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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

GAMES OF THE INCA EMPIRE

by

DENIS ROBERGE

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF MASTER OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND SPORT STUDIES

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

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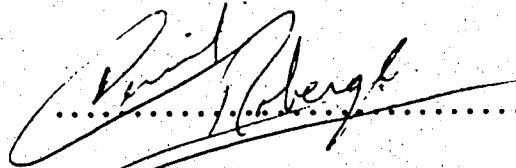
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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to compile and to analyze the games of the Inca Empire. It was conjectured that games were social inventions which played a determinant role in the decision-making process in order to divide and distribute possessions, duties and responsibilities on both the individual and collective levels.

The study was centered on the nature and function of ancient traditional Andean games of the Inca Empire prior to 1532 A. D.. For this purpose, a classification system that was constructed divided games into two categories : ceremonial games with an element of chance, strategy and magic ; and games involving elements of physical skill.

The task was to analyze games in their socio-cultural context in order to understand the importance of their role in a decision-making process applied to the economic, political, religious and social levels.

Data tended to show that games of chance and of physical skill were important activities in the Inca society. Games were related to the complexity of the social, economic, political and religious systems of the Inca society and legitimated the exchange between and among its various ethnic groups. The division and the distribution of economic goods and services were achieved by games.

Important decisions were made in an accepted way, and games played the role of an incontestable and appropriate decision-making process with respect to concerted actions and sharing situations.

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CHAPTER I

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Some consider that games, in general, are related to levels of cultural development and that they also vary in the cultural purpose to which they are applied in society¹. As cultural forms, games can be closely related to the cultural setting and they must be understood in terms of the social context in which they occur. As cultural expressions, games are related to the complexity of the social, economic, political and religious systems of a culture. As cultural processes, they are communication models for normalizing interactive behaviors such as the development of decision-making processes at the level of individuals as well as groups in society.

The purpose of this study was to compile and to analyze the games of the ancient people of Peru, and to examine their role in the decision-making process applied within the Inca society. Games are important activities in any culture, and through a careful examination of them the Incas' way of life and the institutions which evolved in the Inca culture can be better understood.

In this study it was hypothesized that in the Inca Empire games of chance and games of physical skill formed a vital element in the decision-making process in order to divide and distribute possessions, duties and responsibilities on both the individual and collective

¹John M. Roberts et al., "Games in Culture", American Anthropologist vol.61 (1959), pp. 597-605.

levels.

This principle of deciding through games has been found in literature. One example was provided by Thomas Gataker in the early seventeenth century. He presented a systematic and sophisticated description of the uses of games of chance for decision-making purposes :

(sic) But for man to apply such a casuall thing or the casuall occurence of any such thing to the discovering, defining, deciding, determining or directing of any truth, unknowne, event uncertaine, or course unresolved, is to use it as a lot, and to make a lot of it ; this being that that giveth the very essence of a lot to it.... In a lot there must be two things : a casuall act, and the applying of that act to the determination of some controversy.²

Thomas Gataker noted that the use of games of chance to decide an uncertain outcome concerning social, political and religious problems, had been performed throughout antiquity. He specified that such a lot, whatever its nature, if performed by the will and purpose of the user, could be regarded as an incontestable decision. Thomas Gataker revealed that the use of divisive lots involved the division of lands, goods, properties, offices, services, and such like, as well as the distribution of matters of offices, charges, tasks, responsibilities, and even inheritances. The author concluded that games of chance, used as an appropriate decision-making process with respect to concerted actions and sharing situations, could achieve in society the greatest socio-political good because they carried the

²Thomas Gataker, Of the Nature and Use of Lots ; A Treatise Historical and Theological (London : Edward Griffin, 1619) : 5.

potential for the greatest equality with the least inter-personal friction and animosity.

Ethnological and historical information has demonstrated that many cultures throughout the world have used games of chance for purposes of divination as well as within the decision-making process. Alyce Taylor Cheska wrote that among the North American Indians, games of chance were used as a normative method of human economic relationships :

Interestingly, in the Indian view the agent effecting the outcome of chance games is the supernatural being(s). By intervention, favorable or deleterious, the gods affect the conclusion of the game. If wagering or betting on a game's outcome is practised, the outcome may provide a method of exchange.³

The author wrote that for the Indians the gods affected the outcome of the game by favorable or unfavorable intervention. Then, it was the consequences of a decision which were subsequently defined as good or bad, and not the way by which such a decision was made.

Concerning the use of games for economic purposes another example was found in the Spanish chronicles about the exploitation of the newly conquered Inca Empire. As a matter of fact, a proposal had been presented to the king of Spain and concerned the establishment of a sort of monopoly of games in Peru in order to increase the royal treasury. Father Arriaga mentioned it in the introduction to his

³ Alyce Taylor Cheska, "Games of the Native North Americans", Handbook of Social Science of Sport, ed. Gunther R. F. Luschen and George H. Sage (Champaign : Stipes Publishing Company, 1981) : 55.

proposal he dedicated to the king of Spain :

In the year 1602, while your Majesty was in Valladolid, I was in Rome whither I had been sent from Lima by order of my superiors, and I learned of two persons who had gone forth from this kingdom of Peru who had given Spain the expectation of a means of increasing the royal treasury by some millions. Another had a plan for establishing a salt monopoly, which is like putting doors on the countryside, for there is a great abundance of it here as of earth and water. Another, with a priest's good intentions, carried hence a plan for the establishment of a gambling house in each city, thus setting up a playing-card monopoly. All these plans and three or four others were formed in that year and proposals in their behalf were made. All were listened to and then dismissed like so much fairy treasure, salt in the sea, or frivolous matters.⁴

This original idea of creating gambling houses in the New World attested of the Peruvian Indians' social and cultural predilection for games. If this predilection really existed in the Inca society, one can understand better that the proposal of establishing gambling houses in Peru did not represent such an aberration, although it was presented at the time when the Spanish Inquisition severely condemned games and gambling. In fact, the use of games would have been, for Spain, a continuation and exploitation of what already prevailed in the Inca Empire. This surprising proposal has unfortunately vanished and no other reference to it could be found. It would bring a lot of enlightening about the role played by games in the Inca Empire.

⁴ Pablo Joseph de Arriaga, The Extirpation of Idolatry in Peru (1621) trans. and ed. Philip A. Means, Series II, vol XLVIII (London : the Hakluyt Society, 1920) : introduction.

Definition of terms

In this study, a game is defined as an exercise of voluntary control systems, in which there is an opposition or contest between players, confined by rules to which participants conscientiously adhere in order to produce an outcome.

Games are then performed on the basis of one known situation. Players understand the situation they are engaged in and are oriented toward certain anticipation of one given goal. Games imply opposition or contest between players. Players can also struggle against impersonal obstacles or against chance, or they conscientiously challenge a part of their ability. Finally games are confined by rules, sometimes using a set of equipment, sometimes requiring skill, knowledge and endurance. Rules are accepted, players agree on them as essential to reach the predictable outcome.

Decision-making is also defined as the process of deciding what action, or decision, would be good, right, or otherwise well calculated to achieve some desired effect. Decisions, per se, are not to be conceived as actions. Hence, they are not to be conceived as having duration or being repeatable. It is the consequences of a decision which are subsequently defined as good or bad, and not the decision itself. As a result, one implicit assumption in a decision-making process is that the decision is to be made on the basis of one known situation. Nevertheless, in some cases, an individual, or a group is faced with several alternative courses of action but they only have incomplete information about the real situation, and the

outcomes of each possible action. Their problem is to choose an action which is rational relative to the available information. But not all behaviors involve this deliberate calculation of the expected utility or benefit. The decision-making process may be subconscious or automatic, that is, deepseated through years of enculturation and then, as this study tends to show, created through certain types of games.

Sociocultural change is herein defined as the transformation of the significant agreement of the social rules as they applied to individuals and groups, with the result that such a transformation modifies human interactions and their related social institutions.

The study was centered on the nature and function of ancient traditional Andean games of the Inca Empire. The study was essentially an investigation of primary and secondary sources.

The primary sources were the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries' Spanish chronicles. These chronicles were supplemented with linguistic information from two Quechua-Spanish dictionaries from the same period. All these pieces of work were fundamentally interesting because they were compiled very close to the Inca period.

Other information has been found in secondary sources, and these took the form of general publications of contemporary ethnohistorians about the Inca Empire.

A major limitation of the study was the fact that the majority of the primary and secondary source materials, mostly written in old Spanish, were scarcely related to the topic considered in the study.

Another limitation was that there were no written documents which came directly from the Inca period. All of the written documents were attributable to Spanish witnesses. These historical primary sources were often unreliable and ambiguous because of factors such as the writer's ethnocentric approach and the lack of understanding of the Quechua language.

Moreover, archaeological evidence of games in the Andes area is fragmentary, incomplete, and curiously enough, almost non-existent. As Enriquez Celso⁵ noted in describing the ancient Inca capital, Cuzco, nothing remains that can give us even a hint of any activity related to any games.

Finally, the largest limitation for the author was linguistic in nature. The interpretation and translation from Spanish to English of all the available materials was a monumental task for a French speaker, not to mention of the written presentation of the thesis in a second language.

⁵ Enriquez Celso, Sports in Pre-Hispanic America, trans. Maria Teresa Bernice de Guitian (Mexico : Litográfica Machado, 1968), pp. 111-112.

CHAPTER II

BACKGROUND TO THE INCA CIVILIZATION

The dominant people of Peru at the time of the conquest were a highly advanced civilization known as the Incas. A mighty empire developed from a foundation laid by Manco Capac and his wife-sister Mama Ocllo.

The Incas, as a tribal group, were established in the Cuzco region which constituted one of the regional states of the Central Andes from approximately 1200 to 1400 A. D.. In a rapid expansion which began in the first half of the fifteenth century, the Incas spread over a significant part of the Andes area. The integration movement, called conquests, had not only been characterized by military confrontation, but also by political strategy. The Incas did not necessarily destroy the other systems, on the contrary, they presented a new agricultural program based on social and political reorganization.

Luis E. Valcárcel¹ wrote that the Incas did not impose economic improvement of the new groups through conquest, invasion and usurpation but rather through an integration into the Andean world.

By 1532, when the conquistador, Francisco Pizarro, sailed from Panama down the Pacific coast of Peru, the empire covered those areas subsequently geopolitically defined as Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia ; it was delimited by the South American Pacific shores, but it spread over

¹Luis E. Valcárcel, "El Imperio de los Incas : una Nueva Vision", XXXVI Congreso Internacional de Americanistas, España, 1964, Actas y Memorias vol. 2, Sevilla (1966), pp. 15-22.

the highland zone, entered the jungles of Brazil at about the one thousand meters high altitude and spread into the pampas of Argentina. From north to south, its territory reached the actual southern border of Colombia at the Ancasmayo River, to the Maule River in Chile. The Inca Empire represented what was known as the Andes area of South America, a territory encompassing more than one million seven hundred thousand square kilometers. The extent of the Inca Empire is illustrated on the map on page 10.

The Andes area, which also represented the Inca Empire's setting, superficially appeared to be particularly unfavorable for agricultural purposes, or for the maintenance of an extensive administration of a large political state. Nevertheless, the continuously increasing territory and population of the Inca Empire had created a complex organizational pattern of society.

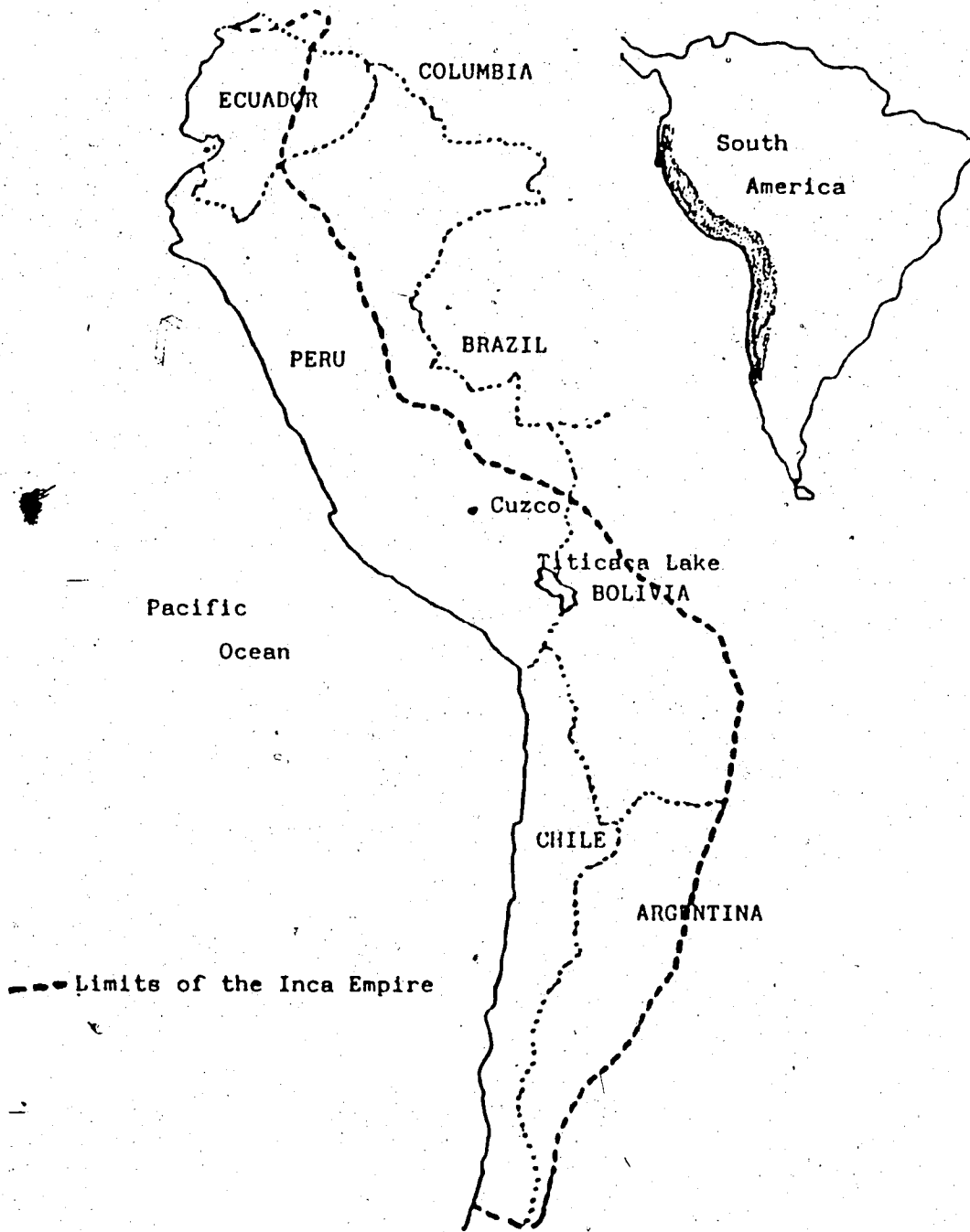
As stated before, the Incas did not destroy the native systems when integrating new ethnic groups. The plan of integration, according to Luis E. Valcárcel² consisted in the rapprochement and communication between the various groups as well as the use of a common language --Quechua-- that predominated over all the others, and also in the acceptance of a radical economic doctrine, and the organization of a powerful state. Therefore at the time of the conquest by the Spaniards, the divergent populations were linked in a true political stability oriented towards all groups' economic welfare.

In a chapter dealing with the way the Incas conquered and,

²Idem.

FIGURE 1

THE INCA EMPIRE (1438-1532)



integrated new ethnic groups, Garcilaso de la Vega explained these.

mechanisms in greater detail :

... and so that the victorious and vanquished warriors should be reconciled and live together in permanent peace and concord, and that any hatred and rancor that had been generated in the course of the war should be buried and forgotten, they ordered great banquets to be held with an abundant supply of good things, to which the blind, the lame, the dumb, and other disabled people were invited to share in the royal liberality. At these feasts there were dances by the maidens, games and celebrations for the boys, and military exercises by the grown men.³

After a conquest, the victorious and the vanquished groups had to meet during rejoicings in which the Incas could show their prodigality. The Incas used games and festivities to ease the processes of socio-cultural change.

One of the first actions taken after acquiring any new territory was to send a given number of the newly conquered people to other regions of established Inca control and to replace them with a group of faithful subjects of the Incas, called mitimaes. The mitimaes' charge was to teach the Incas' values and norms to the newly conquered ethnic group ; their role was religious and economic as well, as Garcilaso de la Vega wrote :

After a conquest the Inca left a garrison and the officials necessary to establish his idolatry and deal with taxation.⁴

³ Garcilaso de la Vega, Royal Comentarios of the Incas and General History of Peru, (1609 and 1617) trans. Harold V. Livermore, Two parts (Austin : University of Texas Press, 1966), p. 265.

⁴ Ibid., p. 174.

The mitimaes were to control new ethnic groups and to develop agricultural production. The Incas' motives were partly the well-being of their subjects, and partly to enhance their own advantage in securing their dominions from rebellions and war.

The mitimaes, as an entire immigrant community, served a range of socio-economic and socio-political functions. The economic function, led by technical development, was oriented toward food production while the political function was oriented toward security and acculturation. The mitimaes were the reactive agents for the establishment of new cultural relations in the Inca Empire in normalizing and legalizing economic, social, political and religious patterns of human relationships. They were the human dynamics which activated the process of acculturation of the pluralistic Inca Empire. It was this group which would teach the related cultural values and social rules of the dominant Inca group, thereby providing the people of the newly acquired territory a model of accommodation within the Inca cultural pattern of society.

Tom R. Zuidema,⁵ in his study concerning the social organization of the Incas, mentioned two types of organizations that were characteristic of the Inca Empire. The first type was the division of a village or a province into two halves. The upper part was called the hanan group and the lower part the hurin group. This moiety organization

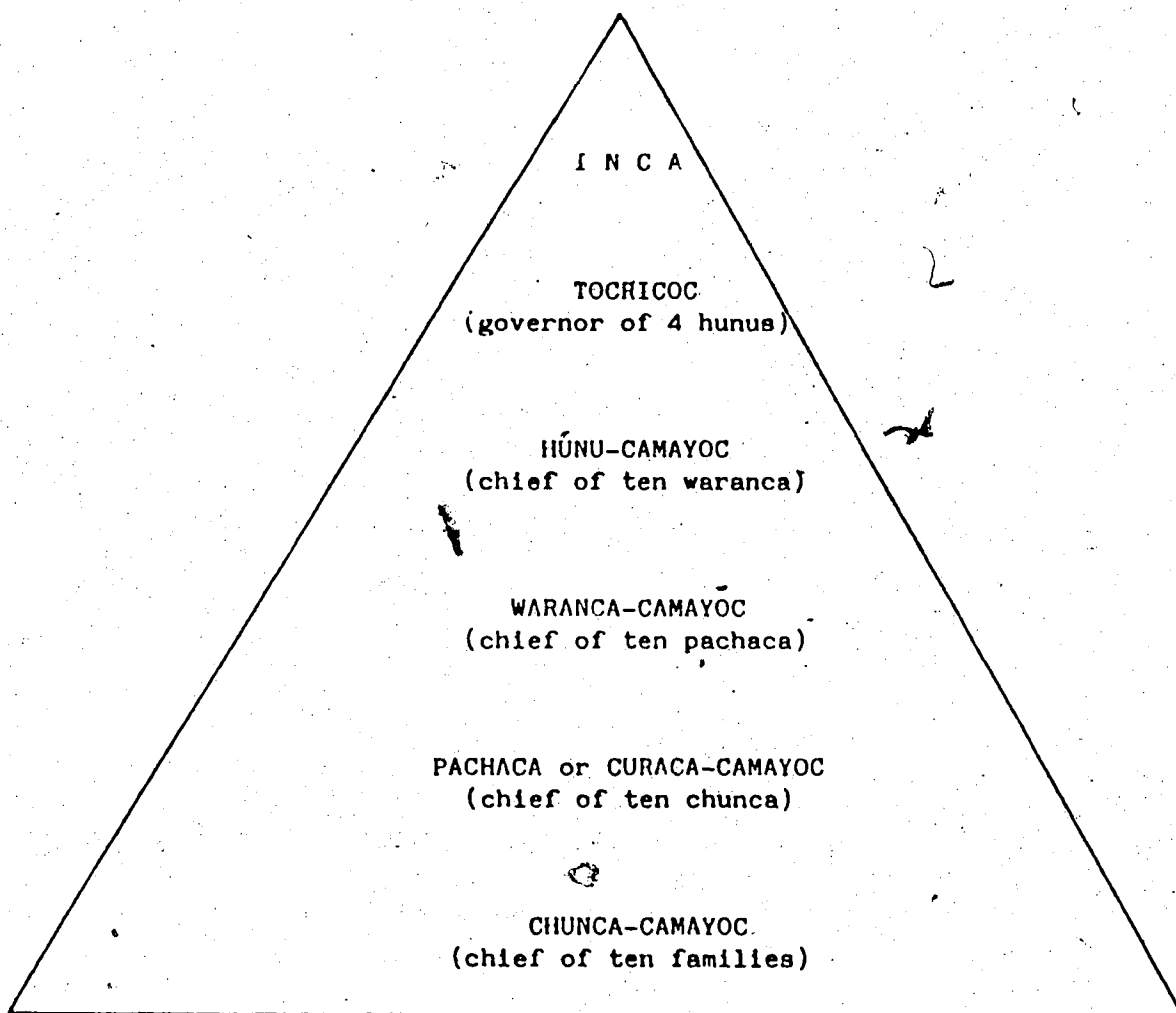
⁵Tom R. Zuidema, "The Kinship System of the Inkas, and Some of Its Implications", Proceeding of the Thirty-Second International Congress of Americanists, Copenhagen, 1956, Munksgaard, Copenhagen (1958), pp. 300-305.

was the original type and the one most frequently found in the Andes. The second type, the decimal system, was derived from the first moiety division. It was an institution in which people belonged to different tribes and each tribe was subdivided into families which formed the fundamental units. A grouping of ten families was known as a chunca and had a chief, the chunca-camayoc. Ten of these groups, the chuncas, together formed a group of a hundred families, called ayllu, under the direction of a curaca or pachaca-camayoc. Similarly, ten of these ayllus formed a group of a thousand families placed under the authority of a waranca-camayoc. Ten of these warancas formed a group of ten thousand families called hunu ; and finally, four hunas composed a province which was ruled by a governor, the tocticoc. A presentation of this pyramidal social organization can be found on page 14.

Four provinces, or suyus, composed the empire, also known as the tahuantinsuyu, or the empire of the four quarters : chinchaysuyu (the northern region), antisuyu (the eastern), collasuyu (the Altiplano and Titicaca area) and contisuyu (the Cuzco and circum-Cuzco area).

The city of Cuzco was, in like manner, divided into four quarters, and the various races, which gathered there from the distant parts of the empire, lived each in the quarter nearest to its respective province. They all continued to wear their peculiar national costumes, so that it was easy to determine their origin. The same order and system of arrangement prevailed in the motley population of the capital, as in the great provinces of the empire. The capital, in fact, was a miniature image of the empire.

FIGURE 2

PYRAMIDAL ORGANIZATION OF ONE PROVINCE
OF THE INCA SOCIETY

Each level of the social hierarchy --chunca, ayllu, waranca, hunu and suyu -- was divided into two halves which considered each other as a moiety. According to Zuidema,⁶ this social organization based on duality and decimality, had two characteristics. The first one was the division of work between both groups. The upper moiety (hanan) was identified as warriors and the lower moiety (hurin) was identified as farmers. Social cooperation and solidarity was based on economic reciprocity. The second characteristic was that one moiety formed the original inhabitants and the other the strangers. This division between hanan and hurin social groups permitted immediate identification, both geographically and socially, of the most important individuals in the structure. Those of hanan were considered superior to those of hurin. Constant opposition and rivalry animated the two groups.

The social and political organization, based on the moiety system and the decimal system, rested upon an economic organization. The Incas controlled a huge field of organized tribute. According to an anonymous writer,⁷ it would be a very long task to enumerate all the services and duties asked as tributes from the people. However, this author provided some examples concerning the maintenance of some

⁶ Idem.

⁷ Anonymous, "Relación de los Fundamentos acerca del Notable Daño que Resulta de no Guardar a los Indios Sus Fueros" (1571), Colección de Documentos Ineditos Relativos al Descubrimiento, Conquista y Organización de las Antiguas Posesiones Españolas de América y Oceanía Sacados de los Archivos del Reino y muy Especialmente del de Indias. Tomo XVII (Madrid : Imprenta del Hospicio, 1872 ; Vaduz : Krauss Reprint Ltd., 1966, pp. 5-100).

herds and lands from which wool, meat and crops would be taken as a tribute. Clothes, for example, were to be made and given to the Incas and the priests. A number of people were to serve the nobility and priests, to go to war, or to build temples, palaces, fortresses, terraced mountains, roads, bridges, aqueducts, and tambos which were storehouses erected at intervals where various fabrics and supplies were stored for the troops and were used for the accommodation, more particularly, of the Inca and his suite, and those who journeyed on the public business. According to the anonymous author, chasquis were to be provided as a tribute as well. The chasquis were all trained to the employment, and selected for their speed and fidelity. As the distance each courier had to cover was relatively short, and as he had ample time to refresh himself at the stations, each ran over the ground with great swiftness, and messages were carried through the whole extent of the long routes. Chasquis were trained and selected in highly competitive foot races. Considering the geographic setting of the empire, an intensive athletic preparation had to be performed in order to be selected or chosen as a chasqui.

It was also part of the tribute to determine what places would be huacas. A huaca was a general term that referred to all sacred things such as trees, fountains, hills and so on, and the idols themselves. Therefore, there existed a service that was devoted to the huacas for which wizards or priests were assigned to perform these public offices. They were in charge of practising divination by means of drawing lots with beans of various colors and stones.

The anonymous author⁸ maintained that the rule of paying tributes was imposed and could not be refused. However, he pointed out that the distribution of the tasks or services was accomplished by the Indians themselves and done so in a great order.

He described, at a later point,⁹ that this repartition of taxes, or tributes, among the Indians was achieved in quite short a period of time—two or three hours according to his example—and that stones and beans were used by the Indians and the priests. He specified that official accountants, the quipucamayoc, assisted this event.

What was the decision-making process that allowed the Indians to achieve so large a repartition of tributes, services and taxes in such little time and so great order? Unfortunately, the author did not provide any description of the way the division of the tributes was accomplished. The fact that beans and stones, so often linked to games of chance, were used under the supervision of wizards or priests and accountants could imply that drawing lots was an official way to manage the distribution of tributes, services and taxes.

Another anonymous author, whose text remains ambiguous, cleared up this important question a little, when he wrote that chance played a part in distributing lands and taxes :

Because they had such a way to pay : in every district there were marked and distinct lands

⁸ Ibid., p. 98.

⁹ Anonymous, "De la Orden Que Los Yndios Tenyan en Diuidir Los Tributos e Destribuyrlos Entre Si" (1571), Colección de Documentos Ineditos. Tomo XVII (Madrid : Imprenta del Hospicio, 1872 ; Vaduz : Krauss Reprint Ltd. , 1966, pp. 101-175) : 147.

called tributary lands that the principal responsible of this district distributed by equal chance and measurements among the Indians of this district; and all these lots of lands, were similar and conform to what each Indian could farm or benefit from these lots, and so they distributed them, paying the tax as it happened by chance.¹⁰

Although the author did not set down in black and white that chance was integral in the decision-making process, one could find a hint that the chief of the district operated a distribution by means of drawing lots.

Among the tributes was one related to agriculture. Agriculture was carried to a high state of perfection within the Inca Empire. An important irrigation system permitted the exploitation of every available piece of earth. The lands were owned and cultivated ayllu by ayllu, i. e., by communities.¹¹ The lands of each ayllu, or pachaca, were divided into three parts : the first part was assigned to the Sun, or to the religious domain ; the second to the Inca ; and the product from the third part went to the community itself. The work was divided between one's necessity and the group's supplement, that is, individual and collective work. Collective work was planned and ruled. The mita was a compulsory service in which the Indians had to contribute to public works such as the creation of roads, terraces, temples, the

¹⁰ Anonymous, "Relación Anónima Sobre el Servicio Personal de los Indios" (n. d.), Colección de Documentos Ineditos. Tomo VI (Madrid : Imprenta del Hospicio, 1866 ; Vaduz : Krauss Reprint Ltd., 1966, pp. 166-174). : 167.

¹¹ John V. Murra, La Organización Económica del Estado Inca, traducción de Daniel R. Wagner (Mexico : Siglo Veintiuno, 1978) : 62.

irrigation system and so on, and to cultivate the lands of the nobility as well as those assigned to the gods.¹²

Each individual received a tupu. The tupu was the individual land measure which was adequate for one family's self-sufficiency. According to John V. Murra,¹³ repartition and redistribution of lands among the population was done annually. Unfortunately, the author pointed out that no explanation of the way they were redistributed could be found in the chronicles. This readjustment preserved order and stability of the economic organization of every community.

The pachaca or ayllus was the link between state and population. Constant equilibrium oriented toward cooperation and solidarity was developed through communicability between power control and its ayllus. In this system the chunca-camayoc, chief of ten families, played a prevailing role in the pyramidal social hierarchy. Garcilaso de la Vega wrote :

... the decurions of ten were obliged to execute two tasks in relation to the men in their decury or groups: first, to act as advocate to assist them with diligence and care in any case of need, taking their case to the governor or other minister whose duty it might be to succor them, perhaps to give for grain if they had none to sow or eat, or wool to wear, or the rebuilding of their house if it had collapsed or was burnt, or in any other case of need, great or little. The other duty was to be procurator to report any offence, however slight, which must be referred to the decurion above, whose duty it was to apply a punishment or refer it to the decurion above him.¹⁴

¹² Ibid., p. 53.

¹³ Ibid., p. 63.

¹⁴ Garcilaso de la Vega, Royal Commentaries, p. 94.

As he explained, the chunca-camayoc was obliged to execute two tasks in his group. First to act as judge and to assist individuals in any case of need, and second, to be a procurator and to report any offence. If the chunca-camayoc could not fulfill his duties for any reason, the case was referred to the superior level. Each chunca-camayoc had to provide his hierarchical superior with a complete demographic report. The communication system, the quipus, a numerical record made of a main cord with smaller varicolored cords attached and knotted, kept statistical data on population census and on resources, and permitted control of production and equitable distribution. Thus, at the end of the year, the king had an account of births and deaths, sex and age, status, number of available warriors among the population, resources available in the storehouses or tambos, and, from the data, he could predict and subsequently control any change.

The chunca-camayoc assigned plots of land to the population, distributed seeds and checked the collective work.¹⁵ It was surprising to note that Garcilaso de la Vega referred to the chunca-camayoc as a player :

... the same word chunca camayoc has another sense of "inveterate gambler", a man who has a pack of cards in the hood of his cloak, as the saying is.¹⁶

The annual redistribution of lands was the chunca-camayoc's

¹⁵ Louis Baudin, A Socialist Empire, The Incas of Peru, (Princeton : D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., New Jersey, 1961) : 136.

¹⁶ Garcilaso de la Vega, Royal Commentaries, p. 100.

duty. Could the connection between the chunca-camayoc's duty and his identification as a gambler imply that redistribution and repartition were achieved by games? John V. Murra¹⁷ wrote that no information could be found to explain how the lands were annually distributed. However, he pointed out that it was part of a ceremony and that the curaca, chief of ten chuncas, undertook and supervised the reassignment of lands. What kind of ceremony could the curaca and the chunca-camayoc have used to distribute lands in great order and in an equitable way? Games of chance, a lottery system, could well have been used.

Religion

It seems important to have a view of what the Inca religious system was like in order to understand the role of magical games and religious festivities.

The Inca pantheon was composed of Viracocha, the supreme god, of Inti, the Sun god, of the great mother of the Incas, Mama Ocllo and of the Illapa trinity.

Viracocha was the creator of the universe and the whole cosmological order and stability. Inti, the Sun god, had been created by Viracocha. It was Inti who sent his sons and daughters on the earth to establish order among the people. The Incas' mythology attributed to Manco Capac, the first Inca, and to Mama Ocllo, his sister and

¹⁷ John V. Murra, La Organización Económica, p. 64.

wife, the foundation of Cuzco, the capital of the Tahuantinsuyu. Finally, Manco Capac's brothers, Ayar Cachi, Ayar Uchu and Ayar Sauca, composed the Illapa trinity. Important worship sites and ceremonials were also dedicated to them.

In addition, varieties of beliefs and worships were practised among the population. According to Maria Rostworowski,¹⁸ there did not exist any abstract concept of god. Gods were called by their names, and any sacred object was called a huaca.

The conquered groups kept their religious beliefs and their gods, but had to accept the domination of the Incas' gods. As Maria Rostworowski¹⁹ wrote, there were superpositions of cults or of one huaca over another. According to her, there existed the same duality in religion as in the social structure. This religious duality corresponded to the moiety division.

The Inca king was always considered divine and, as a direct descendant from the sun, was regarded beyond and superior to any other man. He was the source from which everything emanated, not only the framing of the laws, but enforcing their fulfillment.

Festivals regularly occurred during the year and the ceremony of knighthood was one of the most imposing. It was called warachikuy and was celebrated during the summer solstice on the sacred hill Huanacauri, near Cuzco. Many physical games and contests took place during this

¹⁸ Maria Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, Estructuras Andinas del Poder (Lima : Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1975) : 180.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 181.

festival. The young nobles were initiated in their adolescence and after they had passed through a preliminary rigorous ordeal. The candidates were put to severe physical tests which resulted literally in the survival of the fittest. The fitness for endurance was tested by means of a severe flogging. Then, having spent a night alone in the desert, the following day they continued the test of endurance by participating in foot races. Those who survived the ordeal then met in an assault-at-arms, and those who were accepted to become warriors had their ears pierced by the Inca. The entire ceremony occupied a space of some eight days.

Garcilaso de la Vega wrote that public rejoicing was organized according to laws and that it occurred on predetermined days :

Inca Pachacutec made a law that there should be three days holiday every month on which occasion various games of no great interest were played.²⁰

It seemed that this kind of event was planned and allowed people to meet for three days during which time they could play together. One could wonder why it was a law to play for three days. Garcilaso de la Vega provided information that tended to show how a conflictual situation between the different ethnic groups could be blurred by such festivities. Indeed, after a conquest, the Inca ordered public rejoicing to take place :

It required that all the inhabitants of each village should eat together two or three times a month in the presence of their curacas, and

²⁰ Garcilaso de la Vega, Royal Commentaries, p. 394.

practise military or popular games so as to work off their rivalries and remain in perpetual peace, and in order that the herdsmen and field workers might rest and rejoice.²¹

These festivities served as social control in order to maintain peace between the different groups. It was interesting to note that games in this instance had the function of social control.

Chronicles provided indications that the Incas had created games to entertain people in public festivities. According to Bernabe Cobo, the Indians of Peru had invented original games :

Although they were barbarians, those Indians had invented some ingenious games, which corresponded to the dice-game and to others we have; but using them more for entertainment than for cupidity of gain; even if sometimes some prizes were involved in them, like blankets, cattle or other things; also it was in small quantities and without getting much piqued on the game.²²

In this quotation, the author mentioned that games which corresponded to dice-games were played for gambling.

Diego González Holguin wrote in his dictionary that there were inventors of games whose names were kallus, - "the ones who know all the games and who invented them".²³

This author also noted that for play special houses were used.

²¹ Ibid., p. 263.

²² Bernabe Cobo, "Historia del Nuevo Mundo", (1653) Biblioteca de Autores Españoles tomo 91-92, ed. Francisco Mateos (Madrid : Real Academia Española, 1964), p. 269.

²³ Diego González Holguin, Vocabulario de la Lengua General de Todo el Perú Llamada Lengua Qquichua o del Inca, (1608) ed. Del Instituto de Historia con un Prólogo de Raúl Porras Barrenechea (Lima : Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 1952).

These houses he called chiclluna huaci which he translated into English by the phrase "house of election and of games".²⁴ In this way the author linked games and elections even if only by the fact that they had a common location. He went even further when he translated the Quechua word chiclluni by the phrase "to choose by chance or votes".²⁵ These elements seemed to suggest that games could not only be considered to be entertaining activities in the Inca society but they could be used for a decision-making process.

Considering the manner in which the Inca Empire was extended over a short period of time one had to come to the conclusion that the army was well-trained and well-organized. Moreover, the Incas had surely faced enormous social and political problems in establishing and controlling their new economic structure within the Andes area that they conquered. The expansion of the Inca Empire created contacts and inevitable sub-conflicts situations between groups. It is easy to imagine that any position of political forced-control over a large number of ethnic group in so vast a territory could not be maintained for a long time.

Then, the Incas needed a sophisticated and well-trained army. But to accommodate the extremely rapid expansion and the consolidation of the empire, the Incas required a well-organized political and social strategy. The Incas must have developed such a strategy to achieve a certain level of political unity of the Central Andes prior 1532.

²⁴ Idem.

²⁵ Idem.

To resolve the fundamental questions of a political unity, of the apportionment of goods and services and of the problems of an adequate social and political decision-making process within such a growing and pluralistic population, the Incas needed a social institution, a highly effective political strategy based on an excellent system of communication.

There existed a need for an incontestable and unifiable process capable of adjudicating quarrels, a system which provided for the division and the distribution of goods, lands, properties, offices, tasks, responsibilities, and such like among individuals and groups within the new social and political patterns of the empire.

While no clear statement about the way the repartition was made could be found in chronicles, several suggestions imbedded in the documents hint through extrapolation of the idea that decision-making was achieved by means of games of chance, lottery, and of physical skill.

CHAPTER III

GAMES OF THE INCA EMPIRE

This chapter provides a list and a description of the games of the Inca Empire which have been found in dictionaries or quoted in chronicles. In most cases the authors avoided detailed explanations and restricted their coverage of games to concise presentations. Often the presentation resulted in an all too brief phrase which lacked clarity, depth and precision. Assembling and classifying all these puzzle-like references wherein the essential details were scattered widely throughout the primary sources was a long and difficult task.

Throughout the reading of chronicles and dictionaries two main types of games were identified : ceremonial games in which an element of chance, strategy or magic was involved ; and games in which were embedded elements of physical skill.

Games with Chance, Strategy and Magic Characteristics

Ppichcca or huayru game

Diego Gonçalez Holguin¹ translated the Quechua terms huayru and ppichcca by a Spanish phrase which means "game of the inhabitants". One can suppose that this game was particular and specific to the Indians

¹Holguin, Vocabulario Qquichua.

of Peru because of the use of the word 'inhabitants'. He also translated ppichcca as a term referring to "a game like dice", and the Quechua words ppichcani or ppichccaccuni as "to play this game". Later on he translated pichcana into the phrase, "a six-sided stick with which they play". Regarding the etymology of this word, one can assume that this stick was used to play the ppichcca game. Holguin gave another translation of huayru which was "the major pip or the best which wins". In this case the word, huayru, did not represent a game per se but rather a value. "The good luck in the pichca game when somebody won" was expressed by means of a specific word, ticnu.

In Domingo de Santo Tomás's dictionary² these two Quechua terms, huayru and ppichcca, were not included. Nevertheless, the author mentioned that the Indians of Peru played a game of chance similar to a dice game. This idea was expressed by the term guayroni.gui which meant "to play dice games, to play a game of chance". Santo Tomás also noted that guayrocçapa were "the players of this game". Unfortunately he did not give the name of this game. According to the etymology of the two previous words, one can deduce that the game could be called guayro. This hypothesis was supported by Paul Rivet³ who noted that the Quechua Indians of Ecuador pronounced the word huayru, or huairu like

²Domingo de Santo Tomás, Lexicón o Vocabulario de la Lengua General del Perú, (1560) ed. facsimilar del Instituto de Historia, con un Prólogo por Raúl Porras Barrenechea (Lima : Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 1951).

³Paul Rivet, "Coutumes Funéraires des Indiens de l'Equateur", Actes du Congrès International d'Histoire des Religions Tome I, Section II (1923) : 377.

guayru with a final U phonetically placed between U and O. Hence this variation in the pronunciation could explain the different spellings observed in the two ancient Quechua dictionaries and one could relate guayro to huayru which is synonymous to ppichcca. Rivet went on to explain that in modern Ecuadorian Quechua, the word guayru or huayru referred to an "Indians' game, similar to dice game ; also called huayru a bone with which they play", or "bone die with which they play during funeral wake and when they wash the dead man's clothes".⁴

In another contemporary Quechua dictionary, Jorge A. Lira⁵ translated the word wayru or huayru as a "die, cube which sides are marked by numbers and that were used in specific games of chance ; dice games", and wayruy as the "action to play dice, to play stake with dice".

As it can be observed through both ancient and contemporary Quechua-Spanish dictionaries the term huayru (or guayro or wayru) and the term ppichcca (or pichca or phisca or pisca) represented a game of chance in which a die was used. The terms also referred to the die itself.

In addition to the information gathered from those dictionaries, various Spanish chronicles referred to a game or a die which were called pisca or pichca. Bernábe Cobo, in a short chapter on the Peruvian Indians' games mentioned the pichca game :

⁴ Ibid., p. 395.

⁵ Jorge A. Lira, Diccionario Kkechuwa-Español (Tucuman : Universidad Nacional de Tucuman, 1944).

... the denominated pichca was like a dice game : playing it with a unique die of five pips, which had no better chance.⁶

In another chapter Cobo also reported an Indian story about the Inca Tupa Yupanqui and one of his favorite wives named Guayro, who had great success at the pichca game :

It happened once that the Inca was resting in the Yucay Valley, he began to play with some noblemen at the pichca, which is something like dice, and the Inca having already won nearly all the game, only one pip was missing, which was the ace, and if he could not get it, he would not win the game. Then, he said nothing to the lady Guayro who was there in a remote place, and throwing it he would win : 'sister, I need one pip to win the game ; what do we do ? If you want it to turn up, it will turn up, and if not, let's go in your name, if you please it'.

Although she saw that the stake played was very valuable, she responded to him : 'Ay, Lord, throw the die in my name, and say 'Guayro', Guayro will be the ace'. The Inca said : 'Let's see, in your name, let me win or lose'. And the king, throwing the die, those present shouted 'Guayro, Guayro', and when luck came, it was the ace which was all he was asking for. The Inca as well as the others were very happy, and to the lady, much happier, the Inca gave the jewel that he had won ; and since this game the Inca asked that the number one was called guayro all over the world, in memory of the luck and gain he had in the lady's name ; and so, until today, in most parts of the empire, they call the number one guayro, in the same way as among us, we say ace.⁷

In this reference, Cobo indicated for the second time that pichca was actually something like a dice game. However, while in his first reference he wrote that the die used in the pichca game had five

⁶ Cobo, "Historia del Nuevo Mundo", pp. 269-270.

⁷ Ibid., pp. 86-87.

pips of equal value, this time he wrote that the side marked by the number one, called guayro, was equivalent to an ace. It was clear for Cobo that guayro was not the name of the game or of the die, but rather was descriptive of the number one which, in turn, may have been considered as the best pip. This interpretation was the same as Holguin's translation of huayru, which has already been quoted, "the major pip or the best which wins".

As it has been presented above in both ancient and contemporary Quechua-Spanish dictionaries, the term guayro meant a game of chance and a die used to play the game. This time, in Cobo's quotation, guayro was equivalent to an ace in the pichca game.

It is interesting to note that the name of king Inca Tupa Yupanqui's wife, Guayro, was the same as that of the game of chance. In Lira's contemporary dictionary, the term wayru, phonetically close to guayru and guayro, meant "curaca's spouse or other authorities", and wayrukk "that belongs to the die, as to the spouse of the person in authority".⁸ In the Inca social structure, the curaca was the chief of an ethnic group, the ayllu. This term of ayllu identified at the same time an ethnic group as well as a territory. The lands of an ayllu were controlled by the curaca who redistributed the products between the members of the community.

Is there a relation between this game of chance and the fact that the wife of the one in charge of redistributing the lands or the

⁸ Lira, Diccionario Kkechuwa-Español.

products of the lands had one and the same name ?

Martin de Murúa described a game called pisca in these terms :

So the auquis, who are princes, children of the Incas, played this game like another, which is very ordinary, that these Indians call the pisca, with their table and holes or marks through which they are moving the pebbles ; the pisca is like a teetotum, although it does not move before they throw and expose the pip like knucklebones or dice.⁹

Here for the first time, the pisca game was described as a board game. The board had small holes in which the players moved little pebbles using the pisca die. Murúa compared the pisca die to a teetotum. A teetotum is like a die. It is a small top usually inscribed with letters and used in put-and-take game. Put-and-take is a type of game of chance played with a die or something similar in which the players contribute to a pool and take from it according to the instructions on the die.

In another chapter about the quipucamayoc (those who counted with the quipus which were a system to calculate with strings and knots) Murúa described the pisca die :

Also they did their counts by pebbles and by knots, as it has been said in color strings, immediately, they counted one, ten, one hundred, one thousand, ten hundred, ten thousand, ten hundred thousand. These Indians played with a unique die they called the pichca, of five pips on one side, one on the next, two on the next,

⁹ Fray Martin de Murúa, Historia del Origen y Genealogia Real de los Reyes Incas del Perú (1590). Introducción, notas y arreglo por Constantino Bayle, S. J. Biblioteca "Misionaria Hispanica" vol. 2 (Madrid : Instituto Santo Toribio de Mogrovejo del C. S. de I. C., 1946) : 137-138.

three on the other, the other side four, and the top with a cross which was worth five, and the base of the die twenty, and so they play today, and the Indians used it, men as well as women, although apart from rabbits, which they call guinea-pigs, they don't play money.¹⁰

In this reference, Murúa explained that the Quipucamayoc used a die called pichca and that gambling was involved in the game. It is noticeable that both men and women could use the pichca die.

The die called pichca was marked : one, two, three, four, five on its sides, twenty in the base and five on the top which was also marked with a cross. Unfortunately the author gave no indication of how the values or pips were used.

It seems that the pichca die had five sides. When Holguin¹¹ described the pichcana, he wrote that it was "a six-sided stick with which they play". Although the names pichca and pichcana are related, Murúa and Holguin did not describe the same die for, the number of sides are different. Holguin noted that pichca meant "five" in Quechua. Is the die called pichca because of its five sides, or because the value five of the top side marked with a cross was the most important ?

About various Indian games, in another chronicle, Martín de Morúa¹², which is a misspelling of Murúa, presented a game in which

¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 223-224.

¹¹ Holguin, Vocabulario Qquichua.

¹² Fray Martín de Morúa, Los Orígenes de los Incas (1590) Estudio biobibliográfico sobre el autor por Raúl Porrás Barrenechea, Colección "Los Pequeños Grandes Libros de Historia Americana" dirigida por Francisco A. Loayza. Serie I, Tomo XI, (Lima : 1946) : 62.

colored beans were moved on a board according to the points indicated by the pisca die. Morúa wrote this brief comment :

... and also another game that they call aucai, which is a board with beans of various colors and difficult to play : also they throw the points with the pisca as we said, which is a game they like very much.¹³

This description of the aucai game corresponds to that previously quoted of the pisca game played by the auquis provided by Murúa. The fact that chronicles were handwritten could explain the mistake in rewriting the word auquis. One can assume that both quotations described the same game, the pisca game.

Another chronicler, Pedro Gutierrez de Santa Clara, wrote that the Indians had a bone die, the description of which was very similar to that of the pichca die :

They play with a unique bone die, cubic, which has one, two, three, four, five pips and they win all that they have, until they have nothing left.¹⁴

It was clear in this quotation that gambling was part of the game. The Spanish original text was as puzzling as the English translation because the author mentioned that the Indians won what they had. It could mean that all they had, all their belongings came from gambling and could also be lost in gambling. Therefore this game

¹³ Idem.

¹⁴ Pedro Gutierrez de Santa Clara, "Quinquenarios o Historia de las Guerras Civiles del Perú", (1544-48) Biblioteca de Autores Españoles tomo 165, ed. Juan Perez de Tudela Bueso, Crónicas del Perú II (Madrid : Real Academia Española, 1963) : 549.

in which a bone die similar to the pisca die was used, could be a way of distributing goods, and considered as a method of exchange.

Joseph de Arriaga wrote in his chronicle on the Indians' evil customs and superstitions that in some towns of the lowlands the clan came together with the relatives ten days after a death had occurred and that they played a game called pisca :

The next morning they say the soul is now in Zamayhuaci, or the house of rest, and will never return again. The pacaricac usually lasts five days, during which they fast, eating only white corn and meat, abstaining from salt and pepper. And they play a game called pisca which was the names of five days. It is played with little sticks with stripes. I do not believe there is any mysterious reason for this but that it is used to beguile their sleepiness. When the five days are over, they wash the dead man's clothes in the river.¹⁵

The pisca game was played during five days at funeral wakes. Once again pichca is associated with the number five. Arriaga did not consider this game as a ceremonial game but rather as an ordinary one used to fill time while waiting. It is not certain that the game of pisca had any significance for the dead or for those who played it. However, there is a possibility that the game might have been played to ease the passage of the spirit of the dead into the hereafter. Another function of the game might have been, as mentioned before, to distribute the dead man's possessions between the participants.

It is strange to note that in Arriaga's description of the

¹⁵ Arriaga, The Extirpation of Idolatry, p. 56.

pisca game, the Indians used little sticks with stripes instead of the pichcana or the pisca die.

Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala also mentioned the uayro and pichica games. Unfortunately, he did not describe these games. He wrote that during the Inca festival of Camay Inca Raymi which was celebrated in April, the Inca noblemen played these two games, among others, throughout the month :

All the month the principal noblemen play the game - deriui - choca - at uayro de ynaca - pichica of hilancula and of challochima, they play other games and festivities that all the empire has during this month of April Ynca raymi.¹⁶

In another excerpt, Poma de Ayala mentioned the pichica but spelled it differently. He went on describing the fact that the Indians kept on playing while the Spaniards were taking their women away.¹⁷ Was the game so important for the Indians that they forgot everything else? If Poma de Ayala's description is a surprise for the reader, it has to be considered as the illustration of a deeper belief. In that respect, the game must have had a meaning for the Indians that went far beyond the realm of a simple game. The game was one form of seeking guidance from the gods. In the situation that Poma de Ayala described, the Indians felt so helpless to prevent the rape of their

¹⁶ Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, La Nueva Crónica y Buen Gobierno, (1615?) Interpretada por Luis Bustios Galvez, Trez partes (Lima : Editorial Cultura, Ministerio de Educación Pública del Perú, 1956 and 1966) : 420.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 337.

women that they turned to their gods for support, aid and intercession. If such was the case, then the game of pichica would take on new meaning as a device through which the Indians sought direction, guidance from their gods.

Among the chroniclers there was a confusion of terms and a contradiction related to the exact description of the ppichcca game. Nevertheless, it seemed that this game was played on a board with small holes or marks in which the players moved little pebbles or beans according to the value obtained by a die. The pisca die itself was not described in the same way. Either dice with five or six faces or sticks were used to play the game. An interesting point was that the term huayru presented above by Holguin as being a synonym of ppichcca was not used in the chronicles as the name of the game but rather as an equivalent to a value, the ace.

In recent ethnological studies more linguistic references concerning the huayru and ppichcca game were found. Two ethnologists, Paul Rivet¹⁸ and Raphael Karsten¹⁹ were particularly interested in this game. According to them, the huayru game was still performed during funeral ceremonies among various groups of the Andean region as well as among small groups living in the eastern forests of Ecuador.

¹⁸ Rivet, "Coutumes Funéraires des Indiens de l'Equateur", pp. 376-412.

¹⁹ Raphael Karsten, "Ceremonial Games of the South American Indians", Societas Scientiarum Fennica vol III, 2 (1930) : 1-38 ; and "My Huairu Game Once More", Societas Scientiarum Fennica vol III, 7 (1931) : 1-11.

The huayru game was considered by them to be of Inca origin and was a cultural element that these Indians had borrowed from their Quechua/ Peruvian neighbours. The results of their researches were very interesting and it is important to present them in order to make more complete the description and to better understand the information collected in the dictionaries and in the XVI and XVII centuries' chronicles.

In the following part, descriptions of the funeral wakes are provided and, being of Inca origin, they enlighten what was the function of games of chance during the Inca funeral ceremonies.

In the mountain area at Guzu, Paute and Azogues in the province of Azuay, the deceased man was exposed for three days and nights :

During the three days, mainly at night, the men play under the porch roof either cards or a special die game called guayru, about which I shall talk again more in details later on. The money won serves to pay for the expenses caused to the widowed by the ceremony.²⁰

On the fifth day, the ceremony called 'lavar el cinco' (to wash the fifth) was held wherein all the deceased's clothes were washed in the river :

... then, they wash the survivor in the river ; finally the women and some men wash the deceased's clothes and put them to dry on the bushes of the river, while the other men, forming large circles, play guayru. The money and the alcohol won are given back to the widowed, as it has been done during the funeral wake.²¹

²⁰ Rivet, Ibid., p. 377.

²¹ Ibid., p. 380.

At Deleg and Quinjeo in the same province, during the two or three nights of funeral wake, the relatives and the friends also played guayru. Again the money won served to pay for the family's expenses of the ceremony. At Batán, near Quito, in the province of Pichincha, on the third day the deceased's body was carried around the village and men played guayru :

They are preceded by other men who, along the way, play guayru. This group of men is divided into two sides which, by turns, throw the die. The side which, by addition of the pips, first reaches one hundred, wins. Then four Indians of this side replace the four carriers and the game starts again in the middle of a scrimmage and incredible noise.²²

The die used in this game had different forms and values. In the Azogues region, it was a four-sided bone die marked with different signs. The four faces of the die are schematically presented in the illustration below.

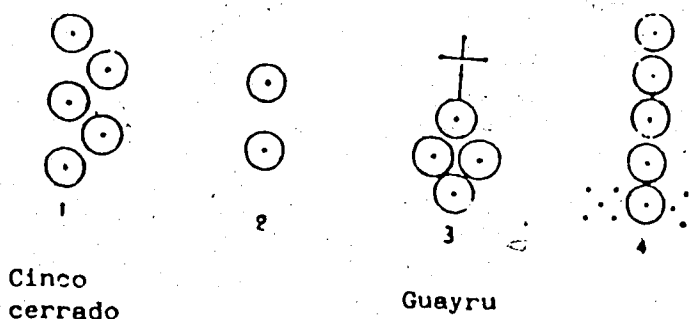


Figure 3 : Guayru from Azogues

²² Ibid., p. 382.

Rivet²³ explained that the first face was called cinco cerrado and the third face, the one with the cross, guayru. Whereas these faces were winning throws, the second and the fourth were losing ones. However, the best score was obtained when the die stayed upright. He went on specifying that at Deleg, the bone die, which was six to eight centimeters long, had a pyramidal shape with an hexagonal base. One of its sides was polished, while the other five sides bore respectively from one pip to five pips. This guayru die corresponded to the six-sided die that Holguin called pichica. Representations of the different sides of the guayru die can be found on the following pages.

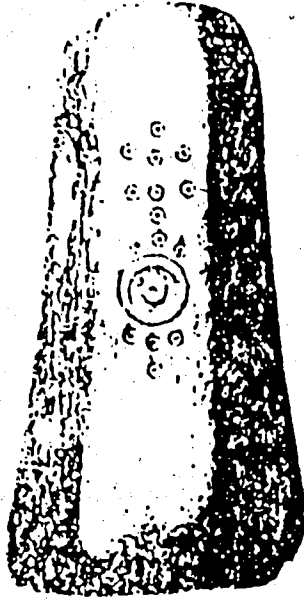
Karsten wrote that in all the regions he investigated, in spite of some variations in the rules, the huayru game was played more or less in this way :

Before the game begins, the Indians not only drink but also eat the meat of the sheep slaughtered. Besides, during the night the domestic animals won by the playing men are eaten in common by all, guests and hosts. The game begins about seven o'clock. The corpse, lying on its bed, is placed in the middle of the room. Dishes of all kinds are placed around it : flesh of swine and hens, roasted guinea-pigs, hens'eggs, chicha, mazamora of maize, mote, peas ; in a word, everything that the defunct had best liked to eat in his lifetime is put down on the floor in different clay pots or gourds. On both sides of the corpse the players arrange themselves in two rows, for instance eight or ten in each row, so that every player has an opponent. The first man in the first row throws the die over the corpse to the first man in the second row, the latter, again, throws it to the second man

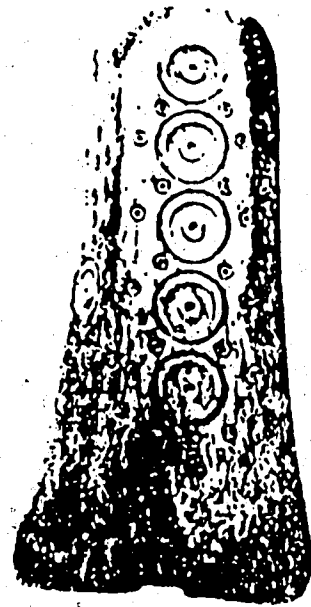
²³ Ibid., pp. 392-393.

FIGURE 4

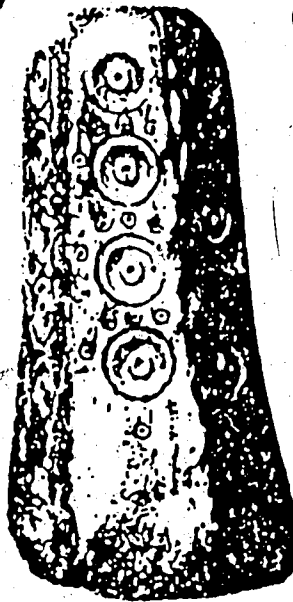
GUAYRU FROM DELEG



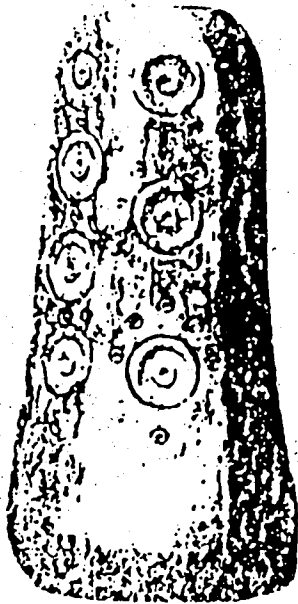
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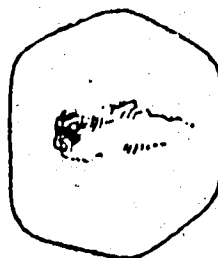
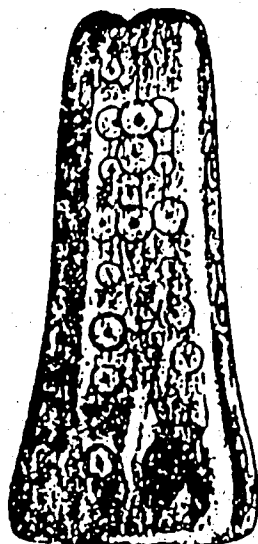
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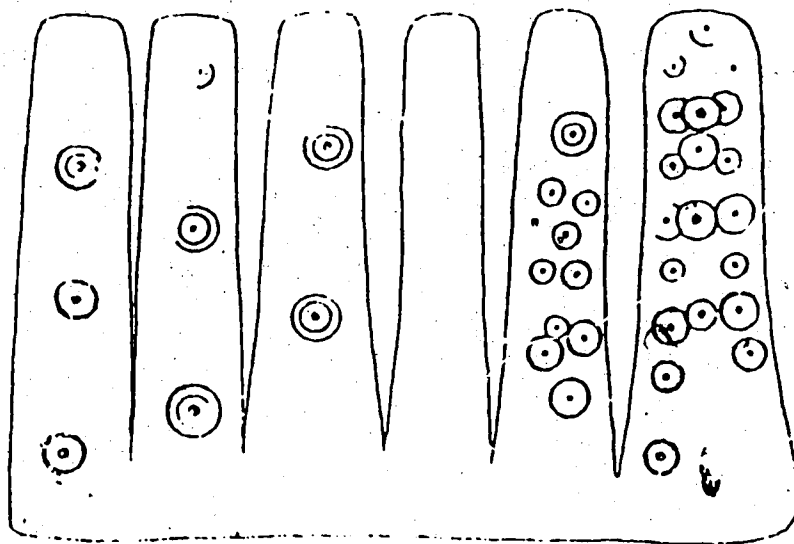
5

FIGURE 5

HUAYRU DIE FROM THE QUICHUA
INDIANS OF ECUADOR



The base



Schematic drawing of the sides

in the first row, who goes on throwing it to the second row, and so forth. If thereby a player throws 4, 5 or 10, his opponent-- as the game is played in some villages - pay him 4, 5 or 10 cents or reales, as the agreement may be. In other villages, again, the Indians do not play for money, but each player keeps an account of how many times he throws 4, 5 or 10 until he reaches 20. This is regarded as a full winning, that is, it is the same as if he had thrown the die upright. If someone throws yuchu [zero], his opponent must punish him; which he generally does by freely striking him on the hands with cabuya-fibres.²⁴

Karsten²⁵ noted that it was only the male guests, boys over ten and strangers, either Indians or Whites, who were allowed to play. Women and relatives never played but they could watch the game. All animals belonging to the deceased were played for and eaten with the exception of those which were kept by the widow for the reconstitution of the herd.

The huayru game was played in order to distribute among the participants the dead man's belongings. As Karsten noted, only a minimum of animals were given to the widow. Through the huayru game, by throwing the die over the corpse, it was thought that the dead man distributed his inheritance to the members of his community or even to strangers. It is interesting to note that women and relatives were not admitted in the game. Therefore it is clear that possessions were not transmissible to the lineage, but on the contrary were distributed

²⁴Karsten, "Ceremonial Games of the South American Indians", pp. 9-10.

²⁵Ibid., p. 9.

among the rest of the community.

After the game, women cooked the animals won, then the meat was distributed to all participants, as well as to those who had not won the game. Sometimes they played for money which served to buy alcohol. In certain tribes of the Cordillera, women waited until the end of the game to distribute the meat won through the game. The participants could also take the stake they had won and eat it by themselves if they wished.

Karsten also mentioned a very important fact concerning the decision to hold or not to hold the huayru game during funeral ceremonies :

... huayru is played when the house-father or mother dies, but not after the death of any of the children. If someone of the sons has founded a family, possesses a house and domestic animals of his own, his wife must, in case he dies, arrange a huayru game in his honour. If a deceased Indian is so poor that he possesses no domestic animals, no feast and game are arranged after his death.²⁶

This quotation showed that the huayru game was not systematically organized after a death. It depended on the amount of possessions left after the death of someone. If the deceased had some belongings of his own, this game of chance allowed to redistribute his possessions. Then, in a funeral ceremony, the huayru game was not played to fill time during the wake or only to celebrate the deceased, but its function was

²⁶ Ibid., pp. 12-13.

that of a decision-making process with regard to the sharing of the inheritance:

According to Karsten,²⁷ the Canelos Indians of the Bobonaza River in the Ecuadorian forests, who belonged to the Quechua linguistic family, also knew the huayru game under the name huairitu. As he pointed out, this name was, without any doubt, a diminutive of huayru. For him, it was the Quechua Indians from the Cordillera who introduced this game during the expansion of the Inca Empire in the XV century.

The die used in this game was somehow different from the huayru die used by the Indians of the Cordillera.

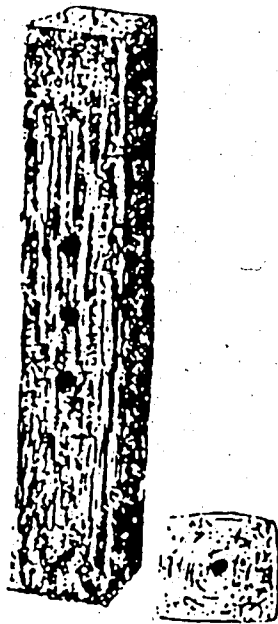


Figure 6 : Huairitu-die of the Canelos Indians.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 19.

The huairitu die was a piece of manioc, ten or twelve centimeters long and shaped with four sides and two ends. The two extremities were flat to allow the die to stand upright. One side had three small holes, called singu, which occasionally gave its name to the die. The opposite side was called llambui, which meant 'draw'. The other two sides were generally worth a value of four and ten.

Karsten²⁸ asserted that apart from a small difference on the die, the Canelos, the Sarayacu and the Juanjiri Indians who were associated, played the game in the same way. If the die stayed upright, the player won the stake and he also had the obligation or right to punish his opponent by striking a blow with his open hand over the opponent's hands or head. If the player threw the side called llambui, 'draw', he lost his turn. If he threw the side marked three or ten, the player received three or ten kernels of corn which he put aside. After the game, players counted the kernels they had won, keeping a special account for the times they had thrown singu - three -, and chunca - ten.

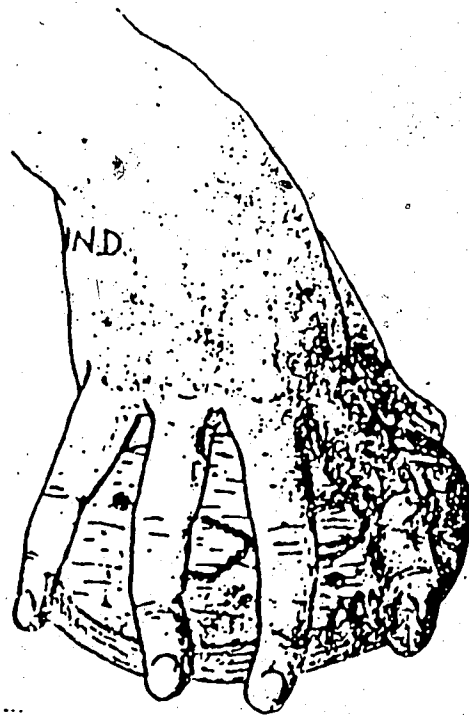
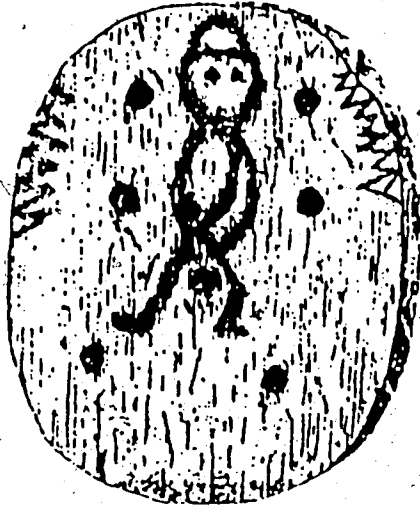
The Canelos Indians, as Karsten²⁹ explained, knew another die game which was also played during funeral ceremonies. This game was also called huairitu or singu and was very similar to the one described above. The die used in it was different as it is illustrated on next page. The die looked more like a board game. It was a wooden oval, fifteen centimeters long and three or five wide. The back of the

²⁸ Ibid., p. 20.

²⁹ Ibid., pp. 22-23.

FIGURE 7

HUAIRITU OR SINGU DIE



die was convex so that the players might spin it. The upper side had a figure representing the deceased's soul called huahua-huairitu, which implied a spirituality element in the game. On each side were three small holes and a seventh was between the figure's legs. The singu or huairitu die was laid over a flat piece of wood or something else covered with a piece of cloth which was put over the deceased's stomach. The players who were male guests and not relatives were divided on each side of the deceased so that each player had an opponent. Each player had, at the beginning of the game, received an equal amount of goods that belonged to the deceased. They played all night long and in the morning, they gathered the food they had won. Karsten³⁰ went on writing that it was apparently permissible for the players either to take their winnings home or to put them into a feast organized among all the participants.

In the huairitu game as in the huayru game only male participants were allowed to play. Male relatives were not admitted in the game, but curiously enough strangers were. No explanation was given concerning that, but one can assume that it was a way to prevent the accumulation of possessions by one family. The game always occurred in the presence of the deceased whose belongings were distributed by means of this game of chance. Both the huairitu and the huayru games were organized only when the deceased was wealthy enough to justify the sharing of his inheritance.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 25.

Georges Dumézil and Andres G. Alencastre, in an ethnological study in the province of Canas, near Cuzcô, mentioned the ppichcca or piscascca game as being also played during the funeral wake :

Divided into teams of twelve people, men and women, line up, facing one another on both sides of the room. A man is charged to give back (to the players of) each team the stone called piscca rumi, which has a pyramidal shape as a truncated rectangular and which sides respectively bear 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 10 holes, the one or ace being on the inferior base called chunca. Women start. The stone which weighs 5 to 7 pounds, is successively given to each one who, after having gone and asked permission to each spectator, goes back to her seat and throws the stone to the middle of the room. The number of holes which is on the top side is written down by an assistant who plays the role of a clerk and who, to keep the score, piles in little heaps as many kernels of red corns as the stone indicated. All the women proceed like that in turn, so that the clerk has twelve small piles of kernels in front of him. Then it is the turn of a similar team of twelve men. They proceed like before, the clerk keeping the score with kernels of yellow corn. So the first game of twenty-four players is over. The clerk counts the kernels of each team : the losing team has to give the other as many kernels as there are between the scores of the two teams, the difference. They mix the two kinds of kernels, this operation is called mesasca or mesa sara. The winning team imposes the other one to recite a yayaicu and a muchaicuscaiquimaria, and the losing team starts the next game. The game is repeated twelve times.³¹

One can note that this game was played by teams and not by individuals. Women were confronted to men. No indication concerning

³¹ Georges Dumézil and Andres G. Alencastre, "Fêtes et Usages des Indiens de Langui (Province de Canas, Département de Cuzco)", Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris Tome XLII (1953) : 115-116.

the distribution of the dead's belongings was given.

It is noticeable that whereas the huayru game described by Karsten had a function of redistribution of wealth, the ppichcca game described by Dumézil and Alencastre had completely lost this distributive function. The ppichcca game was played more to fill time during funeral wakes. A religious element has been introduced into the game. According to the quotation, the losing team had to say prayers.

The same authors mentioned a similar game played in the Cuzco area :

When someone dies, all the single cholos and cholas have the obligation to come to wake him. From one o'clock in the morning, they do the pfiscanchasca. It is a square stone with holes : the ace is called sapacha, the five pfiscacha, the eight puse (pusaq), the ten chunca. The stone passes from hand to hand around the wakers who are sitting. In turns they throw it down, where someone picks it up, and with the aid of corn kernels, takes notes of the number shown. In the end, they put these kernels together, which are said to be the deceased's money.³²

Considering these contemporary researches, one could suggest that during the Inca period, the general idea underlying huayru and ppichcca games, as it has been shown in their Ecuadorian and Peruvian remains described above, was that these games were played, not so much for fun or amusement as Arriaga³³ had thought, but rather as a duty towards the deceased. It was not too foolish to think that for them

³² Ibid., p. 116.

³³ Arriaga, The Extirpation of Idolatry in Peru, p. 56.

these games were not really games of chance, as they are defined in our society. Organizing these games, the family and relatives honoured the deceased taking him in his last journey, offering him food and above all, respecting his last will that he let them know through these die games. It was the dead man himself through his supernatural powers who decided the sharing of his properties. Karsten³⁴ wrote that the Indians believed that it was the deceased who controlled the die, and then, assured the winning or losing throws. The deceased affected the outcome of the game by favorable or unfavorable intervention.

In fact, the gambling situation created by these games served essentially as a decision-making process for the distribution of the deceased's property. The source of such an opinion has been found in Karsten's study when he wrote :

The games of the Indians, where they have retained their original character, are no amusements, but are practised for very serious ends. In most cases they are played after a death, when the object of the game is to distribute the property of the deceased among the survivors,³⁵

Taba game

Karsten³⁶ wrote that he found in the Cuzco region of Peru a game called taba which he considered similar to the huayru game. For him,

³⁴ Karsten, "Ceremonial Games of the South American Indians", p. 26.

³⁵ Ibid., p. 4.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 15.

there was no doubt that the name taba was derived from the Quechua word tahua which meant four, and that this game was of Inca origin.

During pre-Columbian time, as it is still the case today, this game was played during funeral ceremonies and the celebration of the day of the souls. Karsten mentioned that, apart from the die used in it, the principle of the taba game and its social function were identical to those of the huayru of Ecuador or the ppichcca of Peru. The taba game actually had an important role in decision-making related to the sharing of the deceased's goods. In this game, the player who won received either a domestic animal or something else of value belonging to the deceased. The player was awarded the privilege of praying for the deceased's soul :

The men, sitting in a circle on the ground, throw the die by turns and when someone succeeds in throwing it so that the concave side remains upward, this is regarded a good omen: by this cast the player is supposed to help the soul to reach heaven. In return, he receives something which belonged to the deceased, generally some domestic animal of his : a sheep, a hen, a guinea-pig, and so forth.³⁷

As to Bolivia and Northern Argentina, a dice game called taba is mentioned by some writers. The die consists of the astrogalus or knuckle-bone of an ox and is used much in the same way as the huayru die. Originally it has been a purely ceremonial game like the huayru, but in literature almost nothing is stated about it. Dr. Ambrosetti, however, has an interesting statement relating to a custom practised by the Indians on the Puna of Jujuy. On the day appointed for the festival of the dead all their relatives assemble on the pantheon and spread

³⁷ Ibid., p. 16.

out on the tomb a poncho upon which certain kinds of food, destined for the deceased, are placed. The eldest of the present Indians conducts the prayer ceremony whilst making continuous libations, but some one of the rest has to pronounce it. In order to find the person whose prayer is the most appropriate for the occasion, they play taba, throwing the die transversally over the tomb. He who wins is entitled to pronounce the prayer.³⁸

This game of chance was a kind of lottery and determined who would have the privilege to say the funeral oration.

The die used in the game was also called taba. In general, it was a four-sided knuckle-bone of llama or other animal.

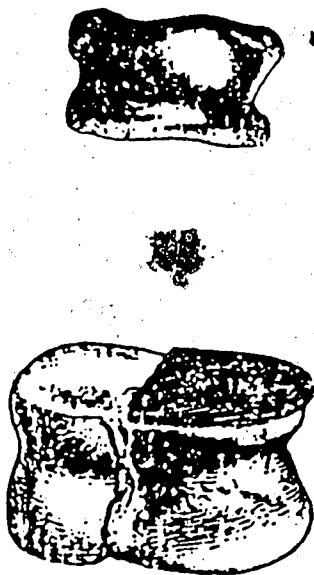


Figure 8 : Taba dice.

None of the sides of the taba die was marked. In the taba game,

³⁸ Ibid., p. 6.

only the upper side and its opposite side counted. The upper side, lightly concave, was the winning side. The opposite side, flat, was null and the player lost his throw. The other two sides counted nothing and the player was then allowed to throw the die again.³⁹

As well as a ceremonial game, the taba game was also used for divination.⁴⁰ In throwing the die, the diviner could answer everything that was asked him. For example, he would throw the die either to find the cause of any sickness, or to find an individual who might have stolen something from someone, or to help in making the best decision in all kinds of situations, and so forth.

The word taba could not be found in any Quechua-Spanish dictionary nor in any Spanish chronicle. Nevertheless, the principle of this divinatory game could be found in other games presented below.

Jhanca or chanca game

Father Francisco de Avila described the jhanca game as a game of chance in which a small stone called jhanca was a divining-stone used as the interpreter to the major god. The stone served as a die and allowed the Indians of Peru to communicate with their huaca, their god. This game was played to seek guidance from the gods and to help in making the best decision in different situations. Father Avila wrote :

... each province has various superstitions and different idols. Some worship the sun, others

³⁹ Ibid., p. 16.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 17.

the moon and the stars, others worship springs and rivers, others big rocks, and others only worship the bones of their descendents. Those who worship stones or rocks are the most numerous of this kingdom ; and they have a small stone that is called jhanca, which is the interpreter to the major idol. This stone has a mark on one part, and after they worshipped the major idol, that is called guaca, they throw this stone like someone throws dice ; and if the mark comes down, they say that they are granted what they demand ; and if they are not granted this they start crying , and then they make sacrifices to soothe the idol and they kill an animal and they offer the entrails, and there is a soothsayer who looks at the intestines. Also they offer them a small animal which is called cui, and with the blood of those animals they anoint the small stone and the idol.⁴¹

In another document, Father Avila provided details which, unfortunately, through interpretation have proven to lead to confusion rather than clarity. Father Avila's description is of the method of communication through the jhanca (or chanca) stone with the gods :

This class of idols has a common name which is cunchur or chanca. And in particular each one has also its name like carhua and allinanchu or sullachanca and although there is a difference between chanca and cunchur. Cunchur is like a lawyer and an interceder for the major gods and chanca is a small stone used to draw chance in order to see if the cunchur is irritated or not, if he wants this or that sacrifice, so that if an Indian is sick or another has work he takes out his cunchur and his chanca and these are not anything else and have no other shape than two common stones, none major than a |canmesa ?|, ...

⁴¹ Francisco de Avila, Dioses y Hombres de Huarochiri (1598 ?) narración Quechua recogida por Francisco Avila, trans. José María Arguedas, estudio bibliográfico por Pierré Duviols (Lima : Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1966) : 244.

Thus the Indian has his cunchur and his chanca on a small clean and new dried brushwood, and having set all that he dedicates his intention to the cunchur and he addresses him his prayer, saying : my Lord cunchur so-and-so (calling his name) my son is sick or such work I have, then you are my Lord and on whom my family and I are dependent ; I implore you to intercede for me to the god who imposes this work on me and to ask him to get me free from it, and to let me know which of these gods is the one who is so angry with me. And saying that he lifts up the chanca which is the small stone with which he has to draw the chance by means of which the cunchur has to respond, and so the Indians call lunimni the language of the cunchur and when he wants to draw, the Indian asks the cunchur if it is the sun that is angry ?, and saying that, he throws the stone and he looks how it falls and how it sets down, and if it falls on the best part which is to respond affirmatively to the question asked, and after, he picks up the small stone for better confirmation of this answer, that it is the sun which is angry, and if the stone does not fall on the same side as before, but on another side, then he throws it again and if it falls on a different side than the first time, it confirms the first answer ; therefore, he has to make sacrifices to the sun. But if it does not fall on another side than the first one it fell on, it means it has not given an answer or it denies that it is the sun which is angry ; therefore, he has to ask again if it is someone else, and he throws the stone until it falls on the right side with its confirmation ; and going so, when he knows who is the angry god, he makes sacrifice for him with what he processes,⁴²

It was difficult to figure out the rules of the jhanca game.

Father Avila explained them, but his explanations were puzzling.

⁴² Idem, "Relación de Idolatrias", (1611 ?) La Iglesia de España en el Perú. Colección de Documentos para la Historia de la Iglesia en el Perú, Que se Encuentran en Varios Archivos vol. IV, n° 22, 1610 a 1613 (Sevilla : Archivos General de Indias, 1946, pp. 624-631) : 628-629.

However, one can understand that the player had to throw the stone, called chanca, more than once and have it land in given combination of pips such that the results indicated what the answer was and how the player had to proceed as a result of the toss of the die. The number of sides of this stone was not revealed. One thing was obvious, a specific mark on one side of the rock gave it a value that exceeded the values accorded to the other pips.

Father Avila's description did not provide a clear presentation of the rules prevailing in the chanca game. This game was a divination activity related to magical functions and the questions asked throughout the game were of fundamental importance to the Indians in that the answers obtained were significant and directly influenced their lives.

According to Father Avila, it was the usual practice in Peru to worship such stones for their power as mediums. Through the chanca game, everyone could communicate with his huaca. There was no need to have the help of a specialized soothsayer or of some particular priest. All Indians were able to ask questions of their gods whenever they wanted. Those questions were closely related to their everyday lives, particularly during hard times when intervention by their gods on behalf of the individual or their family was considered to be more important.

This game was not played during funeral ceremonies but had a divinatory role and was frequently played to solve problems. Decision-making was also an outcome of this game in that the Indians adapted their behavior to the answer provided by the chanca.

Sócyac game

Father Arriaga provided another example of divination and decision-making done by means of a game of chance :

Sócyac is a way of casting lots or divination with corn. They make little piles of kernels without counting them, then they pick one up first from one pile and then from the other, and as they come out in odd or in even number the luck is supposed to be good or bad. In one town, the holder of this office showed us a bagful of little stones called chunpirun, which he said he had inherited from his grandfather for this purpose.⁴³

Besides this divinatory function of the sócyac game, Father Arriaga pointed out that this game was used for casting lots. Unfortunately, the author did not provide any example of what was played through the game. One can assume that the distribution of various goods, lands, tasks, duties, taxes or anything else was achieved by means of the sócyac game. Then the outcome of this game of chance was beyond controversy.

This game fulfilled both religious and economic purposes in that respect that it had a divinatory function and it was used for casting lots as well.

It was interesting to note that the sócyac game was performed with kernels, called chunpirun, that were transmitted from one generation to the next and that it was somebody's office to play sócyac, i. e. to use the game as a lot to decide. It can be assumed that these

⁴³ Arriaga, The Extirpation of Idolatry in Peru, p. 34.

kernels and the game were regarded as sacred by the Indians and that playing the game was considered as a magical ceremony.

Chunca game

Domingo de Santo Tomás⁴⁴ translated the Quechua term chunga by a Spanish phrase which means "card game, pack of cards", or by the phrase "the number ten or the tenth". The word chunga pucllana was again translated into the term "card game".

Santo Tomás also translated the words chungani.gui as a "game of chance or hazard or to play card game", and chungasca as "the bet, wager".

It was interesting to note that the author assimilated card games to games of chance or hazard in which gambling took a part. One can wonder whether the Incas had known any form of card games. In fact, in a chronicle, one can read that the Inca king did not know the Europeans' cards :

Atabalipa was so intelligent, that in twenty days he understood the language of the Christians, and learnt to play at chess and at cards.⁴⁵

The Inca king Atahualpa, misspelled in the quotation above, might well have known a form of card game familiar to residents of the

⁴⁴ Santo Tomás, Vocabulario del Perú.

⁴⁵ Don Alonzo Enriquez de Guzman, The Life and Acts of Don Alonzo Enriquez de Guzman, (1518-1543) trans. C. R. Markham (New-York : Burt Franklin Publisher, 1932) : 101.

Inca Empire but yet have not known the card games or board games of the Europeans.

On the other hand, Diego González Holguín⁴⁶ did not mention any card game, but translated chuncaycuna by the phrase "any game of chance", chuncana cuna as "the instruments of each game", and chuncani by the action "to stake in a game of chance". The ideas of games of chance and of gambling were encountered in both dictionaries, but no reference to card games could be found in Holguín's.

In his chronicle, Garcilaso de la Vega gave a general sense to the word chunca :

Any game is chunca (ten) because all games are reckoned with numbers, and as all numbers go in tens, they use 'ten' as a game, and to say 'let's play a game' they use the word chuncásum, which strictly means 'let's count in tens or by numbers' and thus 'play'.⁴⁷

Garcilaso de la Vega did not refer specifically to card games or to games of chance. He simply wrote that chunca meant any game, and that those games were calculated with numbers.

Information found about the chunca game were unclear and then, it was impossible to determine clearly what the chunca game was like. Nevertheless, chunca was almost certainly a game of chance in which gambling appeared, but it is uncertain whether it was a kind of card game. Santo Tomás identified the term chunga as a "card game" but no other direct citation was found in the writings of the other chroniclers.

⁴⁶ Holguín, Vocabulario Qquichua.

⁴⁷ Garcilaso de la Vega, Royal Commentaries, p. 100.

At Incapilca, near Canar in Ecuador, a description of a small monument called Inca-chungana, which means "the game of the Inca", was given by Alexandre de Humboldt.⁴⁸ The monument consisted of a triangular seat in an oval enceinte carved in the rock. The back of the seat was decorated with a kind of chain like arabesque. Humboldt wrote that old Indians told him that small balls were placed in this chain of lozenges and moved along to amuse the prince. Unfortunately nothing indicated the pattern by which the balls were moved or the rules which governed the actions of the players.

On the other hand, Jean Van Volxem,⁴⁹ refuted this so-called futile explanation and proposed that the Inca-chungana was an oratory site where the Inca worshipped the Sun.

If a game was played at Inca-chungana, it was impossible to determine clearly the rules and actions which it comprised.

Bernabe Cobo wrote that the Indians of Peru had a game called chuncara which description is close to that of the Inca-chungana :

The chuncara was another game of five small holes graved in some flat rock or table :
 playing it with beans of various colors,
 throwing the die and as the chance fell, they
 moved them along their holes until they reached
 the end : the first hole counted for ten and

⁴⁸ Alexandre de Humboldt, Sites des Cordillères et Monuments des Peuples Indigènes de l'Amérique (Paris : L. Guérin et Co., Editeurs, 1869) : pp. 442-444.

⁴⁹ Jean Van Volxem, "Notice sur la Destination Probable de l'Inca-Chunca (Juego del Inca)", Congrès International des Américanistes compte-rendu 3e session, tome 2, Bruxelles (1879) ; Kraus reprint, Germany (1968), pp. 43-46.

the others were increasing by tens until the fifth, which was worth fifty.⁵⁰

The chuncara game could be, in fact, "the game of the Inca". In this game the number ten is the prevailing number as Garcilaso de la Vega noted when he gave the general sense of the word chunca : "Any game is chunca (ten) ... 'let's count in tens or by numbers'...". It was clearly presented that in this game in which a flat rock or board, beans of various colors and a die were used, the values of the different holes followed the decimal system : the first hole was worth ten, the second twenty, and so forth until the last, the fifth which was worth fifty. A parallel could be found between the numbering of the holes and the decimal system of the social and political organizations of the Inca Empire. Thus, this game incorporated socially important elements within it, such as the number ten, having therefore a social significance.

Erland Nordenskiöld⁵¹ reported in his ethnological searches in the Chaco area different variations of a same game of chance played by various Indian groups and called tsunka or chunquapti game.

Based on a comparative study of the name of the game, as well as of the expressions used in it, the author concluded that this game

⁵⁰ Cobo, "Historia del Nuevo Mundo", p. 269.

⁵¹ Erland Nordenskiöld, "Spieltische aus Peru und Ecuador" (Board Games of Peru and Ecuador) Zeitschrift für Ethnologie (Berlin : 1918) : pp. 166-171 ; and idem, An Ethno-Geographical Analysis of the Material Culture of Two Indian Tribes in the Gran Chaco, Comparative Ethnographical Studies (Goteborg : Elanders Boktryckeri Aktielbolag, 1919) : pp. 153-163.

originated from the Inca civilization.

As Nordenskiöld explained, the tsuka game or the chunquanti game played by the Ashluslay and the Choroti Indians linguistically comes from the Quechua word chunca. Whereas they have their specific words to say one, two, three, four, they use Quechua words when these numbers are encountered in the course of the tsuka game.

The author went on observing that the expressions used in the game having remained almost unchanged through centuries, the rules of the game have also very slightly changed.

Nordenskiöld⁵² explained that in the tsuka game played by the Choroti Indians, the holes number 1 and 21 were considered as the homes of the opponents. A representation of the Choroti tsuka board game is presented below :

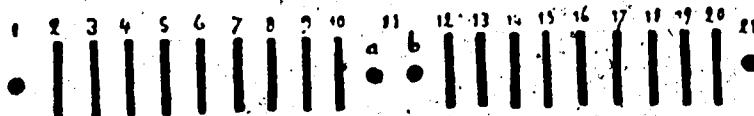


Figure 9 : Choroti tsuka board game drawn in the sand.

In their respective homes, at the beginning of the game, each player placed a little stick as a marker. Players also set their chips or counters called "sheep" in the positions marked 2 to 10 and 12 to 20 respectively. Position number 11 was empty and called lake or river.

⁵² Idem, An Ethno-Geographical Analysis, pp. 153-155.

Four sticks of wood about ten centimetre long were always used as dice to play the tsuka game. An illustration of these dice is provided below :

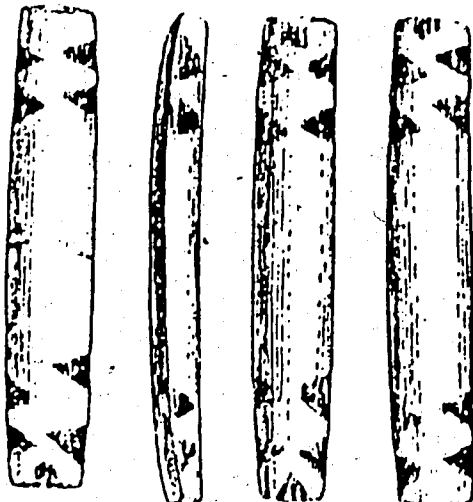


Figure 10 : Wooden sticks for the tsuka game.

The convex sides of the sticks were generally ornamented so that they were recognized easily even with a glance. After each throw, players could count the number of convex sides that had fallen in an upwards position. Two, four, six or eight people could play the game.

Nordénskiöld⁵³ presented the following scoring system :

4	convex	sides	up	counts	4
3	"	"	"	"	0
2	"	"	"	"	1
1	"	side	"	"	0
0	"	"	"	"	2

⁵³ Ibid..

Players took two dice or sticks in each hand and threw them against each other so that they could touch before falling on the ground. The tsuka game rules were such that if player A started and got two convex sides upturned, he moved his little stick or arrow from the position number 1 to the position number 2. Then, if he got four convex sides, he moved it again to the hole number 6, and so on until he threw three or one convex sides upturned for the count of zero points. At this time, it was player B's turn to play until he, too, obtained a count zero. When A or B passed the position number 11 (the river) the player who won the right to place his/her marker or "sheep" in a hole within their opponent's field, was entitled to take the "sheep" or the chip that was in the hole. The goal of the game was to capture all the opponent's "sheep".

After a player had reached the end of the row of holes, (s)he started back towards their own home moving their stick according to the values of the thrown dice. If a player reached their opponent's stick, it was out and had to return back, not to the position number 1 or 21, but to the hole nearest their home where (s)he still had some "sheep" left. When this happened the "sheep" had to be withdrawn from the game. When a player had taken out all of their opponent's "sheep", they next had to win their opponent's stick in order to win the game outright. If a player, during the game, "fell in the water" (that is, they landed on number 11), and could get neither 4, 2, nor 1 points which would enable them to get out, the player had to return their marker to a hole nearest "home" where they still had some "sheep" left.

Finally, if there were only the two sticks left, and that one fell in the water, they had to get out at the next throw of dice, otherwise the game was drawn.

Nordenskiöld⁵⁴ proposed that the original Inca chunca game, similar to the tsuka or chunquanti game of the Chaco region, was played on the Andean boards discovered in archaeological sites in Ecuador and in Peru. Representations of them as well as their geographical repartition are presented in the following pages.

A close resemblance can be observed after an examination of the artifacts. All pieces are very similar to each other with respect to the general design and this, in spite of some structural differences of squares or lines on them, or even of the materials -wood, stone, bone or clay- from which they are made.

In contemporary literature⁵⁵ there were three interpretations of the use of these boards in pre-Columbian times: i) as scale models ; ii) as counter boards ; and iii) as playing boards for games of chance.

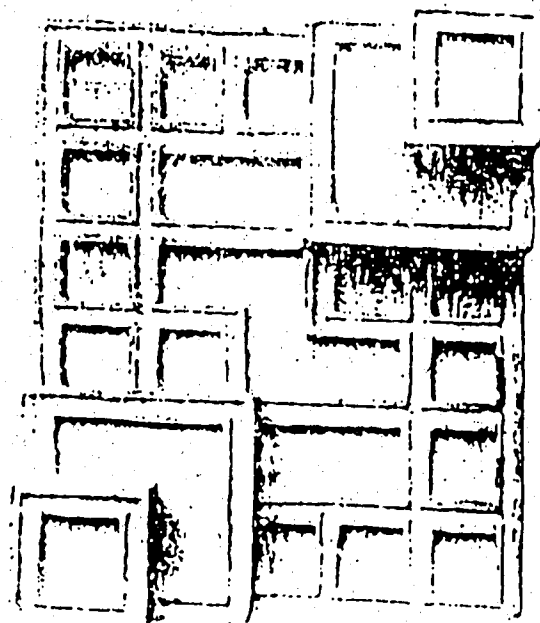
The first hypothesis of a scale model was presented by

⁵⁴ Idem, "Spieltische aus Peru und Ecuador" (Board Games of Peru and Ecuador).

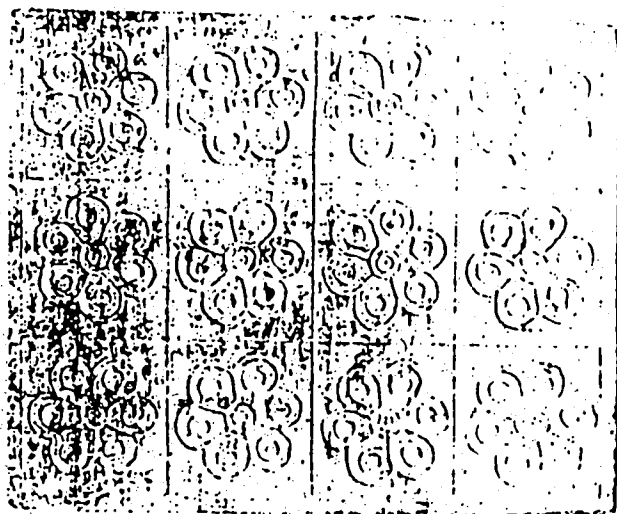
⁵⁵ Carlos Radicati di Primeglio, El Sistema Contable de los Incas (Lima : Libreria Studium, n.d.) : 24 ; and Wendell C. Bennett, "Numbers, Measures, Weights and Calendars", Handbook of South American Indians : Comparative Ethnology of South American Indian, bulletin 143 : 5 (Washington : Bureau of American Ethnology, 1949) : 601-619.

FIGURE 11

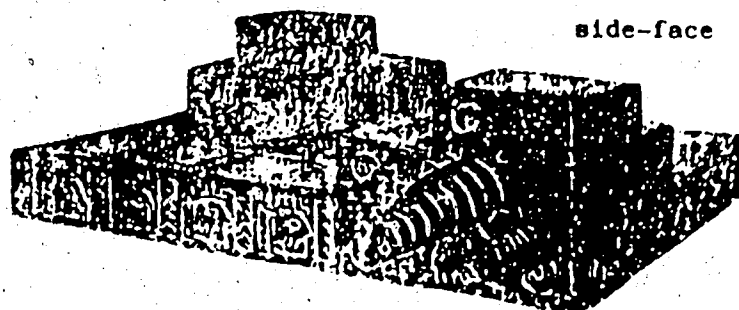
1. BOARD GAME FROM CHORDELEG
(wooden)



from above



under part



side-face

FIGURE 12

2. BOARD GAME FROM ANCASH
(stone)

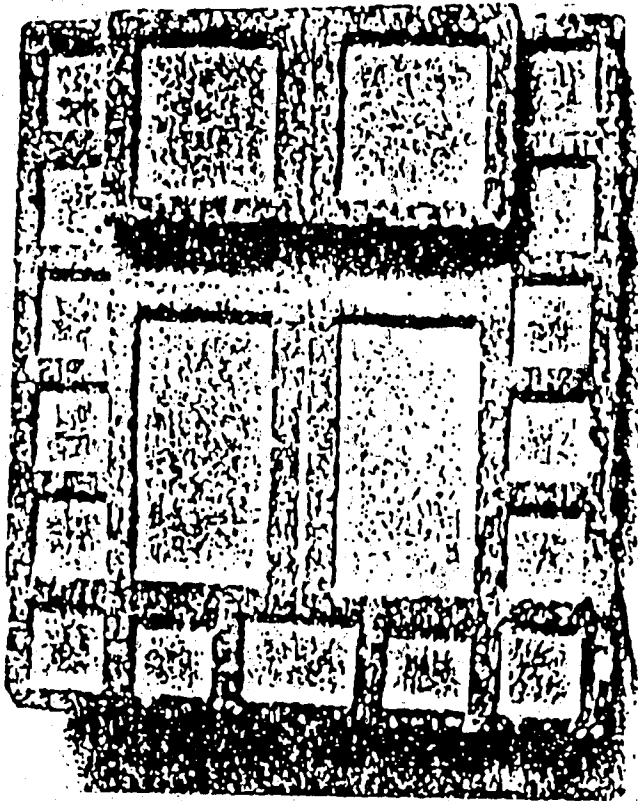
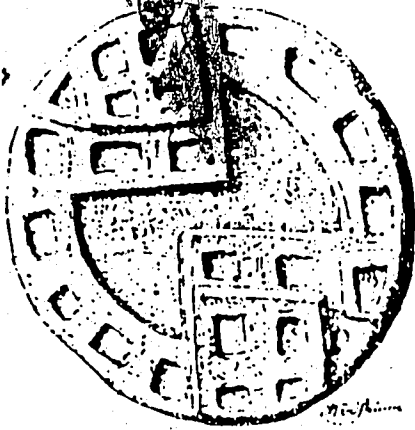


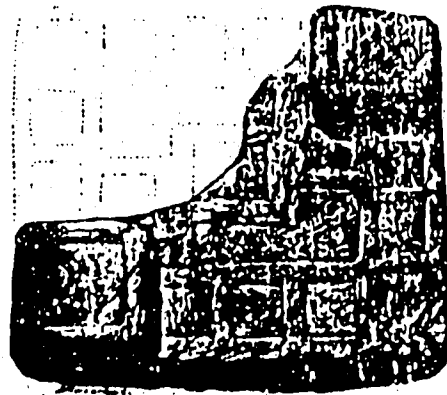
FIGURE 13

11 & 12 & 13. BOARD GAMES

11. From Pachacamac. (Wood)



12. From Caraz. (Stone)

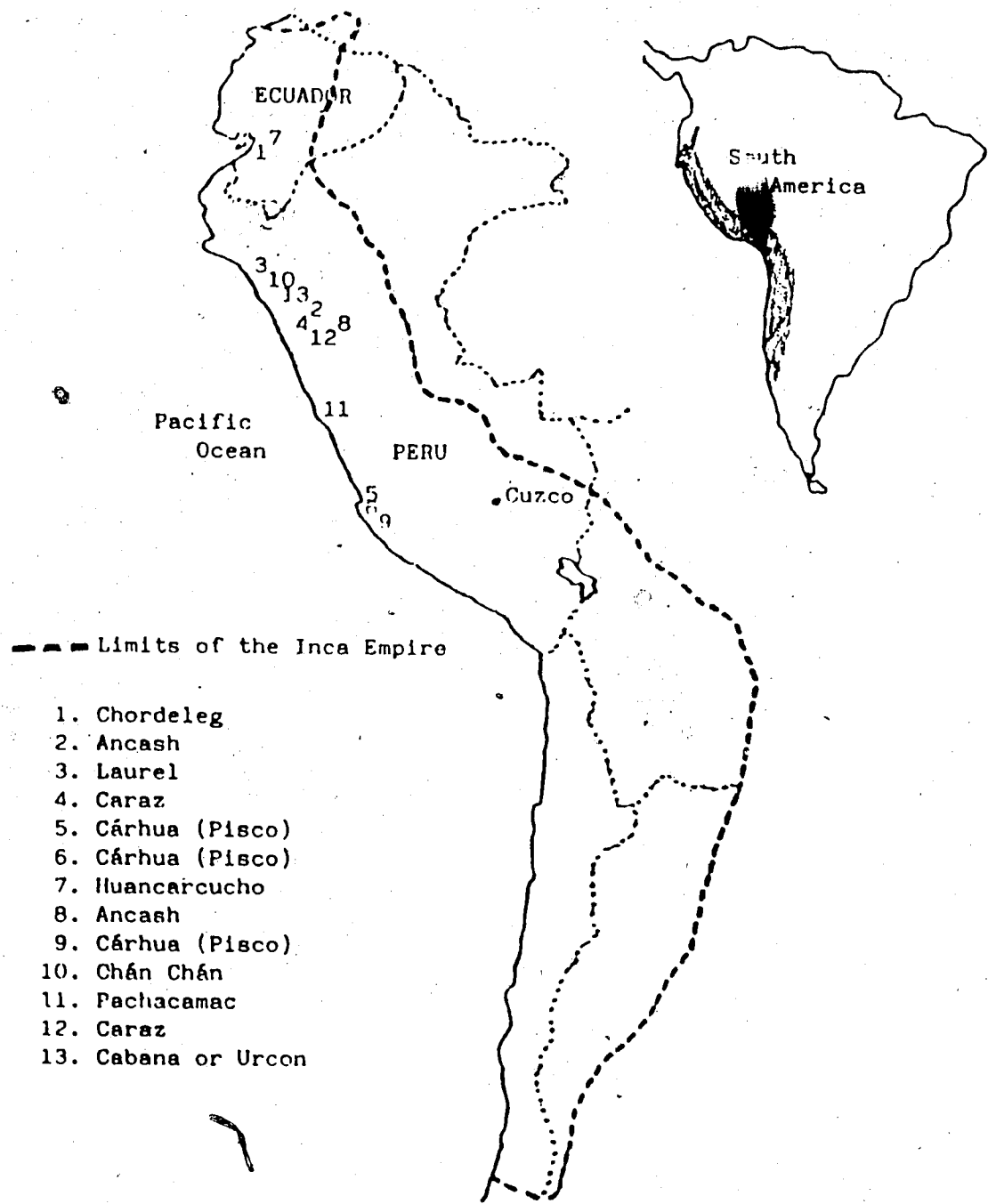


13. From Cabana or Urcon. (Stone)



FIGURE 14

DISTRIBUTION OF BOARD GAMES
IN THE INCA EMPIRE



Adolf Bastian and Federico Gonzalez Suarez⁵⁶ who interpreted the artifact found at Chordeleg and as shown in figure 11 as an architectural representation of a fortress or as a urban plan. This interpretation was soon abandoned when Carlos Wiener⁵⁷ and, later, René Verneau and Paul Rivet⁵⁸ proposed the idea that these boards were used as counters or abacus with small pebbles or kernels of different colors.

According to Wiener's report, which he generated from evidence obtained via oral traditions, these boards were used by the Incas to calculate and apportion the taxes that different ayllus had to pay.

The last hypothesis was supported by Nordenskiöld⁵⁹ who interpreted those same original artifacts as being playing boards for games of chance.

From the description of the tsuka game played by the Choroti Indians, Nordenskiöld⁶⁰ deduced that on the Inca board game presented

⁵⁶ Adolf Bastian, "Aus der Ethnologischen Sammlung Des Königl. Museums zu Berlin", Zeitschrift für Ethnologie IX (1877) : 143-150, and Federico Gonzalez Suarez, Estudio Historico Sobre los Canaris, Antiguos Habitantes de la Provincia del Azuay, en la República del Ecuador (Quito : 1878), cited by Radicati di Primeglio, El Sistema Contable de los Incas, p. 25.

⁵⁷ Carlos Wiener, Pérou et Bolivie (Paris : 1880), cited by Radicati di Primeglio, *ibid.*

⁵⁸ René Verneau and Paul Rivet, Ethnographie Ancienne de l'Equateur, fasc. I (Paris : Musée de l'Homme, 1911-1912) : pp. 244-250.

⁵⁹ Nordenskiöld, "Spieltische aus Peru und Ecuador" (Board Games of Peru and Ecuador) ; and *idem*, An Ethno-Geographical Analysis.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

below the players had their "homes" in A and A1.

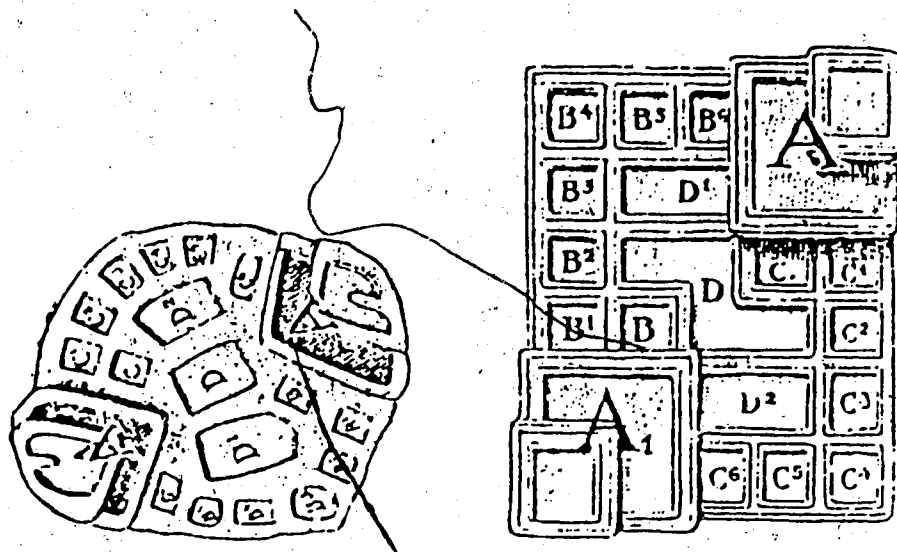


Figure 15 : Andean board games for the hypothesis presented by Nordenskiöld.

The "homes" A and A1 corresponded to the numbers 1 and 21 of the Choroti board game presented in figure 9 ; B, B1, B2, B3 ... corresponded to 2, 3, 4, 5 ..., C, C1, C2, C3 ... to 20, 19, 18, 17 ..., and D, D1, D2 to number 11 or the river.

One common point was that whether the Chacoan Indians drew their board game in the ground or the Incas used a solid board, both types of boards were always symmetrical with respect to the number of squares, positions or divisions. This made the board propitious to play a game.

It is very probable that the chunca game was played on this type of board and the way to play it could have been closely related to that of the tsuka game of the Chacoan Indians.

On the other hand, Karsten⁶¹ did not agree with Nordenskiöld's hypothesis according to which the artifacts found in Ecuador and Peru were playing boards for the Inca chunca game. Although Karsten⁶² underlined that the Choroti Indians used Quechua terms in their shuke game, he sustained that only the leading ideas and the terminology had been kept in this game.

Karsten noted that gambling was always involved in the Choroti Indians' shuke game and that the game was played at a certain time of the year, more precisely in the month of March. He depicted the shuke game as being a magical ceremonial game :

The game is supposed to have the effect of increasing the fruit and making the Indians rich. The Indians believe that at this critical period they can enhance the vegetative power of the useful plants and prevent starving by playing shuke.

Gathering the elements found in this survey of the chunca game, one has to realize that it was difficult to have a precise idea of what the chunca game was like.

As it was found in chronicles and dictionaries, the chunca was a game of chance played on a board, or some space equivalent to it. Pieces or beans of different colors and a die or dice were used by two or more players.

Cobo described a board with five holes graved in it. In the

⁶¹ Karsten, "Ceremonial Games of the South American Indians", pp. 37-38.

⁶² Ibid..

⁶³ Ibid., p. 36.

chuncara game the beans of various colors were moved along the holes according to the values of the thrown die. Cobo did not mention that any gambling was involved in the game, whereas in the dictionaries Santo Tomás and Holguin mentioned that playing for a bet or a stake was part of the game.

All the information tended to classify the chunca game, along with the alquerque, chess, backgammon and draughts, as being subsumed within the war games group.⁶⁴

As it was explained by Nordenskiöld, the strategy of the chunca game was clear. Two or more players tried to win the game by capturing the opponent's pieces. In the Chacoan version of the game, the pieces were called "sheep". In the Andean game, the chunca or chuncara, the colored beans could well have represented animals, crops, clothes or anything else corresponding to wealth.

If it was the case, Wiener's report about the use of the Ecuadorian and Peruvian artifacts is clarified. According to the oral traditions he gathered, the Incas used these boards to calculate and apportion the taxes that the different ayllus had to pay. The paying of tributes in the Inca Empire could have been achieved by relying on the outcome of a game, the chunca. Therefore the chunca game probably fulfilled a function of decision-making.

⁶⁴ Elliot M. Avedon and Brian Sutton-Smith, The Study of Games, (New-York : John Wiley & Sons Inc., 1971) : 402.

Taptana game

Santo Tomás⁶⁵ translated taptana (or comina) with the terms "alquerque, chess or backgammon", and also with the phrase "instrument for game". According to him, the terms taptani.gui (or comini.gui) meant "to play these games".

On the other hand, Holguin⁶⁶ translated taptana as "alquerque" and taptani as "to play this game". The term "alquerque", which was common to Santo Tomás and Holguin's dictionaries, referred to the Latin term of "calcolorum ludus", which means "a kind of play or game somewhat differing from table play".⁶⁷

Holguin indicated that the term Castilla tapana could be translated as "chess", and the term cculluchuncana was also taken to mean "chess" as well as "backgammon". Here, in spite of a different spelling, tapana rather than taptana, the term Castilla tapana was, without any doubt, used by Holguin precisely to distinguish between the Inca taptana game and the Spanish game of chess.

From a chronicle, one can learn that the Incas did not know games such as chess, backgammon and bowling. All these games were introduced at the time of the conquest as it has been attested by the

⁶⁵ Santo Tomás, Vocabulario del Perú.

⁶⁶ Holguin, Vocabulario Quichua.

⁶⁷ Tesoro Lexicográfico (1492-1726) por Samuel Gili Gaya. Consejo Superior de Investigaciones científicas (Madrid : 1960), S.V. "alquerque".

quotation which follows :

The Inca (Manga Inga) was very assimilated and he knew the games that Spaniards played, those being bowling, backgammon and chess.⁶⁸

The contemporary dictionary of Lira⁶⁹ showed that the same Quechua term t'phtana translated into the concept of a "board game with pieces similar to chess or draughts".

The evident confusion around the translation of the Quechua term taptana showed that the Spaniards, in their efforts to achieve an interpretation of this Inca game, somehow compared it to various popular European board games. In spite of this confusion of terms thought to represent, more or less, the Inca taptana game, in all cases the common principle of utilisation seemed to be that of a board game, or some space rapidly drawn, divided in various squares or lines on which players moved pieces or chips of different colors. With regard to the use of chips, Holguin translated the term purichin runacta by the phrase "to play chess pieces, or to move pieces in the alquerque game or to play with them".

Therefore, it seems reasonable to assume that the Inca taptana game was a game of computation played with some pebbles, pieces or

⁶⁸ Francisco de Toledo, "De Vireyes y Gobernadores del Pirú, virey D. Francisco de Toledo", Colección de Documentos Inéditos Relativos al Descubrimiento, Conquista y Organización de las Antiguas Posesiones Españolas de América y Océania Sacados de los Archivos del Reino y Muy Especialmente del de Indias. Tomo VIII (Madrid : Imprenta del Hospicio, 1867 ; Vaduz ; Krauss Reprint Ltd., 1966, pp. 212-293), p. 272.

⁶⁹ Lira, Diccionario Kkechuwa-Español.

some kind of chips of different colors which were moved on a board which was divided into a certain number of squares or lines very similar to our board games such as checkers or chess.

Apart from those dictionaries, only one Spanish chronicle mentioned the taptana game. Murúa wrote that Captain Tupa Amaro went to a temple situated on the large market place of Cuzco called Cusi-Pata, on the other side of the Huatanay River, to meet his brother, king Tupa Inca Yupanqui. There, Tupa Amaro was playing various games with his uncles, as well as with other noblemen of the empire, the orejones :

Tupa Amaro Ynga, our prince, was son of Pachacutec Ynga who, being captain during his father's time, subdued so much lands, that he proved to be of royal blood. He was valorous, careful and wise, so, as his brother Tupa Ynga Yupanqui was on the seat of mama Huanunca, it seemed wrong to him to let his brother in so much illness and danger ; and when he went with him, and the time passed away from Cuzco he practised some games, and in particular the one called atapta, which is like backgammon. And this not less than with his uncles orejones and other important noblemen, so free of pain and apart from all love accidents, that youth did not seem to be in him.⁷⁰

Murúa compared a game called atapta, to the game of backgammon, without specifying how to play it. He pointed out that several games

⁷⁰ Fray Martin de Murúa, Historia General del Perú. Origen y Dependencia de los Incas donde se Trata, assi de las Guerras Civiles Ingas, como de la Entrada de los Españoles. Descripción de las Ciudades y Lugares del, con Otras Cosas Notables. (1616 ?) 2 vols. Introducción y notas Manuel Ballesteros-Gaibrois, Colección Joyas Bibliograficas. Biblioteca Americana Vetus (Madrid : Instituto Gonzato Fernandez de Oviedo, 1962), 2 : 12.

were practised by the nobility and especially the one called taptana.

It was interesting to note that in the original Spanish text, the author used the verb se ejercitó, which was translated in English by "he practised" this game, instead of simply saying "he played". One could wonder whether this idea of practice was only an error on the part of Murúa or, on the contrary, whether he tried to express the seriousness of the situation in which the taptana game was played by the Inca nobility by stating that time was set aside so that the skills fundamental to the game could be practised. Perhaps the taptana game was part of a ritual that had to be performed publicly and such a performance needed preparation.

The fact that this game was played, among others, in a temple situated on the Cusi-Pata, the market place of Cuzco, had surely a certain importance. However, no explanation could be found so far.

As it has been shown, the taptana game was played on a board, or some space equivalent to it, which was marked with squares or lines. The fact that this game was compared to chess, backgammon and alquerque can lead to the conclusion that pieces, beans or chips of different colors were used in the game. These pieces that each player had at the beginning of the game were certainly moved on the board and the strategy was to capture the opponent's pieces according to the value got by a thrown die or dice. Although there was no evidence of the use of a die, it could be conceived as a means to indicate how to move the pieces like in the game of backgammon.

Tacanaco game

The only reference to the tacanaco game was from Cobo. He wrote :

Another type of game was named tacanaco and was played with the same die and beans of various colors, as in the game of backgammon.⁷¹

Cobo compared the tacanaco game to the backgammon as it had been the case for the taptana game. Each player had a set of beans and moved them according to the values obtained on the throw of a die. Then one can suppose that the tacanaco game was also played on a board.

It is noticeable that, according to him, the Indians used "the same die". Was it the same die as the pisca die ? It must be so, because Cobo, before describing the tacanaco game in the above excerpt, had just talked about the pisca game. He wrote that "the same die" was used in the pisca and the tacanaco games.

No more information about the tacanaco game were found in chronicles or in dictionaries.

Apaytalla game

After having quoted the pisca, the chuncara and the tacanaco games, Cobo⁷² wrote that the apaytalla was a less important kind of game without giving any further information. He did not explain why he

⁷¹ Cobo, "Historia del Nuevo Mundo", p. 270.

⁷² Ibid..

considered some games as more important.

In another chronicle an extensive description of this game was given. Unfortunately, there were important grammatical problems with respect to the translation which made the comprehension of the original text unclear. Martin de Morúa wrote :

This name of Anahuarque is the proper name of Pachacuti Inga Yupanqui's spouse, for she had asked to build this site and place, where they say she had invented during recreations a game called apaitalla by the Indians ; it is a variety of round beans of various types and names, and set in the ground with the head up from which the beans get loose, and the one of them that goes ahead and makes noise, wins more over the others ; it is with their strips and arches in the kind of furrows, and they have their particular names, the game as it is, apaitallana and others, so the auquis, who are princes, children of Ingas, played this game....⁷³

This description of the apaytalla game was puzzling. This text had been reproduced in three different editions and the interpretation of them was distorted by differences in their punctuations, their grammatical forms of the verbs and by the occasional absence of the subject or object to the verbs.

In the clause "...and set in the ground with the head up from which the beans get loose,..." it is important to note that there was neither a subject nor an object to the verb "set" ("hizo" in Spanish). As Constantino Bayle⁷⁴ suggested in his notes, it is possible that

⁷³ Morúa, Los Orígenes de los Incas, p. 61.

⁷⁴ Murúa, Historia del Origen y Genealogía Real de los Reyes Incas del Perú, pp. 137-138.

Morúa was speaking here of a table on which was set a board game from which the beans could actually spill free or "get loose". The table was possibly inclined with the head of the table being uppermost in comparison with the rest. The beans could then roll on it.

The same remark could be made about the clause "...it is with their strips and arches..." where the pronoun "it" could have referred to the formation of the board on which the game was played.

A difference of punctuation in the Madrid edition of this text resulted in a change in the interpretation of another sentence. Whereas the above translation ran : "...and the one of them that goes ahead and makes noise, wins more over the others ; ...", Madrid edition could be translated by : "...and the one of them that goes ahead and is the noisiest, wins over the others ; ...".⁷⁵ In this case, the fact that the beans made more noise than other objects was important to win. It would appear that the comparison concerned more the sound that beans made as compared with the amount of winnings that accrued.

Another observation could be made about the verb "to have" in the following sentence from the translation given above : "...and they have their particular names, ...". In the other two editions,⁷⁶ the verb "to have" was in the singular form which implied that the subject was

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 138.

⁷⁶ Ibid. ; and Fray Martin de Morúa, Historia del Origen y Genealogia de los Reyes Incas del Perú, de Sus Hechos, Costumbres, Trajes y Manera de Gobierno (1590) con prólogos de D. Horacio H. Urteaga y D. Carlos A. Romero. Colección de Libros y Documentos Referentes a la Historia del Perú 2° serie, Tomo IV (Lima : 1922) : 95.

singular. Therefore, according to them, it was the game itself that had different names rather than the furrows on the board as the text quoted above suggested.

In the literature⁷⁷ a representation of ceramic from the Moche culture, presented below, showed people portrayed as animals who were playing a game.

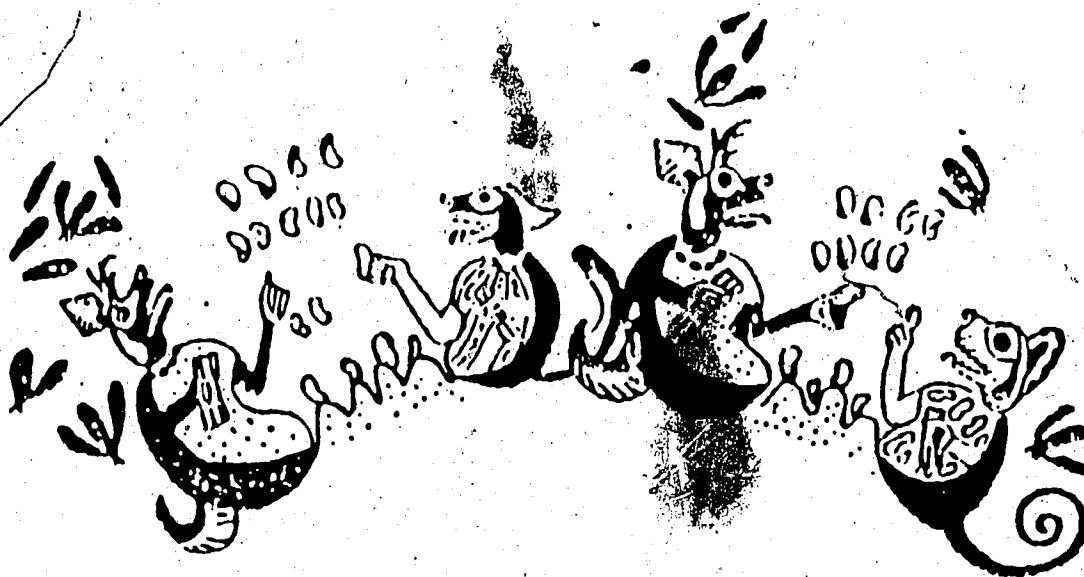


Figure 16 : A fragment of ceramic from the Moche culture.

Emilia Romero⁷⁸ interpreted this ceramic as an illustration of

⁷⁷ Emilia Romero, Juegos del Antiguo Perú. Contribución a una Historia del Juego en el Perú (Mexico : Ediciones Llama, 1943), pp. 23-25.

⁷⁸ Ibid..

the apaytalla game.

On the piece of pottery, the scene depicts beans with different markings, being flipped in the air before falling on a strange gaming board, the aspects of which bring to mind furrows in the ground. Each player holds in one hand a certain number of sticks. These sticks most probably served as dice. This idea of sticks being used as dice was illustrated by another piece of pottery⁷⁹ presented below on which a group of six sticks was thrown in the air by the player on the extreme left.

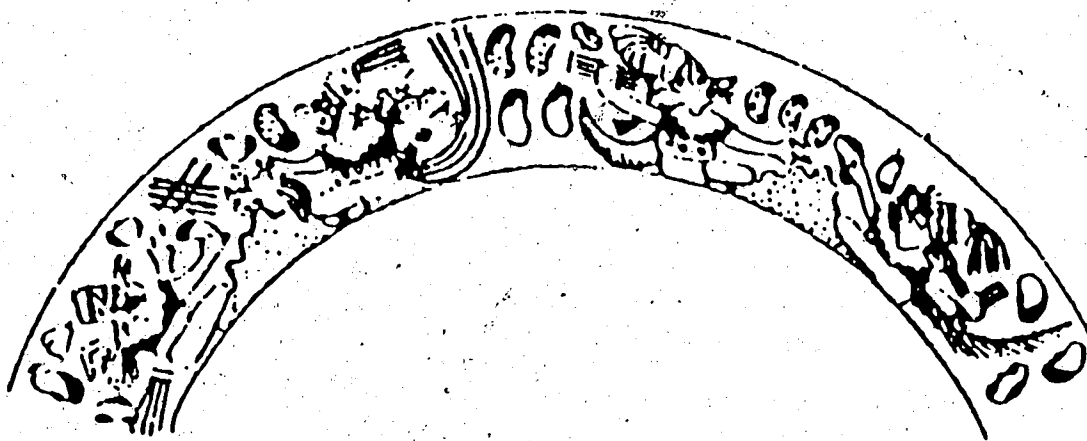


Figure 17 : A fragment of ceramic from the Moche culture.

It was noticeable that if these scenes represented the apaytalla

⁷⁹ Radicati di Primeglio, El Sistema Contable de los Incas,
p. 23.

game, it was the first time that the use of dice was mentioned.

It was very difficult to ascertain with confidence the real nature of the apaytalla game. It was even more difficult to be clear as to the way the Incas played the game. From the texts, in which there were some areas of agreement, the game had been invented by Queen Anahuarque, wife of Pachacuti Inca, at a site called Anahuarque, near Cuzco. The game was played with beans of various kinds and names. The beans were probably released from an elevated starting point on a board which was slightly inclined, and those beans which made the greatest noise and rolled ahead of the others were declared the "winners". The particularity of the board was that the lines and arcs, etched like furrows into the board and in which the beans were caught up or slid on, had different names. It was also determined that this game was very popular among the auquis, who were the male children of the Inca nobility.

It was obvious when reading chronicles and dictionaries that games of chance were frequently played amongst the Incas.

The Spaniards often compared these original Indian games to various popular European board games as chess, backgammon, draughts and even to card games.

Games of chance were part of everyday life and played an important role in the Inca society. They were so much part of their lives that the artifacts used in games were sometimes considered as personal belongings and sacred objects which were transmitted through generations.

Most games of chance were played with beans, stones, pebbles or kernels of different colors which were moved on boards of special designs according to the points indicated on a die, or dice. Whereas it was very difficult, if not impossible, to figure out what the rules of these games were, it was easier to understand the social function of games of chance.

As it has been noted, most games of chance fulfilled divisive or divinatory purposes in the Inca society. Gambling almost always occurred in these games. This gambling situation created by games and described in contemporary literature served essentially as a decision-making process for the distribution of goods or the sharing of an inheritance.

When they were played for divinatory purposes, games of chance were a form of seeking guidance from the gods. In this sense, they were also part of a decision-making process in that respect that the Indians adapted their behaviors according to the answers obtained from the games.

In the next section, a presentation of various games with physical skill characteristics will be provided.

Chroniclers of the Inca Empire have emphasized physical games with skill, strength and endurance testings. Competitions included wrestling, running, jumping and throwing weapons such as spears, darts, bolas, slings, arrows and so forth.

These physical competitions or tests of strength and ability with various weapons took place mainly during festivals and served as

a means to select the strongest and the most skillful young men. These games also served as military training for the soldiers.

By these tests, the best performers were acknowledged and granted privileged ranks in the army or in the Inca society.

In this sense, these physical games could be seen as a part of a decision-making process. The decision as to who would be accepted into the ranks of the knights or who would be honored. A distribution of goods was also achieved by means of physical games.

Games with Physical Skill
Characteristics

Ayllus game

The Quechua word ayllus (sometimes noted in Aymara terms as llivi, rihui or riui) was considered to be descriptive of a form of offensive arms consisting of three round stones sewn up in leather, and each fastened to a cord a meter long. Holding one of the balls, smaller and more elongated than the others, and giving a rotative movement to the ayllus, the Indians threw these balls, which spread out their three cords, increasing their rotative speed until they coiled around the object or the target at which the thrower had hurled his ayllus. It is easy to imagine that this weapon was effective in hunting and war. It was called bolas by the Spaniards and might consist of one, two or three stone balls.

In ancient Peru, bolas or ayllus were used mainly by the Aymara Indians, but they were also adopted by the Quechua Indians as is evidenced in the following citation from Guzman :

These Indians are so expert in the use of this weapon that they will bring down a deer with it in the chase.⁸⁰

Avila wrote that this arm was also used in games :

Here in Macacalla, on a certain day, some men were playing with rihui (a small rock tied with a rope) and others were drinking....⁸¹

⁸⁰ Guzman, Life and Acts of Guzman, p. 101.

⁸¹ Avila, Dioses y Hombres de Huarochiri, p. 151.

Poma de Ayala⁸² mentioned that the riui, the bolas, was played by the nobility during the Inca raymi. The Inca raymi was one of the most important festivals of the Inca calendar. It was held in April, at a time when the harvest had matured. Unfortunately, neither Avila, nor Poma de Ayala gave a description of the game, nor did they explain why it was played "on a certain day," or during the festival of raymi.

Cobb noted that the ayllus were used in ritual games during another important festival called warachikuy :

The great love that the Inca had for the Lady Guayro, required that he would find a way to leave some possessions to his son. Then, with this goal, the youth being old enough to be an armed knight, the Inca introduced among the nobles of his court the ayllos game, which before was only of the Colla nations ; and so, coming the guarachico festival, in which his son had to be armed knight with other sons of important nobles, the Inca asked of the ones of the council that, in order to give more solemnity to the festival, he would like to play with his son for some communities of his estate. To please him, they permitted what he was asking and they answered that the king could play all he wanted. They appointed judges and seconds for the game and for more authority during the festival, permission was given by the king that the nobles who wanted could ~~get~~ in the game ; and it was the law that they had to play jewels or precious belongings, or a certain quantity of gold or silver. When the day came, the nobles started the game and lastly the king and his son joined them. The king, so brave and skilful in this game, was doing marvels with his ayllos, and the young man was not negligent, on the contrary he played with so much skill, that in

⁸² Poma de Ayala, La Nueva Crónica y Buen Gobierno, pp. 170-171.

a short time he won his father's winnings and he asked the judges to give them to him. The judges, astonished and suspecting that it was abnormal that the king had lost, wished that the game was started over again; but the son refused, if first he was not given what he had won. Finally the judges' idea was accepted, they promised to give him what he asked for if the game went on. Father and son went back to play and the son was so lucky, that he won for the second time. Those of the council did not allow the game to go on, because the young man could win all the state over his father. The judges asked him what he wanted as gain, and the young man asked for the province of Urcosuyu, and so he was given its five villages: Nuñoa, Oruro, Asillo, Asangaro and Pucará; and these villages are called Aylluscas, in memory of this story.⁸³

This story provided several important insights into the game structure of the people who lived under the Inca rule. First, it became increasingly clear that the game structure was sufficiently well formulated, systematized and organized that a mechanism of naming referees or judges was in place and that the decisions taken by these judges were held as inviolate. Second, it would seem that it was the exception for the Inca or his family to enter directly into the festival contests. Third, the contests were associated with important festivals and might, therefore, have had a link to the gods and goddesses whom they worshipped. Fourth, wagering was an accepted practice, more than that it was a law.

Another important point presented in this text was that the ayllus game was not of Inca origin but had been borrowed from the

⁸³ Cobo, "Historia del Nuevo Mundo", pp. 86-87.

Collao nations who were settled in the altiplano area around the Titicaca Lake.

The judges of the game, called caminchic, pampaçami -"the judge of the game named by everybody", or çami apu -"the judge of the game for the doubts",⁸⁴ were not convinced of the king's fair play. Through the game and according to what he promised one of his wives, Lady Guayro, he found a way to give his son part of his possessions.

Cobo suggested that the Inca's son won over his father only because the king Tupa Inca Yupanqui lost on purpose in order to give away some possessions to his son. An idea of distribution or redistribution through the ayllus game was then clearly presented in Cobo's quotation. The ayllus game played the role of an incontestable decision-making process.

Related to the same idea of the allotment of possessions by means of a game, Cristobal de Albornoz wrote :

... of the machacuay (a snake) they use today in their festivals and taquies (dance) playing a game of ayllar that the Inca played in ancient times, throwing in the air this figure of snake made of wool ; and those who competed threw their illos (ayllus) which three strands of rope made of nerves of skins of animals, and at the extremities balls of lead. At this game the Inca won a lot of provinces over the guacas whom had already been given them. And the camayos of the guacas, permitted that they played these provinces with the Inca for others; and they deliberately lost. And after the Inca won by this game, he pleased the guacas and

⁸⁴ Holguin, Vocabulario Qquichua.

camayos by giving them other lands and herds and other services. Lots of lands were won by the machacuay in this game of ayllar.⁸⁵

While in Cobo's text, no description of the way to play the ayllus game was provided, after reading Albornoz's quotation it became clear that the game consisted in throwing the ayllus in the air in order to capture a false snake called machacuay.

In this game, the Inca king was competing with people in authority in the province : the camayocs or the curacas and the representatives of the huacas (the gods).

It was quite surprising to note that the outcome of the competition was known in advance, for the people in authority "deliberately" let the king win the ayllus game. It was interesting to realize that according to Cobo's text, the judges stopped the ayllus game because they suspected the king to deliberately lose, and thereby publicly transfer the province of Urcosuyu to his son.

The Inca king was always supposed to win the game, and then, he allotted "lands, herds and other services" to the religious domain, and to the community. This repartition of a certain territory illustrated the division into three parts of each ayllu or province.

The ayllus game was then a technique used for the redistribution of properties where the exchange could be seen by wider segments of the population and the knowledge of the exchange thereby recognized

⁸⁵ Cristobal de Albornoz, "Instrucción"/ cited by Reiner Tom Zuidema, "El Juego de los Ayllus y el Amaru", Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris tome LVI-I (1967) : 41.

publicly.

For Tom R. Zuidema⁸⁶ the ayllus game illustrated the social and political organization of the Incas. As he interpreted, this game structure reflected a fight between conquerors and conquered groups in which the first were inevitably the winners.

For Zuidema the Inca king may have used this game to decide which huacas should be reinstated or to whom he accorded favors. The game confirmed the rank and the privilege of the Inca or of a noble over peoples of certain villages or nations of the Inca Empire. If this relationship did, in fact, exist it is not impossible to surmise, as Zuidema noted, that when a new king was established, the new hierarchical order was legitimated by the ayllus game in order to resolve the important problem of redistribution of ranks and possessions.

Pucllay game

Santo Tomás⁸⁷ wrote that pucllay was "a game of pleasure, amusement, fun" and that puclla meant "to fight or to battle". This relationship between play and fighting was more obvious in the word pucllani.gui that Santo Tomás translated by the double action of "to play" and also "to fight".

⁸⁶ Zuidema, "El Juego de los Ayllus y el Amaru", pp. 41-51.

⁸⁷ Santo Tomás, Vocabulario del Perú.

In his Quechua grammar of Peru, Santo Tomás⁸⁸ maintained as well that the general sense of pucllay signified "to play", noting with a certain surprise that the Peruvians considered a pucllaycamayoc as a professional "player". Moreover, according to him, two other words translated the term "player" : pucllacoc and missanacoc.⁸⁹

Later on, Santo Tomás reinforced this relation of the verbs "to fight" and "to play" by writing various synonymous expressions with the phrase "to play with others" : pucllacuni.gui, pucllanacuni.gui, missacuni.gui or missanacuni.gui ; and for synonyms with the verb "to fight" the various following Quechua words, among which are some translating the idea of play : pucllanacuni.gui, aucanacuni.gui, pucllacuni.gui, aucacuni.gui or sucacuni.gui.⁹⁰ One can note that two different, if not opposed, concepts, 'to play' and 'to fight', were translated by the same words or at least the same root puclla-.

In Holguin's dictionary⁹¹ the word pukllay, (a slight difference of spelling), meant "any type of public festivities, to entertain oneself" ; and pukllani, pukllaccuni : "to amuse oneself, to pass time doing games of pleasure, and to joke".

No reference to the idea of "fighting" was found in Holguin's

⁸⁸ Santo Tomás, Grammatica o Arte de la Lengua General de los Indios de los Reynos del Perú, (1560) ed. Facsimilar del Instituto de Historia, con un prólogo por Raúl Porras Barrenechea (Lima : Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 1951) : 169.

⁸⁹ Idem, Vocabulario del Perú.

⁹⁰ Ibid..

⁹¹ Holguin, Vocabulario Qquichua.

treatment of the word pukllay by itself. Nevertheless, Holguin translated the expression pukllay pakmi yachachicuni by the phrase "to practise for game or war". In this expression one can find as in Santo Tomás's dictionary, both the concepts "to play" and "to fight".

It was interesting to observe the different senses given to the word missanacuni : in Santo Tomás's dictionary, it was synonymous with pucllacuni.gui -"to play or to fight", whereas Holguin, in his dictionary, translated this Quechua word as "to bet or to play game in order to win something". Holguin gave various other words formed with the Quechua root missa- as : missani, missacuni -"to win a game or wagers", missanacuni -"to stake, to bet" and cutichiyak missanacuni -"to play to recover a debt".

Apart from the expression which meant "to practise for some game or war" (pukllay pakmi yachachicuni), it is important to note that the play-fight relationship has been lost in Holguin's dictionary, and replaced by the idea of gambling.

In the chronicles, the only reference to the Quechua word puella, which can be assumed as a misspelling of puclla, has been given by

Father Joseph de Acosta :

... In Peru I saw a type of fight done in game, in which so much competition exploded between the groups, that the puella, as they called it, became very dangerous.⁹²

⁹² Joseph de Acosta, Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias (1590), ed. Edmundo O'Gorman (Mexico : Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1940) : 507.

This quotation implies a relationship between a game form and battle in the pucllay game as it has been underlined in Santo Tomás's dictionary.

Whereas Father Acosta was the unique chronicler to name the pucllay game, various authors mentioned ritual battles wherein the descriptions were identical to the structure of this game. Cobo presented information on a ritual battle, played during the celebration of camay, in which young men were armed as knights :

... on the day of the new moon of this month, those who had to be armed knights were coming to the public square with new clothes, black shirts, brown capes and white feathers, and with their slings in their hands, they divided into two groups, one from Hanancuzco, and the other one from Hurincuzco, and they threw at each other certain fruit such as tunas, which we called pitahayas. They came several times hand to hand to prove their strength, until the Inca rose and put them at peace. They did that so that the most valiant and strongest would be known.⁹³

The pucllay ritual battle opposed two groups on the central square of Cuzco, the capital of the Inca Empire. These two groups, one from Hanancuzco (the upper part) and the other from Hurincuzco (the lower part), represented the social moiety division of Cuzco. The fighters were throwing fruit with their slings probably in order not to kill the opponents. This ceremonial battle was performed under the supervision of the Inca king. The purpose of this mock-battle was to determine the most valiant and strongest knights.

⁹³ Cobo, "Historia del Nuevo Mundo", pp. 212-213.

Christobal de Molina, "el cuzqueño", in an earlier chronicle, described a somewhat similar mock-battle calling it chocanaco instead of pucllay :

... on the first of the month [december camay quilla], those who had been armed as knights, as well those of the lineage of Hanan Cuzco as of Hurin Cuzco, came out into the square, with slings in their hands called huaraca, and the youths of Hanan Cuzco hurled against those of Hurin Cuzco ; their missiles were called coco, which are found on certain thistles. At times they came to close quarters, to prove the muscles of their arms ; until the Ynca, who was present, rose up and restored order. They called this chocanaco, and it was a trial of strength, to see who were the strongest and bravest. Afterwards, they all sat down according to their lineages, the new knights being dressed in black shirts, and mantles of a lion colour. They also wore plumes of white feathers on their heads, from a bird called tocto.⁹⁴

Here again, the same competition between the upper and lower moieties of Cuzco took place. From the description of the ceremony, chocanaco and pucllay seemed to be one and the same mock-battle from which new knights would be selected according to their strength.

Poma de Ayala, writing about the festival of camay Inca raymi held in April, mentioned a game called choca :

All the month the principal noblemen played the game -deriui - choca - at uayro de ynaca - pichica of hilancula and of chalcochima, they play other games and festivities that all the

⁹⁴ Christobal de Molina, "The Fables and Rites of the Yncas", (1584 ?) Narratives of the Rites and Laws of the Yncas, trans. Clements R. Markham (London : The Hakluyt Society, 1873, pp. 1-64) : 47.

empire plays during this month of April Ynca
Raymi.⁹⁵

Poma de Ayala named various games, unfortunately without describing them, one of which he called choca which is semantically close to chocanaco. Luis Bustios Galvez,⁹⁶ in his presentation of Poma de Ayala's work, added that the choca consisted in throwing something at one another. In Holguin's dictionary⁹⁷ the words chocachacuy pucllay were translated by the phrase "the hitting or stroke given with balls of earth or ashes". One can assume that, like in chocanaco and pucllay, the participants were throwing fruit or balls of earth or ashes.

Whereas Cobo and Molina indicated that ritual mock-battles occurred in December during the warachikuy festival, Poma de Ayala specified that the choca was held in April during the camay Inca raymi festival. Could it mean that these ritual mock-battles took place several times a year?

Garcilaso de la Vega wrote that these ritual battles were held at the fortress of Sacsahuaman, near Cuzco, during the warachikuy festival :

The next day they were divided into two equal bands. One group was bidden to remain in the fortress, while the other sallied forth, and they were required to fight one against the other, the second group to conquer the fort and the first defending it. After fighting thus for the whole day, they changed sides on

⁹⁵ Poma de Ayala, La Nueva Crónica y Buen Gobierno, p. 420.

⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 170.

⁹⁷ Holguin, Vocabulario Qquichua.

the morrow, the defenders becoming the attackers so that they could all display their agility and skill in attacking or defending strongholds. In such struggles the weapons were blunted so that they were less formidable than in real warfare; nevertheless, there were severe casualties which were sometimes fatal, for the will to win excited them to the point of killing one another.⁹⁸

In this quote, Garcilaso de la Vega did not mention whether the two groups were those of Hanancuzco and Hurincuzco. He pointed out that the groups were attackers and defenders by turns of the fortress of Sacsahuaman, playing a kind of war game. The author wrote that this training was performed with blunt weapons. However, the participants were so involved in the game that sometimes some of them were killed.

According to Cobo, Molina and Garcilaso de la Vega, these ritual mock-battles were performed as part of the important festival of warachikuy in which adolescent initiations ceremonies for the sons of the nobility were used to select future leaders and to socialize them.

Contemporary researchers⁹⁹ have come to the conclusion that

⁹⁸ Garcilaso de la Vega, Royal Commentaries, p. 367.

⁹⁹ Leslie Ann Brownrigg, "El Papel de los Ritos de Pasaje en la Integración Social de los Canaris Quichuas del Austral Ecuatoriano", Actas y Memorias del XXXIX Congreso Internacional de Americanistas vol. 6 (1972) : 92-99 ; Carmen Muñoz et al., "Batallas Rituales del Chiaraje y del Tocto de la Provincia de Kanas (Cuzco)", Revista del Museo Nacional tomo XXXI (1962) : 245-304 ; Rosewith Hartmann, "Otros Datos sobre las Llamadas Batallas Rituales", Actas y Memorias del XXXIX Congreso Internacional de Americanistas vol. 6 (1972) : 125-135 ; Idem, "Mas Noticias sobre el 'Juego del Pucara'", Anthropos Institute. Collectanea 20 (1978) : 202-218 ; Alfonsina Barrionuevo, "Chiaraje", Allpanchis Phuturinga vol. III (1971) : 79-84 ; and Diane Elizabeth Hopkins, "Play of Enemies : The Interpretation of a 1772 Ritual Battle in Southern Peru from Historical and Symbolic Perspectives", Paper Presented to the XLIII Congress of Americanists Vancouver, Canada (August 1979) : 28 pages, paper obtained from the author.

ritual battles, still performed nowadays in certain Andean regions, are of Inca origin. All of these researchers have hypothesized that their function was either to underline the group's cohesion and identification, or to carry out rites of passage, or to promote the growth of the crops, or, more important, to demarcate boundaries between different ethnic groups. One could wonder whether the Inca ritual mock-battles fulfilled these functions in the Inca society.

In the Inca time, apart from these ritual battles, other physical competitions or tests of strength took place during festivals and served as a means to select the strongest and the most skilful young men.

Huaycachani foot race

According to Holguin,¹⁰⁰ huaycachani in Quechua is "to run". During the Inca warachikuy initiations, the foot race was an important competition to discover which candidates were the strongest.

Molina gave the following description of the race :

They came to a hill called Anahuarqui, which is two leagues from Cuzco, to the huaca of the same name on the top of the hill, which was the huaca of the Indians of the villages of Choco and Cachona. The reason why they went to this huaca to perform a sacrifice was that, on this day, they had to run a race, to try which was the best runner.

... then the youthful knights stood in a row

¹⁰⁰ Holguin, Vocabulario Quichua.

before the huaca of Anahuarqui, and behind them there was a second row of men, who served as arm bearers. These carried the yauris (sceptre) and sticks in their hands ; and in their rear was yet a third row, whose duty it was to aid those who fell. In front of all these was an Indian, very gaily dressed, who gave the word. On hearing it they all began to run at full speed and with all their force. Those who fell were assisted by the men in the rear, but some died of the falls. Those who reached the goal received drink for the maidens and they drank as they ran. The object of this race was to prove who was the best of those who had received knighthood.¹⁰¹

This foot race allowed to acknowledge the best runner(s) among the group of young men who had been granted knighthood. The run was held from the top of a hill called Anahuarqui which was a sacred place, a huaca. In the competition, each runner represented his lineage and the race was well organized and structured. A man was assigned to be the starter, a first row of men carried the respective arms of the participants and a second row assisted the ones who fell during the race. It seems that the run, being performed downhill, was a rather dangerous event for some competitors could fall and even die in it.

Another chronicler, Juan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui

Salcamayhua explained :

Afterwards, in the visit of Itaripanaca to the people, he admitted (Manco Ccapac) a great number of youths aged from seventeen to eighteen among the number of men and soldiers, giving them white breeches. He marked out a line to a high and very distant hill, called Huanacauri, and he ordered to be placed on the hill a falcon,

¹⁰¹ Molina, "The Fables and Rites of the Yncas", pp. 41-42.

a humming bird, a vulture, an ostrich (suri), a vicuña, an anatuya (fox), a serpent, a toad. It was announced that these birds and animals had been placed there so that these boys and youths might run to them and show the qualities of their swiftness or sluggishness. The swift received as rewards the huarachicuy and ccamantiras (ccamantira are the small bright feathers that birds have under the beak), and the sluggish were given black breeches.¹⁰²

From this quote, one can learn that the Inca king Manco Capac organized a foot race in a certain ayllu outside of Cuzco, called Itaripanaca. This foot race, one of the warachikuy tests, was held to select among young men between seventeen and eighteen the ones who would become knights. The Inca king ordered that some animals would be placed on a hill called Huanacauri where the finishing post was.

One can wonder if these different animals represented the different lineages of the competitors or if the winners were to take their names so that the runners would be recognized later on as a falcon, a humming bird and so forth.

Garcilaso de la Vega wrote about this selective foot race competition :

As a test they were made to run from the hill called Huanacauri, which they regarded as sacred, to the fortress of the city (Sacsahuaman), which must be a distance of nearly a league and a half. At the fortress a pennant or banner was set up as a finishing post, and whoever reached it first was elected

¹⁰² Juan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamayhua, "An Account of the Antiquities of Peru", (1620) Narratives of the Rites and Laws of the Yncas, trans. Clements R. Markham (London : The Hakluyt Society, 1873, pp. 65-121) : 80.

captain over the rest. Those who arrived second, third, fourth, and down to the tenth fastest were also held in great honor, while those who flagged or fainted on the course were disgraced and eliminated.¹⁰³

Garcilaso de la Vega described this foot race as being one of the tests of the warachikuy festival. The future knights had to come out of different trials such as the pucllay mock-battle and the foot race in which there was a severe competition among them.

The author mentioned that this foot race took place from the hill of Huanacauri to the fortress of Sacsahuaman, a distance of about six kilometers, where a finishing post had been set up.

The fastest runner was awarded the rank of captain over the others, and the other first ten runners were honored. Here, Garcilaso de la Vega clearly stated that a selection was achieved by means of a foot race and that a hierarchy among the knights was established. Therefore a decision-making process occurred through physical tests.

Other chroniclers¹⁰⁴ referred to this kind of ritual foot race

¹⁰³ Garcilaso de la Vega, Royal Commentaries, p. 367.

¹⁰⁴ Juan de Betanzos, "Suma y Narracion de los Incas que los Indios Llamaron Capaccuna que Fueron Señores de la Ciudad del Cuzco y de Todo lo a Ella Subjeto", (1551) Biblioteca de Autores Españoles tomo 209, ed. Francisco Esteve Barba, Crónicas Peruanas de Interés Indígena (Madrid : Real Academia Española, 1968) : 94 ; Pedro de Cieza de León, The Incas (1551), trans. Harriet de Onis, ed. and introduction by Victor Wolfgang Von Hagen (Norman : University of Oklahoma Press, 1959) : 33-37 ; Cristobal de Molina, "Relación de Muchas Cosas Acaescidas en el Perú", (1552 ?) Biblioteca de Autores Españoles tomo 209, ed. Francisco Esteve Barba, Crónicas Peruanas de Interés Indígena (Madrid : Real Academia Española, 1968) : 73 ; Avila, Dioses y Hombres de Huarochiri, p. 247.

describing approximately the same events and giving them the same value of competitive selection.

Jumping, throwing and wrestling games

Garcilaso de la Vega wrote that during the warachikuy, apart from the mock-battle and the foot races, other competitions took place :

The candidates were required to wrestle with one another, being matched according to their ages, and to compete in jumping and throwing a large or small stone, a spear, dart, and any other missile. They had to shoot at the mark with bows and arrows to prove the accuracy of their aim and their dexterity in handling weapons, and they also competed at shooting for distance, to prove their strength of arm and skill. Similarly they exercised with slings to test the length of their shooting and the accuracy of their aim. They were further tested in the use of all other weapons employed in warfare by the Indians, in order to show their dexterity.¹⁰⁵

Competitors were divided into group ages and dexterity in various weapons was a criterion of selection.

Garcilaso de la Vega talked about an Inca king, Sinchi Roca, praising his physical qualities :

He excelled in wrestling, running, and leaping, throwing a stone or a lance, and in every other feat of strength.¹⁰⁶

These quotations illustrated how physical strength was an

¹⁰⁵ Garcilaso de la Vega, Royal Commentaries, p. 368.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., p. 104.

important criterion of value for the Incas. In the Inca Empire, exercises of physical strength used in military training had been developed to a very high level and served as a means to select the best young men who would become knights and be awarded high social ranks.

Huichu throwing game

The only reference to this game was made by Father Avila.¹⁰⁷ He gave an extensive, rather difficult explanation and description of the huichu game which was performed in the context of a large festival.

The purpose of the game was to throw shafts on a target called chuta :

... gathering a kind of dried brushwood that we call 'chupa', they cut its points very sharp and they arranged them in two columns. They were seven arms wide and two men holding hands could embrace its size. At the top of each column they put a plant called 'casiri', the roots of this plant are very red. They said "this is its light". Then, when everything was set in order, they placed above the columns an emblem called 'yumca', which represented the men, and another called 'huasca', which represented the women. Then, the signs being set, and everybody dressed in their most elegant costumes, the ones called 'tanta' started to throw at the emblems. This throw they called 'huichu'. ...¹⁰⁸

Both men and women were represented in the huichu game, the men

¹⁰⁷ Avila, Dioses y Hombres de Huarochiri, pp. 143-147 and p. 173.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid..

by an emblem called yuca and the women by another called huasca placed on the top of the two columns made of dried brushwood which served as targets. The participants, well dressed, were divided into two groups, one of them being called tanta.

The preparation for this event took a few days and the participants celebrated in various villages. Father Avila went on describing this preparation :

To realize this throw, on the day before; everybody went to Caullamacuna, in the direction of Pariacaca. They took their llamas decorated with earmarks and small bells, all exactly alike. And so, all the men also went to Chaucallama, to Tampusica, to Curi, and to Caullama. Therefore, when going up to Caullama, they were playing with a shell of snail, the one that we already talked about, blowing in it to make it sound. And there, the one who saw the shell stole and kept it. After having done all these things, they started what we have called the 'huta' and for that purpose they built up the two columns.¹⁰⁹

The participants were going from one village to the other, playing music with a shell of snail. Their llamas were decorated, all alike. Father Avila did make clear the reason why people went from one village to the other. One can wonder whether the huichu game took place in each village or whether they were simply gathering the participants from various places.

After that, the huichu game started :

The throw started. When the women began to throw, they did that ayllu by ayllu. The ones who were not playing the drum sang saying : "Receive your abandoned son". And when the turn of the 'huasca'

¹⁰⁹ Ibid..

emblem came, they also sang : "and we receive your abandoned children".

The one who, by his throw got the top of the 'chuta', this one, who among all the shooters of his ayllu had been successful to shoot in the higher part of the sign, this one gave up the wing of a 'huacamayo' and also the 'oymilla' to the one who was his 'yanca'. The last 'yanca' of the 'Checa' who was involved in the 'chuta' was Martin Misayauri, and, the 'Allauca', Juan Chumpiyauri, who is dead. Therefore, the yanca got up on the 'chuta', took the wing of the 'huancamayo', which was called 'puypu', and tearing out the shaft put the 'puypu' in its place ; so he marked where the throw had fallen. After, another ayllu was throwing, and, in the same way, another and another. After the 'huasca' was beginning, the throw that the women performed. They participated saying : "they will give me children and everything to eat". And while the 'yumca' was being realized, they said : "children, men, chahua and any other food will be given to me".¹¹⁰

This part of Father Avila's quotation was hard to translate. In order to respect the syntax of the original text, some English sentences had to be incomplete as well. It was impossible to avoid this drawback without adding biased elements that would have made the text clearer.

Apparently, the competition opposed various ayllus. The fact that both women and men were competing in the huichu game, separately and by turns, can be considered as very original.

The best thrower, or the one who could strike the casiri (the red flower at the top of the target) with his or her throw gave the

¹¹⁰ Ibid..

wing of a macaw to their yanca. A yanca was a kind of squire or messenger who had to climb up the column in order to place the wing of the macaw where the shaft had struck, so that it would indicate the winning shot.

Music playing and singing were part of the huichu game. The songs appeared like prayers which words given by Father Avila were quite puzzling. Nevertheless, it seems that the prevailing idea was that of fecundity and abundance of food.

Later on, Father Avila described what happened when the contest was over :

And then, when they had finished to throw on the two 'chutas', at this time all of them who had had successful hits in the so-called "eye" [of the chuta], on the top part, delivered a llama to their yancas and told them : "with this, go to Omapacha and talk about me". And they gave the llama. The ones who had llamas did not get the big ones but the small ones, the ones that we call 'yancamusca' [dedicated to the yanca] because whatever the number that he could get was, he would eat all of them.¹¹¹

The ones who had had winning throws offered their yancas small llamas called yancamusca. In exchange, the yancas had to go and relate their exploits to the people of Omapacha.

Although the last sentence of this excerpt is confusing, it appeared that at the end of the game the llamas that had been won were eaten.

Father Avila concluded this extensive presentation of the huichu

¹¹¹ Ibid..

game in these words :

... From there the group went down to the place where Quiraraya lived in the open fields which was up in the mountains. This open place is called Huaracaya. In this site, they set up the so-called 'chutas', as in Llacsatampo, the 'yumca' and the 'huasca'. "This is for the llama, for the hill, for the female", saying they threw to the two 'chutas'. And when the game was over, as in Llacsatampo, in the same way, they gave llamas to the yancas : they said "with this worship me ; I give the best". ... And there, in Omapacha, in the same manner as the Checa, capturing and setting a 'huayo', they danced and sang for five days. And after, they set up 'chutas', for men and for women and they threw shafts to them. And then, like the Checas, went to make adorations for the multiplication of the llamas.¹¹²

In this last part of the quotation, Father Avila made clear that the huichu throwing game was performed at various sites. Each time, in each village, the two chutas, the yumca and the huasca columns, were set up.

It is noticeable that the game, according to the author, was played "for the llama, for the hill, for the female". The use of such words obviously referred to the abundance of herds, crops and to fecundity. This idea was reinforced at the end of the quotation when Father Avila clearly stated that the huichu game was played during a larger religious ceremony in which adorations were made for the multiplication of the llamas. In this sense, the huichu throwing game was in fact a ceremonial game related to fertility.

¹¹² Ibid..

The whole festival lasted for five days during which people danced and sang. It was an occasion to share and eat meat, and to worship the huaca Quimquilla so that the llamas could multiply and feed the population. It was a celebration from which skilled throwers, men or women, gained personal recognition and were honored by their communities.

Cuchu ball game

Martin de Murúa,¹¹³ Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa¹¹⁴ and Miguel Cabello Valboa¹¹⁵ mentioned the cuchu game in their chronicles.

Unfortunately none of them gave a description of the game. All three authors have similarly referred to an incident that occurred in the childhood of Mayta Capac, the fourth Inca king. This incident concerned an attempt on his life because the young prince often injured and sometimes killed other youth of the nobility of Cuzco when they were playing with him.

Murúa wrote :

Mayta Capac was son of Lloque Yupanqui and of Mamacura. He was very nice of face and of good disposition, of great courage, strength and

¹¹³ Murúa, Historia General del Perú.

¹¹⁴ Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, Historia de los Incas, (1572) Segunda Parte de la Historia General Llamada Indica (Buenos Aires : Emece Editores, 1947).

¹¹⁵ Miguel Cabello Valboa, Miscelanea Antartica. Una Historia del Perú Antiguo. (1586) ed. Facultad de Letras, Instituto de Etnologia (Lima : Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 1951).

audacity ; during his father's life, he performed some pranks, from which he behaved hatefully, although he was afraid of playing with other youths of his age and with the natives of Cuzco, called alcayvizas and cullumchima, he killed them and broke their legs and pursued them to their houses, and for him the alcayvizas got great enmity and hatred against the Incas and one day they decided to kill Lloque Yupanqui and his son Maita Capac because they could not suffer their bad treatments and insolences and to destroy that family in one time. And for that they sent ten Indians to kill them in their house which was Curicancha who went to it and found Maita Capac in the courtyard playing with other youths, and two dogs that he had, with some balls that they call cuchu and as he saw them enter with arms, with one ball of those he resisted the Indians who did not enter into his house and he killed two of them, ...¹¹⁶

Murúa clearly stated that the young prince, Mayta Capac, was playing with some balls called cuchu. One can wonder how it had been possible for the prince to resist the Indians and even to kill two of them with one ball.

Gamboa related the same episode, without naming the game. However he made it clear that the prince killed a man with one of the balls he had :

Then Maita Capac was in the courtyard of the house playing balls with other youths. As he saw his enemies enter with arms into his house, he snatched away a ball of those with which he was playing and with it he killed one Indian....¹¹⁷

From this quotation, one can assume that the cuchu balls were

¹¹⁶ Murúa, Historia General del Perú, 1:34.

¹¹⁷ Gamboa, Historia de los Incas, p. 139.

hard enough to kill a man.

Valboa described the same story :

The young Mayta Capac was accompanied by Apoc count Mayta, and Tacachungay (his cousin and of his age) in Curicancha, playing with others their equals with some balls which they called cuchu, and they had two dogs of the kind that the naturals here had (that is a kind of ours although different and distinct) and as Mayta Capac saw the faces of the Indians who were entering his palace, he knows on their faces that they come with bad intentions and then (with one of the balls he had) they say that he killed two of them.¹¹⁸

From these references, one can assume that the cuchu game was a ball game played with several hard balls. Murúa and Valboa both mentioned that Mayta Capac killed two men snatching only one ball. One can wonder whether these balls, like the bolas, were attached together. No further description of the game itself was given in chronicles.

However references to balls appeared in dictionaries. In Santo Tomás's¹¹⁹ the words papa auqui meant "a ball", pauachini.gui - "to sling the ball or to bounce the ball", and collosinguna - "a wooden ball".

On the other hand, Holguin¹²⁰ translated "ball" by the word cincu. A cincu cincu was, according to him, "a solid round thing", ccororumpa or cururumpa - "a round thing, solid ball, or hollow", and

¹¹⁸ Valboa, Miscelanea Antartica, p. 284.

¹¹⁹ Santo Tomás, Vocabulario del Perú.

¹²⁰ Holguin, Vocabulario Qquichua.

ccororumpa rumi or cullu - "a stone ball or wooden ball". He also translated cincuni by "to play ball, or to throw it to roll", huactarcuni pinquir cuchini pinqui chini by "to bounce the ball", lluspirocta cutichipuni by "to bounce again or to send the ball back", lluspichini by "to bowl or to bounce the ball", and lluspin lluspirocta or pinquin by "to fly up or to bounce the ball which falls from high and bounces back".

Despite this extensive vocabulary referring to ball or the action of playing ball revealed in those two Quechua dictionaries, there was a lack of information in the chronicles concerning ball games.

Only the following reference from Pedro Gutiérrez de Santa Clara concerning various ball games was found in chronicles :

The pastimes that those Indians had to amuse themselves were to go to hunt deers or hares, or to play velorto, or the chueca, or the ball with the buttocks, the ball made with certain nerves and the milk of certain trees, and such a large ball as the one they play bowling with.¹²¹

In this excerpt, it was clearly stated by Santa Clara that the Indians played velorto or the chueca games. The chueca game was the traditional game of the Araucanian Indians of Chile who lived at the southern border of the Inca Empire. If this game, as well as the velorto game, had been performed by the Incas of Peru, one can assume

¹²¹ Santa Clara, "Quinquenarios o Historia de las Guerras Civiles del Perú", p. 549.

that these types of hockey games were spectacular enough to retain the attention of the principal chroniclers.

Santa Clara also mentioned the latex rubber ball, the same as the one the Meso-American Indians used. One has to take in consideration that Santa Clara came in Peru in 1544 and was himself of Mexican origin. When he described the ball games of "those Indians", he did not specify which Indians he was referring to. He was probably not talking about the Indians of the Inca Empire. As Emilia Romero¹²² pointed out, one can suppose that Santa Clara was, in fact, writing about the Central American rubber ball games.

As a matter of fact, game artifacts or structural ball courts which were presented in the Antilles as well as in North and Central America archaeological sites, were not reported anywhere within the Inca territory.

Ball games played with the use of maize-leaf balls or shuttlecocks in Moche pre-Columbian culture of northern Peru (150-700 A.D.)¹²³ and a miniature side-ringed racket to play hockey found in a child's grave of the Nazca culture of southern Peru (300 B.C.-700 A.D.)¹²⁴ were the only pieces of evidence of Andean ball games

¹²² Romero, Juegos del Antiguo Perú, p. 30.

¹²³ Gerdt Kutscher, "Ceremonial 'Badminton' in the Ancient Culture of Moche (North Peru)", Proceeding of the Thirty-Second International Congress of Americanists, (1958) : 422-432.

¹²⁴ John M. Cooper, "Games and Gambling", Handbook of South American Indians : Comparative Ethnology of South American Indian, bulletin 143 : 5 (Washington : Bureau of American Ethnology, 1949) : 504.

reported up to now.

However, no indication that these two types of ball games had remained during the Inca period (1200-1532 A.D.) had been found in any Peruvian archaeological sites nor in any of the Spanish chronicles.

While various ball games were played by several tribes around the Inca Empire area, no diffusion of them throughout the Inca culture seems to have occurred. In fact, no evidence of ball games in the Inca Empire can be attested in chronicles.

Reading the chronicles of the Inca Empire, one has to realize that the majority of them have largely been written about physical games. Unfortunately, their authors have described the same games using more or less the same words.

Most of the time, the physical activities took place during festivals. The most frequently presented in the chronicles were the pucllay mock-battles and the foot races. Both were important tests in the warachikuy festival during which young men of the nobility were selected also by means of other physical competitions such as wrestling, running, jumping and throwing different weapons. The strongest and the most skilful young men became knights.

A striking feature of these competitive and selective games was that they were well organized and well structured. It seemed that physical strength was an important criterion of value for the Incas and that competition was always present in games.

Throughout the readings, it appeared that competition involved in the games was not placed on an individual level but rather on a

group level. Each ayllu that was competing during these festivals was supporting its representant(s).

It has to be noted that only one physical game, the ayllus (the bolas), among all the physical games described in the chronicles, involved gambling. The ayllus game was supervised by referees or judges who officialized the game and an idea of distribution appeared in it.

Finally, it was quite surprising to note that no chronicler made any reference to ball games. In fact no evidence of ball games can be attested, and one can wonder why ball games were not played in the Inca Empire.

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS OF THE GAMES IN THE INCA SOCIETY

In this study a presentation of selected games of the Inca Empire has been provided. They have been divided into two main categories : ceremonial games with an element of chance, strategy and magic, and games involving elements of physical skill.

The purpose of the study was to examine the role of these games in the decision-making process applied within the Inca society.

It was hypothesized that in the Inca Empire games formed a vital element in order to divide and distribute possessions, duties and responsibilities on both the individual and collective levels.

The Inca Empire was such a mosaic of various cultures that there existed a need for an incontestable and unifiable process capable of adjudicating any sort of controversies such as the division and repartition of lands, goods, properties, offices, services, tributes, charges, tasks, inheritances and so forth.

Cobo¹ wrote that the Incas had invented original games, especially dice games, to entertain people. In the Inca society these inventions should not be considered only as entertaining activities but they have to be interpreted as vital activities for decision-

¹Cobo, "Historia del Nuevo Mundo", p. 269.

making purposes.

For example, drawing lots by means of a game of chance, whatever its nature, if performed by the will and purpose of the user, has been regarded as an incontestable decision for centuries.

This point of view was well expressed by Dudley Fenner who clearly opposed the sixteenth century's puritanical views on Christian recreation, play, and particularly, games of chance to the use of a lot as a means to resolve controversies :

... The use of a lotte for recreation is unlawfull, because a lotte is an especial meanes whereby God hath ordained by himselfe from heaven to end such controverties.²

It appeared in the chronicles that the Incas used to play dice games so frequently that one of the chronicler, Father Acosta, wrote that these games were vainly condemned by the religious authorities :

Then, what can we say about the vice of game ? This also is deeply condemned by the sacred canons ; but vainly, in what concerns the Indias. The board game is set, day and night the dice roll, and the players, like vultures over the dead body, come from everywhere, and if they delay they go and get them. It is classical to play in the priest's house. Sometimes, all the salaries of one year are lost in one bet.³

From this comment, it was clearly stated that playing dice games was part of the Indians' everyday lives and that players bet

² Dudley Fenner, A Short and Profitable Treatise of Lawfull and Unlawfull Recreations and the Right Use and Abuse of those that Are Lawfull (Middleburgh : R. Schilders, 1587 ? ; Ann Arbor, Mich. : University Microfilms, 4406 DF.36L.) : 13.

³ Acosta, Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias, p. 385.

important amounts. Other chroniclers have also underlined the fact that dice games were played for gambling in the Inca Empire.

The common characteristic of games of chance in the Inca Empire was that they were played with beans, stones, pebbles or kernels of different colors which were moved on boards of special designs according to the points indicated on a die, or dice.

They were games of pure chance, or games including also strategy in which players tried to capture their opponent's pieces.

About the use of beans, Garcilaso de la Vega wrote that several types of beans were used to play games :

There are others not suitable for eating : they are round and look like cut turquoises, though they have many different colors and are about as big as chick-peas. The general word for them is chuy, but they are given various names according to the color. Some of these names are comic and others are appropriate, but we shall not include them so as to avoid prolixity. They are used in many different games played by boys and by grown men. ^A

It was unfortunate that the author did not name the different games which used beans as game implements. However this study had revealed that beans were used in many games such as the ppichcca or huayru, sócyac, chunca, taptana, tacanaco and apaytalla.

Information gathered from Rivet⁵ and Karsten's⁶ studies on the ppichcca or huayru game showed that some Indian tribes from Ecuador

⁴ Garcilaso de la Vega, Royal Comentarios, p. 500.

⁵ Rivet, "Coutumes Funéraires des Indiens de l'Equateur".

⁶ Karsten, "Ceremonial Games of the South American Indians".

and Peru still play this game of chance during funeral wakes.

Both authors asserted that the ppichcca or huayru ceremonial game was of Inca origin.

In his chronicle, Father Arriaga⁷ also mentioned that the Indians played the ppichcca game during funeral wakes. It appeared through ethnological studies⁸ that the Indians believed that the spirit of the deceased controlled the die. When throwing the die over the corpse, it was thought that it was the dead man who distributed his inheritance to the members of his community by means of the game.

If this was also the case in the Inca society, then, through the ppichcca or huayru game the Indians were made aware of the deceased's last will. This game of chance represented a method by which the property of the deceased was shared.

The game had a function of distribution, it was not really a contest or a true zero-sum game but rather it was an accepted way of decision-making.

Then the gambling situation created by the ppichcca or huayru game served essentially as a decision-making process for the distribution of the deceased's property.

As a matter of fact, Rivet and Karsten underlined that the huayru game was organized only if the deceased had some belongings of his own. The function of this game was then clearly that of a decision-

⁷ Arriaga, The Extirpation of Idolatry in Peru, p. 56.

⁸ Rivet, Ibid. ; and Karsten, Ibid..

making process with regard to the sharing of the inheritance.

Beside this important function of distribution, the ppichcca or huayru funeral game was used as a kind of lottery to determine who would have the privilege to say the funeral oration. In other words, games of chance played during funeral wakes allowed to make decisions on various levels. For example, by means of drawing lots decisions were made as to who would receive some of the inheritance, and/or who would be granted the responsibility and honor of taking care of the deceased's body such as washing it, carrying it or praying for its soul.

Chroniclers also pointed out that the ppichcca game was popular among the Inca nobility, and that gambling was part of the game. The game was not only played during funerals but also during festivals.

Playing this game in a different situation, its distributive function would be applied for another repartition than that of inheritance.

An anonymous author⁹ maintained that the distribution of tributes was accomplished by the Indians themselves and he underlined that this distribution was performed in a great order and in a short period of time. He even mentioned that stones and beans were used, and that quipucamayocs participated to this event.

⁹Anonymous, "De la Orden que los Yndios Tenyan en Diuidir los Tributos e Destribuyrlos Entre Si", p. 147.

The quipucamayoc was an official accountant who kept statistical data of the resources of each ayllu with the quipu, a numerical record made with strings and knots, and he counted with pebbles and knots.¹⁰ Murúa¹¹ also mentioned that the quipucamayoc played with the pichca die and that the Indians, men and women, played for stake.

One can extrapolate that the distribution of lands and tributes was achieved by means of the ppichcca or huayru game. Beans in this game represented the amounts of the bets which were made in function of the data recorded by the knots and the colored strings of the quipus. The reason why the quipucamayoc always assisted the event was probably that he was in charge of recording the transfer of goods which were the tributes exchanged between individuals and groups. One can assume that when wagering or betting on a game's outcome was practised, the outcome provided a method of exchange.

Phonetically speaking, it was surprising and interesting at the same time to note that the name of the game huayru was very close to guayro. As it has been explained, in the Inca Empire, guayro designated the curacas' wives, as well as any responsible man's spouse.¹² There can be a link, which was not clearly stated at the time of the chroniclers, between the fact that the curaca was in charge of an ayllu and that his wife had a name similar to that of a

¹⁰ Murúa, Historia del Origen y Genealogia Real de los Reyes Incas del Perú, pp. 223-224.

¹¹ Idem.

¹² Lira, Diccionario Kkechuwa-Español.

game. The lack of clarity of the chronicles leads the reader to extrapolate. This coincidence is surely not fortuitous. It has to be seen as a clue provided by chroniclers, maybe unwillingly, to enlighten the role of the huayru or ppichcca game in the Inca society.

The curaca, whose charge was to control the lands of an ayllu and to redistribute their products as well as to assign their duties to the members of the community, could well have managed the ayllu resources and duties by means of a game. That would explain why his wife would have been designated by the term guayro. She could have been considered as the embodiment of Lady Luck.

Murra¹³ noticed that no information could be found in chronicles about the way lands were distributed. The repartition of lands could have been imposed by the people in power, but then, inevitably, a feeling of injustice would have appeared. Games of chance, or a lottery can provide an answer to that.

This decision-making process through games could have been applied for recruiting the soldiers who would go to war. Each ayllu accepted as part of the tributes to provide a given number of soldiers. It is easy to imagine that the warriors were chosen by means of a game or a lottery. The same principle could have been used for every type of tributes that the Indians had to pay : herds, lands, clothes, servants, workers and so forth.¹⁴

¹³ Murra, La Organización Económica, p. 64.

¹⁴ Anonymous, "Relación de los Fundamentos".

Games of chance were in that sense an impartial way to determine the tributes that each community, ethnic group or ayllu had to pay.

Murra¹⁵ and Baudin¹⁶, contemporary historians of the Inca Empire, asserted that lands were redistributed annually and that it was the task of the chunca-camayoc or of the curaca. Garcilaso de la Vega¹⁷ mentioned that the chunca-camayoc, chief of ten families, who was with other chunca-camayocs in the hierarchical social order under the curaca's authority, was as a matter of fact qualified as an inveterate gambler.

This identification was certainly founded in that respect that the chunca-camayoc probably relied on the outcome of a game of chance to make decisions in regard to the repartition of lands, the distribution of the mita (the compulsory service for public works) and other tributes among the ten families he was in charge of.

If this was the case, the population could not contest the chunca-camayoc's decisions because the result was regarded as a form of divine judgement obtained through the uncontrolled artifacts of a game of chance.

Did the chunca-camayoc use the ppichcca or huayru game or another game, quite similar to his name, the chunca ? Like the ppichcca, the chunca was a game of chance played on a board with holes

¹⁵ Murra, La Organización Económica, p. 63.

¹⁶ Baudin, A Socialist Empire, p. 136.

¹⁷ Garcilaso de la Vega, Royal Commentaries, p. 100.

in it. Beans of various colors and a die, or dice, were also used by two or more players.

It had been proposed by Nordenskiöld¹⁸ and Karsten¹⁹ that the tsuka or shuke and the chunquanti games, linguistically close to chunca and which are still played today by Chacoan tribes, were remains of the Inca chunca or chuncara game.

Nordenskiöld went further writing that the way the Chacoan Indians played the tsuka game was closely related to the Inca chunca game. He also hypothesized that the Incas used a type of board which design made it propitious to play the game.

Three hypotheses were proposed to explain the use of these boards.²⁰ They should not be taken separately but related and interpreted as a whole. The first hypothesis sustained that the boards were architectural representations of fortresses or urban plans. This hypothesis is not to be neglected. The boards can be considered as representations of certain territories, villages or ayllus divided into two symmetrical parts : hurin and hanan. This moiety division was the most frequent social division in the Andean area. The city of Cuzco, the capital of the Inca Empire, was divided into two halves, hanan and hurin, and all the regions of the empire were following the same moiety division.

¹⁸ Nordenskiöld, "Spieltische aus Peru und Ecuador", pp. 166-171; and An Ethno-Geographical Analysis, pp. 153-163.

¹⁹ Karsten, "Ceremonial Games of South American Indians", pp. 1-38.

²⁰ See Figures 11-13, pp. 67-69.

The second hypothesis considered these boards as counters or abacus with small pebbles or kernels of different colors which were put in the various squares. According to oral tradition, these boards were used by the Incas to calculate and apportion the taxes that different ayllus had to pay.²¹

The third hypothesis presented by Nordenskiöld was that these boards were playing boards for games of chance. He made a comparison between the Chacoan drawings used to play the tsuka game and the artifacts found in Ecuador and Peru. These boards were always symmetrical with respect to the number of squares, positions or divisions.

The rules of the Chacoan tsuka game enlightened the rules of the Inca chunca game. The most important feature was that players tried to win the game by capturing the opponent's pieces. In the tsuka game the pieces are called "sheep" and the players have to move a marker into the opponent's field, crossing a river, in order to capture the other's "sheep".

In the Inca chunca game, one can assume that the river or border line was the physical representation of the separation of the two social groups (hanan and hurin). Thus, these playing boards illustrated the Inca moiety social organization of a region.

If in the Inca chunca game pebbles or kernels of different colors represented animals, crops, clothes or anything else

²¹Wiener, Pérou et Bolivie, cited by Radicati di Primeglio, p. 25.

corresponding to wealth, then these beans, being easily carried or gathered, symbolized the stake that was played in the game. By connecting the three hypothetical interpretations of the boards, one has to conclude that in the Inca Empire the amounts of the tributes the ayllus had to provide was determined by relying on the outcome of a game played on such boards. Most likely, the chunca game was played on this type of board and therefore it fulfilled a function of decision-making in relation to the tributes that every region had to pay.

Other games of chance, such as tacanaco and taptana, were also games of computation played with some pebbles, pieces or beans of different colors which were moved on a board. The board was again divided into a certain number of squares or lines very similar to the board games on which we play checkers or chess.

Unfortunately, no information concerning their social function were found in chronicles. Nevertheless, it is not impossible that they were used in a decision-making process in order to avoid conflicts.

In the Inca Empire, games of chance were also used in divination as, for instance, the jhanca or chanca, the taba and the sócyac games. Father Arriaga²² mentioned that the sócyac game fulfilled both religious and economic purposes in that respect. that it had a divinatory function and that it was used for casting lots as well. It is noticeable that one person had the responsibility of playing sócyac,

²² Arriaga, The Extirpation of Idolatry in Peru, p. 34.

and in order to perform his duty he used kernels, called chunpirum, which were transmitted from one generation to the next.

The jhanca game used a small stone called jhanca which was a divining stone considered as the interpreter to the gods. According to Father Avila²³ this game was played to seek guidance from the gods and to help in making the best decisions in different situations.

In all cases these divinatory games were regarded as a link between the Indians and their gods. Through these games, the Indians were able to know what their gods thought as well as to question them about the events of their everyday lives. From the answers they received, the Indians were then able to understand what was happening and they could adapt their behaviors accordingly.

In this sense, these games were also used as an appropriate decision-making process.

Physical games also played an important role in the Inca society. Describing the Incas, most of the chroniclers have emphasized that the warachikuy festival, where young men became adults, was the most important event in which participants were tested and selected through physical games.

Douglas Sharon wrote about the warachikuy festival :

Among the empire-building Inca aristocracy, adolescent initiation ceremonies for sons of the nobility were used to socialize future leaders into the beliefs and the values of church and state. The rituals (warachikuy) by which such internalization was accomplished

²³ Avila, "Relación de Idolatrias", pp. 628-629.

have quite correctly been compared to the tests and ceremonies performed in medieval Europe to bestow knighthood on youths of noble blood: But the warachikuy - although reinforcing state institutions - was of the same order as puberty initiations in simpler societies lacking political organization. In both instances the goal is the same : incorporation of the young into the roles and norms of adult society.²⁴

As the author pointed out, in this festival, physical games prepared the young men to their adult lives, teaching them the values and norms of the Inca society.

Among the physical tests performed during the warachikuy festival, the most important and spectacular one, was the ritual mock-battle called pucllay.

Garcilaso de la Vega²⁵ presented a mock-battle performed at the fortress of Sacsahuaman, near Cuzco, in which two groups opposed all day long in attacking and defending by turns the fortress. The author wrote that the battle was a military training in which the participants were so much involved that they could fight to death even if their weapons were blurred. This mock-battle permitted to select through training the best warriors among the new knights.

Beside this battle at the fortress, other chroniclers²⁶ specified that at the central square of Cuzco, during the warachikuy

²⁴ Douglas Sharon, "The Inca Warachikuy Initiations", Enculturation in Latin America. An Anthology. ed. Johannes Wilbert (Los Angeles : UCLA Latin American Center Publications, 1976) : 213.

²⁵ Garcilaso de la Vega, Royal Commentaries, p. 367.

²⁶ Cobo, "Historia del Nuevo Mundo", pp. 212-213 ; and Molina, "The Fables and Rites of the Yncas", p. 47.

festival, ritual mock-battles opposed the two different ethnic groups which composed the moiety social division, the hanan and hurin groups. The two groups were fighting, throwing fruit or balls of earth or ashes with their slings, and trying to win territory on the other. In this mock-battle, competition and rivalry between the groups reached a high degree of aggressivity.

It seems, then, that this battle of Cuzco played, apart from a military training role, a function of social control in that respect that it allowed the two groups to externalize their aggressiveness and rivalry.

To support this point of view, Garcilaso de la Vega²⁷ wrote that military and popular games were played in each village or ayllu during rejoicings organized on predetermined days according to laws. The author did not name these military games, but one can assume that some of them were the same pucllay mock-battles as the ones performed during the warachikuy festival of Cuzco.

Garcilaso de la Vega wrote that these military games were organized between two groups of a region "... so as to work off their rivalries and remain in perpetual peace."²⁸ The function of social control was thus clearly presented by the author.

In another chapter dealing with the way the Incas conquered and assimilated new ethnic groups in the empire, Garcilaso de la Vega²⁹

²⁷ Garcilaso de la Vega, Royal Commentaries, p. 263.

²⁸ Ibid..

²⁹ Ibid., p. 174.

wrote that the mitimaes, an entire immigrant community, were settled in the new territory and were in charge to teach the Incas' values and norms to the newly conquered ethnic group.

One can assume that the social control practised by the mitimaes over the conquered groups was achieved, among other things, by means of festivities in which ritual mock-battles occurred. The pucllay battles symbolized the Inca social duality and were performed in order to maintain a peaceful cohabitation between the two different groups of a region by allowing them to externalize their aggressiveness during war games which were under control.

On a larger scale, the pucllay ritual mock-battles served to simulate war between different ethnic groups, villages or ayllus, and therefore had an important function of delineating and controlling boundaries between them.

In the warachikuy festival another important physical selective test was the foot race. The best runners among the knights were acknowledged and granted privileged ranks of nobility such as captains in the army. One can suppose that through these ritual foot races, the best runners were also selected to become chasquis.

The system of chasquis was an important organization in the Inca Empire. The chasquis were the key to a vast system of communication by which the Incas of Cuzco were in permanent contact with any region of the territory. Messages were carried throughout the empire, even from the remote villages, and considering the geographic setting of the Inca territory, chasquis had to be highly selected for their speed and

fidelity.

According to an anonymous author,³⁰ providing chasquis was part of the tributes that every ayllu had to pay. One can deduce from that, that chasquis were selected through competitive foot races organized in each region of the empire.

In this sense, foot races were a means to make decisions as to who would be honored the rank of chasquis.

Another important physical game was the ayllus game in which participants had to capture a false snake called machacuay by throwing ayllus (bolas).

Cobo³¹ made clear that gambling was part of the ayllus game. According to him, the king Tupa-Inca Yupanqui, who introduced the ayllus game among the nobility of Cuzco, gave some provinces of the empire to his son by means of this game. The game was well structured, referees or judges assisted the game and legitimated the gains that the participants won. It was evident from Cobo's narration that the ayllus game was used by the Inca king to distribute possessions.

Another chronicler³² also noted that in this game possessions were redistributed and allotted among the nobility and the religious representatives by the Inca king. The Inca was competing with people in

³⁰ Anonymous, "Relación de los Fundamentos", p. 72.

³¹ Cobo, "Historia del Nuevo Mundo", pp. 86-87.

³² Albornoz, "Instrucción", cited by Reiner Tom Zuidema, "El Juego de los Ayllus y el Amaru", p. 41.

authority in the provinces, the camayocs (or curacas) and the representatives of the huacas.

Zuidema³³ maintained that the ayllus game was played when it was necessary to establish a new hierarchical order and that it illustrated the social and political organizations of the Incas. According to Albornoz,³⁴ the participants deliberately let the Inca win the game. From this interesting point, one can consider the ayllus game as a ritual legitimation of the Incas' political and economic control. Moreover Zuidema³⁵ noted that the ayllus game was a theatrical representation performed in order to assert that the Incas were the conquerors over the different ethnic groups, the conquered.

Social and political relationships between the Incas and the different groups were expressed by means of the game. The ayllus game was then an important communicative media used to illustrate the socio-cultural change that inevitably occurred after a conquest.

Thus, the ayllus game was a ritual representation of the Inca superiority used for the redistribution of properties, duties and responsibilities. The ayllus game played the role of an incontestable decision-making process.

³³Zuidema, "La Quadrature du Cercle dans l'Ancien Pérou", Signes et Langages des Amériques. Recherches Amérindiennes au Québec. trans. Jacques Morissette et Carmel Charland, vol III, n° 1-2 (1973) : 148.

³⁴Albornoz, "Instrucción".

³⁵Zuidema, "El Juego de los Ayllus y el Amaru".

The description and analysis of both games of chance and games of physical skill has shown that games had a function of decision-making in the Inca society.

It appeared that games were omnipresent in the Indians' lives. Festivals and festivities, in which games were played, took place all the year round.


One has to wonder why games, so widely spread in the Inca society according to chroniclers, were considered as so futile activities. What can be read in the various chronicles can be considered as clues, or the emerging part of an iceberg. The descriptions presented by the chroniclers had surely been censured by the Spanish Inquisition who considered games and their implements in general as evil.

In fact, if all the various groups that composed the Inca society accepted the principle of decision-making through games, the process could be extended indefinitely and thus avoid rivalry or any conflictual situations. This process permitted the greatest equality with the least friction and animosity between groups and individuals.

One can extrapolate far beyond what has been presented in this study and consider games as a means used by the Incas to rule the empire. The principle of decision-making through games can be extended to religious, political, social and economic levels. As one could see, duties, division of lands, responsibilities, distribution of matters of offices, tributes and so forth could be attributed according to this principle. Governing by means of games did not imply totally an

abdication of the Incas' responsibility. In fact, the Incas were not simply imposing their choices in a totalitarian way, but rather they showed a high degree of political organization by letting the gods, through games, decide for them which decision was to be applied. Games were regarded as a form of divine judgement and their outcomes were accepted by all the various groups. It could be perceived that the gods took the final decisions, but the Incas kept control of what was played.

In this sense, decision-making process by means of games was the key to stability and peace in the pluralistic Inca society.



CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this study was the compilation and analysis of games of the Inca Empire, and from this to generate an understanding of their role in the Inca society.

It has been hypothesized that games in the Inca Empire served in the decision-making process in order to divide and distribute possessions, duties, responsibilities, services, tributes and so forth.

Games of chance were frequently played by the Incas. They were games of pure chance and games of chance including also strategy. Gambling almost always occurred in these games of chance and this gambling situation created by them served essentially as a decision-making process for distribution.

Most games of chance fulfilled divisive and/or divinatory purposes in the Inca society. On the one hand, games of chance played during funeral ceremonies served as a decision-making process for the sharing of inheritances.

Other games of chance and strategy played during Inca festivals by people in authority such as the king, the curacas or the chunca-camayocs, had a close relation with the distribution of lands, tributes, duties, offices and so on. Decisions were taken in concordance with the outcomes of the games.

On the other hand, divinatory games were used by priests or by any Indians to communicate with their huacas or gods. In this sense,

these games were also played in order to make decisions of any kind in the Indians' everyday lives.

Physical games were also part of decision-making process. Physical strength was an important criterion of value for the Incas, and competition was always present in games of physical skill. These games served to test and select the best participants who were then granted ranks of nobility such as chasquis and captains in the army.

The Inca Empire extended over a short period of time and controlled a huge territory in which a large number of different ethnic groups cohabited. The Incas of Cuzco were confronted with social and political problems in this new economic structure that they had created. The expansion of the Inca Empire generated contacts, and subsequently, conflictual situations inevitably arose between the groups themselves, and their relation with the Incas.

The Incas needed then an incontestable and unifiable process in order to resolve controversies and quarrels, a system which permitted the division and the distribution of goods, as well as the collection of tributes, all this in a great order.

The significant value of the use of games to decide an uncertain outcome concerning social, political, economic and religious problems in the Inca Empire must not be underestimated.

Data tended to show that games were social inventions of the Incas and that they played an important role in the Inca society. Games were related to the complexity of the social, economic, political and religious systems of the Inca society, and they legitimated the

exchange between and among its various ethnic groups.

Games, then, permitted the division and distribution of economic goods and services. Games served to make decisions on both the individual and collective levels.

To support this idea, one has to realize that no clear explanation of the way lands were annually redistributed and tributes were collected could be found in chronicles. Even if it was not clearly stated in the chronicles, elements provided in this study tended to demonstrate that decisions concerning the ruling of the Inca Empire were achieved by means of games of chance, lottery and games of physical skill.

Games were an official way to manage the paying of tributes, the annual redistribution of lands, the division and distribution of goods, properties, offices, inheritances, tasks, duties, responsibilities and so forth without conflicts or controversies.

Thus, in the Inca Empire, games played the role of an incontestable, unifiable and appropriate decision-making process with respect to concerted actions and sharing situations. Through games, important decisions concerning the ruling of the Inca Empire were made in an accepted way as games were performed by the will and purpose of the users.

Recommendations

Some recommendations would be that linguistic researches were made. It seems important to plumb further in the Quechua vocabulary in

order to analyze words that were encountered in relation with games, such as the names of the games themselves, words formed with the same roots, the names of places, the proper names and names used to designate social positions.

Another important linguistic contribution would be the study of the Aymara vocabulary related to games. At the time of the Incas, the Aymara language was, after the Quechua, the second most important language of the empire. A similarity in the nature of the games played by the Quechua and the Aymara Indians would most probably be evidenced by this research. This might attest to a uniformity in the special functions of games within the Inca society.

Finally, the most profitable document to be looked for would be the proposal referred to by Arriaga¹ in the introduction to his proposal and concerning the establishment of gambling houses in Peru by the Spaniards. This document would provide information on the Peruvian Indians' social and cultural predilection for games and gambling, and would explain why the author considered it as a recommendation of sufficient importance to dare face the Inquisition's censure of that time. Gambling and gambling games were severely constrained by the Inquisition, yet a Catholic priest apparently saw merit in developing such a proposal in spite of the potential danger which might face such an author. In fact, the use of games in order to increase the Royal treasury would have been, for Spain, a continuation

¹Arriaga, The Extirpation of Idolatry in Peru, Introduction.

and exploitation of what already prevailed in the Inca Empire.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

ENTERTAINMENTS OR PASTIMES

In this section four entertainments or pastimes are presented. They were played by children or adults. These activities have been classified in the appendixes because they did not correspond to the definition of games used in this study.

Cuancari loading entertainment

Poma de Ayala presented an unusual entertainment enjoyed by the Inca nobility during public festivities :

The Inca had farms in cities and the dwarf married the dwarf, the humpback married the humpback, the cleft palated one married the 'chictacınca', to enable these people to multiply ; during the festival and Easter some large baskets of coke, called cuancari, were divided among them on the public square and carried by large animals, some were falling down with the provisions, others were knocked down by the animals, in these city festivals the Inca and the other nobles laughed and were entertained....¹

Disabled people were protected by the Incas and invited to share the Incas' distribution of goods. This entertainment consisted in having disabled people load several tall llamas in order to carry shares of large baskets of coca leaves out of the central square of

¹ Poma de Ayala, La Nueva Crónica y Buen Gobierno, p. 487.

Cuzco. Difficulties faced by the disabled people in carrying baskets and in loading the animals were then matter of amusement for the Inca and the nobility.

This could appear as cruel with respect to these disabled people. Why did the Incas organize such entertainments ? Maybe what seems to us intolerable was in fact an appropriate social and economic behavior showing that goods were fairly shared, for these people were permitted to keep and to use the goods that they could carry. They had to justify somehow the fact that they were given shares of goods. In a certain way, it is conceivable that entertaining the Incas in this festival was the tribute they had to pay for their shares.

Piscoynu

Holguin² translated piscoyno as "a spinning-top that is whipped by who is running it", and Santo Tomás³ as "a spinning-top".

Cobo wrote in his chronicle that :

Piscoynu was a certain game which corresponded to the spinning top or whipping top.⁴

Poma de Ayala⁵ presented a drawing showing a child playing with a spinning-top. This drawing is presented on the following page.

²Holguin, Vocabulario Qquichua.

³Santo Tomás, Vocabulario del Perú.

⁴Cobo, "Historia del Nuevo Mundo", p. 269.

⁵Poma de Ayala, La Nueva Crónica y Buen Gobierno.

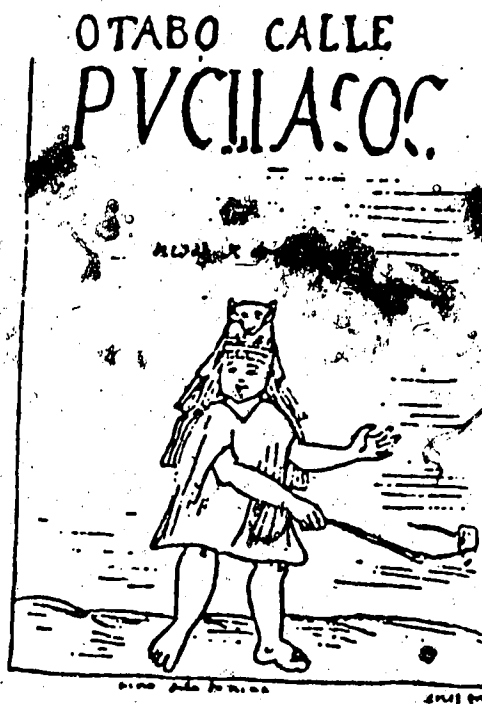


Figure 18 : A child playing with a spinning-top.

Nevertheless, as Romero⁶ wrote, one cannot be absolutely sure that the origin of this game is Inca. On the other hand, one can neither be sure that it was not an Inca game, for it is interesting to note that the spinning-top is a universal children's game found in ancient civilizations.

Puma pastime

The puma, the English equivalent of which is 'cougar', is a

⁶ Romero, Juegos del Antiguo Perú, p. 38.

predator of the Andes. Holguin⁷ translated the Quechua word puma as "an Indians' game", and pumani as "to play this game" or "to hunt and to kill wild animals or others". Among the chroniclers, only Cobo⁸ pointed out the puma game in a chapter on various Indian games. He noted that this particular game was of less importance. Unfortunately, neither Holguin nor Cobo indicated the way the Indians played the puma game.

Ethnological information specified that this less important game, as Cobo sustained, could be, in fact, a children's game. Cooper⁹ and Marquis de Wavrin¹⁰ recorded that the majority of the Chacoan tribes played a game called the "jaguar" game. From their description, this game looked to be similar to one playground game called the fox-and-the-geese game. While the children would line up in a row, headed by a leader, another player, the jaguar, would try to take hold or tag the last child of the line. Then, the group and its leader would try to save him from the jaguar. Pumas and jaguars being two kinds of predators, one might think that those two games were one and the same. This children's game, known under the name of puma in the Andean region, was used, through the imitation of hunting activities, to teach children their adults' roles of hunters while playing. The game might

⁷Holguin, Vocabulario Qquichua.

⁸Cobo, "Historia del Nuevo Mundo", p. 269.

⁹Cooper, "Games and Gambling", p. 504.

¹⁰Marquis de Wavrin, Les Derniers Indiens Primitifs du Bassin du Paraguay (Paris : Librairie Larose, 1926) : 65.

not have been so important in teaching the role of the hunter as it was to teach the importance of co-operation in protecting the weaker or less fortunate members of a group from external dangers. People on the extremes are always in a position of greater threat than are those in a more central position.

Chacu or chaco royal hunt

Holguín¹¹ referred to chacu as "a hunt of wild animals with people who are in circle", chacuni as "to hunt like this" and chacukrunacuna as "the hunter of wild animals".

In various chronicles¹² either chaco or chacu were found and designated the royal hunts held during pre-Columbian time. Gasilaso de la Vega wrote :

Among many other demonstrations of royal greatness practised by the Inca kings of Peru, one was the holding of a solemn hunt from time to time which in their language was called chacu, "cutting off, interception, for the game was intercepted."¹³

¹¹Holguín, Vocabulario Qquichua.

¹²Pedro Pizarro, Relación del Descubrimiento y Conquista de los Reinos del Perú (1571), ed. Guillermo Lohmann Villena y Nota por Pierre Duviols (Lima : Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1978) : 243 ; Cieza de León, The Incas, p. 104 ; Acosta, Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias, p. 335 ; Avila, Dioses y Hombres de Huarochiri, p. 79 ; Cobo, "Historia del Nuevo Mundo", pp. 268-269 ; Augustin de Zarate, A History of the Discovery and Conquest of Peru (1553), trans. Thomas Nicholas, book I-IV (London : The Penguin Press, 1933) : 27 ; Garcilaso de la Vega, Royal Commentaries, pp. 325-327.

¹³Garcilaso de la Vega, Royal Commentaries, p. 325.

In this type of hunt, spears, spear throwers, ayllus (bolas), slings, clubs or bows and arrows were the favorite weapons used to kill or capture vicuñas, guanacos, deers and also predators.¹⁴

The chacu hunt involved large numbers of beaters who were organized in a large circle. It was said that this enormous human circle could be contracted to the point that individuals could almost join hands so that the hunters, then, went among the animals they had gathered and enclosed to take them alive or kill them according to their will and pleasure :

At a certain time of the year, after the breeding season, the Inca went out to the province that took his fancy, provided that the business of peace and war permitted. He bade twenty or thirty thousand Indians present themselves or more or less according to the area that was to be beaten. These men were divided into two groups, one of which went out in a line to the right and the other to the left, until they made a great enclosure which consist of twenty or thirty leagues of land, or more or less according to the area agreed on.¹⁵

... placing many Indians who enclosed the fields and gathered the animals in the valley, and these Indians were coming and making the head ^{to} where they wanted, as far as to take hold of the others' hands and to make a circle and to get all the wild animals in it. They called this chaco ...¹⁶

¹⁴ Glynn Custred, "Hunting technologies in Andean Culture", Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, Tome LXVI (1979) : 7-19.

¹⁵ Gacilaso de la Vega, Royal Comentarios, p. 325.

¹⁶ Pizarro, Descubrimiento y Conquista del Perú, p. 243.

The way of hunting that the Indians had is chaco which is to join many people, sometimes thousands, and three thousand and more, and enclose a large space of mountains, and to go beating up the games, as far as to join on all parts....¹⁷

Chaco hunts were highly regulated during the Inca period. The Incas selected the animals according to their age, sex and health. Some of them were shorn and released after, others were killed and the meat and wool were distributed among the population and nobility. The most valuable gatherings being given to the noblemen.

No information could be found about the way they shared the remaining produce of their hunts. However, one could guess that they did so either according to the value that the participants showed during the hunt, or by letting the gods decide by means of a game of chance or by means of a game in which the hunters would show their skill.

Some animals were saved for reproduction. Garcilaso de la Vega wrote :

All the game was taken by hand. Female deers of all kinds were at least released, as there was no wool to be got from them. The old ones which were past breeding were killed. They also released such males as were necessary as sires, picking the best and largest. The rest were all killed and their meat was divided among the common people. The guanacos and vicuñas were shorn and then also released.¹⁸

¹⁷ Acosta, Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias, p. 335.

¹⁸ Garcilaso de la Vega, Royal Comentarios, p. 326.

Chacos were particularly held annually in November.¹⁹ These royal hunts required a wide expanse of territory. These hunting grounds, called moya,²⁰ were demarcated and controlled by Inca laws :

The pastures and hunting-grounds were demarcated, that the flocks might not be passed from one province to another ; but that each might have its assigned limits.²¹

Each province was divided into four parts so that there might be a rotation of territory, thereby allowing each part to be hunted only once every four year. During the periods when no hunting was permitted guanacos' and vicuñas' wool grew to its full length, and the game was given the chance to multiply.

Moreover; throughout the empire, a regular and huge account of all the hunts was kept and included a census of males, females, species, numbers killed and released, volumes of wool and meat taken. Hunting laws were strictly observed in regards to the species hunted as well as the territory allowed for the activities. In such a way they assured a large measure of control and conservation of the empire's natural resources, a kind of "wilderness resource management".²²

Juan Polo de Ondegardo gave the following description of this

¹⁹ Avila, Dioses y Hombres de Huarochiri, p. 79.

²⁰ Poma de Ayala, La Nueva Crónica y Buen Gobierno, parte 3, p. 245.

²¹ Juan Polo de Ondegardo, "Report of the Lineage of the Yncas, and How they Extended their Conquests" (1560 ?), Narratives of the Rites and Laws of the Yncas, trans. Clements R. Markham (London : the Hakluyt Society, 1873) : 158.

²² Custred, "Hunting technologies in Andean Culture", p. 14.

management :

The order established by the Ynca in matters relating to the chase, was that none should hunt beyond the limits of his province ; and the object of this was that the game, while proper use was made of it, should be preserved. After the tribute of the Ynca and of religion was paid, leave was given to supply the requirements of the people. Yet the game multiplied by reason of the regulations for its conservation, far more rapidly than it was taken, as is shown by the registers they kept, although the quantity required for the service of the Ynca and of religion was enormous. A regular account was kept of all the hunts, a thing which it would be difficult for me to believe if I had not seen it.²³

Garcilaso de la Vega followed the same idea :

The Incas hunted their domains according to this system, by which they preserved game and improved it for future use. The Inca and his court had their pleasure, and all his vassals were benefited : the same arrangements were applied throughout the empire.... The Inca viceroys and governors hunted in the same way in their respective provinces, being present in person, both as a recreation and in order to see that no injustice was done in dividing the meat and wool among the common people and the poor : that is, those disabled by old age or long illness.²⁴

The Inca nobility had parks maintained where they could enjoy the sport of killing wild animals. Beside being a pleasure for the nobility, the chace hunt was also performed as a means of subsistence. Only a portion of the animals were killed and then the meat was fairly

²³ Ondegardo, "Lineage and Conquests", p. 164.

²⁴ Garcilaso de la Vega, Royal Commentaries, p. 327.

shared between all. Other animals were shorn and again, in the same way, the wool was shared. These royal hunts showed a high degree of cooperation and a fundamental order of sharing between the participants.

APPENDIX 2

ORIGINAL SPANISH AND FRENCH QUOTATIONS
TRANSLATED BY THE AUTHOR

PAGE	FOOTNOTE	ORIGINAL TEXT
17-18	10	Porque ellos tenían esta manera de tributar : que en cada barrio había tierras distintas y señaladas que llamaban tierras tributarias, las cuales el mandon principal de aquel barrio, á cuyo cargo estaban, por iguales suertes y medidas las repartía entre los indios que había en el dicho barrio ; y todas estas suertes de tierras, eràn iguales y conforme á lo que cada indio podía labrar ò beneficiar de las dichas suertes, y así se los repartía, pagando el tributo conforme á la suerte que á cada uno se le daba.
24	22	... Aunque bárbaros, inventaron estos indios algunos juegos ingeniosos, que corresponden a el de los dados y a otros de los nuestros ; pero usábanlo más por entretenimiento que por codicia de la ganancia ; si bien a veces iba en ellos algùn precio, como eran mantas, ganados y otras cosas ; mas esto era en poca cantidad y sin picarse mucho al juego.
30	6	... el llamado pichca era como de dados : jugábanlo con un solo dado de cinco puntos, que no tenía mayor suerte.
30	7	... Sucedió una vez que estando el Inca holgándose en el valle de Yucay, se puso a jugar con ciertos señores a la pichca, que es algo modo de dados, y habiendo ya el Inca ganado casi todo el juego, sólo le faltaba un punto, que era el as, y si no lo echaba, no ganaba el juego. Dijo entonces a la señora nada, y echándolo, ganada y remataba Guayro, que estaba presente : "Hermana, un punto me falta para ganar el juego ; ¿qué haremos ? Si quieres que se vuelva de principio, se volverà, y si no, vaya en tu nombre, si gustas dello". Ella, aunque viò que la presea que se jugaba era de mucho valor, le respondió : "Ea, Señor, echa el dado en mi nombre, y di Guayro, que Guayro será el as". Dijo el Inca : "Pues en tu nombre vaya que se gane o se pierda". Y echando, el dado el rey,

dijeron a voces todos los presentes : "Guayro, Guayro". Y cuando cayó la suerte, fué el as, que era todo lo que se pedía. El Inca con todos los demás quedaron muy contentos y mucho más la Señora, a quien dió luego el Inca la joya que ganó ; y desde este juego mandó el Inca que el número uno se llamase guayro en toda la tierra. En memoria de la suerte y ganancia que con él hizo en nombre desta señora ; y así, hasta el día de hoy, en la mayor parte del reino llaman el número uno guayro, al modo que entre nosotros se dice as.

- 32 9 ... así los auques que son Infantes, ditados de los hijos de los Ingas, jugaban así a este juego como a otro, que es muy ordinario, que estos Indios llaman lapisca, con su tabla y agujeros o señal donde iban pasando los tantos ; lapisca es como una perinola, aunque no se anda, antes [la] arrojan y descubre el punto, como a la taba o dados.
- 32-33 10 ... También hacían sus cuentas por piedras y por nudos, como está dicho, en cuerdas de colores luengas ; contaban uno, diez, ciento ; un mill, diez cientos ; diez mill, diez cientos de mill ; jugaban estos indios con un solo dado, que llaman la pichca, de cinco puntos por un lado, uno por otro, dos por otro y por otro tres, y el lado cuatro, y la punta con una cruz vale cinco, y el suelo del dado, veinte, y así se juega hoy en día, y esto lo usan así los indios como las indias ; aunque fuera de conejos, que ellos llaman cuyes ; no juegan cosa de plata.
- 34 13 ... y a otro juego llaman también aucai, que es una tabla con frijoles de diversos colores, y dificultoso en jugar ; también echan los puntos con la pisca como queda dicho, el cuál es un juego muy gustoso.
- 34 14 ... Jugaban con un solo dado de hueso, quadrado, que tenía uno, dos, tres, quatro, cinco puntos y se ganauan todo lo que tenían, hasta quedar en cueros.
- 36 16 Todo el mes juegan los sres. principales al juego - deriui - choca, - al uayro de ynaca - pichica de hilancula y de challochima juegan otros juegos y rrecocijos tiene todo el rreyno en este mes de abril ynca raymi.
- 38 20 ... Pendant les trois jours, principalement la nuit, les homme jouent sous l'auvent de la maison, soit aux cartes soit à un jeu de dé spécial appelé guayru, sur

lequel je reviendrai plus loin en détail. L'argent gagné sert à couvrir les frais occasionnés au veuf ou à la veuve par la cérémonie.

- 38 21 ... On baigne ensuite le survivant dans la rivière ; enfin, les femmes et quelques hommes lavent les vêtements du défunt et les mettent à sécher sur les buissons de la rive, pendant que les autres hommes, formant de grands cercles, jouent au guayru. L'argent et l'eau de vie gagnés sont remis à la veuve, comme il a été fait lors de la veillée du mort.
- 39 22 ... Ils sont précédés des autres hommes qui, tout le long du chemin, jouent au guayru. Ce groupe des hommes est divisé en deux camps dont chacun à tour de rôle lance le dé. Le camp, qui, par addition des points, arrive le premier à cent, a gagné. Alors, quatre indiens de ce camp vont remplacer les quatre porteurs et la partie recommence au milieu d'une bousculade et d'un bruit incroyables.
- 49 31 ... Divisés en deux équipes de douze personnes, hommes et femmes se rangent face à face des deux côtés de la pièce. Un homme est chargé de remettre |aux joueurs de| chaque équipe la pierre appelée Piscca Rumi, qui a la forme d'une pyramide rectangulaire tronquée et dont les faces portent respectivement 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 et 10 trous, le 1 ou "as" se trouvant sur la face inférieure, appelée chunca. Les femmes commencent. La pierre qui pèse de 5 à 7 livres, est remise successivement à chacune d'elle qui, après être allée demander la permission à chacun des assistants, retourne à sa place et lance la pierre au centre de la pièce. Le nombre de trous qui se trouve sur la face supérieure est noté par un assistant qui joue le rôle de greffier et qui, pour tenir le compte, fait un petit tas de maïs rouge en nombre égal à celui qu'a indiqué la pierre. Toutes les femmes |de l'équipe| font à tour de rôle la même opération, en sorte que le greffier a devant lui douze petits tas de grains. C'est alors le tour de l'équipe symétrique de douze hommes. Les choses vont de même, le greffier tenant le compte avec des grains de maïs jaune. Ainsi se termine la première partie de vingt-quatre joueurs. Le greffier compte les grains de chaque équipe : l'équipe perdante doit donner à l'autre autant de grains qu'elle en a en moins. On mélange les grains de maïs des deux couleurs, opération appelée mesascca ou mesa sara. L'équipe

gagnante impose à l'autre de réciter un Yayaicu et un Muchaicuscaiqui Maria, et c'est la perdante qui commence la partie suivante. La partie se répète douze fois.

- 50 32 ... Quand quelqu'un meurt, tous les cholos et les cholas célibataires ont l'obligation de venir le veiller. A partir d'une heure du matin, ils font le p'iscanchascca. C'est une pierre carrée avec des trous : l'as s'appelle Sapacha, le 5 p'iscaccha, le 8 puse [= pusaq], le 10 chunca. Cette pierre passe de main en main parmi les veilleurs, qui sont assis. Chacun à tour de rôle la jette à terre, où quelqu'un la ramasse et, à l'aide de grains de maïs prend note du chiffre sorti. A la fin, on réunit ces grains, dont on dit qu'ils sont l'argent du défunt.
- 54-55 41 ... tiene cada provincia diversas supersticiones y diferentes idolos. Unos adoran el sol, otros la luna y estrellas, otros adoran las fuentes y rios, otros las penas grandes, y otros solamente veneran los huesos de sus difuntos. Los que adoran piedras o penas, son los más deste Reino ; y tienen una piedra pequeña que se llama jhanca, que es intérprete del idolo mayor. Esta piedra tiene un señal en la una parte, y después que adoran al idolo mayor, que se llama guaca, echan esta piedra como quien echa dados ; y si sale la señal, dicen que se les concede lo que piden ; y si no se las concede, empiezan a llorar, y entonces hazen sacrificios para aplacar al idolo y matan un animal y ofrecen las entranas, y ay agorero que mira las intestines. También las ofrecen un animalexo que se llama cui, y con la sangre destes untan la piedrezuela y al idolo mayor.
- 55-56 42 ... Este genero de idolos tiene su nombre general que es cunchur o chanca. Y en particular cada uno tiene también su nombre como carhua y allinanchu o sullachanca y aunque hay una diferencia entre chanca y canchur y es que canchur es como abogado e interceser para con los dioses mayores y chanca es una pedrezuela que sirve de hechar con ella suerte para ver si el cunchur está enfadado o no, si quiere este o aquel sacrificio, de manera que si un indio está enfermo o tiene otro trabajo saca su cunchur y su chanca y éstos no son otra cosa ni tienen otra figura que de dos piedra comunes que ninguna es mayor que una canmesa, ... Tiene ya su cunchur y su chanca sobre una poca de paja

limpia y nueva, y hecho todo esto endereza su intencion al cunchur y le hace su deprecacion diciendo : Padre mio cunchur tal (diciendo su nombre) mi hijo esta malo o tal trabajo tengo, pues tu eres mi señor y a quien yo y mi familia estamos encomendados, ruégote mucho que intercedas por mi con el Dios que me causa este trabajo y le pidas me libre del y sepa yo cual de los dioses es el que así esta indignado contra mi. Y diciendo esto alza la chanca que es la pedrezuela con que ha de hechar la suerte mediante la cual ha de responder el cunchur y así le llaman los indios lengua del cunchur, diciendo lurimni y dice el indio cuando lo quiere arrojar a señor cunchur esta enojado el sol ?, y diciendo esto arroja la piedra y mira como cae y como se asienta y si cae por el mejor asiento que tiene responder afirmativamente a lo que se le pregunta y despues vuelve a tomar en la mano la pedrezuela pues para mayor confirmación desta respuesta y de que el enojado es el sol no se asiente esta piedra por el mismo lado que antes sino por otra parte y la arroja otra vez y si cae por diferente parte que la primera se confirma aquella respuesta primera y entonces ha de tratar de hacer sus sacrificios al sol, y si no se asienta por allí sino por donde primero se asentò es como no haber respondido o negar que sea el sol el enojado, y así se ha de volver a preguntar de nuevo si es otro nombrandolo y hechando la piedra hasta tanto que cae la suerte derecha con su confirmación y cuando por este medio se sabe quien fue el dios enojado, se trata de sacrificarle con las cosas que allí estan, ...

61-62 50

... Chuncara era otro juego de cinco hoyos pequeños cavados en alguna piedra llana o en tabla : jugábanlo con frisoles de varios colores, echando el dado, y como caia la suerte, los mudaban por sus casas hasta llegar al término ; la primera casa valla diez, y las otras iban creciendo un denario hasta la quinta, que valla cincuenta.

76 68

... El Inga (Mango Inga) estaba muy aespafolado, y sabia los juegos que los españoles jugaban, que entonces eran bolos, tablas y el agedrez.

77 70

Tupa Amaro Ynga, nuestro Prinsipe, fué hijo de Pachacuti Ynga el qual, siendo capitan en tiempo de su padre, conquistò muchas tierras, tanta[s] que se echaua bien de ber la sangre real que tenia. Fué

baleroso, prudente y sagaz, pues como estubiese su hermano Tupa Ynga Yupanqui en el asiento de mana huafunca, pareciolo no ser justo dejarle en tan grande enfermedad y peligro ; y así se fué con él, y el tiempo que estuuo ausente del Cuzco se exercitó en algunos juegos, y en particular en el del atapta, ques como a las tablas Reales. Y esto no menos que con los orejones tios suyos, y otros señores prinsipales, tan libre de pena y apartado de los asidentes amorosos, que no pareçla reinar en él la jubentud.

79 71 ... Otra suerte de juego de decia tacanaco y era con el mismo dado y frisoles de varios colores, como el juego de las tablas.

80 73 ... Este nombre de Anahuarque es nombre propio de la mujer que fué de Pachacuti Inga Yupanqui, por causa de haber esta señora mandado edificar aquel lugar y asiento, donde dicen haber en unas recreaciones inventado un juego llamado entre los indios, apaitalla; es un género de frijoles redondos de diversos géneros y nombres, e hizo en el suelo con la cabecera alta de donde sueltan los tales frijoles, y el que de ellos pasa adelante y hace ruido, más gana a los otros ; está con sus rayas y arcos a manera de surcos, y tienen sus nombres particulares, el juego como es, apaitallana y otros, así que a los auqis, que son infantes de los Ingas, jugaban así a este juego...

81 75 ... y el que de ellos pasa adelante y hace ruido más, gana a los otros ; ...

87 81 ... Aquí, en Macacalla, cierto día, unos hombres jugaban con "rihui" (piedra pequeña amarrada con una cuerda) y otros bebían...

88-89 83 El amor grande que tenía el Inca a esta Señora Guayro, solicitaba su ánimo para que buscasse trazas cómo dejar a su hijo bien remediado. Pues con este fin, siendo ya al mozo de edad para ser armado caballero, introdujo entre los señores de su corte el juego de los ayillos, que antes era sólo de las naciones del Collao ; y así, llegada la fiesta del guarachico, en que su hijo se había de armar caballero con otros hijos de grandes señores, pidió el Inca a los de su consejo que, para más solemnizar la fiesta, quería jugar con su hijo algunos pueblos de su señorío. Ellos, por complacerle, consintieron con lo que pedía y le respondieron que Su Alteza en hora buena todo lo que fuese servido.

Senalàronse jueces y padrinos para los juegos y para mäs autoridad de la fiesta, diò licencia el rey para que entrasen en ellos los señores que quisiesen ; y era ley que se habla de jugar joya o presea de mucho valor, o cierta cantidad de oro o plata. Llegado el día senalado, dieron principio a los juegos los señores de la corte, y ùltimamente entraron en ellos el rey y su hijo. El rey, como valeroso y diestro en este juego, hacia maravillas de sus ayillos, y el mozo nò se descuidaba, antes jugaba con tanta destreza, que en muy breve tiempo ganò la apuesta a su padre y pidiò a los jueces se la diesen. Ellos, maravillados desto y sospechando no fuese cantela el haber perdido el rey, fueron de parecer que volviesen al juego ; pero el hijo lo rehusaba, si primero no le daban lo que habia ganado. Viendo los jueces que tenia razòn, le prometieron dar lo que pedía con que prosiguiese el juego. Volvieron a jugar padre y hijo, y fué tan venturoso el hijo que turnò a ganar por segunda vez. No concintieron los del consejo que pasase adelante el juego, porque llevaba el mozo talle de ganar a su padre todo el reino. Preguntaronle los jueces qué quería por la ganancia, y el mozo pidiò la provincia de Urcosuyu, y así le fueron dados los cinco pueblos della : Nuñoa, Oruro, Asillo, Asàngara y Pucarà ; y éstos son los peublos que llaman Aylluscas, en memoria desta historia.

90-91 85

... Del machacuay (=serpiente) usan el día de hoy en sus fiestas y taquies, haziendo un juego de ayllar que antiguamente jugaba el inga, echando en alto esta figura de culebra y hecha de lana ; y los que apostavan echavan sus illos (debe ser : ayllus), que son tres ramales de sogá hecha de niervos de animales o de cueros dellos, y a los cavos unas pelotas de plomo. A este juego ganò el inga muchas provincias a las guacas que ya se las havia(n) dado y los camayos de las guacas, permitia el inga que jugasen las tales provincias con él por otras y se hazian perdedizos y despues de ganados por el inga con este medio de juego, le satisfazla el inga a las guacas y camayos con dalles tierras y ganados y otros servicios. Son muchas las tierras que ganò a este juego de ayllar el machacuay.

94 92

... En el Pirù vi un género de pelea, hecha en juego, que se encendia con tanta porfla de los bandos, que venia a ser bien peligrosa su puella, que así lo llamaban.

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ORIGINAL TEXT

- 95 93 ... el día que se via la luna nueva deste mes, venian a la plaza los que se habian armado caballeros con vestiduras nuevas, camisetas negras, mantas leonadas y plumajes blancos, y con su hondas en las manos, se dividian en los bandos, el uno de los de Hanancuzco, y el otro, de los de Hurincuzco, y se tiraban con cierta fuerza como tunas, que llamamos pitahayas. Venian algunas veces a las manos a probar fuerzas, hasta que el taca se levantaba y los ponía en paz. Hacian esto para que fuesen conocidos los más valientes y de más fuerzas.
- 96-97 95 Todo el mes juegan los sres. principales al juego - deriui - choca - al uayro de ynaca - pichica de hilancula y de challcochima juegan otros juegos y rrecocijos tiene todo el rreyno en este mes de abril ynca raymi.
- 104 108 ... recogiendo una especie de paja que llamamos "chupa", le cortaban bien sus puntas muy agudas y las arreglaban en dos columnas. Tenian de largo siete brazos y dos hombres agarrados de las manos podian abarcar su grosor. En la cima de cada columna colocaban una yerba llamada "casiri" ; las raices de esta yerba son muy rojas. "Esta es su luz", decian. Cuando ya todo estaba arreglado, colocaban sobre las columnas una insignia llamada "yumca" que representaba a los hombres, y otra llamada "huasca", que representaba a las mujeres. Ya puesta las señales y, toda la gente, vestidos con sus trajes más elegantes, a los que llamaban "tanta" comenzaban a lanzar (flechas) sobre los insignias. A este lanzamiento se le llamaba "huichu".
- 105 109 Para realizar este lanzamiento iban todos, el día anterior, a Caullamacuna, iban, como cuando se dirigen a Pariascaca. Llevaban sus llamas adornadas de zarcillos y campanillas, exactamente igual. Y así, todos los hombres iban también a Chaucallama, a Tampusica el que llaman también Curí, a cada cual, y asimismo a Caullama. Entonces, cuando subian a Caullama, iban tocando el caracol, del que ya hablamos, soplaban para hacerlo sonar. Y allí, quienes encontraban este caracol, lo levantaban y guardaban. Despues de haber hecho todas estas cosas, empezaban lo que hemos llamado el "huta" y alzaban, para eso, las dos columnas.)
- 105-106 110 Se iniciaba el lanzamiento. Cuando entraban a lanzar las mujeres, lo hacian ayllu por ayllu. Cantaban las que no tocaban el tambor : "Recibe a tu hijo

desvalido", decían. Y cuando llegaba el turno de la insignia "huasca", también cantaban : "y recibemos, a tus hijos desvalidos". Aquél que en el lanzamiento lograba alcanzar la cabellera del "chuta", ése, que entre todos los tiradores de su ayllu había acertado a clavar el golpe en la parte más alta de la señal, ése, entregada el ala de un huacamayo y también el "oymilla" a quien era su yanca. El último yanca de los checa que intervino en el "chuta", fue Martín Misayauri, y, de Allauca, Juan Chumpiyauri, que ya murió. Entonces, el yanca, subía al "chuta", llevaba el ala del huacamayo al que se le daba el nombre de "puypu", y arrancando (¿el dardo?) ponía en su lugar el "puypu" ; así señalaba el sitio en que cayó el tiro. Enseguida, entraba otro ayllu a lanzar, y, del mismo modo, otro y otro. Enseguida empezaba el "huasca", el lanzamiento que hacían las mujeres. Intervenían diciendo : "Hijos y todas las cosas de comer me darán". Y mientras se realizaba el "yumca", decían : "Hijos hombres, chahua y cualquier otro comida me será dada".

107 111 Y cuando ya concluían de lanzar sobre las dos "chutas", en ese momento, todos los que habían acertado los tiros en el llamado "ojo" (del chuta), en la cabellera, le entregaban una llama a sus yancas y les decían : "con esto, cuéntale de mí a Omapacha". Y le entregaban la llama. Quienes tenían llamas no llevaban las grandes sino los pequeños, los que llamamos "yancamusca" (dedicado al yanca) porque cualquiera que fuera el número de las que recibía (el yanca) se las comía todas.

108 112 ... De allí bajaba al sitio donde habitaba Quiraraya a una pampa que está (de aquí) hacia arriba. Esa pampa se llama Huaracaya. En ese lugar, levantaban los denominados "chutas", como en Llacsatampo, el "llumsa" y el "huasca". Es para la llama, es para el cerro, es para la hembra", diciendo, lanzaban tiros a las dos "chutas". Y cuando concluía el juego, así como en Llacsatampo, del mismo modo, entregaban llamas a los yancas : "con esto adora por mí, doy lo bueno", decían. ... Y allí, en Omapacha, del mismo modo como los checa, capturando y poniendo un "huayo", bailaban y cantaban cinco días, así también cantaban y bailaban. Y después, levantaban "chutas", para hombres y para mujeres y clavaban sobre ellas dardos. Y luego iban a hacer adoraciones en favor del aumento de las llamas, como los checas.

PAGE	FOOTNOTE	ORIGINAL TEXT
109- 110	116	Maita Capac fué hijo de Lloque Yupanqui y de Mamacura. Fué muy hermoso de rostro y de buena dispusicìon, de grandissimo ànimo, fuerca (sic) y atreuimiento ; en vida de su padre hizo algunas travesuras, de donde procediò ser odiado, aunque temido tanto que estando jugando con otros moços de su hedad y con los naturales del Cuzco, llamados alcayviças y cullumchima, mataua a los moços y les quebraua las piedras y los persegula y segula hasta sus casas, por lo cual los alcayvizas tomaron gràn enemistad y aborrecimiento con los yngas y acordaron de matar vn dia a Lloque Yupanqui y a su hijo Maita Capac porque no podlan sufrir sus malos tratamientos e ynsolencias y destruir aquel linage de vna vez. Y para ello embiaron diez yndios que los matassen en su cassa que era Curicancha los quales fueron a ello y hallaron a Maita Capac en el patio jugando con otros moços y dos perros que tenia con unas bolas que llaman cuchu y como los vido entrar con armas, vna bola de aquéllas resistiò a los yndios que no entrassen en su cassa y matò a dos dellos, ...
110	117	... Ya esta sazòn Maita Capac estaba en el patio de la casa jugando a las bolas con otros muchachos. El cual, como viese entrar sus enemigos con armas en su casa, arrebatò una bola de las con que jugaba y con ella diò a uno y lo matò.
111	118	... Estava el muchacho Mayta Capac acompañado con Apoc conde Mayta, y Tacachungay (primos suyos y de su edad) en Curicancha, jugando los dichos y otros sus iguales con ciertas bolas a quien llamavan cuchu, y tenian dos perros de los que los naturales aca tenian (que es especie de los nùestros aunque en algo diferentes, y distintos) y como Mayta Capac mirase à el rostro a los yndios que entravan en su palacio, conocio en semblantes, venir con mal intento y ansi (con una bola de las que tenia) dicen que matò à los dos de ellos.
112	121	... Los pasatiempos que tenian estos indios para holgarse era yr de caza de venados o de liebres, o jugar al belorto, o a la chueca, o a la pelota con las nalgas, que se hace la pelota con ciertos néruios y de leche de ciertos àrboles, y es tan grande como una bola con que juegan a los bolos.
117	3	... Pues ¿Qué diré del vicio del juego? También a este lo condenan gravisimamente los sagrados cànones ; pero en vano, por lo que se refiere a las Indias. Se pone la mesa de juego ; dia y noche corren los dados, y los

PAGE FOOTNOTE

ORIGINAL TEXT

jugadores, como buitres sobre el cadaver, acuden de todas partes, y si tarden los buscan. Es clásico jugar en la casa del cura. Todos los estipendios de un año van a veces en una sola puesta.

- 149 1 ... Tenia chacras en las ciudades e enano casado con la enana el carcobado casado con la carcobada el naris hendido casdo con chictacinca para q' multiplique a estos en tiempo de gran fiesta y pascua le rrapartia en la plasa publica unos sestos grandicimos de coca llamado cuancari y unos carneros grandicimos de la plasa se los lleuauan unos cayya con el hato otros le derriuaua los carneros esta fiesta el ynga y los demas bres. se rriyan y se entretenian enesta fiesta en las ciudades...
- 150 4 Piscoynu era ciertí juego que corresponde al trompo o peonza, ...
- 154 16 ...echando muchos yndios que cercasen los campos y juntasen los ganados al balle, y benianse juntando estos yndios trayendo el ganado donde querian, hasta asirse de las manos unos a otros y hazer un corro y rrecoger en él todo el ganado montés. Llamauan ellos esto chaco.
- 155 17 La manera de cazar de los indios, es chaco, que es juntarse muchos de ellos, que a veces son mil, y tres mil y más, y cercar un gran espacio de monte, e ir ojeando la caza, hasta juntarse por todas partes...

APPENDIX 3

ORIGINAL VOCABULARY FOUND
IN DICTIONARIES

A - From Santo Tomas, Lexicón o Vocabulario de la Lengua General del Perú, 1560.

QUECHUA	SPANISH	ENGLISH
taptana o comina	- alquerque	- game of drawing line. (calculorum ludus)
	- axedrez	- chess
	- ajó	- toy, plaything chess piece
	- tablas	- backgammon
taptani.gui o comini.gui	- jugar al alquerque	- to play at game of drawing line
	- jugar al axedrez	- to play chess
	- jugar tablas	- to play backgammon
guayroni.gui	- jugar juego de fortuna	- to play game of chance or of hazard
	- jugar juegos como dados	- to play games as dice game
guayrocçapa	- jugador deste juego	- player of this game
chunga	- naypes juego	- card game, pack of cards
	- dezimo, diez en orden	- tenth, ten in order
chunga pucllana	- juego de naypes	- card game
chungasca	- cosa jugada	- the bet, wager

QUECHUA	SPANISH	ENGLISH
chungani.gui	- juego de fortuna	- game of chance or hazard
	- jugar a los naypes	- to play card game
pucllay	- juego de plazer	- game of pleasure, amusement, fun
puclla	- pelea	- fight, battle
	- batala	- battle, fight, struggle
pucllani.gui	- jugar	- to play
	- batallar	- to battle, to fight, to struggle
pucllacoc o missanacoc	- jugador	- player
pucllacuni.gui o pucllanacuni.gui o missanacuni.gui o missacuni.gui	- jugar con otro	- to play with other
pucllanacuni.gui o aucanacuni.gui	- pelear	- to fight, to battle
pucllacuni.gui o aucauni.gui o sucacuni.gui	- guerrear	- to wage war, to fight
aucac	- guerreador	- warrior, fighter
aucanacuy o auçanacuni.gui	- combate o batalla	- fight, combat, battle
tincóy	- encuentro de batalla	- battle encounter
tinconacuni.gui	- encontrar con otro peleando	- to meet other fighting
guaranacoc	- luchador	- fighter, wrestler
guaranacuni.gui	- luchar como quiera	- to fight in whatever way

QUECHUA	SPANISH	ENGLISH
çamay	- descanso	- rest, quietness
çamani.gui	- descansar	- to rest
missani.gui o atini.gui	- ganar en juego	- to win at game
missay.tucuni.gui	- perder jugando	- to lose playing
atini.gui o aticuni.gui	- ganar conquistando, pacificar conquis- tando, vencer o ganar tierras	- to conquer, to pacify conquering or to win lands
papa auqui	- pelota	- ball
pauachini.gui	- botar la pelota	- to sling the ball or to bounce the ball
collosinguna	- bola de madera	- wooden ball
piscoyno	- trompo o peonça	- spinning top
pauani.gui	- saltar	- to jump
guaytani.gui	- nadar	- to swim
hayachuco o çaynata	- caratula o muñeca	- doll

B - From Holguin, Vocabulario de la Lengua General de Todo el Perú Llamada Qquichua o del Inca, 1608.

QUECHUA	SPANISH	ENGLISH
taptana	- alquerque	- game of drawing line. (calculorum ludus)
taptani.	- jugar al alquerque	- to play game of drawing line
castilla tapana	- axedrez	- chess

QUECHUA	SPANISH	ENGLISH
cculluchuncana	- axedrez o tablas	- chess or backgammon
purichin runacta	- jugar trebejo de axedrez, o tanto al alquerque moverle, o jugar del	- to play pieces of chess, or to move pieces at the game of drawing line, or to play with
huayru o ppichcca	- juego de los naturales	- game of the natives
huayru	- el mayor punto, o el mejor que gana	- the major point, or the best that wins
ppichca	- un juego como dados	- a game like dice
ppichcani, ppichccaccuni	- jugar este juego	- to play this game
pichcana	- un palo seysanada con que juegan	- a six-faced stick with which they play
ticnu	- buena suerte en el juego de la pichca cuando gana	- good luck in the pichca game when winning
	- el zenit o punto de la mitad del cielo	- the zenit or point of the half sky
huatuc hinacuy pucllay	- el juego de pares o nones, o de otras adivinanzas y los pares yanantincuna y nones chullacuna o yanantin yanantin chulla chulla yanantin chullacta pucllassum. Juguemos a pares, o nones	- the game of odds and evens or other riddle games and the evens yanantincuna and the odds chullacuna or ... We play odds and evens
chui o chuina purutu	- con que juegan al hoyuelo, y jugar assi chuini	- with which they play at dimple, and to play this is chuini
puma	- un juego de indios	- a game of indians
pumani	- jugar a este juego	- to play this game
	- caçar y matar las fieras o otros	- to hunt and to kill wild animals or

QUECHUA	SPANISH	ENGLISH
	animales	others
chuncaycuna	- cualquier juego de fortuna	- any game of chance
chuncana cuna	- los instrumentos de cada juego	- the instruments of every game
chuncaní	- jugar precio a juego de fortuna	- to play stake in game of chance
pucllay pacari chicuy o hamuta cuy	- invenciones de juegos	- inventions of games
çamacuy ppunchau	- dia de fiesta	- day of festival, holiday
huaynaricuna	- los entretenimientos y recreaciones	- the entertainments and recreations
hinaycachani hancaycachani	- entretenerse, o pasar tiempo	- to amuse oneself, to while away the time, or pastime
kahñachani	- mirar fiestas, juegos, galas y cosas varias	- to look at public festivities, games, fineries, and various things
kallu	- invencionero de fiestas, juegos, burlas y agudo para entretenimientos	- inventor of public festivities, games, jokes, and wit for entertainment
kallu pucllayta ymahaycactapas pacarichik mana cakmarita	- el que sabe todos los juegos y los inventa	- the one who knows all the games and invents them
pukllay	- todo genero de fiestas para recrearse	- all type of public festivities to entertain oneself
pukllachini	- burlarse jugar de manos o passar tiempo con otro retozarle	- to joke and to be vulgar during a fight or to pass time at aroused other

QUECHUA	SPANISH	ENGLISH
pukllapayani	- burlar mucho con otros, como allcochani o hazerle burlas pessadas	- to joke a lot with others, like allcochani, or to make vulgar jokes to him
pukllay pakmi	- ensayarse para algun juego o guerra	- to practise for some game or war
tumpalla fiesta o pucllay	- las fiestas, o huelga de burla	- the public entertainments or play of mockery
tumpalla micuychicuy	- combite de burla	- fight of mockery
pucllachini pucllachicuni	- jugar de manos con otro	- to play with others with the hands
pukllani, pukllaccuni	- holgarse, pasar tiempo hazer juegos de gusto, y burlarse	- to amuse oneself, to pass time doing games of pleasure, and to joke
pucllachacuni huachinacuspá	- jugar cañas o otras burlas de tirarse algo	- to play cañas or other affronts of throwing something at each other
huachichacuy pucllay	- el juego de cañas	- cañas game
chocachacuy pucllay	- juego de alcanzazos	- the hitting or stroke given with such balls of earth or ashes
macchichacuni	- regar de burla sin prouecho junto al agua, o regar, o rociar a otro burlando	- to joke without advantage in water, or to water, or to sprinkle with fun
maccachacuni	- aporrear de burla, fingidamente o los muchachos	- to beat up of mockery as a piece of make-believe or the boys
saucacuy pucllacuy	- burlas de palabra	- mockery of word
saucapayani pucllapayani pucllachini	- burlar de palabra	- to joke with word.

QUECHUA	SPANISH	ENGLISH
rimachipayani rimay cupayani rimachicha cuni	- combatir con palabras	- to fight with words
missani missacuni	- ganar al juego, o apuestas	- to win a game, or wagers
missanacuni, o huc huarcó missaypak richun fini	- apostar	- to stake, to bet
missanacuy missanacusca	- apuesta	- bet, wager
cutichiyak missanacuni	- jugar a desquitar	- to play at recovering a debt
missanacussun manupak o pagaranapak	- jugar al fiado	- we play on trust, on credit
churaspalla missanacussun o pucllassum o maquipuralla	- jugar a poner la plata y no fiado	- to play to stake money and without credit
missanacuni	- apostar o jugar juego al llevar algo	- to bet or to play game to win something
missanacuna, o missana	- lo que se juega o apuesta	- what is played, or the wager
missachiccupuni	- perder lo que ^{se} aua ganado, o tornar a perder	- to lose what had been gained or to turn losing
missapayak, o samiyoc	- el venturoso en el juego	- the lucky one in the game
missarcarini	- ganar a todos, o a muchos	- to win on everyone or on many people
chuncaypi llattantucuni	- estoy pobre de perder al juego	- I am poor for I lose in game
atau, o ataucay	- la ventura en guerras o honores como sami. La ventura en juegos, ó ganancias y cussi	- the chance in wars, or honors like sami. The chance in games, or winnings, and cussi (good luck)

QUECHUA	SPANISH	ENGLISH
mana samiyok o samin nak	- desdichado en el juego que nunca gana	- the unlucky one in game, the one who never wins
çami	- la dicha o ventura en bienes de fortuna y caso	- the luck or chance at goods and case
çamirunay, o çamiy çamiyqui	- el que cada uno tiene cabe si en el juego por su aficionado	- the one who supports or defends a player or a team
çaminchic, o pampaçami	- es el juez del juego puesto por todos	- he is the judge of the game named by everybody
çami apu	- juez de juego para lås dudas	- judge of the game for the doubts
missanacuy mantapatachani çamini	- juzgar pleytos del juego	- to judge litigations of the game
atillcha	- companeros contrarios o opuestos en juegos y en los ensayos	- opponents or contraries in games and in trials
chuncayman soncco	- amigo de jugar	- playmate
atillcham cani	- competir en beuer o en juegos	- to compete in drinking or in games
tincunacuni	- competir	- to compete
tincunacuk maciy	- competidor	- competitor
missanacuk maci	- contrario en apuestas o juegos	- opponent in wagers or in games
atillchay, o atillchamacy, o atillchanacukmaciy atillchapura o tincuc maciy	- contrario en juegos o burlas o fiestas	- opponent in games, or mockery or public entertainments
atillcha nifacucmaci	- compañeros competidores en porfias y en juegos, o pruebas	- companions competitors in disputes and in games or trials

QUÉCHUA	SPANISH	ENGLISH
runa	- los tantos en el juego - persona, hombre, o mujer y el baron huc runa	- the pieces in game - people, man or woman and the baron huc runa
churaycucuni runaycunacta	- tantearse ponerse los tantos en el juego	- to agree to keep the score in the game
ccoznichini ppucllayta	- no entender sino en juegos	- be concerned only in games
chiclluni	- elegir por suertes ó votos	- to choose by chance or votes
chiclluna huaci	- cassa de election y de juegos	- house of election and of games
suyuchani	- señalar gente por sus parcialidades para juegos, o escaramuças, o para yr al trabajos	- to appoint people by their groups for games, or squabbles, or to go to work
suyuchachacuni, o suyuchani, o suyurcarini	- hazer alarde de burla, o poner por orden y por ayillos de burla a los muchachos, o hazer alarde en guerra	- to make a show of mockery, or to put in order and by ayillos of mockery the boys, or to make a show of war
paçu	- el desgraciado que pierde las buenas ocasiones, o buen lance, o el que no llega a tiempo, el sin suerte	- the unlucky who loses good opportunities, or good throw, or the one who does not come in time, or the one without chance
paçuni, o paçumcani	- llegar tarde al repartir, no caberle suerte, ser desdichado quedar, o perder el lance, o ocasion	- to come late to the distribution; do not get chance, to be unlucky, to remain, or to lose the throw, or opportunity
cincu	- bola	- ball

QUECHUA	SPANISH	ENGLISH
cincu cincu	- cosa redonda maciça	- solid round thing
ccororumpa o cururumpa	- cosa redonda, bola maciça, o hueca	- round thing, solid ball, or hollow
ccororumpa rumi o cullu	- bola de piedra, o palo	- stone ball, or wooden ball
cincuni	- jugar a la bola, o echarla a rodar	- to play ball, or to throw it to roll
huactarcuni pinquir cuchini pinqui chini	- botar pelota	- to bounce the ball
lluspircucta cutichipuni	- rebotar o boluer la pelota de bote	- to bounce again or to send the ball back
lluspichini	- botar la pelota o hazer que salte del suelo, o pinquichini	- to bowl or to bounce the ball or pinquichini
lluspin lluspircum o pinquin	- saltar o botar la pelota que cae de alto, y lo que resurte o bota a tras de donde da	- fly up or bounce ball which falls from high and what bounced back
cirichinaccuni huacta naccuni allpaman	- luchar	- to fight, to wrestle
allpaman huactanacuk pura, o macintin	- luchadores	- fighters, wrestlers
callpapura tincunacuy	- el duelo, o pelea entre dos	- the duel, or fight between two
huachhinaccuni	- flecharse, o jugar a las cañas unos a otros	- to throw arrow or dart to each other, or to play cañas
pisccoynu	- trompo, o peonça que açotando la anda	- spinning top that is whipped by whom is running it
çaynata çayñata	- caratula	- doll
huayttani	- nadar	- to swim

QUECHUA	SPANISH	ENGLISH
tallanacuchacuni, taucca taucca, charquitauca	- jugar los muchachos a echarse unos sobre otros, o sobrunarse	- to play, the boys, making human pyramid
taripachacuni	- hazer mil preguntas de varias maneras o jugar a juzgar los muchachos	- to make one thousand various answers or to play judgement by the boys
huay()cachani	- correr	- to run
chacu	- caça de fieras con cerco de gente	- a hunt of wild animals with people who are in circle
chacuni	- caçar así animales	- to hunt like this
chacukrunacuna	- caçador de fieras	- hunter of wild animals

APPENDIX 4

SOURCES OF FIGURES

FIGURE	PAGE	SOURCE
3	39	Rivet, "Coutumes Funéraires des Indiens de l'Equateur", p. 393.
4	41	Ibid., p. 392.
5	42	Nordenskiöld, "Huayru Game", <u>Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris</u> vol. 22 (1930) : 213.
6	45	Karsten, "Ceremonial of the South American Indians", p. 19.
7	47	Ibid., p. 22 and p. 24.
8	53	Ibid., p. 16 and p. 18.
9	63	Nordenskiöld, <u>An Ethno-Geographical Analysis</u> , p. 155.
10	64	Eric von Rosen, <u>Ethnographical Research Work during the Swedish Chaco-Cordillera Expedition 1901-1902</u> (Stockholm: Alb. Bonniers Boktryckeri, 1924) : 153.
11	67	Verneau and Rivet, <u>Ethnographie Ancienne de l'Equateur</u> , planche n° XV.
12	68	Romero, <u>Juegos del Antiguo Perú</u> , fig. 2 (refer p. 24).
13	69	Verneau and Rivet, <u>Ethnographie Ancienne de l'Equateur</u> , planche n° XV.
15	72	Nordenskiöld, "Spieltische aus Peru und Ecuador", p. 170.
16	82	Romero, <u>Juegos del Antiguo Perú</u> , fig. 1 (refer p. 23).
17	83	Radicati di Prímeglio, <u>El Sistema Contable de los Incas</u> , p. 23.
18	151	Romero, <u>Juegos del Antiguo Perú</u> , fig. 4 (refer p. 38).