

Ethnicity and Lineage. The Incas of Flesh and Blood Today: Cuzco 2024

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Summary

Incas – yes, native Quechuas, Aymaras and Amazonians too, obviously; descendants of Africans, Asians and Europeans, who speak and write Spanish.¹ From the start, we perceive the ethnic complexity of our country. Peruvian identity appears in some social behaviors, in presidential elections, in municipal elections, in the passports and other official documents. At the same time other ethnic identity adjectives are used like *criollos* – Lima natives, *serranos* – natives from the interior. Before 1970 we, the people from rural areas with cultural characteristics different from the characteristics of dominating group, the occidentals, we were called *indios* – Indians. We have never been Indians. The name comes from a mistake committed by first Europeans who came to America in 1492. It has been used as an expression of dominance and is still used as an insult. In Peru, since 1990, the word *indígena* – indigenous, native, is used in politics and human rights defense, but it is not used as a name of an identity, which is the case in Ecuador and Bolivia. In 1969 by decree the use of the word *indio* was abolished and the word *campesino* – peasant, introduced in its stead. At that time the word had so negative connotation that the *comuneros* – members of traditional communities, and peasants did not want to hear it. Even today great part of Peruvian population refuses to use the word, which expresses racism and discrimination. General use accepts self-denomination *andino* – Andean, but it is very ample and ambiguous.

Each region has its own ethnic names. The people from the center of Peru are Huancas. The men from Apurímac are Chancas. The inhabitants of Puno, Moquegua and Tacna are Collas, very proud of their name. In the Northern Coast they did not consider themselves Indians. Since the discovery of *Señor de Sipán* – The Lord of Sipán, they call themselves Moches. They recognize their Moche forefather and identify themselves with an archeological culture, powerful and successful. In the case of the Cuzco people, when we called ourselves *Qusqu runa quechuas* – People of Cuzco Quechuas, we unified the city inhabitants, while the people from the provinces used ancient ethnic names like Chumpivillcas, Canchis, and Quispicanchis. Everybody criticized those of us who acknowledged being Incas' descendants. The foreigners alleged that all the Incas had died, only the *runa* – common people stayed,

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- 1 When the independence of Peru was achieved, the language of the majority of inhabitants of Peru, the original Quechua language, was not officialized only the language of the domineering group, so Spanish became the lingua franca of the country.

by some not recognized as Incas, but they are Incas as heirs and continuators of this great culture, so we, the possessors of Inca names and surnames, we had usurped them without any connection to any Inca *ayllu* – lineage referred to. Common citizens criticized us, because it meant to pretend to be much better. Nowadays we do recognize ourselves as Incas' descendants and Incas of today. One group of the Incas are inhabitants and members of peasant communities, who have very clear cultural identity, the other one are we, the urban families who conserve our Quechua surnames (and sometimes other surnames) and identify us as Incas.

During centuries, even if the Incas had been defeated, those who made deals with Spanish Crown² obtained the recognition of their lineages and survived the colonial rule. Once achieved the disputed independence of Peru, in 1825 Bolivar issued a decree abolishing titles of nobility both, native and Spanish. Some Incas changed their original surnames in order to survive in a social system extremely excluding and discriminating the natives. Others have kept their names and traditions and conserve them to the present day, so *ayllus* and families we have lasted from Inca times until today. Since 1992 when official journalists became interested in interviewing direct descendants of the Incas who have kept their Inca surnames, the local people began to reassess their ethnic origin, their customs, and their own cultural traits. At the beginnings of 21st century there continue to exist *ayllus* with the names of social groups from Inca times. Also some families reorganize their *panacas*³. Each period has its particularities. Today the particularity is not to be an Inca descendant, only to be a modern Inca. People both in local peasant communities and in the cities assume Inca identity. The identities are not received at birth; they become constructed and reconstructed during one's lifetime. Identity is continuously redefined. *Qusqu runa hinam qillqayku, Inqa runa hinam qillqayku*. We describe it as Inca man and woman from Cuzco. Identity is continually redefined. This text is consciously biased.

Keywords.- Identity, Incas, interculturality, pluriculturalidad, multilingualism.

Introduction.

The Incas developed a high civilization independently. They were the first to unify enormous territory in South America: the Tawantín Suyu. They forged cultural patterns common to all the area, and the patterns are still valid until today (2024). Cultural continuity lasts. Basic indigenous identity is similar in all the area. It is accompanied by widespread pride of being descendants of a great civilization, whose achievements are visible in all the terrain, for example monumental buildings, like in the town of Ollantaytambo, the buildings fundamentals, like in Cuzco's old city, or in other places; the Inca roads still in use surpass an intricate geography like the *Inka Ñan – Qhapaq Ñan* that starts in southern Colombia and ends in center of Chile and in north-eastern Argentina, with other roads crossing from the seaside to Amazonia, and to the Peru-Bolivian Altiplano. The infrastructure and agricultural technology like earthworks and hydraulic systems continue in use⁴. The Lamini shepherd continues to take care of their animals. Non-monetary exchange continues in use. The same is the case of technology in manufactured industry, crafts, especially textiles and in ceramics and stone.

2 Accommodation is a way of cultural resistance.

3 *Panaca* is a word that appears in the chronicles and in colonial documents always in a context related to Inca family groups.

4 For example, in Valle Sangrado (Cuzco), the valleys in the provinces of Castilla and Condesuyos (Arequipa), users of the waters from Coropuna glaciers (Arequipa), Colca valley (Arequipa), Andamarca (Ayacucho), Achirana del Inca (Ica), Cunibaya (Tacna) and others.

Provincial intellectuals and Lima intellectuals continue mutual debate usually with their backs to each other and they do not consider nor discuss the ideas and knowledge produced in the provinces. The natives were not important, since they had no suffrage right. An intellectual of the 1920es, José Carlos Mariátegui sustained that four fifths of Peruvian population were natives, so their demands should have been included in political programs (Mariátegui 1928). The main claim was to give them citizenship so that they would vote in the elections. This happened in 1979. Women got the right to vote in 1955, but the indigenous population got its right to vote together with the right to vote of the illiterate persons, in 1979. The change was accompanied with new identity as *campesinos* or *runas*. In Latin America usually the indigenous population is seen as a social, economic and political category, but not as a cultural category. Such attitude became official in Peru in 1969, when the word *indio* was substituted with *campesino*.

The existing paradigms and the new ones change in permanence. In the 1970s, Juan Velasco Alvarado's⁵ government spoke of a revolution and about ways to attain the socio-economic and cultural homogenization of the Peruvian population. Thus, people stopped being ashamed of their ethnic origin and began to value the peasant. In the same decade, Peru became considered a multicultural and plurilingual country.

A paradigm of the 1980s was developmentalism, marked by the presence of NGOs in some regions of the country, for example in Cuzco, and trying to improve the situation of peasants. Unfortunately, at the same time, the Shining Path⁶ terrorist violence began. It hit all the departments, especially the Sierra departments in the center and south of the country. The peasant organizations suffered a severe setback. Government functionaries saw the peasants as *terrucos* – bloody terrorists. The rural population was between two fires, that of the terrorists on one side and of some state institutions on the other. A peasant or a *comunero* suffered not only from ethnic and cultural discrimination but also political discrimination and was considered subversive by the state and enemy by the terrorists. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) has shown that the majority of victims of the violence were Quechuas, Aymaras and Ashanincas (Degrégori and Reátegui 2003). In the 1990s, the government insisted on the construction of roads to fight against terrorism, and the villagers organized themselves into peasant patrols,⁷ not to defend their lands and livestock but to defend their own lives.

5 General J. Velasco Alvarado conducted a coup d'état in 1968 and decreed the Agrarian Reform in 1969. Together with this, he instated a new regulation on peasant communities in the Sierra area; thus, the members of these communities ceased to be called Indians and were named peasants.

6 The stage of terrorism began in May 1980, when a far-left group decided to start an armed uprising in order to take over the government. They began it in rural areas in order to move towards the cities. It mainly affected rural areas inhabitants.

7 Self-organization of the local population, especially acting together, and using slings and whips. In some areas they used guns.

The 2000s are the stage of the sustainable development approach; upon entering a new stage of renewal with a new paradigm, the Inca Thupa Amaru⁸ is not forgotten and has become of actuality once more due to the proximity of the bicentennial of our national independence.

In the context where cultures are different, but none is better or worse than the other, and where there are no superior or inferior races, Levi-Strauss says:

“To speak of the contribution of the human race to world civilization could cause surprise in a series of chapters designed to combat racist prejudice. It would be futile to have consecrated so much talent and so much effort to show that nothing, in the present state of science, allows one to assert the superiority or intellectual inferiority of one race to another, if only to surreptitiously return consistency to the notion of race in order to demonstrate that the great ethnic groups that make up humanity have contributed, as groups, specific contributions to the common heritage” (Levi-Strauss, 1993: 39).

The *Instituto de Estudios Peruanos* IEP (since 1965) and the Center *Bartolomé de Las Casas* CBC (since 1974), we, the workers at those institutions, have worked on the topic of interculturality, conducting and publishing research on Andean culture and promoting conversations on this subject.

In 2024, some peasant communities call themselves “the true Incas”. In Cuzco and nearby districts there are families that have documents to prove they descend from the Incas. Among themselves they use the titles of *Incas* and *Coyas*. A member of an ancient Inca family, from the town of San Sebastián (Cuzco), by the name Inca Roca, who assumed the role of Inca during the *Inti Raymi*,⁹ said: “I am not in disguise, I am a real Inca.” “They say that I will perform as Inca. I am not going to perform, I am Inca.”

The present Incas of Cuzco, despite many Spanish surnames, a result of adaptation so as not to suffer discrimination, also preserve the old surnames: Pachacutec, Sinchi Roca, Tupac Yupanqui, Atayupanqui, Chihuantito, Apumayta, Tisoc, in San Jerónimo; Inca Roca, Quisu Yupanqui, Cusi Ttitu, Huaman Rimachi, in San Sebastián; and Huayna Capac in Cuzco. The Incas have resumed their *panaca* meetings, revitalizing rituals, and reinventing roles. They are defenders of the Cultural Heritage and seek their own proposals, participating in events: “We, the Incas, we think that...” There is now a process of empowerment as one of the centers of

8 In 1780 Jose Gabriel Thupa Amaru initiated a great rebellion against the Viceroyalty of Peru, and was proclaimed Inca King of Peru and all the area that had belonged to the Tawantin Suyu. He ruled until 1781, but his rebellion continued until 1783. Following the recent publication (2015) of a book about his great rebellion, we have realized that he is not forgotten, neither among adults nor among young people. He has become a subject to talk about. In the social networks many comments and photos allusive to have appeared Thupa Amaru, showing that he is an icon of the Peruvian population.

9 Inti Raymi, ceremony of worship to the sun, has been recreated by the Cuzco inhabitants since 1944. It is organized according to a script based on studies of the chronicles on the Inca Sun worship. It is one of the largest concentrations of Andean music and dance troupes during the year.

origin of a great civilization (as in other centers of great civilizations). Defenders of interculturality, they fight now against racism, prejudices and marginalization.

We were not Indians. The Westerners called us thus, with the ensuing connotation of dominion and colonization from which we fight to become free. Forced to modesty, because the Inca concept is associated with the greatness of their civilization, there was much more repression against those who wanted to define themselves as such. After the great rebellion of Jose Gabriel Thupa Amaru (1780), it became forbidden to use the title Inca and to perform some Inca ceremonies, at the request of the Spanish authorities, who asked the King of Spain thus: “Mata Linares¹⁰ claimed to abolish the election of a native Royal Ensign Bearer, who paraded with a banner different from the Spanish one (a singularity that occurred in Cuzco, but not in Lima, Buenos Aires or Chile). To parade two banners, Mata Linares comments, is to ‘preserve and further promote the separation’ which he qualifies as ‘the idea of Independence’” (Durand 1993: 378). In contrast, the Huancas, the Chancas, the Ashanincas, the Shipibos all developed self-esteem, but those who defined themselves as Incas were immediately criticized as chauvinists. They were told that they did not really descend from this ethnic group. It is only now that this group is taking back its identity and empowering itself as Inca. The image of our history must be decolonized and reconstructed to write a history from the point of view of the citizen. It is much more difficult to assume a native identity from the very center of the Inca State because, as the center of the old power, it was the most colonized to prevent a resurgence of the old leadership of the ‘rulers’ (*señores*) of these lands.

We understand identity in the following way: “it is a collective feeling, a vision of the community world, it is a language, a culture, a way of life” (Comaroff and Comaroff 2011: 10). In this way today happens a very interesting process of building Inca identity as an ethnic representation, as defenders of heritage, interculturality and as continuators of many Andean traditions still valid. The generation that is taking over as Incas is a generation of young people.

The identity as an indio, as a cholo, or as a mestizo

The term *indio* is a social construction, and we use it with its cultural connotation. Many authors have addressed this aspect, and it seems to us pertinent to quote Nelson Manrique:

The *indio* category apparently has a strictly biological basis, but in its construction decisively intervene social and cultural elements. Clear expressions of this fact are the changes in perceptions of the weight of “the Indian” in Peru. At the beginning

10 Benito María de la Mata Linares y Vásquez Dávila (Madrid 1752 -¿?), Spanish magistrate and colonial official, was transferred from *Audiencia de Lima* - Lima Court of Justice to Cuzco to preside over the trial of Thupa Amaru and other members of his family. The severity and cruelty of the tortures and sentences he inflicted on the Thupa Amaru movement members in 1781 to 1783 was famous.

of the 20th century Manuel González Prada considered that the Indians constituted nine tenths of the population. Towards the end of the 1920s anti-oligarchic intellectuals assumed that it represented four-fifths (as Mariátegui maintains in numerous texts). In 1940 the census of population (the last one that registered the category “race”) registered 45% of “Indians”. Currently, in an impressionistic way, they are considered to constitute the third or fourth part of the Peruvian population (Manrique 1995:19).

The designation *indio* has been used since the arrival of the Spaniards. Any native, or anyone born in Tawantin Suyu was designated as *indio*, in the social rank of conquered, dominated, and a minor. Over the years the term gained strong connotation of an insult, associated with exploitation, discrimination, racism; thus, the native population does not want to use it (unlike Ecuador and Bolivia). The term *indio* has a connotation of contempt: “The contempt arises from the conviction of the inferiority of the one who is despised. It could be argued that contempt for the *indio* is as old as the very creation of the concept, product of the conquest, in the 16th century. Since for Spaniards the *indio* was synonymous with the colonized, it was not always the equivalent of an intrinsically inferior, degraded or stupid being” (Méndez 1993: 22). In colonial times there existed a division of *indios* into noble and tax paying *indios*. As Flores Galindo writes: “With the death of Tupac Amaru II and later, with the failure of the brothers Angulo,¹¹ in 1814. The indigenous aristocracy was almost extirpated: the use of pre-Hispanic titles was forbidden, genealogies were destroyed, persons were deported and stripped of their assets. Since then, *indio* would only be synonymous with peasant” (Burga and Flores Galindo 1982. p. 92).

In peasant communities, the term *runa* is used to self-identify, and when trade unions are organized the term *campesino* is used. NGOs and other institutions have tried to give new meaning the term *indio* to construct a movement or for the defense of rights, as in Bolivia and Ecuador, but the negative charge of the term is very strong in the Peruvian Sierra, so it failed.

The term *indígena* – indigenous is less hated by the population and it is used primarily for the defense of natural resources and to benefit from International Labor Organization’s Convention 169 on indigenous peoples, or for requesting a “preliminary consultation” with indigenous peoples. *Indigenismo* (indigenism) was a current of defense of indigenous rights, but it was taken over by mestizo intellectuals, and not by the native population. The word *indígena* indicated a condition of subalternity and implied subordination, gratuitous work for the employer, serving

11 The brothers Angulo and an Inca nobleman Pumacahua initiated an independence revolution in 1814. They overtook the city of Cuzco, center of the revolution. Three patriotic armies were formed. One marched towards Ayacucho taking two cities Huamanga and Huancavelica. Another went to Arequipa, which it took, and the third one towards Puno and the Alto Peru, managing to take Puno and La Paz with great amount of Spaniards and *criollos* dead. But they had to retreat from the three zones. Their leaders were executed by the Spaniards.

them, and obeying every order; an economic situation of not possessing even the land on which they lived.

The change to abandon the use of the word *indio*, and self-define as *campesino*-peasant was a very long process. When the Peasant Federations were organized in the 1940s, the designations were *comunero* – member of the community, *agricultor* - farmer, and *campesino* - peasant. The last word differentiated from the name *indio* that the *gamonales*—local landlords—gave to their feudal tenants. Federations' supporters and organizers used the term *compañero*— comrade in direct contact and *campesino* in referential way. Both became popular especially in the 1960s. In 1968, with the coup led by General Juan Velasco Alvarado (1968–1975) and the later agrarian reform in 1969, the use of the term *campesino* became official and the term *indio* was outlawed because it had racist, discriminatory, exclusionary, exploitative and oppressive connotations and was therefore considered an insult. The Agrarian Reform of 1969 abolished this condition and converted the *indios* to owners of their own land, who were able to improve their life, their freedom, and their human rights. That is why the native population does not want to identify with the term *indio*. The use of this word, as well as that of *indígena*, leads to a discussion. If we only say *campesino*, we obviate the cultural condition and only stick to the socio-economic condition.

Recognizing us as indigenous is to value our culture and recognize the specific situation of our cultural condition. A group of private associations, NGOs that have worked on interculturality observed that in Peru, it developed differently than in Ecuador and Bolivia. In the last two countries, since the 1980s, indigenous intellectuals emerged. Meetings were held in Cuzco on issues of interculturality and indigenous peoples, and indigenous intellectuals from both countries took part. However, the intellectuals who dealt with this subject in Peru did not consider themselves indigenous, and we did not see ourselves as indigenous intellectuals since even if of Quechua or Aymara origins, we were looking for a place among intellectuals in general, and not intellectuals with an adjective that would marginalize us. Of course, we recognize ourselves as Incas, Waris, Chancas, Qollas, Chumpiwillkas, Cotaneras, Andean, and always with “much pride.”

Similar to the term *indio* is that of *cholo*, which is not from Peru. Inca Garcilaso de la Vega already wrote that the Spaniards brought the word from Central America and that it meant a mongrel, a street dog, of the lowest caste. This term is assigned to an *indio* who has migrated to the city and begins to change culturally. In that sense, of calling a person who from a Sierra village went to Lima, the poet César Vallejo¹² was called *cholo* Vallejo, because he went to Lima from the Sierra of La Libertad, Huamachuco. After he went to Paris, they no longer referred to him in

12 Author of several poetry books: “Los Heraldos Negros” (1919), “Poemas humanos” (1939) “España, Aparta de mí este cáliz” (1931) and stories as „Paco Yunque” (1931).

that way. In Cuzco the poet Luis Nieto Miranda¹³ was called the *cholo* Nieto until his death, because he himself used that expression and he was proud to be called that way. In Apurímac and Abancay emerged *cholo* Tulio Losa, who later became nationally known. He had his TV program, where he ridiculed the mistakes that a rural inhabitant, who did not know life in the city, carried out when travelling to the city. For years he ridiculed the *cholos* in his TV program. Likewise, already in the 21st century, there was another TV program called “the *paisana* Jacinta” – Jacinta the countrywoman, a woman from a village who looks for work in the city of Lima and makes many mistakes by misunderstanding the orders. The program ridiculed the *paisanas* - countrywomen in general, even in the clothes they used, in their hairstyle and in the bad Spanish they spoke. Following protests by citizen groups the program was canceled, then later revived and again removed. Groups of viewers protested because it was obviously racist, discriminating and offensive to the country in general. The term *cholo* has two meanings; on the positive side, it means the “enterprising migrant.”¹⁴ Apart from this use, its everyday meaning denotes hierarchy. To say *cholo* to a person means to put the person below oneself in the social hierarchy. With this word, a person is not only excluded but included negatively, as an object of subjection. Thus, it is not a mechanism of exclusion but of subordination. To call someone *cholo* discriminates and subordinates them. Saying the word *cholo* is like lowering the other, diminishing and offending them, subordinating them; this is why the word *cholo* is not accepted.

If we want to raise our self-esteem, it is rather by identifying ourselves with our ancestors who had a position of leadership, of wisdom of construction, of contribution with new elements and knowledge. Such attitude exists among both the *comuneros*, members of rural communities, and the urban dwellers.

The word *cholo* is polysemic, it has many meanings and connotations, from affectionate to injurious. Migrations create in the cities a new phenomenon of “migrant *cholo*,” the “urban *cholo*.” In February 2017, the term is also associated with corruption and lying because of a politician who called himself *cholo* and became wanted by the justice accused of corruption. The people are very disappointed because it gives a bad name to a whole sector of the population, the migrants from the communities. In the city, they are entrepreneurs and many also enter into local, regional and national politics (such as the *cholo* San Roman from Cuzco, who is not corrupt). The *cholos* also live their contradictions between the indigenous world and the urban one. The term *cholo* is also used to refer to artists, for example, in the case of “*cholo* Abanto Morales,” who composed the song *Cholo soy* – I am a *cholo* (1983).

13 Poet and university professor, author of the letter of the “Himno al Cusco” - Hymn to Cuzco (1944). That year the Municipality of Cuzco called a contest to create the Hymn to Cuzco. The winner was *cholo* Nieto’s text and Roberto Ojeda’s music. The same year the celebration of the *Inti Raymi* began.

14 Varallanos (1962) and Quijano (1980) believe that the *cholo* is the migrant who came to Lima or other cities from Sierra. The *cholo* is modern and prosperous.

Although more male characters use this denomination, there are also female artists, such as the “*chola* Delfina Paredes,” an artist who not only had a TV program (in 1960s) with the role of a maid in the city of Lima but is also a reciter and actress of Peruvian cinema.

According to Guillermo Nugent (2012), the term *cholo* reflects “racialized classism” because what matters are the money and economic position a person has, and not so much their skin color. Basically, the discrimination is according to the social class to which one belongs. In this sense, it is not common to self-identify as *cholo*. Like the examples we have given above, this is rather used for artists.

An identity that we, the Cuzco people, assume, and that is still general in the region, is that of *mestizos*, half indigenous, half West European, in keeping with the definition of the great Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, who identified himself as Inca, and defined who was a *mestizo*. Without abandoning our original identity, we assume elements of the culture coming from outside, like the Castilian language (and through books all knowledge of different cultures), the Catholic religion, a mixture of indigenous and Western clothes, and the use of ponchos and typical Cuzco bonnets. Cuzco people are more and more cosmopolitan. The spoken language is no longer only Castilian, but also English, French, and German, and, increasingly, Portuguese, Japanese, and Chinese.

The people of the city of Cuzco are native Spanish speakers who learn English and other languages. However, at home, in the street, in the market, we hear the Quechua and learn it very naturally, and we cling to our Andean Cuzco customs and culture. To this day, in Cuzco, the word *mestiza* is used and applied to Cuzco women who wear very wide pleated skirts, white blouses with skirts and laces, tall white hats and use for cold days wool shawls of various colors. It was mainly used by women who sold in food markets in Cuzco and in the neighborhoods of San Blas and Santa Ana, women who had their stores and sold or made handcrafted products. A *mestiza* very well known for being an artist and wearing a very beautiful Cuzco *mestiza* costume was Mrs. Georgina Dueñas de Mendivil. She was a matron of an interesting and sui generis family of artists who made figures representing the Magi, the child Jesus, and whose style was unique. They made them with long necks and painted with attractive colors and with many golden adornments on their costumes. She was interviewed many times about her art. She explained that her creations were based on her imagining how beautiful the sculpture of a child God and his mother should look. Despite making money with her art, she continued to dress as a Cuzco *mestiza* (her workshop worked since 1950 to 1999, the year she died). Another example: a Cuzco *mestiza* lady was the owner of the “La Chola” *picantería* on Pumacurco Street. From 1950s to the 1970s, this traditional place to consume Cuzco food and drink was the favorite place of Cuzco intellectuals such as *cholo* Luis Nieto, filmmakers like Eulogio Nishiyama, painters like “Lego” Juan Bravo, musicians like Roberto Ojeda. Their conversations gave the place the seal

of the Bohemian Cuzco impregnated with Quechua identity. At present (2024), the use of such attire has dropped, the daughters of women who wore these suits do not wear them. The suit has remained as a *vestimenta* - clothing for parades. There are anthropological studies of what it means to be a *mestiza* woman, also linked to being entrepreneurs, business owners, and very bold for starting businesses. They have a specific way of being because they are not submissive to the male, and many times, their partners depend economically on them.

Although at the local level, the *mestizo* self-definition has a certain specificity, in a broader context, it is not a specific term as we all are *mestizos*; in America as well as in Europe, Asia, and Africa, and so on exists the phenomenon of cultural *mestizaje*. Many of us in Cuzco have stopped defining ourselves as *mestizos*, mainly because of the connotation of exploitation of the peasants, implied by the meaning of *mestizo*. *Mestizos* in towns and villages made the peasants, the *comuneros* (peasant community members), serve them. They possessed mechanisms for peasant exploitation.

Currently (2024), the urban *mestizos* go to the peasant communities and exchange sweaters made of synthetic fiber, cheap shoes, or products like canned tuna that they carry from towns or cities for woolen textiles woven by the *comuneros*. It is an unequal exchange. The *mestizos* from the towns like Combapata, Chinchero, Calca, Pisac, etc., wait for the peasants at the entrance of the road and seize from their backs or the backs of the beasts of burden the product sacks and forcefully impose the price they want for the peasant's products.

We, the professionals who have worked in NGOs and developed projects in rural areas, identify ourselves as *runa masiy*, meaning that we are people like you, we are *runa simi rimaq*, that is Quechua speakers. We call them *turiy* (brother) or *ñañay* (sister) when a woman speaks and *wawqiy* (brother), *ñaña* (sister) when a man speaks. If they are older than us, we call them *tayta* (father), and *mama* (mother), and small children *irqi* (child).

Identity as *andino* (Andean) and as *todas las sangres* (Every Blood)

L.E. Valcárcel (1953) disseminated the word *andino* in the sense of an inhabitant of the Andes and "*todas las sangres*" (Every Blood) was disseminated by J.M. Arguedas by using it as title of his novel (1st edition came out in 1964).

Andino refers to the inhabitants of this part of the Andes Mountains. It is a very broad and descriptive term in full use, and we identify ourselves as *andinos* with great pride. It implies loving our history in this part of the world and our society developed here, the Andes, with a rational spatial organization, with Inca science in force in agricultural practices, irrigation, food processing and even in knowledge of astronomy, with such principles such as *ayni* - reciprocity (exchange of work for work), and complementarity between roles fulfilled by men and women, or between young and old, as well as between farmers' and pastors' products; to love

this wisdom, these natural resources, these landscapes, this climate. To love our Andean culture, with millennia of development and its meaningful contributions to humanity. To love our languages, our customs, and our way of life.

Some characteristics are being supportive, reciprocal, fraternal, collectivist, hardworking, and honest. As urban *andinos*, we observe that in the countryside, in the rural areas, such values are much more practiced, the *ayni* (reciprocity) stays in force. The *faena* (voluntary collective work) is used in works for collective benefit. And to the introduction of values associated with the Shining Path's violence expressed in the slogan "The Party has a thousand eyes and a thousand ears", with which it wanted to intimidate the Andean populations so that they would not defend themselves against the terrorist violence (1980-2000), the peasant *comuneros* answered with *huq umalla*, *huq makilla*, *huq sunqulla* (with one head only, with one hand only, with one heart only) meaning "with a single thought, working together as one, and feeling for the other" and thus, in their respective territories, they defeated the terrorists by organizing chains of solidarity to shut the way to terror.

For an *andino*, work is a value. People from other regions, such as the jungle, recognize that an *andino* is hardworking. Both on the coast and in the jungle, the employers want to hire workers from the Sierra, because they strive to work well. We, the urban *andinos*, value this among rural *andinos*, where life is work, and even the children have no time to play. To play and to rest is seen as a lack of merit. The *andino* all the time is transforming the fiber into skeins, skeins into textiles, the land into cultivated fields, the mud into adobe, the adobe into huts, the potato into *ch'uñu* (dehydrated potato, which can be preserved for years), and so on. The *andino* has been converted into a stereotype of folklore and tradition. But that is not all and already since the book by Cuzco's intellectual Uriel García *Nuevo Indio* (New Indian) (1930), it has been put forward that the *indio* is modern, the *andino* is not past and tradition but modern and contemporary; there is progress coming from the *andino* way. *Sumaq kawsay* - living well or improving our living conditions.

José María Arguedas suggests that the Peruvian identity consists of being *todas las sangres* - every blood (all the races, all the origins). Generally accepted, this expression is the title of his novel, which provoked a strong discussion and its rejection by some Peruvian intellectuals (Mesa Redonda Todas las sangres. IEP. Lima. 1965) and plunged Arguedas in sadness, who said "I have lived in vain".

The novel is set in the Sierra and describes a geographic and social landscape of the 1950s, showing the deep knowledge of our reality that Arguedas had. In the novel's recreated world, Arguedas presented two characters, two attitudes, one traditional and one modern. Both exploited the indigenous. He presented a third attitude represented by Rendón Willka, the indigenous leader who has become an archetype for many readers of this novel. The first thing that the group of intellectuals criticizing Arguedas did not understand is that it was a work of art, a fiction, a novel, and that the relationship between reality and the world recreated in the novel must

be analyzed differently, not as a reality but as a relationship with reality, respecting the artist's creative freedom. What they should have done was literary criticism. Indeed, through José María Arguedas's novels, stories and narratives, we were close to reality, we could know the *andinos'* lives and feelings. What is interesting about works of art is that they bring us closer and make feelings known to us, being thus able to live the experiences of the characters through our imagination, but we cannot analyze these as works of sociology, anthropology, or history.¹⁵

The image that the novel gives of Peru is one of cultural and social conflicts. In *Todas las sangres*, Arguedas figuratively recreates a reality split between a traditional position and a modern one, valid in a work of art. He also shows the many characters: Indians, Mestizos, Creoles, Indian peasants and miners, mestizo estate owners (traditional and modern), mine owners, a national bourgeoisie (working with national and transnational capitals), traders, and engineers. Also, the novel contains a great variety of female characters from different social backgrounds. Arguedas gives a vision of reality, his own polyvalent vision. He raises a variety of different ideas and inserts Rendón Willka as an indigenous leader who returns from the city and rejoins the indigenous world, the community, the collective world, and the collective solidarity. Rendón Willka is an Indian, speaks Quechua and a little Spanish. Some intellectuals criticized this point because, to them, evolution and the transition from feudalism to capitalism meant a lot and not the exaltation of the indigenous world. What the intellectuals of the Round Table on *Todas las Sangres* demanded from Arguedas in 1965 was a sociological analysis. This misunderstanding harmed the artist. But it aroused a discussion beyond only the intellectuals and the students and reached the general public, similar to the reception Arguedas' works have. In this sense, because it is a realistic novel, it poses a solution to the Peruvian identity conflicts and proposes *todas las sangres* – “every blood”.

Arguedas' writing reflected Peru's socio-cultural and economic reality, not only his knowledge of our reality but also the latter's vivid sentiment. Arguedas loved the natives and his experienced reality made him say: “I am not an acculturated Indian, I am a proud Peruvian, who speaks as a happy devil like a Christian and like an Indian in Spanish and Quechua.”¹⁶ What was ticked incoherent in his time (1960s) is now accepted as the multiple identities (Maalouf, 2005). It shows that Arguedas was more advanced and not schematized according to trendy theories of the 1960s, which he felt did not reflect our reality and his own experience of being Quechua and urban.

When the idiom *todas las sangres* appeared, we also identified ourselves as *todas las sangres*, because it really represents what we are; we come from pre-Inca

15 Although some history books are their author's great fiction and show our history the way they want to see it or make it known. But it is another discussion.

16 Address delivered at the ceremony of delivery of the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega Prize, in October 1968.

populations, for example, the Oma¹⁷ (from San Jerónimo, Cuzco), and the Cuntimayta¹⁸ (from Accos, Acomayo, Cuzco). As the chronicles indicate, the Incas made matrimonial alliances with the ethnic groups that they found inhabiting in this part of the Andes, the ancient Cuzco. So, there is a mixture of Omas and Incas. In addition, to Cuzco were brought populations from other zones of the Inca state. Before the arrival of the Spaniards, we were already a mixture of ethnic groups. The Spaniards arrived and brought more mixtures like Jews, Moors, and other Europeans and Africans. The Republic facilitated Chinese and Japanese immigration. Hence, we are a great mix. But *todas las sangres* or *mestizos* do not define us because a Frenchman or a Spaniard¹⁹ could also be called *todas las sangres*. It is very broad. Thus, we define ourselves as *andinos*, and Incas too.

Identity as Incas Today

Despite the incessant repetition in schools and colleges that the Incas were only the past, the Incas have been present in the same city of Cuzco with every sunrise because streets and ancestral buildings are oriented to receive the first rays of sunlight and with every sunset because the sun will go through points that had already been marked by Inca architecture, in its walls, facades, language, because each tutelary mountain of the city has mythical stories that have to do with the Incas. Offering rituals to these mountains are still carried on, evidencing the pantheistic character of the Cuzco inhabitants' religion. The Incas are present in Cuzco's cooking pots containing everyday staples such as potatoes, quinoa, maize, and ullucos. Attractive symbols of the city of Cuzco are Sacsayhuaman and Coricancha from the Incas' time.

Nevertheless, there has been great repression against us, the people of Cuzco, calling ourselves descendants of the Incas. The first to declare themselves present Incas, in the 1990s, especially at its end and in the early 2000s, were those who bore an Inca surname: in San Sebastián, Inca Roca, a large family that preserves its surname, and, in San Jerónimo, the families Pachacuti, Sinchi Roca, Tupacyupanqui, Atayupanqui. The *panacas* reorganized in 2004 and 2005, institutionalizing themselves with norms and regulations.

A solution to the identity self-definition were the expressions *Qusqu runa*, people of Cuzco, and *Qusqu warmi*, women of Cuzco, introduced by a mayor of Cuzco in the 1980s. *Runa*, because in the countryside, the peasants, the *comuneros* call themselves *runa* – human beings, and adding the name of a city specifies a geo-

17 One of us is from time immemorial from the town of San Jerónimo, in such a way he is an Oma, because Oma is a pre-Spanish name of San Jerónimo.

18 Another of us is from Accos, a pre-Inca ayllu like Cuntimayta, *ayllu* whose members guarded the Inca Mayta Capac.

19 A Spaniard from Seville is mestizo in the sense of descending from an original population conquered by the Romans, then they were 800 years under Arab dominion and later Christians who built Christian churches over Moslem mosques.

graphical space. These had their time, but did not continue. It was a good approach for a collective identity that could unify both the settlers from new towns as well as the old inhabitants of the traditional neighborhoods of the city of Cuzco.

Since 2011 there has been an intense debate about the sculpture that represents an Inca in Cuzco's main square. The participants detail that the Cuzco main square in the Inca period did not have a sculpture of an Inca. Next, they detail how an Inca should be represented based on the chronicles and images on painted *qiru* wooden cups, on colonial watercolor paintings and drawings. The people insist on having that sculpture since the city is an Inca city, so there must be a sculpture of an Inca.

A sector of the population identifies as Incas. In case of artists such as Antonio Huillca, an extraordinary painter from the community of Choco, a community that is already a neighborhood in the city of Cuzco, he shows his Inca identity as a descendant of the Incas in general and of the Inca culture. He presents himself as such in exhibitions of his paintings and in his works in his own museum. This is a position for most of Cuzco's young people to descend from the Incas, from the Inca ethnic group in general, without specifying any Inca ruler.

Incas Descending from Known Families

According to the Law 17716 of Agrarian Reform, decreed by the General Juan Velasco Alvarado 24 of June of 1969, the descendants of native peoples are called *campesinos* (peasants), and not *indios* (Indians), like in the estates' time. The term *campesino* does not have the same connotations of discrimination as that of *indio*. The *runas* prefer to call themselves *campesinos* not *indios*, since the word connotes insult. It is impossible to erase the racism and discrimination towards the native peoples with an official decree; nevertheless, the racism and the discrimination diminished from the beginning of the 1970s and the pride of descending from the native peoples grew. Also, the government considered José Gabriel Thupa Amaru as a hero and the claims he had raised as the government's claims.

A new cultural movement called *Inkarrí* came into being, referring to a myth that exists in many areas of the country. The myth talks about the return of the "Inca." The myth exists in many peasant communities of Peru. It is continually transmitted orally from parents to children. Some anthropologists have collected it in some areas, but it exists in a larger area. In TV programs that travel through the country and reach faraway communities, the *comuneros* narrate the myth of *Inkarrí* that they retain. They retell it as something absolutely unique and proper to their community. Oscar Núñez del Prado (Cuzco 1917–1991), an anthropologist, collected one of the earliest versions of the *Inkarrí* myth in the peasant community of Quero in 1955 (Ossio 1973:276-280). He directed the study expedition to Quero and discovered the myth, which marks an entirely new period in oral tradition studies throughout Peru. J.M. Arguedas discovered another version of the myth in

Puquio (Ossio 1973:379–391), where the Spaniards cut off Inkarrí's head and separated it from his body, and buried it. Under the ground, Inkarrí's head is joining his body, and when complete, Inkarrí will return. Such is the people's hope.

The population had already used the name *campesino* to self-define. This is how the *Confederación Campesina del Perú* (Peasant Confederation of Peru), organized on April 11, 1947, got its name. Ten years earlier, before this all-Peruvian agrarian center in Maranura (La Convención, Cuzco), the first peasant union of the region had already been born. The *Sindicato de campesinos de Maranura* (Maranura Peasants' Union) was founded in 1937. Many more peasant unions would emerge in Cuzco, and in 1944, the *Federación de Campesinos del Cuzco* (Federation of Peasants of Cuzco) and in 1941 the *Federación de campesinos de Lares y la Convención-Cuzco* (Federation of Peasants of Lares and Convention-Cuzco). The Quechua *comune-ros* preferred to call themselves peasants, alluding to their economic activity. They acquired self-esteem and improved it by propagandizing that they produced staple foods for city dwellers. On the other hand, land ownership and use are legitimized by the fact that they descend from the ancient inhabitants of the land, the Incas; thus, their identity clings to the memory of the Inca and grows gradually.

The link between the Incas of today and their ancestors, for families bearing an Inca surname, is different. For a long time, the link was thought to be unreal. The descendants claimed they descended from the Inca whose surname they carried, but they failed to demonstrate the line of descent. In an interview from 1992, the respondents stated that they descended from the Incas but could not prove their genealogy. In that sense: "The memory, in fact, is a framework rather than essence, a constant commitment, a set of strategies, a being – thus, it has less value for what it is than for what is made of it" (Nora 1984: VIII).

In 1992, some national and international institutions, during the celebrations of the 500 years of the "discovery" of America, worried about what had happened to the descendants of the Incas. Consequently, journalists from Lima as well as from the regions and in the case of Cuzco Luis Nieto Degrégori, conducted interviews with some members of families known as Inca descendants. He found many of them. Many no longer carried Quechua surnames, but they still remembered the surnames of their grandfathers and great-grandparents. Many of these families possess documents that credit them as Inca descendants. Although these families knew that descended from Incas, they obtained certainty at the beginning of 2011 thanks to the studies of the genealogist Ronald Elward (2012), who made several studies and found the relation between the present families of Incas surnames with their ancestors of the same name, or related to them. Elward studied the Sinchi Roca family from San Jerónimo (Elward, 2012a: 22). The family keeps very ancient documents about descending from the Inca Sinchi Roca. Elward's studies proved the same. The case of Inca Roca family from San Sebastián is similar. They too have documents and they can also draw a line of succession. In the

town of San Jerónimo there are *ayllus* with the names of the ancient Inca *panacas* such as Chima (Manco Capac), Raurau (Sinchi Roca), Hahuaynin (Lloque Yupanqui), Uscamayta (Mayta Capac), Apumayta (Capac Yupanqui). These last two are also surnames of notable families of San Jerónimo. There are more *ayllus* with the names of the *ayllus* of the Incas of the Hurin dynasty considered the first Incas. There are also *ayllus* Auccailli (Yaguar Guacac) and Sucusu (Viracocha), descending from the Hanan dynasty Incas.

A case that we follow closely is the one of the Tupa Yupanqui Inca's descendants in San Jerónimo. Some historians, for example, María Rostworowski (1988) think that Tupa Yupanqui Inca, the tenth in the traditional list of twelve Incas, grandfather of Huascar and Atahualpa, was a historical figure.

Case of Inca Thupa Yupanqui's Family

The earliest ancestors were Felipe and Andrés Tupa Yupanqui, who, in 1572, filed a claim with the vicerojal authorities and proved and became recognized as Inca Tupa Yupanqui's grandchildren. Andrés Topa Yupanqui was named elector representing Ccapac Ayllu in those years.

Mateo Tupac Yupanqui, *Cacique* of Lares, 1600.

Fray Calixto Tupac Inca Yupanqui, mentioned in 1750.

Diego Sutta Yupanqui represented this royal house Royal Ensign Bearer (*Royal Alférez*)²⁰ in 1799.

Their descendants were Eugenio Tupayupanqui (6th generation counted back from Roberto Valderrama Zavaleta), born in 1765, of *ayllu* Sucusu, noble Indian, father of

Ambrosio Tupayupanqui (5th generation) born in 1795, father of

Asencio Tupayupanqui (4th generation) born in 1827, father of

Jerónima Tupayupanqui Sahuaraura (3rd generation) born in 1853 member of Ayllu Ccollana in San Jerónimo mather of

Julián Valderrama Tupayupanqui (2nd generation) (1885–1927), father of Roberto Valderrama Zavaleta (1st generation) (1911–1989).

In the archive of the Parish of San Jerónimo (Cuzco) we found the certificates of the last three persons mentioned. Ronald Elward investigated the fourth-sixth persons in the *Archivo Arzobispal del Cusco* (Cuzco Archbishopric Archive) (Elward, 2016: 57). It still remains to find the line of succession back to the Thupa Yupanqui's grandchildren in 1572. Yet since in the found documentation, they are mentioned as nobles, we can infer that they descend from this Inca. The approval given by the Spanish authorities to qualify as noble Indians was based on the fact that these families proved their ties of kinship with the noble Incas, and the Span-

20 Religious position of prestige occupied only by the descendants of Incas in colonial Cuzco. The bearer was chosen among the group of the 24 Electors representing the twelve Royal Houses recognized by Spanish authorities in Cuzco (Amado 2003)

iards were quite strict in verifying the truthfulness of the evidence. We quote the certificates we have found:

Translated copy of the baptism certificate of Jerónima Tupayupanqui, Julian Valderrama's mother:

"In the Parish of San Jerónimo of the city of Cuzco, on October 7th of the Lord's year 1852, I the Parish priest of the Parish solemnly baptized a day old girl. I gave her as name Jerónima, legitimate daughter of Asensio Tupayupanqui and Isidora Sahuaraura from the lineage Ayllu Ccollana. The godmother was Mrs. Manuela Valderrama whom I noticed her obligations and the kinship she contracted, and for record I signed it. Don Pablo Mogrovejo" (Archivo de la Parroquia de San Jerónimo. Cusco).

Translated copy of Julián Valderrama Tupayupanqui's baptism:

"On September 30th of 1885, in this Parish church, I the priest baptized: Julián Balderrama Tupayupanqui, son of Pablo Balderrama and Jeroma Tupayupanqui. The godmother was Nicolasa Balderrama. It is a true copy of the original" (Libro de bautismos, Archivo de la Parroquia de San Jerónimo. Cusco).

Translated quote from by Roberto Valderrama Zavaleta's birth certificate: "*son of Julián Valderrama Tupayupanqui and Celedonia Zavaleta Ramos Sinchi Roca*" (Partida de nacimiento, Archivo de la Municipalidad Distrital de San Jerónimo. Cusco).

The Valderramas are one of the families descending from the Inca king Tupac Yupanqui. In 1562, the king's grandchildren began the procedure to receive official recognition as great Inca king and conqueror's grandchildren. There were 31 the Inca's grandchildren. Later during the colony their descendants kept the status of noble Incas. In the Republic they occupied positions, until declining. Many of them changed their Quechua surnames to Castilian surnames. Those who live in the 21st century bearing the surname Tupacyupanqui were and are recognized intellectuals in our regional and national space, as the sage and professor of Quechua Demetrio Tupacyupanqui, who translated Don Quixote to Quechua (Cervantes Saavedra 2005).

The Case of Inca Jaguar Guacac's Family

The other case that we studied is that of the descendants of the Inca Jaguar Guacac. They live in San Sebastián (Cuzco), and their surname is Thupa Guamanrimachi (Escalante and Valderrama 2013), which they have kept since 1533. They appear under this name already in documents from 1544. The first documented Thupa Guamanrimachi adopted the Christian name Francisco. He was a relative of Manco Inca. Before the arrival of the Spaniards, one of his sisters was Manco Inca's wife, Coya Inquill. Gonzalo Pizarro took her away and had a daughter with her, whom he named Francisca Pizarro. She was raised by the Guamanrimachi *ayllu*.

Francisco Guamanrimachi witnessed Manco Inca's triumphal entrance to Cuzco after the Inca's victory over former supporters of Atahualpa. He also testified that he had witnessed Manco Inca's coronation according to the Inca ritual. He accompanied the Inca to Tambo (Ollantaytambo of today). Years later, he witnessed the departure of Inca Sayri Tupa and his Coya Cusihuarca when they came to Cuzco and went to Yucay. Coya Cusihuarca, already a widow, litigated over Pumamarca terrains with Alonso Carrasco junior, the same Spaniard against whom Francisco Guamanrimachi also litigated over land possessions. That is why he appeared in the written documentation of the time—because he appealed to the law to defend the lands of the *ayllus* from San Sebastián. He is also mentioned in several studies because Martín de Loyola called him to testify that Beatriz Clara Coya was Sayri Tupa's daughter and, therefore, a landowner (Rostworowski 1970). Among the abundant documents available, we chose and transcribed more documents from the period 1775–1825. Thus, we know that Felix Thupa Guamanrimachi drafted 300 Indians, armed them and took them to Sangarará to fight against Thupa Amaru (battle of November 18, 1780). After the Inca's victory, he returned to San Sebastián. Years later, he asked the authorities to recognize his service to the Spanish Crown. He also went out to Saylla, where on January 2, 1781, Spanish troops fought and won over the column led by the rebel leader Castelo. Felix Thupa Guamanrimachi had this merit also recognized by the Spanish Crown representatives in Cuzco. By 1786, five members of this family represented five Royal Houses of the twelve recognized by the viceregal authorities in Cuzco: Manco Capac, Yaguar Guacac, Pachacuti, Thupa Yupanqui, and Guayna Capac.

A 16th-century descendant of Francisco Guamanrimachi was Alonso Guamanrimachi (mentioned in 1620), ancestor of Francisco Guamanrimachi (mentioned in 1660) father of Felipe Tupa Guamanrimachi (1660–1720), father of Eugenio Tupa Guamanrimachi (born 1725) and Cayetano Tupa Guamanrimachi. Eugenio was the father of Félix Tupa Guamanrimachi (born 1750), father of Melchor Tupa Guamanrimachi (born 1770), ancestor of the present Guamanrimachi family members who live in San Sebastián. These present people, through their birth certificates and by checking them with their parents' baptism and marriage certificates in the parochial archives, draw a line of descent that reaches the Tupa Guamanrimachi, who were recognized as “noble Indians” and who had presented their proofs and passed rigorous investigation. Thus, it is not necessary to draw a line of descent to Yaguar Guacac himself to declare them descendants of Incas.²¹ Also, if they see themselves as Incas, one should respect their choice and ethnic identity.

21 Rotworowski 1988, Guillén Guillén 1992, Cahill 2003, Garrett 2009, Escalante and Valderrama 2013 studied this family.

Case of Inca Lloque Yupanqui's Family

In the district of San Jerónimo Lloque Yupanqui, his *ayllu* Hahuaynin, his son Inca Mayta Cápac, and one of the descendants Felipe Tisoc, mentioned in the chronicles, are important because Lloque Yupanqui was the third Inca at the time of the Inca Regional State. According to the stories contained in several chronicles, he was the son of the Inca Sinchi Roca and a noblewoman of the town of Oma (San Jerónimo's ancient name). The first Incas, in their eagerness to make alliances with the local ethnic groups, exchanged women given in marriage. Thus, Sinchi Roca, son of an Inca noblewoman from the town of Sañu (today San Sebastián), married a daughter of the ruler of the Oma, and began to have descendants in the town of the Omas (Escalante and Valderrama 2016). His son was the Inca Mayta Capac. Another of his sons was the great Apu Huilla Uma, high priest of the sun temple. His descendants were in charge of priestly service. The first mentioned is Felipe Tisoc (1500–1535).²²

The other line of descendants of Lloque Yupanqui and the great Apu Huilla Uma Inca the high priest of the Inca Sun Temple includes Tomás Tisoc Sayretupa²³ (lived approx. 1680–1720), who was a cacique in the Parish of Hospital de los Naturales in Cuzco and the father of Miguel Tisoc Sayretupa (approx. 1710–1774), Royal Ensign Bearer of noble Incas in 1744, father of Simon Tisoc Sayretupa (1740–1797 or 1803), *cacique* of *ayllu* Sucso in San Jerónimo, father of Mariano Tisoc Sayretupa (approx. 1780–1865), also *cacique* of *ayllu* Sucso, Royal Ensign Bearer of noble Incas in 1811.

Another line of descent from Don Mariano Tisoc was formed by the family of Clemente Tisoc (1814–1865), father of Felipe Tisoc (1851–1917), father of Mariano Tisoc (born perhaps in 1875), father of Ángel Augusto Tisoc (1904–1936).

The other line of Don Mariano Tisoc's descendants was founded by his son Anselmo Tisoc (approx. 1820–after 1882), father of Raimundo Tisoc (born about 1865), father of María Cleofé Tisoc (1910–2003), and her son Carlos Callo Tisoc father of María E. Callo. Present descendants of the Tisoc are Vilma Linares Tisoc and her brothers. We interviewed Mrs. Vilma. She told us that they do not want to organize a *panaca*, like the Atayupanqui Pachacutec. If it should have been done, already her grandparents, whose surname was Tisoc (Amado 2002), would have done it. As the grandparents had not done it, they will not do it because they “only follow the customs” of family reunions several times a year, mainly on her birthday and those of her brothers. But she did point out many aspects by which her family differed from other Cuzco families. For example, her family had *wasi gente*²⁴ (house

22 The word *tisu*, *tisúq* is Quechua, means to crumble, to stretch the alpaca or lama fiber very finely.

23 Data obtained from the R. Elward's studies of genealogies based on his research Archivo Arzobispal Cusco, Archivo Regional Cusco, and Archivo de la Parroquia de la Iglesia San Blas (Elward 2009, 2012, 2016)

24 *wasi gente* - people of the house live in the house but do not own or possess it, they serve the owners of the house, guard the house and take care of it.

people), a custom they maintain until today. Her family was one of San Jerónimo's principal families. The family always had many terrains and houses, good manners and sumptuous marriage ceremonies.

The Case of Inca Pachacutec's family

The present *panaca* of Atayupanqui Pachacutec is a family of immemorial residence in San Jerónimo, descendants of the Inca Pachacutec. The *panaca* includes persons surnamed Atayupanqui and Chihuantito. In the last decades, members of this extended family have occupied the position of Mayor of the district of San Jerónimo. J.P. Atayupanqui was the mayor for three consecutive periods (from 1981–1990). J. Chihuantito was mayor for two periods (1974–1980). M. Chihuantito was an alderman of the municipality of San Jerónimo (2007–2010). Other *panaca* members have held various positions, showing that families descending from Incas have held positions of authority in the town. A famous linguist and priest in San Jerónimo was also of this family: Father Ángel Mateo Atayupanqui Chamorro, who wrote books and Quechua dictionaries. At present, it is one of the *panacas* that possess institutional premises, statutes and regulations, with anniversaries and annual public ceremonies. They also parade on the anniversary of the district and in the beginning of the patron saint celebrations of the town of San Jerónimo, as a *panaca*. They organize conferences about the Incas and other cultural activities. The founder of this *panaca* in the 21st century was Mrs. Isabel Atayupanqui Pachacutec. The *Instituto Nacional de Cultura* (Peruvian National Institute of Culture) rewarded her with the title of *Patrimonio cultural vivo de la nación* (Living cultural heritage of the nation), recognizing her as such, and with a medal of honor.

The Case of Inca Sinchi Roca's Family

The Sinchi Roca have lived since time immemorial in San Jerónimo and are among San Jerónimo's most important families. Because they bear the same name as the second Inca of the Hurin dynasty, they were interviewed in 1992, and they made known the documents they kept, which dated from colonial times, documents of judicial information about their royal house in which the King of Spain recognized them as descendants of the Incas and as noble Indians. Likewise, they have a coat of arms given by the same King of Spain and a mausoleum bearing the name *Panaca Sinchi Roca* in the cemetery of San Jerónimo.

The oldest reference to this lineage is the judicial information of 1655 on Diego Sinchi Roca Ynga. He had several successors, arriving to Lorenzo Sinchi Roca (born 1745), Royal Ensign Bearer (*Alférez Real*) in 1805, father of Ignacio Sinchi Roca (born 1780), father of Apolinar Sinchi Roca (born 1815), father of Santos Sinchi Roca (born 1843), father of Santiago Sinchi Roca (1870-1954), father of Ismael Sinchi Roca (1918 - 1993), father of Octavio Sinchi Roca (born 1941). This surname runs the risk of becoming lost unless the daughters of the current descendant call

their children with a compound surname. Professor Octavio was interviewed in 1992, and also interviewed for the newspaper *El Comercio* by the genealogist R. Elward (Elward 2012-09-16, p. A 22). This is an important family whose members hold positions not only at the district level in San Jerónimo but also at the provincial level. E. Sinchi Roca was the Municipality of Cuzco alderwoman at the beginning of this century. Now, F. Sinchi Roca is the alderwoman and president of a community in San Jerónimo.

In San Sebastián, at the beginning of the colony, six royal *ayllus*, lineages of the first Incas, were resettled: Chima *panaca* (Manco Capac), Raurau (Sinchi Roca), Apumayta (Capac Yupanqui), Vicaquirau (Inca Roca), Auccailli (Yaguar Guacac), and Sucusu (Viracocha).

The present descendants of the **Inca Roca family** of San Sebastián possess a coat of arms and colonial family documents. They received their coat of arms in 1544 from the King of Spain. The documents or *qarachus*²⁵ they currently have are distributed among several of the heirs. Also, it is a major family in the district of San Sebastián.

In the city of Cuzco itself and residing, as expected, in Plaza de Armas (the main square) are **Inca Huayna Capac's** descendants. The branch that has lasted until today is that of Titu Atauchi. Sapay Inca Huayna Capac formerly had the name of Titu Cusi Huallpa. He was Don Bartolomé Quispe Topa Inca Titu Atauchi's grandfather, recognized as such by a Royal Decree of 1544 (just like the descendants of Yaguar Guacac, Tupa Yupanqui, Viracocha that we have been studying in other works).

Don Bartolomé Quispe Topa Inca Titu Atauchi was grandfather of Juan Ramos Titu Atauchi, Anselmo Ramos Titu Atauchi his heir, fathered José Francisco Ramos Titu Atauchi, ancestor of Felipe Obando Ramos Titu Atauchi, ancestor of Eloísa Obando Carnero, mother of Luis Felipe Paredes Obando (he was a mayor of Cuzco). Luis Felipe Paredes Obando left children and grandchildren. One of them, F. Zora Carbajar Aguirre, fully assumes his Inca identity. The genealogist Ronald Elward studied this family of Inca Huayna Capac's descendants in "Indigenous dynasties of Peru and Bolivia and their descendants today," proving the continuity of succession of this family (Elward 2012b).

The Incas Living in the Rural Area

The members of different peasant communities of the Inca Region define themselves as Incas and true descendants of the Incas. The new Incas that have emerged in recent years cling to positive ideas to achieve sustainable and equitable development, to improve the quality of life of the entire population, to preserve nature and appeal to the pantheistic religion, to respect the Mother Earth, the Father

25 "qarachu. s. Libro antiguo forrado con pergamino y empaste muy peculiar." Academia Mayor de la Lengua Quechua 2005: 146.

Mountain, the Mother Lake, the Father River. It is an ideology of conservation of the environment and raising the quality of life for the whole population. We can distinguish two factions, basically separated by the place where their followers live.

The Members of Peasant Communities

The yearning for the Inca is common to a wide rural population throughout Peru, especially in the Sierra. It is present not only in communities of the Cuzco region. In all the areas where the immense and extensive Inca roads remain, there is an admiration for the Incas and the memory of their presence. Interesting texts, for example, from the Ayacucho area, give us an example of the yearning for the Inca as something positive. So, in *El soldado desconocido* (The unknown soldier), Lurgio Gavilán says: “If my brother and I were born in the time of the Incas, my brother and I would have built our houses close to each other, we would have cultivated maize fields and our children would play together running among the maize fields” (Gavilán 2013). In the midst of a terrible testimony of how terrorist violence had destroyed, not only killed thousands and also forever affected the survivors’ lives, the author comments had they been born in the time of the Incas, they would have been happy together, his brother (dead in the time of violence of the 1980s) and children whom they could not have. He is not a Cuzco man speaking, he is not from a city, only a son of peasants of the zone of Ayacucho.

The peasant *comuneros* think that in the time of the Incas, there was not only prosperity, economic well-being, and happiness but also equity. That is the image we have now of the Inca times, in the countryside and in some areas “that we should do like the Incas, improve our lives, ourselves” (words of a peasant leader). In the 1980s, in the area of Colca Valley, the phrase *buscando a un Inca* (looking for an Inca) (title of a book by Flores Galindo, 1987) became popular. When we returned to the area in 2012, the *comuneros* further affirmed their identity as descendants of Collaguas, still not defined as such in the 1980s. Now, they affirm to be Collaguas and Incas. They have recovered and reinvented rituals for the water and Mother Earth “as true Collaguas and Incas.”

They demand the return of the Ampato mummy to a local museum in the village of Cabanaconde (Valderrama and Escalante 1996). They continue making their offerings and rituals for the mountains in that district, not only to Ambato but also to Hualca Hualca, guardian mountain of Cabanaconde, and they say they do it “as Incas.” The greatest identification of those from Cabanaconde with things Inca is via the memory that Cabanaconde had been part of Cuntisuyu. They interpret the name as *Qawana - kunti* (the province from which one looks). In addition, Cabanaconde, Tapay, Lluta, and Huambo belong to the Cabana nation; in contrast, by climbing two hundred meters starting from the town of Pinchollo, Maca, Yanque and on the other side on the right bank of the Colca River, the town of Madrigal, to the east, all belong to the Collagua nation (Valderrama and Escalante 1989). The

hats they wear are different. Cabana women's hats are simple, dark colored, with embroidery and a classic eight-pointed star in its center. Collagua women wear white high-top hats because their tutelary mountain, the *Apu*, is pointed-headed.

In the *Valle Sagrado de los Incas* (the Sacred Valley of the Incas), communities convincingly say they are descendants of the Incas. They have myths about the Poques Inca (Escalante and Valderrama 1996a, Valderrama 2016), the Huama Inca, the Chumpi Inca, the Sayhua Inca, the Amaru Inca, and point out the things they have been doing since Inca times, particularly in the case of textiles and textile iconography (Escalante and Valderrama 2015). The peasant communities above the valley see themselves as the most legitimate descendants of Incas. In the Apurímac River basin in the Paruro area, peasant communities also affirm that they descend from the Incas, and they have their myths about Quehuar Inca and Masca Inca. There also are *ayllus* of *Inkakuna* (the Incas). In the province of Acomayo, stories exist about Accos Inca, Papres Inca and Rondocán Inca. In this area, they use to say that they are "legitimate descendants of Incas." In the last ten years, they changed their attitude and strive to improve their quality of life because, as descendants of Incas, they can do it.

Peasant communities compete on which are the most legitimate Incas. Although almost all peasant communities in the Cuzco region define themselves as Incas' legitimate heirs, especially because they keep their culture and customs, and each community says that its customs are the most authentic Inca customs, it is in the communities of the Quero "Nation" that the *paqu*, the specialists in rituals, are building their Inca identity. These specialists in rituals go out to the cities and even travel abroad. In their interviews, they present themselves as Inca, legitimate Inca. On the Internet (YouTube), we can find several cases when the members of this Quero community tell their community's myths of the *Inkarrí*. They are not recently invented myths because, already in 1955, the anthropologist O. Núñez del Prado (1964) and later on, the anthropologist R. Roca (2004), collected versions of this myth during fieldwork in this community. The myths, as narrated today, keep their basic form, but there are changes in the details because they announce the return of the Inca. In one of the interviews, one of the *Q'iru paqukuna* (Quero specialists in rituals) says *Yo tengo en mí al Inca* – "I have the Inca in me," and then shows a design woven into his poncho that depicts an Inca, head to toe, in his attire with a feather panache on his head. And the *paqu* shows pictures woven in his poncho, several pictures of different colors representing the Inca. The Quero call themselves Incas, descendants of the Incas in general, and Incas as an ethnic group.

The construction of the identity as Incas takes place in the context of recreating Andean festivities, during which the public sees performances featuring the Inca, his high priest, generals, soldiers and the entourage of the Coya, princesses, etc. The festivities differ from one another in their different scripts. They are reconstructed but not invented from nothing and are based on their old traditions, mak-

ing them more complex. It is a way to reaffirm their identities, build an attraction for tourism and get some income for local families.

Since 1991, the *Pacha Mama Raymi* (Ceremony for Mother Earth), supported by PRODERM, a nonprofit organization for regional development, has been proposed and realized in various district capitals of the Cuzco Region, such as Pomacanchi, Rondocan, Ccatcca, Huarcondo, etc. A ceremony that has lasted the longest time, celebrated annually without support from PRODERM but propelled by its own municipality, is Ccatcca. Ccatcca has been carried out continuously until the current year (2024). In district capitals, the *raymi* ceremonies are reproduced and reinvented. Among them are *Urcu unu raymi* – the Feast of water from Urcu - in Calca; *Sara raymi* - the Feast of maize - in Huarco (since 2000); *T'anta raymi* – the Feast of bread - in Oropesa; *Nuna Raymi* – the Feast of the lake Nuna - in Lucre, when they eat a typical dish made with the meat of ducks from the lagoon of the same name; *T'ika Raymi* – the Feast of flowers - in Pampa Quehuar; and others.

There are other ceremonies such as the *Kuchuy* – carnage - on August 6 in Pucyura, Anta province. It represents the fight between the Incas and the Spaniards, the defeat of the Incas, the intervention of the *Húsares de Junin* - Hussars of Junin²⁶ and their victory over the Spaniards, and the dance and general jubilation. Pucyura has a temple with unique colonial paintings in which the Incas appear with their *unkus* (knee-length tunics with *t'uqapu* signs not yet deciphered) and attires from the beginning of the colony.

Outside the Cuzco region are: *Tarpuy raymi* – Feast of Planting in Andamarca (since 2009), department of Ayacucho; *Sondor Raymi* - Feast of Sondor, ruins of a provincial capital from Inca times, in Andahuaylas, department of Apurimac; *Pacha Mama Raymi* - The Feast of Mother Earth (since 2016) in Challhuahuacho, province of Cotababas, department of Apurimac; *Yanahuara Raymi* - The Feast of the Yanahuara ethnic group – also in Challhuahuacho (in 2024), reclaiming the existence of the Yanahuara nation.

Table 1. Current Andean ceremonies in the Cuzco Region.

Name	Meaning	Place	Organizers
<i>Pacha Mama Raymi</i>	Feast for Mother Earth	Ccatcca	District municipality and peasant communities
<i>Urcu Unu Raymi</i>	Feast for water from Urcu	Calca	Provincial municipality
<i>Sara Raymi</i>	Feast for maiz	Huarco	District municipality
<i>T'anta Raymi</i>	Feast for bread	Oropesa	District municipality
<i>Nuna Raymi</i>	Feast for the lake Nuna	Lucre	District municipality
<i>T'ika Raymi</i>	Feast for flowers	Pampa Quehuar	District municipality

26 A regiment of the Peruvian army called so after the battle of Junin on Agust the 6, 1824.

<i>Kuchuy</i>	Reconstruction of war between the Incas and the Spaniards, and the victory of the Húsares de Junín.	Pucyura, province of Anta	District municipality
<i>Wathiya Raymi</i>	Ceremony of baking potatoes in clod ovens and sharing them with everyone.	Community of Oqopata (ancient rock salt mines) Yaurisque district, Paruro province	Oqopata community

Source: Fieldwork.

Table No. 2. Current Andean ceremonies in regions close to Cuzco.

Name	Meaning	Place	Organizers
<i>Sondor Raymi</i>	Feast in Sondor	Andahuaylas, Apurímac	Municipio Provincial, desde el 2009.
<i>Pacha Mama Raymi</i>	Feast for Mother Earth	Challhuahuacho, province of Cotabambas, Apurímac	District municipality since 2016.
<i>Yanahuara Raymi</i>	Feast for Yanahuara people	Challhuahuacho, province of Cotabambas, Apurímac	District municipality
<i>Tarpuy Raymi</i>	Feast for planting	Andamarca, Ayacucho	District municipality
<i>Yarqa hasp'iy</i>	Cleaning of irrigation channels	Colca valley, Arequipa	Each locality's Irrigation Committee and District Municipality.

Source: Fieldwork.

The Incas living in cities like Cuzco

In cities like Cuzco, the phenomenon is linked to tourism. The personages dressed as Incas and Coyas appear in performances organized by esoteric and mystic tourism companies. The annual representation of the *Inti Raymi* (Feast for the sun) already composed not only of one annual ceremony but of several ones, was recreated or reinvented in 1944, and since then, it is celebrated annually on June the 24th, together with the winter solstice. At present, further ceremonies, such as the *Pacha Mama Haywarikuy* - Offering to Mother Earth, are held in the Coricancha a few days before the *Inti Raymi*. In the 1960s, those who participated in these performances were called actors, and they themselves considered themselves as such. In the 1990s, when a descendant of Inca Roca carrying the same surname represented the Inca for seven years, he stated that he was a true Inca, not an actor. In the last

years, a descendant from Chumbivilcas, who says he makes a series of cleaning rituals to incarnate the Inca properly, represents the Inca. Those who make the offerings in the ritual of *Pacha Mama Haywarisqa* (Offering to Mother Earth) are *paqu* - specialists in Andean rituals, masters of ceremony and worshipers, not actors. They call themselves *paqu*, the name given to them in peasant communities, although they are city dwellers and belong to Cuzco's middle class. Many celebrations and socio-cultural activities are carried out by the institutions, whether state or private, in the city of Cuzco; they start with an offering ceremony to Mother Earth and the *Apus* - Lords (Holy Mountains). This demand for specialists has generated a group of people who have studied and specialized in doing these rituals. They themselves no longer come from the peasant communities.

As already mentioned, both in the city of Cuzco and the districts already incorporated into the city live descendants of Incas who still maintain their Quechua surnames and who also keep from generation to generation the documents that legitimize them as descendants of certain historical Incas. Cuzco inhabitants feel they descend from the Incas in general, and a very specific one to descend from a particular Inca. Currently (2024), in Cuzco, are the descendants of the Inca Huayna Capac - the family Obando Tito Atauchi. A grandson of this family forms part of the *Consejo de los cuatro Incas del Cuzco* (Council of the four Incas of Cuzco), in which other descendants of the Incas take part, such as Viracocha (from San Jerónimo), Quizo Yupanqui (from San Sebastián), and Titu Atauchi (from Cuzco). The Council, which has existed since 2012, brings together these four Incas under an agenda of defending the Heritage. It performs a special ritual on the winter solstice (June 21) and a family reunion on June 24, which is coincidentally the date of the birth of the late Luis F. Paredes Obando, one of the family's grandparents. The Council has awarded acknowledgments to important personalities, such as the genealogist R. Elward, and to Demetrio Tupayupanqui for his Quechua translation of the history of the valorous and witty Knight-Errant Don-Quixote of the Mancha (Cervantes Saavedra 2005).

Further institutions exist in San Jerónimo and San Sebastián, for example, the *Panaca de Atauyupanqui Pachacuti* and the *Panaca Sinchi Roca*, both in San Jerónimo. The Tisoc descendants of the Inca Lloque Yupanqui celebrate their annual family reunions, but they do not use the word *panaca*, they justify this by saying they should have been called *panaca* since long ago, but they should not take that name in recent years.

The Incas Living in Towns like San Jerónimo

Interviews with Doña Isabel Atauyupanqui Pachacuti show the aspects she emphasized about the customs and state of Inca descendants in San Jerónimo, such as having the best fields, the best houses, the best clothes, and elegant fabrics, wearing high-topped straw hats. She tells about the meals that were prepared and the elaboration of special maize beer for special family celebrations: planting, weddings,

harvesting, rituals of holding a vigil and burial, washing and burning the deceased's clothing and parting from the deceased soul.

Based on the observation of the way of life of the population of San Jerónimo, we found customs that prevail and, first of all, express attachment to the land, to cultivating maize. The planting of maize is a special and expected moment; one has to have three *tupus* ("acres") of *chakras* (fields), a *chakra* for *miska sara* – early maize planted during the second fortnight of July; *hatun tarpuy sara* – maize planted in great quantity during September, and *chawcha sara* – quickly growing maize, also planted in September. In each *chakra*, the soil is suitable for a particular kind of maize seed: one suitable for boiling, another for *kancha* (toasted maize or popcorn), another one for soups, a next one for maize beer, for bartering with the shepherds who come to the town bringing pottery, and another for feeding fowl.

A *llaqtayuq runa*, for the sowing of these types of maize, has to have 10 to 14 irrigated *chakras*. He also needs two or three *chakras* in non-irrigated land exclusively for sowing the *ch'iqchi* variety of maize (mottled maize), two other *chakras* exclusively for sowing broad beans (*Vicia faba*), and other non-irrigated plots for sowing wheat. He also needs plots in various places in non-irrigated land cultivated in fallowing cycle for sowing native potatoes. Thus, some persons own many parcels of land scattered in the district.

Planting maize in the first *chakra* in August is the most expected ceremonial day. Sowing is performed, a special maize beer is brewed, and a special dish is cooked for ritual consumption. The dish, called *chiri uchu*, is composed of guinea pig, maize tortilla, poultry meat, dehydrated alpaca meat, sea kelp, sea-fish roe, a piece of cheese made of cow milk, toasted maize, and a few slices of *ruqutu* – hot pepper (*Capsicum pubescens*). It is a dry dish. In the sowing of the *chakra* of such families, and according to their relations and their kinship, can take part a large number of people, 40 to 50 to 60, who help and work, but people also come to eat and drink maize beer. It is a festive day. That is why this *chakra* is known as *upyana chakra* (field of drinking (and eating)). Thus, many people also take part in the task of maize cob peeling. All of them accept to be paid in maize. A maize cob heap is like a germplasm bank of a maize variety, so in the logic of such people, whenever a person comes to ask for maize seeds, it is never denied to them since these people are known as good maize growers—*saben criar al maíz* ("they know how to raise maize").

Sowing and harvesting maize are the basis for conserving traditions like cooking special dishes or brewing and serving special maize beer for unique occasions such as weddings. There are two kinds of maize beer: *chicha de mesa* – table maize beer, and *chicha de consumo* – common maize beer; there is also a ritual of drinking *chicha de mesa* during the marriage ceremony of a *llaqtayuq runa* – a person of the town. Until the 1970s, it signified that the person is someone important. The marriage was and is celebrated with all the etiquette and formality, which has nothing to envy the oriental etiquette, when at the table of honor sit the bride and

groom, godparents, the parents of the bride and groom, the main relatives from both families.

At the table of honor on the right side sits the groom with his *padrino principal* - main godfather, and his parents and relatives. In front of the groom's father takes his place *pañá servicio* - the right-side servant, who attends to the right side. Similarly, on the left side sits the bride with her *padrino de aras* - altar godfather, her parents and all their relatives with their *lluq'i servicio* - left-side servant, who attends the left side. Once serving the ceremonial marriage food, always *chiri-uchu* is concluded, the servant asks permission from the parents of the bride and groom: *Papá ¿ya puede salir la chicha de mesa?* - "Papá,²⁷ can the table maize beer be served?"

Before they start drinking the corn beer, the godfathers, the groom and bride," and the *padres de los matrimoniantes* - "parents of the persons to be wed, pronounce short speeches and raise a toast with the *ñawin aqhawan saminchay* - "blessing with first and best maize beer." This first maize beer toast is dedicated to the deities, to the supernatural beings, because it is the best maize beer. During the blessing, they invoke venerable mountains: Apu Huanacauri, Apu Pachatusan, Apu Picol, Apu Sacsayhuaman and Pacha Mama. Mother Earth is offered the first portions of maize beer poured from the first *raki* - clay pitcher.

Until the beginning of the 1960s, the toast was made only with maize beer, not with champagne as today (2024). After the toasts of the six persons at the table of honor, the parents of the bride and groom give the names of the most important people within their kin to the *servicio mayor* - chief servant, often *pañá servicio* - the servant on the right. They name who should be called first, so the servant goes to the place where the indicated person is and says: "*Papá*, ... so-and-so ... at the table calls you to toast with maize beer." The called one with his wife follows the servant. If he is a widower, his eldest daughter accompanies him. If she is a widow, her son accompanies her. When they arrive at the table of honor, they bow with their hands folded and do not shake hands with anyone at the table.

On the right side, behind the table of honor, are placed some five or six large clay barrels of maize beer adorned with flowers. These *chombas*, as they are traditionally called in Cuzco, contain 70 or more liters of maize beer (there is also a maize beer bar called *La Chomba*, precisely because maize beer is served there). During the wedding days, the *chombas* are constantly filled with maize beer prepared in the homes of the bride and groom and with maize beer brought by kinsmen of bride and groom as *ayni* - reciprocal interchange. In this case, it means that the family brings a pitcher of maize beer to the family of the bride or the groom. When the giving family celebrates its ceremony, it will receive, in return, an equal pitcher of maize beer. Next to the *chombas* is a group of eight to ten women and men. With a *winku* - a special gourd used on such occasions, the women pour

27 Male title of respect, used in Cuzco Spanish and Quechua.

maize beer into *caporales dobles de vidrio* –translucent-glass double cups containing 1.5 liters of maize beer. Two men, called *servicios*, deliver the two *caporal* cups next to the *servicio mayor* to the called persons. One servant serves men only and the other ladies only. The two main principal couples and both families, once they have toasted with the table of honor, begin to call relatives and guests in order. The *servicio mayor* is the only one who asks the parents of the bride and the groom and the relatives who are at the table of honor whom to call and after whom. He asks: “With whom we begin *Papá?*”

On average, about 500 to 700 people used and use to attend a wedding of a *llaqtayuy runa*. All these people, first the married ones and the single at the end, would toast²⁸ with the table of honor with the *chicha de mesa*. At the end of the toast with the *chicha de mesa*, they would begin to drink large amounts of the *chicha de consumo*. The party could last two to three days, offering maize beer, eating, and dancing with the music of the harp, violin, *pampa piano* (common piano) and *quena* flute. They could spend night and day drinking maize beer, and *aguardiente de caña* – sugar cane brandy. When the night or the day was cold, they heated or boiled coca leaves in maize beer. The beverage is known as *hankayllu*. It has the property of provoking a reaction in an inebriated person. *Hankayllu* maize beer, when it is well boiled with much coca leaves, makes a drunk feel healthy, and the person continues to drink.

In the town of San Jerónimo, when there was still no electric light, the nights of the wedding feast were lit with wax candles or paraffin candles for this occasion. There were dozens of women carrying dozens of candles. They lighted up forming a circle. This was one of the ways of offering maize beer during a wedding of a *llaqtayuy runa*, a title given to old families of the towns in the districts of San Jerónimo - *Uma llaqta*, and San Sebastian - *Sañu llaqta*.

The elaboration of the special maize beer for weddings is laborious; it must always be made of sprouted maize of the variety *q'illu uwina sara* – yellow, slightly orange maize. To make strong maize beer, a large amount of sprouted maize is needed. Ground sprouted maize is mixed with wheat flour and bran in large pots of metal or clay and boiled on stoves on burning wood until it gets a molasses color. During the boiling of the *piqa* – a mixture of sprouted maize flour and water, a person, usually a woman, moves the mixture in the pot with a stick so that it does not get burned. Then, it is strained to a *chomba* through a basket made of *pisipita*²⁹ stems of a bush from warm valleys. The basket is full of straw so that it catches boiled maize flour. The non-fermented maize beer called *upi* cools until the next day. The boiled maize flour called *hanch'i* – sediment, caught in the *isanka* strainer, is boiled the next day again and is again filtered through the basket to a *chomba*. Such maize

28 The authors witnessed Polycarpo Ccorimanya's religious wedding with more than 700 participants because it is a main family of the town and because of his dedication to local politics.

29 *Acalypha macrostachya* Mueller.

beer is called *siqi*. On the morning of the second day, the *upi* is boiled again for three to four hours until the foam completely disappears. All that time, it is stirred with a stick so that it does not burn. This *upi*, boiled a second time, is again filtered through the *isanka* into another *chomba*, which is covered with a blanket to make the *upi* brew. In the afternoon, when the *siqi* has cooled, it is boiled again for hours until there is no trace of foam. Then it is again filtered into a *chomba*. According to the recipe used for the maize beer, the *siqi* can be mixed with the *upi*. To this, the *qhunchu* ferment is added. Next, the *chomba* is covered with blankets or shawls to maintain a suitable temperature and allow the mixture to ferment. In a few hours, the maize beer is ready to serve. Such maize beer is sometimes called *puñuy aqha* – maize beer that makes you sleepy. Since it is a special maize beer, the drinkers assign it special properties: “it does not swell the stomach, it does not make you belch, it does not give you gases, next day the head does not hurt,” *mana supichikuq aqha* – maize beer that does not cause farting. Such a manner of feasting and preparing a special maize beer possibly continues how the Inca *kurakas* prepared and drank maize beer.

The wake, the burial and the soul’s farewell ritual on the eighth day after the death gather a large part of these families’ kin members. The *alma cargo* – soul duty – in the town of San Jerónimo was San Jerónimo’s hallmark (Valderrama and Escalante 2011). Until the 1960s, it was San Jerónimo inhabitants’ duty, preformed one day before All Saints’ Day (November 1). They dug up skeletal remains of a deceased relative, a grandfather or great-grandfather. The remains were taken to the house of the person who performed the *cargo*. The relatives woke them during the night, and the following day, the bones were returned as if they were of a new deceased. People took them to the temple in a coffin, with offerings of field products like maize, bread and drinks. After mass, the coffin was taken in procession to the cemetery and buried in the same grave. Once buried, the people left the cemetery. Near the Cross on the square, all participants of the *alma cargo* drank maize beer and ate. They also left the soul (deceased), that is, the bones, with food and maize beer.

The offerings that had been taken to the temple remained on the altar and were collected by the sacristan as an offering for the temple. At present, the mortuary rites are very complex. They include wakes of two nights and three days. Several masses are celebrated in the presence of the body. The burial always takes place after a mass, in the presence of the body. They accompany the burial with a band of musicians. Many kin members take part. According to the custom, at the gate of the cemetery, sometimes the town Mayor and, commonly, the relatives, pronounce their speeches. In front of the niche, close relatives, the widower or the widow and the children deliver farewell discourses. Then, the more direct blood relatives leave and sit on the steps of the cross on the esplanade in front of the cemetery. That is where all the attendants to the burial come together and form a long queue. The deceased’s family is organized: some receive the condolences, and others serve a

bottle of beer or soda to the person giving condolences. Another gives a plate of food, usually composed of suckling pig meat with tamales. That is burial food. Then, on the eighth day, mass is celebrated in a meeting with relatives and friends. Later, they meet at the masses of the first month, the first year, the second year and the third year. The masses are celebrated always with a feast for all the attendants. Later anniversary masses are no longer celebrated with such sumptuousness. Likewise, it is customary to celebrate the first year of the deceased's death on the first day of All Saints, with a mass and a family reunion which includes prepared food and drink. The same is repeated on the first day of All Saints in the second and third years after death. After three years, the celebrations are no longer so pompous or with so many relatives. The town celebrates the cult of the dead always on the first day of All Saints.

During weddings, baptisms, house roofing, maize sowing rites, offerings to Mother Earth and the sacred mountains, in all these opportunities, one can see how ancient practices emerge in the acts of eating and drinking. We can interpret them as the continuation of the Inca *kurakas*. That is why they call themselves "Incas' descendants" and *llaqtayuq runa* – it is a mode of existence. In this case, the Incas' descendants, according to documental evidence that started in colonial times, call themselves Incas today. Some of these families have guarded for centuries such documentation of being descendants of one or other Inca. Some of these families had no documents, but based on the studies of anthropologists, historians, and genealogists (Elward 2009, 2012, 2016), they have made copies of their documents at the Archives of Cuzco and Lima, and today they have the documentation that proves they are descendants of one or the other Inca.

A more detailed study of the customs in the towns of San Sebastián and San Jerónimo could find old cultural practices not only of the Incas but also of the Sañu and the Oma.

Conclusions

Yes, we are Incas, also natives, and descendants of Africans, Asians, and Spaniards, who write and speak Castilian and maintain, of course, our native languages: Quechua, Aymara, and several others of the Amazonia³⁰ (Arahuac, Cahuapana, Harakmbut, Huitoto, Jíbaro, Pano, Peba-Yagua, Tacana, Tucano, Tupi Guaraní, Zapano). But it is even more complex than that. José María Arguedas defined it as *todas las sangres* ("every blood") and, for many years, we self-defined this way. But in such a broad category, we get lost. The Cuzco people, generally – we are Andean, an equally quite broad category. And more specifically, as inhabitants and members of the culture of this region of Peru, we are Incas, without any doubt.

30 Peru has 10 language families, 4 languages in the Andes and 43 in the Amazonia, in total 48 languages including the Castilian that coexists with all of them.

Since the 1980s, it has become known that we are multicultural and plurilingual. With that, in Peru, we all have a place because we are multi-ethnic (Maalouf 2005).

Today (2024), there is no single notion of what it is to be Inca. It is understood that being an Inca means maintaining the same history, customs, language, and culture, seeking the well-being of the entire population, and promoting sustainable development. At the same time, the *comuneros* of Patacancha, Villoc, Poques, Huama, Quero, Masca, Quehuar, Coyabamba, Accos and other communities claim to descend from the Incas because of their ancestral customs, the clothes they wear, the language they speak. The inhabitants of Quero still use *unku* (Inca tunic), the women of the Andean communities use *lliklla* (shawl), as used in Inca times. It is a garment that has not changed, and some *pallay* (designs on textile) that they use are also from the pre-Inca and Inca times. Their rituals, their methods of cultivation, their way of life, the exchange of work for work and their product exchange networks without the mediation of currency justify. For these reasons, they claim to be the legitimate Incas.

Being Inca today is a claim of ethnic character, considering a socio-economic development according to the type of society, environment and culture of our region. It is the quest to improve the inhabitants' standard of living, to have an honest job with which to acquire their livelihoods, to care for both tangible and intangible cultural heritage and to preserve the environment.

The new Inca, as propounded, looks to the development and the safeguarding of the patrimony. They are somewhat related to Uriel García's "*Nuevo Indio*" – New Indian (García 1930) and with what many indigenists put forward, saying that "the true Peru is in the Sierra." Gonzales Prada says that "the inhabitants of the Coast do not constitute the true Peru, but the masses of Indians living on the other side of the mountain range do." In the present conditions, many people originally from the Sierra live in the cities of the coast, mainly in Lima, which is a different situation of tolerance for the diverse cultures that exist in Peru. Our analysis does not include literary authors who have written much about indigenism and who some historians take into their analyses.

It is a situation of cultural density of things Inca, Wari, Tiahuanaku, Moche, which has been producing a resignification of the Andean, of identity, revaluation, and affirmation of self-esteem. Indeed: "Identity ... is a social construction, permanently redefined in the framework of a dialogical relationship with the other" (Candau, 2001: 9). In recent years and since the division of heritage into material heritage and intangible cultural heritage, there is an overall reflection, in which Inca architecture is praised, for example, Machu Picchu as a wonder of the world is exalted, but no one mentions who built it, the descendants of those who built it, and how other visitors want to learn from the ancient culture, from the ancient knowledge. Due to the existence of this division into intangible cultural heritage, the same

descendants of the Incas, Andean people, their knowledge, their art and their work are being revalued.

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