Rethinking the Andes–Amazonia Divide

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5.2
The place of Antisuyu in the discourse of Guamán Poma de Ayala
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This chapter explores the place occupied by Antisuyu within the Inca worldview through the lens of one of our best sources of information for this topic – the c. 1615 manuscript *El Primer Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno*, by Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala. That chronicle stands out among colonial manuscripts written by native Andeans by virtue of the multitude of images integral to the text, that make for a unique document combining alphabetical and visual elements to describe both the Inca and early colonial periods. It was written in Spanish in the form of a letter to King Philip III of Spain, with some parts in Quechua (as well as minor additions in other Andean languages) and includes around 400 drawings. Guamán Poma’s work represented the first generation of writing from what is now Latin America and is characterized by a strong critique of Spanish rule in the Andes and of abuses against the native population. For further discussion of this author, see Chapter 5.1.

Of central importance to the present book, *Nueva Corónica* offers us an almost uniquely native interpretation and an invaluable record of a period when the position of Antisuyu in Andean history was shifting decisively. As we will see, Antisuyu occupied a rather ambiguous place within the Inca worldview. On the one hand, conceptually, it was seen as an integral part of the empire, one of its four suyus or quarters. As one of those quarters, and connected symbolically with Chinchaysuyu, the most important region according to the Inca system, the empire itself could hardly be conceived of without Antisuyu. Yet, on the other hand, the peoples, fauna and flora, and even the landscape of Antisuyu are described in Guamán Poma in ways that stand in opposition to the ideals of Andean civilization. For the Incas, as reflected through Guamán Poma, the Anti Indians are repeatedly described as uncivilized infidels who practiced anthropophagy and whose ceremonies, architecture and language were rudimentary in comparison with those of the Incas. In my conclusions, I will argue that this ambiguity in Inca attitudes towards Antisuyu became obscured under Spanish rule, during which the negative traits associated with native Amazonians persisted, while the conceptual integration of the region
into the Spanish Empire was lost, thus further reinforcing the image of Andes and Amazonia as two different universes.

Needless to say, Guamán Poma’s views of the Antisuyu, as presented in his manuscript, tell us much more about himself and his time than about the western Amazonian Indians themselves. The aim of this chapter is by no means to use the manuscript in order to evoke, reinforce or deny any particular image of Amazonian Indians as constructed by Guamán Poma, but rather as a way to better understand the complex historical context – through the eyes (and position) of the native chronicler – which produced and projected such perceptions of Amazonian Indians during early colonial times.

Figure 5.2.1 Map of western Amazonia, showing the approximate distribution of ethno-linguistic groups in late colonial times. © Cristiana Bertazoni and Paul Heggarty.
Antisuyu as conceptually integral to the Inca Empire

When the Incas rose to power after the thirteenth century, according to Guamán Poma’s and other chronicles, they reshaped the Andes and founded their empire of Tahuantinsuyu: in Quechua, ‘the four quarters united’ (Chinchaysuyu, Collasuyu, Condesuyu and Antisuyu). Under this structure of a fourfold kingdom, the region now known as western Amazonia fell within Antisuyu, and all its ethnic groups were lumped together under the generic term Antis. When the tenth Inca emperor, Tupac Inca Yupanqui, took power in c. 1472, extensive parts of Chinchaysuyu, Collasuyu and Condesuyu had already been incorporated into Tahuantinsuyu, while Antisuyu was still predominantly free from Inca control. After extending the borders of the empire in what is now Ecuador, Tupac Inca dedicated himself to the conquest of Antisuyu (Cieza de León 1553/1984; Capac Ayllu 1569/2004; Betanzos 1576/1996; Garcilaso de la Vega 1609/1985; Pachacuti Yamqui 1613/1993; Guamán Poma de Ayala 1615/1980). Following several incursions, the Incas managed to establish important alliances with ethnic groups living in western Amazonia. However, they never managed to conquer Antisuyu fully, and most of the groups they succeeded in subjugating operated more under indirect power and gift-giving strategies rather than on full subscription to the Inca redistributive system (Santos-Granero 1992; Renard-Casevitz et al. 1988).

We start by analysing one of the most interesting images in the Nueva Corónica, the two-page Mapamundi del Reino de las Indias (Figure 5.2.2). This map ingeniously combines two very different ways of representing the world: the Inca tradition, characterized by the division of Tahuantinsuyu into four parts, and the European one, evident in the addition to the map of the areas beyond the Andean world (Brotherston 1992, 29), and also in the use of gridlines as representations of latitude and longitude (though in Guamán Poma’s map these lines are merely illustrative). Although Guamán Poma assimilated several elements of European cartography and integrated them into his Mapamundi, his outlook was on the whole autochthonous (Wachtel 1973, 177): for instance, his map displays a 90º anticlockwise rotation from the Western convention, and the Inca capital Cuzco is placed at the centre (instead of Lima).

In this Cuzco-centric image of the world, the West is represented by Chinchaysuyu, the East by Collasuyu, the South by Condesuyu, and the North by Antisuyu. The social structure of the Incas was based on a system of complementary oppositions where the world was divided into two parts: hanansaya (upper part) and hurinsaya (lower part). In the text that accompanies Guamán Poma’s Mapamundi, we can clearly observe an internal hierarchy presiding over the four quarters of Tahuantinsuyu, where Chinchaysuyu and Antisuyu represent Hanan Cuzco, and Collasuyu and Condesuyu represent Hurin Cuzco:

We must know that all the kingdom had four kings, four parts. Chinchaysuyo on the right hand side, where the sun sets. Towards the montaña until the
Northern Sea, Andesuyo, where the sun rises, on the left hand side, until Chile, Collasuyo; until the Southern Sea, Condesuyo. These so called four parts became two parts: Incas hanan Cuzco where the sun sets Chinchaysuyu; hurin Cuzco where the sun rises; Collasuyu on the left hand side. And thus the head and court of the kingdom, the great city of Cuzco, falls in the middle (Guamán Poma de Ayala 1615/1980, 913).

In the division of the Inca world, Chinchaysuyu represented the most important and privileged quarter. In this system, every suyu had its corresponding or opposing quarter, which in the case of Chinchaysuyu was represented by Antisuyu; a dichotomy that epitomizes, respectively, culture and order opposing barbarism and nature (Wachtel 1973, 180). Although the Antisuyu occupies the position of hanan in the fourfold system, then, it becomes hurin in relation to Chinchaysuyu. Nevertheless, a key point is that, as Adorno has emphasized:

… the superiority/inferiority dichotomy does not signify absolute values, but rather articulates a system of oppositions and a hierarchy of preferences, the systematic, complementary quality of terms in opposition is central to this consideration, and the concept of opposition is substantive because it is structural. (Adorno 1988, 91)
Whether in the position of hanan or hurin, Antisuyu thus was an essential part of Tahuantinsuyu, one whose presence was vital in order for the Inca cosmic system to be complete (Wachtel 1973). The two suyus were like natural oppositions, such as male/female, high/low, dry/wet, civilized/uncivilized, organized/chaotic. In summary, they were two contraries that were fundamentally complementary to each other. Without one, the other could not exist (Zuidema 1964).

Although there were likely Inca ideological differentiations made between themselves and the tropical forest peoples, then, the Antisuyu had an especially important place in the dualist cosmogony of the Incas. Several aspects of Inca mythology and iconography indicate that the Antisuyu represented a complementary and hierarchically ordered element of identity, within an encompassing model suggesting an opposition between a superior, male, Andean half, and a feminine, inferior, and threatening lowland half (A.-C. Taylor 1999, 202).

‘Othering’ the peoples and landscape of Antisuyu

Despite this conceptual integration of Antisuyu into the empire, Inca views of the peoples and landscape of western Amazonia, as reflected by Guamán Poma, placed them very much as an ‘other’, constructed in contrast to the Andean ideal. Amazonia and its dwellers occupied an ambivalent position within the Inca cosmological system. It represented a land rich in resources as well as in shamanic powers, home of fierce warriors. But it also represented the dwelling place of uncivilized inhabitants who resisted submission to Andean civilization as seen from the Inca imperialistic point of view. In this section, I analyse some chapters of Guamán Poma’s manuscript in order to explore these issues, with an emphasis on the Inca captains and queens (collas) associated with Antisuyu, as well as the rites and ceremonies held both in Amazonia and throughout Tahuantinsuyu.

In the Mapamundi del Reino de las Indias, Guamán Poma populated each quarter of his map with a named couple. Each couple appears appropriately dressed alongside their respective coats of arms, the only exception being the Antisuyu-dwelling couple who appear naked. Apo Ninarva, the Anti native in the Mapamundi, displays some feathers over his head, and his coat of arms (which can barely be seen among trees and animals) is similar to the one shown some pages earlier when Guamán Poma describes him in more detail as the Antisuyu’s thirteenth captain (Figure 5.2.4). On the map, the author further populates the sky, the two seas and, interestingly, the barrier of trees at the upper part (where Antisuyu is located) with several creatures. Looking closely from west to east at the barrier of trees one finds a mixture of real and imaginary animals.

During the Renaissance and Baroque periods, maps were seen as small geographical encyclopaedias, and many depicted the fauna and flora as well as the inhabitants of the regions they described. In well-explored areas, cartographers
depicted real animals; however, when the regions described were not well known, imaginary beings, such as mermaids, were commonly depicted (Peeri 1998). As mentioned above, Guamán Poma was relatively familiar with maps produced in the tradition of European cartography and he reproduced some of it in his Mapamundi. Considering that his ultimate reader was the king of Spain to whom his letter/manuscript was addressed, it makes sense that the author added in his map elements that could be easily identified and understood by his main reader. In this context, one could argue that the addition by Guamán Poma of imaginary animals where Antisuyu is located indicates that this was an unknown and wild territory, where Amazonian inhabitants, fauna and flora all formed part of the same category. Furthermore, in the Mapamundi, Chinchaysuyu, Collasuyu and Condesuyu are depicted as spaces where everything was orderly, under control and man-tamed. However, in Antisuyu, nature was still uncultivated, waiting to be conquered and domesticated. Cities and buildings were present in all the three suyus, where their inhabitants wear clothes and each man holds their personal bar. None of these elements can be sighted in the Antisuyu quarter. And uniquely, in the case of the Antisuyu, Guamán Poma annotates his Mapamundi with additional written information. It is as though the author wished to offer the reader extra details about this unknown wild territory.

Although it is not entirely clear, Guamán Poma seems to imply that some parts of the Antisuyu were subject to Inca power. However, he also suggests that half of the northern part of the empire (Antisuyu, on this map) was not conquered by the Incas and was inhabited by fertile and warlike Chiriguano Indians. Here, the author again highlights the inhospitable character of the region as well as the dangerous aspects of its fauna that, according to him, prevented the Incas from crossing it:

Half of the kingdom as far as the Northern Sea is not conquered, even less so the Indians of Chile and the Arawak and Mosquito Indians near the kingdom of Guinea, almost all of whom were subject to the Inca kings. Where there is most wealth of gold is among the Indians from the montaña and in the other part of the sierra of the Guarmi Auca, Anqu Uallo Indians, there is wealth of silver. And they are fertile, warlike Indians like the Chiriguanays. But it is not possible to cross to these lands because in the rivers there are lizards and poisonous snakes and serpents, lions, tigers, jaguars and many other animals and it is a rough and mountainous land; with trickery the Incas conquered those people from the montaña. (Guamán Poma de Ayala 1615/1980, 913)

Capacs: Inca captains

In Guamán Poma’s history of Tahuantinsuyu, there were fifteen Inca captains (capacs), and in his manuscript, every captain has his own pictorial representation accompanied by a brief description. Each captain is distinct in his own way; however, the two capacs sent by the Incas to conquer the Antisuyu are depicted and
described in substantially different terms from the others. In the case of Otorongo Achachi, the sixth capac, the distinction lies in the very particular way he is represented: as an anthropo-zoomorphic figure with the body of a jaguar and a half-human face (Figure 5.2.3). Guamán Poma writes that Otorongo Achachi was the son of Inca Roca (the sixth Inca emperor) and in order to conquer Antisuyu he transformed himself into a jaguar, also having a child by a *chuncho* (Amazonian) woman.

As suggested by Adorno (1988, 89), Guamán Poma’s arrangement of icons in space respects a logic that is true to autochthonous values of symbolic representation, thus providing an additional level of pictorial meaning. Following this logic, the left-hand side (from our viewpoint) represents hanan, while the right hand represents hurin. Otorongo is thus placed in the hanan position, while the Anti occupies the hurin position. Within this logic, this image can be read as that of a ‘superior’ Otorongo victoriously conquering the ‘inferior’ Anti, as the location of the vanquished is occupied by the Amazonian Indian: an example of Inca imperial ideology reflected in the discourse of Guamán Poma (for related ideas, see Chapter 2.5). The Anti Indian in this drawing can barely be seen because the powerful Otorongo Achachi takes centre stage, while the Amazonian is depicted naked at the far right. The accompanying text tells us that it was Otorongo Achachi’s power of transforming himself into a jaguar that enabled him to conquer Antisuyu, the chunchos, and all the montaña (Guamán Poma de Ayala 1615/1980, 133). Capac Apo Ninarva, meanwhile, the thirteenth captain, was sent by Huayna Capac (the eleventh emperor) once again to conquer Antisuyu. In Guamán Poma’s drawing, he exudes power and regality (Figure 5.2.4). He wears an exquisite costume and a round feather diadem which is composed of seven feathers above his head, 10 on his right-hand side, and finally, 12 on his left-hand side, making 22 lateral plus 7 (a total of 29). To his left, on the ground, is a coat-of-arms topped by a crown (with seven feathers), with a jaguar in the upper part and a snake in the lower.

With all other capacs discussed in the Nueva Corónica, then, Guamán Poma focuses on their personalities, qualities and/or faults. But in the case of the two Antisuyu captains, he includes neither a personal profile, nor a list of the places they conquered. Instead the author writes about the Anti Indians in general, with recurrent emphasis on the words that the chronicler repeats throughout his manuscript every time he describes the Antis: naked, infidels, rebellious, cannibals and bellicose.

**Collas: Inca queens**

Guamán Poma also discusses the Inca wives, or *collas*, of whom the lady of Antisuyu, Capac Mallqvima, is the second. In comparison with the other three collas, the author portrays the lady of Antisuyu in a completely different way (Figure 5.2.5). Capac Mallqvima stands in a jungle-like environment where she occupies a central position, with a bird by her left side and a monkey on her right. Again, just as with the Antisuyu capacs, Guamán Poma does not follow the same structure as with
Figure 5.2.3  The sixth captain, Otorongo Achachi Inka or Camac Inka, *apu*. Reproduced by kind permission of the Royal Library, Copenhagen, GKS 2232 quarto: Guamán Poma, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (1615), p. 155. Drawing 56.
Figure 5.2.4 The thirteenth captain, Ninarua, *qhapaq apu*, powerful lord. Reproduced by kind permission of the Royal Library, Copenhagen, GKS 2232 quarto: Guamán Poma, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (1615), p. 169. Drawing 63.
Figure 5.2.5  The second lady of Antisuyu Mallquima, *qhapaq*. Reproduced by kind permission of the Royal Library, Copenhagen, GKS 2232 quarto: Guamán Poma, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (1615), pp. 175–7. Drawing 67.
the other collas when presenting Capac Mallqvim. In the accompanying passage about Mallqvim, Guamán Poma gives us important clues to understand how he classified people living under the Inca Empire. The words in (our) italics might indicate that these specific Anti Indians, by wearing few clothes if any, belonged to a different kind of people, more in harmony with nature, according to Guamán Poma’s interpretation:

These ladies, although they have good figures and are very beautiful, with skin fairer than a Spanish woman, yet they wear few clothes and some go nude, for this is their type and nature, both men and women, and they eat human flesh … They smear their bodies all over with mantor [annato, a reddish pigment made from the seeds of the achiote tree, Bixa orellana] and they live in the montaña and have still not been conquered. And the montaña is so vast that it cannot be conquered … And there are many other ladies in every village of the montaña; in the other part, there are many people and lands abounding in riches, where there are pagan Indians called Anca Huallo, Huarmi Auca, where it is said there is much gold and silver. (Guamán Poma de Ayala 1615/1980, 155)

Also significant in the pages devoted to Capac Mallqvim is her close interaction with a monkey. Guamán Poma’s choice of a monkey rather than any other creature could imply that the author associated Anti Indians with primates, a sort of half-human, semi-developed creature which had not yet fully made its way towards humankind or civilization. It was not rare for Antis to be associated with monkeys; the Spanish chronicler Cieza de León even wrote that in Antisuyu, men had sexual intercourse with female monkeys, producing half-human, half-monkey offspring (see Santos-Granero 1992, 264).

Rituals and celebrations

Guamán Poma goes on to describe the festivities of Tahuantinsuyu, where celebrations accompanied by music and dances were common practice and took place many times during the year according to the Inca calendar. On these occasions, men and women would dance, taking turns in their choreographed singing performances (Figure 5.2.6). However, in Antisuyu, men dressed like women (thus transcending gender roles), and their music was far from being as complex as that of the other suyus, their songs consisting of only two words, caya and cayaya:

The Antis and the Chuncho people sing and dance like this: ‘caya, caya, cayaya caya, caya, cayaya caya, cayaya cayaya’. To this rhythm they sing and dance, saying whatever they want in their language. The women answer, singing ‘cayaya caya, cayaya caya’, and they play a flute which they call pipo. To the sound of this flute they celebrate; they do a circle dance holding hands. All
Figure 5.2.6  Celebrations of the Antisuyu. Reproduced by kind permission of the Royal Library, Copenhagen, GKS 2232 quarto: Guamán Poma, Nueva corónica y buen gobierno (1615), p. 322 [324]. Drawing 126.
the men dressed as women with their arrows dance huarmi auca. (Guamán Poma de Ayala 1615/1980, 297–8)

Guamán Poma further describes how people from the four quarters of the empire and from Cuzco conducted their funerals (Figure 5.2.7). He focuses first on Cuzco: Inca burials and rituals in Cuzco were elaborately respectful towards the dead, and included the sacrifice of the Inca’s wives and servants. Guamán Poma further describes the ways that people from Chinchaysuyu, Collasuyu and Condesuyu staged their funerals: similarly to the Incas, they would feed the dead regularly, even years after their death, place valuable gifts in their graves, mourn for days on end, dress the deceased in beautiful garments, and display the lifeless body in a procession-like ceremony before the burial (and subsequent reburials). The same, however, did not hold true for the funerary rituals of the Antis. The Antis only cried for a day, and soon held a festival (carnesería) at which they ate the dead person:

It is said that they cry for a day and hold a great celebration. During the celebration they cry and sing their songs. And they do not have ceremonies like the Indians of the sierra … since they are Indians of the montaña who eat human flesh. And so, as soon as the person dies, they start to eat them so that they leave no flesh, but just bones. As soon as the person stops breathing, they dress the body in feathered clothes that they make for them, and they remove the feathers and undress the body and wash it and start to cut it into pieces. (Guamán Poma de Ayala 1615/1980, 267)

After the feast, the bones of the dead were placed inside a tree, where they would then remain. Guamán Poma stresses that, in contrast to the other parts of Tahuantinsuyu, where people honoured their mallquis (mummified ancestors) annually, the Antis conducted no further ceremonies in honour of their ancestors:

They take the bones and the Indians carry them off, and neither the men nor the women weep, and they place them in a tree they call uittaca, where the worms have made a hole, they place them there and they seal it all very well. And from that moment, they never see him again in all their lives, nor do they remember him, and neither do they know any other ceremony like the Indians of the highlands, who even put gold, silver, and coca in the mouth of the deceased. They bury them with their silver ojotas [sandals]. (Guamán Poma de Ayala 1615/1980, 267; for further discussion of this, see Chapter 5.1)

Reverence, worship and care of mallquis were central to Inca and Andean religion (Urton 1999, 10). For the Incas, periodic burial rituals represented the junction and disjunction between past and present and were an essential part of the
Figure 5.2.7  Burials of the Antisuyu. Reproduced by kind permission of the Royal Library, Copenhagen, GKS 2232 quarto: Guamán Poma, Nueva corónica y buen gobierno (1615), p. 291 [293]. Drawing 114.
historical process (Wachtel 1973). As seen from an Inca or Andean perspective, by eating their ancestors the Antis were disrupting the cosmic order and breaking the on-going communication and interaction between the living and dead.

Discussion and final considerations

In the chapters studied here, it becomes clear that the inhabitants of Amazonia are presented by Guamán Poma as notably different from those of other quarters of Tahuantinsuyu, both in the way the author describes them and in the way he depicts them in his illustrations. In the Nueva Corónica, Antisuyu emerges as a land of ‘incompleteness’ where the Antis lacked a series of elements required to participate in civilization according to Inca precepts: a complex language, architecture, appropriate rituals, clothes and so forth. In this imperial Inca-centric view, the Antisuyu is presented as a land that was still to be explored; the Antis were still to be assimilated into the fourfold kingdom, where they would ascend from their supposedly rudimentary stage towards the realms of Inca sophistication.

Nevertheless, and despite such an ‘inferior’ position within the Inca system, the Antisuyu was paradoxically also a fundamental part of the empire. Without it, following the logic of complementary opposition (hanan/hurin) that structured the core of Inca philosophy, Tahuantinsuyu would not be complete. The Antisuyu, or at least part of it, was highly desired by the Incas to be fully incorporated under their rule. However, it also turned out to be the region which the Incas struggled the most to subjugate, mainly due to the resistance of the Antis. As suggested elsewhere, it was possibly because the Antisuyu was the quarter in which the empire thrived the least that the Incas invested the most in ideological discourse, through a variety of media, in order to project an imperial discourse of superiority over its people (Bertazoni 2014, 2007b, and see the parallels in Chapters 5.3 and 5.4).

Although Guamán Poma is well known for his critique of the Incas, in some specific parts of the Nueva Corónica his discourse seems to intertwine with theirs, and even to reflect and reproduce Inca imperial ideology (Brotherston 1992, 254). Moreover, because so much of Inca life was embedded in pre-Inca Andean traditions, it would be difficult to draw a line regarding which elements in Guamán Poma are purely Inca or more broadly Andean. The author seems to embody an amalgamation of traditions; and this is manifest in his manuscript when locating Antisuyu within the Inca system. The history of the Andes as presented by Guamán Poma is multi-layered, as he merges Andean, Inca, and Christian perspectives. Similarly, the position of Antisuyu in Guamán Poma’s discourse changes according to the different viewpoints adopted by the author. As an Andean, Guamán Poma reconciles well the dichotomy of Antisuyu as a different but fundamental part of Tahuantinsuyu, following the logic of complementary opposition. However, as a Christian and an informant of the Spanish king, Guamán Poma reinforces and
exacerbates the supposedly uncivilized condition of the Antis by emphasizing their nature as infidels and cannibals, transgressors of several taboos.

With the Spanish invasion and the advent of colonial rule in the Andes, this ambivalent position of the Antisuyu within the Inca system was gradually replaced by a history of sharp divisions. Under the new colonial order, Antisuyu was no longer a fundamental part of an integrated kingdom (Chapter 5.3). On the contrary, it became part of a radical discourse that can be understood as the genesis of a sharp division between Andes and Amazonia. The Spaniards failed to grasp the system of complementary opposition between Incas and Antis – a misunderstanding which would echo for centuries, reverberating to a certain degree among modern academics who, influenced by Cuzco-centric colonial ethnohistorical sources, have perpetuated a vision of the Antis as marginal tribes in comparison with the civilized people of the Andes (Taylor 1992). As a result, the supposedly civilized Andean peoples were given precedence over the allegedly anarchical Indians living in the lowlands. The Antis were then pushed to a peripheral position within Andean history due to a series of misconceptions regarding their ontology and society, agency and history.

In the same way that in the sixteenth century, the Spaniards justified the colonization and Christianization of Peru by arguing that the native Indians needed to be civilized and brought to the Catholic faith, the Incas had similar strategies for the conquest of the Antisuyu. However, in the case of the Incas, they established alliances with some Anti groups and Antisuyu was a constituent part of Tahuantinsuyu’s cosmology. With the advent of the Spaniards in Peru, these long-established ties gradually faded, and led to a process of almost complete divorce, further isolating the peoples of the lowlands from those of the highlands. The image of Antisuyu as no man’s land and of the Antis as savages was then exaggerated and reinforced by the Spaniards, who exploited such an ideological discourse when trying to colonize and convert Amazonian Indians.

The genesis of the conceptualization of Andes and Amazonia as two different cultural areas did not begin during Inca times and probably goes far back in previous pre-Columbian periods with the emergence and expansion of the first centralized socio-political formations in the Andean region (Santos-Granero 2005, 85). Despite the antiquity of such differentiation, it was a relationship marked by alliance and war, cooperation and resistance, negotiation and conflict as well as by inclusion and exclusion. Guamán Poma’s manuscript is a key document that tells us much about the shifting position of the Antisuyu both during Inca and early colonial times: a key turning point, fundamental to a better understanding of the complex and intricate history of the Andes–Amazonia divide.

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