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Means, Philip Ainsworth. 1917. A note on the Guarani invasions of the Inca Empire. *The Geographical Review*, vol. IV, p. 402-404. New York: The American Geographical Society.

Permalink: http://biblio.etnolinguistica.org/means_1917_note

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THE GEOGRAPHICAL REVIEW



VOLUME IV
JULY-DECEMBER, 1917

PUBLISHED BY
THE AMERICAN GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY
BROADWAY AT 156th STREET
NEW YORK

A NOTE ON THE GUARANI INVASIONS OF THE INCA EMPIRE

By PHILIP AINSWORTH MEANS

In the *Geographical Review* for August, 1917, Baron Erland Nordenskiöld discusses the Guarani invasions of the Inca Empire.¹ The importance of his article, both from the anthropological and from the historical points of view, cannot be exaggerated. On one point brought up by Baron Nordenskiöld, however, each of two opinions can reasonably contain a measure of truth. One of these opinions is that held by Baron Nordenskiöld, who relies for support on Guzman, Cobo, Sarmiento de Gamboa, Cieza de Leon, Balboa, and Salcamayhua, to the effect that the Chiriguano, members of the great Guarani stock, did not enter the Inca Empire until they went there under the leadership of Alejo Garcia about 1522, late in the reign of Inca Huayna-Capac. There is, of course, but little doubt that the Guarani Chiriguano *did* enter the Inca Empire at that time and that Garcia was the first white invader of that empire. No one, I think, can disbelieve this in the face of the evidence presented by Baron Nordenskiöld. It is, however, possible to hold a different opinion from that entertained by him as to whether the invasion of Garcia in 1522 was the *first* invasion of the Inca Empire made by the Chiriguano. Baron Nordenskiöld mentions the important testimony of Garcilaso de la Vega only to throw it aside; he ignores the testimony of Montesinos altogether, as well as the modern research which has shown that both these writers ought to be peculiarly respected. Stated briefly, the situation is this: Both Garcilaso and Montesinos derived the major part of their information from Blas Valera, a son of Luis de Valera by a high-caste Inca woman. He was born in Chachapoyas, Peru, about 1540. From 1571 to 1594 he lived at Cuzco, Juli, and La Paz, studying the natives, their language, and their history. In 1594 he sailed from Callao to Cadiz, dying in the latter city about 1596.² The history of Garcilaso's life is too well known to require recapitulation here; suffice it to say that his opportunities for studying the native race of Peru were hardly less excellent than those of Blas Valera. Garcilaso acknowledges, many times, his indebtedness to Valera's history, which he saw at Cadiz. For a long time Valera's work was thought to have been lost in the sack of Cadiz by Essex in 1596. The researches of Gonzalez de la Rosa have proved that the "Relación anónima" brought out by Marcos Jimenez de la Espada in 1879 is part, at least, of Valera's work. This document is of an importance which cannot be over-rated, for it, like all

¹ Erland Nordenskiöld: The Guarani Invasion of the Inca Empire in the Sixteenth Century: An Historical Indian Migration. *Geogr. Rev.*, Vol. 4, 1917, pp. 103-121.

² See Clements Markham: The Incas of Peru, London, 1910, pp. 12-14.

Valera's writings and information, was derived from the most learned Indians at a time when the memory of the Inca period was still very vivid. On this man, of undisputed authority, both Garcilaso and Montesinos depended, the former frankly and the latter by plagiarism, for a large part of their knowledge.³

It is, therefore, difficult to find justification for Baron Nordenskiöld's course in flouting Garcilaso and ignoring Montesinos. Both historians, it is quite true, had faults in plenty, especially Montesinos. But nevertheless, because of their peculiar relations to Valera, their evidence in such a case as that now under discussion carries great weight.

What, then, is their evidence as to the date at which the Chiriguano began to invade the Inca Empire?

As Baron Nordenskiöld points out, Garcilaso speaks very definitely of a struggle which took place between the Chiriguano and the Incas in the reign of Inca Yupanqui.⁴ It is well known that the Inca historian confuses Pachacutec, Inca Yupanqui, and Tupac Yupanqui. In all probability "Inca Yupanqui" was really Tupac Yupanqui.⁵ The latter was certainly the successor of Pachacutec, and he reigned about the period 1480-1490. Garcilaso, therefore, gives us definitely to understand that there was hostile contact between the Chiriguano and the Incas as early as 1490 and that the latter, not the former, were the aggressors.

Montesinos is still more explicit. He says:⁶ "The army having been made ready, Huira Cocha ordered many officials to go ahead in order to open up a highway from Charcas to Chile by way of the Chiriguano, for there already was one from Cuzco to Charcas." In Chapter 24, while describing the conquest by the Inca of what is now Ecuador, Montesinos says: "For the sake of entire security, the Inca commanded that a fort be built while the troops for whom he had sent on account of their warlike nature were coming to him from Chile and from the Chiriguano." These two passages prove that Inca aggression had so far reduced the Chiriguano by the time that the conquest of Ecuador was undertaken that the Incas were enabled to call upon them to furnish auxiliaries. It should be noted in passing that the "Huiracochoa" of Montesinos is partly the "Pachacutec" and partly the "Tupac Yupanqui" of other writers.

³ For the relations between Valera, Garcilaso, and Montesinos see Markham, *op. cit.*, p. 303ff.; various writings of Gonzalez de la Rosa, especially: El Padre Valera, *Revista Histórica de Lima*, Vol. 2, 1907, No. 2, and: Los Comentarios Reales son la réplica de Valera a Sarmiento, *ibid.*, Vol. 3, 1908, No. 3. Dr. Riva-Aguero tried, unsuccessfully, to question some of the conclusions reached by Dr. Gonzalez de la Rosa.

⁴ First Part of the Royal Commentaries of the Incas (Markham's transl.), *Hakluyt Soc. Publs.*, 1st Series, Vols. 41 and 45, London, 1869 and 1871; reference in Vol. 45, p. 274.

⁵ Cf. P. A. Means: An Outline of the Culture-Sequence in the Andean Area, *Proc. Nineteenth Internat. Congr. of Americanists, held at Washington, December 27-31, 1915*, Washington, 1917, pp. 236-252; reference on p. 248. (This paper is reviewed below under "Geographical Publications.")

P. A. Means: A Survey of Ancient Peruvian Art, *Trans. Connecticut Acad. Arts and Sci.*, Vol. 21, 1917, pp. 315-442; reference on p. 387.

Clements Markham: The Incas of Peru, London, 1910, pp. 93-95.

⁶ "Memorias antiguas, historiales y políticas del Perú," Chs. 23 and 24. Quotations from Montesinos are taken from my translation, in the course of preparation for the Hakluyt Society.

Finally, Sarmiento de Gamboa, upon whom Baron Nordenskiöld rests his own opinion, says' (as the Baron notes): "He [Huayna-Capac] went to Pocona to give orders on that frontier against the Chiriguanas, *and to repair a fortress which had been built by his father.*" The italics are mine. The italicized passage indicates clearly that, in Sarmiento's opinion, the father of Huayna-Capac (Tupac Yupanqui) had been in hostile contact with the Chiriguanos. All three of these writers, it will be noted, show that the aggression came from the Inca's side, not from that of the Chiriguanos. It is quite possible that the Chiriguano expedition of Alejo Garcia in 1522 was partly one of retaliation.

Before bringing this brief note to a close I should like to comment on one other point brought up by Baron Nordenskiöld. He says that the pre-Chiriguano people of the area in question were the Chané, who are Arawaks. It is very gratifying to me to have the support of so distinguished an authority as Baron Nordenskiöld for my tentative suggestion that the pre-Inca peoples of the Collao (i. e. the Titicaca Basin), the people who built up the great Tiahuanaco culture, were linked more or less closely with the great Arawak stock.⁸ The Arawak Chané spoken of by Baron Nordenskiöld lived not very far from the Collao, and their presence there lends considerable support to my belief.

⁷ History of the Incas (Markham's trans.), *Hakluyt Soc. Publ.*, 2nd Series, Vol. 22, 1907, p. 159.

⁸ P. A. Means: A Survey of Ancient Peruvian Art, p. 326.