean cartography.

The artist-scribes of the papelones orient their mappings toward the northeast, a perspective that Guaman Poma employed in his *Mapa Mundi del Reino de las Indias*, where he depicts a cordillera as an enclosure for the vast territory of the Pacific watershed in Peru (Guaman Poma 1980, 914–915). The great cordillera as an arc facing the sunrise

42. Dávila Briceño depicts Cocha Laraos on his map of Yauyos (figure 1, upper right).

43. Silverman Proust (1988, 221–223) discusses the “K’iraqey puntos motif,” in weavings where they symbolize the mountain peaks that as boundary markers separate villages.

is a concerted choice of the artist-scribes, as it coincides not only with an ideal and symbolic vision of the circularity of the *muyuriy*, but also with the singular topography of the valley of Laraos, which is rimmed by a serrated landscape that forms a giant semicircle nesting Cocha Laraos.

In both Papelón I and Papelón II, the first step of the *muyuriy* depicted commences at the principal upland *saywa*, Pusac Cancha, or the eight stone-walled enclosures, for camelid grazing (left of center), where the scribe indicates: *kaymantam muyurin*, or “from here begins the *muyuriy*” at (upper left corner). Pusac Cancha stands as the highland “cornerstone” *saywa* because Tupac Inca Yupangui had adjudicated this area to the Hanan Guanca and Yauyos ethnicities. The *muyuriy* terminates in Vallempe, or in the meadow, known also as Punco Huasi or house of the portal. Indicating that Punco Huasi is the principal *saywa* in the valley sector of Cocha Laraos, the artist-scribe prints *hatun mayuman urman yaku tinkuq*, or “meeting of waters at the great river,” thereby referring to the confluence of a local stream and the Cañete River. The artist paints this river as a blue swath, which also marks the boundary of the arc-shaped uplands of Cocha Laraos.

In Papelón I, the majority of toponyms describe features that enclose Cocha Laraos, such as *urqu* (mountain), *qucha* (lake), *pampa* (plain), and *paqcha* (waterfall). The artist-scribe places Pusac Cancha and Inca Yupangui Corral in the boundary arc to indicate Cocha Laraos’ possession of these *saywa*, when in actuality they were located on the eastern slopes of the arc in the Guanca habitat. The cancha and corral are the only *saywa* that indicate fundamental events in the history of the Hanan Guanca and Yauyos peoples. The phrase (upper left corner) “this they (the Inka’s surveyors) allocated in the reign of Tupac Inca Yupangui,”⁴⁴ refers to three historical events that led to Cocha Laraos’s status as one of the most productive institutions—camelid husbandry and multiple crop cultivation—in the Inka state: 1) the *muyuriy* that representatives of Tupac Inca Yupangui conducted to identify and legitimate *saywa* and to erect *mojones* at principle boundaries (Betanzos 1987 [1551], 116); 2) the designation of eight pasturage areas for camelid grazing and a corral for herds reserved for tributary obligations to the Inka in the form of hide, wool and stock for the transport of provisions by the Inka’s militia; 3) and the construction of a circular graded terrace in a natural depression in the valley sector of Cocha Laraos where diverse crop rotation could depend upon water sources in the glaciated highlands. In sum, Pusac Cancha and Inca Yupangui Corral were celebrated as the point of departure of the *muyuriy* because these *saywa*, established by the Inka, commemorated the historical importance of Cocha Laraos’ incorporation into the Inka state.

44. The phrase reads *kaytam rakinakurqanku tiempopi inca yupangui*.

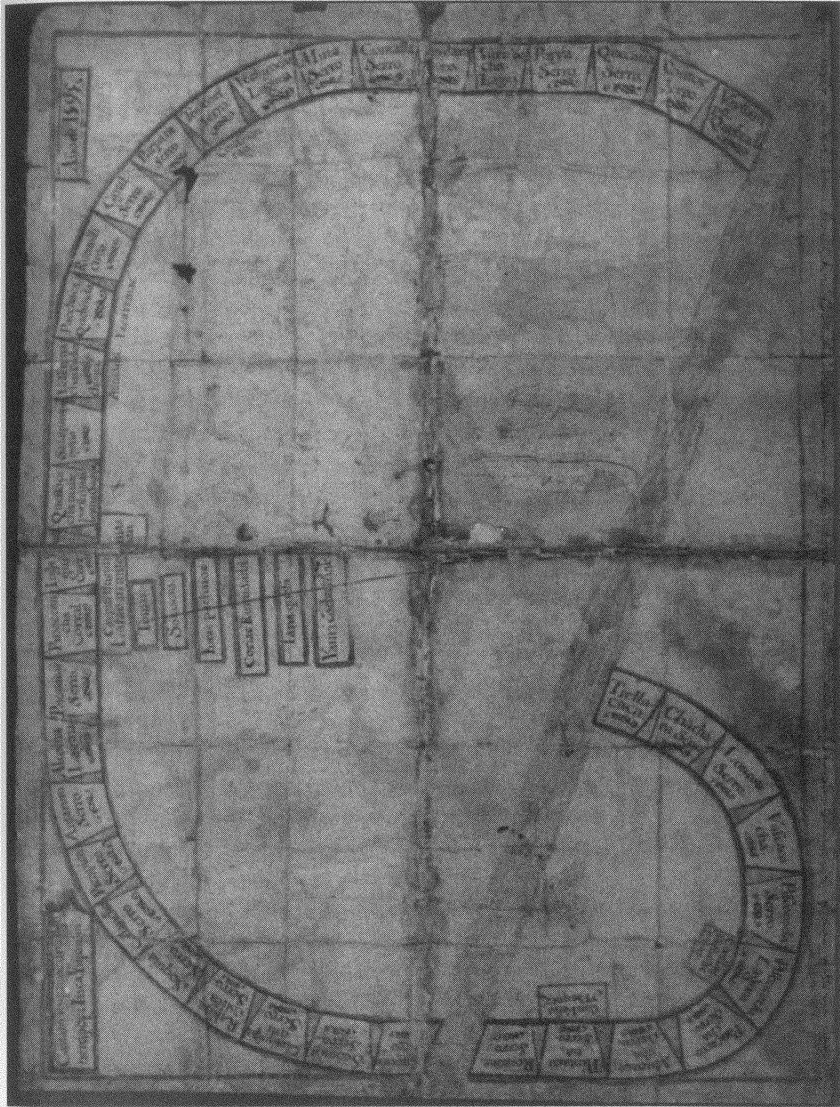


Figure 6 *Papelón I*. Mountain peaks, watersource saywas and the Canete River form the boundary of Cocha Laraos in this cartograph composed by an unknown artist-scribe in 1595. Photograph courtesy of the Archivo Nacional del Peru. Lima. 60 x 43 cm.

The muyuriy in *Papelón II* enshrines two relaciones (see Appendix).⁴⁵ The first one (*Relación I*) names don Juan Guayna Alaya, kuraka of the Hanan Guanca,⁴⁶ and seven elders, who had participated in a muyuriy

45. My translation and analysis of *Relación II* (in the Appendix) differs from that of Taylor's (1995) "translation" to Spanish because his version is not verbatim.

46. The Hanan and Hurin Guanca were a macroethnicity constituted through Inca governance. The Spanish retained the ethnic name Guanca when the moiety of this population

of their mutual bounds with Cocha Laraos wherein they recall having responded once again to the Inka's admonition: "that we have to walk (the terrain) without going astray." In *Relación II* the Inka's land grant to the Yauyos ethnicity is made clear in the titular statement: *Topa Inca Yupangui que Dios merced* (Topa Inca Yupangui that by the grace of God granted). This *Relación* refers to a *muyuriy* conducted prior to the one represented in the rectangle that frames the *saywa* names in *Papelón II*. The previous *muyuriy* must have deviated from the customary practices of recording *saywa* as the witnesses, who sign this notarized document, state that during the tracing and staking of boundaries these proceedings were neither knotted into *kipu* nor voiced upon entry in a *relación*.⁴⁷ This missing recording act constituted the tandem judicial "document" known as *quipu y relación* (Beyersdorff 2002, 40–41). While the witnesses do not reveal the motives for the omission, possibly the *kipukamayuy* and scribe did not participate in the boundary reconnaissance, which prompted the new *muyuriy* that is depicted in *Papelón II*.

I have not yet been able to rephonologize or translate all of the *saywa* toponyms in the *papelones*⁴⁸ as I have Guaman Poma's *relaciones de saywas*.⁴⁹ However, despite lacking new ethnohistorical sources,⁵⁰ upon comparing the toponyms in both mappings, I find that the sponsors of *Papelón II* have designated a *saywa* series in which almost all of the mountain-*saywa* shown in *Papelón I* are absent. What factors may have contributed to the paucity of these *saywa* in the 1597 *muyuriy* record? Although I lack documentary proof,⁵¹ I would suggest that *Papelón II* may be a title that registers a boundary realignment negotiation—likely involving access to the eight extramural *cancha*—between the *kuraka* of the Hanan Guanca, Juan Guayna Alaya, and the *kuraka* of the neighboring *Repartiniento* of Yauyos, Francisco Conchocapcha, in whose jurisdiction

were granted by the Crown to *encomenderos* (land and labor force grantees) under the territorial term *repartimiento*. These two *Repartinientos* of Guanca were under the apical governance of the *Repartiniento* of the Province of Jauja.

47. The phrase reads *mana wataspa mana contaspa*: not tied, not recounted.

48. It is not clear if the origin of toponyms lies in Cauqui, the local Aymara substrate language spoken at the time in the Province of Yauyos, or in the Quechua of Cusco. Taylor (1995) also omits rephonologizations of place names in his schematic transcription of the mappings of 1595 and 1597.

49. The author and collaborators in Chiara verified forty-nine of the fifty-six place names in Guaman Poma's *relación*. For a list of *saywa* name transcriptions and translations from both *papelones* contact the author at margot@mail.utexas.edu.

50. These sources are the compendiums of documents: AGN Lima, Leg. No. 3, Cuaderno 41c. *Títulos de comunidad de Laraos, 1595–1911* and documents in the municipal archives of Laraos.

51. This proof is subject to the quest for the viceregal "Provisiones" mentioned in a titular history (1560–1959) held by the community of Laraos, which is depicted as a map. The *Provisión* and *Petición*, which include the *muyuriy* registry of *mojones* in Guaman Poma's claim, indicate the document genre to be sought for Laraos (Prado Tello 1991, 327–338).

Cocha Laraos was located. Both kurakas are signers of Papelón II, including seven elder witnesses of the three pueblos de indios in the Hurin Guanca sector, Chupaca, Chongos, Sicaya, which were located nearest to their bounds with the Yauyos.

It is likely that the Yauyos peoples authored Papelón I, given that the majority of saywas recorded in the muyuriy represent the anthropomorphized *urqu* as *apu*, or mountain lords, who by virtue of their superior status in the accidental terrain surrounding Cocha Laraos provide the ice melt that nurtures the pasturage in the kanchas and crops in the moya. As for Papelón II, the saywas revisited, such as lakes, waterfalls, creeks and springs, far outnumber the mountain saywas commemorated in Papelón I. Because camelid husbandry had not disappeared after Tupac Inca Yupangui's reign, the Yauyos may have been conserving or developing a subsistence base that required securing hydraulic resources in the vicinity of the Cordillera boundary. Thus Papelón II might also be documenting the decline of the Inka agrarian model in Cocha Laraos from lands held in common to those claimed by individuals for pasturage and cultivation, a process exemplified in the suit brought forth by Guaman Poma.

In the 1582 report for the Province of Jauja in the Relaciones Geográficas, Andrés de Vega, the corregidor who conducted the survey, indicates he will comply with the dispatch of a "modelo" (a cartograph rather than a clay scale model), which will accompany his report.⁵² Among the authorities who participated in the survey were the kuraka of the Hanan Guanca, Hernando Viza Alaya,⁵³ and his son, don Juan Guayna Alaya. The latter, as kuraka in 1597, sponsored Papelón II. Moreover, the paternal uncle of Guayna Alaya, don Felipe Guaca Paucar (brother of Carlos Lima Illa, kuraka of Hurin Guanca) had served as interpreter during the survey of their Jauja clansmen, or phratry.⁵⁴ The kurakas of the Guanca moieties and the interpreter might have assisted the Spanish and native Andean cartographers in the drafting of the mandated modelo for this survey, thereby complying with the corregidor's proposal. Thus, the collaboration on assignment ten between the Jauja and the Guanca moieties, and the fact that the Guanca and Yauyos kurakas later underwrote Papelón II, indicates that the Yauyos probably were cognizant of the Crown-mandated survey in the region.

Before the resettlement of native Andeans in reduction villages, kinship groups perceived the location of their dispersed homesteads within the land-based ayllu in relation to topographical features surrounding

52. "La descripción que se hizo en la provincia de Xauxa por la instrucción de S. M que a la dicho provincia se invio de molde" (May 16, 1582; Jiménez de la Espada 1965, 166–175).

53. See Dunbar Temple (1943) for the genealogical history of the Alaya lineage.

54. The status of interpreter ("*lengua*") of don Felipe Guaca Paucar is verified thus: "*indio ladino que ha estado en España*" (Jiménez de la Espada 1965, 166).

their habitat. In contrast, the *corregidores* laid out the *pueblos de indios* as a *damero*, or grid pattern, which enjoined the inhabitants to orient themselves according to the internal features of the town plan, such as entry and exit thoroughfares passing along a central plaza, lineal roadways, and blocked residential areas. Nevertheless, native Andean town residents also beheld topographical features on the periphery, which as *loci* indicated boundaries with a neighboring ethnicity and communicated historical and symbolic lore. Therefore, upon being called to comply with assignment number ten, the artist-scribes would not have been predisposed to envision their habitat in the form of a *traza*. I propose that if the *cabildo* authorities of Cocha Laraos had collaborated on a cartograph for the *Relaciones Geográficas*, it might have followed the curvilinear configuration of their domain as depicted in *Papelón I*.⁵⁵

In conclusion, I suggest that mapping tasks within *cabildo* writing culture represented a spectrum in which the alphabetic inscription of judicial documents contended with the graphic rendition of performative gesture. Therefore, the *carta* and *relaciones* of Guaman Poma and *Papelón II*, with their vestiges of the *muyuriy*, tend to the inscribed modality. On the other hand, *Papelón I* shows the predominance of glyphic forms over the use of print and indicates a greater degree of dependence on the visualized procession through land-marked terrain. Although the Chillón valley *modelos* are anomalous compared to the inscribed and pictorial mappings, their crafters would have molded land markers and boundaries in order to concur with the *muyuriy* and the accompanying *amojonamiento relaciones* in the suit dossier. Likewise, to craft the seven-parcel set (figure 3) the sculptor must have executed his performative-based knowledge of the landholdings. Thus, I venture that the *muyuriy* is subjacent to the *carta*, the *papelones*, and the *modelos* and is the primary feature that distinguishes these examples of Andean cartographic art from their European counterpart, the *traza* of Diego Dávila Briceño.

EPILOGUE: PROTECTORS OF OUR PATRIMONY

Drawing upon recent ethnographic monographs on the *muyuriy*,⁵⁶ we can now substantially reconstruct the lore and practices to which the indigenous authorities alluded in the *relaciones* of the *pueblos de indios* of Quibi, Chiara Urco, and Cocha Laraos. Whether unseen from the depths of bowl-shaped valleys or visible upon the periphery of townships, residents

55. My assumption is based on *Papelón I*'s iconic resemblance to the 1580 mapping of Amoltepec, prepared by an indigenous artist for the *Relaciones Geográficas* in New Spain (reproduced in Mundy 1996, 113).

56. Callañaupa Gibaja, 2003 and Florez Delgado, 2005. This reconnaissance ritual ("*lin-deraje*") continues into the present day when the identification of *saywa* and the voicing of their names is recorded by community authorities.

sense the nurturing presence of the saywa-protector's gaze directed upon their homesteads and lands. However evident this visual covenant with the landscape may be, the conservation of bounds is not the sole motive for a community's engagement in a *muyuriy*. Residents perceive saywas as sources of the germinating essence that is imparted to land parcels clustered around them. The people's trust in and obligation to a saywa draws upon their perception of its role as requiring a receptive entity—soil and seed—which will embrace its force of fecundity. Thus, the *muyuriy* reifies, through the numinous *mojón* or *mujún*, the mutuality between this subterranean progenitor and its offspring, the fructiferous terrain.

APPENDIX⁵⁷

(Papelón II, Relación I)

En este pueblo de San Juan de Chupaca en ocho dias del mes de agosto de mil quinientos noventa y siete años = Por ante D. Juan Huaynalaya cacique principal del Repartimiento de Sananguanca con testigos de tres pueblos de Chupaca y del pueblo de Chongos y del pueblo de Sicaya de los hombres viejos ancianos de edad de cincuenta y sesenta años poco mas o menos sirvieron por testigos que es D. Francisco Huanchagua y D. Sebastian Chongonaupa y D. Santiago Yaducallmi son del pueblo de Chupaca = Testigos del pueblo de Chongos son D. Luis Panchoalaya D. Juan Macucachi y Dn Juan Huncuycesri = del pueblo de Sicaya D. Antonio Chuqillangui = Estos siete hombres viejos sirvieron por testigos en trasladar las rayas y mojones del pueblo de Santo Domingo de Cacha Laraos en las siguientes

(Relación II)

Tupac Inka Yupangui que Dios
Merced

Waranqa pichqa pachak hisq'un chunka qanchisniyuq watapi pusaq p'unchaw agosto killapim kay rayanchikta Inka Yupanqui kikin puri rayamanta qanchis runa testigopi traslanchik mana wataspa mana contaspa kay hinaspami kay hinaspami hukninkunapas raya mojonchik sallqanchik taqyachisqan. Kaypis chiqanta willawanchik mana pantay purinanchikpas = tukuy juramentunwan rimasqankutaq sallqakunamanta chupaca sicaya wakin runa chongosmanta kinsata awkis runa

57. AGN Lima Legajo No. 3, Cuaderno 41c. Títulos de Comunidad. Mapa de los límites del Repartimiento de Laraos y Aymaraes del distrito de Laraos, Provincia de Yauyos, 1597. My transcription and normalization of Quechua text according to the Lima, 1985, standardized orthography.

sicayamanta huk runa wakin llaqtamantawanpas pichqa chunka watayuq suqta chunka watayuq declaracion juramentunwan ruraykusqan kikin San Juan Bautista Chupaca llaqtapi testigo firman kaypi pusaq p'unchaw agosto killapi waranqa pichqa pachaq hisq'un chunka qanchisniyuq watapi chiqanta firmanchik.

Don Juan Guaynaalaya

Don Francisco Guainachagua

Don Sebastian Chongoñaupa

Don Santiago Yaducallmi

Don Luis Pacchaalaya

Don Juan Macucachi

Don Juan Oncoycuri

Don Antonio Chuquillanqui

Ante mi el Escribano nombrado Don Xristoual Canchaalaya

Como casique gobernador del repartimiento de Laraos y Aymaraes Don Francisco Canchocapcha

Translation of Relación II

Tupac Inca Yupangui that God

Royal Grant

In the year one thousand five-hundred and ninety-seven, the eighth day of the month of August this our boundary Inca Yupangui, himself, had walked from the boundary / seven men in the witness report we traced without tying, without recounting / I know that in this way, in this way, others also, boundaries, our landmarks, our uplands we have staked.⁵⁸ This also, in truth he (the Inka) said to us so that we have to walk (our terrain) without going astray = all with sworn statements they had said from the highlands of Chupaca, Sicaya, other men from Chongos, three ritual officiants from Sicaya, another man from another town, fifty years old, seventy years old / we declared with sworn statements in the same town of San Juan Bautista Chupaca / the witnesses signed here, on the eighth day in the month of August in the year one thousand five-hundred and ninety-seven in truth we sign our names.⁵⁹

58. As noted in the Chillón valley suit, by 1570 clerics and Crown officials had introduced Spanish land marking practices in which the mojón was erected strategically on a domain. The scribes of Relación II adapt the Quechua lexicon to Spanish terminology for the amonjamiento. Here the verb phrase *taqyachisqan* (have staked) is conjoined with *raya mojonchik* (lines/bounds—our mojones) where *raya* is derived from *rayar*, or to draw lines. The *muyuriy* scribes could easily have substituted *raya* for *saya*, a stone staked in the ground, thereby referring to the tracing or measuring by *cordel* distances between *saywa*.

59. My translation.

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