

# The two faces of Incan history: Unravelling dual representations in oral traditions of pre-Hispanic Cuzco

**Author:**

Yaya, Isabel

**Publication Date:**

2008

**DOI:**

<https://doi.org/10.26190/unsworks/3182>

**License:**

<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/3.0/au/>

Link to license to see what you are allowed to do with this resource.

Downloaded from <http://hdl.handle.net/1959.4/43333> in <https://unsworks.unsw.edu.au> on 2024-05-04

**THE TWO FACES OF INCAN HISTORY**  
**UNRAVELLING DUAL REPRESENTATIONS IN ORAL TRADITIONS OF PRE-**  
**HISPANIC CUZCO**

Isabel Yaya

A Thesis submitted to the University of New South Wales in fulfilment of the  
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy  
Sydney, Australia, 2008

#### **ORIGINALITY STATEMENT**

'I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and to the best of my knowledge it contains no materials previously published or written by another person, or substantial proportions of material which have been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma at UNSW or any other educational institution, except where due acknowledgement is made in the thesis. Any contribution made to the research by others, with whom I have worked at UNSW or elsewhere, is explicitly acknowledged in the thesis. I also declare that the intellectual content of this thesis is the product of my own work, except to the extent that assistance from others in the project's design and conception or in style, presentation and linguistic expression is acknowledged.'

Signed .....

Date .....

## **COPYRIGHT STATEMENT**

'I hereby grant the University of New South Wales or its agents the right to archive and to make available my thesis or dissertation in whole or part in the University libraries in all forms of media, now or here after known, subject to the provisions of the Copyright Act 1968. I retain all proprietary rights, such as patent rights. I also retain the right to use in future works (such as articles or books) all or part of this thesis or dissertation.

I also authorise University Microfilms to use the 350 word abstract of my thesis in Dissertation Abstract International (this is applicable to doctoral theses only).

I have either used no substantial portions of copyright material in my thesis or I have obtained permission to use copyright material; where permission has not been granted I have applied/will apply for a partial restriction of the digital copy of my thesis or dissertation.'

Signed .....

Date .....

## **AUTHENTICITY STATEMENT**

'I certify that the Library deposit digital copy is a direct equivalent of the final officially approved version of my thesis. No emendation of content has occurred and if there are any minor variations in formatting, they are the result of the conversion to digital format.'

Signed .....

Date .....

## ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines the historical traditions and ritual representations of Incan society through the conceptual framework of dual organization. Broadly defined as the division of society into opposed halves, dual organization has been an enduring pattern of social classification in South America. In Pre-Hispanic times, it characterised the social and spatial organization of Cuzco – the imperial capital of Tawantinsuyu – which was divided into two asymmetric moieties, Hanan and Urin, composed of several elite factions. Analysis of this system has been hitherto restricted to a branch of ethnohistory informed by structural and cultural anthropology. Very few works have yet investigated the dynamics that linked dualism with the shaping of an historical consciousness proper to the pre-Hispanic ruling elite. The present thesis offers to fill this lacuna in modern scholarship by reassessing Incan narratives in the light of moiety division. In doing so, it identifies the traits proper to two distinctive bodies of Incan traditions, each of which encloses a particular, and mutually conflicting, representation of the past reflecting the moieties' respective perspectives. Such an approach not only harmonizes many discrepancies affecting primary sources on Incan society, but also enables a re-examination of other forms of dualist representation in Incan religion. Three case studies are therefore considered through this methodological approach: the structure of Incan cosmology, the seasonal division of the metropolitan calendar, and the ritual expressions of social antagonisms. The first case study suggests that Incan religion was divided into two sub-cults headed by divinities that were complementary in overseeing water regulation throughout the annual cycle. The second case study shows that the dual division of yearly activities did not coincide *sensu stricto* with the temporal setting of the Andean meteorological seasons, but rather followed a time framework guided by communal activities and astronomical knowledge. The last case study reveals that the formal model of the conical clan not only clarifies the underlying structure of Incan descent, but also enlightens the triggering mechanisms of Incan succession wars and moiety conflicts. The outcome of this work decolonizes the Andean past by refining our understanding of historical representations in pre-colonial societies.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

*All ethnography is part philosophy, and a good deal of the rest is confession.*

(Geertz 1967: p. 25)

Over the years, a great number of people have encouraged and supported this work. Chief among those who made this enterprise possible is my supervisor, Prof. David Cahill, who demonstrated a tireless enthusiasm and intellectual curiosity for my research. I cannot thank him enough for the constructive criticism he has provided and his perseverance at establishing conversation even when, early on, my rudimentary English could not express more than my state of frustration at being speechless. I owe him a special debt of gratitude for trusting me with his personal notes of the Archivo Departamental del Cuzco, but also for letting me gradually empty the shelves of his personal library and transfer the precious loots to my own workspace. I would like to express appreciation to my co-supervisor Dr. Peter Ross for the comments he made on an earlier draft of Chapter 1. His suggestions were extremely useful in reshaping my approach to primary sources. The writing of this thesis and my research in Spain and Peru were further supported by the UNSW Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences. The financial assistance the Faculty provided at different stages of the thesis elaboration and the allocation of a comfortable workspace allowed me to pursue my research in the best possible frame of mind.

Many people influenced my thinking during the writing of this dissertation. Thanks to Prof. Michael Houseman, I developed a nerdish interest in kinship systems and ritual action. His courses at the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes were both engaging, high-spirited and stimulating, which are qualities I least expected from such topics. I would like to extend my gratitude to Dr. César Itier who taught me Quechua for more than two years, and co-supervised my Diplôme d'Etudes Approfondies thesis. His feedback and encouragement have remained with me until today; but it is also his dedication to Quechua Studies and his work ethic that have been an endless source of

inspiration. I am also most grateful to those scholars who, having never met me, answered back enthusiastically to my most incongruous emails about agriculture at high altitudes, astronomical observations with the naked eye, and kinship. Among them, I particularly thank Prof. Alf Hornborg for keenly illuminating my path towards a better understanding of social structures in dual organizations. The two anonymous readers of *Ethnohistory* who reviewed the first draft of my first publication also provided suggestions that have significantly reshaped my thinking. My intellectual debt to these people is enormous.

During my overseas research travels, I received generous assistance from the archivists of the Real Biblioteca Española, the Archivo General de Indias, and from Prof. Berta Ares Queija who provided me with access to the library of the Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos in Seville. My research in the Archivo Departamental del Cuzco was greatly facilitated by the warm reception I received there from its chief archivists and the generous attention of M. Donato Amado Gonzales. I will forever nurture the lively memory of seating in this archive on crisp and sunny winters' day, half attempting to decipher colonial manuscripts and half listening to the enthusiastic radio commentator of the World Cup Soccer 2006, which everyone in the room was closely following.

These acknowledgements would not be complete without thanks to those I met in the past four years, and to those I left behind when moving to Sydney to undertake this PhD. My wonderful clique, it would be near impossible to cite every one of them, but they should all know that their reliable friendship through this time has made this enterprise considerably more enjoyable and provided a much needed distraction when doubt entered my mind. As for the strength that carried me through the days, I owe it to John. His presence, unconditional support, and reassuring words made me feel at home when the distance that separates me from the world I had always known sometimes felt unbearable. Perhaps these acknowledgments should close with a special thanks to the two persons who brought me up to be who I am. My dearest parents met when they left their respective countries in the antipodes to experience what Paris had to offer. I will forever smile at the wonderful circumstances that brought them together when neither of them could speak each other's tongue. They raised my brothers and me in the language of their country of adoption, but also imparted their love of their motherlands.

It is to them, and to all the irresistible confusions and neologisms that our upbringing created, that this thesis is dedicated (*à défaut de mieux faire*) because the flavours of our three countries are here reunited.



## CANDIDATE'S PUBLICATIONS

Sections only of the following publications, written by the candidate as sole author, have been included in several chapters of the dissertation:

“The importance of initiatory ordeals: kinship and politics in an Inca narrative” in *Ethnohistory* 55 (1): 51-85.

“Wonders of America: the curiosity cabinet as a site of representation and knowledge” in *Journal of the History of Collections* 2008, 20: 173-188.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Certificate of Originality .....	i
Copyright statement .....	ii
Abstract .....	iii
Acknowledgments .....	vi
Candidate's publications .....	vii
Table of contents .....	viii
Illustrations and maps .....	x
 <b>INTRODUCTION</b> .....	 1
Précis of the chapters .....	4
A note on nomenclature and spelling .....	6
 <b>CHAPTER 1. ETHNOHISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES ON INCAN SOCIETY</b> .....	 11
Introduction .....	11
1.1 Controversy, evangelisation, and the legacy of early ethnology .....	12
The arguments of the Controversy.....	13
Insight into Incan historiography .....	15
An approach to the interpretation of cultural encounters .....	25
1.2 Making history: the dynamics of Incan culture .....	29
Problems of structure and events .....	29
The plurality of historical representations .....	36
1.3 On the importance of dual organization as a framework .....	41
An approach to asymmetry and hierarchy in the Incan moiety system .....	50
Conclusion .....	54
 <b>CHAPTER 2. WATER REGULATION AND INCAN GODS: A DUAL COSMOLOGICAL MODEL</b> .....	 56
Introduction .....	56
2.1 Narrative traditions of the Upper World .....	58
Wiraqucha's journey and the Incas' emergence from Lake Titicaca .....	58
The creative function of Wiraqucha .....	64
Wiraqucha's solar aspects .....	67
Wiraqucha in Incan ceremonies .....	72
Wiraqucha and the might of the Thunder god .....	78
From the underground to the firmament: water regulation in the dry season .....	84
2.2 Epics of the Old Sun .....	91
The Ayar siblings' journey from the cave of Paqariq Tampu .....	91
Appropriating the people and the land: the <i>wankas</i> in the narrative of origin .....	94
The Sun of the chronicles: an investigation into P'unchaw and Inti's nature .....	99
The Moon .....	107
Hierarchy and the coalescence of solar cults in Incan religion .....	111
Conclusion .....	116

<b>CHAPTER 3. THE ASTRONOMICAL AND SOCIAL BASES OF INCAN TIME CONSTRUCTION</b>	118
Introduction	118
3.1 Disruption of the cosmological and social order: the transition periods	121
The Incan calendar in primary sources	121
Astronomy and the calendar	128
First transition period: the harvest season	132
Second transition period: the height of the wet season	139
3.2 The rule of Wiraqucha	150
The Pachayachachiq and the earth regeneration	150
Tiqsi Wiraqucha and the rites of purification	155
<i>Pura upyay</i>	161
Preparations for the rite of passage	163
3.3 The advent of P'unchaw	168
The <i>Warachiku</i> ordeals	171
Rituals of fertility and impregnation	178
The celebration of the Daylight god	183
The end of the maize maturation	185
Conclusion	186
<b>CHAPTER 4. DUAL ANTAGONISMS IN RITUAL PERFORMANCES AND HISTORICAL NARRATIVES</b>	190
Introduction	190
4.1 Dualistic and hierarchical relations in Incan society	193
Hierarchical principles of sociopolitical organization	193
Tripartition: the asymmetric division of Incan kin groups	197
Affiliation and marriage patterns	203
Name transmission as a principle of reciprocity	207
4.2 Filiation is history: antagonisms in representations of the past	212
The Incan conical clan	215
Hanan versus Urin, or the legitimation of Incan kingship	221
4.3 Concentric dualism: the Incas' relationship to the outside world	228
The foreign <i>wakas</i> of the Incan heartland	228
The provincial presence at yearly Incan festivals	237
The narrative of Yahuar Huacac's abduction	240
Strategies of assimilation: matrimonial unions between Incas and non-Incas	245
Conclusion	250
<b>CONCLUSION</b>	253
<b>SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY</b>	259
Manuscript sources	259
Primary sources	259
Secondary sources	262

## ILLUSTRATIONS AND MAPS

### TABLES.

1.1 The Incas' ruling list according to four influential chroniclers .....	30
1.2, 1.3 The Incan kingship sequence in six early chronicles .....	32
1.4 The Incan kingship sequence according to three informants of the Toledan inquiries ..	32
1.5 The diarchy thesis .....	36
3.1, 3.2 The Incan calendar in primary sources .....	122-123
4.1 List of the Incas' principal wives, with mention of their origin .....	203
4.2 "Incas by privilege", according to Garcilaso de la Vega and Guaman Poma .....	234

### FIGURES.

3.1 November: the festival of the dead .....	145
3.2 The ritual cycles of the Incan year, with their transition periods .....	149
3.3 October, <i>Uma rayme</i> .....	164
3.4 Pitahaya in halves .....	180
3.5 Unripe pitahayas .....	180
3.6 Drawing of the <i>wariqsa arawi</i> .....	182
4.1 Sahlins's model of the conical clan in Polynesia (1958) .....	213
4.2 White's model of the conical clan (1959) .....	214
4.3 Model of rank relations of Urin Cuzco rulers, based on primogeniture .....	214

### MAPS.

1. Andean ecological zones .....	10
2.1 The Titicaca Basin .....	59
2.2 The Qullasuyu region with mention of the sanctuaries to Wiraqucha .....	75
2.3 Incan Cuzco .....	79
4.1 The Incan heartland and its ethnic groups in the Late Intermediate Period .....	229
4.2 The <i>seqe</i> system .....	230
4.3 The Cuzco region and the major sites mentioned in the narrative of the young Yahuar Huacac's abduction .....	244

## INTRODUCTION

*Ésta fue la morada, éste es el sitio:  
aquí los anchos granos del maíz ascendieron  
y bajaron de nuevo como granizo rojo.*

*Aquí la hebra dorada salió de la vicuña  
a vestir los amores, los túmulos, las madres,  
el rey, las oraciones, los guerreros.*

(Pablo Neruda)

The following thesis investigates the articulation of dualistic and hierarchical principles in Incan religious and ceremonial representations. It approaches beliefs and ritual action as comprising a social practice fostered by, and acting upon, a cultural framework based on dualism. Cuzco, the capital of the pre-Hispanic empire from where the ruling elite extended its conquests, was indeed one of many examples of dual organization in South America. The city was divided into two moieties of asymmetric values, Hanan and Urin, corresponding to both a spatial and social partition of its residents. The present study examines instances of dualism in the organization of the Incan cosmological system and the composition of the Cuzqueñan festival calendar, before reflecting on dual antagonistic relationships in ritual action. The underlying theme sustained throughout is the reassessment of Incan historical traditions in the light of the construction of moiety division. It is argued here that such an approach harmonizes many discrepancies that affect sixteenth- and seventeenth-century primary sources on Incan society. Moreover, the present study approaches dualism as a system within which the temporal process operates as a constitutive force, not as a static model of social classification. Such a perspective is illuminating because it recasts the substance of Incan narratives into the mould of history, and approaches oral traditions as agents of social memory rather than mere instruments of social reproduction.

At the time of the Spanish invasion, Tawantinsuyu embraced a vast mosaic of ethnic groups living in different ecological zones, from the desert coast of northern Peru and Chile, across the high plateaux of Bolivia, to the lowland Amazonian forest (see

Map 1). These communities depended on various means of subsistence, had elaborated labour activities keyed to their environment, and forged various networks with neighbouring populations to compensate for labour and product deficiencies. Some of them were grouped in confederations that had gained control over large territories and competed with other large chiefdoms<sup>1</sup>. Archaeological survey and material gathered in primary sources suggest that Incan sovereignty began in a similar fashion, by developing matrimonial alliances and military pacts with neighbouring *etnías*. They increasingly expanded their control over the land, supplanting the local and regional coalitions with an imperialist infrastructure based on a centralized administration and unilateral tributary system (*mit'a*).

In addition to these means of hegemonic expansion, the Incas would oblige their subjects to pay respects to their tutelary god, whom the Spanish identified as the Sun, and ordered the construction of temples dedicated to this deity throughout the conquered territory. This imperialist policy went hand in hand with a certain tolerance towards local ancestral beliefs, which continued to flourish and were sometimes incorporated into the Incan religious system. Colonial records attest to the powerful influence that some of these cults, particularly oracles such as Catequil, Pachacamac, or Apurimac, had on the course of action taken by Incan leaders. The latter regularly consulted these deities on sensitive issues, brought them offerings in return for their benevolence and support, but also required that their image be sent to the capital annually, for the celebration of the *Sitwa* festival. As we shall see, these reciprocal relations were not always harmonious, and often implied elements of subordination. A study of the Incan religion, even restricted to the practice and belief of the nobility residing in Cuzco, cannot disregard the increasing influence these regional cults had on the ritual praxis of the ruling elite. Hence, without speculating on the history of the fluctuating relationship that the Incas maintained with each provincial deity or *waka*, this study acknowledges their role in the shaping of the metropolitan celebrations. It examines how ritual actors in Cuzco interacted with the world extending beyond the

---

<sup>1</sup> Broadly defined, chiefdoms are kin-based, stratified, societies in which leadership is based on genealogical considerations and ability to govern. Carneiro (1981) and Earle (1997) argue that the dynamics of chiefdoms as political institutions are similar to state-based societies, which they preceded in an evolutionary process. This view has been recently challenged in a contribution edited by McIntosh (1999), in which the authors contend that complexity arose and flourished in a variety of ways in the African continent. Haas et al. (1987) and Ferguson (1991) also point out that much variation exists within the theoretical boundaries separating chiefdoms from state-based societies.

moieties' spatial division, and explores the ambivalent dynamics according to which the elite accommodated, assimilated or excluded the presence of non-Incan religious actors. These particularities, together with the beliefs and cosmology specific to the Incan royal lineages, constituted the core of the imperial religion.

In exploring the complexity of Incan religion, this dissertation draws on a diversity of published materials elaborated in colonial times by early conquistadors, appointed and self-proclaimed chroniclers, viceregal administrators and missionaries. It also heeds the voices of those men and women who were simple witnesses to events unfolding before their eyes, and whose words were penned in lawsuit reports<sup>2</sup>. Embedded in this early literature are the discordant voices of native informants – Incan nobles, provincial lords, and their scribes – who were quick to understand that words on paper bore significant weight in the resolutions of the new administration. It follows that, in the process of elaborating a history of Andean peoples, the Spanish were not only confronted with categories foreign to their own referents, which they selected, translated, and interpreted, but also handled information that reflected the conflicting interests of different ethnic groups and their social strata. The resulting historiographical record is like a bundle of entangled threads that served to establish the status, rights and privileges of individuals in the colonial system, and to determine their disposition towards the “true religion”.

By putting this material in context and unravelling the motivations and biases of their various authors and contributors, this dissertation intends to reconstruct some basic traits of the Incan religion and to locate them more securely in the wider debate on dual organizations. Such an undertaking faces many challenges, which this study meets via a pluri-disciplinary approach that draws from the fields of anthropology, history and, to a lesser degree, philology. The contribution of the following discussion, therefore, lies not in the disclosure of new data, but rather proceeds from a systematic re-examination of available sources in order to identify the inconsistencies that bedevil depictions of Incan society. It aims to re-open the research agenda by exploring the cosmological structure,

---

<sup>2</sup> The current state of knowledge on *kipus*, those sets of knotted, dyed strings on which the Incas are known to have recorded their narratives and a variety of quantitative data, precludes us from including in this list any data registered before the Spanish invasion. The future of this field appears nevertheless promising thanks to the endeavour of dedicated scholars who, in recent years, have produced several important works. See Murra [1973] 2002; Ascher and Ascher 1981; Mackey et al. (eds.) 1990; Arellano 1999; Fossa 2000; Urton 1998; 2003; Quilter and Urton (ed.) 2002; Salomon 2004; Charles 2007.

ritual calendar, and social organization of the Cuzqueñan elite in the light of those theoretical works that are insightful for our understanding of other dual organizations in South America and Oceania. In so doing, the present study begins by framing a more adequate understanding of the primary sources on Incan society and history (chapter 1). These methodological underpinnings serve to underlie the arguments elaborated in the ensuing three case studies. A major assumption of this dissertation is that Incan historical consciousness, however forced into foreign categories, permeated Spanish texts and can be recovered in part. In order to unveil this original material, I have privileged a comparative narrative analysis that identifies the traits proper to distinctive traditions or genres<sup>3</sup>, which are then associated to the lore of either the Hanan or the Urin moiety. This approach sustains the structure of the dissertation whose first case study (chapter 2) incorporates the examination of Incan cosmology with an analysis of the narratives of emergence and subsequent migration of the first Incas. It is argued here that the study of these founding traditions allows for a better understanding of the division of the metropolitan calendar and, ultimately, of the organization of Incan society.

#### PRÉCIS OF THE CHAPTERS

Chapter 1 introduces the reader to the core issues raised in this thesis, and delineates the methodology adopted throughout the dissertation. It thus provides an overview of the primary sources that inform the analysis, and clarifies the cultural background and motives of their authors. The last section of this chapter justifies the relevance of exploring this documentation within a framework informed by anthropological scholarship on dual social systems, and focuses particularly on the representation and function of asymmetric patterns in Incan society and other dual organizations. The theoretical underpinnings laid down in this chapter sustain the dissertation's approach to hierarchical principles in Incan dual social categories, and provide a framework to account for the antagonisms and lack of parity in the festivities and cosmological representations of the Incan nobility. Accordingly, chapter 1 addresses the central issue of historical representation in Incan traditions, and situates its position in an ongoing discussion that has since the 1960s set apart the structuralist perspective from the historicist approach. As will be shown, partisans of the former movement have

---

<sup>3</sup> Although this study is not a textual analysis comparable to Catherine Julien's recent work (2000), it elaborates on her methodology.



criticized earlier attempts to elaborate an absolute chronology of the Incan past through a sequential reading of primary sources. R. Tom Zuidema, in particular, has argued that early historiography should be exclusively read for the cultural categories it enshrines. Chapter 1 overviews the limitations of both conceptual models, and sets the theoretical grounds for an alternative exploration into the different expressions of Incan historical consciousness<sup>4</sup>.

Chapter 2 applies the considerations of the previous chapter in an examination of Incan narratives of origin, using primary sources that describe the structure of their cosmology. I suggest that Incan historical traditions can be divided into two groups, each of which encloses a particular, and mutually conflicting, representation of the past that reflects the moieties' respective perspective. Each corpus, therefore, depicts a distinct cosmology headed by different gods that were complementary in overseeing water regulation throughout the annual cycle. Moreover, by examining the content of Spanish sources through a cultural framework informed by dualistic principles, the chapter attempts to harmonize some of the discrepancies that frequently obscure the meaning of these texts, and sets out to unravel the distinct rationales that sustained the religious reforms attributed to the young Incan ruler, ordinarily identified as Pachacuti Yupanqui, who defeated the Chancas.

Chapter 3 further develops the discussion of dual division in Incan society with an inquiry into the metropolitan ceremonies observed by the Cuzqueñan elite. It examines more precisely the month-by-month interrelations between Incan ritual praxis and the cosmological order. In doing so, this chapter delineates the characteristics of each seasonal division in the annual cycle, and focuses on situating these festivities within the broader context of social practices such as agrarian labour, herding, tribute payment, and migratory flows of labour force from different ecological niches. This chapter is informed by works on Incan archaeo-astronomy, which are employed to draw a coherent picture of the time of year during which these celebrations took place.

---

<sup>4</sup> In the past two decades, a number of studies have explored expressions of social memory in different regions of colonial and present-day South America. See for example: Hill (ed.) 1988; Rappaport 1990; Howard-Malverde (1990); Arnold, Jiménez and Yapita 1992; Gow (1993); Boone and Mignolo 1994; Abercrombie 1998. To my knowledge, little has been done to apply similar approaches to Incan narratives with the exception of two contrasting approaches taken by Gose (1996a) and Julien (2000).

Chapter 4 analyses the ways in which antagonistic relationships were depicted in Incan historical traditions on the one hand, and how they were enacted and recast in ritual action, on the other. It starts by investigating dualistic and hierarchical principles within the structure of the ruling elite's kinship relations, and posits that the formal model of the conical clan not only clarifies the underlying structure of Incan descent, but also enlightens the triggering mechanisms of Incan succession wars and moiety conflicts. Such an argument intends to conciliate structure with the dynamics of cultural transformation. Overall, this final chapter addresses gender, moiety and ethnic (Incas/non-Incas) bonds as instances of dual oppositions in which conflicts and affinity are equally constitutive. It argues that the main Incan festivals marking the start of each seasonal sequence at once articulated the hierarchy of these relationships and mediated their asymmetry.

#### A NOTE ON NOMENCLATURE AND SPELLING

Like Spanish historiographers four centuries ago, today's ethnographers of the Incan past are faced with the unavoidable requisites of naming and describing native categories in the words of their own language of communication. Even though such renderings are inevitably doomed to only reflect imperfectly the cultural objects under scrutiny, I reject as theoretically untenable the relativist perspective that all attempts at historical or anthropological reconstructions are equally dissatisfying. In the last decades of the twentieth century, postmodern critics claimed to have initiated what Edwin Ardener termed an "epistemological break" in social theory<sup>5</sup>. Their arguments played a fundamental role in both questioning the objectivity of the anthropological enterprise and emphasizing the "narrative character of cultural representations" in ethnographic discourses<sup>6</sup>. However, following Dan Sperber, it is assumed here that ethnography (past and present) records cultural representations, not the objective realities in social behaviour they empirically stand for<sup>7</sup>. Thence if the anthropologist's practice of translating culture still calls for a new justification<sup>8</sup>, the answer may partly

---

<sup>5</sup> Ardener 1985: p. 65. Postmodernism is loosely defined as an intellectual movement that disputed "modernist" theories, in particular the positivist belief in objective truth and authoritative knowledge. See Lyotard 1979.

<sup>6</sup> Clifford 1986: p. 100. Clifford and Marcus' edited volume (1986) is widely seen as a milestone in the history of cultural anthropology. Its authors argue that the ethnographic enterprise is a form of textual production involving complex relationships between the subjects under study, the author and his audience.

<sup>7</sup> Sperber 1985; 1996: pp. 32-55.

<sup>8</sup> Clifford 1986: pp. 8-10.

reside in decentering the encounter situation<sup>9</sup>, wherein the values and perspectives of every participant engaged in cultural dialogue/social interaction are similarly shaped by and acting upon those of their interlocutors, a phenomenon that anthropologist Fernando Ortiz coined “transculturation”<sup>10</sup>. Any attempts at emic interpretation that take into account individual and “inter-individual” mechanisms, therefore, remain legitimate<sup>11</sup>. Arguably, Andean ethnohistorians are confronted with more intricate issues than that of modern anthropologists because the data they rely on had been collected by agents of the colonial power for a variety of individual and collective motives that are not easily discernible<sup>12</sup>. Yet, to resign before this challenge means, in effect, to consent to the “artificial stasis” that the discourse of colonial domination confined the “Other”<sup>13</sup>. As an alternative, this dissertation intends to refocus Incan historiography on the discourses of the people it describes, and aims to partly restore the historical quality of pre-Hispanic narratives. It argues that an understanding of the ethnocentric biases of Spanish only partly harmonizes the many discrepant accounts of Incan society, and that further insight into this conundrum can be gained by applying theories of dual organizations.

In the course of this argument, a choice has been made – however approximate – to describe, spell, and translate a number of Incan institutions and traditions. Concerning the spelling of Quechua words, I conform to the official Peruvian orthography employed by linguist César Itier (2004), but make allowances in two particular instances. First, I use the customary spelling for well-established words in the literature, such as personal names and place names (Huayna Capac, Coricancha, Huarochirí) although I do not extend this criterion to the denomination of supernatural beings. In this case, I consider the standardized spelling to be particularly enlightening for the analysis. Secondly, where there is no consensus on the normalization, especially concerning festival names, I adopt the spelling formulated by the colonial sources. Finally, for the purpose of convenience, I always indicate the plural with an -s, and do

---

<sup>9</sup> The concept of “decentering” in Social Sciences originates from Jacques Derrida’s work on textual deconstruction where he argues that the term privileged (the subject) can be decentered, that is marginalized. The relation between text and what we assumed was its reality is displaced, so that, as his well-known statement goes, “there is nothing outside the text” (“Il n’y a pas de hors texte”, Derrida 1967: p. 227).

<sup>10</sup> Ortiz 1940; Rapport 1997.

<sup>11</sup> Sperber 1996: p. 53.

<sup>12</sup> Ramírez 2005: p. 5.

<sup>13</sup> Bowman 1997: p. 36. See also Abercrombie 1998: p. xxiv.

not use the Quechua suffix *-kuna*, which is not strictly equivalent to the English plural form<sup>14</sup>.

When referring to the political and territorial unit subjected by the Incas, I use the term “empire” because I believe it best describes the dynamics of pre-Hispanic sovereignty. Although the concept and its related notion of “imperialism” have inevitably taken different forms throughout time and space<sup>15</sup>, they emerge as key categories in Social Sciences, “constantly contested and reaffirmed in the present with reference to the past”<sup>16</sup>. Perhaps as a result of its enduring relevance to present-day politics, the concept of empire, encompassing its ideologies and practices, has received considerable attention from Postcolonial and International Relations scholars<sup>17</sup>, who contributed with modern historians in setting comparative analyses of historical empires<sup>18</sup>. In the light of these multi-disciplinary contributions, some basic traits can be outlined to describe empires in contrast to other forms of polity<sup>19</sup>. Firstly, unlike nation states that favour territorial stability and homogenized identity, empires are built upon expansion, which they largely achieve through conquest. As a result, their geographical borders are constantly re-defined to incorporate a culturally, religiously and linguistically diverse population. Secondly, within the land under their jurisdiction, empires devise a hierarchical order whereby the centre exploits the periphery. The capital centralizes the institutions of imperial dominance wherefrom the elite controls the production and distribution of wealth, and propagates an image of cultural superiority. Finally, empires implement order by providing for public infrastructures (roads, laws, official religion and language etc.). Yet, because empires are also states, they display features that can also be found in other forms of polity, while their characteristics can be combined in a variety of ways<sup>20</sup>.

The key to understanding empires, then, lies in identifying the specific combination of territorial organization, modes of wealth-creation and

---

<sup>14</sup> Allen 1988: p. 253; Itier 1997: pp. 52-53.

<sup>15</sup> Duverger 1980; Doyle 1986: pp. 30-47; Pagden 1995: pp. 12-17; Muldoon 1999; Morrison 2001: pp. 2-3; Pagden 2004; Rajan and Sauer 2004: pp. 2-3; Ménéssier (ed.) 2006.

<sup>16</sup> Colás 2007: p. 5.

<sup>17</sup> An extensive literature exists on the topic. Recent seminal works include Mann 1986; Doyle 1986; Abernethy 2000; Münkler 2007; Colás 2007.

<sup>18</sup> Pagden 2004: pp. 255-256.

<sup>19</sup> Here, I largely follow Colás 2007: pp. 5-30.

<sup>20</sup> Colás 2007: p. 18.

distribution, and dynamics of cultural self-understanding specific to each imperial experience<sup>21</sup>.

In Tawantinsuyu, the elite in power ruled over a mosaic of communities and larger chiefdoms ethnically different from it. The imperial elite exercised coercion over its regional polities, which were incorporated into the ever-expanding imperium. While the Incan nobility based its supremacy upon pre-existent systems of commodity exchange and did not seek to annihilate local traditions<sup>22</sup>, it also devised ideological instruments of authority in order to install cultural, religious and economic ascendancy over its subjects. In this way, elite leaders imposed the worship of their ancestral divinities, and implemented control over provincial chieftains by requiring that the children of non-Incan leaders be educated in the imperial capital, regulating their matrimonial alliances, and obliging them to serve a series of ritual obligations in Cuzco<sup>23</sup>. Such provisos were undoubtedly instruments of imperial dominion.

Yet, the similarities between the imperial dynamics of Tawantinsuyu and other historical empires also fostered the rhetorical purposes of early Spanish chroniclers who paralleled its infrastructures with those of Ancient Rome and other exotic polities, such as China or Japan<sup>24</sup>. Ultimately, these comparisons sustained the central arguments elaborated by early Modern theologians and jurists on the degree of *civilitas* they believed Incan society had attained. Likewise, for European settlers, sovereignty was intrinsically linked to the concepts of private property and territoriality. Recent studies have shown, however, that none of these two notions applied to the Incan sociopolitical organization<sup>25</sup>. In the pre-Hispanic Andes, agricultural lands were not owned but rather worked by labour assignments on a rotational basis. It follows that Incan rulers “did not conquer geography so much as people or nations” because workforce was the true pillar of their imperial machinery<sup>26</sup>. Men and women were subjected to tribute obligations for state endeavours (e.g. infrastructure work), cult sustenance, as well as for the personal

---

<sup>21</sup> Colás 2007: p. 5.

<sup>22</sup> Murra 1986; Gose 1993: pp. 483-484.

<sup>23</sup> Little investigation has been done on education control in Incan time as described by Cieza de León, Murúa (Bk. 2, Ch. 12, pp. 363-365), and Garcilaso de la Vega, quoting Blas Valera (pp. 49-50; 236-239). See MacLean y Estenós 1952; Bravo Guerreira 2004. For studies on the control of marriage alliances, see Alberti Manzanares 1985; 1986: pp. 183-184; Silverblatt 1987: pp. 87-91; Gose 2000: pp. 89-92; Ramírez 2005: pp. 28-30.

<sup>24</sup> MacCormack 1991a; 2001b; 2007; Acosta 1949 [1590]. See also Pagden 1986: pp. 146-197.

<sup>25</sup> For a discussion on this topic, see Ramírez 2005, Ch. 2, pp. 13-56.

<sup>26</sup> Ramírez 2005, p. 24.

benefit of the ruler and his lineage. The conquistadors, the chroniclers, and the colonial administration failed to recognize this system and applied concepts of private estates and territorial boundaries where it never existed, thereby facilitating the implementation of the *encomienda* system. To what extent, then, are Spanish impressions only partial and biased representations of an empire that was also formed by the unique dynamics of Andean society? Outlining the distinctiveness of Incan imperial institutions requires excavating the many layers of interpretation that have shaped the early historiography. The purpose of this dissertation is precisely to understand one particular aspect of Tawantinsuyu as an imperial power: the forging of its elite's identity through ritual, narrative, and cosmological means. In order to penetrate further into this issue, we shall now turn to the examination of the primary sources that inform our knowledge of the Incan realm.

## CHAPTER 1.

### ETHNOHISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES ON INCAN SOCIETY

*In societies where plural kinship corporations associate at the apex of power, historical truths are held to be plural, proprietary, and almost incommensurable. The attempt to reconcile or merge overlapping testimonies from different corporate sectors (e.g., lineages, castes) of a given society into a synthetic image of “what really happened” is misguided because in many cases historical truth is felt to be relative to, and the property of, the group “owning” a tradition.*

(Frank Salomon 1999: p. 84)

#### INTRODUCTION

This chapter introduces the methodology and theoretical approaches adopted throughout the dissertation. It starts by reviewing the primary sources on Incan social organization and religion written in, or transcribed into, the Spanish language from different modes of memorizing the past, including *kipu*, epics and chants<sup>1</sup>. In doing so, the present chapter raises some of the critical issues innate to this historiography, and contextualizes the corpus of chronicles, missionary reports, and various colonial documents that recorded indigenous traditions and beliefs in viceregal Peru. It focuses particularly on the political, legislative, and theological arguments that framed the descriptions of Incan society, and permanently influenced perspectives on the subject down to modern times. Beyond merely providing a critique of this historiography, the first section of this chapter endeavours to articulate a methodology that harmonizes part of its discrepancies in order to unravel fragments of native history. The proposed approach does not pretend to resolve every facet of the problem. Rather, it explores one possible avenue of research that resorts to narrative analysis and understanding of Incan

---

<sup>1</sup> Following the *dicta* of uninformed chroniclers, the *kipu* has long been described as a mnemonic device used to record narratives and quantitative data. Recent evidence shows, however, that this system possibly enclosed “a high level of syntactic and semantic information” (Urton 1998: p. 409; Salomon 2004: pp. 11-20. See also Quilter and Urton (eds.) 2002). On other forms of historical remembrance, see Harrison 1989: pp. 60-62; Cummins 1994; Abercrombie 1998: pp. 174-188; Niles 1999: pp. 1-44; Julien 2000.

social dynamics in order to gain insight into the historical representations of the pre-Hispanic elite.

The last two sections of this chapter explore more specifically the two facets of this methodology. It reviews issues of historical representations in Incan narratives, and demonstrates the relevance of examining the structures, institutions, and traditions of Incan society in the light of dual organizations, of which Cuzco constitutes a clear example. The pre-Hispanic capital was indeed partitioned into two opposed halves (moieties) of unequal prestige, Hanan and Urin<sup>2</sup>, whose members belonged to the noble kin groups of the late Incan rulers (*panaqa*) and to other less-documented *ayllus* (kin-based corporations) of non-royal descent. These social and spatial divisions determined in turn the participation of each male individual in the annual festivals, his function in the imperial administration and, most likely, his position in the military hierarchy. This formal model of organization permeated every aspect of Incan social life, and is therefore central to the analysis of social representations, such as historical discourses and ritual performances.

#### CONTROVERSY, EVANGELISATION AND THE LEGACY OF EARLY ETHNOLOGY

The early Spanish interest in South American native religions produced an important corpus of documents, as varied in their content as reflective of both ecclesiastical and secular policies. Despite their layers of embedded reflections on paganism, these records constitute the richest source of information on Incan culture. They comment on the different festivities performed by the ruling nobility in Cuzco, and describe in their own ways the relationships that the Incas shared with their divinities and other supernatural beings. The relative availability of this material is thus an important factor that directed the religious orientation of this thesis. Yet more than any other aspect of social life, the belief systems of Pre-Hispanic people offered a forum for theological and political discussions that subsequently shaped the legislative and economic status of the Peruvian viceroyalty. The very nature of this historiography is therefore both complex and controverted, indicating that an understanding of the biases and intellectual

---

<sup>2</sup> In primary sources, the name of Cuzco's lower moiety is either spelt *urin* or *hurin*. Recent philological analyses reveal that none of these two terminologies originated from the Quechua II family. The concept opposed to *hanan* would have proceeded from the Chinchaysuyu vocable <*rurin*>, also recorded <*lurin*> in Las Casas and Guaman Poma de Ayala. The consonant <h> before *-urin* appeared later in Spanish texts, and was likely a misinterpretation of the [l] at the beginning of the variant <*lurin*>. See Cerrón-Palomino 2002; Taylor 2001: p. 435.



motivations of its authors is a necessary first step to decipher the syntax of Incan oral traditions and ritual actions. For these reasons, this dissertation focuses primarily on re-examining the chronicles that scholars have used in the past few decades to elaborate theories on the belief system of Tawantinsuyu's ruling elite. This approach aims to identify common misinterpretations and hitherto unquestioned assumptions about Incan religion.

#### THE ARGUMENTS OF THE CONTROVERSY

Until the mid-sixteenth century, Spanish chroniclers only assigned minimal interest to the social organization of Cuzco, the capital of Tawantinsuyu. What did appeal to the conquistadors' curiosity, then, were the military organization of the former realm, its imperial infrastructure and hierarchy of provincial and local authorities. From the mid 1540s, however, the chroniclers' focus began to shift after two major events took place that permanently shaped the nature of the discussions on Incan society and belief system. First, the festivals that the indigenous elite had hitherto performed in Cuzco were irrevocably banned as practices. This proscription coincided with the First Council of Lima, assembled in 1551, whose declared intention was to set a uniform Church policy against native religions, labelled as "idolatries". Thenceforth, Spanish chroniclers would have to rely on the oral reports of their Incan informants and first colonists to describe the splendour of the bygone festivities<sup>3</sup>. Secondly, years of civil wars between Spanish factions, concurrent with the decline of the indigenous labour force and the abuses perpetuated in the *encomiendas*<sup>4</sup>, increasingly exercised regal officials, now looking for ways to delineate the Crown's legal rights over Peru's wealth. Theologians and jurists were thus called upon to delineate the foundations of these titles, thereby sparking decades of controversy that focused largely on defining the status of Amerindians as human beings. The ensuing debates opposed two main schools of

---

<sup>3</sup> Duviols 1977a: p. 111.

<sup>4</sup> The creation of the *encomienda* system originated in twelfth century Spain, when military orders, assembled in monastic confraternities, sided with the royal armies in the Reconquista of the Peninsula. In reward for their services they received a portion of the territories they helped to reconquer and over which they gained a protective authority. These grants, called *encomienda*, were based on the feudal principle of lordship protection through which the *encomendero* assured the protection of the men and women cultivating his lands. Although the Catholic Kings attempted to curb the rising power of the military orders, this institution maintained sufficient prestige to influence the colonial system. In Peru, the *encomenderos*, who were granted this title in perpetuity (although without a grant of land) until 1544, disregarded their obligation to provide for the Indians' religious education and to guarantee their liberty in counterpart to the tribute they levied from them. See Lockhart 1968: pp. 11-14; Puente Brunke 1990; Andrien 2001: p. 43.

thought led by three Dominicans: Francisco de Vitoria and Bartolomé de Las Casas on one side, and Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda on the other.

Around 1545, humanist Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda completed his *Democrates secundus*, a dialogue that aimed at legitimising Spanish dominion over the Americas and articulated the Crown's right to benefit from the natives' labour. His vindication extended the Aristotelian argument of natural slavery, whereby enslavement is only permissible if the slave is by nature inferior to his master, to the populations of the New World. Sepúlveda stated that the deviant behaviours and vices observed amongst Amerindians demonstrated their irrationality, therefore impeding the articulation of just governance and the development of civil societies<sup>5</sup>. Following the medieval lines of the *Requerimiento*<sup>6</sup>, which deprived infidels of political jurisdiction and rights to property, he suggested that the Crown had legal title to launch a just war on the opponents of the Christian faith and *ergo* on the Amerindians who defied the true God with their heathen beliefs. In view of these legal provisoes, he argued, the Spanish king had the right to claim ownership of America and to subjugate its people.

Sepúlveda's dogmatic thesis provoked a firm condemnation from the partisans of the new Scholasticism and pupils of Francisco de Vitoria, who had elaborated from 1532 a unique interpretation of the Crown's lawful titles. Vitoria's arguments were enclosed in a series of lectures, *De Indis*, delivered at the School of Salamanca. His assertions were based on a reformulation of the Thomist concept of natural law, which he saw as a pervasive principle of human nature, governing the moral standards of all rational beings. For no one can lack reason and policy by virtue of his nature; all men are entitled to dominion over their material goods and actions, including the newly "discovered" Amerindians. The new scholastics argued that the existence of a form of religion in America before the Spanish conquest could not have offended God's law because, previously, peoples of the New World had lived in ignorance of the Gospel<sup>7</sup>.

To argue their case, both parties referred to the official, albeit heterogenous, chronicles of the conquest that, in turn, began to be influenced by the very arguments of this theological and legal controversy. López de Gómara's *Historia General de las*

---

<sup>5</sup> Pagden 1990: pp. 15-19.

<sup>6</sup> The *Requerimiento* was written in 1512 inspired by a medieval tradition. See Muldoon 1980.

<sup>7</sup> Grisel 1976.

*Indias* (1552) is one of the first examples of a long series of works that sought to refute the neo-scholastic thesis and praised the Spanish conquest for its civilizing mission over cruel, vile and depraved Indians. The same year, Bartolomé de Las Casas published in Seville his *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias* in which he depicts the leader of the Incan nobility as a universal lord who ruled over societies contemptuous of private property. This theme and many others drawn by Las Casas were later taken over by one of his spiritual followers, the Augustinian friar Jerónimo Román y Zamora, in his *Repúblicas de Indias* (1575). None of these authors had been to Peru but their works set forth the major themes that would be developed in subsequent chronicles. The various treatises, histories and missionary texts evoked in this chapter are set within the wider framework of the Crown's lawful titles to America because it was in this context that the characteristics of the Incan religion and society became a central issue. It is not the purpose of this dissertation to detail and discuss every aspect of the Incan historiography. Instead, the following overview offers a general survey of the pertinent primary sources within their context of elaboration and posits a possible methodology to approach the information they enclose. As for the implications of the chroniclers' perspectives for the interpretation of particular points of Incan religion and society, they will be elaborated in each of the following chapters.

#### INSIGHT INTO INCAN HISTORIOGRAPHY

To approach a definition of the Gentiles' religion, Spanish commentators turned to the foundational texts of the Renaissance: the Bible, the Classics, and the patristic texts, which in turn provided a framework for further analogies. Hence, as historian Sabine MacCormack noted, references to Ancient Rome became a rhetorical implement that served chroniclers like Cieza de León, Garcilaso de la Vega, and Jesuit Father Blas Valera to articulate the providential nature of the Incan empire<sup>8</sup>. The background of these three historiographers, however, was diverse.

Cieza de León reached Peru in the 1540s and encountered a country racked by civil wars. Thanks to his position as secretary to Pedro de la Gasca, governor of Peru, Cieza gained access to the archives of the early conquest, which he used with the information accumulated in the course of his travels to compose *Crónica del Perú* (1553-1554). The second part, which relates the reigns of the Cuzco lords and depicts

---

<sup>8</sup> MacCormack 1985, 1991, 2001b, 2007.

the various institutions of Incan power, has close affinities with Bartolomé de Las Casas's works, and largely inspired Garcilaso de la Vega on many points<sup>9</sup>. The latter published his *Comentarios Reales de los Incas* in 1609, which rapidly grew in fame and became a reference for the eulogists of Tawantinsuyu for the centuries to come. The son of a Spanish captain and an Incan noblewoman<sup>10</sup>, Garcilaso spent his youth in Cuzco before leaving for Spain in his late teens. At the end of his life, he turned to writing highly influenced by humanist culture, neo-Platonism and the Jesuit ideals of Blas Valera, whose late sixteenth-century works he quotes extensively<sup>11</sup>. What bound these three chroniclers were a sympathy for the Lascasian arguments and an admiration for the structures of the Incan empire. They praised the good governance implemented by the former elite and evoked its edifying mission to civilise the empire's subjects. They similarly depicted the Incas as magnanimous rulers, striving for the wellbeing of their subjects and controlling fairly the redistribution of wealth and goods.

By comparing Cuzco to Rome, they connected the former to the civilization that had become the social paradigm and crucible of Christianity, thereby implying the Incas' predisposition both to receive and to spread the true religion<sup>12</sup>. Cieza de León was the earliest chronicler to depict Tawantinsuyu as an absolute state in which the laws, similarly to the Roman code, made up the foundations of the Republic's stability. Following his example, the texts elaborated by Garcilaso de la Vega and Father Blas Valera abound with comparisons between the ancient legislators Numa Pompilius or Lycurgus, on the one hand, and the Incan lords believed to have devised the ritual calendar and other religious institutions, on the other. A particular figure, that of Inca Pachacuti Yupanqui, was soon identified as the main protagonist of these religious reforms, and received considerable attention from chronicler Juan de Betanzos, a contemporary of Cieza.

It was Antonio de Mendoza who commissioned Betanzos's text, the *Suma y narración de los Incas*, during his tenure as viceroy of Peru between 1551 and 1552.

---

<sup>9</sup> These ideas may have emerged in part from the conversations Cieza had with Domingo de Santo Tomás, whom he met in Charcas. It is perhaps because of these affinities that the Crown's officials did not grant permission for the distribution of the second part of Cieza's chronicle, ready for publication in 1554. See Villarías Robles 1998: pp. 78-82; MacCormack 1991: pp. 85-108; 2007: pp. 16-17.

<sup>10</sup> She was Isabel Suárez Chimpú Ocllo, daughter of Tupac Huallpa, the first "puppet" ruler to have been given the *maska paycha* from Spanish hands after the execution of Atahualpa.

<sup>11</sup> Villarías Robles 1998: pp. 108-118. Hyland (2004) stresses that most of Valera's works are lost today, and most of what he wrote survived in fragments in Garcilaso's *Comentarios Reales*.

<sup>12</sup> MacCormack 2001b.

The chronicler's career in the service of the viceregal administration had commenced ten years earlier, when he became one of the earliest interpreters of the Crown. During this time, Betanzos availed himself of many indigenous testimonies about the Andean past and supervised the interviews of the *kipukamayuk* who provided the information for the *Discurso sobre la descendencia y gobierno de los Incas* (1542)<sup>13</sup>. The imprint of his union with a woman of Incan descent, member of Inca Pachacuti Yupanqui's *panaqa* (royal lineage), is particularly present in the many references Betanzos makes to this lord's epic, while he provides very little information on the early phase of the empire<sup>14</sup>.

Betanzos attributes to Pachacuti Yupanqui, whom he identifies as the ninth king of the Incan dynasty, the creation of the metropolitan calendar and its rituals, as well as the construction of the Sun temple and other infrastructure (irrigation canals, storehouses). Although Betanzos's manuscript was unknown to Spanish readership before the late nineteenth-century<sup>15</sup>, his contemporaries were widely familiar with the narratives the *Suma y narración de los Incas* encloses. Many of them present Inca Pachacuti's achievements in similar terms<sup>16</sup>. Jesuit Father Bernabé Cobo, who largely extracted his material from previous sources, evokes this tradition in his monumental encyclopaedia of the Americas (*La Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, 1653) as follows:

He injected order and reason into everything; eliminated and added rites and ceremonies; made the religious cult more extensive; established the sacrifices and the solemnity with which the gods were to be venerated, enlarged and embellished the temples with magnificent structures, income, and a great number of priests and ministers; reformed the calendar; divided the year into twelve months, giving each one its name; and designated the solemn fiestas and sacrifices to be held each month<sup>17</sup>.

The law and order implemented by the former ruling elite were not the only arguments advanced by the defenders of the Indians' cause to support the legitimacy of Incan dominion. For them, also, the expansion of the Incan realm had obeyed the laws of the Just War because, prior to its expansion, Andean societies were "in little accordance with the natural way" and had complied in the heathen veneration of the

---

<sup>13</sup> Villarías Robles 1998: pp. 70-71; Fossa 2000b.

<sup>14</sup> Julien 2000: pp. 91-130; MacCormack 2001a; Nowack 2002.

<sup>15</sup> Villarías Robles 1998: p. 70-71.

<sup>16</sup> Anónimo (c. 1570); Molina; Sarmiento; Cobo.

<sup>17</sup> Cobo: T. 2, Bk. 12, Ch. 12, p.78. Translation from Hamilton 1979: p. 133.

Devils' manifestations on earth<sup>18</sup>. They advanced the idea that the Incas had devised a form of monotheism in the worship of a supreme god whom they regarded as their creator and whose cult Manco Capac and his successors spread throughout the Andes for the benefit and salvation of their subjects. Parish priest Cristóbal de Molina even suggests, in what constitutes the main source on Incan religious practices, that the ruling elite believed in a Heaven where the righteous people rested next to the Maker, while the evil ones tormented by the devils suffered from starvation and thirst in hell<sup>19</sup>. His *Relación de las fábulas y ritos de los Incas* (1573), however, encloses precious information collected among the Cuzco nobility in the late 1560s, and this was extensively used by Molina's successors<sup>20</sup>.

For Gutiérrez de Santa Clara, who never sojourned in Peru, this divinity was Con who had fashioned his creations through the word, the thought and the breath<sup>21</sup>. Most narratives, however, attribute this genesis to *Wiraqucha* (Viracocha in the texts), an ancestor whose journey on earth started in the region of Lake Titicaca before ending in the sea of central Peru. Several sources relate how Inca Pachacuti Yupanqui speculated on the real nature of this god and understood that the Sun divinity was subordinated to him.

This Inca had such power of understanding that he set himself to consider the respect and reverence his ancestors bestowed on the Sun, seeing they adored it as God, even though, circling the world every day, the Sun never had any rest or respite. He therefore discussed with the members of his council that it was impossible for the Sun to be God, the creator of all things. For if it were, it would not be possible for a little cloud passing before it to deprive its light of radiance. And if the Sun were the creator of all things, it would sometimes rest and would shine on all the world from one place and would command whatever it wished. But seeing that this was not the case there was another who ruled and directed the world, and he was Pachayachachic, which means Maker<sup>22</sup>.

---

<sup>18</sup> Anónimo (c. 1570): p. 149.

<sup>19</sup> Molina 1989: p. 111-112.

<sup>20</sup> Molina produced two chronicles of which the first, entitled *Relación del origen, vida y costumbres de los Ingas, señores que fueron de estas tierras*, is lost today. It is believed that several chroniclers such as José de Acosta, Bernabé Cobo and Sarmiento de Gamboa used this document to write their own chronicle. See Urbano in Molina: pp. 9-41.

<sup>21</sup> Gutiérrez most likely drew data from Augustín Zárate and Francisco López de Gómara. Both these chroniclers transcribed traditions from the northern and central coast of Peru, which had previously been recorded by the mayor of Trujillo, Rodrigo Lozano. See Villarías Robles 1998: p. 85. For a historiographic study of this tradition and a linguistic approach to the name Con, see Torero 1990: pp. 253-254.

<sup>22</sup> Molina 1989: p. 59. Translation by MacCormack 1991a: p. 258.

These events, reminiscent of the First Cause argument, found its supporters in Cristóbal de Molina, Cabello de Balboa, Franciscan Jerónimo de Oré, and Martín de Murúa, although the latter identifies the “All Merciful” with a deity of the central coast called Pachacamac<sup>23</sup>. Likewise, Garcilaso claims that the “kings and their *amautas*, who were the philosophers, perceived by the light of nature the true supreme God our Lord, the maker of heaven and earth”, whom he calls Pachacamac<sup>24</sup>. This name, he argues, translates as “He who gives life to the universe” and, because this god was invisible, he was neither represented nor received any sacrifices<sup>25</sup>. For Garcilaso, like Cieza de León and Molina, the providential nature of Incan religion was also manifest in other aspects of their doctrine, such as the immortality of the Soul, the belief in universal resurrection or the tripartition of the universe in heaven (*hanan pacha*), earth (*ucu pacha*) and hell (*urin pacha*, sometimes *zupaypa wasin*, literally “the Devil’s house”)<sup>26</sup>.

Similarly, many believed that the elaboration of these religious concepts was directly related to the Incas’ ability to conceive a rational tongue<sup>27</sup>. Dominican fray Domingo de Santo Tomás best articulates this idea in the introduction of his *Lexicón o vocabulario de la lengua general* (1560) in which he praises the “Cuzco language” for its syntactic and grammatical complexity and exalts its function as a vehicular tongue. These qualities, he observes, made Quechua comparable to Latin and demonstrated the Andeans’ ability to articulate a conceptual vocabulary like their Roman predecessors. For Santo Tomás, most Judeo-Christian notions could be translated in the native language without losing their essential meaning, a reflection inherited from the Church Fathers and specifically developed by Saint Augustine. In the *City of God*, the latter describes the knowledge of pagan philosophy, and notably Plato’s writings, as a prerequisite condition to theological formation. According to him, conversion should articulate its argumentation around the innate idea of God present in every human mind<sup>28</sup>. This conception, however, was inevitably ambivalent because it implied that the teaching of the doctrine relied on a heathen substratum. Such an approach was later held responsible for the failure of the early evangelisation policy but, for Santo Tomás at that

---

<sup>23</sup> MacCormack 1991a: pp. 258-260; Duviols 1993, in Pachacuti Yamqui: pp. 61-64; Taylor 2003.

<sup>24</sup> Garcilaso de la Vega: Bk. 2, Ch. 2, p. 64.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> Garcilaso de la Vega: Bk. 2, Ch. 7, p. 78.

<sup>27</sup> Mannheim 1991: pp. 68-71.

<sup>28</sup> MacCormack 1985: p. 443.

time, Quechua religious terms adapted to the Christian message could and should be employed for missionary purposes.

Although Santo Tomás's lexical creations (periphrases) were often radical<sup>29</sup>, preachers in Peru also called upon a pre-existing linguistic material to convey their message. Quechua words were emptied of their original meaning and given a Christian interpretation – as in devil (*zupay*), idol (*waka*), hell (*ukhu pacha*), or the biblical creation (*kamay, yachachiy*)<sup>30</sup>. In this approach, early missionaries followed the patterns of the catechetical instructions used for the conversion of Infidels in Spain where catechists produced lexicons in Arabic that resorted to Islamic words and concepts to transmit the Christian doctrine. In these works, the Almighty god of the evangelists was *Allâh* and the Holy Church was known as the *Santa Mezquita*<sup>31</sup>. Hence, like the doctrine reports, catechisms, *plática* and missiologic treatises written in Quechua during the early colonial period, bilingual lexicons had no other function than implementing evangelisation. Their elaboration therein played a crucial role in transforming and spreading the lexicography of the Quechua language (*runasimi*), which influenced in turn the Spaniards' conception of native religion and, in particular, the traditions of the Incan high god<sup>32</sup>.

Thus, for many eulogists of the Incan empire, the Incas' ability to articulate rational concepts and their ideation of a supreme divinity demonstrated the work of natural reason and showed the natives' propensity to receive the words of the Gospel. For others, these elements constituted the evidence that an apostle had trodden ground in Peru before the Spanish conquest. This tradition, first documented in Mesoamerica in the late fifteenth-century, appears in the works of Las Casas, Cieza de León, Murúa and Pachacuti Yamqui who assimilate the journey of Saint Thomas with the epic of the divinity Wiraqucha<sup>33</sup>. They describe this figure as a white man of noble stature who addressed the people with leniency, performing miracles by curing sick people and

---

<sup>29</sup> Taylor 2001.

<sup>30</sup> Taylor 1980, 2000a; Bernand and Gruzinski 1992: pp. 153-171; Itier 1994-1995; Estenssoro-Fuchs 1996: pp. 1231, 1239-1240. About the history of *waka* in colonial and present-day documents, see also MacCormack 1991: pp. 332-349; Mills 1997: Ch. 2, pp. 39-74.

<sup>31</sup> Zwartjes 1999.

<sup>32</sup> Formerly used as a vehicular tongue by the Cuzqueñan and the provincial elites only, Quechua expanded significantly in the course of the colonial period. Three factors principally influenced this cultural change: mining exploitation, which engendered massive population movement, trade and evangelisation.

<sup>33</sup> Duviols 1977a: pp. 56-70; MacCormack 1991a: p. 312; Pease 1995: p. 44; Bouysse-Cassagne 1997a: pp. 159-160. Las Casas and Cieza make reference to this tradition, but do not support it.



restoring sight to the blind. For Colla chronicler Pachacuti Yamqui, only one lord, Manco Capac's father, received the words of the apostle and transmitted them to his son for the salvation of the people they were to conquer. Like Blas Valera and Garcilaso before him, he depicts the Incan lords as ardent extirpators of idolatry who elevated the gentiles out of their barbarity to an understanding of the true religion. For these authors, the conquest of the pre-Hispanic lords was primarily a civilizing mission that aimed to eradicate their subjects' superstitious beliefs and to replace them with the laws that the "natural light" had taught them<sup>34</sup>.

This view opposes dramatically Guaman Poma de Ayala's conception of early Andean History according to which the former rulers had been responsible for spreading paganism throughout the empire. A fervent Christian but fiercely anti-clerical, Guaman Poma claimed to have had access to information from the *kipu* and "Indian eyewitnesses from each sector" to write his comprehensive, albeit original, depiction of the empire's political, economic and social organization. Although he expresses admiration for the order of the former institutions, Guaman Poma argues that Incan sovereignty was established upon deception with the help of the Devil and was therefore opposed to the laws of natural lordship<sup>35</sup>. This offence and the degeneration of Incan beliefs into idolatry, which he details extensively, generated God's first miracle in Peru with the arrival of Saint Bartholomew. The Indians, however, rejected his teaching and thereby committed a crime of apostasy, revealing at the same time conditions altogether favourable for the second revelation brought by the Spaniards<sup>36</sup>.

Despite his condemnation of Incan heresies, Guaman Poma did not share the political agenda introduced earlier by Viceroy Francisco de Toledo (1569-1581). In order to maximize the efficiency of the colonial tribute policy and thus future revenues, Toledo systematized an already existing procedure known as the *visita general*, in which the political status of pre-Incan chiefdoms would be defined, as well as the nature of their economic commitments with the former elite<sup>37</sup>. In parallel, these inquiries

---

<sup>34</sup> Garcilaso de la Vega: Bk. V, Ch. XI, p. 244-245; Brading 1986.

<sup>35</sup> Duviols 1980: p. 13-15.

<sup>36</sup> Adorno 1988; Adorno and Boserup 2003; Brokaw 2003.

<sup>37</sup> In order to control more efficiently the indigenous working force, Indian nucleated settlements (*reducciones*) were created. These were themselves located among larger administrative districts or *repartimientos* governed by a hierarchy of local lords and headmen who insured that each able-bodied man paid a head-tax or tribute. However, the caciques and members of the Inca nobility who could prove

sought to establish the Crown's dominion by denouncing the barbarity and illegitimacy of the former elite. The stated aim was to assemble proof of the Incas' despotism and barbarity, and to acknowledge the prior status of the provincial chiefdoms as the first and rightful occupants of the land.

The conclusions of the Toledo inquiries were sent to king Philip II in 1572 together with Sarmiento de Gamboa's *Historia de los Incas*, a book that echoes the voices of selected members of the Incan nobility and descendants of the provincial elite. Sarmiento's work vividly illustrates the viceroy's new policies, notably through the wide interest the ancient Peruvian *behetrías*<sup>38</sup>, and the first occupants of the Cuzco valley are granted. The author chooses particularly to insist on the barbarity of Incan rituals and evokes the sacrifices of young children performed during the festivities of the *capacucha* (thenceforth *Qhapaq hucha*). In Sarmiento's own words, the purpose of his chronicle was to disclose the Incas' "tyrannical laws and customs", such as the "sacrifice of innocent people and the eating of human flesh, the unspeakable sin, as well as the casual copulation with sisters and mothers, the abominable use of beasts, and their nefarious and damned customs"<sup>39</sup>. These sins, he argues, were against natural laws and gave to the king of Spain the legitimate right to declare war on the natives and seek jurisdiction over the land of Peru<sup>40</sup>.

Finally, the last two decades of the sixteenth century opened new perspectives in the field of social history, with implications for the definition of Amerindian societies and their religious customs. At issue was the classification of barbarous and savage societies, a question that encroached on the nature and origin of paganism and influenced the theoretical foundations of evangelisation. José de Acosta, a Jesuit and Provincial of the Society in Peru, elaborated a hierarchical model of development borrowed from Saint John of Damascus through which, he believed, every society progressed before reaching the final stage of civilization provided by Christianity<sup>41</sup>. He

---

their filial relations with the ancient royalty, were exempt from tribute. In such a context, it was preferable and even beneficial to establish the nobility of one's ascent.

<sup>38</sup> The term *behetría* (from the Latin *benefactor*) appeared at the end of the Middle Age in Castilla Y León to refer to communities of small landowners who elected their lord freely and kept an autonomous juridical status. It has been applied to the American context to describe societies "halfway between tribal organization and the Archaic state". See Villarías Robles 1998: p. 81.

<sup>39</sup> Sarmiento de Gamboa, introduction to the *Historia de los Incas*. Translation from B. S. Bauer and V. Smith 2007: p. 42-43.

<sup>40</sup> Villarías Robles 1998: pp. 91-95.

<sup>41</sup> Pagden 1986: p. 172.

categorised the social and political order of exotic societies (Mexican, Peruvian, Brazilian, Chinese, Japanese, Egyptian and Chaldean societies) into three stages in direct correlation with the three stages of paganism towards the true religion. Acosta's description of Incan customs and ceremonial practices was directed to proving the Incas' barbaric stage of evolution. According to him, their lore was characterized by the worship of objects of elementary nature, such as the Sun, the Thunder, the Moon, Venus, the Sea and the Earth, but it nevertheless demonstrated a higher degree of religious understanding than primitive idolatry because it included the worship of a creator god. Acosta's universal typology of heathen belief does not provide any original information on the customs and traditions of the former elite, but rather aims at providing missionaries with effective devices to recognize and combat idolatry.

Acosta's argument hinges on the assumption that paganism, regardless of its external manifestations, is a general phenomenon devised by the Devil. This vision is embedded in the Neoplatonic tradition adapted by Augustine in the *De Civitate Dei*, which depicts Satan as the usurper of the Christian dogma who apes the work of the true God in order to receive the sacrifice and the honours due to the Almighty. Acosta imputes to the Devil the responsibility of misleading the Gentiles in America with his duperies and corrupting the order of the natural law<sup>42</sup>. His description of Incan rituals thus accentuates their deceitful aspects and lingers on their perfidious resemblance with the Christian tenet. He discloses with horror "How the Devil endeavoured to ape the sacraments of the Holy Church" in a diabolical Incan communion performed twice a year, at Capac raymi and Coya raymi (thenceforth *Qhapaq rayme* and *Quya rayme*), when the Incas shared among the participants food mixed with sacrificial blood. He also perceives the Devil's influence in the triadic aspect of certain Incan gods, which "imitated the mystery of the Holy Trinity"<sup>43</sup>.

Acosta's missiology was radically opposed to the earlier conceptions that tolerated the perpetuation of native tradition in transmitting the words of the Christian dogma. He thus attributes the failure of evangelisation to the ignorance in which the native populations had been kept about the real nature of their traditional beliefs, and opposes Las Casas's view that the Gentiles would genuinely disown their idols once they find the true God. Although Acosta was certainly not the first Spanish to attribute

---

<sup>42</sup> Sánchez 2002.

<sup>43</sup> Acosta: Bk. V, Ch. 23, pp. 255-256; Bk. V, Ch. 28, pp. 267-271.

the Indians' customs to the work of the Devil<sup>44</sup>, he was the first systematically to articulate this argument. Attesting to his legacy, many later missionary texts, such as José de Arriaga's *Extirpación de la idolatría en el Pirú* (1621) and the Jesuit *Annuæ Litterae*,<sup>45</sup> increasingly explained Andean idolatry by the devil's endeavouring to imitate and sabotage God's revelation<sup>46</sup>. In this context, his works anticipate the rigorous measures of the Third Council of Lima (1582-83) that set the premises of the "extirpation of idolatry" campaigns and established a complete turning point in the collective effort to coalesce evangelistic policy.

This last imperative arose from the conclusive evidence that, half a century after the Spanish invasion, idolatry had not disappeared from Peru but was rather prospering under the spurious guise of Catholicism. The idealistic enthusiasm that had impelled the early missions was now evaporating, and the utopia of a restored Church in the New World appeared unattainable. Missionaries were confronted with what they identified as the Indians' natural reluctance to assimilate the Christian doctrine, and which they attributed in part to the early evangelisation policy. Indeed, up until that date, the application of doctrinal methods varied considerably from one parish to another, depending upon the pastoral praxis shared by the different religious orders in Peru: Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustinians, Mercedarians and, after 1568, Jesuits<sup>47</sup>. The first evangelisation period was characterised by countless baptisms, massive destructions of idols, and the highly subjective teaching of the faith frequently imparted by way of indigenous translators. Furthermore, the subjectivity that surrounded the enterprises of translation in the predicament of the faith increasingly engendered discordances and confusions.

The Third Council's stated ambition was to end this debacle by introducing restrictive measures. On the pastoral issue, it thereby put an end to the diversity of catechisms and missals produced up to that date and imposed the *Doctrina Christiana* (1584), a text that diffuses the message of the Church through new linguistic norms

---

<sup>44</sup> As early as 1533, the first conquistadors accused the Devil of having inspired the cult of Pachacamac (MacCormack 2006: pp. 625-631). The Augustinian friars established in Huamachuco also recognized a false trinity in the cult of Ataguju (Agustinos [1560]), while Murúa recounts the confessions the Indians made to the Devil in the same way Christians honour the evangelical law (Murúa: Bk. II, Ch. 24: 399).

<sup>45</sup> Missionary reports sent by the Jesuit preachers to the General of the Company.

<sup>46</sup> Estenssoro Fuchs 2001.

<sup>47</sup> Milhou 1992; Urbano 1994; Martínez i Alvarez 1998; Luque Alcaide 2000; Estenssoro Fuchs 2001: pp. 459-461.

accessible to a wider audience. Appended to it was a collaborative *Vocabulario* (1586), which established the characteristics of Quechua for centuries to come<sup>48</sup>. Most importantly, the Council proceeded to publish a posthumous text by Polo Ondegardo, entitled *Los errores y supersticiones de los indios*, which had a long-lasting influence over the subsequent descriptions of the Incan religion.

A jurist, and twice *Corregidor* of Cuzco, Polo participated in eradicating the cult of Incan objects and disclosed in his writings detailed information on the ceremonial practices of the former elite<sup>49</sup>. In 1559, the Dominican J  ronimo de Loaysa, then archbishop of the city, charged him with an enquiry into indigenous customs and beliefs. The data Polo gathered during this project certainly informed his work on the *seque* system, the web of imaginary lines that radiated from Cuzco to cross multiple shrines in its surroundings, which he further claimed to have unlocked. One of his most important achievements, completed thanks to his personal contacts with the local nobility, was the discovery and subsequent disposal of several mummy bundles of late Incan rulers. His authoritative manuscript, published on the initiative of the Third Council of Lima, addresses the cult of the dead but also establishes a clear hierarchy of Incan gods, headed by an alleged creator divinity (Wiraqucha) and assisted by spiritual entities subordinated to him<sup>50</sup>. This portrayal, together with Polo's account of the metropolitan festivals, is repeatedly found in Cabello de Balboa, Mur  a, Acosta and Cobo's chronicles, which largely excerpt information from *Los errores y supersticiones de los indios* without adding any original data<sup>51</sup>. In the meantime, the austere policy for the extermination of idolatry had turned its sight away from Cuzco and other major towns, and decidedly lost interest in Incan customs, hitherto condemned to oblivion.

#### AN APPROACH TO THE INTERPRETATION OF CULTURAL ENCOUNTERS

These controverted sources, permeated by the political and evangelist agendas of their authors, provide the basis for present-day scholarly debates on the religious beliefs and ritual practices of the Incan elite. Whether they were histories, bilingual lexicons or administrative reports, these documents were never elaborated out of a spirit of

---

<sup>48</sup> Duviols 1997: pp. 173-175; Taylor 2003.

<sup>49</sup> Very few of Polo Ondegardo's works on Andean religious practices have survived. For a survey of the works attributed to this chronicler and their possible dating, see Gonz  lez and Alonso (eds.) in Polo 1990: pp. 19-25.

<sup>50</sup> Gonz  lez and Alonso, in Polo 1990: pp. 7-25; Villar  as Robles: pp. 99-102; Hampe Mart  nez 2001.

<sup>51</sup> Duviols 1962.

disinterested ethnological inquiry (if such an enterprise exists), and necessarily reveal aspects of the dominant society in which they were produced. In addition, the enforcement of the colonial system created new demands on the remnant indigenous elite, whose members were required to provide judicial proof of their noble ancestry (*probanza*) for them to benefit from social and economic privileges, or for them to participate in the prestigious festivals of the Catholic liturgy. In this context, indigenous informants were compelled to assemble conclusive, and sometimes biased, reports of their kin group's blood ties, and to detail the past involvements of members of their family in the ritual and administrative life of the Incan empire<sup>52</sup>. Of these individuals whose record was penned to paper in colonial times, ethnohistorian Gary Urton writes:

The identities of these characters are the products of the recollections and ideological reconstructions of people who were called on by the Spanish to testify concerning these individuals for a variety of purposes (e.g., from the determination of the juridical status of individuals to the reconstruction of Inka history). The informants were working from a well-known body of mythohistorical traditions and they were reinterpreting these traditions within colonial Spanish hierarchical relations and bureaucratic structures<sup>53</sup>.

Incan historiography, therefore, is the product of a process of selection, translation, and interpretation of oral material that served to establish the status, privileges and rights of individuals in the colonial system, and to determine their disposition towards the "true religion". Confronted with these entangled sources, early scholarly studies of Incan lore largely overlooked the chronicles whose authors were identified as overtly sympathetic to the arguments of the Controversy. It was assumed that the agendas and biases diffused through the lines of works by López de Gómara, Las Casas, or Román y Zamora (to only cite authors who never went to Peru) dramatically distorted the pre-Hispanic material they presumably enclosed. For many years, there thus seems to have been a non-verbal, although sometimes explicit, consensus on what should constitute a reliable source on the basis of its author's affinities with the Spanish or indigenous elite, his presence on the site, or the general coherence/structure of his prose. Scholars frequently classified and selected their sources according to the degree of accuracy they assumed this literature reflects, and in doing so, they frequently dismissed the chronicles that documented singular traditions.

---

<sup>52</sup> Duviols 1979a; Adorno 1988: pp. 13-32; Urton 1990: pp. 46-70; Stern 1993: pp. 121-128; Cahill 1998; Cahill 2000; Yaya 2008.

<sup>53</sup> Urton 1990: p. 62.

Gutiérrez de Santa Clara's *Quinquenarios o Historia de las guerras civiles del Perú* (c. 1590) is perhaps one of the most overlooked primary sources of all. A chronicler little cited in modern scholarship and often decried for largely reproducing material from his predecessors<sup>54</sup>, Gutiérrez reportedly never set foot in Peru. Dubbed the “writer-novelist” by Marcel Bataillon, Gutiérrez recorded a variety of information on Incan society that no other chronicles ostensibly support, and penned a series of narratives previously undocumented. For example, he attributes the division of Cuzco into two moieties to Tupa Inca Yupanqui, successor of Pachacuti Yupanqui. He also sets the beginning of the Incas' primordial migration in the Lake Titicaca Basin, several generations after their first leader, Manco Sapaca, settled in the town of Hatun Qolla. Martti Pärssinen, citing the authority of reputable chroniclers, recently declared the unreliability of the Gutiérrez narrative in these terms:

It is a well-known fact that many early Spanish sources claimed that Inca Viracocha was the first Inca ruler and that he was from Lake Titicaca. Although Cieza de León, Betanzos and many others firmly argued against this view in the 1550s, it did not prevent Gutiérrez from making his claim again with new modifications based on his own imagination<sup>55</sup>.

Significantly, Pärssinen himself points out that Gutiérrez was not the only chronicler of the sixteenth century to have traced the origin of the first Incas to the Collao area. Many historiographers, including Molina el Cuzqueño, López de Gómara, Castro and Ortega Morejón, Pedro Pizarro, Zárate, and, later, Garcilaso de la Vega, reported the same tradition, albeit with divergent details. To a number of scholars, however, their testimonies appeared incongruous in the light of another, substantial, body of primary sources composed of well-respected chroniclers such as Betanzos, Cieza de León, and Sarmiento de Gamboa. These authors were believed to have had access to first-hand information and to have recorded “*more Andean* versions of the foundation story”<sup>56</sup>. Thus, to explain the intriguing discrepancies setting apart the two corpuses, Pärssinen argued that the first group of Spanish texts, however numerous, confused their sources and mingled the narrative of the Incas' migration with that of Wiraqucha's emergence from Lake Titicaca<sup>57</sup>.

---

<sup>54</sup> Bataillon 1961; Pärssinen 1992: pp. 60-67.

<sup>55</sup> Pärssinen 1992: p. 61.

<sup>56</sup> Rostworowski 1999: p. 12. My emphasis.

<sup>57</sup> Pärssinen 1992: p. 61.

This interpretation reinforces the assumption that certain sources cannot contribute to our understanding of Incan society because their Spanish authors were either biased, or did not personally interview the people they describe. It bases its critiques on the historiographers' flaws, and largely overlooks the literary qualities of the narratives themselves, their affinities with other traditions, or their association to a particular oral genre. Most importantly, such an interpretation of literary discrepancies does not acknowledge the plurality of historical traditions. It postulates that the Incas produced a single, homogenous representation of their past, which did not coexist or interact with other narrative genres, or other historical expressions. This, however, is precisely what needs to be demonstrated.

In contrast, this study assumes that Incan historical traditions were plural: they not only echoed the discordant voices of various groups in the society, but also varied according to their contexts of recitation and their media of transmission – *kipus*, oral histories or public performances. Therefore, to unravel aspects of pre-Hispanic history contained in primary sources, this dissertation privileges a twofold approach based on narrative analysis, on the one hand, and an understanding of Incan social divisions, on the other. It thus follows an avenue of research recently opened by historian Catherine Julien who underscored the need to undertake textual analyses of Spanish material to identify underlying oral sources<sup>58</sup>. In this line, chapter 2 of this study examines every account, albeit discrepant, that narrates the migration of the Incan dynastic founders. It discerns, compares and contextualizes the major themes running through these texts in order to draw an alternative picture of Incan historical traditions.

Moreover, as Gary Urton observes, colonial documents were not “necessarily fabricated” or constructed *ex nihilo*. Instead, they contain prefigured elements shared by both native informants and the representatives of the dominant power<sup>59</sup>. This study grounds its argument on the same premise and assumes that colonial discourses internalise an Andean substratum whose characteristics allowed for a rationale of assimilation. In this way, Spanish narratives of Incan history can be approached like religious syncretisms, for both result from the choices individuals make to appropriate and combine certain elements of traditions. Therefore, in Peter Burke's words, “what the historian needs to investigate is the logic underlying these appropriations and

---

<sup>58</sup> Julien 2000: pp. 12-14.

<sup>59</sup> Urton 1990: p. 62.



combinations, the local reasons for these choices”<sup>60</sup>. Rather than adopting a relativist view that denies any relevance to the Spanish rendition of Incan beliefs, my aim is to investigate the native paradigms that precisely facilitated Wiraqucha’s merging with the omnipotent God of the Christian tradition, and those that created the appropriate grounds for Inca Pachacuti Yupanqui to become the illuminated lord who devised the subordination of the Sun god under Wiraqucha.

To identify these pre-colonial underpinnings, the approach adopted here not only resorts to narrative analysis, it also seeks to understand how social divisions in Cuzco may have impacted on the articulation of “discordant” historical perspectives. It thus addresses the ‘emic’ point of view. In doing so, the present thesis focuses on one of the most salient and documented features of Incan society, that is, moiety division. It benefits from a body of anthropological works addressing the question of dual organization in Andean and Amazonian societies, and particularly emphasizes the theoretical approaches that sought to explain the presence of asymmetrical and hierarchical values in this system (e.g., the prominence of Hanan Cuzco over Urin Cuzco). It is argued here that the dynamics of dual opposition account for a number of discordances in Incan narratives. This dissertation follows the path traced by several decades of anthropological studies on dual organization in South America, and adopts a post-structuralist perspective on this issue, informed by the work of Louis Dumont and Terence Turner. However, before addressing this question in more detail, this chapter turns to the examination of the Incan historical narratives informing our knowledge of pre-Hispanic Cuzco. It raises their major discrepancies, from one chronicle to the next, and assesses the way modern scholarship has evaluated the data they enclose. In doing so, it addresses the main lines of the debate that has, since the 1960s, set apart the structuralist perspective from the historicist approach.

## **MAKING HISTORY: THE DYNAMICS OF INCAN CULTURE**

### **PROBLEMS OF STRUCTURE AND EVENTS**

Understanding the post-conquest agendas that motivated or transformed the gathering of information on the Incas’ past only partly helps to unravel the entangled issue of the Cuzco nobility’s pre-Hispanic history. Another problem, that of the type of data

---

<sup>60</sup> Burke 1997: p. 209.

enclosed in native traditions, soon becomes apparent when one seeks to assess the validity of the information perpetuated by Incan oral tradition. On this particular question, scholars have long been divided along two main epistemologies: one which rejects the historicity of the corpus altogether and approaches it as a system of social classification, and the other which attempts to harmonize the multiple discrepancies affecting the narratives in order to draw a true picture of the Incas' past. To adopt either of these perspectives is to be confronted with contradictory lists of Incan rulers that jumble inconsistently the ruling sequences, deeds, conquests, and reforms of different lords. Recent studies have shed light on these discrepancies<sup>61</sup>, and observed that certain Incas were omitted from the genealogical list of the reputable chronicles upon which Andean scholarship had long founded its argument (see Table 1.1). Following these texts, it was assumed that only eleven or twelve Incan rulers had reigned before the fratricidal war between Atahualpa and Huascar broke out in the early 1530s. Still according to these sources, Cuzco would have been composed of an equal number of *panaqas*, the noble lineages composed of a ruler's descent at the exception of the heir to the throne who founded his own *panaqa*.

<b>Juan de Betanzos [1551]</b>	<b>Sarmiento de Gamboa [1575]</b>	<b>Garcilaso de la Vega [1609]</b>	<b>Guaman Poma de Ayala [c. 1615]</b>
Manco Capac	Manco Capac	Manco Capac	Manco Capac
Sinchi Roca	Sinchi Roca	Sinchi Roca	Sinchi Roca
Lluque Yupanqui	Lluque Yupanqui	Lluque Yupanqui	Lluque Yupanqui
Capac Yupanqui	Mayta Yupanqui	Mayta Capac	Mayta Capac
Mayta Capac	Capac Yupanqui	Capac Yupanqui	Capac Yupanqui
Inca Roca Inca	Inca Roca Inca	Inca Roca	Inca Roca
Yahuar Huacac Inca Yupanqui	Yahuar Huacac	Yahuar Huacac	Yahuar Huacac Inca
Viracocha Inca	Viracocha Inca	Viracocha Inca	Viracocha Inca
Inca Yupanqui Pachacuti Inca Yamque Yupanqui	Inca Yupanqui Inca, <i>also</i> Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui	Inca Pachacuti	Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui
Tupa Inca Yupanqui	Tupa Inca Yupanqui	Tupa Inca Yupanqui	Tupa Inca Yupanqui
Huayna Capac	Huayna Capac	Huayna Capac	Huayna Capac
Huascar	Huascar Inca	Huascar	Tupa Cusi Hualpa/ Huascar Inca
Atahualpa	Atahualpa	Atahualpa	

Table 1.1 The Incas' ruling list according to four influential chroniclers. Prepared by the author.

<sup>61</sup> Julien 2000; Ramírez 2006a; Covey 2006b.

A glance at other primary sources reveals a more intricate picture. Cieza de León, for example, supplants the reign of the widely cited Yahuar Huacac with that of an unknown figure, Inca Yupanqui, who would have been brutally murdered in Cuzco and, for that matter, “did not receive the mortuary honours of his predecessors, nor was he mummified”<sup>62</sup>. His name is nonetheless conflated with Yahuar Huacac in Betanzos and Sarmiento’s texts where the seventh Inca is recorded as Yahuar Huacac Inca Yupanqui. Contrary to Cieza’s comments, however, both chroniclers certify that the reign of this sovereign was prosperous and closed with the honours generally rendered to each Inca. Polo Ondegardo and Acosta also ignored Capac Yupanqui’s reign and mention instead Tarco Huaman, an individual who has attracted much scholarly attention<sup>63</sup>. Similarly, while most texts agree in crediting Pachacuti Yupanqui with the Incan victory over the Chancas and the subsequent reorganization of Cuzco’s social and religious life, a large number of authors attribute the same achievements, or part of them, to either Inca Roca, Viracocha Inca or Tupa Yupanqui<sup>64</sup>.

Equally intriguing are the testimonies of early conquistadors and provincial informants that greatly differ from the ruling list repeatedly found in official sources from the 1550s. Castro and Ortega Morejón (1558), Santillán (1563), Pedro Pizarro (1571), the anonymous *Relación de los Señores Indios* (c. 1580), as well as several informants at the inquiries headed by viceroy Toledo (1571-1572), all commence the Incan kingship genealogy with either Inca Viracocha or Pachacuti Yupanqui; and when Manco Capac is listed first, he is followed by Pachacuti Inca (see Tables 1.2, 1.3 and 1.4). Importantly as well, many of these chroniclers evoke a ruler called Inca Yupanqui or Capac Yupanqui, whom they differentiate clearly from Pachacuti Yupanqui. The late narrative of Carmelite friar Antonio Vázquez de Espinoza (1629) also records the life and deeds of this sovereign, whose *panaqa* the Spanish administration recognized alongside eleven other noble lineages from 1721 onwards<sup>65</sup>. This lord, however, does not appear in the widely accepted genealogies of Betanzos, Sarmiento de Gamboa, Polo Ondegardo, Cabello de Balboa, Garcilaso de la Vega, or Guaman Poma.

---

<sup>62</sup> Cieza de León: Pt 2, Ch. 37, pp. 110-111.

<sup>63</sup> Polo Ondegardo 1916: 10; Acosta: Bk. 6, Ch. 23, p. 311; Duviols 1979c; Zuidema 1964: pp. 126-129; Zuidema 1983b: p. 51; Zuidema 2002, pp. 27-28.

<sup>64</sup> Collapiña et al.: pp. 33-38; Gutiérrez de Santa Clara: pp. 213-215; Cabello de Balboa: pp. 349-352, Murúa: Bk. 1, Ch. 13: pp. 58-59.

<sup>65</sup> Vázquez de Espinoza: Ch. 97, p. 384; Dean 1999: p. 241, n. 2; Amado Gonzales 2002; Cahill 2006; Garrett 2005: pp. 76-80.

<b>Bartolomé de Segovia [1553]</b>	<b>Damián de la Bandera [1557]</b>	<b>Castro, Ortega Morejón [1558]</b>
Inca Viracocha	Pachacuti Yupanqui	Capac Yupanqui
Tupa Inca Yupanqui	Viracocha Yupanqui	Tupa Inca Yupanqui
Huayna Capac	Inca Yupanqui	Huayna Capac
Huascar/Atahualpa	Tupa Inca Yupanqui	
	Huayna Capac	
	Atahualpa/Huascar Inca	

<b>Hernando de Santillán [1563]</b>	<b>Pedro Pizarro [1571]</b>	<b><i>Relación de los Señores</i> [c. 1580]</b>
Pachacuti	Inca Viracocha	Pachacuti Yupanqui
Viracocha	Tupa Inca/Inca Pachacuti	Viracocha Yupanqui
Yupanqui or Capac Yupanqui	Huayna Capac/Amaru Inca	Inca Yupanqui
Inca Yupanqui	Two unnamed successors	Tupa Inca Yupanqui
Tupa Inca Yupanqui		
Huayna Capac	Huayna Capac	Huayna Capac
Atahualpa/Huascar		Huascar Inca/Atahualpa

Tables 1.2 & 1.3. The Incan kingship sequence in six early chronicles. Prepared by the author.

<b>Alonso Pomaguaca</b>	<b>Antonio Guamán Chuco</b>	<b>Baltasar Guamán Llamaca</b>
Manco Capac	Viracocha Inca	Manco Capac
Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui	Pachacuti/Capac Inca	Pachacuti/Capac Yupanqui
Tupa Inca Yupanqui/Capac Yupanqui	Tupa Inca Yupanqui	Tupa Yupanqui Inca
Huayna Capac	Huayna Capac	Huayna Capac
Huascar Inca	Huascar/Atahualpa	

Table 1.4. The Incan kingship sequence according to three informants of the Toledan inquiries (1572). Prepared by the author<sup>66</sup>.

Early scholarship addressed these inconsistencies by favouring certain chronicles over others on the basis of their “accuracy” or congruity with reality<sup>67</sup>. It was assumed that the more factual coherence a text displayed, the more likely it followed a historical tradition upon which one could establish the foundations of a sound chronology. This textual approach, combined with the debut of systematic archaeology in the Cuzco region, led John H. Rowe to establish an absolute chronology of Incan history by 1945, starting around 1200. Adopting a list of eleven rulers before the outbreak of Atahualpa and Huascar’s fratricidal war, Rowe follows Cabello de Balboa’s list of dates (1586) as

<sup>66</sup> As Ramírez suggested elsewhere (2006a), the discordant lists demonstrate telescoping and fore-shortening that is common in oral tradition.

<sup>67</sup> Means 1917; Rowe 1945.

“sufficiently exact to be useful”, although little is know about how the chronicler gathered this information<sup>68</sup>:

1438, Pachacuti crowned.  
1463, Tupa Inca takes command of army.  
1471, Tupa Inca succeeds Pachacuti.  
1493, Huayna Capac succeeds Tupa Inca.  
1527, Death of Huayna Capac; Huascar succeeds him.

This diachronic perspective impacted in turn on the definition of the *panaqa*s, the Incan royal kin groups. Spanish texts tell us that each *panaqa* attended the needs of its mummified ancestor, who resided in the palace he had occupied in his lifetime. Designated officiants cared for his possessions, preserved the memory of his past deeds, and transported his embalmed corpse to the palaces of deceased peers with whom the mummy was believed to engage in conversation. *Panaqa* members also nourished, entertained and clothed the deceased daily with the help of several *yanakuna* who served on the late Inca’s estates and lands<sup>69</sup>. For John H. Rowe (1946) and Heinrich Cunow (1929) before him, these lineages were established upon the death of each ruler, and thus equated in number the total of sovereigns who would have ruled before the Spanish conquest<sup>70</sup>.

Two decades after these results were published, Swedish scholar Ake Wedin (1963) and Dutch ethnohistorian R. Tom Zuidema (1964), challenged Rowe’s conclusions on the basis that the latter had used the chroniclers’ reigning lists as accurate depictions of past events<sup>71</sup>. Working on a different theoretical ground, Zuidema instead deems Incan narratives as political instruments in the hands of their narrators, created to legitimate the social groups in power. His own contribution to the field seeks to unravel the cultural constructs embedded in Incan narratives and therefore regards pre-Hispanic native discourse as a social system devoid of historical value. In his own words, Incan narratives were used to “account for real situations, of administrative, hierarchical and geographical order, and not to elucidate historical

---

<sup>68</sup> Rowe 1946: p. 203. Cabello de Balboa would not have visited Cuzco personally. Inquiries by Viceroy Toledo show that members of the Inca nobility themselves were unable to answer similar questions in 1571. See Covey 2006b: pp. 183-186; Ramírez 2006a: pp. 19-21.

<sup>69</sup> Pizarro: p. 42; Betanzos: Ch. 17, pp. 85-86; Ch. 41, pp. 181-183; Cieza de León: Pt. 2, Ch. 11, pp. 27-29; Santillán: p. 112; Cobo: T. 2, Bk. 13, Ch. 10, pp. 163-165. See also Alonso Sagaseta 1989: pp. 114-115; MacCormack 1991: pp. 68-71; Gose 1996b: pp. 4-5, 8-9; Bauer 2004: pp. 162-177.

<sup>70</sup> Cunow 1929; Rowe 1946: pp. 253-256.

<sup>71</sup> Wedin 1963; Zuidema 1964: pp. 12-14.

facts”<sup>72</sup>. Following this line, he argues that the Incan rulers whose epics are narrated in Spanish chronicles were the founding ancestors of the ten *panaqa*s of Cuzco. These noble lineages, from which any living ruler could originate, would have coexisted in the valley from remote times. Hence, in Zuidema’s view, the reigning lists drawn up by the colonial administration did not reflect the kings’ order of succession in time, but rather the hierarchical position of each descent group in their respective moiety. Their status determined in turn their functions within the Incan religious and administrative system, since each *panaqa* would have been in charge of a distinctive month of the ritual calendar and attended its own tutelary divinity. In drawing these conclusions, Zuidema follows the unusual testimonies of Bartolomé de Las Casas, Gutiérrez de Santa Clara, and Betanzos who attributed to a single ruler, either Pachacuti Inca or Tupa Yupanqui, the organization of Cuzco around ten quarters governed by an equal number of *panaqa*s<sup>73</sup>. For Zuidema, chronology in Incan narratives is “an elaborate temporal metaphor for the synchronic array of rank in the Inka capital of Cusco. Relative antiquity was a trope for relative standing in a unified schema of ritual kinship”<sup>74</sup>.

Although Zuidema does not resort to a theoretical model to describe the social organization of Cuzco, it should be noted that the use of articulated time to construct hierarchical relations is a salient pattern of many “status lineage” systems. Also called “conical clan” or “ramage”, it is a basic form of social organization whereby members of the same descent group are ranked in terms of their relative closeness/relationship to a common ancestor<sup>75</sup>. As anthropologist Valerio Valeri observed, “this system, by making time the principle of its organization, both recognizes history and triumphs over it”<sup>76</sup>. Zuidema’s argument, however, draws little attention to this constitutive principle and instead dissolves temporality in a synchronic analysis.

---

<sup>72</sup> Zuidema 1986: pp. 51-53. See also Zuidema 2002.

<sup>73</sup> Betanzos: Pt. 1, Ch. 16: pp. 75-79; Las Casas: Ch. 251, p. 398-399; Gutiérrez de Santa Clara: p. 214.

<sup>74</sup> Salomon (1999: p. 54) about Zuidema’s thesis.

<sup>75</sup> Largely recognized in Polynesia and Micronesia, this form of social organization is called *conical clan* by Kirchhoff 1955; Hage and Harary 1996; *ramage* by Firth 1957; Sahlins 1958, and *status lineage* by Goldman 1970. Its correlative is frequently, although not always, birth order (that is primogeniture or ultimogeniture). Kirchhoff (1949) and Jenkins (2001) recognize this pattern in the Incan lineages system. See discussion in chapter 4.

<sup>76</sup> Valeri 1990: pp. 159-160.

Despite this hiatus, ethnographic evidence and historical data partly support Zuidema's thesis, and substantiate in particular his portrayal of the *panaqas*' ritual role. An anonymous chronicle, written around 1570, reveals that Pachacuti Yupanqui ordered each noble *parcialidad* of Cuzco to preside alternatively over the twelve months of the metropolitan calendar<sup>77</sup>. Although this information appears consistent with the rotative sponsorship of yearly fiestas in many present-day communities of the Andes<sup>78</sup>, our colonial source enumerates twelve Incan lineages, whereas Zuidema's argument is based on a fixed kin system of ten *panaqas*. Zuidema's conclusion is not only oblivious to this information, but also overlooks the existence of the Tumibamba panaqa, traditionally related to Huayna Capac, whom he treats as an historical figure rather than a founding ancestor; this, notwithstanding that the ruler's body had been mummified and enjoyed the products of several estates like his predecessors<sup>79</sup>. In support of his assumption, Zuidema cites Molina's chronicle and observes that the Tumibamba panaqa did not participate in the major Incan festivities along with the other ten *panaqas*<sup>80</sup>. For the same reason, he does not comment on the respective research findings of Pierre Duviols and María Rostworowski who identified the existence of, at least, sixteen *panaqas* in historical documents, some of which would have disappeared with time or were incorporated into other groups<sup>81</sup>.

Despite his disagreement with Zuidema on this last issue, historian Pierre Duviols questioned as well the historical relevance of Incan genealogical narratives. On the basis of a comparative analysis of Spanish sources, he suggests that the chroniclers had misinterpreted native accounts and shaped into a linear chronology what had initially been an Incan diarchy between Hanan and Urin lords (see Table 1.4)<sup>82</sup>. Duviols's argument is largely based upon Polo's rulers list, which posits a kingship divided into two *parcialidades*, starting unconventionally with the Incas of the upper part, followed by those of the lower moiety. As previously mentioned, this source, as

---

<sup>77</sup> Anónimo [c. 1570]: p. 150. From the sixteenth century onwards, the vocable *parcialidad* came to describe "a group of many persons that compose a family or a faction separate from the rest" (Alonso Pedraz 1960: p. 3148). It also came to describe an ayllu, or a *repartimiento* comprised of several ayllus. See Rostworowski 1981.

<sup>78</sup> Urton 1986; Allen 1988: pp. 177-213.

<sup>79</sup> It is impossible to state with certainty whether these estates were territorially defined, or whether the products of these estates were the result of the labour of a certain group on rotating lands possessed/used by a given kin group.

<sup>80</sup> Molina: pp. 74-75.

<sup>81</sup> Duviols 1979c; Rostworowski 1999: pp. 15-21.

<sup>82</sup> Duviols 1979c; 1997a.

well as Acosta's book, records Tarco Huaman as the fifth leader of the Urin dynasty, to whom an homonymous son and grandson of his would have succeeded. Duviols argues that these two authors depict a less distorted vision of Incan kingship for they divide the official ruler list into two dynasties of equal length headed by a common ancestor, Manco Capac. Both Duviols and Zuidema grounded their argument in the evidence that dual organization had ruled a large part of Andean societies for centuries, and both expressed their reluctance to enquire for historical facts in oral traditions.

Manco Capac	
URIN CUZCO	HANAN CUZCO
Sinchi Roca	Inca Roca
Capac Yupanqui	Yahuar Huacac
Lluque Yupanqui	Viracocha Inca
Mayta Capac	Pachacuti Yupanqui
Tarco Huaman	Tupa Inca Yupanqui
Tarco Huaman II	Huayna Capac
Don Juan Tambo Mayta Panaca	Atahualpa / Huascar

Table 1.5. The diarchy thesis (Duviols 1979c). Prepared by the author.

#### THE PLURALITY OF HISTORICAL REPRESENTATIONS

More recently, scholars have approached Incan narratives in an attempt to incorporate pluri-disciplinary perspectives. Hence, to explain the divergent listings of sovereigns and royal lineages, Susan E. Ramírez suggests that Incan lords followed the rule of positional inheritance, whereby a person is given a name that had belonged to several of his illustrious ancestors and to which corresponded a given position in the social hierarchy. The same individual would assume different names or titles throughout his lifetime, which he transmitted in turn to his younger relatives each time he attained a higher status. His military deeds and notable achievements, as well as those of his predecessors, were therefore conflated and remembered under the name they all bore in common<sup>83</sup>.

---

<sup>83</sup> Ramírez 2006a: pp. 21-24.



Spanish sources provide sound support for this argument and indicate that in their lifetime Incan lords bore several names, which they received soon after birth, on being initiated and, later, on their accession to the throne. The chronicles record that three of them had been called Titu Cusi Hualpa as children before becoming Yahuar Huacac, Huayna Capac and Huascar Inca, respectively<sup>84</sup>. Another, the young Hatun Tupa Inca, was named Viracocha Inca on completion of his rite of passage because the eponymous divinity had appeared to him in a dream<sup>85</sup>. Likewise, it was certainly in honour of the thunder deity *Q'achqa* that Atahualpa became Cacha Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui upon receiving the *maska paycha* (royal fringe)<sup>86</sup>. The newly appointed rulers therefore inherited a prestige name that evoked a tutelary god or a mighty ancestor, and which was owned exclusively by their kin group. The widely mentioned Yupanqui, for instance, was “the lineage from which the Incas originated because it had been Manco Capac’s nickname (*sobrenombre*)”<sup>87</sup>. Incan women as well are listed under different appellations, suggesting that they also inherited different names, such as the commonly cited Ocllo, Chimpu or Coca<sup>88</sup>. Illustrating this usage is Yñaca Anahuarque, secondary wife of Huayna Capac and “niece” of her homonym Mama Anahuarque, who had been Pachacuti Yupanqui’s principal spouse<sup>89</sup>.

This practice may well explain why single Andean lords appear under varying names in colonial documents, and how those who had lived at different periods in time could assume the same name. This particular point already caught María Rostworowski’s attention in 1970 and, although she did not identify the practice with positional inheritance, she drew the first lines of a similar argument by suggesting that Tocay Capac and Pinahua Capac were generic names of the Ayarmaca chieftains, the Incas’ long-time rivals<sup>90</sup>. Ironically, the sacraments of the Catholic Church allowed this usage to endure under Spanish rule so that many Incan nobles of the early colonial era still received their ancestors’ names when christened. Sayre Tupa Inca, son of Manco II, was thus baptised Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza Manco Capac Pachacuti Yupanqui

---

<sup>84</sup> Sarmiento: Ch. 20: p. 72; Ch. 56: p. 139; Ch. 63: p. 150.

<sup>85</sup> Sarmiento: Ch. 24, p. 80.

<sup>86</sup> Betanzos 1996: Pt. 2, Ch. 6, p. 221.

<sup>87</sup> Betanzos: Ch. 17: p. 52. For a translation of the word *yupanqui*, see Cerrón-Palomino 1998: p. 435.

<sup>88</sup> See specifically Murúa and his many chapters on the Quyas.

<sup>89</sup> ADC, Real Audiencia, Ordinarias, Leg. 42 (1670 [1589]), Expediente sobre el Cacigazgo de Chumbivilcas, folio 13v.

<sup>90</sup> Rostworowski 1993b: p. 242.

in 1558, a name composed of the viceroy's father's name and the one he had received when he was given the *borla* in Vilcabamba<sup>91</sup>.

All of these considerations concur with the rules of positional inheritance but it also throws light upon an important aspect of this social practice. Indeed, positional inheritance is indivisible from a mode of recording and narrating the past that reduces the deeds of many generations under the umbrella of a single figure. This is no denial of historical events but rather “a mythologized presentation of the past” answering to the practicalities of oral transmission<sup>92</sup>. As Susan E. Ramírez herself observes, this thesis is consistent with the conclusion drawn by Finnish scholar Juha Hiltunen in his study of Fernando Montesinos's dynasty list, which suggests that there had been more Incan lords than commonly accepted<sup>93</sup>. This last argument still awaits the discovery of Father Blas Valera's full corpus, but it undoubtedly finds support in the growing archaeological database on the Cuzco area indicating the ancient and undisrupted settlement of the valley from A.D 1000 onwards<sup>94</sup>.

Archaeologists also have moved away from the paradigms of great Incan lords to focus on identifying long-term political and economic changes in the evolution of pre-Hispanic chiefdoms. Following this research agenda, they explore pre-Hispanic narratives in an attempt to isolate processes of state formation that could be identified with similar evidence from excavation records<sup>95</sup>. Although this “process-based model”, as R. Alan Covey phrases it, challenges Rowe's early chronology, it still approaches the Incan reigning list as a linear sequence<sup>96</sup>. The same premise also underlies Julien's reading of Incan tradition (2000), which gives no credit to the thesis of dual kingship elaborated by Duviols and Zuidema. In an innovative contribution to the field relying on textual and comparison analysis of Incan narratives, she argues that the ruling nobility imparted two types of historical narratives that fulfilled different purposes: the life history and genealogical genres. By untangling the different manifestations that collective memory may have taken in pre-Hispanic times, Julien's work challenges

---

<sup>91</sup> Fernández: Pt. 3, Bk. 3, Ch. 5, p. 83; Titu Cusi Yupanqui 2006: pp. 146-147.

<sup>92</sup> Ramírez 2006a: p. 53.

<sup>93</sup> Hiltunen 1999.

<sup>94</sup> Bauer and Covey 2002; McEwan, Chatfield, Gibaja 2002; Bauer 2004; Covey 2006b: pp. 171-173. These data contradict the earlier conclusion drawn by John H. Rowe (1944) and largely unchallenged until the late 1990s. See D'Altroy and Bishop 1990; Stanish 1992: pp. 136-157; Morris and von Hagen 1993: p. 18. For criticisms of this hypothesis, see Meyers 1975; Pärssinen and Siiräjänen 1997.

<sup>95</sup> Morris 1998; Niles 1999; Bauer 1992; Bauer and Covey 2002; Covey 2006b.

<sup>96</sup> Covey 2006a: pp. 234-236.

Rowe's once declared view that "Andean Indians had little interest in the past"<sup>97</sup>. This perspective was widely shared amongst twentieth century ethnologists who assumed that exotic civilisations live in a "timeless present"<sup>98</sup>, and only aspire to perpetuate the organic order of their society, which they had enshrined in rituals and traditions. These, in turn, were seen as a pure reflection of social paradigms, whose sole utility was to transmit patterns that define the group's structure. A student of the Leiden structuralist school, Zuidema has often been criticized for approaching Incan sources through this perspective<sup>99</sup>. Indeed, understood through this prism, the Spanish conquest of the Americas would have acted as "the ragged Forces of History shattering the crystal Patterns of Culture"<sup>100</sup>.

Moving away from this perspective, this dissertation argues that traditions and rituals are a constitutive force that authorises innovation within the allegedly established social practices<sup>101</sup>. It thus follows the lead of scholars who, at the turn of the 1970s, criticized structuralism for its synchronic approach of cultural categories<sup>102</sup>. Many anthropologists of the Chicago School, notably, demonstrated that every society apprehends historical process through various, and at times contradictory, means of expression that are reckoned as equally true amongst the same group. A narrative genre can therefore describe an institution and its mode of transmission in a linear and immutable fashion in time, whereas another genre will present the same object as a system ceaselessly disturbed at each generation. Such is the case of the genealogical chants in Hawaii, which contrast in many respects with the narratives of royal succession, although both aim at legitimizing the rulers' status. The chants depict the sovereign's genealogy as a lineage of direct divine ancestry, while the narratives of succession describe him as a stranger to the ruling dynasty, who usurped power through imposture. Anthropologist Valerio Valeri observes that the first genre, which is recited in ritual contexts, legitimates the present through paradigmatic relations with the past, whereas the second holds syntagmatic connections with it. The latter, therefore, is constitutive through argument because it presents dynastic continuity through socially

---

<sup>97</sup> Rowe 1946: p. 201.

<sup>98</sup> Bloch 1977: p. 288.

<sup>99</sup> Gose 1996a; Nowack 1998.

<sup>100</sup> Geertz 1990: p. 326.

<sup>101</sup> Even modern societies resort to "the invention of tradition" to legitimise their political order. See Hobsbawm and Ranger (eds.) 1984.

<sup>102</sup> Sahlins 1981, 1983; Hill (ed.) 1988; Geertz 1990; Tierney (ed.) 1991.

successful actions. The efficacy of the former, on the other hand, is intrinsically dependent on its medium of transmission:

The appropriate performance of an appropriate chant is considered by the audience as sufficient grounds for its believing effects. Therefore the successful description of a ruler as a member of a dynasty will prompt the audience to believe that he or she has been successfully validated as such and thus to offer their support<sup>103</sup>.

None of these modes of historical representation is regarded as more accurate than the other; what explain their discrepancies are their different contexts and aims<sup>104</sup>. Such an undertaking highlights the irrelevance of the dichotomies that traditionally contrasted structure to event, synchrony to diachrony, and reproduction to transformation. It also indicates that historical consciousness did not result from the systematic appearance of a dialectical objectivity that condemned mythical representations to oblivion<sup>105</sup>. In this light, the contradictions overshadowing the portrayals of Incan leaders cannot exclusively be attributed to a European distortion of native tradition, nor should we attempt to resolve them by electing the one variant that displays the most likely features of all. Indeed, primary sources indicate that each *panaqa* preserved the memory of its own ancestor in the form of epics and chants, which only the descendents of the deceased were allowed to recite in restricted rituals, particularly royal funerals. Transmission of these narratives remained within the kin sphere of the ruler whose deeds were being remembered and praised, so that each lineage's recollection of the past may emphasize the legacy of its own ancestor and thus differs from that of other, sometimes rival, *panaqa*s<sup>106</sup>. Thus, as anthropologist Frank Salomon perceptively observed:

In societies where plural kinship corporations associate at the apex of power, historical truths are held to be plural, proprietary, and almost incommensurable. The attempt to reconcile or merge overlapping testimonies from different corporate sectors (e.g., lineages, castes) of a given society into a synthetic image of "what really happened" is misguided because in many cases historical truth is felt to be relative to, and the property of, the group "owning" a tradition<sup>107</sup>.

---

<sup>103</sup> Valeri 1990a: p. 183.

<sup>104</sup> Valeri 1990a.

<sup>105</sup> In the early 1970s, Moses Finley already raised this issue in the context of the Greek polis. He observed that the appearance of historical preoccupations did not condemn the myth to oblivion. On the contrary, these two forms of historical expression continued to coexist.

<sup>106</sup> Niles 1999: pp. 4-24; Salomon 1999: pp. 24-26.

<sup>107</sup> Salomon 1999: p. 84.

Moreover, it is argued here that many discrepancies in the colonial records of Incan history not only echo the contrasting voices of members of the Cuzco nobility but also reflect a social consciousness predating the Spanish conquest and informed by the dual organization system. Interestingly, there is substantial evidence showing that pre-Hispanic communities subjected to the Incas kept accountability records on paired *kipus*, a practice that endured throughout the colonial period and was still observed in the village of Tupicocha (Huarochirí) in the early twenty-first century<sup>108</sup>. Under both Incan and Spanish rule, use and care of these *kipus* were entrusted to two *kipukamayuc* who would have represented the interests of the two *parcialidades* that composed the tributary unity, or *repartimiento*. Frank Salomon argues as well that, in the Huarochirí district, these paired offices were divided between the two semesters of the year, and concerned the interests of the community at large, for one, and the ayllu-internal affairs, for the other<sup>109</sup>. Such practice, which replicated the social principles of asymmetric duality, may well have extended to the historical information contained in Incan *kipus*. Hence, in order to gain insight into the plurality of Incan historical representations, this dissertation focuses on the analysis of binary opposition patterns in the social organization of the ruling elite. To approach this issue, the present thesis benefits from the works of anthropologists who have researched dual organizations in the Andean and Amazonian regions. The following section reviews their contributions to the topic, and highlights in particular their theoretical treatments of asymmetric and hierarchical principles in dual societies. Understanding of these issues is fundamental to the study of the Incan moiety system because Cuzco's divisions, Hanan and Urin, held asymmetric relationships that were largely evoked in historical narratives and were periodically enacted in ritual performances.

#### ON THE IMPORTANCE OF DUAL ORGANIZATION AS A FRAMEWORK

Notwithstanding that dual organization is a pervasive principle of social classification in South America, it has also been described as “one of the main problems of South American sociology”<sup>110</sup>. Its definition appears contentious among twenty-first century anthropologists, and covers a large typology of subjective expressions, including such notions as moiety formation, diarchy and two-line relationship terminologies, to cite

---

<sup>108</sup> Urton 1998: pp. 413-414; Fossa 2000: pp. 453-459; Salomon 2004: pp. 192-196; 242.

<sup>109</sup> Salomon 2004: p. 192.

<sup>110</sup> Levi-Strauss 1945: p. 39.

only these<sup>111</sup>. Claude Levi-Strauss offers perhaps the most pragmatic perspective of all in his *Elementary structures of kinship* (1949) and defines dual organization as follows:

A system in which the members of the community, whether it be a tribe or a village, are divided into two parts which maintain complex relationships varying from open hostility to very close intimacy, and with which various forms of rivalry and co-operation are usually associated<sup>112</sup>.

From ethnographic fieldwork of Central Brazil and the Andean highlands, as well as archaeological surveys of, and historical documents on, the ancient polities of the Peruvian north coast, there exists ample evidence that dual organizations almost invariably operate alongside asymmetric social dynamics. In 1567, Spanish chronicler Juan de Matienzo, in service in La Plata (Charcas), described the moiety system in place in that region:

The curaca of hanansaya (upper moiety) was the chief of the whole province and was obeyed in everything that he said by the other curaca of hurinsaya (lower moiety). The curaca of hanansaya has the best place of residence and in everything else, which in this matter conforms to their order of precedence. Those of the moiety of hanansaya seat themselves at the right hand and those of hurinsaya at the left hand, each according to their order<sup>113</sup>.

Jerry D. Moore's analysis of site-survey data of the Nepeña valley (Ancash), also demonstrates that the dual social organization of these communities during the Late Intermediate Period (c. AD 1000-1400) overlay an asymmetric political power in which authority and the distribution of labour were not equally shared between the two divisions. This feature, he observes, is particularly apparent in the hierarchical settlement pattern of the excavated sites<sup>114</sup>.

Pre-Hispanic Cuzco was also divided into two asymmetric halves, Hanan (upper moiety) and Urin (lower moiety), whose residents enjoyed unequal privileges. Primary sources generally disagree on the origin of this division, which, depending on the chroniclers, may have occurred under the rule of Manco Capac, Inca Roca, Pachacuti Yupanqui, or Tupa Inca. Garcilaso de la Vega situates this event at the dawn of Incan

---

<sup>111</sup> Hornborg 1988: p. 291. "Two-line terminologies" is a typology of kinship relationships where an individual is almost invariably definable according to two terminologies found in alternate generations (e.g MB/FZH, or MBD/FZD), see Parkin 1997 p. 81.

<sup>112</sup> Levi-Strauss 1969: p. 69

<sup>113</sup> Matienzo (1567) Ch. 6 in Platt, 1986: p. 253.

<sup>114</sup> Moore 1995. For a different viewpoint, see Netherly 1990.

history, after Manco Capac and his sister-wife emerged from the cave of Paqariq Tampu in search for fertile lands to settle. Arriving at Huanacauri hill, they went their separate ways, Manco Capac to the north and his female companion to the south, to convince the peoples living in this area to settle in the Cuzco valley under their rulership. As the two congregated groups entered the site of the future capital, Manco Capac divided the space into two halves.

The king wishes those he had brought to people Hanan Cuzco, therefore called the upper, and those the queen had brought to people Urin Cuzco, which was therefore called the lower (...) He ordered that there should be only one difference and acknowledgment of superiority among them, that those of upper Cuzco be considered and respected as first-born and elder brothers, and those of lower Cuzco be as younger children. In short they were to be as the right arm and the left in any question of precedence of place and office, since those of the upper half had been brought by the male and those of the lower by the female<sup>115</sup>.

Importantly, ethnographic evidence indicates that asymmetry is, in fact, inherent to the ideology of most non-centralized dual societies<sup>116</sup>. Thus, dual organizations in lowland South America share common dynamics of leadership stratification, moiety hierarchy, class system, age grade, and ethnic distinction, even though most did not devise any form of urbanized or centralized power<sup>117</sup>.

Notwithstanding the existence of asymmetric features in dual social systems, scholarship on the topic has often maintained that dual organization was a conceptual model allowing societies to regulate or dialectically resolve antagonisms of social and metaphysical nature. According to this perspective, dual organization simultaneously encloses the most basic expression of inequality – the superiority of one social group over the other – and devises various ways of regulating this asymmetry. At the forefront of this theory was the founder of structuralist anthropology in France, Claude Levi-Strauss. Building on the work of Robert Hertz and Marcel Mauss, Levi-Strauss sees reciprocity (i.e. the obligation to give and receive) as a universal form of human behaviour, and holds dual organization to be the most archaic expression of this functional principle<sup>118</sup>. In this framework marriage is seen as the most basic form of exchange whereby women circulate between groups of individuals that are necessarily

---

<sup>115</sup> Garcilaso de la Vega: Bk. 1, Ch. 16, p. 41. Translation in Garcilaso 1989, p. 44.

<sup>116</sup> Nimuendajú and Lowie 1937; Lave 1977; Da Matta 1982; Crocker 1990.

<sup>117</sup> Hornborg 1988: pp. 276-284.

<sup>118</sup> Levi-Strauss 1969: p. 70.

exogamous, regardless of their asymmetric relations with one another. Viewed in this light, moiety division represents the most elementary form of marriage regulation and, in its absence:

There may be a second bipartition of the group, parallel or perpendicular to this earlier division, the moieties may embrace exogamous clans, sub-clans or lineages, or lastly, the modalities of marriage may depend upon specialized forms called marriage classes<sup>119</sup>.

Moreover, Levi-Strauss insists that dual oppositions only exist in reference to a third, external, element that encircles the two asymmetric poles, thereby transforming them into a whole that contrasts the surrounding environment. This is the reason why dualism invariably coexists with a triadic structure that either re-orders clans into matrimonial classes or devises relationships of exchange in such a way that the fundamental principle of reciprocity can operate<sup>120</sup>.

The structuralist outlook permanently influenced the study of Incan society through the work of R. Tom Zuidema, whose earlier contributions extensively drew from the ethnography of dual organizations in Central Brazil<sup>121</sup>. Following this line of investigation, Zuidema advanced the seminal hypothesis that Incan society operated as an asymmetric diarchy<sup>122</sup>. In this system, he argues, the royal lineages were equally divided between the Hanan and Urin moieties, and observed a strict hierarchical organization that determined access to water and land rights, as well as different ritual and political responsibilities. Zuidema contends in particular that the *panaqas* were divided into three sub-categories, known as *collana*, *payan*, and *cayao*. These operated as exogamous matrilineal marriage classes and the central regulatory structure for the Incan social order. He also suggests that Incan society was hierarchically divided into five age groups associated with different politico-economic functions similar to the social organization of the Canela Indians (Brazil)<sup>123</sup>. Hence, for Zuidema, like Levi-Strauss, dual organization regulates the asymmetric relationships of its sub-groups through marriage. Another illustration of Levi-Strauss's influence in Andean studies is Olivia Harris's article on dual symbolism among the Laymi (Potosí). In this important

---

<sup>119</sup> Levi-Strauss 1969: p. 69.

<sup>120</sup> Levi-Strauss 1963: pp. 132-163.

<sup>121</sup> Urton 1996; Zuidema 2005.

<sup>122</sup> Zuidema 1964; Wachtel 1966, 1977: pp. 75-81; Pease 1972.

<sup>123</sup> Zuidema 1964. In this first publication, Zuidema suggested that the marriage classes were linked by asymmetric cross-cousin alliances with the mother's brother (MB)



work, she identifies various forms of tripartition, ritual but also economic, which, she argues, were generated to resolve the “inevitable asymmetry” of human relationships<sup>124</sup>.

If kinship relations and reciprocity characterize the structuralist approach to dual organizations, early scholars of Gê-speaking peoples disputed that marriage practices are the regulating principle of dualism. They argued that not all moiety systems are ruled by exogamy, which do not inevitably condition matrimonial preferences<sup>125</sup>. At the heart of these critiques lay more fundamental objections, first enunciated by Edmund Leach, Rodney Needham and David Schneider, who questioned the relevance of isolating kinship as the central pillar of anthropological inquiry<sup>126</sup>. Also reacting against the structuralist edifice, anthropologist David Maybury-Lewis and his followers approach kinship as but one social category among others and reckon that dual organization is, “above all else, a system for discerning an order in the scheme of things and imposing it on the unruly complexity of events”<sup>127</sup>. This view presupposes that binary systems operate as a counterpoised principle that overrides asymmetric relations and discords within society in order to create equilibrium and to harmonize ontological antagonisms. From this perspective, the study of dual organization requires an understanding of every system of cultural classification generated by a given society, for such constructions reflect a cosmology based on antagonistic forces. Within this order, therefore, ritual action is believed to be a predominant factor of dialectical regulation through which antithetical ideas, categories, and institutions achieve stability<sup>128</sup>.

Anthropologist Rodney Needham further developed this view and, following the line of Marcel Mauss’s *fait social total*, saw dual symbolic classifications as a pervasive principle of human symbolic thought. In Needham’s own words, social organization and symbolic forms, including the structuralist notions of reciprocity and exchange, are only aspects and manifestations of “one conceptual order”<sup>129</sup>. Thus, symbolic oppositions in dual societies not only structure patterns of alliance and their kinship terminology, but

---

<sup>124</sup> Harris 1986.

<sup>125</sup> Seeger 1981; Shapiro 1984.

<sup>126</sup> Leach 1961; Needham 1971; Schneider 1984.

<sup>127</sup> Maybury-Lewis and Almagor 1989: p. viii.

<sup>128</sup> Maybury-Lewis 1989: pp. 1-17.

<sup>129</sup> Needham 1960: p. 108.

also shape any social interactions, the order of the cosmos, or the spatial conception of the given group<sup>130</sup>.

The theories of Levi-Strauss, Maybury-Lewis and Needham, but also John V. Murra's seminal essay on ecological and economic verticality<sup>131</sup>, greatly influenced the study of dualism in Spanish South America. Although Levi-Strauss never described reciprocity as a moral value, his legacy and that of Maybury-Lewis in particular, were influential in constructing the structural/cultural basis of Andean societies around the notion of exchange as an ideology of complementarity. Central to this idea were the concepts of fertility and sexual reciprocity in which dual divisions evoke the union of male and female forces pairing to create social and natural regeneration<sup>132</sup>. Following this line, several ethnographical works have addressed the significance of binary patterns in Andean social and symbolic expressions, such as dance, music, textile, language syntax, arithmetic, and most recently, *kipu* coding<sup>133</sup>. Together, these works show the pervasive role of dualistic representations in Andean social phenomena.

However, the application of Maybury-Lewis's theory to approach these dynamics demands a particularly critical examination. His early lack of emphasis on matrimonial practices concerned many scholars of the Amazon basin who, following Levi-Strauss, reckoned that "dual organization need not involve two strictly exogamous moieties in order to qualify as a codification of symmetric alliance"<sup>134</sup>. Karsten Paerregaard offers an eloquent illustration of this last point in his ethnological survey of the Tapay district (Arequipa). Interviewing its inhabitants about the ritual battle that takes place in early February every year, Paerregaard learnt that the purpose of this encounter was to conquer women from the opposing moiety. A similar form of ritual exogamy transpired at the festivity of the town's patron saint, when two central figures from each division concluded the celebration by calling each other daughter/son-in-law

---

<sup>130</sup> Needham 1973, 1987.

<sup>131</sup> In 1967, John Murra first introduced the concept of economic verticality as a typical Andean strategy whereby a single power possesses direct control over goods from different ecological zones by colonizing different "archipelagos". He believes that expansionist polities adopted this system from the less rigid model of ecological complementarity that prevailed for centuries and determined patterns of relation and exchange between Andean communities. See Murra 1972, 1975.

<sup>132</sup> Isbell 1978; Harris 1978; Platt 1986; Bouysse-Cassagne 1986; Sallnow 1987: pp. 143-146; Silverblatt 1987: pp. 20-21; Pease 1991: pp. 41-42; Paerregaard 1992: p. 21; Classen 1993: pp. 3, 12-13, 22-23; Bolin 1998: pp.120-123.

<sup>133</sup> Cereceda 1986; Bradby 1987; Carpenter 1992; Seibold 1992; Silverman 1994b: 71-93; Baumann 1996; Urton 1997; 2003.

<sup>134</sup> Hornborg 1988: p. 40.

and father/mother-in-law. Yet Paerregaard observed that these expressions of ritual kinship were different from the actual marriage pattern of the community ruled by an endogamy of moiety. He concludes that the symbolic expression of reciprocity in ceremonies compensated the absence of direct social complementarity in Tapay<sup>135</sup>.

Maybury-Lewis's argument that ritual performance is a means of channelling antagonisms in society raises a more intricate problem related to the definition of ritual form. His argument follows Edward B. Tylor and James G. Frazer: that ritual action is, in fact, the translation of a worldview, a cosmology that strives towards a harmonious relationship between its different elements<sup>136</sup>. Accordingly, the enacting of dual antagonisms in ritual performance, such as in ritual battles, is primarily cathartic: it is designed to resolve conflicts. Such an approach, however, restricts the meaning of ceremonial behaviour to only one facet of its external functions. Two problems ensue from such a limitation. First, it disregards the distinctive qualities of ceremonial events in contrast to other modes of interaction and performance, such as sporting events or theatrical plays, which can be similarly seen as factors of social cohesion<sup>137</sup>. Secondly, although many moieties' encounters undeniably aim to perpetuate the fertility of the living world – and the equilibrium that such fertility implies – this rationale cannot explain why certain ritual battles invariably enact the asymmetric nature of the society, and close with the oft-repeated victory of one particular faction. In pre-Hispanic Cuzco, for example, the ritual battle performed at *Purukaya* (second funeral of a prominent individual) always ended with the defeat of the Lower moiety (Urin) by the Upper one (Hanan). In this light, it would be erroneous to presuppose that deadly fights and harmless competitions between social halves ultimately achieve the same harmonious purpose. Understanding the distinctiveness of these encounters lies in their ritual context, the time of year they are enacted, and the oral traditions to which they refer. These observations form part of a more general critique of the assumed role of ritual action. As anthropologists Michael Houseman and Carlo Severi elaborate:

---

<sup>135</sup> Paerregaard 1992.

<sup>136</sup> Tylor 1871; Frazer 1922.

<sup>137</sup> On this topic see V. Turner 1982; Schechner and Appel 1990; Grimes 2006.

[The functionalist outlook] suffers from a circular line of reasoning which consists in identifying the cause with the purpose of the object studied. Ritual action is thus seen as serving to achieve optimum integration, either social or psychological, even when it involves deviant behaviour. Indeed, there is no reason to expect such an integration; to do so presupposes precisely that which is to be shown<sup>138</sup>.

Despite the weight of such criticisms, the idea that dual oppositions are primarily enacted to generate equilibrium became very influential within a particular body of Andean scholarship, notably in research that sought to account for the existence of asymmetric principles in dual organizations using a Marxist approach. Historian Irene Silverblatt (1987), for example, applied this theory to advance her seminal work on gender relations. She argues that, before Incan rule, “Andean people interpreted the workings of nature through an ideology of gender complementarity”, which infused social life<sup>139</sup>. Descent was therefore parallel, and dual political authority followed the lines of gender complementarity. The rise of Tawantinsuyu would have alternatively fed an ideology holding women to be inferior, and which she calls conquest hierarchy. In this way, the Incas “transformed structures of gender parallelism, which shaped human and divine relations in the [traditional] ayllu, into institutions of imperial politics”<sup>140</sup>. Henceforth, the ranking structure of the Incan realm opposed two sets of symbols in which celestial forces associated to masculinity, conquest, and newcomers, contrasted with earthly forces linked to womanhood and the vanquishing of the first residents. Silverblatt then proceeds to incriminate imperialism as the main vehicle of dual asymmetry, and thus, gender inequality<sup>141</sup>.

Other scholars also emphasize the determining role of exploitation in the construction of asymmetric dual divisions. In this line of thought, anthropologist Paul H. Gelles argues that dual social systems operating in Incan time were closely related to the hegemonic nature of Tawantinsuyu. In his attempt to frame the historical origin of moiety division in the Andes, Gelles critically compared pre-Hispanic dual models from Lake Titicaca to the territory of the Chimu empire. While he gathers evidence that dualism was a *cultural*, linguistic and social system ubiquitous before Incan rule, he

---

<sup>138</sup> Houseman and Severi 1998: p. 166.

<sup>139</sup> Silverblatt 1987: p. xxviii.

<sup>140</sup> Silverblatt 1987: p. 47. In square brackets is my addition, which aims to emphasize Irene Silverblatt’s conception of gender relations before the Incan conquest.

<sup>141</sup> Silverblatt 1987: pp. 76-108.

regards dual *political* divisions as the result of the Cuzco leaders' imperialism<sup>142</sup>. He thus argues that the Incan elite diffused a model of dual leadership inspired by the hierarchical organization of Cuzco, imposing their own tributary institutions on the nations they subjugated. Hence, for Gelles, dual organization in the Andes was the expression of both "an indigenous cosmology and state hegemony" that the Spanish colonial system perpetuated in the following centuries<sup>143</sup>. By examining the influence of supra-local circumstances on the reproduction of cultural models, Gelles' work resonates with Heraclio Bonilla's and César Fonseca Martel's early Marxist argument that sought to explain the origin of dual organization in Jesús de Machaca (Bolivia)<sup>144</sup>. According to this perspective, no political or economic hierarchy operated in this community before the Incan conquest. Instead, relations of power were strictly limited to the ritual sphere, which served as social catalyst.

These approaches clearly distinguish between "dual political division", on the one hand, and the "cultural logic of dualism" and its symbolic expressions, on the other, as if the rationales underpinning these two principles belonged to separate and unrelated domains. Such an assumption, however, misleads scholars to describe ritual action as a particular product of the latter. Thus, following Michael J. Sallnow, Gelles argues that traditional expressions of dual opposition are but the reflection of an "indigenous logic of dualism and production, whereby the division of activities into halves 'acts as the cultural medium through which the fertility of nature is conveyed into the human realm'"<sup>145</sup>. This perspective sees open hostilities and competitiveness in ceremonial contexts as "games"<sup>146</sup>, that is, a way to produce complementary life-sustaining resources out of existing oppositions, as in the case of the fertilizing blood impregnating the earth during ritual battles. Viewed through this prism, ritual action sublimates social conflicts by either minimizing or abrogating them<sup>147</sup>.

As stressed above, such an approach to ritual action is not sustainable because it largely assumes what needs to be demonstrated. Moreover, separating the rationales sustaining "dual political division" and the "cultural logic of dualism" also disregards

---

<sup>142</sup> Emphases are mine.

<sup>143</sup> Gelles 1995.

<sup>144</sup> Bonilla and Fonseca Martel 1967.

<sup>145</sup> Gelles 1995: p. 722; Sallnow 1987: p. 145 in Gelles op. cit.

<sup>146</sup> Gelles 1995: p. 721.

<sup>147</sup> This approach follows the leads of Victor Turner's works (1969), which see ritual performances as cultural symbolic expressions, which aim at harmonizing social realities.

ethnographic data such as that collected in lowland South America. This evidence shows that hierarchical and asymmetrical principles, such as concepts of leadership hierarchy and social stratification, are extrinsic to dual organizations that have not developed a centralized power. A re-examination of dualist theories, however, should not overlook the influence of historical factors in the development of asymmetric patterns. Rather, it should query the assumption that “gender parallelism”, in Silverblatt’s words, did operate in the Andes as a symmetrical model before the expansion of Cuzco authority, and whether the basic form of social dualism always implements an equilibrium ideology<sup>148</sup>. Indeed, as a few works have started to show, there is little evidence supporting the view that descent was parallel in the pre-Hispanic ayllu, or that a complementary of male and female authority operated at the *cacicazgo* level before the Spanish conquest<sup>149</sup>.

#### AN APPROACH TO ASYMMETRY AND HIERARCHY IN THE INCAN MOIETY SYSTEM

Tristan Platt’s study of the Macha dual organization (1980) may provide an important clue in approaching the problem of asymmetry in dual organizations, and thus refine our understanding of the Incan moiety system. In this decisive contribution, Platt notes that the Macha community, located in the northern Potosí region in Bolivia, comprehends its environment through several forms of symbolic dualism – ritual, social and cosmological – that are epitomized by the enduring concept of *yanantin*. According to Platt, this term refers not only to the relation “man-and-woman” but also describes actions or objects in perfect symmetry and equality, implying that gender complementarity is a fundamental principle of the Macha social order<sup>150</sup>. However, although the term *yanantin* expresses a notion of reciprocity, it also derives from *yana* which means “servant” and, therefore, expresses notions of asymmetry and inequality. In the light of this information, Platt concludes that “even in the case of the perfect model produced by the binary structure of the human body, a submerged relation of hierarchy is present”<sup>151</sup>, so that structural symmetry and hierarchy are interrelated principles of dual oppositions.

---

<sup>148</sup> For a critic of Silverblatt’s depiction of the Incan empire operating as a patriarchal institution, see Gose 2000.

<sup>149</sup> Julien 2000: pp. 25-26; Graubart 2007: pp. 161-167. See discussion in chapter 4.

<sup>150</sup> Platt 1986.

<sup>151</sup> Platt, 1986: p. 256.

The present dissertation grounds its theoretical approach to dual oppositions on the same premise. It follows a post-structuralist perspective on this issue, informed by the works of Louis Dumont and Terence Turner, who consider binary oppositions as necessarily hierarchical<sup>152</sup>. Thus, it is assumed here that complementary categories, whether social or symbolic, are not homogenous in essence and do not always tend to a symmetrical relation. As Dumont demonstrated, oppositions are invariably different in value because they do not have the same relation to the totality<sup>153</sup>. In the case of the right and the left hands, for instance, the two bear asymmetrical values in relation to the body, while also being “mirror images of each other” and, therefore, “structural equivalents”<sup>154</sup>. Within this line of thought, the present thesis examines the pre-eminence of Hanan Cuzco over Urin Cuzco as a necessary constituent of the Incan social system, and not as a contingent event elaborated *a posteriori* to regulate asymmetry. Yet at the same time, it questions both moieties’ relation to the social unity they form because, following Dumont’s framework, the superior level of dual oppositions always encompasses its antagonistic part when they are conceived as a whole (*totalité*). The superior level thus “distinguishes itself by its capacity to define the global order of the society”<sup>155</sup>. In the case of the moiety system, the values and characteristics of the upper part come to define the identity of the whole society<sup>156</sup>. Thus, as Terence Turner showed, social oppositions are bi-dimensional in essence, their symmetrical and asymmetrical aspects being *both* essential in relation to the whole (society). Viewed in this light, identity and contrast in the moiety system are innate to one another and constitute its interrelated principles. Assuming that these elementary structures of social hierarchy are intrinsic to dual organizations, therefore, explains how

---

<sup>152</sup> Dumont’s followers, among whom his own student Serge Tcherkézoff, vehemently attacked the structuralist and culturalist views in a number of publications and singled out Needham’s work for representing the most delusive aspect of these theories. Needham responded to these infuriated critics, and both sides incessantly claimed that their own argument had been misinterpreted by their theoretical opponents. It is not the purpose here to rehabilitate the position adopted by those whose words may have been misleadingly reported by their detractors. About this question, see Needham 1973; Dumont’s response to Needham, 1986; Tcherkézoff’s respond to Needham, 1987; Needham’s response to Dumont and Tcherkézoff, 1987. For an analysis of these events, see Parkin, 1992, 1996: 79-86; 2003.

<sup>153</sup> Dumont 1986.

<sup>154</sup> Turner 1984: p. 337.

<sup>155</sup> Barraud et al. 1984, in Parkin 1992: p. 55.

<sup>156</sup> To illustrate his theory, Dumont draws an example from the Indian caste system in which the Brahmins and the Kshatriyas, he argues, are two groups versed in their own specialisations and therefore dependent on the other’s domain of competence outside their own field. This apparent complementarity however fades as the spiritual sphere represented by the Brahmins is in fact superior to the Kshatriyas who originated from them. Thus, at the superior level, the Brahmins encompass the Kshatriyas and represent the global order of the society. See Dumont 1980: pp. 65-91.

certain societies such as that of the Incas evolved from a basic moiety model to a fundamentally unequal social system<sup>157</sup>.

So it is that the present dissertation approaches asymmetry as an ideological principle inherent to Incan dual organization, and not exclusively as a hegemonic model that the Cuzco nobility devised at a politico-economic level simultaneous to their expansion. This approach, it should be noted, does not deny the impact of historical process or the influence of supra-local circumstances on the development of hierarchical institutions in dual organization. Rather, it argues that the inherent nature of binary oppositions predisposes such changes.

The question of dual oppositions in Incan society is vast and cannot be treated exhaustively in this thesis. The following pages therefore focus on binary structures across three case studies: the ruling elite's conception of the cosmological order, its ceremonial calendar, and the representations of social divisions in Incan ritual actions and historical narratives. In exploring these themes, a particular approach to ritual action is emphasized. Although no particular definition of, or approach to, ritual action has won universal consensus, anthropologists have long acknowledged it to be a rich and outstanding dimension of sociality. It is often understood as mediating or organizing social groups through culturally constructed behaviours at specific times and places. It is also described as a psychologically impactful, standardized and repetitive system, which has reference to pre-existing belief in supernatural beings and power, or enacts particular relationships with these subjects and the audience<sup>158</sup>. Following a relational approach toward ritual phenomenon, this dissertation argues that ritual action is a specific mode of social production that does not merely reflect a given religious credo, ancestral cosmology, or 'frozen' social order, but also shapes and reconfigures the attendants' relationships to one another. It assumes that cultural constructs, whether narrative or ritual, are not fixed in essence nor do they depict a static reality. Accordingly, my aim is not only to understand how the Incan nobility devised ritual means of interacting with its environment, but also to explore how the metropolitan festivals contributed to transform the celebrants' social order. Understanding of kin terminologies, rules of descent, and marriage exchange are considered here instrumental in understanding the different relationships at play in ritual and narrative

---

<sup>157</sup> Turner 1984: p. 367.

<sup>158</sup> Turner 1969: pp. 8-10; Tambiah 1985: p. 126; Houseman 2006: pp. 414-415.



representations. This thesis thus engages with the post-structuralist approaches that have emerged with the renewal of kinship studies in the 1990s, after a dark decade of relativism<sup>159</sup>, and particularly benefits from the works of anthropologist Alf Hornborg who has formalized kinship patterns in almost fifty dual organizations of lowland South America<sup>160</sup>. The thesis' emphasis on the formal analysis of kin terminology, especially in chapter 4, may raise scepticism given the criticisms that this theoretic discipline suffered in the 1980s. However, it would be misleading to assume that anthropologists relying today on kinship analysis make use of it without reforming old presuppositions, without revising interpretations of well-established case studies, or disqualifying certain postulates laid in the early scholarly literature<sup>161</sup>. It is undeniable that ethnology cannot be reduced solely to the study of kinship and marriage exchanges because, in Pierre Bourdieu's words, these elements are part of a complex "system of biological, cultural and social reproduction"<sup>162</sup>. However,

Being oblivious to the fact that individuals, throughout the world, thought and keep thinking of themselves through their relations with others by referring to notions such as social closeness and distance, identity and difference, alliance and antagonism, and that, to express those, they resorted and still resort to a common idiom, that of kinship, this would be the true illusion<sup>163</sup>.

With this consideration in mind, the present study adopts a dynamic approach to Incan kinship and matrimonial alliances by focusing particularly on the practice of royal succession. In this perspective, conditions to kingship are not taken as static rules of perpetuation, but rather as a dynamic system that enabled the reinvention of kinship and social relations at the nomination of each ruler. Strategies of royal succession, therefore, depended on political alliances within, but also outside the Incan nobility, with local leaders. This close and dynamic interaction of kinship and politics explains in part the formal orientation of this thesis. Yet, as Julien observed, while it is crucial for Incan

---

<sup>159</sup> Peletz 1995; Godelier, Trautmann, and Tjon Sie Fat (eds.) 1998. One cannot resist mentioning a quote by Margaret Trawick, rendered famous by Peletz's article, where she synthesizes the fetishist enthusiasm of many anthropologists for the formal analyses of kinship studies: "Kinship patterns can be understood as objects of artistic appreciation, in the same way that mathematical proofs or car engines are, for some people, such objects. Opening the hood of a fancy sports car, some of us will see nothing but a confusing jumble of ugly machinery. Others, who understand such things, will be perfused with bliss. It is the same with kinship patterns" (Trawick 1990: pp. 117-118, in Peletz 1995, p. 344).

<sup>160</sup> Hornborg 1988; 1998.

<sup>161</sup> Jamard 2000: p. 734. Collard (2000) offers an excellent literature review outlining how the study of kinship has reinvented itself in recent years.

<sup>162</sup> Bourdieu 1977: p. 141.

<sup>163</sup> Barry 2000: p. 16.

scholars to debate contrasted interpretations and uses of primary texts, differences in theoretical approaches cannot be resolved by arguing the details<sup>164</sup>. This thesis offers an alternative perspective on Incan rituals and historical traditions. As such, it adopts a methodological approach that does not purport to decry other theoretical avenues of research, but should be considered instead as complementary to them.

The underlying theme sustained throughout the thesis is the reassessment of Incan historical traditions in the light of the construction of moiety division. Chapter 2 focuses on unravelling the narrative threads interwoven in the foundation narratives of Incan history by identifying in this literature the cultural productions specific to each moiety<sup>165</sup>. Chapter 3 approaches asymmetric features in the Incan cosmology in order to account for, and to ultimately harmonize, the inconsistencies blurring Spanish depictions of Incan religion. Finally, chapter 4 addresses issues of asymmetry and hierarchy in rituals of dual oppositions without presupposing that they aimed at social equilibrium, or always illustrated an imperialist worldview. It argues that festivals revolving around moiety membership in Cuzco did not create parity but rather channels of assimilation, where one part still prevailed over the other. Central to these analyses is the notion of overarching totality, which encompasses moiety opposition to define the “global order” of the Incan society: its ethnic identity and its solar religion.

## CONCLUSION

Incan historiography is an entangled corpus of individual and collective stories from sixteenth and seventeenth century Peru. It records the deeds and customs of great pre-Hispanic lords, but also voices the thought, hopes, struggles and disillusion of those who, willingly or by force, formed part of the colonial society. To understand the dynamics of this complex and often conflicted contact zone requires knowledge of the translation, interpretation and composition processes that shaped the primary sources upon which our understandings are based. Unravelling the Incan traditions contained in Spanish texts, however, also requires the insights proffered by narrative analysis. Indeed, it is argued here that such an approach enables us to identify the different historical traditions and genres proper to the original Incan narratives.

---

<sup>164</sup> Julien 2000: p. 16.

<sup>165</sup> This particular chapter benefits from the elaborations of M. Concepción Bravo Guerreira (1992) on Incan dual organization and extends the argument further to the Incas' conception of the cosmos.

Such an approach presupposes that Incan historical tradition was a multifaceted entity offering different perspectives. The narratives that comprise this corpus thus varied according to their context of recitation and reflected the contrasting voices of different factions in Incan society, principally the royal lineages but also the moieties. On this issue, there is ample historical evidence indicating that the *panaqas* were the depositories of their founder's own epic story. The noble kin groups would have elaborated and perpetuated a body of traditions that recorded the exploits of a particular ruler through the prism of their own interests, thereby offering a somewhat biased perspective on the past. While scholars widely accept this fact<sup>166</sup>, no work has yet focussed on identifying the narrative inconsistencies that may have originated from the diverse perspectives of the moieties. The present thesis aims to fill this gap in modern scholarship by utilising the insights of anthropological studies on dual organizations. The following pages do not aim to establish "what really happened", nor do they seek to determine how many Incan lords ruled before the Spanish conquest, but propose instead a methodology that harmonizes in part the narrative inconsistencies of the Spanish records, and delineates the contours of alternative forms of historical representation.

Finally, in its attempt to articulate a more comprehensive approach to Incan narratives, this study focuses on the reciprocal relations that linked historical traditions with the structure of Incan cosmology and the ritual representations of social antagonisms. Central to the argument is the theoretical treatment of hierarchical patterns and asymmetry in dual organizations. As this chapter has demonstrated, understanding such issues is fundamental for revisiting theories that have explained the social structure, kingship rules and historical transformations of Incan Cuzco.

---

<sup>166</sup> Rostworowski 1988: pp. 53-59; Gose 1996a; Salomon 1999: pp. 84-85.

## CHAPTER 2.

### WATER REGULATION AND INCAN GODS: A DUAL COSMOLOGICAL MODEL

*Sometimes they hold the Sun up as the creator, and other times they say it is Viracocha.*

(Betanzos: Pt. 1, Ch. 11)

#### INTRODUCTION

Having reviewed the literary resources and approach pertinent to this dissertation, the present chapter sets out to examine the fundamental structures of Incan cosmology. In doing so, it concentrates first of all on the nature and function of the main divinities that comprised the Incan pantheon as outlined in primary sources. According to these texts, the heads of the ruling elite's religion were three: the Sun, Wiraqucha, and Illapa who is often referred as the ruler of lightning flash, thunder, and lightning bolt. Together, these divinities would have supervised a plethora of forefather-figures known under the generic terms of *waka*, *wanka*, *willka* and other embodiments of community ancestors, such as *mallkis* (embalmed bodies), *kamaqin* and *qunupas*. At the time of the Spanish invasion, the worship of these supernatural beings was widely attested in different parts of Tawantinsuyu, from the northern coast to the southern sierra<sup>1</sup>, and would have long preceded the Incas' rise to power. Early missionary treatises, observing their widespread influence, described these cults as the "universal idolatry" of the peoples newly subjugated to the Spanish Crown.

The roots of the Incan religion were therefore anchored in a secular past; part of its mythology bears *inter alia* a close resemblance to pan-Andean narratives of emergence, migration and settlement. From this common religious substratum, the Incan nobility elaborated the particularities of its own belief system and devised a ceremonial calendar that reflected its specific vision of the cosmological order, with its hierarchy of deities, its play of antagonistic forces, and their influence on earthly matters. In order to account for the complexity of this religious structure, the present

---

<sup>1</sup> Augustinos (1560); Rostworowski 1988: pp. 30-42, 53-56; Polia Meconi (ed.) 1999: pp. 123-126, 158-182; Mills 1997: pp. 39-100.

chapter proceeds by situating the lore of the ruling elite within the cultural frame that informed its oral traditions. It thus identifies the narrative threads that tied together the epics of pan-Andean gods with the events of the Incas' settlement in the Cuzco valley. In doing so, it sheds light on the nature of the supernatural forces that assisted the Incan ancestors in their ascent to power.

By engaging with the founding traditions of Incan history, this chapter intends to unravel part of the discrepancies that obfuscate these narratives, and which not only affect the identity of the Incas' godly progenitor, named in primary sources as either Wiraqucha or the Sun, but also their place of emergence: Paqariq Tampu in the Cuzco district, or Lake Titicaca in the Collao province. This chapter offers an approach to historiography that harmonizes these discrepancies not only through an understanding of the colonizers' and indigenous' agendas, but also through the cultural framework that informed the dual organization of Incan society. In this line, it argues that two different, although interwoven, storylines compose the corpus of narrations retelling the migration of the first Incas, each starting in distinct locations<sup>2</sup>. Evidently, these traditions rarely constituted two hermetic collections of sources that could be neatly demarcated. However, by identifying the strands of congruity running through the Incan migration narratives and other Andean myths of origin, it is possible to isolate the essential features of these traditions, and to associate them with the epics of two Andean deities: Wiraqucha and "Punchao" (thenceforth P'unchaw). An analysis of the attributes and functions of these divinities in the course of Incan celebrations will then reveal the demarcation of the two seasons they individually ruled. It is argued here that each god arose on earth at opposite times of the year, replenished with the vital energy necessary to sustain soil, plants, and beings. In the course of his terrestrial journey, the animating force of one deity slowly depleted, allowing the other to claim his rule over the second half of the annual cycle. In advancing this argument, the present chapter sets aside momentarily the study of astronomical events that led several scholars to associate these two gods with a particular time of the year. Instead, it centres its demonstration on the particularities of the Andean environment (e.g. agricultural cycles, climatic phenomena, natural resources constraints) that primary evidence and philological analyses link to the influence of either Wiraqucha or P'unchaw. This is not to suggest that celestial events had little impact on Inca ceremonial life – the contrary will be demonstrated in the next

---

<sup>2</sup> Here I develop the argument put forward by ethnohistorian María Concepción Bravo Guerreira (1992).

chapter – but this methodological approach refocuses the discussion first and foremost on recorded material, thus offering a point of entry into reassessing modern assumptions on Wiraqucha and P'unchaw, including their association with certain astronomical occurrences. Moreover, it is argued here that the stringent requirements affecting Andean agriculture were determinant in shaping the Incan gods' identity. The crops' basic needs, elevation, climate, as well as the rotational organization of Andean agriculture and its impact on pastoral activities, were all compelling constraints that the subjects of Tawantinsuyu needed to control in order to produce their staple. Crop loss had, and still has today, dramatic consequences on Andean communities so that the regulation of environmental phenomena was crucial to their subsistence. As this chapter demonstrates, the periodicity and stability of these conditions were precisely in the hands of supernatural beings. The gods' attributes, therefore, were closely related to the characteristics of each Andean season. Finally, this chapter offers a reflection on the definition of the solar religion revered in Cuzco. It accounts for the contradictory material presenting Wiraqucha as the ruling elite's supreme divinity, although describing the worship of the Sun as the empire's official religion that the Incas imposed on their subjects. Therefore, while acknowledging the impact that evangelising rationales had upon the depiction and transmission of Wiraqucha's epics, this chapter assumes that a pre-Hispanic substratum, based upon dual ideology, facilitated the latter deity's assimilation with the omnipotent god of the conquistadors.

## NARRATIVE TRADITIONS OF THE UPPER WORLD

### WIRAQUCHA'S JOURNEY AND THE INCAS' EMERGENCE FROM LAKE TITICACA

Fragments of our first body of narratives, penned down between the early 1550s and the last decade of the sixteenth-century, were recorded by López de Gómara (1552), Segovia (1553), Gasca (1553), Zárate (1555), Castro and Ortega Morejón (1558), Pedro Pizarro (1571), Atienza (c. 1575), Molina (1575) and Gutiérrez de Santa Clara (c. 1590)<sup>3</sup>. Although these texts may disagree on the identity of the first Incan ruler, the same storyline runs through them. They first situate the emergence of the Incan people after a deluge that flooded the earth “for sixty days and sixty nights” and destroyed the primitive humanity. This event was a *unu pachakuti*, literally “the reversal of time/space

---

<sup>3</sup> Mestizo chronicler Garcilaso de la Vega also recorded these mythical events, but combined them with the Paqariq Tampu narrative cycle.

by water”, in which the term *pacha* (world) bears both a temporal and spatial sense<sup>4</sup>. The annihilation of the *terra firma* marked the end of an age, and the dawn of a new era. The aforesaid chroniclers recorded that, following this cataclysm, a man called Manco Sapaca or, otherwise, Viracocha, emerged from Lake Titicaca with his people and, together, they left to settle in Cuzco<sup>5</sup>. The same texts indicate that his most renowned descendents did not exceed six or seven, depending on the chroniclers, and were known as Pachacuti Yupanqui, Viracocha Inca, Capac Yupanqui, Tupa Inca Yupanqui, Huayna Capac, Huascar and Atahualpa, all of whom are traditionally associated with the Hanan Cuzco moiety (see Tables 1.2 & 1.3).

An unorthodox narrative by Gutiérrez de Santa Clara even suggests that the Incas’ forefather originally resided in the settlement of Hatun Collao, located near the present town of Puno (see Map 2.1), where he erected his palace after he emerged from Lake Titicaca<sup>6</sup>. Generation after generation, his descendents fiercely fought the lords of Cuzco before eventually one of them, Tupa Inca Yupanqui, built a site called Hanan Cuzco next to the city of his sworn enemies. From there, the newcomers came to subdue their neighbours and conquer the rest of the land<sup>7</sup>.

Map 2.1. The Titicaca Basin. Taken from Stanish 2003, p. 52.

---

<sup>4</sup> Betanzos: Pt. 1, Ch. 17, p. 83; Sarmiento de Gamboa: Ch. 6, pp. 40-42; González Holguín, *Vocabulario*: p. 270; Bouysse-Cassagne 1988: pp. 13-14; MacCormack 1988: pp. 966-969; Allen 1993-1994: pp. 89-90; Salles-Reese 1997: pp. 69-73.

<sup>5</sup> About Manco Sapaca, see Julien 1983: pp. 37-42.

<sup>6</sup> About Hatun Collao (also Hatun Qolla) see Julien 1983: pp. 89-107; Rostworowski 1999: pp. 68-69; Stanish 2003: pp. 75-76.

<sup>7</sup> Gutiérrez de Santa Clara: Ch. 49, p. 209

Earlier versions of this myth often intermingle the identity of the Collao deity called Wiraqucha with the homonymous ruler, Inca Viracocha. One account written by an anonymous priest, later identified as Bartolomé de Segovia, details the civilizing task of the deity-sovereign on earth and his relation to the Sun. The text records:

These Orejones say that the way they established lords among them was this. From a lake called Titicaca thirty leagues from Cuzco in the land of Collao, emerged the principal among them named Inga Viracocha, who was very knowledgeable and wise. He said he was the son of the Sun, and they say that he showed them the way to clothe themselves, to make stone houses, and it was he who built Cuzco, and made houses of stone as well as the fortress and the house of the Sun which he left incomplete<sup>8</sup>.

These narratives of origin are reminiscent of Wiraqucha's epic throughout the Andes, which elaborates and develops a similar narrative pattern recording how, in remote times, the god and the first humankind emerged together from Lake Titicaca. This primitive humanity dwelt in darkness, practiced a rudimentary agriculture, and existed in a state of perpetual conflict because its communal lands had not been clearly ascribed. Hence, dissatisfied with his people's conduct, Wiraqucha flooded the earth and annihilated the rebels with the cataclysmic waters. Several of these prototypical beings were turned into *waka*, which present-day communities came to venerate as their progenitors. The god thereafter animated the sun, the moon and the stars before forging new beings from the earth of Tiahuanaco. Remembering the conflicts that had rent asunder the first humanity, Wiraqucha divided this new race into different ayllus, giving each one a chieftain, and indicating propitious places for them to settle. He taught them agrarian techniques and, according to isolated traditions, endowed them with the skills of navigating and the craft of weaving. Finally, he provided them with a language and laid the foundations for their customs.

Wiraqucha is sometimes said to have also forged three beings named Imaymana, Tucapu and Tawapaca to assist him in his task<sup>9</sup>. The last, however, constantly defied his progenitor who eventually resolved to fling him into the waters of Lake Titicaca where he disappeared forever. The two remaining brothers were then sent towards Qullasuyu, Kuntisuyu and Antisuyu to "bring forth the people" from rivers, springs, caves or

---

<sup>8</sup> Segovia: p. 73. My translation.

<sup>9</sup> Las Casas: T. 105, p. 433; Betanzos: Pt. 1, Ch. 1, pp. 11-12; Ch 2, pp. 13-15; Molina: pp. 53-55.



hilltops and exploit the lands Wiraqucha had allotted them<sup>10</sup>. The god himself set on a journey towards the Cuzco valley, travelling by the royal roads (*qhapaq ñan*), and stopping along the way to accomplish his deeds. He thus animated the Canas Indians in Cacha, and later instructed the *etnia* of Urcos to emerge from the top of a hill where its people subsequently settled. There, they built a temple in honour of the god, at the entrance of which were carved an eagle and a falcon representing the sons and brothers of Hatun Wiraqucha. Having arrived on the site of Cuzco, the deity ordered the *orejones* to emerge and populate the land. He then pursued his journey overland, following the course of the rivers that led to the ocean, bringing forth other nations, before eventually disappearing in the primordial waters of the western sea<sup>11</sup>. Wiraqucha's mythical actions throughout the southern sierra suggest that several communities of the Andean plateaux held this narrative of genesis in common. These ethnic groups all traced their founder's origin back to natural formations, which was a conception closely related to their cosmology since they, as well as the Incas, reckoned that the world was surrounded or floated over Mama Qucha, the subterranean matrix of all primordial waters. As Garcilaso de la Vega explains:

When the Sun set and they saw him sink beyond the sea – for the whole length of Peru has the sea to its west – they say it entered the sea, and dried up a great part of its waters with his fire and heat, but like a good swimmer he dived under the earth and came up next day in the east, whence they supposed that the earth rests on the water<sup>12</sup>.

Stemming from the same conception, the *ayllus*' founders and the prototypes of every animal on earth were believed to have taken a subterranean route, which followed the course of Mama Qucha, before emerging through the apertures, inland lakes and seas that connected the habitable earth with the underground<sup>13</sup>. These places of emergence were called *paqarina*, which literally means "the place from where the sun

---

<sup>10</sup> Greatly influenced by the Dumézilian model of trifunctionality, Henrique Urbano (1988) studied these four figures. He sees in the structure of these narratives the expression of a tripartite system of social organization in which Pachayachachi embodied the supreme figure of the father regulator who ordained the politico-warlike domain. His first son/brother represented the knowledge of agricultural labours, while the youngest mastered the cultic and sacerdotal function. As for the fourth figure of Tawapaca, whom Urbano identifies with the southern god Tunupa, he would have symbolised the negative, reverse side of the forefather.

<sup>11</sup> Betanzos: Pt. 1, Ch. 1-2, pp. 11-15; pp. 52-56; Cieza de León: Pt. 2, Ch. 5, pp. 8-12; Molina: p. 84; Gutiérrez de Santa Clara: pp. 244-245; Sarmiento de Gamboa: Ch. 6-7, pp. 40-46; *Ritos y Tradiciones de Huarochirí*: Ch. 1, p. 11.

<sup>12</sup> Garcilaso de la Vega: Bk. 2, Ch. 23, pp. 113-114. Translation Livermore 1989: p. 120.

<sup>13</sup> Sherbondy 1992: pp. 57-58; Itier 1992a: p. 1039 (45), p. 1043 (53); Duviols 1993: p. 111.

risers”, and the “the place where one is born”<sup>14</sup>. From there, together with Wiraqucha who had risen from the lake, they settled in the provinces ascribed to each group and inaugurated a new era. Remarkably, a surviving tradition from the Ocongate district (Cuzco) reports an analogous story relating how every species initially emerged from a cave or a water source together with men. This creation would have taken place on the second day the sun made its apparition, therein echoing how Wiraqucha forged a second, more complete, humankind after having destroyed the first beings. Tradition has it that before this episode occurred, alpacas had existed in darkness on earth from time immemorial. But as the sun finally rose above the earth’s horizon, they went to hide in the springs situated underground. It was only when the sun shed its light a second time, at daybreak, that all the animals emerged from their refuge and spread over the land. For this reason, today, people from Ocongate believe that the subterranean springs and the lagoons have command over all animals<sup>15</sup>.

This genesis conception throws significant light upon another variant of the Incas’ origin first recorded in the mid-1570s, which also situates the Incas’ place of birth in Lake Titicaca but differs in its ending. The story says that Wiraqucha created every nation and ordered Manco Capac, leader of the Incas, to settle towards the northwest. He gave him a golden rod to test the quality of the soil and told him that the appropriate site for his descendents to settle was where the staff penetrated the ground entirely. Travelling through subterranean channels, Manco Capac and his people finally stopped in Paqariq Tampu, where they rested overnight. On the following day, “at the break of dawn”, they came out of the cave and, from there, walked towards the rich hillsides of the Cuzco valley where they recognized the land assigned to them by their “father the Sun”<sup>16</sup>.

The narratives tracing the Incas’ origin to Lake Titicaca thus belonged to a larger body of pan-Andean traditions in which the advent on earth of the Collao god Wiraqucha and the nations’ emergence from darkness occurred at sunrise, following a reversal of time and space (*pachakuti*). This event marked the dawn of a new era ruled by the second sun after the annihilation of the archaic humanity. Wiraqucha himself is

---

<sup>14</sup> Following Doyle (1988), Ramírez (2005: pp. 274-275, n. 29) suggests that *paqarina* was both the place of emergence of a founding ancestor, and the apical figure itself.

<sup>15</sup> Gow and Gow: p. 142.

<sup>16</sup> Molina: p. 52; Garcilaso de la Vega: Bk. 1, Ch. 15: p. 37-40; Murúa: Ch. 2, pp. 39-40.

identified with the solar god in the account evoking the Incan ancestors' subterranean journey from Lake Titicaca to Paqariq Tampu, a pattern repeatedly found in later chronicles (see anon). Significantly, the early Spanish chroniclers who recorded these traditions were only concerned with the reigns of Hanan lords and ignored the existence of the Urin leaders who reportedly ruled before the Hanan dynasty.

Ethnohistorian Bravo Guerreira observes that López de Gomara, after relating that Manco Sapaca and his people travelled the sea from Lake Titicaca to Cuzco, only makes mention of three kings, namely Tupa Yupanqui, Huayna Capac and Atahualpa. For Pedro de la Gasca, "they were six or seven whose name was Tupa Inca because Tupa would have been the name of this first Inca"<sup>17</sup>. Pedro Pizarro, finally, lists the following rulers: Inca Viracocha, Tupa Inca Yupanqui Pachacuti, Huayna Capac, Inca Amaro Inca and two unnamed rulers<sup>18</sup>. Although these authors disagree on the identity of the first leader – which may indicate that their informants named their own *panaqa*'s ancestor as the founder of the dynasty – they all relate this apical figure to the Upper moiety. In addition, these data can be paralleled with the numerous reigning lists evoked in chapter 1 (see Tables 1.2, 1.3 and 1.4), which are also oblivious to the existence of all Urin leaders, even though they do not record the Incas' origin myth from Lake Titicaca.

As Bravo Guerreira posits, the narratives recorded by López de Gómara, Gasca, and Pizarro may have been part of a larger corpus of traditions exclusively held by members of the Hanan moiety whose oral histories diverged from the Urin lore<sup>19</sup>. Her interpretation, however, ends here, and she does not explore a logical corollary of this hypothesis: that Wiraqucha would have been the tutelary deity of Upper Cuzco. Such a view indeed contradicts the scholarship produced on the topic up to that date, for, as we shall see, modern studies ordinarily associated Wiraqucha with Urin Cuzco. The following discussion demarcates itself from these works, and argues that the Collao god was regarded as the forefather of the Hanan lineages and held features opposed to the Old Sun of the Lower moiety, P'unchaw.

---

<sup>17</sup> Pedro de la Gasca, *Descripción del Perú* (1553), in Bravo Guerreira 1992: p. 21.

<sup>18</sup> Bravo Guerreira 1992: pp. 20-29.

<sup>19</sup> Bravo Guerreira 1992: p. 20.

THE CREATIVE FUNCTION OF WIRAQUCHA

Given Wiraqucha's role in the genesis of multiple ethnic groups, colonial sources often depict him as the Andean Maker or creator god whose epic could readily be paralleled with the action of the Almighty in the Christian tradition. The Spanish themselves did not fail to notice and to speculate on this point of apparent resemblance, which has since influenced posterior works on the Incan religion. In keeping with this major issue, Franklin Pease entitled his 1970 article on Wiraqucha: "The Andean Creator God" thereby referring to the Spanish word *hacedor* commonly used by the chroniclers to describe the deity. With this meticulous study, Pease engaged with the controversy over Wiraqucha's nature, a debate fed in part by the speculations that surrounded two of his names, Pachayachachic (*pacha yachachiq*) and Ticsi (*tiksi*), that colonial lexicons equated with the notions of omnipresence and creative power. Early translations of the first expression thus include "creator of all things" or "God, doing something natural, creating it" in which *pacha* refers to the earth and *yachachiq* is "the one who teaches or transmits"<sup>20</sup>. In a similar vein, Santo Tomás' dictionary related *tiksi* to concepts such as "beginning", "origin", "foundation", or even the "end of all things"<sup>21</sup>.

In the course of the sixteenth century, and increasingly after the resolutions of the Third Council of Lima (1583), Wiraqucha's image became instrumental in the vast debate over the nature of Amerindians. To many chroniclers, eulogists of the Incan empire, he came to be the "First cause of the universe", a concept that ancient Peruvians would have articulated by the operation of natural reason. In Molina's words, he was the "Inscrutable God", while Cieza de León and José de Acosta call him the "Creator of Heaven and Earth". For a number of these early historians, the immanence of the concept Wiraqucha embodied had opened the path for missionaries in South America. Mestizo writer Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamaygua, for example, saw in the god's epic the works of the apostle Saint Thomas, while Guaman Poma, more ambivalent on the deity's impact on Incan beliefs, attributes his deeds to Saint Bartholomew. They both

---

<sup>20</sup> Betanzos: Pt. 1, Ch. 2, p. 14; Sarmiento de Gamboa: p. 40; González Holguín, *Vocabulario*: pp. 361-362.

<sup>21</sup> Santo Tomás, *Lexicón*: p. 363.

believed that the extent of Wiraqucha's area of influence on the continent constituted a proof of the proto-evangelisation of America<sup>22</sup>.

Recent works of back-translations and historical linguistics have corrected this view<sup>23</sup>, and suggest that the bilingual material (Quechua/Castilian) composed by Spanish officials to assist the evangelisation of Peru, had been instrumental in shaping the omnipotent nature of Wiraqucha. At the heart of this misconstruction were the word *kamaq* and its derivatives that the oral traditions of the central highlands used to describe the work of a regional expression of the Collao deity, Cuniraya Wiraqucha. He is the *runa-kamaq* and *pacha-kamaq* of the Huarochirí text, two expressions that the Spanish author of the sixteenth-century manuscript translated as "the creator of men and earth"<sup>24</sup>. A few years earlier, the bilingual lexicons and catechisms of the Third Council of Lima had elected this term to translate God's action on earth, his power to create beings *ex nihilo*, and the soul with which he endowed men. Once entrenched in the language and 'applied back' to the endeavours of Andean ancestors, Wiraqucha's deeds in particular, *kama-* retained its Christian connotations and thereupon influenced the consolidation of Wiraqucha's image as the almighty god of Ancient Peru.

As Gerald Taylor was the first to argue, the notion of a primordial act in the hands of a single being translates only imperfectly the semantic field covered by *kama-*<sup>25</sup>. The first reason is that *kamaq* was a power shared by many *waka*, *wanka* and *mallki* of Andean traditions<sup>26</sup>. An analysis of their epics found in the reports of the extirpation of idolatry shows that all these ancestral figures had the power to transmit a vital force (*kamaq*) to a double (*kamasqa*), whether a living being or inanimate object, who thereupon displayed incredible powers<sup>27</sup>. The *kamaq* was therefore "a source of vitality that animated and sustained not only man but also the entirety of animals and things so that they could *be fulfilled*, which is to say that their potential to function in a way

---

<sup>22</sup> Vigneras 1977; MacCormack 1984: pp. 47-48; 1991: pp. 312-317; Duviols, in Pachacuti Yamqui: p. 23; Bouysse-Cassagne 1997a; Salles-Reese 1997: pp. 84-86, pp. 137-156; Armas Asín 2002

<sup>23</sup> See Ramírez 2006b, 2006c. For problems of translation see, Mannheim 1991: pp. 128-137.

<sup>24</sup> *Ritos y Tradiciones de Huarochirí*: Ch. 1, p. 11.

<sup>25</sup> Taylor 2000a. See also Itier 1993: pp. 151-163.

<sup>26</sup> Duviols 1978; 1986: pp. 174, 180, 189, 196, 219-220, 237, 239, 242, 272, 280, 352, 380, 387; *Ritos y Tradiciones de Huarochirí*: Ch. 1, pp. 5, 11; Ch. 2, p. 13; Ch. 5, pp. 17, 55; Ch. 8, p. 107; Ch. 10, p. 149; Ch. 13, pp. 179, 185; Ch. 14, pp. 199, 201; Ch. 21, p. 271; Ch. 22, p. 281; Ch. 23, p. 293; Ch. 24, pp. 307, 311, 323; Ch. 27, p. 359; Ch. 29, pp. 373, 379; Ch. 31, p. 419; Polia Meconi 1999: pp. 516-517, 539-541.

<sup>27</sup> Itier 1992a: p. 1023 (13).

determined by their own nature becomes *real*, meaning effective”<sup>28</sup>. Hence, during his journey throughout the land, Wiraqucha did not create men in the literal sense, but rather animated the people who had lived beneath the earth. He was not the only supernatural being to have accomplished this feat, since Andean narratives report that each ancestor animated its/their own community/ies. Some of these precursors were more successful and powerful than others because the vital force they infused into beings could be weakened by disease or an attack from other harmful creatures. For these reasons, but also to insure the continued circulation of the vital force between their progenitors and themselves, humans had to regenerate and nourish regularly the source of their *kamaq* with offerings and sacrifices<sup>29</sup>.

The might of an ancestor like Wiraqucha also depended on the expansion of his cult, which was related in turn to the martial deeds of his earthly descent. Accordingly, by evincing their valour as a conquering people animated by the strength of their godly progenitor, the Incas played a crucial role in spreading Wiraqucha’s renown across the Andes. It follows that spiritual power and the strength of the vital energy were closely associated with the ability to rule, command and, ultimately, vanquish. For this reason also, certain derivatives of *kamaq*, such as *kamachikuq*, described positions of ethnic authority<sup>30</sup>. The Incas, however, were perpetuating the lore of a deity whose cult was already widespread in many regions of South America prior to their own emergence as a major power. Wiraqucha’s deeds were widely integrated into local traditions from the Peruvian coast, crossing the central sierra, down to the Bolivian Altiplano. His cult was also attested in several regions of northern Chile and Argentina where, during the Late Horizon, it continued to spread over the populations newly integrated to the Incan realm<sup>31</sup>. Within this large topography, and despite historical adaptations, Wiraqucha’s worshippers shared similar traditions about his deeds on earth, all interwoven in the oft-repeated journey of the deity towards the western seas. This narrative consistency also suggests that the many regional manifestations of Wiraqucha had a common origin in an archaic solar deity called Wari. Contrary to scholarly works suggesting that Wiraqucha had originally been a superior god who, once assimilated into the Incan pantheon,

---

<sup>28</sup> Taylor in *Ritos y Tradiciones de Huarochirí* 1999: p. XXII. See also Torero 1990: pp. 250-251; Ziolkowski 1997: pp. 27-29.

<sup>29</sup> Polia Meconi 1999: pp. 123-125; Ramírez 2005: p. 135. For contemporary uses, see Tomoeda 1996: pp. 199-201, pp. 207-212.

<sup>30</sup> Gose 1996b: pp. 9-10; Ramírez 2005: pp. 122, 137.

<sup>31</sup> Molinié Fioravanti 1987: p. 73

acquired the features of the Sun god, this chapter argues that the solar aspects of this divinity were inherent to his prime nature<sup>32</sup>. The present argument therefore aligns with the works of Andean specialists for whom aspects of Wiraqucha's epic echo the Sun lore of the central sierra. It was indeed in this geographical area that Wari's authority began to expand, giving rise to distinct regional adaptations that survived well into the colonial era<sup>33</sup>. Progressively, and through local particularities where oral traditions lauded their feats, one of these divinities, Wiraqucha, came to dominate in the southern Andes.

#### WIRAQUCHA'S SOLAR ASPECTS

Besides the numerous speculations that surrounded the god's epithets and his actions, the actual meaning of the name Wiraqucha became another point of contention in colonial and modern histories of the Incan empire<sup>34</sup>. A clear majority of chroniclers parsed the word as *wira-qucha*, where the first vocable describes 'fat' or its verbal form 'to fatten' while the last refers to an expanse of water<sup>35</sup>. With this interpretation in mind, López de Gomara, Garcilaso and Gutiérrez de Santa Clara describe the god as the "fat of the sea", while, for Cieza de León and Pedro de la Gasca, he was the "foam of the sea"<sup>36</sup>. Besides these translations, the 1608 lexicon of González Holguín provides a remarkable entry for Wiraqucha, which reads: "the Sun's epithet, the honorific name of the god worshipped by the Indians"<sup>37</sup>. Among the first scholars to reflect on this gloss were Pierre Duviols and Alfredo Torero who suggested that *wira* was a metathesis for *wari*<sup>38</sup>, the name of the solar god of the central sierra. Accordingly, Wiraqucha would have meant "the Sun's lake – the lake from which the Sun rises"<sup>39</sup>. For both historians, this exegesis not only explains González Holguín's definition of the god's name, but it

<sup>32</sup> For works suggesting that Wiraqucha went through a solarisation process, influenced by the prominence of the Sun god in the Andes, see Pease 1970; Cock and Doyle 1979: p. 57; Brundage 1963: pp. 76-81.

<sup>33</sup> César Itier (1993: p. 161) argues that Wari, simultaneously with his expansion in the southern highlands, also influenced the characteristics of other cultural heroes such as Cuniraya in the Huarochirí region, Tunupa in the southern sierra or Huichama on the coast.

<sup>34</sup> An extended literature exists on this issue. Several works are particularly valuable: Pease 1970; Duviols 1977; Demarest 1981: pp. 1-11; MacCormack 1991: pp. 349-351; Szemiński 1997; Salles-Reese 1997: pp. 58-59; Ziolkowski 1997: pp. 38-46; Armas Asín 2002: pp. 203-209.

<sup>35</sup> Santo Tomás, *Lexicón*: pp. 369-370; González Holguín, *Vocabulario*: p. 353.

<sup>36</sup> Gutiérrez de Santa Clara: p. 245; Garcilaso de la Vega: Bk. 5, Ch. 21, p. 270; Cieza de León: Ch. 5, p. 10; Bravo Guerreira 1992: pp. 20-21.

<sup>37</sup> "Wiraqucha: Era epicteto, del sol honroso nombre del Dios que adorauan los indios y de ay ygualandolos con su Dios llamauan a los españoles Wiraqucha", González Holguín, *Vocabulario*: p. 353.

<sup>38</sup> A metathesis is the transposition of two phonemes in a single word. It is a phenomenon widespread in Quechua dialects, see Parker 1969: p. 22; Escribens 1980; Shaver and Shaver 1989; Muysken 2000: p. 980; Heggarty 2005: p. 80.

<sup>39</sup> Torero 1990: p. 248.

also clarifies the resemblance of Wiraqucha's epic with the journey of the underground Sun at night, as evoked earlier in a quotation borrowed from Garcilaso de la Vega (see page 61).

In seventeenth-century records of the extirpation of idolatry, the subterranean god is known as Wari, whom the Indians worshipped as the Sun's offspring or the star itself<sup>40</sup>. His name may have originated from a linguistic family of the Amazonian forest, the Pano, where the vocable *wari* describes the sun. Evidence assembled by Torero indicates that before the beginning of our era, the Pano idioms occupied an area located at the same latitude as the central Peruvian highlands. In a period corresponding with the introduction of Wari on the Andean scene, they were gradually dispelled to the east by the expansion of the Quechua I subgroup<sup>41</sup>. Hence, Wari's cult in the central sierra would have emerged from the contact maintained by the populations of these two, distinct, linguistic groups during the first millennium BC<sup>42</sup>.

The Cajatambo trial reports, recorded between 1656 and 1663, describe Wari as the architect of irrigation canals, the regulator of subterranean waters who lived in darkness, and the guardian of the *chakras*. He was believed to rule over the cultivations of irrigated terrains and, for this reason, he was their *pirqayuq* – ruler of the *chakras*' enclosures – and *yakuyuq* – ruler of the waters<sup>43</sup>. Like the sun described by Garcilaso de la Vega, Wari is often associated with the waters of Mama Qucha that circulate below the ground and was regarded as an ancestor travelling through her course before emerging into the light of day through earthly apertures, such as a lake or a sea. In the northern part of the Lima Archdiocese, the cultivators of irrigated terrains also referred to themselves as Wari and celebrated the homonymous deity as their progenitor and tutelary god who initially divided and distributed their *chakras*. This act of foundation

---

<sup>40</sup> Arriaga: pp. 30, 95, 97, 127; Duviols 1979b: pp. 11-13

<sup>41</sup> Linguists distinguish two Quechua families of dialects. On the one hand, the Quechua I, also called Quechua B, is a group of dialects spoken in the central and north-central sierra of Peru. On the other hand, the dialects that belong to the Quechua A/Quechua II family extend to the department of Huancavelica to the northeast of Argentina, and are also spoken in the equatorial sierra. Although there exist morphological, lexical and phonological differences within these two groups, it is widely accepted that the dialects that composed each subfamily share a common origin. Gerald Taylor identified another subgroup, which he called "mixed dialects", in the Yauyos province. See Torero 1974: pp. 16-36; Taylor 1990; Cerrón-Palomino 2003.

<sup>42</sup> Torero 1990: pp. 246-249.

<sup>43</sup> Itier 1992a: pp. 1023-1024, 1027, 1031, 1036, 1042; Itier 1993, in Pachacuti Yamqui: p. 160.



explains why Wari was the *llaqtayuq* (“he who protects his people/descent”<sup>44</sup>) of these communities, an office he shared with their mummies (*mallki*) and *wanka*<sup>45</sup>. By virtue of his relation to the subterranean waters, Wari often received offerings in the upriver streams and, even today, he is given specific oblations during the ritual cleaning of irrigation canals<sup>46</sup>. The same characteristic may also explain why, in the Mantaro valley (Jauja), Wari Willka was venerated as a spring that all the ayllus of the Huanca ethnic group regarded as their common ancestor<sup>47</sup>. North of this area, in Cinga (Huamalíes), Wari’s underground temple would have replicated the god’s dark habitat, and was bored through with labyrinthine passages to allow circulation<sup>48</sup>. This sombre universe was also synonymous with unsettled and dangerous times. In 1656, a native commentator described the advent of Wari on earth as “a powerful and great wind”, which was, and is still, a condition commonly thought to announce the propagation of diseases, especially at the beginning of the wet season<sup>49</sup>. Today, *wayra* (the wind) has retained part of this aspect for it is “conceptualised as a localized circulatory agent of subterranean energy. He is said to rush out of his “house” – a high inaccessible cave – to flow like a river of air through the atmosphere before returning home”<sup>50</sup>.

Wari’s odyssey in the subterranean world finds remarkable parallels in the details of Wiraqucha’s journey over the land, for both evoked a close association with interior seas and water springs. Like Wari, Wiraqucha was believed to have bestowed men with the knowledge of cultivating irrigated fields and to have delineated the arable lands he allotted to his descendents. Indeed, in the central highlands, Wari supervised the draining and ditching activities of maize farmers who had received their *chakras* from the deity in time immemorial. Moreover, as Zuidema and historian Arthur A. Demarest argue, Wiraqucha’s path over the earth can be seen as the “earthly projection”

---

<sup>44</sup> Ramírez (2006b) points out that, before the Spanish invasion, *llaqta* referred to a group of people sharing a common ancestry. Therefore, unlike today, *llaqta* did not describe a place or a settlement because *pueblos* and ayllus did not have a delimited spatial base before the Spanish-mandated *reducciones* of the 1560s and 1570s. *Llaqta* also referred to the local *waka*/ancestor as well as the community he/she protected (*Ritos y tradiciones de Huarochirí* 1999: p. xxvii-xxviii). The nominal suffix *-yuq/* broadly translates as “who possess(es)”, but also “who is protected by” as Taylor showed in his study of the Huarochirí manuscript (*Ritos y tradiciones de Huarochirí* 1999: p. xxx). Hence, literally, *llaqtayuq* means “he who possesses/protects/animates a people”.

<sup>45</sup> Duviols 1986: pp. 94, 128.

<sup>46</sup> Torero 1990: p. 247.

<sup>47</sup> Cieza de León: Pt. 1, Ch. 84, pp. 243-244.

<sup>48</sup> Duviols 1971: pp. 386-398.

<sup>49</sup> AAL, Leg V, cuad. 2, 1656 in Cock and Doyle 1979: p. 58 n. 14. Larme 1998: pp. 1008-1010.

<sup>50</sup> Allen 1988: p. 53.

of the sun in the sky<sup>51</sup>. Like the star rising in the east, the deity emerged at dawn from Lake Titicaca to undertake a civilising mission on his way to the western sea. As he walked through the Andes, Wiraqucha enlightened a second generation of humankind and beings before disappearing again in the ocean of Mama Qucha. His identification with the sun thus explains why the Incan ancestors were said to have emerged at dawn from their *paqarina*, for it was the light and vital energy of this god that animated the group's life force.

As ethnologist Antoinette Molinié observed, establishing that Wiraqucha embodied a particular facet of the Sun “helps understand why the solar divinity and Wiraqucha are most commonly mixed up or interchangeable in the chronicles”<sup>52</sup>. Indeed, these texts commonly disagree on the identity of the divinity, either the Sun or Wiraqucha, who appeared before Pachacuti Yupanqui to assure him of his favours as the young Inca was about to confront the Chancas<sup>53</sup>. The same sources also report that the Cuzco nobility traced its ancestry to the Sun, although they also depict Wiraqucha's initial role in the emergence of the Incan ancestors. To account for these confusions, Pease suggested that “a solar cult could be contemporaneous with one or several solar gods. The Sun can be several gods, have distinctive names and distinct ‘personalities’, according to its position during the day or during the year”<sup>54</sup>. Following this lead, Molinié proposes that Wiraqucha's four manifestations —Pachayachachiq, Imaymana, Topacu and Tawapaca — corresponded to different aspects of the sun. She partly founds her argument on the ethnological data recorded by Gail Silverman in the present-day community of Q'ero, north of Cuzco, where the residents have developed an elaborate semiology of textile patterns<sup>55</sup>. Among these designs, the solar motif is depicted in four different fashions according to the position of the star in the sky. They represented sunrise, the midday sun, sunset and the midnight sun, which Molinié associates, by analogy, with Wiraqucha and the three attendants he created at the dawn of time. In this configuration, Tawapaca, the character who disobeyed the god, represented “the nocturnal, antithetic and hidden aspect of the solar divinity”<sup>56</sup>.

---

<sup>51</sup> Zuidema 1962: pp. 164-165; Pease 1970: 164; Demarest 1981: pp. 26-27.

<sup>52</sup> Molinié 1993-1994: p. 30.

<sup>53</sup> Demarest 1981: pp. 17-22.

<sup>54</sup> Pease 1970: p. 68 (29).

<sup>55</sup> Silverman 1994a, 1994b.

<sup>56</sup> Molinié 1987; 1993-1994: p. 30.

In an earlier work, Demarest had similarly postulated that the sun divinity was composed of many “overlapping” aspects and identifies three of them: the mature Sun or Wiraqucha, the young Sun or P’unchaw, and the ancestral Sun of the Incan nobility he calls Inti Wawqi. Transcending this trinity was a “complex, aggregate sky god”, also reckoned as the Maker (*Hacedor*) whose nature encompassed the characteristics of three major deities: Illapa, the Sun and Wiraqucha. The first part of Demarest’s hypothesis conforms with Zuidema’s conclusion on the dual expression of the Cuzco elite’s solar religion. For both scholars, it was Wiraqucha who supervised the Incan celebration of the summer solstice at *Qhapaq rayme*, for he operated his tutelage over the young Incas’ transformation into adulthood, at the time when the young sun “is transformed into its mature aspect (Viracocha, el señor Sol, Apu-Inti etc...) by the achievement of the summer solstice”<sup>57</sup>. Opposed to this deity was the young Sun they identified with P’unchaw, whom the Incas worshiped during *Inti rayme*, the ceremony of the winter solstice<sup>58</sup>. Yet, while the days when the sun reaches its northernmost and southernmost extremes in the sky were certainly key dates in the framework of the Incan calendar, primary sources do not provide evidence supporting Wiraqucha’s seniority with respect to P’unchaw, nor do they substantiate his association with *Qhapaq rayme*. Indeed, Zuidema’s only explicit source to substantiate Wiraqucha’s link with the December festival is the late and disputed chronicle of Pachacuti Yamqui whose discourse was embedded in the evangelization rationale that gave predominance to the “Creator” in Incan religion<sup>59</sup>. Moreover, contrary to Zuidema and Demarest’s suggestion, there is no indication in Molina, our most detailed source, that P’unchaw was the patron of the *Inti rayme*<sup>60</sup>. A close reading of this text reveals that three images, that of P’unchaw Inca, Wiraqucha Pachayachachiq and Ch’uqilla, together received offerings during the June celebration dedicated to the “Sun”. Molina appears to have made equal use of the name “Sun” in his description of both solstice festivals, leaving no clue as to the identity of the deity/ies behind this designation. Finally, Zuidema’s argument relies heavily on his reconstruction of the “Incan astronomic theory” and his recent identification of several shrines with pre-Hispanic observation points<sup>61</sup>. This approach, although it reflects the Incas’ undeniable interest in celestial phenomena, is based on tenuous evidence and

---

<sup>57</sup> Demarest 1981: p. 28.

<sup>58</sup> Zuidema 1962: pp. 166-172; 1976; 1989: p. 259; Demarest 1981: pp. 26-27.

<sup>59</sup> Zuidema 1976: p. 205.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid; Demarest 1981: p. 26. See Molina: pp. 66-71; pp. 98-110.

<sup>61</sup> Zuidema 1976: pp. 210-227.

draws from a modern and still problematic interpretation of the *seque* system. Hence, in order to re-assess previous hypotheses, the ensuing analysis will focus on the existing material that link the Incan deities with the particularities of the Andean environment and establish their influence over the agrarian cycle. It will show that a specific aspect of Wiraqucha, named Pachayachachiq, was at the centre of the June solstice ceremony, which celebrated the deity's civilizing task at the dawn of time when he animated his descendants and thereupon enlightened them with the knowledge of agricultural techniques. Following on from this, it is argued here that the *Inti rayme* procession reproduced Wiraqucha's journey on earth after he had emerged from Lake Titicaca.

#### WIRAQUCHA IN INCAN CEREMONIES

It was noted earlier in this chapter that Spanish commentators often associated the denomination *pachayachachiq* to Wiraqucha's creative power, thereby inferring *pacha* to be the earth and *yachachiq* "the one who transmits". In a recent contribution to the understanding of Wiraqucha's nature, linguist César Itier pointed out that the word *yachakuchi*-, composed on the same stem, designated the deeds accomplished, not only by a sole immanent god but also by numerous supernatural beings. He observes that, in every context, this expression illustrates the act of bringing any object to its completeness and fulfilment, from its initial state to its plenitude. Deities could therefore exert this power over every animated body, from humans to foodstuffs, passing through springs of water supplying irrigation canals. Consequently, Itier translated *yacha*- by "bringing to fruition", "fully carrying through" while, in this case, *pacha* referred to the earth as the fertile soil. As such, Wiraqucha Pachayachachiq is the most prominent form of the divinity, for he is the Sun at its culminating point of fertilisation, he who guarantees the full development of the earth; "the one who brings the surface of the earth to a point of maturation required (for its full agrarian exploitation) in the course of a founding deed situated in a mythical past as well as during the annual cycles of production"<sup>62</sup>.

A careful reading of primary sources corroborates Pachayachachiq's close connection with the earth's productivity cycle. First, Molina indicates that during the June festivities of *Inti rayme*, the Incas directed their prayers specifically to this aspect

---

<sup>62</sup> Itier 1993: p. 161.

of Wiraqucha so that he would guarantee the “multiplication of beings and food”<sup>63</sup>. This ritual event also marked the first stage of the new agricultural cycle, when men shelled the recently gathered corn and selected the grain for the next sowing<sup>64</sup>. On this occasion the Incan nobility, who alone celebrated this ritual, went north from Cuzco to Mantucalla hill, where they burnt offerings to Wiraqucha, including figurines made of a wood called *kishwar*<sup>65</sup>. There, the participants performed a dance called *huayllina* in honour of Pachayachachiq, which they repeated several times through the year to accompany the maturation process of the corn<sup>66</sup>. Attending this *taki* were two feminine divinities in charge of tuber farming. Their names were Inca Ocllo and Pallpa Ocllo, which indicate their close relation with sunset (*pallpani*) and, as Pierre Duviols indicated, recall a custom recorded by Ludovico Bertonio as *pallpallitha*: “singing [while] sowing potatoes”<sup>67</sup>. When the cultivations of irrigated fields were sown later in the year (August), Wiraqucha also received a white llama and other offerings before the Incan nobility performed a dance in his honour, believing it would entice the food crops to achieve full maturation. The vegetative cycle eventually ended several months later, in April, with a sacrifice to Wiraqucha, so that “he would always bring them good years”<sup>68</sup>. Most importantly, the prayers, dances and offerings the Incas addressed to Wiraqucha during *Inti rayme* were not only destined to celebrate the start of the agricultural cycle, they also commemorated Wiraqucha’s journey on earth simultaneous with the emergence of every species from their *paqarina*. This primordial episode was enacted in various ways, but a first indication of its importance at *Inti rayme* is given by the presence of two pairs of gold and silver life-size llama figures, the *quri napa* and the *qullqi napa*, which headed the procession of Incan nobles to Mantucalla hill and, Molina indicated, represented the first of their species to have come out of the cave with the Incan ancestors<sup>69</sup>. Each of them was covered with a red mantle and given in the custody of highly placed Incan delegates. Together with the Inca and other members of the nobility, they remained in Mantucalla until the month reached a close.

---

<sup>63</sup> Molina: p. 67.

<sup>64</sup> Polo Ondegardo 1917: p. 20; Cobo, T. 2, Bk. 13, Ch. 29: p. 218.

<sup>65</sup> Mantucalla (An 3:6) has been identified by Bauer as the modern Salonpuncu. Bauer, 1998: pp. 81-82.

<sup>66</sup> Molina: p. 69.

<sup>67</sup> Molina: p. 70, n. 37

<sup>68</sup> Molina: p. 119.

<sup>69</sup> Molina: pp. 70-71.

From Mantucalla, part of the cortège went to the “house of the Sun” in Ch’uqi Kancha (the gold enclosure) and to the nearby sanctuary of Pawqar Kancha (the enclosure of rich plumage) in order to immolate several llamas<sup>70</sup>. At the same time, a group of celebrants, all members of the Tarpuntay ayllu, left Cuzco on a pilgrimage southeast of Cuzco “because they say that the Sun was born in this region”<sup>71</sup>. Along the way, they laid offerings in several shrines, crossed the Pomacanchis plain and its lagoon, before reaching the shrine of Vilcanota approximately 150 kilometres southeast of Cuzco. Situated at an altitude of more than 5000m above sea level, the Vilcanota was one of Tawantinsuyu’s main shrines and, like many high snowy peaks of the Andean Cordillera, it fed important watercourses<sup>72</sup>. From there, two rivers burst forth: one that runs towards Lake Titicaca, and the other flowing to the Yucay valley. The latter was originally known as Vilcamayu, literally the “river of the Sun”, and fed the Huatanay River, which itself supplied the two streams crossing Cuzco, the Saphi and Tullamayu. When returning from the Vilcanota sanctuary, the Incan procession followed the course of the Vilcamayu River, and passed through several *wakas* located along its banks. Two of them, Cacha (present-day San Pedro de Raqchi) and Urcos (or Tambo Urcos), had been important stops on Wiraqucha’s journey to Chinchaysuyu (see Map 2.2)<sup>73</sup>. The former was located in the cool altitude of the Collao region that shelters an ecological system ideal for the breeding of camelids. Cieza de Leon, who visited the area in the 1540s, entered its temple where he saw “a stone idol, the stature of a man with clothes and a crown or tiara on his head”<sup>74</sup>. The same chronicler also stopped in the town of Urcos, established close to a lagoon, but made no mention of a specific shrine. What captured Cieza’s attention, however, was the high wall that bordered the road entering the urban centre and which, according to locals, enclosed ingenious irrigation canals. Another shrine visited by the Tarpuntay ayllu during *Inti rayme* was the sanctuary of Ch’uqi Kancha, also bordering the Vilcamayu River near the present-day town of Oropesa.

---

<sup>70</sup> Cobo: Bk. 13, Ch. 28, p. 216. Ch’uqi Kancha (An 6:3) has been identified by Niles, followed by Bauer, as Rumi Huasi Alto, uphill from San Sebastian. However, Sherbondy and Zuidema located it in Cusicallanca, eastwards from the other site.

<sup>71</sup> Molina: p. 69.

<sup>72</sup> Cieza de León: Pt. 2, Ch. 28, p. 84. J. Reinhard (1995) locates the Vilcanota temple at the pass of La Raya, between Lake Langui-Layo and the Chimbolla peak.

<sup>73</sup> Betanzos: Pt. 1, Ch. 2, pp. 13-15; Sarmiento de Gamboa: Ch. 7, pp. 44-45.

<sup>74</sup> Cieza de León: Pt. 1, Ch. 97, pp. 268-270.

Map 2.2. The Qullasuyu region with mention of the sanctuaries to Wiraqucha. Source: MacCormack 1991a, p. xvii.

Although very little else is known about the stopovers of the *Inti rayme* procession, this overview suggests that the pilgrimage undertaken by the Tarpuntay celebrants at the June solstice festival commemorated the epic of the Sun Wiraqucha travelling through his aquatic domain, the “river of the Sun”. The deity’s association with this watercourse is all the more remarkable given that other temples dedicated to Wiraqucha were situated on the banks of the Vilcamayu northwest of Cuzco, thereby extending the divinity’s route towards the sea. Shrines such as Apu Wiraqucha, Urusayua Wiraqucha or Corcos Wiraqucha were indeed located near Amaybamba in the valley of *La Convención*, and the temple of Ch’uqi Chaka in the Amazonian jungle nearby<sup>75</sup>. All those sites were also connected by an important *qhapaq ñan*, which began in the Collao province and followed the course of the Vilcamayu, but no oral traditions recounting the foundation of these shrines have been preserved. Moreover, it is significant that, still today, the Vilcamayu River bears a close relation with the sun. Urton recorded the persistence of this belief during extensive fieldwork undertaken in the community of Misminay, about fifty kilometres northwest of Cuzco. For the locals, he writes, the Vilcanota – which today stands for the ancient name Vilcamayu – represents,

---

<sup>75</sup> Molina: p. 84.

The terrestrial reflection of the path of the sun through the sky during the day and is considered the actual path of the west-to-east movement of the sun during the night (...) when it [the sun] sets in the west, it enters the 'sea' or 'other world' [*otra nación*]. After entering the sea or the other world, the sun makes a twisting motion to the right [north] and begins its journey back to the east beneath the Vilcanota River. It takes all night for the sun to move from the sea to *inti seqamuna* [place from where the sun rises]<sup>76</sup>.

In the community of Kuyo Grande, a few kilometres away from Misminay, it is also believed that the sun travels from west to east through a subterranean tunnel filled with the waters of Mama Qucha from which it drinks every day. The same belief explains why, in Q'ero, the figure of the midnight sun is called *inti qucha*, in reference to its journey over the primordial waters<sup>77</sup>. Corroborating the observations made by Juvenal Casaverde Rojas in a community situated on the opposite bank of the Vilcanota, Urton also demonstrates that the sun maintains an interdependent relationship with the seasonal cycles. He reports the local belief that the solar star of the rainy season (starting in December) is brighter, hotter and larger because it drinks from the watercourse while travelling back to its place of emergence. During that period, it lives underground and can therefore be equated with the subterranean Sun, Wiraqucha, who travels from the western sea to its place of emergence, Lake Titicaca. Conversely, it appears weaker during the dry season (starting in June) because it is unable to quench its thirst from the shallow flow of the Vilcanota River<sup>78</sup>. It was precisely at the peak of the dry season, in June, when the Incan nobility celebrated the emergence of the Sun-Wiraqucha on earth, and re-enacted his journey to the western sea. In this ritual reconstitution of the divinity's epic, the shrine of Vilcanota represented Wiraqucha's *paqarina*, "the place from where the Sun rises" and, because it fed the waters of the Vilcamayu, it also constituted the wellspring of the deity's aquatic matrix within Cuzco's ritual space. Thus, after arising from this location, the god was borne by the Vilcamayu's feeble current and regenerated along his aquatic path thanks to the offerings laid by the Incan celebrants. He was believed to have enlightened and revitalized humanity along his route, as when he had commanded the species out of their *paqarina*. *Inti Rayme* was therefore a celebration in honour of this solar deity and his civilizing feats, but it also marked the beginning of a new agricultural cycle, much

---

<sup>76</sup> Urton 1981: pp. 68-69.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid.; Silverman 1998.

<sup>78</sup> Urton 1981: pp. 29-30.



like the Sun Wiraqucha had initiated a new age by bestowing the mastery of agrarian techniques on humankind.

While Wiraqucha was related to the earthly course of the Vilcamayu during the dry season, evidence in the chronicles shows that the god was believed to enter the flow of its subterranean waters at the beginning of the wet season to become *Tiqsi Wiraqucha*. Indeed, etymologically, the lexeme *tiqsi* is related to Mama Qucha's subterranean waters and to the aquatic borders surrounding the universe from edges down to its depths. *Tiqsi muyu*, that is, "the circumference of the *tiqsi*", was a common expression still used in colonial times to refer to the world in its totality<sup>79</sup>. As indicated earlier, *tiqsi* was given the meaning of "origin", "principle" and "grounds" in early lexicons. These interpretations certainly originated from the relation of the subterranean sea with the borders of the universe and the genesis of Wiraqucha from its waters<sup>80</sup>. For Torero, the origin of the word *tiqsi* shows the undeniable link that united the figure of the archaic Sun with the subterranean waters. Observing that it was impossible to trace the origin of this stem within the Quechua family, Torero derives its etymology from the pre-Andean family of the Arahua languages (Amazonian zone) and demonstrates that the most archaic transcriptions of the word, *titi* for Betanzos and *tici* for Cieza de León, are linguistically close to the Arahua terms "fire", "light" or "sun". He argues that the same lexeme can be found in the denomination of Lake Titicaca (*tiqsi qaqa*), the name of which cannot be related to the lexicon of the Incas' "general language". Following Torero's linguistic reconstruction, the name of the Collao lake becomes "the Fire/Sun's island", which is the name still used today by the locals when they refer to the island's sanctuary<sup>81</sup>.

Wiraqucha received several orations under the denomination of *Tiqsi* at the perilous time of the *Sitwa* ceremony, when the first annual precipitations gather in the sky<sup>82</sup>. August was a critical and unsettling month for the maturation of all living beings on earth. Therefore, the *Sitwa* ritual was devised to banish the diseases beyond the known universe to the aquatic borders of the Incan world delineated by four major rivers located in the Incan heartland. To achieve such a feat, four squadrons, composed

---

<sup>79</sup> Itier 1992: p. 1039 (45).

<sup>80</sup> Santo Tomás, *Lexicón*: pp. 363, 364; González Holguín, *Vocabulario*: pp. 340-341.

<sup>81</sup> Torero 1990: pp. 254-255.

<sup>82</sup> Molina: pp. 81, 83, 84, 86, 89, 94. See also Itier 1992a: p. 1039 (45).

of members of the Incan *panaqas* and *ayllus*, gathered in Haucaypata. At a signal given from the temple of Coricancha, each group raced to its corresponding cardinal direction, expelling the diseases by shouting “plagues, disasters, misfortunes and dangers get out of this land!”. Every squadron eventually ended its course by symbolically pouring the pestilences in four rivers: the Quiquisana, the Apurimac, the Pisac and the Cusibamba. For the next few days, the nobility assembled in the main plaza to address its prayers and offerings to various deities. In these orations, recorded by Molina, Wiraqucha is referred to as “the ruler of the subterranean waters” (*Apu quchan*) and is associated with the aquatic borders of the universe under two denominations: *Tiqsi Wiraqucha* and *Qaylla Wiraqucha*, in which *qaylla* refers to the “edge”<sup>83</sup>. Wiraqucha, therefore, was the ruler of the dangerous underground connected with the darkness of the subterranean waters; he who dispersed the plagues through the rivers. The same cosmology likewise explains the unfolding of the *mayu qatiy* rite in January, celebrated at the peak of the wet season, when the Incan nobility gathered in Pumap Chupan to thank Wiraqucha for his benevolence. On this occasion, they poured the ashes from all the offerings of the past year in the Watanay river so that Wiraqucha would “receive it in his hands, wherever he was (...) for this reason, they disposed it in the river, saying the waters will carry it to the sea”<sup>84</sup>.

#### WIRAQUCHA AND THE MIGHT OF THE THUNDER GOD

Given Wiraqucha’s identification with the subterranean Sun, it may appear surprising that several traditions relate him to the thunder god and to the celestial rains that supplied the highlands with water springs. Indeed, like the ruler of lightning in the central highlands, Wiraqucha was associated with the upper ecological niche (*puna*) and supervised the pastoral activities of its inhabitants<sup>85</sup>. Within the Incan capital, his temple was located in a district of Hanan Cuzco, called Pukamarka. Significantly, the deity’s anthropomorphic figure was housed in the same complex, or adjacent, to the sanctuary dedicated to the Thunder god Ch’uqilla (see Map 2.3)<sup>86</sup>. Wiraqucha’s temple itself was the Kishwar Kancha, a name reminiscent of the wooden figurines burnt in

---

<sup>83</sup> Itier 1992: p.1039, n. 45

<sup>84</sup> Molina: p. 116.

<sup>85</sup> Duviols 1997: p. 295.

<sup>86</sup> Polo Ondegardo 1917: pp. 9, 10; Molina: pp. 59, 67, 73, 100. For a study of the compound, see Bauer 2004: pp. 134-135.

honour of the divinity at the festivals of *Inti rayme* and *Sitwa*<sup>87</sup>. The *kishwar* (*buddleia incana*) is a native tree foresting the high plateaux of Lake Titicaca; its wood was used to make the *chaki taklla*, the Andean foot plough, and to build temporary sanctuaries<sup>88</sup>. Its natural habitat is the puna's lower limit but could adapt to higher altitudes and extremely low temperatures<sup>89</sup>. Describing the fauna and flora of the New World, Cobo writes: "in the extremely cold and bleak moors of the Collao provinces, where no other tree survives, grows the quishuar"<sup>90</sup>. This remark brings further evidence of Wiraqucha's association with Lake Titicaca region, whose cool habitat and high elevation was also reminiscent of the Thunder god's upper domain.

Map 2.3 Incan Cuzco. Redrawn from Laurencich Minelli (ed.) 2000, p. 209.

1. Haucaypata
2. Coricancha
3. Pukamarka/Kishwar Kancha
4. Kusipata
5. Amaru Kancha
6. Aklla wasi
7. Temple of Inti Illapa
8. Sacsayhuaman
9. Pumap chupan

---

<sup>87</sup> Polo Ondegardo 1916: p. 21; Cobo: t. 2, Bk. 13, Ch. 29, p. 218.

<sup>88</sup> The Huarochirí manuscript records that, in ancient time, the villagers of the community of San Lorenzo built a *kishwar* enclosure where they worshipped their local *waka* for five days. See *Ritos y tradiciones de Huarochirí*: Ch. 7, p. 95.

<sup>89</sup> Today, the *kishwar* also flourishes in the Vilcanota and Watanay valleys, between 2800-3750m.

<sup>90</sup> Cobo: T. 1, Bk. 6, Ch. 49: p. 255.

In addition, Cieza de León's account of Wiraqucha's mythical journey reveals that the deity's exploits possessed similarities with the almighty power traditionally associated with the Thunder god of the Altiplano. In this variant, it is said that the Cana people, who had just emerged from their *paqarina* in Cacha, raised their weapons against Wiraqucha as he passed through their province. To quell the uprising, the divinity sent blazing fires from the sky, burning a range of mountains near the town<sup>91</sup>. Horrified, the Cana surrendered and to commemorate this event, they built a temple to the god on the site of his feat. Known in colonial times under the name of Cacha, today this sanctuary is located in the village of San Pedro de Raqchi (Canchis) near the most important group of inactive volcanoes of the region, the three snow-topped peaks of the Kinsach'ata. The past eruptions of this mountain range, whose charred remains are still visible in the town vicinity<sup>92</sup>, can easily be identified with the blazing outbursts of the god's fury. Yet, in several traditions of the central and southern sierra, lightning bolts and volcanic eruptions are commonly attributed to the might of the Thunder deity<sup>93</sup>.

Cieza de León attributed similar deeds to Viracocha Inca, the ruler whose epic often intermingled with the narrative of the homonymous deity. The chronicler reports that, on an expedition to subdue the village of Caytomarca (Calca), the sovereign had asked that a fire be lit and a small stone thrown into the brazier. Once hot, a flammable mixture was applied to it and, using a golden sling, the Inca hurled the projectile in direction of Caytomarca. The stone landed on a roof of dry straw and the house caught on fire immediately. An old woman who had witnessed the incident then warned her fellow villagers in these terms:

Listen to what I say, which is what we should all agree on. Do not think that anyone from here has set fire to this house, but believe instead that it came from the heavens, because this is what I saw: a burning stone fell from above, struck this house and destroyed it as you see it before you<sup>94</sup>.

Believing that this fiery projectile had been a punishment from the god because they had not complied with the will of the invaders, the lord of Caytomarca sent presents to Viracocha Inca and eventually concluded an alliance with him. Although this episode

---

<sup>91</sup> Cieza de León: Pt. 2, Ch. 5, pp. 9-10.

<sup>92</sup> Sarmiento de Gamboa: Ch. 7, p. 45.

<sup>93</sup> *Ritos y tradiciones de Huarochirí*: Ch. 6, p. 83; Ch. 8, p. 109-111; Ch. 16, p. 215; Ch. 23, p. 297; Ch. 26, p. 351; Bouysse-Cassagne 1993.

<sup>94</sup> Cieza de León: Pt. 2, Ch. 39, pp. 116-117.

attributes the devastating shot to the Inca's ingenuity, the nature of his attack, which recalls the bolts of the Thunder god, and his homonymy with the Collao deity, provides another interesting parallel between the two divinities of the high plateaux<sup>95</sup>.

Archaeological excavations in the temple of Cacha may reveal another dimension of the assimilation process that affected these two gods. Surveys carried out by the *Instituto Nacional de Cultura* and the *UCL Institute of Archaeology* reveal that the building was constructed during the Late Horizon, on the site of a more ancient occupation dating from the Formative period. In colonial texts, the site was also known as a *tampu* on the Qullasuyu road, where the Incas stored the foodstuff required to feed their army<sup>96</sup>. The whole complex included *qolqa* structures<sup>97</sup>, several fountains and an artificial lake; all enclosed within high walls. Its architectonics was typical of the Late Imperial style and the ceramics associated with its construction are Incan, Incan-Colla and Colla<sup>98</sup>. It is significant that two chroniclers attribute the erection of this sanctuary to either Viracocha Inca or Tupa Yupanqui, following the victory of their army against the Chancas<sup>99</sup>. It is indeed reported by Polo Ondegardo that this triumphant outcome had been the result of the alliance which the ruling lord of Cuzco had contracted with the Canas and Canchis<sup>100</sup>, two ethnic groups worshippers of the Thunder deity, whose influence stretched 120 kilometres southeast of the Incan capital<sup>101</sup>. Father Cobo, on the other hand, indicates in his monumental history of the New World that Viracocha Inca was the leader who offered the statue of Wiraqucha to the temple of Cacha<sup>102</sup>. In a recent study on the Raqchi site, archaeologist Susan A. Niles gives more credit to Juan de Betanzos' account of the temple's erection, which identifies Huayna Capac, on a visit to the Qullasuyu, as the promulgator of its construction. In Niles's view, the reputed reliability of the *Suma y Narración de los Incas*, and its detailed depiction of the Cacha site, carry a "ring of truth"<sup>103</sup>. Yet, while it cannot be discounted that this last ruler may have contributed to the extension of the large complex, the Canas' allegiance

---

<sup>95</sup> About the assimilation process of Wiraqucha's epic with the deeds of Viracocha Inca, see Duviols 1997b: pp. 298-301.

<sup>96</sup> La Lone and La Lone 1987: p. 54.

<sup>97</sup> *Qolqas* are storehouses located in all provinces of the empire, used to dry and store foodstuff as part of the tribute.

<sup>98</sup> Lynch 1984: p. 420; Niles 1999: pp. 240-253; Sillar 2002: pp. 225-

<sup>99</sup> Cieza de León: Pt. 1, Ch. 98, p. 270; Garcilaso de la Vega: Bk. 5, Ch. 22: pp. 271-274.

<sup>100</sup> Polo Ondegardo 1916: p. 46.

<sup>101</sup> Bouysse-Cassagne 1992: p. 134; Torero 2002: pp. 389-401.

<sup>102</sup> Cobo: T. 2, Bk. 12, Ch. 11, p. 77.

<sup>103</sup> Niles 1999: pp. 236-240.

to the Incas was reportedly much more ancient. Betanzos himself indicates that Tupa Inca Yupanqui displaced a great number of Cana *mitmaq* to squelch the insurrection of the Colla people, while documents uncovered by Julien attribute the creation of these Cana colonies to Pachacuti Yupanqui<sup>104</sup>. For Cieza de León, finally, it was Viracocha Inca who first made alliance with the Canas, exempting them from tribute and from attending the yearly inspection in Cuzco<sup>105</sup>. Father Cobo, who probably had access to the same tradition, writes:

These two nations of Canas and Canchis were always held in high esteem by Inca Viracocha and his successors, who granted them special insignia of honours, because from the time they yielded obedience to this Inca, they helped and served with notable effort and fidelity in all the wars and conquest that the Incas undertook<sup>106</sup>.

The early support of these two ethnic groups to the Cuzco elite, therefore, may have been solemnized by the construction of the Incan compound on the site of a pre-existing sanctuary<sup>107</sup>. This edifice would have stood as an acknowledgement of the Canas' and Canchis' contribution to victorious warfare and the material evidence of the Thunder god's alliance with the all-powerful deity of the Incan ruling elite. Furthermore, the name of the temple site, Cacha, suggests that this cult place was originally dedicated to the local thunder deity, called in Pukina Caccha or Caxia, whose cult was previously limited to the Lake Titicaca region<sup>108</sup>. As Thérèse Bouysse-Cassagne reveals, this word is related to the Aymara "kakhcha" that covers a series of glosses related to bolts of lightning, detonation and arquebus gunfire. For Guaman Poma, *quri k'aqcha* was synonymous of the Quechua term Illapa, which referred to the god of lightening flash, thunder and lightening bolt, but also meant arquebus and artillery. González Holguín, another seventeenth century Spanish, wrote: "Kacchanta çurcun ccacñiy: to be struck down by thunder, or to be shattered by a great noise"<sup>109</sup>. In present-day Quechua, *q'aqcha* refers to a resounding and frightening noise but also describes a ritual practice

---

<sup>104</sup> Betanzos: Pt. 1, Ch. 34, p. 156; Julien 1983: pp. 82-83.

<sup>105</sup> Cieza de León: Pt. 2, Ch. 42, pp. 125-126.

<sup>106</sup> Cobo: T. 2, Bk. 12, Ch. 11, p. 77.

<sup>107</sup> Sillar 2002: p. 236.

<sup>108</sup> Pukina being an extinct language, today's written forms of Caccha and Caxia vary from *Qhaqya*, *Qhaxa*, *Cakha*, or *K'aqcha*. Seventeenth-century Jesuit missionaries observed that Caxia also designated the thunder god's attendants (Bouysse-Cassagne 1993). For studies on the Pukina language see Browman 1994; Torero 2002: pp. 389-401; 408-456.

<sup>109</sup> Bertonio: p. 44; Guaman Poma de Ayala: 265 [267], p. 239; 405 [407], p. 377; 885 [899], p. 831; González Holguín, *Vocabulario*: p. 129.

that reproduces the roar of thunder: “the strong crack of a whip used in specific dances”<sup>110</sup>.

More evidence of the early confederation bonding the Thunder god’s worshippers with the Incas is found in the narratives recounting the origin of Inti Illapa’s image, *wawqi* of Pachacuti Yupanqui, whose name combined that of the Incan thunder god (*Illapa*) with the generic term for Sun (*Inti*). Spanish chroniclers describe him as one of three manifestations of the Thunder deity in honour of which Pachacuti Yupanqui had a golden image cast, which he carried with him onto the battlefield. Off-campaign, Inti Illapa’s figure was sheltered in a temple built in the Cuzco district of Tococachi (*t’uqu kachi*) (see Map 2.3)<sup>111</sup>. It may be the case that Pachacuti ordered the fabrication of this effigy for the same reason that he was known to have erected the temple of Raqchi following the annihilation of the Chancas. Indeed, the completion of the god’s image and his status as *wawqi*/brother of the new ruler may have commemorated the warlike alliance of the two gods<sup>112</sup>. It could be argued, moreover, that this pact extended to the protection of the old Inca Viracocha during the mayhem, for his refuge in Cajia Jaquijahuana also evokes the name of *Qhaqya*. In this light, then, Inti Illapa appears as a composite figure, which combined aspects of two triumphant gods, the Sun and Thunder<sup>113</sup>.

In the Collao, it was the thunder deity Tunupa who ruled the unpredictability and might of volcanoes, who reigned over the chaotic world of wild animals, and was responsible for the draining of irrigation sources. Both Wiraqucha and Tunupa originated from the high plateaux of the southern sierra and had been labelled “creator god” in several chronicles<sup>114</sup>. This analogous status might explain in part why Wiraqucha’s mythical corpus possessed close resemblances with the narratives of the Aymara thunder god whom some chroniclers had identified with the apostle Saint Thomas. These similarities are particularly evident in the narration of the Colla Indian Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamaygua who credits Tunupa with the exploit of journeying

---

<sup>110</sup> Diccionario de la Academia Mayor de la Lengua Quechua.

<sup>111</sup> Bauer has identified the location of this temple with the actual church of San Blas (Bauer, 2004: p. 137).

<sup>112</sup> Bouysse-Cassagne 1993: p. 179.

<sup>113</sup> This figure is reminiscent of another composite deity of Pukina origin: Curi Caccha (*Quri K’aqcha*) that Guaman Poma describes as the Incas’ prime Thunder god.

<sup>114</sup> Cieza de León: Ch. 5, pp. 8-10; Pachacuti Yamqui: f. 3v., p. 188; Ramos Gavilán: p. 10.

from Lake Titicaca to the western sea<sup>115</sup>. Less explicit, but certainly as informative, is Las Casas's record of Wiraqucha's emergence, in which he recounts the actions of Tawapaca, the antithetical aspect of the dark Sun. Animated by Wiraqucha, this rebellious and chaotic figure was eventually thrown back into Lake Titicaca, leaving the three other attendants of the deity to assist with the emergence of the second humanity. For Cieza de León, Tawapaca appears to have been another name for Tunupa, which compelled Bouysse-Cassagne to suggest that the Thunder and Wiraqucha maintained an "interdependent relation of opposition and complementarity in which both entities were thought of as a single concept, which corresponds to the definition of the *allqa*"<sup>116</sup>. Demarest advanced an alternative perspective that conformed to his hypothesis on the interchangeable aspects of Andean gods. He proposes that "the sky god Illapa/Thunupa is an inseparable entity from the creator Wiraqucha" so that together they form an aspect of the "single, manifold godhead" that resides in the upper regions<sup>117</sup>. Yet, this argument leaves unanswered the question as to why these two particular divinities, rather than others, were connected by mythical and historical events that reportedly brought their communities of worshippers together. Elsewhere, Demarest himself seems partly to acknowledge this flaw when he posits that "the criteria separating the overlapping and interchangeable aspects of the gods of the upper pantheon were not consistent"<sup>118</sup>. Can the system of native beliefs be so nebulous that we should assume there existed no internal rationale behind Wiraqucha's affiliation with the Thunder god? To account for this issue, the present chapter now turns to the lore of the Thunder god and examines aspects of Andean cosmology that provide another perspective on the divinity's association with the subterranean Sun.

#### FROM THE UNDERGROUND TO THE FIRMAMENT: WATER REGULATION IN THE DRY SEASON

Colonial sources generally give two denominations for Thunder: Libiac (*lliwyaq*) and Illapa, both of which referred to similar phenomena but probably originated from different regions of Peru. Hence, documents of the northern and central highlands make

---

<sup>115</sup> Armas Asín 2002: pp. 201-208

<sup>116</sup> Bouysse-Cassagne 1997: p. 173. About the concept of *allqa*, Bertonio writes: "Contrario en las colores y elementos auca y de otras cosas así que no pueden estar juntas v. g. contrario es el negro de lo blanco, el fuego del agua, el día de la noche, el pecado de la gracia". Similarly, for González Holguín, it is "Lo de dos colores blanco y negro", and "cosa blanca y negra". See Bertonio: p. 10; González Holguín, *Vocabulario*: p.19; Santo Tomás, *Lexicón*: p. 233.

<sup>117</sup> Demarest 1981: pp. 35-39. Here, Demarest follows the lead of Brundage (1963: p. 47), who remarked that the Sun divinity "was often subsumed under a more generalized god of the sky and the storm".

<sup>118</sup> Demarest 1981: p. 39.



frequent mention of Libiac, whereas Illapa, whose name derives from the Quechua of the Cuzco area, was more widely worshipped in the empire's southern provinces. Despite this geographical division, the two divinities held common features associated with the ecological level of the puna and the activities of subsistence men practiced at that altitude: pastoralism, potato cultivation and sling hunting. The etymology of the word Libiac (*lliwyaq*) also makes clear his association with atmospheric phenomena of the dry season, for it refers to "the cloudless and limpid (nocturnal or diurnal) sky" that present-day communities relate to frosty weather<sup>119</sup>. In the rich material on "extirpation of idolatry", he is frequently preceded by the epithet *rupay*, a specific attribute of Quechua I referring to the warmth of the sun during the dry season, "in opposition to the humidity of the rainy season"<sup>120</sup>. Referring to the ongoing heathen practices in the Lima archdiocese, the same documents reveal that the pastoral groups known as Llacuaz regarded Libiac as their leaders' forefather. They believed that, in remote times, the Thunder god engendered the first of their curacas who then took his people on a long march towards the west. Their migration eventually ended when they entered the towns occupied by the Huari, the worshippers of the eponymous solar god Wari, and settled in the upper part of these pre-existent settlements. Together, the Llacuaz and Huari "shared a common dual conception of nature, cosmos, social organization, and of their origin"<sup>121</sup>. It was believed that Libiac chose his officiants among humans who had been struck by thunder or had experienced an extraordinary birth, such as twins or people born with their feet first<sup>122</sup>. Likewise, the sites seared by his presence were revered and held in great awe. Many places in the elevated altitudes of the Andean plateaux, more exposed to thunderbolt strikes and frosty conditions, were therefore venerated as Illapa shrines<sup>123</sup>. In Cuzco, an ancient tradition reports that a sector of the palace attributed to Huascar had been struck by lightning, prompting the Incas to close indefinitely the storm-blasted room because they feared this ill-fated omen portended tragic consequences. The palace was thereafter named Amaru Kancha (see Map 2.3), "the serpent's enclosure", in reference to the animal that held close links with the thunder

---

<sup>119</sup> Cerrón Palomino 1976: p. 94.

<sup>120</sup> Itier 1992a: 1030 (29). For César Itier, the orations beginning with *Libiac Yayanchic Rupay Yayanchic* could be translated by "Our father the sky of the dry season, Our father the sun of the dry season".

<sup>121</sup> Duviols 1986: p. LVI. See also Duviols 1973.

<sup>122</sup> Arriaga: pp. 44, 63; Polia Meconi: pp. 165-166; Chávez Hualpa 1997: pp. 107-118. This belief has persisted throughout the centuries in many parts of the Andes, see Tschopik 1951: p. 199; Mariscotti 1978; Marzal 1988: pp. 263-285; Fernández Juárez 2004: pp. 20-22.

<sup>123</sup> The Llacuaz ayllus also venerated Libiac in high altitude places, where they performed several of their rituals. See Duviols 1986: pp. 52-53; Mills 1997: Ch. 2, pp. 39-74.

deity<sup>124</sup>. Indeed, during the dry season, between May and July, snakes make their way under the earth's surface to hibernate. They only venture out of their den if they sense the imperceptible tremors announcing an imminent volcanic eruption<sup>125</sup>, a phenomenon traditionally associated with the thunder god. The snake, whose undulating movement was also identified with the jagged contour of a lightning bolt, was therefore regarded as the thunder god's messenger during the dry season<sup>126</sup>.

In his intriguing depiction of the Incan religion, Father Cobo argues that the Thunder bore three different names corresponding to distinct images of the god: Ch'uqilla, Catu Illa, and Inti Illapa in order of importance. All of them, he adds, had their own altars in the Sun temple<sup>127</sup>. Although Cobo's account is partly based on reliable information, it also proffers a distorted picture of the thunder cult by suggesting that the Incas conceived of this deity as a trinitarian character<sup>128</sup>. Earlier sources do not support this view but rather outline the Incas' devotion to a single god, Ch'uqilla, whose figure was at the centre of their annual festivals. Independent of this main deity, the other two representations held a different status and a separate origin. Inti Illapa, as previously noted, was Pachacuti Yupanqui's *wawqi*, whose golden statue followed the ruler in battle. The Spaniards found the precious image next to the Inca's mummy, in Tocoachi, where it assisted the defunct in his afterlife, just as it had supported him during the conflict against the Chancas<sup>129</sup>. The name of the second figure, Catu Illa, may have been a pre- or post-colonial adaptation into Quechua of the Culle noun Catequil<sup>130</sup>, which was an oracle of the Huamachuco region (northern Peru), ruler of thunder and lightning, whose attribute was the sling. Several documents allude to his influence during the Incan period, which is confirmed in the wide diffusion of his mythic corpus down the central sierra and along the coast, beyond its area of origin<sup>131</sup>. He is described as being "the most feared and honoured idol there existed in Peru,

---

<sup>124</sup> Garcilaso de la Vega: Pt. I, Bk.2, Ch. 1, p. 63. See also Ogburn 2004: pp. 128-129.

<sup>125</sup> Urton 1981: pp. 177-180.

<sup>126</sup> Cobo: T. 2, Bk. 13, Ch. 6, p. 159.

<sup>127</sup> Cobo: T. 2, Bk. 13, Ch. 7, p. 160. Accounts by Cobo, Acosta and Murúa paraphrase Polo Ondegardo's statement. See Polo Ondegardo 1916: Ch. 1, p. 6; Acosta: Bk. 5, Ch. 4, p. 335; Murúa: Bk. 2, Ch. 28, p. 412.

<sup>128</sup> On discourses about the Trinity in pre-Hispanic America, see Acosta: Bk. 5, Ch. 28: p. 429; Garcilaso de la Vega: Bk. 2, Ch. 5, pp. 74-75; MacCormack 1991a: pp. 269-271, 312.

<sup>129</sup> Sarmiento de Gamboa: Ch. 47, p. 127; Polo Ondegardo 1917: p. 5.

<sup>130</sup> Torero (1990: 254) suggests the translation cat(e)-: "water" from the Culle language spoken in the Huamachuco region. Sarmiento and Albornoz write his name Cataquilla and Apu Cataquillay, which is close to Cobo's spelling.

<sup>131</sup> Topic, Topic and Cava 2002: pp. 303-313.

adored and revered from Quito to Cuzco”, “one of the most prominent huacas of the realm”, but also “the Inca’s emissary”<sup>132</sup>. His image escorted Huayna Capac to Quito and later accompanied one of his captains back to Cuzco as he sought reinforcement to fight off the Chiriguano’s incursions into Tawantinsuyu<sup>133</sup>. Even Atahualpa’s destruction of Catequil’s image, after the idol had made an unfavourable prognostication concerning the last ruler’s fortunes, did not put an end to his cult<sup>134</sup>. For all these reasons, it may well be that the Incas assimilated the thunder god of the Huamachuco region under the Quechuized name of Catu Illa and built him a sanctuary in Cuzco. Moreover, neither Catu Illa nor Inti Illapa were cited in Molina’s major description of the Incan ritual calendar. For this chronicler, Ch’uqilla was the thunder’s most venerated representation, whose image was kept in a temple located in the Pukamarka district (Ch 5:2), next to Wiraqucha’s sanctuary (see Map 2.3)<sup>135</sup>. Today, *ch’uqi* is the Aymara word for potato, and *ch’uqilla* designates the pastors and hunters of the puna. In Quechua, “chhoqque” was also a synonym of *quri* (gold), which evokes the god’s association with precious metals<sup>136</sup>. It was indeed believed that minerals and metals came from the bowels of volcanoes and high mountain peaks, which constituted the thunder’s domain. Still today, in the Qullasuyu region, a great number of mining operations are located in extinct volcanoes where the locals had previously worshiped the thunder god<sup>137</sup>.

In Incan times, Ch’uqilla’s anthropomorphic figure was transported to the main plaza at the beginning of each annual celebration and placed next to Wiraqucha and Apu P’unchaw to receive the usual offerings. However, it was during the festivities of the dry season, at *Inti rayme* and following the August sowing, that the Incas addressed specific prayers to Ch’uqi Illa<sup>138</sup>. In these orations, they asked the deity to keep the yields safe from hailstorms and to send his beneficial rain. Therefore, he was not only

---

<sup>132</sup> Agustinos: pp. 25-26.

<sup>133</sup> Sarmiento de Gamboa: Ch. 61, p. 147. The Chiriguanos were an intermixed population of Tupi-Guarani origin that migrated from the Paraguayan Amazon. They successfully defeated Incan garrisons in the Chaco region, southeast of present-day Bolivia. See Saignes 1985; Alconini 2004.

<sup>134</sup> Atahualpa, on campaign against his brother, consulted the oracle in order to know the denouement of the hostilities. The oracle’s answer predicted Huascar’s victory, driving Atahualpa to conquer the Huamachuco territory, destroy the *waka* and burn the site. See San Pedro: pp. 173-174; Betanzos: Pt. 2, Ch. 16, pp. 249-251; Alborno: p. 186; *Ritos y Tradiciones de Huarochirí*: Ch. 20, pp. 247-265; MacCormack 1991b: p. 130; Gose 1996b: p. 23.

<sup>135</sup> Polo Ondegardo 1990: p. 46; Molina: pp. 67, 73; Sarmiento de Gamboa: p. 96.

<sup>136</sup> Itier 1992a: p. 1019 (5); González Holguín, *Vocabulario*: p. 117.

<sup>137</sup> Bouysse-Cassagne and Bouysse 1984: p. 50.

<sup>138</sup> Molina: pp. 67, 72.

believed to control hail and frost that would potentially destroy the cultivations, but he was also associated with the waters originating from the upper region of the cosmos, as opposed to the subterranean rivers that fed the irrigation systems. Corroborating this picture is Cobo's detailed description of Illapa whose domain was the upper spheres. The Incas, he writes, conceived of the Thunder deity as being formed by a multitude of stars only visible in a cloudless, limpid night sky. He held a sling and a club in his hands, indicative of his association with hunting and war. They believed, he continues, that, as he slung stones with his weapon, the roar of thunder rumbled (*trueno*) and the sky lit up (*relámpago*), as lightning bolts (*rayos*) rent the sky. These signs announced the coming of rain that the god had generated by drawing water from the river of the Milky Way, also called Mayu, and by pouring it down upon the earth. Significantly, his cult was also associated with the early and unexpected rainfall of the dry season that threatens to bring hail. When such catastrophic events occurred, designated celebrants left their village for the puna where they made unspecified sacrifices in hope of appeasing the god. Likewise, if the rains were late bringing moisture to the high plateaux, the Indians trekked to the highest altitudes and presented offerings to Illapa<sup>139</sup>. For the Altiplano communities who commonly practiced rainfed agriculture, sowing depended entirely upon the regularity of the precipitations and, therefore, on the benevolence of the thunder god.

In such manner, the Thunder divinity and Wiraqucha were both associated with the atmospheric phenomena and activities of the first half of the agricultural cycle, when they contributed complementarily to the stability of the weather conditions propitious to the early growth of the crops. From his advent on the day of the June solstice, at the height of the dry season, to his disappearance in the sea, Wiraqucha had command over the waters of the underground world that supplied irrigation canals with their precious resources. It is during this period that ditches are extensively used, when the fields need to be ploughed and sown in the absence of rain. While Wiraqucha controlled the waters of the subterranean sea, Illapa reigned over the river of the upper cosmos, the Milky Way or Mayu, from which he drew the substance to rain upon the earth. He heralded the wet season's first precipitations that replenish the lakes and rivers dried by Wiraqucha's quench; but also ruled over the hail, dew and frost that were potentially fatal to the early cultivations. Hence, together with Wiraqucha, the Thunder

---

<sup>139</sup> Polia Meconi 1999: pp. 226-227.

god regulated water circulation and insured that it flowed from the firmament to the underground like the animating energy that characterises the Andean cosmos today<sup>140</sup>. In this cosmology, the celestial river interacted on earth with the Vilcamayu, the river of the subterranean sun that supplied hydraulic systems, thus explaining why these two deities held complementary and sometimes syncretic natures in the traditions of the Collao region. Their mutual influence over the early agrarian cycle may also explain that their temples were frequently found within the same compounds, as in Hanan Cuzco and Cacha.

Finally, the cosmological base for the assimilation of these two deities shed light on the identity of the god who appeared to Pachacuti Yupanqui before his decisive battle against the Chancas, as he walked along the road to Cajia Jaquijahuana to visit his father in exile. There, the narrative says, he saw a crystal tablet falling from the sky into the spring of Susurpuquio (*Suksu pukyu*, An 5:8), nearly five kilometres north of Cuzco<sup>141</sup>. On this slab, the young Inca saw the image of a god appear, who addressed him in the following terms: “Come over here my son; do not fear me because I am the Sun your father, and I know you will subdue many nations. Do remember to worship me and to unite around the sacrifices you offer in my name”<sup>142</sup>. The god then disappeared, leaving Pachacuti with the crystal tablet and the promise of a triumphant future. The omen later proved to be right and, after receiving the royal fringe, the new sovereign ordered that a statue be made of “the one he had seen there, whom he called Viracocha”, and whose brightness reminded him of the Sun<sup>143</sup>. For the reasons outlined earlier in this chapter, and which identified Wiraqucha with an aspect of the solar star, there is little doubt that the god referred to in this narrative was Wiraqucha, the Incan Supreme Being<sup>144</sup>. It was, therefore, the deity’s earthly manifestation that was revealed to the young Inca in the form of a bright sun striking like a thunderbolt<sup>145</sup>. The image Pachacuti ordered to be made was an anthropomorphic statue “the size of a one year-old child”, resting on a low seat, and covered with a rich, colourful woollen garment, inset

---

<sup>140</sup> About the circulation of energy in Andean cosmology, see Urton 1981: pp. 68-69; Allen 1988: pp. 49-54.

<sup>141</sup> Bauer 1998: pp. 86-87. The name of this place recalls that of Viracocha Inca’s *panaqa*.

<sup>142</sup> Molina: p. 60. My translation.

<sup>143</sup> Betanzos: Pt. 1, Ch. 11, p. 50.

<sup>144</sup> Julien (2000: pp. 290-291) contends that Betanzos

<sup>145</sup> Sarmiento also notes several times that it was Wiraqucha who assisted Pachacuti Yupanqui against the Chancas, notably by sending the army of Pururaucas. Like Betanzos, however, he evokes the construction of a temple to the Sun. Sarmiento de Gamboa: Ch. 27-28, pp. 86-92.

with gold<sup>146</sup>. Crowning its head was the *llawtu* (headband of plaited wool) to which the royal fringe was attached, and its ears were adorned with large earrings made of precious stones. It wore golden *ojotas* (sandals) on its feet; solar rays emerged from his back and shoulders, while a pair of serpents curled around his arms. Lastly, puma heads appeared on his sides, or between its legs, while its shoulders were covered with a gold feline hide<sup>147</sup>. This iconography evokes the traditions of the central sierra in which the puma connotes the undomesticated world of the Altiplano, and is associated with the hail, snow and early rainfalls controlled by the Thunder god. The ensemble, therefore, represented Wiraqucha in his triumphal aspect, endowed with the warlike attributes of Thunder, as he appeared before the young Inca. Together, these two deities epitomized the forces of the first half of the year that had coalesced to assist the future Hanan lord in defeating his enemies. Both had their temples in the Upper part of the Incan capital, which is all the more significant since the early sources that trace the Incas' origin back to Lake Titicaca only recorded the Hanan rulers as Wiraqucha's descendents. It was precisely the *panaqas* of these Hanan lords that supervised the maintenance of Cuzco's irrigation system and conducted the annual sacrifices directed to the ditch waters<sup>148</sup>, where Wiraqucha had established his domain. This bulk of evidence, therefore, suggests that *Inti rayme* not only commemorated the deity's mythical journey on earth and the emergence of the species, but also celebrated the original migration of the Hanan ancestors, events which all took place in June. Yet, to further substantiate this view, it is now necessary to turn to the study of another corpus of traditions that locates the emergence of the Incan ancestors from a cave located in the vicinity of the Cuzco valley. Parallel with this analysis, the following section will examine the nature of the god whom the Spanish chroniclers identified as the Sun, and which they invoked under two names: Inti and P'unchaw. It will review and analyse these texts in an attempt to understand the individual personalities of both gods before assessing P'unchaw's specific role during the annual celebrations of the Incan calendar.

---

<sup>146</sup> Betanzos: Pt. 1, Ch. 11, pp. 51-52. The seat is *tiana* in Quechua. The rare Inca figurines of metal work can give an idea of the deity's exact position, which the documents do not explain. Seated figures were represented squatting, the two knees against the torso and the hands resting on the stomach.

<sup>147</sup> Molina: pp. 60-61.

<sup>148</sup> Zuidema 1989a: pp. 455-487.

## EPICS OF THE OLD SUN

### THE AYAR SIBLINGS' JOURNEY FROM THE CAVE OF PAQARIQ TAMPU

Alongside those narratives that trace the Incas' origin to Lake Titicaca, another corpus of texts stipulates that they emerged from a cave known as Paqariq Tampu or Tampu T'uqu, presumably situated in the Pacariqtambo district, several kilometres south of Cuzco<sup>149</sup>. Modern scholarship has often restricted the analysis of the Incas' mythical origin to the study of the Paqariq Tampu narrative cycle, thereby leaving un-examined the traditions locating their emergence in the Collao province<sup>150</sup>. It was assumed that this last narrative cycle was either a Spanish elaboration assembled from elements of Wiraqucha's epic, or a late Incan appropriation of the lore held by the once-renowned civilizations of the Titicaca Basin<sup>151</sup>. However, contrasting these different narratives reveals that they formed two distinct, but contemporaneous, Incan mythical cycles, each one displaying structural dichotomies that opposed outsiders and newcomers, on the one hand, to autochthonous and first settlers, on the other. Significantly, in large parts of the Andes past and present, dual societies refer to the same dichotomies to account for the antagonisms opposing their moieties<sup>152</sup>. The foundation story recorded by chronicler Gutiérrez de Santa Clara, in particular, stresses these features. It reports that those who emerged with Manco Sapaca from Lake Titicaca first settled in Hatun Collao and lived there for several generations, fighting against the great chieftains of Cuzco time and time again. Then, under the leadership of Tupa Inca Yupanqui, they migrated towards the north, and founded "a city very close to Cuzco, on a slope nearby a water stream, and called it Hanan Cuzco"<sup>153</sup>. Thereafter, they defeated the unnamed "gran curaca" of Cuzco, and conquered his city. This narrative not only highlights the long-standing conflicts that opposed the early leaders of the respective moieties, it also situates the native place of the dynasty founders outside the Incan heartland. By contrast, the other body of texts, with which this section is concerned, locates the Incas' primordial migration within the boundaries of the Cuzco region, an area peopled by nations whose conquests were traditionally attributed to the Urin lords.

---

<sup>149</sup> Modern scholarship has long speculated on the actual location of this site. See Urton 1990; Bauer 1992.

<sup>150</sup> See for example Rostworowski 1999: pp. 12-15; Julien 2000: pp. 233-244; D'Altroy 2002: pp. 49-52.

<sup>151</sup> Conrad and Demarest 1984: pp. 94-95; Urton 1990: p. 3; Pärssinen 1992: p. 61; Salles-Reese 1997: pp. 97-99; Niles 1999: p. 74; Meyers 2002; Cummins 2002: pp. 60-61.

<sup>152</sup> Duviols 1997a: pp. 289-292.

<sup>153</sup> Gutiérrez de Santa Clara: Ch. 50, p. 213.

The chroniclers who recorded this last tradition in its most detailed form were Collapiña et al. (1542), Betanzos (1551), Cieza de León (1554), Santo Tomás (1960), Sarmiento de Gamboa (1572), Cabello de Balboa (1586), and Murúa (c. 1590). The main protagonists of the story were three or four siblings, named Ayar, who emerged together with their sister-wives and left their place of birth in search of fertile lands to settle. An isolated account recounts that several communities, which had emerged from separate apertures simultaneously with the siblings, joined their enterprise<sup>154</sup>. Together, the group stopped in different settlements along the way: Huayna Kancha, Tampuquiro where they stayed for some years, and then Haysquisro. There, they became aware that the strongest amongst them, Ayar Auca or Ayar Cacha depending on the source, had become a threat, and devised a plot to overthrow him. For this purpose, he was sent back to their *paqarina* under a false pretext, and immured inside the cave by an accomplice. That having been done, the remaining siblings left for Quirirmanta, a town located at the foot of Huanacauri hill where the cult of a local deity flourished. Resolved to take hold of this object of veneration, one of them, either Ayar Uchu or Ayar Cache, sat upon the *waka*, and was immediately transformed into stone as a punishment for this sacrilege<sup>155</sup>. Yet, before his fate was definitely sealed, he ordered his siblings to pay him their respects each time they held a festival. He also decreed the course of the *Warachiku* ceremony that became the Incan rite of passage, when young males received the ear ornaments that distinguished the Cuzco nobility. Henceforth he became the intercessor of the Sun, revealing the divine will to his descendents, and named Ayar Manco sovereign of all the nations they would eventually subdued.

After spending two more years in a nearby town called Matagua, the time came for the two remaining brothers to fulfil the solar deity's wishes. From the top of a hill, Ayar Manco indicated a site in the valley to his remaining male companion, Ayar Auca, and addressed him in these terms: "Brother! You remember how it was arranged between us, that you would go and take possession of the land where we are to settle. Well, look at that stone, fly over there (for they say he had grown wings) and seating yourself, take possession of the site where that boundary stone appears, because later we

---

<sup>154</sup> Sarmiento de Gamboa: Ch. 11, pp. 51-54.

<sup>155</sup> Sarmiento de Gamboa is the only chronicler of this group to attribute this act to Ayar Uchu. Cabello de Balboa and Murúa, like Cieza de León (Pt. 2, Ch. 7, pp. 16-17) before them, identify the offender as Ayar Cache.



will come to settle and reside there”<sup>156</sup>. Following his sibling’s command, Ayar Auca reached the site where the temple of Coricancha was later built, and was petrified for eternity. Thenceforth, Sarmiento reports, the place was known in the *lengua particular* as “Ayar Auca cuzco huanca”, which he translates as “Ayar Auca mojón de piedra mármol” [“Ayar Auca marble boundary stone of possession”]<sup>157</sup>. Now alone with his brothers’ wives, Ayar Manco initiated a march to the location he was destined to occupy, the Cuzco valley, already settled by several ethnic groups. In order to insure the dominion of their descendents over these fertile lands, Mama Huaco, wife of the petrified Ayar Cachi, forced her way through the dale and hunted down its inhabitants. Having caught a Huayla Indian, she killed him and, before a horrified public slit open his entrails, tore out his heart and lungs, which she put to her mouth. She then blew into these organs, inflating them, so that “the Indians became very frightened, and because of the fright they took at that moment, they fled”<sup>158</sup>.

Notwithstanding the violence of this act, the newcomers’ cruelty only partly explains this desertion by the early residents. In fact, as clearly depicted in Betanzos’s text, Mama Huaco’s deed was an act of divination: it revealed to the locals that a powerful deity assisted their aggressors and demonstrated the dreadful force that this divine protection gave the Ayar ancestors. Indeed, the physical power of living beings as well as the might of supernatural beings was called *kallpa*<sup>159</sup>. It was the forcefulness with which they accomplished extraordinary deeds, and a concept closely related today to the food substances ingested by individuals<sup>160</sup>. As the definition of *kama-* has demonstrated earlier in this chapter, the Andean cosmos was fashioned by the movement of vital energies that circulated from potent spiritual entities to all living creatures on earth: humans, animals and plants. These dynamic essences held material qualities, which were visible in the organisms they animated, so that every creature of exceptional strength or those who revealed unusual corporal features, such as dwarfs, twins, humpbacks or deformed beings, were said to be gifted with extraordinary abilities transmitted by their ancestors<sup>161</sup>. These vital forces, however, circulated in a

---

<sup>156</sup> Sarmiento de Gamboa: p. 59.

<sup>157</sup> Ibid.

<sup>158</sup> Betanzos: Pt. 1, Ch. 4, p. 20, translation Hamilton 1996: p. 16; Sarmiento de Gamboa: p. 60.

<sup>159</sup> Taylor in *Ritos y Tradiciones de Huarochirí* 1999: p. XXIII; González Holguín, *Vocabulario*: p. 44; Santo Tomás, *Lexicón*: p. 245.

<sup>160</sup> Gose 1994: pp. 202-203, 206-207, 215, 217; Riva González 2005.

<sup>161</sup> Arriaga: p. 63; Acosta: Bk. 5, Ch. 25, p. 260; Hernández Príncipe, in Duviols 1986: pp. 485-507.

fluctuating way through living creatures, potentially withdrawing from one body to infuse another. Andean rituals were orientated towards the maintenance of these energies, because they alone insured the development of beings, cultivations, and the propitious alternation of the seasons. In order to verify that they had been appropriately restored after an offering, Andean priests performed the *kallpa rikuy*, a practice that literally meant “seeing the vital strength”, which involved interpreting the entrails of sacrificed animals<sup>162</sup>. This was done by blowing into the lungs of a llama or a guinea pig so that the organ should reveal its crisscross mesh of veins. If no fault or breach had damaged the inflated lung, it meant that the deities had regenerated their energy and accepted the sacrifice. If the organ was imperfect, the ritual had not been successful and more sacrifices were required.

It was a similar augury that Mama Huaco had performed when she and her siblings entered the valley, sacrificing and disembowelling a human victim in honour of the Sun, and displaying to all and sundry a tangible proof that the god animated his offspring with a supernatural force. Her violent act was as much a demonstration that the migrants had come to Cuzco under the aegis of a prominent divinity, as it was a display of their warlike abilities. Following this event, Manco Capac and his sisters gradually subdued the local peoples and, the narrative runs, several months later they finally settled on land between the rivers Tullumayu and Saphy<sup>163</sup>.

#### APPROPRIATING THE PEOPLE AND THE LAND: THE *WANKAS* IN THE NARRATIVE OF ORIGIN

At different stages throughout their journey, the Ayars appropriated (*tomar posesión*) ancient cults and lands for their own benefit by seating themselves on them, whereupon they were changed into stone. Interestingly, the same practice is evoked in different terms in a document of the Jauja province (1582), which states that “in remote times, the valorous ancestors who left in search of new arable lands and had won them at war, marked these with a stone, different from the others, and asked their successors to remember them [in that location]”<sup>164</sup>. As Ramírez observed, these stone *mojones* were not markers of territory or boundary units, but were instead commemorative monuments

---

<sup>162</sup> Molina: pp. 62-63; Sarmiento de Gamboa: Ch. 40, p. 112; Ch. 58, p. 140; Ch. 62, p. 148. For rituals on guinea pigs, see Bolton 1979; Morales 1995: pp. 99-128; Stahl 2003: pp. 471-476.

<sup>163</sup> Cieza de León: Ch. 6-8, pp. 13-22; Cabello de Balboa: pp. 260-264; Sarmiento de Gamboa: Ch. 10-13, pp. 50-61.

<sup>164</sup> Jiménez de la Espada 1881, *Relaciones geográficas de Indias*, in Duviols 1979b: p. 14. In the sixteenth-century, the word *tierras* referred to either land or peoples.

that preserved the memory of ancient warlords and ancestors<sup>165</sup>. In his record of the Incas' origin, Sarmiento de Gamboa calls these sculpted idols *wanka*, which was a form of ancestor cult still widely extant in late colonial times. Materials on the extirpation of idolatry, principally recorded in central Peru, shows how the Incan narrative falls within a pan-Andean tradition about first settlers. In these documents, the *wanka* is described as a powerful and valorous man who, before being transformed into a monolith, came from another realm and entered the village in order to protect its inhabitants and their land resources. Once petrified, the *wanka* held two main functions depending on its location in the community's territory. When situated in the middle of the *chakra*, it assured the fertility of its soil and received several offerings at the beginning of every agrarian work<sup>166</sup>. Father Arriaga wrote that the Indians "also call it *chakrayuq* which means lord of the *chakra* because they think that this *chakra* belonged to the huaca [here idol] and that it is in charge of its growth, and as such they revere it and offer sacrifices specially in the sowing season"<sup>167</sup>. When located within the urban centre, the *wanka* was worshiped as the protector of the people and lineage he founded, and was known as the *markayuq*, a function he shared with other representations of the ayllus' forefather, such as the *qunupa* and the mummies<sup>168</sup>.

The monolith *wanka*, therefore, represented both the warlike and fertilizing functions of this ancestor whose boulder received particular attention during the main agrarian labours and, in certain communities, in mating rites and female defloration<sup>169</sup>. Interestingly, the same aspects, fertility and martial valour, were at the core of the Incan initiation festivities, which the Ayar brother petrified in Huanacauri had decreed and then supervised every subsequent year. The function of this deity, as well as its origins in the era of early Incan settlement thus suggest that Huanacauri primarily held the status of a *wanka*. In that regard, its far distant provenance and its link with the Sun are reminiscent of another narrative recounting the coming of the first *wanka*-ancestors in

---

<sup>165</sup> Ramírez 2005, pp. 32-46.

<sup>166</sup> Arriaga: p. 128.

<sup>167</sup> Arriaga: p. 37.

<sup>168</sup> Arriaga: p. 128; Duviols 1986: pp. 279, 359-362, 383-384; Polia Meconi 1999: p. 176. For Pierre Duviols, the *marcayuy* is the mythical founder of the clan. Interestingly, Kenneth Mills (1997: pp. 59-60) reports that in the eighteenth-century, in the town of La Ascención de Guaniza, "an annually elected official called a *marcayuy* was said to have led a ceremony that involved dancing and drums". In her latest work, Ramírez (2006b: pp. 362-263) suggests that *marcayuy* and *llaqtayuy* were the back translations of "dueño de indios" and referred to "the caregiving individual responsible for his followers who owe him labor".

<sup>169</sup> Duviols 1979b; Griffiths 1996: pp. 107, 206-208, 318; Mills 1997: p. 289.

the town of Maray (Chancay). This late seventeenth-century account, published in part by Guillermo Cock and Mary Eileen Doyle, tells us that the main *markayuq* of Maray, a *wanka* known as Huacra Yaru, had originated from a distant land. In his lifetime, he travelled with his brothers and one sister before settling in Maray where he officiated as the Sun priest. On dying, he turned into a monolith and became the intercessor of the solar divinity for his people, much like the shrine of Huanacauri in the Incan tradition. One of his brothers, Punchao Jirca, paired with him and became the *wanka* to receive the main offerings at the start of the sowing season. The latter's name, "the daylight rock", clearly indicates his relation to the Sun god<sup>170</sup>. Opposed to these two deities was their other brother, Rupay Jirca, together with their sister, the spring divinity Chuchu, both associated with the god of lightning<sup>171</sup>. Altogether, these four ancestors were venerated by the four ayllus of Maray as being the offspring of the two Andean deities, the Sun and Thunder who ruled over the agricultural cycle and had generated antagonist moieties among human communities<sup>172</sup>. It was therefore not uncommon for the same community to worship several *wanka*, which were transcended by a more prominent one regarded by all ayllus as their common ancestor<sup>173</sup>.

The shrine of Huanacauri appears to have held a similar status among the Incas for it was "an idol they commonly took to war, and especially when the King went in person"<sup>174</sup>. Yet, the early conquistadors were completely oblivious to the importance of Huanacauri, located almost eleven kilometres southeast of Cuzco, when they first plundered the site, taking with them the lavish gold and silver offerings, and leaving intact the rough monolith that embodied the unsuspected object of this cult<sup>175</sup>. Likewise, aside from isolated works, modern scholarship has paid little attention to the function it held in the Incan pantheon<sup>176</sup>. This may be in part because the Spanish themselves perceived him as a heathen idol of minor importance, one that allegedly was not credited with a high degree of conceptualisation and, therefore, a figure which did not conform to the same classification as the major divinities worshiped by the populace,

---

<sup>170</sup> In the Quechua dialects of Ancash and Huanaco, *jirca* means mountain, stone. Present-day rituals dedicated to the local *jirca* involve the headcount, shearing and marking of the cattle.

<sup>171</sup> *Chuchu* refers to the twin dedicated to the Thunder's office, and *rupay* to the sun of the dry season. See Arriaga: p. 39; Itier 1992a: p. 1030, n. 28-29.

<sup>172</sup> Cock and Doyle 1979: pp. 59-62.

<sup>173</sup> Duviols 1979b: pp. 10-12.

<sup>174</sup> Polo Ondegardo 1917: 31.

<sup>175</sup> Polo 1917: pp. 31-32.

<sup>176</sup> These exceptions are Szemiński 1991; Ziolkowski 1996: pp. 65-71; Julien 2000: pp. 276-286.

such as the “Creator”, the Sun and Thunder. Contrary to these gods, Huanacauri’s influence was also restricted to the Cuzco region, such that the lore and belief surrounding his cult faded away rapidly once the Spanish eventually laid hands on his image. Despite these circumstances, slivers of information offer a different picture of Huanacauri’s importance, starting with his presence during the main celebrations of the Incan calendar. Indeed, we learn from Molina that his image was “warmed” and fed together with other deities and royal mummies at the purification ritual of *Sitwa*<sup>177</sup>. It also watched over the fruitful outcome of the novices’ trials on their *Warachiku* when they presented the deity with offerings and orations in exchange for war weapons. Cieza de León, Molina and Sarmiento all confirm that Huanacauri was a *waka* of prominence in the Incan sacred landscape for they mention the human sacrifices it received at *Qhapaq hucha*, and the precious offerings that all newly appointed rulers offered to the shrine<sup>178</sup>. Cieza even described his “temple” as the empire’s second shrine of importance after the Coricancha. According to archaeologist and historian Catherine Julien, Huanacauri’s prestige was such that there existed various eponymous hills scattered around Cuzco, which the Incas visited during *Qhapaq rayme*, the month of the Incan initiation ritual<sup>179</sup>.

Huanacauri’s prestigious position in the Incan religion would have originated from the primordial events that brought the Ayar ancestors to the valley, when, together with the *wanka* of Ayar Auca, he appropriated, distributed and protected the newly conquered lands in the name of the Sun. In this tradition, both *wanka* evince a particular relation with the solar god and the geographical division of Urin Cuzco: the first because he was petrified on the site of the future temple dedicated to the Sun in the lower part of the city, the second through his position as the particular intercessor for this god<sup>180</sup>. Several chronicles have insisted on this last point, describing Huanacauri as the messenger of the deity, the one who, in Cieza’s words, always prayed to God on behalf of his siblings; he, who “would remain as an idol [and] ask their father the Sun to protect them, increase their number, give them children, and send them good weather”<sup>181</sup>. Importantly, an earlier source authored by a group of noble Khipukamayuc (1542), explicitly identifies this Sun with P’unchaw, literally the “Daylight”, and

---

<sup>177</sup> Molina: pp. 76-77.

<sup>178</sup> Cieza de León: Ch. 28: pp. 83-84; Molina: p. 126; Sarmiento: Ch. 31, pp. 96-97; Ch. 56, p. 139.

<sup>179</sup> Julien 2000: pp. 276-286.

<sup>180</sup> Szemiński 1991: p. 49.

<sup>181</sup> Cieza de León: Pt. 2, Ch. 7, p.16; Betanzos: Pt. 1, Ch. 4, translation in Hamilton 1996: p. 15.

describes Huanacauri as the messenger and *segunda persona* of the former<sup>182</sup>. In this narrative, two of P'unchaw's priests and tutors of the young Manco Capac, entering the Cuzco valley, announced to its residents the imminent coming of the man fathered by the Sun. They enjoined the Indians to receive him as their new lord and P'unchaw as their god. If they were to oppose resistance, "the Sun will send a great plague on them, which will kill them all leaving no one alive; because he was determined to destroy the world and punish the humankind similar to the Deluge, then to re-populate the earth with new people"<sup>183</sup>. For these reasons, the priests concluded, P'unchaw had sent his servant and friend Huanacauri to the people of the Cuzco valley so they could worship the Sun through him.

Despite the peculiarity of the Khipukamayuc source<sup>184</sup>, it is possible to relate its unique account of Manco Capac's journey to the small corpus of texts recorded by Sarmiento, Murúa and Cabello de Balboa, which mention the apparition of a rainbow (*k'uychi*) arching over Huanacauri hill as the Ayar siblings entered the valley<sup>185</sup>. For the small group of migrants, this apparition was a propitious sign foretelling that "the world would not be destroyed by a flood"<sup>186</sup>. Indeed, like many societies worldwide, Andean people had long recognized that the rainbow presages the simultaneous appearance of the sun with the precipitations, and have thus associated it with the rainy season<sup>187</sup>. For these reasons, Garcilaso explains, the Incas "came to the conclusion that [the rainbow] proceeded from the Sun"<sup>188</sup>. The *k'uychi* only forms under damp but sunny conditions, so that it was believed to augur a period of transition between two eras or seasons, as with the advent of the Incas in the Cuzco valley<sup>189</sup>. In colonial times and still today, it is considered to be a dual figure in the shape of a two-headed snake, either white or multicoloured, propitious or malevolent<sup>190</sup>. When harmful, it is believed to enter people

---

<sup>182</sup> Collapiña et al.: pp. 24, 26-27. In the Spanish chronicles and other colonial documents (lawsuits, *visitas*), the expression *segunda persona* refers to the second-in-command who assisted the leader of a community, or *cacique principal*, in a variety of duties. This function reflects the division of the Andean ayllu into sub-groups (minimal ayllus, moieties), which were headed by different individuals. In this way, the *segunda persona* was the headman of the community's lower-ranking division (Rostworowski 1977). See chapter 4 for a further discussion on the subject.

<sup>183</sup> Collapiña et al.: p. 27.

<sup>184</sup> Duviols 1979a.

<sup>185</sup> Collapiña et al.: pp. 24, 26-29; Sarmiento de Gamboa: Ch. 12, p. 56; Cabello de Balboa: pp. 260-264, Murúa: Bk. 1, Ch. 2, p. 41; Pachacuti Yamqui: f.6v., p. 194.

<sup>186</sup> Sarmiento: Ch. 12, p. 56.

<sup>187</sup> Radcliffe-Brown 1926; Andrews 2000: pp. 160-162.

<sup>188</sup> Garcilaso de la Vega: Bk. 3, Ch. 21: pp. 174-175.

<sup>189</sup> Molinié 1986: 154; MacCormack 1988: pp. 998-1003; Robin 1997: pp. 378, 384.

<sup>190</sup> Muñoz Bernand 1999: pp. 150-165; García Escudero 2007.

unsuspectedly and propagate in their body diseases called *chirapa unquy* (rainbow disease)<sup>191</sup>. As previously noted, serpents were closely associated to the Thunder god: at the beginning of the dry season, they penetrated into the ground in order to hibernate, only to surface when Illapa was making the earth quake<sup>192</sup>. Today, communities from the Cuzco region recount that, during this period, the dark cloud constellation of the snake lives underground, in the subterranean world inhabited by the sun of the dry season<sup>193</sup>. The *amaru*, therefore, was a dichotomous being. On the one hand, it was the Thunder's chthonic envoy during the months of the dry season, and on the other, it was P'unchaw's celestial emissary when the new Sun brought the precipitations with him. During the rule of the daylight god, it was a multicoloured *k'uychi* replenished with water, while its celestial counterpart, the serpent dark cloud, ruled the night sky of the wet season before disappearing from the firmament in February. A similar ideology shapes the lowland Peruvian lore of the cosmological serpents, Yaku Mama (Mother Water) and Sach'a Mama (Mother Forest) that travel through the different plans of the universe<sup>194</sup>. Arguably, the former embodies water regulation during the first half of the year for it is believed to emerge from the undergrounds in the form of a river and to rise to the heavens as thunderbolts. Sach'a Mama, on the other hand, is linked with the fertility of the rains and is conceived as a bicephalous snake that transforms itself into rainbow when it rises to the heavens. Likewise, it can be argued that the rainbow rising above Huanacauri hill at the arrival of the Ayar siblings not only foretold the beginning of a new era, but it specifically announced the advent of P'unchaw's reign on earth, and with him the start of the second half of the annual agricultural cycle. Emerging from this picture is a cosmology in which P'unchaw, the daylight lord, embodied a solar deity ruler of the fertilizing rains opposed to Wiraqucha, the subterranean Sun of the dry season.

#### THE SUN OF THE CHRONICLES: AN INVESTIGATION INTO P'UNCHAW AND INTI'S NATURE

Primary sources reveal that P'unchaw was not the only appellation of the Sun deity, for the term Inti is also commonly found. Significantly, though, neither of these names is

---

<sup>191</sup> Polo Ondegardo 1916: Ch. 5, pp. 13-14; Murúa: Bk. 2, Ch. 34, p. 426; Guaman Poma de Ayala: 255 [257], p. 229; 280 [282], p. 253; Cobo: Pt. 2, Bk. 13, Ch. 38: p. 233; Duviols 1986: pp. 193, 228, 269; Allen 1988: p. 16; Larmer 1998: pp. 1008-1009.

<sup>192</sup> Allen 1988: p. 53; Urton 1981: pp. 88-90, 177-180.

<sup>193</sup> Urton 1981: pp. 172, 177-180.

<sup>194</sup> Valcárcel 1967: pp. 140-141. In the Ucayali basin, these two cosmological serpents are primary sources of disease alike the rainbow. See also Gow 1991: pp. 79, 248; Thomas and Humphrey 1994: pp. 94-95.

cited in the official documents recorded during the first decades that followed the conquest. With the exception of the Khipukamayuk narrative, in which P'unchaw is clearly identified as the Sun, early sources refer to this deity by its Spanish description: el Sol<sup>195</sup>. The same chronicles, however, do mention several terminologies constructed around the word *inti*, which appear to describe objects and beings related to the deity. For Betanzos and Segovia, for instance, the Sapa Inca was *Intip churin*, meaning the Sun's son, while they call the high priest *Intip yanan*, the Sun's servant. Cieza also indicates that the Coricancha temple was known as *Indequaxi* (*Intip wasin*), the god's house adjacent to the *aklla wasi* that sheltered the organization of *Intip warmin*, "the Sun's spouses", in the words of Santillán<sup>196</sup>. According to Father Arriaga, Inti was the solar god's "proper name", and an entity closely related to P'unchaw as showed in the transcript of the Incan orations to the Sun and in the late documents of idolatry<sup>197</sup>. In these materials, the two terms were frequently used as semantic pairs (e.g. *Inti yaya*, *P'unchaw yaya*)<sup>198</sup>. It is significant, however, that early Quechua lexicons clearly distinguish between the two words. For Santo Tomás and González Holguín, Inti is "the sun, the planet" and its related glosses refer to the location of the star in the sky, to its warmth and luminosity<sup>199</sup>. The late *Comentarios Reales* backs up this definition and only makes use of the term Inti in reference to the star, in a chapter discussing Incan astronomy<sup>200</sup>. On the other hand, dictionaries translate *p'unchaw* by "the day and the sun". Following the entries they provide, this word corresponds more specifically to the diurnal light, to the time of day during which the sun diffuses its rays as opposed to night-time<sup>201</sup>.

Records of the prosecutions against idolatry that took place in central Peru add another dimension to this question<sup>202</sup>. In these documents, P'unchaw is depicted as an ancestor who travelled in search of fertile lands and eventually joined in an existing community, whose members worshipped him thereafter as a forefather. The *wanka* and *mallki* obliterated by missionaries often bore the name of P'unchaw, but were never

<sup>195</sup> Collapiña et al.: p. 27; Betanzos; Cieza de León; Anónimo (1551); Anónimo (c. 1570).

<sup>196</sup> Betanzos: Pt. 1, Ch. 17, p. 83; Segovia: pp. 74, 76; Sarmiento de Gamboa: Ch. 29, p. 93; Cieza de León: Pt. 2, Ch. 27, p. 79; Santillán: p. 113.

<sup>197</sup> Arriaga: p. 26.

<sup>198</sup> Molina: p. 91; Itier 1992a: pp. 1034, 1037.

<sup>199</sup> Santo Tomás, *Lexicón*: p. 301; González Holguín, *Vocabulario*: p. 369.

<sup>200</sup> Garcilaso de la Vega: Bk. 2, Ch. 21, pp. 108-109.

<sup>201</sup> Santo Tomás, *Lexicón*: p. 343; González Holguín, *Vocabulario*: p. 295.

<sup>202</sup> A similar *visita* of the Cuzco region was commissioned at the same period, but no extant records have been found.



called after Inti, who did not become the hero of any epic narrative as such<sup>203</sup>. Throughout the seventeenth century, the cults of *wanka* and *mallki* persisted among the populations of the archdiocese of Lima and further south, in the Huamanga and Charcas dioceses<sup>204</sup>. Church archives describe profusely the regional cults to the anthropomorphic image of P'unchaw, but make no mention of an idol representing Inti<sup>205</sup>. Similarly, none of the major chronicles of the sixteenth century suggests that there existed a statue of the Sun named or dedicated to Inti in Cuzco. He appears, instead, as the appellation of the founding Sun, the origin and matrix of the star's manifestation on earth embodied by P'unchaw. Thus, in early sources describing Incan celebrations, the Sun's imaging is only evoked under the name of P'unchaw. Molina's text, the most exhaustive reference on Incan rituals, mentions the existence of three figures representing the Sun: P'unchaw Inka, Apu P'unchaw, which featured "the principal they had in their temple", and Wayna P'unchaw<sup>206</sup>. He makes no allusion to a representation of the sun called Inti. Similarly, according to the late Jesuit chronicler Antonio de Vega (c. 1600), the main idol in Cuzco was P'unchaw, "lord of the day and creator of light, the sun and the stars and of all other things" whose image was kept in the Coricancha<sup>207</sup>. The same information is restated by Bernabé Cobo, although Acosta suggests that there existed several representations of the solar deity, P'unchaw being only "one idol of the Sun"<sup>208</sup>.

From these testimonies, it is almost impossible to ascertain which one of P'unchaw's images was involved in a specific ceremony. Even Molina does not linger over this fundamental aspect of the rituals. Only in three instances does this Spanish chronicler provide the much sought-after information. He first mentions the offerings P'unchaw Inka, Wiraqucha and the Thunder received at *Inti rayme*, the "celebrations of the Sun" with which, he averred, opened the Incan ceremonial calendar. Later in the year, during the cleansing ritual of *Sitwa*, the deeds of the same figure were celebrated in several orations transcribed by Molina, in which P'unchaw Inka is evoked with aspects of the warlike and triumphant Sun. In these prayers, he is the one who "assured victory to the Cuzco and the Tambo" and it is he who protects the residents of the

---

<sup>203</sup> Duviols 1986: pp. 162, 227-249, 480, 486.

<sup>204</sup> Polia Meconi 1999: pp. 198-199, 478; Duviols 1986: pp. 58, 91, 161.

<sup>205</sup> Cock and Doyle 1979: p. 59 n. 17; Polia Meconi 1999: p. 424.

<sup>206</sup> Molina: pp. 67, 77, 110.

<sup>207</sup> Antonio de Vega, in Mateos: pp. 8-9.

<sup>208</sup> Cobo: T. 2, Bk. 13, Ch. 5, p. 157; Acosta: Bk. 2, Ch. 12.

imperial city from ever being displaced<sup>209</sup>. This festival, which took place between August and September (GC), opened and closed with multiple offerings to Wiraqucha, the Thunder, and the “Sun called Apu Punchao”<sup>210</sup>. For this occasion, the latter was accompanied by his priesthood and his two godly spouses, Inca Ocllo and Pallpa Ocllo, who had previously attended the *Inti rayme* festivities. A third wife and sister of the divinity was also seated beside him in the person of a noble Incan woman named *quya paqhsa* who was later sacrificed in the name of her divine spouse. Finally, during the initiation ritual of young Incas called *Warachiku*, an unidentified image of the Sun was carried to the main plaza where it received the usual offerings. It was in the name of this deity that the initiates received rich garments before they swore allegiance to the Sun, Wiraqucha and their sovereign. On the twenty-third day of the same month, Wayna P’unchaw’s figure was finally carried to the temple of Puquín at the top of a hill “some three arquebus shots from Cuzco”, where the Incas went about their sacrifices for the multiplication of beings and foodstuffs<sup>211</sup>.

Father Cristóbal de Molina being the only chronicler to evoke the Sun’s different representations in the context of Incan ceremonies, an overview of the Sun’s attributes is *per se* limited. Therefore, to gain insight into the many expressions of the sun god, including the characteristics that distinguished Inti from P’unchaw, it is necessary to examine the descriptions of their images. Indeed, a few witnesses testified having seen one of P’unchaw’s images before it was melted down in Spain at the beginning of the seventeenth century<sup>212</sup>. A document written by the Jesuit Antonio de Vega at the turn of the sixteenth century reveals that it was an anthropomorphic figure made of gold, seated on a *tiyana* of the same precious metal. Large pendants adorned its ears and, in the middle of the seat where it rested, was concealed a casket the shape of a “sugarloaf”, which lay in such a way that it penetrated the god’s body. Enclosed within was the representation of the deity’s heart in gold together with the remains of the deceased

---

<sup>209</sup> Molina: pp. 67, 91-92. It is interesting to note here that this oration evokes the Incas under the names Cuzco and Tampu, which evoke the rulers that had been in power (see Ramírez 2005: pp. 13-56) and the Ayar siblings’ *paqarina* respectively. Furthermore, the two can be associated with the two moieties of the Incan capital given that each sovereign belonged to the Hanan moiety once he attained power (see chapter 4), while Paqariq Tampu can be associated with a tradition of the Urin moiety (see anon).

<sup>210</sup> Molina: p. 77.

<sup>211</sup> Molina: p. 110.

<sup>212</sup> Julien 2002: pp. 709-715. See also Duviols 1976b.

Incas' hearts<sup>213</sup>. When the image left the temple, it was flanked by its ceremonial weapons: a set of two spears with a club and a golden axe<sup>214</sup>. It may have been the same image that conquistador Ruiz de Arce observed in the Coricancha only a few years after Pizarro's companions entered Cuzco for the first time. There, placed in the middle of the courtyard, was the image of a god beside a golden *tiyana*. Each day at noon, Incan celebrants uncovered this seat where the Sun was believed to sit, and laid their offerings at its feet, burning meat and pouring chicha onto the *ushnu*<sup>215</sup>. It has been suggested that P'unchaw's image stayed in the possession of the Incan rebels of Vilcabamba until 1572. At this date, Francisco de Toledo took hold of it when he eventually suppressed the rebellion led by Tupac Amaru. The statue was soon deprived of a portion of its ornaments that Toledo dispensed among his men in reward for their hardiness in quashing the rebellion. The booty in question was "a form of golden medallions in order that, when struck by the sun, these should shine in such a way that one could never see the idol itself, but only the reflected brilliance of these medallions"<sup>216</sup>. These adornments, the number of which is unclear, display many points in common with another description of the Sun's image, mentioned in primary sources at a time coinciding with the Spanish seizure of P'unchaw's statue. It was indeed at that time that three chroniclers evoked the existence of a singular representation of the Sun, idol of the Coricancha and, before that date, never listed<sup>217</sup>. The same depiction is represented in Pachacuti Yamqui's famous drawing of the Coricancha altar, which has since fuelled many controversies<sup>218</sup>. These late testimonies present such close similarities that they leave no doubt about the identity of their common source: the conquistador Mansio Sierra de Leguizamo who played an active part in quashing the rebellion of Tupac Amaru I.

The late accounts of the sun's representation describe it as a round or oval plate, the size of a shield and a finger thick, without any relief and perfectly polished. In its centre was etched a human face invested with rays. It allegedly hung on the wall of the

---

<sup>213</sup> Levillier 1924, IV: pp. 344-345; Acosta: Bk. 5, Ch. 12, pp. 236-237; Antonio de Vega (c. 1600), in Mateos 1944: pp. 8-9.

<sup>214</sup> Pizarro: p. 67.

<sup>215</sup> MacCormack 1991: pp. 65-66.

<sup>216</sup> Toledo in Hemming 1993: p. 306.

<sup>217</sup> Gutiérrez de Santa Clara: Ch. 50, p. 216; Garcilaso de la Vega: Bk. 3, Ch. 20, p. 172; Cobo: T. 2, Bk. 13, Ch. 5, p. 157.

<sup>218</sup> Urton 1981: pp. 132-133, 202-203; Barnes 1986; Duviols 1993, in Pachacuti Yamqui: pp. 30-34, 37-40; Harrison 1989; Duviols 1997b; Zuidema 1997c

deity's altar in such a way that it reflected the dazzling light of the rising sun when it shone through the door of the room: "the rays were mirrored and reflected with such brightness, that it looked like the Sun [itself]". The first mention of this figure appears in Mansio Sierra de Leguizamo's will (18 September 1589) in which he pretended to having owned the golden image<sup>219</sup>. The bulk of later chronicles accept his declaration and recount that, on the very same day he acquired it, Mansio gambled his booty and lost it. It is inconceivable, however, that the conquistador owned or even saw this figure before the 1570s for two reasons. First of all, as John Hemming remarked, Pizarro strictly forbade his soldiers to retain precious objects before they were melted down<sup>220</sup>. Secondly, the first Spaniards to enter Cuzco all admitted to their great disappointment at never having discovered the idol of the Sun. Segovia noted in 1553 that "the Indians hid it in such a way that up until now it has not been discovered; they said the Inca rebel has it with him"<sup>221</sup>. If Mansio saw or owned one of the Sun's figures, it would have been after the year 1572, at the time when P'unchaw was seized and its golden disks distributed to the Viceroy's men. Arguably, it is no coincidence that those events coincided with the first descriptions of the Sun's image in the form of a disk; a description endlessly repeated in later documents and scholarly works. Mansio's account, which many historians deem fictitious, could thus be associated with the Vilcabamba events. He was one of just three conquistadors of the first generation to have participated in the triumphant expedition that put an end to the Incan rebellion in 1572. He was, therefore, among those who had the privilege of seeing P'unchaw's statue before it was sent off to Spain. Perhaps he was even among the soldiers who were given the solar disks in reward for their collaboration. Unfortunately, this assumption cannot be substantiated for lack of sufficient proof, but it is most likely that Mansio's declarations were founded on reliable grounds, although he did not describe an idol specifically worshiped by the Incas, but rather another object that had adorned the Sun's image or the Coricancha itself.

As Duviols noted in an earlier work (1976b), Reginaldo de Lizárraga's testimony offers another interpretation on the provenance of the oval imaging of the Sun. A Dominican bishop in Chile and Paraguay, Lizárraga wrote a *Breve Descripción del Perú* during the first decade of the seventeenth century. Despite the late redaction of

---

<sup>219</sup> Stirling (1999) includes an English translation of Mansio's will.

<sup>220</sup> Hemming 1993: p. 131.

<sup>221</sup> Segovia: 75; Pizarro: p. 184.

his chronicle, Lizárraga certainly benefited from first-hand information told by his companions from the convent of Santo Domingo who had lived within the walls of Coricancha. In this temple, he wrote, was a large and deep octagonal basin in which the Incas poured the chicha they offered to the Sun. “The opening of this basin was covered by a golden plate on which the sun was engraved. When the Spaniards entered this city, fortune awarded it to one of the conquistadors that I knew, a man named Mansio Sierra”<sup>222</sup>. Once more, the solar plate described by Lizárraga does not refer to the main figure of the Sun, nor could it have been owned by the veteran because of Pizarro’s proscriptions. However, together with P’unchaw’s disks, both items could have been seen by Mansio at different times during his service in Peru and thereby inspired the late descriptions of the oval Sun.

Finally, Bernabé Cobo’s late chronicle is the only text to mention three *bultos* of Inti, kept in the Coricancha temple not far from the main deity P’unchaw which, in his own words, remained “their principal simulacrum and major devotion”<sup>223</sup>. According to the Spanish chronicler, the three images represented Apu Inti, Churi Inti (the Sun’s son) and Inti Wawqi (the Sun’s brother), each of which had its distinctive priesthood. They were covered with thick woollen *mantas*, had large earrings and wore the *llawtu*. These data need to be considered with caution due to the uniqueness of the description and the extremely late elaboration of Cobo’s chronicle. It should be noted, moreover, that he extracted part of his information from Polo Ondegardo’s work in which the solar triad is evoked in similar terms. Describing the festival of *Qhapaq rayme*, Polo tells us that the three figures of the Sun “father, son and brother” were brought out in Cuzco’s square to receive offerings<sup>224</sup>. It is difficult to know to which representations of the Sun deity Polo’s text refers, although it is perfectly conceivable that they were the three images Molina described at the same time as Apu P’unchaw (the lord of Daylight), Wayna P’unchaw (the young Daylight), and Inca P’unchaw (the Inka Daylight). The transcriptions of these names are indeed very close to the approximate translation advanced by Polo, who did not speak Quechua himself.

Significantly, Cobo reports a tradition about the origin of these three *bultos* that may cast light on their identity and reveal the characteristics that distinguished

---

<sup>222</sup> Lizárraga: Ch. 80, p. 61.

<sup>223</sup> Cobo: T. 2, Bk. 13, Ch. 5: p. 157.

<sup>224</sup> Polo Ondegardo 1916: p. 18.

P'unchaw from Inti. He writes: "Some say that these three figures were made because once they saw three suns in the sky; others say that one was the Sun itself, the other the Day, and the third was the virtue to create"<sup>225</sup>. Significantly, the first reference is reminiscent of Arriaga's description of Inti, "the proper noun" of the Sun, while the second corresponds faithfully to P'unchaw's function as the diurnal light. The third description, finally, can be identified with Wiraqucha: he is the Sun that animates the cultivations, the one associated with the earth's fulfilment, the *pachayachachiq* whose function was translated by the "virtue to create" (*kamay*)<sup>226</sup>. If these associations are accurate, Cobo's description of Inti's three figures takes on a different dimension from the one the chronicler himself had suggested. His text appears as a reconstruction from previous primary sources, valid but fragmentary, in which the Sun's triad, as he describes it, actually referred to the three expressions of the Sun: Inti, P'unchaw and Wiraqucha<sup>227</sup>. These, in turn, echo the functions of the sun's three images as evoked by Molina, where Inti paired with the lord of daylight (Apu P'unchaw), P'unchaw with the young daylight, and Wiraqucha with the Inka daylight<sup>228</sup>. This last association is all the more relevant since the Collao deity was believed to have animated the royal lineages. It explains why Inka P'unchaw's only apparition occurred at *Inti rayme*, when Wiraqucha's deeds on earth were commemorated together with the emergence of the Incan ancestors.

In the light of this information, it can be argued that Inti applied to the divinity's generic name, its proper noun as appropriately stated by José de Arriaga, to the Sun at which offerings and tokens were directed, and a concept that encompassed the two antithetic expressions of the solar star on earth. The first of these antagonistic manifestations can be identified as P'unchaw, the god who animated the Ayar siblings out of Paqariq Tampu, the entity who accomplished his deeds under the eyes of the living communities and became their *wanka* or *mallki*. He represented the function of the diurnal sun over human activities, the one that dispensed its light over the cultivations as they ripen, a task directly opposed to the workings of Wiraqucha, god of the subterranean darkness. The latter was the second manifestation of the solar divinity,

---

<sup>225</sup> Cobo: T. 2, Bk. 13, Ch. 5: p. 157.

<sup>226</sup> On the etymology of this term, see Taylor 2000a.

<sup>227</sup> It has been suggested that P'unchaw's image found a persistent echo in the colonial representations of the Christchild wearing the *maska paycha* (Cahill 1999: pp. 17-23).

<sup>228</sup> Demarest (1981: pp. 22-25) already perceived these associations. His conclusion, however, diverges from our argument.

associated with the rising of the Incan ancestors from Lake Titicaca, and the one who presided over the circulation of the subterranean waters.

Inti also embodied aspects of this last god in contexts where Wiraqucha's cult was absent. Guillermo Cock and Mary Eileen Doyle, for instance, reported that, in colonial times, the town of Maray (Chancay) situated in the high altitudes of the puna, regarded Inti as their creator god<sup>229</sup>. He received sacrifices four times a year, in August before the sowing of "dry farmed" potatoes<sup>230</sup>, and in October when the tubers were sowed in irrigated lands. The other two offerings were presented when the rains were either too abundant or too scarce. The same community also worshiped the *wanka* called P'unchaw Jirca who received their sacrifices specifically "when the men came down to sow maize". For these reasons, Cock and Doyle suggested that the Inti cult was associated with the altitude and subterranean agriculture of potatoes while P'unchaw was linked to the cultivation of maize, the maturation of which depended on an abundant diurnal light. In this context, Inti represented the subterranean Sun who, like Wiraqucha, presided over the waters supplying irrigation systems. His association with humidity and the underground warmth very likely explains his influence over dry farmed cultivations, requiring that the soil maintain a constant level of humidity. In the central highlands, Inti embodied aspects of the nocturnal Sun and P'unchaw represented the diurnal sun of the rainy season. In Incan Cuzco, however, Wiraqucha took upon characteristics of the Thunder, the prominent god of the Collao region, whose nature contrasted with P'unchaw. In that sense, this last deity was associated to the lower ecological area and maize agriculture in opposition to Wiraqucha's association with the upper plateaux.

## THE MOON

While chroniclers do not link Wiraqucha with any female deity and sometimes assert that he embodied both genders<sup>231</sup>, they often pair P'unchaw with numerous wives such

---

<sup>229</sup> Cock and Doyle 1979.

<sup>230</sup> "Dry farming" is a cultivation method practised in dry regions where the rain does not exceed 500mm/year. This procedure has recourse uniquely to rainwater and requires intensive ploughing of the land in order to air the soil. It involves resting fallow lands, a time during which the soil's humidity is constantly restored, and livestock's pasture so that the stubbles fertilise the soil. It also requires the alternation of seed and crop production with leguminous plantations.

<sup>231</sup> Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamaygua 1993: p. 208. See also Pease 1970: p. 169; Silverblatt 1987: 41; Dean 2001: pp. 148-149.

as Inca Ocllo and Pallpa Ocllo<sup>232</sup>. Besides these two figures, for which no information has been recorded, the Moon certainly predominated at the side of her godly husband, P'unchaw. Beliefs surrounding lunar eclipses in Incan times illustrate the close relation that united the goddess with the Sun. Indeed, when such phenomena occurred, Andean people reckoned that the moon would perish, and with her, the light of day, bringing about an eternal realm of darkness on earth. A mutual destiny thus bonded daylight with its nocturnal counterpart, moonlight. As Cobo recorded:

They said that a lion or a snake attacked it in order to tear it into pieces; and for that reason, when it started to eclipse, they raised loud yells and cries and they flogged the dogs so that they would bark and howl. The men stood ready for war, sounding their horns, beating drums, and screeching loudly they shot arrows and threw rods at the moon, and made wild gestures with their spears, as if they meant to wound the lion or the snake (...) The reason why they did it was because they believed that if the lion accomplished his design, [the world] would remain in obscurity and darkness<sup>233</sup>.

Despite her outstanding status, early sources seldom mention the role of the Moon deity in Incan ceremonies. This absence is all the more surprising in that seventeenth-century documents of the extirpation of idolatry indicate that her cult was among the most widespread of all 'heathen' practices throughout the Andes<sup>234</sup>. Scholars largely ascribe this lack of information to the male-oriented perspective of Spanish chroniclers who demonstrated little interest in such a cult and who, in any case, had limited or no access to it because it was presided over by women<sup>235</sup>.

The Moon is first introduced in Molina's chronicle as Paqhsa Mama, a term that may have originated from the Aru Cundi, and which Alfredo Torero linked to the "Incas' particular language"<sup>236</sup>. It was thereby affiliated to its Aymara and Cauqui equivalents, respectively *phaxsi* and *pajshi*, and probably stood for the most archaic

---

<sup>232</sup> Molina: pp. 70, 77.

<sup>233</sup> Cobo: T. 2, Bk. 13, Ch. 6: pp. 158-159. My translation.

<sup>234</sup> Arriaga: p. 27; Polia Meconi: p. 350; Rostworowski 1988a: pp. 79-81.

<sup>235</sup> Silverblatt 1987: p. 47; MacCormack 1991: p. 115. The same rationale may explain the scarcity of information about the cult of Pacha Mama (Mother Earth) in the Cuzco region. Although today she is a prominent figure of Andean religious life, little is known about the status Pacha Mama held in the Incan pantheon. Molina suggests that she received offerings at *Sitwa*, but she was absent from other yearly celebrations (Molina: p. 94). Polo's texts, which influenced generations of chroniclers, rhetorically mention the tribute she received in Incan time, but they do not detail her cult (1990: pp. 46, 81, 84, 100). See also the small paragraph Cobo dedicated to Pacha Mama (Cobo: T. 2, Bk. 13, Ch. 7, p. 161). Ultimately, this lack of data could reflect her little prestige in the Incan belief system.

<sup>236</sup> Torero 2002: p. 138.



form of the deity worshiped by the Incas. Conversely, the name *Killa*, the Moon of the general language whose zone of influence was principally the central sierra, is mentioned later in the documents. In González Holguín's lexicon, the glosses relative to this last term refer to the planet and the month, but also to "the obscure light of the cloudy moon"<sup>237</sup>. *Paqhsa*, on the other hand, describes "the moon without rays or beams of light" and, most importantly, to the "clear luminosity of the moon appearing through the clouds", that is, in a sky lowering with precipitations<sup>238</sup>. Confirming her link with the rainy season, the same source translates the verb *paqhsa-ku-* as, "when the moon brightens in between the clouds, or when it ceases to rain". *Paqhsa* also designated the ruler's first spouse, the most important female character of the Incan nobility, whom Betanzos calls "Paxxa Yndi Usus", that is, the Moon and "daughter of the Sun"<sup>239</sup>. Like her husband who presided over the general sacrifices to the Sun, the queen reportedly officiated in a temple erected in honour of the Moon at the junction of the rivers Tullumayu and Saphi, in the Pumap Chupan district<sup>240</sup>. She belonged to a cast of noble women named Coya (thenceforth *Quya*) who all traced their ancestry back to a common forefather, the Sun<sup>241</sup>. Hence, according to a seventeenth-century narrative from the central sierra, the Sun would have created humankind in the Lake Titicaca region, but he ordered women to worship the Moon as their mother and the *kamaqin* of the female gender, who provides them with food and clothing<sup>242</sup>. For these reasons, throughout the Andes, the Moon goddess received specific offerings from women, particularly during their pregnancy. Her image in the Incan temple of Coricancha was reportedly surrounded by the mummified bodies of the deceased queens and was also attended by a female priesthood, who carried her statue to Haucaypata during the few public celebrations she attended<sup>243</sup>. On *Qhapaq rayme*, for instance, the novices offered their sacrifices to the mummies and the divinities, including Paqhsa Mama, before they began their *Warachiku* ordeals outside the city. She probably received similar honours on the festivals of *Muru urqu* and *Mayu qatiy*, which followed the initiation

---

<sup>237</sup> González Holguín, *Vocabulario*: p. 308. See also Santo Tomás, *Lexicón*: p. 356.

<sup>238</sup> González Holguín, *Vocabulario*: p. 271.

<sup>239</sup> Betanzos: Pt. 1, Ch. 16, p. 78; Anónimo (c. 1551): p. 412.

<sup>240</sup> Guaman Poma de Ayala: 263 [265], pp. 236-237.

<sup>241</sup> Julien 2000: pp. 35-37.

<sup>242</sup> Duviols 1986: p. 151. I choose to translate "criadora de las mugeres" as "*kamaqin* of the female gender" rather than "creator of the female gender", because the narrative clearly indicates that women already existed on earth when the Sun ordered them to worship the Moon.

<sup>243</sup> Garcilaso de la Vega: vol.1, Bk. 3, Ch. 21.

ceremony<sup>244</sup>. Finally, her last recorded appearance took place in the month of *Quya rayme* (festival of the *quya* cast) that late chroniclers and scholars alike have described as a time of rejoicing for women<sup>245</sup>. The fourth day following the ritual purification of the city was therefore dedicated to two female deities, Paqhsa Mama and Pacha Mama, whom the celebrants lauded in their orations and satiated with offerings. It was also during these festivities that a chosen woman, known as *quya paqsha*, and member of the ruler's close family, was sacrificed to Apu P'unchaw as his wife<sup>246</sup>.

Therefore, the Daylight deity and Paqhsa Mama would have been intrinsically linked through their common role as regulators of the rainy season and via a mythological corpus that presented them as husband and wife. Reinforcing this picture is their sharing in common of the sacred site of Lake Titicaca where the Moon had her own sanctuary on Coati Island, near her husband's temple on the Island of the Sun. The Augustinian friar Alonso Gavilán, a missionary in Copacabana at the turn of the seventeenth-century, put on paper an account of the unusual activities that occupied the priests of both deities. Through him, we learn that the lake was the theatre bustling activity of daily arrivals and departures as the celebrants prayed and brought offerings, navigating between the two temples. The *Quya*, he writes, "wife of the Sun, being at the same time the Moon, sent him her gifts, and the Sun returned them with caresses of equal affection"<sup>247</sup>. The priests drank to the deities, invoking them to protect the health of their sovereign and for the successful deployment of his imperial affairs<sup>248</sup>. The godly pair was also closely related to a dual entity, the morning and the evening aspects of Venus (Lucero in Spanish) known in Quechua as *ch'aska quyllur* and *chinchay*

<sup>244</sup> Concerning the *Muyu qatiy* ceremony, Molina says: "and in the same way they brought out all the huacas and embalmed corpses, there, they did the accustomed reverence". It is most likely that the Moon belonged to this group of deities. This ceremony closed a cycle that started with the rituals of the *Warachiku*. It was during *Muyu qatiy* that the ashes of all the sacrifices made during the year, were thrown into the river, before the suspension of public festivities during several months (Molina: pp. 100-114).

<sup>245</sup> Guaman Poma de Ayala: 253 [255], pp. 226-227; Silverblatt 1987: p. 66; Rostworowski 1988a: pp. 79-80; MacCormack 1992: p. 305.

<sup>246</sup> Molina: pp. 77, 94.

<sup>247</sup> Ramos Gavilán: Bk. 1, Ch. 28.

<sup>248</sup> Before Incan occupation the temples had operated regionally as powerful religious centres. Archaeological excavations have revealed that the structure of these buildings was much anterior to the expansion of the Cuzqueñan lords, and had received large additional extensions during the Late Horizon. The instigator of such a policy has often been identified with Inca Tupa Yupanqui who, following a visit to the Island, is said to have offered a life-size golden statue of the moon to the Coati temple. The upper half of the figure's body was made of gold while the lower part was made of silver. See Bauer and Stanish 2001: pp. 14-17; pp. 98-157; Sallnow 1987: pp. 22-23.

*quyllur* (or *ch'isin ch'aska*)<sup>249</sup>. As an inferior planet, Venus is always seen at daytime close to the sun and at a low altitude above the horizon<sup>250</sup>. For these reasons, an Incan narrative recounts that “the Sun, as lord of all stars, ordered it to come near him, sometimes before him and sometimes behind, because it was more beautiful than the rest”<sup>251</sup>. The planet’s atmospheric conditions also make it the brightest object visible from earth at sunrise and sunset, so that Venus was and is still believed to escort the moon at night and to follow the daylight lord during its ascendance in the sky<sup>252</sup>. Perhaps because of this symbiotic relation with the supreme male and female deities, chronicler Pachacuti Yamqui associates each aspect of the planet to a specific gender: the morning star with the masculine, and the evening star with the feminine<sup>253</sup>. Unfortunately, only two late chroniclers, Garcilaso and Guaman Poma, provide information on the altar or temple the Incas may have erected in Cuzco to house a cult consecrated to the two appearances of Venus and other constellations<sup>254</sup>. Documents from the extirpation of idolatry also make summary allusions to the planet, known as *waraq* in the central sierra and which held an outstanding position among the religious beliefs of this specific region, as being the deity that presided over the novices’ initiation<sup>255</sup>.

#### HIERARCHY AND THE COALESCENCE OF SOLAR CULTS IN INCAN RELIGION

Although Incan religion and its hierarchy of divinities were interpreted and rephrased through the protean lens of European culture, primary sources on Wiraqucha, Illapa, P’unchaw and Paqhsa Mama enclose the most significant information available on the lore and belief of the pre-Hispanic Cuzco elite. A re-examination of this corpus, coupled with ethnographic and philological works on the fragmented Andean mythology, throws

<sup>249</sup> Ziolkowski (1996: pp. 55-58) posits that Venus held a close relation with Illapa because of the beliefs that identify the latter’s body with constellations. *Ch’aska* and *quyllur* both mean star, but the former also describes snarled or frizzy hair. *Ch’isi* is the period of twilight, between sunset and night. Arnold and Espejo Ayca (2006: p. 188) suggest “Silver southern star” for *chinchay quyllur*. It should be noted that Cobo (Bk. 13, Ch. 6: p. 159) describes the latter as a star protector of all felines, although without identifying it explicitly to Venus. See also Gonzalez Holguín, *Vocabulario*: pp. 98, 570; Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamaygua: f. 13v., p. 208.

<sup>250</sup> Urton 1981: pp. 156, 166-167; Bauer and Dearborn 1996: pp. 120-125.

<sup>251</sup> Garcilaso de la Vega: Bk. 2, Ch. 23, p. 113.

<sup>252</sup> Arnold and Espejo Ayca 2006: p. 187.

<sup>253</sup> Armas Asín 2001: p. 676.

<sup>254</sup> Garcilaso de la Vega: Bk. 2, Ch. 21, pp. 108-109; Bk. 3, Ch. 21, p. 172; Guaman Poma de Ayala: 263 [265], p. 236.

<sup>255</sup> Arriaga: Ch. 6, p. 65. Polia Meconi 1999: pp. 354-355; Duviols 1986: p. 227. See also Santo Tomás, *Lexicón*: “Aranyac, o guara, o chasca: Venus of the morning”, p. 236.

light on the dual partition of the Incan pantheon. Examples in this chapter suggest that interconnectedness between Andean deities did not operate solely according to the mutual envelope or relative Upper or Lower domain inhabited by these beings. For example, the figure that Spanish observers encapsulated under the single denomination of the Sun proves to have embodied a plethora of antithetical aspects, such as Wiraqucha, P'unchaw and Rupay, to only cite those. The gods' function and attributes, therefore, had their foundation in the seasonal phenomena and the vital element that they were believed to herald or control. Accordingly, it was the dual division of the agricultural cycle that determined their divine nature and the antithetic tensions that opposed them. With these cosmological considerations at the forefront, this chapter has attempted to reframe descriptions of Incan religion into a bi-dimensional space in conformity with the Andean cosmic world sketched in colonial and ethnographic accounts. According to this reconstruction, Incan mythology takes place in a universe surrounded by Mama Qucha, the primordial sea, where the subterranean Sun Wiraqucha had established his reign. Together with Illapa, whose domain in the firmament replicated the underground world, Wiraqucha ensured the regulation of water from the cosmic river, the Mayu, to the irrigation canals that supplied human needs. The influence of these two divinities over earthly matters extended from the dry season to the early rainfalls. Half way through the year, the solar god P'unchaw and his wife the Moon took over the task of regulating water by ruling over the late precipitations of the wet season and providing the heat and light necessary to dry the crops at the end of their maturation cycle. Significantly, this reconstruction does not restrict the opposition and complementarity of Incas deities to an abstract verticality along a lower and upper spatial division but, instead, it anchors the gods' attributes in the Andean environmental constraints and the requirements of the agricultural cycle. In this light, the deities' reign on earth extended beyond the strict duration of the meteorological seasons because the Incas had devised their communal activities and their festival calendar around a theoretic bipartition based on the solstices. In other words, what contrasted Wiraqucha and Illapa to P'unchaw and the Moon were their influences over the phenomena and agricultural work set between June and November for the former, and between December and May for the latter.

In turn, each component of this dual cosmological division can be associated with one of the two distinct traditions relating the origin of the Incan ancestors. In fact,

to argue that each moiety held a different narrative of its genesis would account for Betanzos' comment when he writes that "sometimes [the Incas] hold the Sun up as the creator, and other times they say it is Viracocha"<sup>256</sup>. It also depicts the Incan religion as a heliolatry dominated by two aspects of the Sun: its subterranean manifestation, which oversaw the climatic conditions and communal work of the dry season, and its daylight appearance, which ruled over the late precipitations and the crops' drying process. This solar dichotomy is a distinctive aspect of Incan religion, which in that regard contrasted with the belief systems of the central sierra dual organizations. There, Libiac, the god whom the Spanish loosely identified as Thunder, held a prominent position as divine ancestor of the Llacuaz ayllus and traditional opponent of the sun deity Wari. The mythical advent of Libiac's descendants on earth also held distinctive features since the Llacuaz believed that their ancestor came to the world by lightening strike<sup>257</sup>. This particular genesis did not form part of any Incan narratives of foundation. Yet, despite these cultural distinctions, the mythological corpus of the central sierra and the pre-Hispanic traditions of the Cuzco region shared in common a dual cosmology that revolved around the alternation of seasons. The philological analysis of the name Libiac has revealed that the god was first and foremost ruler of the atmospheric conditions of the dry season. His opposition with Wari, ruler of the waters (*yakuyuq*), thus replicated the antithetic relations of the sun gods Wiraqucha and P'unchaw.

Hence, although the Incan religion emanated from a secular Andean substratum, the ruling elite's ideology, beliefs and ceremonial activities gave birth to a unique solar cult. Within this picture, one issue of major importance, which has fuelled several centuries of bitter controversies, will close this chapter. At the centre of this ongoing discussion are the many Spanish texts portraying Wiraqucha as the supreme divinity of Incan pantheon, while simultaneously describing the worship of the Sun as the empire's official religion. If Wiraqucha was indeed the most revered god, why did the Incas not spread his cult throughout Tawantinsuyu instead of compelling their subjects to build temples and *aklla wasi* to the Sun god? Or should we assume that Wiraqucha's prominent status in Incan religion was a mere elaboration of the chroniclers to answer theological issues?

---

<sup>256</sup> Betanzos: Pt. 1, Ch. 11, p. 49.

<sup>257</sup> Duviols 1986: p. 52; Polia Meconi 1999: pp. 89-96.

Spanish chroniclers have repeatedly portrayed the Incan religion as a system of belief revolving around a single figure they identified with the “Sun”. They described the many temples, shrines and *aklla wasi* that the pre-Hispanic conquerors imposed on their subjugated nations as institutions dedicated to this divinity, also portrayed as their prime devotion. Yet, simultaneously to observing this, the same sources concurred in describing Wiraqucha as the Incas’ Creator god and the foremost being who presided over their polytheism. To many Spanish observers, this contradiction was unsustainable and prompted a series of exegeses embedded in theological concerns. One of the first chroniclers to have entered this discussion was Cristóbal de Molina who, in 1575, accommodated the Platonic argument of the First Mover to the Incan context. He thus explained how Pachacuti Yupanqui understood through natural reason that the sun was subordinated to the will of another god he identified with the Maker who “commanded and governed it”<sup>258</sup>. Acquainted perhaps with this argument, reproduced in Cabello de Balboa, Oré, Murúa and Acosta<sup>259</sup>, Garcilaso suggested that the Incas only worshipped one visible god, the Sun, who ruled over a series of adjunct beings that embodied different aspects of his sacredness. In this polyptych of the heavens, Illapa’s threefold representation was not an object of worship in itself, nor even a simulacrum of the Trinity, but rather a figure attending the solar deity in his work<sup>260</sup>. In order to account for the coexistence of this cult with the worship of another supreme being, he argued that the nature of the latter was inscrutable, whence the Incas did not engage with him through any representation or temple. Garcilaso identified this omnipotent god with Pachacamac, but for most Spanish chroniclers this supreme god was Wiraqucha, the “Eternal Light” who bestowed part of his divinity upon the Sun, his offspring<sup>261</sup>. For them, Wiraqucha was either the Creator god or the apostle who set up the backcloth against which evangelist missions could perform thereafter<sup>262</sup>.

Two different attitudes can be adopted in regards to these texts that give prominence to Wiraqucha. A first approach would be to consider them as the product of a selection process orchestrated willingly or unconsciously by Spanish historians. In this light, the chroniclers would have privileged the writing and diffusion of information relative to Wiraqucha’s cult because his position at the heart of Incan rituals contributed

---

<sup>258</sup> Molina: pp. 58-60.

<sup>259</sup> MacCormack 1991: pp. 258-261; Duviols 1993: pp. 61-64.

<sup>260</sup> MacCormack 1991: pp. 336-340.

<sup>261</sup> Garcilaso de la Vega: Bk. 2, Ch. 2, pp. 64-66; Blas Valera: p. 133.

<sup>262</sup> See chapter 1.

to consolidate the foundations of their missionary agendas. Linguistic and historiographic studies have indeed conclusively demonstrated that the god's names, epithets and miraculous deeds were given an evangelistic resonance beginning in the sixteenth century. The same scholarship argues that Wiraqucha's status as the most prominent deity of the Incan pantheon was subsequent to the process of re-interpretation that transformed him into an acculturated being. A divergent attitude, however, would be to advocate that the existence of this material did not only equate to a colonial construction, but that the divinity's position at the head of the Incan religion actually predated colonisation and was conducive to his assimilation with the Judeo-Christian God. Indeed, if the pastoral reading of Wiraqucha's attributes and the re-appropriation of his epic in the hands of fervent Christians – Spanish, Mestizos and Indians alike – cannot be disputed, we should not disregard the hypothesis that certain traits of his nature and other elements of his oral tradition might have predisposed chroniclers to write their syncretic portrayals of this god.

On the basis of the argument elaborated in this chapter, it is argued that an analysis of Wiraqucha as the tutelary deity of the Hanan moiety is the perspective most likely to reveal aspects of the Incan religion. Considered in this light, the ruling elite appears to have adhered to a heliolatry composed of two cults of asymmetric prestige that replicated the social hierarchy of the Cuzco moieties. In this dual religious system, the Sun of the upper part, Wiraqucha, prevailed over the daylight deity of the Urin moiety. This interpretation also provides another way of looking at the metaphysical argument of the subordination of the sun, for it argues that such narrative was grounded in a binary pre-Hispanic framework identifying the lower-ranked god with P'unchaw. It is indeed significant that every chronicler accredited the articulation of this divine hierarchy to a leader of the upper moiety, either Tupa Inca or Pachacuti Yupanqui, who subsequently ordered the construction of a temple to Wiraqucha in Kishwar Kancha<sup>263</sup>.

Yet, if Wiraqucha was the most highly revered god of the Incan religion, why did the pre-Hispanic conquerors impose the worship of the Sun on their subjects and not that of the "Maker"? Here, the answer may lie in the nature and function of the entity known as Inti, also called the "Sun's proper noun",<sup>264</sup>. As previously observed, the first explicit mention of a statue to Inti appears in the *Historia del Nuevo Mundo* (1653),

---

<sup>263</sup> Molina: pp. 58-60; Cabello de Balboa: p. 349; Murúa: Bk. 2, Ch. 36, p. 413.

<sup>264</sup> Arriaga: p. 26.

where Cobo draws a portrait of three representations of this god, two of which fitted perfectly Wiraqucha and P'unchaw's profiles, while the third reproduced the "Sun itself"<sup>265</sup>. Given that no pre-seventeenth century sources provides evidence that might confirm the existence of an image to Inti in Incan Cuzco, Cobo's information should be handled with caution, but certainly not entirely dismissed. The common use of the word Inti to describe several shrines and festivals dedicated to the Sun, and to form epithets of high-ranked personages of the nobility, shows that it was known as an expression of the solar deity among the residents of Cuzco. In this light, it could be argued that Inti was the encompassing manifestation of the two Suns revered by the ruling elite, the "overlapping" aspects of Wiraqucha and P'unchaw, to borrow Demarest's wording. It was the cult around which the Incan nobility united; it was the imperial religion the rulers imposed on their subjects. Whether there existed a separate image of this god is an unresolved question.

## CONCLUSION

This chapter has demonstrated that discrepancies in primary sources can be harmonized not only through an understanding of the political agendas produced by the conquistadors and the indigenous, but also by identifying the cultural framework that shaped historical discourse. Analysing Incan conception of cosmological order in the light of binary oppositions has led to resolving two major incongruities of the Spanish texts. First of all, it established that the Incan narratives of origin as recorded by Spanish chroniclers could be divided into two distinct clusters that respectively corresponded to the perspective of either moiety. This interpretation argues that the Urin leaders claimed to have proceeded from Paqariq Tampu, while those of the Hanan moiety traced their ancestry back to the Collao region, therein establishing a link with the prominent god of that area, Wiraqucha. While María Concepción Bravo Guerreira outlined the premises of this argument in 1992, to this day little investigation has been done either to validate or to refute this hypothesis. The present chapter fills this hiatus by showing that the Incan traditions locating the emergence of the Ayar siblings in Paqariq Tampu attributed this primordial act to P'unchaw. In this picture, each narrative of migration displays structural features commonly associated with either the upper or lower sectors. Accordingly, the account held by the Urin Cuzco situates the origin of their lineages

---

<sup>265</sup> Cobo: T. 2, Bk. 13, Ch. 5: p. 157.



within the vicinity of Cuzco, where lords of the lower sector traditionally restricted their conquests, whereas the Hanan Cuzco narrative starts in Lake Titicaca and thereby identifies its members as outsiders<sup>266</sup>.

This argument resolves another misconception that has predominated in Spanish sources whereby the Sun and Wiraqucha alike are described as the supreme god of the Incan pantheon. It is argued here that the Incan religion was a heliolatry in which Wiraqucha, the Sun of the upper moiety, held a higher status than P'unchaw, the forefather of Urin Cuzco. This reconstitution of the Incan cosmology goes to show that, in order to correctly apprehend the nature and function of each god, one needs to frame their actions in accordance with the annual phenomena they ruled, regardless of their appearance. Indeed, the association of the former deity with the subterranean world, his journey from Lake Titicaca to the sea reproducing the star's course in the sky, and the celebration of his epic at *Inti rayme*, all present the characteristics of a solar deity. He appears as the earthly manifestation of the Sun that generated and protected the Hanan lineages, the one who perpetuated the fertility of their lands and implemented their sovereignty. On the other hand, P'unchaw was the daylight sun of the wet season, the one who regulated the precipitations during the last phase of the cultivation growth, dispensing his warmth and light to dry the crops. In alternation with Wiraqucha and Illapa, P'unchaw ruled the climatic conditions of the second half of the year, starting in December. In that specific month, the ruling nobility celebrated the initiation ritual of its youth, which the god's "messenger", Huanacauri, had decreed since time immemorial. This chapter also offered an alternative perspective on the nature of the god whom the Spanish called the "Hacedor", one that differs from the authoritative hypotheses brought forward by Pease, Zuidema, and Demarest. Notwithstanding their recognition of Wiraqucha's solar attributes, these three scholars have overlooked the evidence showing that this divinity presided over the agricultural activities of the dry season, starting in June with the shelling of the recently yielded maize. Instead, this chapter has argued that *Inti rayme* celebrated the deity rising over Lake Titicaca by recalling his mythical journey through the Andes. For these reasons, but also because Illapa and Wiraqucha were interdependently associated with water regulation in the dry altitudes of the puna, it is unlikely that they were tutelary gods of Urin Cuzco, as Zuidema had suggested.

---

<sup>266</sup> On the various aspects of oppositions between the Urin and Hanan moieties, see Bravo Guerreira 1992; Duviols 1997a.

## CHAPTER 3.

### THE ASTRONOMICAL AND SOCIAL BASES OF INCAN TIME CONSTRUCTION

*Authority over the annual calendar (the chronological definition, timing, and sequence of daily and seasonal activities), or of other chronological instruments like time clock, not only controls aspects of the everyday lives of persons but also connects this level of control to a more comprehensible universe that entails critical values and potencies in which governance is grounded.*

(Munn 1992: p. 109)

#### INTRODUCTION

Inasmuch as temporal orientations are fundamental to the make-up of social behaviour, this chapter examines the ecological, cosmological and politico-economic principles that regulated the sequences of the Incan ritual calendar. It pays particular attention to patterns of dual oppositions, which similarly affected the composition of other calendars used in this area until the present-day. Indeed, the chronicles attest the significance of two meteorological seasons, *puquy mit'a* (rainy season) and *chiraw mit'a* (dry season)<sup>1</sup>, in the organization of the calendar. Arguably, not only did they regulate agrarian activities but also determined the movement of populations and goods, an aspect crucial to an empire where stability depended on tributary policies and military conquests. In practice, the rainy season started around mid-October and ended in late-February, a short period lasting approximately four and a half months. Early precipitations, however, appeared in September and indicated the start of planting activities, so that *puquy mit'a* is sometimes said to begin during that period<sup>2</sup>. Similarly, ethnographic records of the Andean region, concerning an area from the southern highlands of Ecuador down to the Argentinean plains, reveal that many communities divide their yearly activities into two cycles reflecting to various degrees the seasonal changes of their ecosystems. In accordance with these, human actors organize their activities of subsistence and frame the significance of the religious and socio-political events that

---

<sup>1</sup> *Mit'a* evokes the season or an event occurring periodically. See Dedenbach-Salazar Saénz 1985: p. 63.

<sup>2</sup> Isbell 1978: p. 55.

shape their society's economy, identity and beliefs. The festivities of the wet season, for instance, are often associated with food scarcity, the appearance of diseases, dependence and death; whereas those of the dry season commonly reflect abundance, asymmetric labour cooperation and separation from the household<sup>3</sup>.

However, the impact of ecological transformations on human enterprises should not overshadow the fact that, in any one calendar, the annual celebrations do not follow a single temporal construct. Today, as well as in Pre-Hispanic times, ritual and communal activities can be regulated by different cycles, which may or may not be interconnected, and can even be dissociated entirely from the time when a particular occasion was commemorated. A planting festival or the anniversary of a deceased person, for instance, does not invariably occur on the actual day of agricultural labour or precisely in the year after the person's death, but might be ruled by astronomical events or/and ideological motives<sup>4</sup>. Naturally, these aspects are by no means cultural particulars. Christian festivals, in all their diversity, constitute another example of the same reality. Several of them are set on a date unrelated to the factual event they recall (e.g. a saint patron's day), but also follow different sequences such as the Gregorian calendar, the solar cycle (Christmas), or combined the latter with the computation of the lunar phases (Easter)<sup>5</sup>.

The Incan calendar bore similar characteristics and was composed of varied cycles, such as the growth of crops, the reproduction of herds, the seasonal changes, the completion of communal works or the development of human relationships, all of which were organized according to different modes of time-reckoning that could operate independently or overlap in order to generate ritual associations. For instance, it did not escape the attention of skywatchers that the llama-birthing period concurred with the appearance of a dark cloud constellation (*yana phuyu*) which they associated with the animal, and which in turn was simultaneous with the rite of passage enacting the symbolic rebirth of young Inca males. Remarkably, these three events, concretely unrelated, became interlocked during the initiation festivities as the novices adopted the characteristics of young llama victims (see anon).

---

<sup>3</sup> Isbell 1978; Bastien 1978; Wallis 1980; Van Den Berg 1989; Gose 1994; Harris 2000; Stobart 2006.

<sup>4</sup> Urton 1986; Stobart 2006: pp. 45-59.

<sup>5</sup> Richards 1998.

In this picture, astronomical observations played a fundamental role in compensating for the unpredictability of the Andean climate and for the fluctuation of the animal and vegetal cycles. Progressively, Andean populations developed an expert knowledge of the lunation periods, the solar activities and, importantly in the high plateaux, an understanding of the firmament and the movement of its celestial bodies<sup>6</sup>. In Pre-Hispanic times, astronomical observations flourished with the development of precision instruments, such as solar pillars used by the Incas to estimate the passage of the sun at different times of the year<sup>7</sup>. The calendar became increasingly less dependent on seasonal changes and a new construction emerged, still bearing connections with the natural environment, but now encompassing the realities of Andean social life. This Incan edifice of knowledge, forged on the legacy of previous civilisations, is what this chapter sets out to understand. Yet, given that this issue is vast and requires extensive scientific erudition, the following pages will only concentrate on the dual division of the metropolitan calendar. The present chapter thus focuses on the ethnographic, historical and astronomical evidence that indicate the bipartition of the annual cycle into two equal sequences responding to the social and religious structure of the Cuzco moieties.

In order to carry out such an endeavour, this chapter starts by questioning the function of astronomical observations and their relation to specific sequences of the Incan calendar before reviewing each month in chronological order. For this undertaking, ethnographic documents and colonial records provide the necessary backcloth against which the structure of the argument unfolds. They will inform us about the limitations imposed by the natural environment on human activities, while offering a range of creative solutions adopted by Andean societies to interact with their milieu. Within this literature, the records of idolatry penned in the seventeenth century will be particularly helpful in expanding our understanding of pre-Hispanic lore. In this way, I follow the lead of those scholars who have showed the remarkable ideological uniformity that characterises Andean belief systems, and have approached this material with the historical rigour necessary<sup>8</sup>. It is indeed undeniable that the Christian calendar

---

<sup>6</sup> Zuidema 1977, 1981, 1982; Zuidema and Urton 1976; Ziolkowski and Sadowski (eds.) 1989; Aveni 1989; Bauer and Dearborn 1995. For contemporary studies, see Urton 1978, 1981; Arnold and Espejo Ayca 2006.

<sup>7</sup> These constructions dwindled into ruins soon after the Spanish conquest. See Bauer 1998: pp. 68-69.

<sup>8</sup> Zuidema and Urton 1976; Doyle 1988; Zuidema 1992b, 1996; Salomon 1995; Gose 1996; Ramírez 2005; Gareis 2005. Almost all these authors have stressed the limitations of drawing analogies between the belief systems of the central sierra, as recorded during the “extirpation of idolatry” campaigns, and that of the Incas. This chapter concurs with these views.

enforced by European settlers affected native conceptions of time<sup>9</sup>. However, pre-Hispanic religious beliefs and observance did not vanish with the Spanish invasion, so that careful analyses and comparisons of colonial documents provide a point of entry into understanding the Incan festal calendar. Finally, the conclusions drawn in the prior chapter about the dual nature of the Sun religion complete this analytical approach and, taken together, reveal some distinctive aspects of the Incan calendar. This chapter thus argues that each seasonal division of the Incan year was a construct devised by astronomical means, designed around the celebration of the two tutelary divinities worshipped by the Cuzqueñan elite. Both sequences began with a different commemoration of the Incan settlement in the Cuzco valley, and were separated by a transition period marking the defeat of one social and cosmic half in favour of the opposite one. In putting forward this argument, this chapter also attempts to interpret the broader significance of each celebration and stresses how they contribute to a general understanding of Incan cosmology.

#### **DISRUPTION OF THE COSMOLOGICAL AND SOCIAL ORDER: THE TRANSITION PERIODS**

##### THE INCAN CALENDAR IN PRIMARY SOURCES

In advancing a coherent picture of the sequence ordering the Incan calendar, the first obstacle to be surmounted is the scant and somewhat discrepant information gathered by the primary sources on the computation of time. For, aside from elusive references to the Julian, and later, Gregorian months in which they occurred, the chroniclers did not record the festivities in their precise time setting, or in their exact length. Hence, most sources proceeded by mapping Incan time within the frame of the European calendar, that is, by equating the Pre-Hispanic months with the divisions of the Christian year (see Tables 3.1 & 3.2)<sup>10</sup>. Cristóbal de Molina's account is probably the most detailed and insightful source of all but, even though it regularly documents the unfolding of the ritual events day after day, it does not indicate with precision the opening date of each ceremony.

---

<sup>9</sup> See MacCormack 1998.

<sup>10</sup> The transcription of the Incan calendar invariably started with the comment: "they called the month of January..." and followed the division of the Christian year, as showed in Tables 3.1 and 3.2.

	Juan de Betanzos	Polo Ondegardo	Anónimo [c. 1570]	Cristóbal de Molina	Diego Fernández	Gutiérrez de Santa Clara
<b>January</b>	<i>Hatun puquy killa</i>	<i>Kamay</i>	<i>Hatun puquy</i>	<i>Hatun puquy</i>	<i>Puray upyay killa</i>	<i>Puray upyay killa</i>
<b>February</b>	<i>Alla puquy killa</i>	<i>Hatun puquy</i>	<i>Pacha puquy</i>	<i>Pacha puquy</i>	<i>Chaqmay killa</i>	<i>Chaqmay killa</i>
<b>March</b>	<i>Pacha puquy killa</i>	<i>Pacha puquy</i>	<i>Aylliua killa</i>	<i>Pawqar wara</i>	<i>Pawqar wara killa</i>	<i>Rura pawqay killa</i>
<b>April</b>	<i>Aylliua killa</i>	<i>Aylliua killa</i>	<i>Aucay kuskuy</i>	<i>Aylliua, aymuray</i>	<i>Aylliua killa</i>	<i>Aylliua killa</i>
<b>May</b>	<i>Aucay kuskuy killa</i> <i>Yahuayracha aymuray</i>	<i>Hatun kuskuy</i> <i>Aymuray</i>	<i>Aymuray killa</i>	<i>Aucay kuskuy</i> <i>Inti rayme</i>	<i>Aymuray killa</i>	<i>Aymuray killa</i>
<b>June</b>	<i>Hatun kuskuy killa</i>	<i>Aucay kuskuy</i> <i>Inti rayme</i>	<i>Hatun kuskuy</i>	<i>Cauay (or) Ch'awa ruray</i>	<i>Aucay kuskuy</i>	<i>Aucay kuskuy killa</i>
<b>July</b>	<i>Caua killa</i>	<i>Ch'awa ruray</i> <i>killa</i>	<i>Ch'awa ruray</i>	<i>Muru paqhsa tarpuy killa</i> <i>Yahuayra</i>	<i>Ch'awa ruray killa</i>	<i>Ch'awa ruray killa</i>
<b>August</b>	<i>Qarpay killa</i>	<i>Yapa killa</i>	<i>Tarpuy killa</i>	<i>Quya rayme, sitwa</i>	<i>Sitwa killa</i>	<i>Sitwa killa</i>
<b>September</b>	<i>Sitwa killa, puray</i> <i>upyay</i>	<i>Quya rayme,</i> <i>sitwa</i>	<i>Sitwa killa</i>	<i>Uma rayme, warachiku</i>	<i>Puskay killa</i>	<i>Puskay killa</i>
<b>October</b>	<i>Uma rayme killa</i>	<i>Uma rayme</i> <i>Puskay killa</i>	<i>Chawpi kuskuy</i> <i>Kantaray killa</i>	<i>Ayarmaca rayme</i> <i>Warachiku</i>	<i>Kantaray killa</i>	<i>Kantaray killa</i>
<b>November</b>	<i>Kantaray killa</i>	<i>Ayamarca rayme</i> <i>Kantaray killa, itu</i>	<i>Rayme killa</i>	<i>Qhapaq rayme</i>	<i>Rayme killa</i>	<i>Rayme killa</i>
<b>December</b>	<i>Rayme</i> <i>Puquy killa rayme killa</i>	<i>Rayme</i> <i>Qhapaq rayme</i>	<i>Kamay killa</i>	<i>Kamay killa</i> <i>Chuqanakuy, Mayu qatuy</i>	<i>Kamay killa</i>	<i>Kamay killa</i>

Table 3.1. The Incan calendar in primary sources. Prepared by the author (words of uncertain or unidentified spelling are not italicised).

	Cabello de Balboa	José de Acosta	Martín de Murúa	Guaman Poma de Ayala	González Holguín	Bernabé Cobo
<b>January</b>	<i>Puray upyay killa</i> <i>Kamay</i>	<i>Kamay</i>	<i>Kamay</i>	<i>Kamay killa, Qhapaq rayme</i> <i>Qhapaq hucha</i>	<i>Quya puquy</i>	<i>Kamay</i>
<b>February</b>	<i>Hatun puquy</i>		<i>Hatun puquy</i>	<i>Hatun puquy, Pawqar wara</i> <i>Chaqmakuy killa</i>		<i>Hatun puquy</i>
<b>March</b>	<i>Pacha puquy</i>			<i>Pacha puquy</i>	<i>Pawqar wara</i>	
<b>April</b>	<i>Aylliua killa</i>		<i>Aylliua kuskuy</i>	<i>Inka rayme</i>	<i>Aylliua killa</i>	<i>Aylliua killa</i>
<b>May</b>	<i>Hatun kuskuy</i> <i>Aymuray</i>	<i>Hatun kuskuy</i> <i>Aymuray</i>	<i>Hatun kuskuy</i> <i>Aymuray</i>	<i>Aymuray killa</i>	<i>Hatun kuskuy</i> <i>Aymuray killa</i>	<i>Hatun kuskuy</i> <i>Aymuray</i>
<b>June</b>	<i>Aucay kuskuy</i> <i>Inti rayme</i>	<i>Aucay kuskuy</i> <i>Inti rayme</i>	<i>Aucay kuskuy</i> <i>Inti rayme</i>	<i>Kuskuy killa, Inti rayme</i> <i>Qhapaq hucha</i>	<i>Inti rayme</i>	<i>Aucay kuskuy</i> <i>Inti rayme</i>
<b>July</b>	<i>Ch'awa ruray killa</i>	<i>Ch'awa ruray killa</i>	<i>Ch'awa ruray killa</i>	<i>Chakra qinakuy</i>	<i>Anta sirwa</i>	<i>Ch'awa ruray killa</i>
<b>August</b>	<i>Yapa killa</i>	<i>Yapa killa</i>	<i>Yapa killa</i>	<i>Chakra yapuy killa</i>	<i>Qhapaq sirwa</i>	<i>Yapa killa, Yahuayra</i>
<b>September</b>	<i>Quya rayme, Sirwa</i>	<i>Quya rayme, Sirwa</i>	<i>Quya rayme, Sirwa</i>	<i>Quya rayme</i>	<i>Uma rayme</i>	<i>Quya rayme, Sirwa</i>
<b>October</b>	<i>Uma rayme</i> <i>Puskay killa</i>	<i>Uma rayme</i> <i>Puskay killa</i>	<i>Uma rayme</i> <i>Puskay killa</i>	<i>Uma rayme killa</i>	<i>Ayarmaca</i>	<i>Uma rayme</i> <i>Puskay killa</i>
<b>November</b>	<i>Ayamarca rayme</i> <i>Kantaray killa</i> <i>Itu rayme</i>	<i>Ayamarca rayme</i> <i>Kantaray killa</i> <i>Itu rayme</i>	<i>Ayarmaca rayme</i> <i>Kantaray killa</i> <i>Itu rayme</i>	<i>Ayamarca killa</i>	<i>Qhapaq rayme</i>	<i>Ayamarca</i> <i>Itu</i>
<b>December</b>	<i>Rayme</i> <i>Qhapaq rayme</i>	<i>Rayme</i> <i>Qhapaq rayme</i>	<i>Rayme</i> <i>Qhapaq rayme</i>	<i>Qhapaq Inti rayme</i> <i>Qhapaq hucha</i>	<i>Rayme</i>	<i>Rayme</i> <i>Qhapaq rayme</i>

Table 3.2. The Incan calendar in primary sources. Prepared by the author (words of uncertain or unidentified spelling are not italicised).

Still, the chroniclers themselves were not indifferent to this problem. Several of them discuss astronomical questions and give their own, frequently divergent, interpretations of the mechanisms ordering the metropolitan calendar. Occasionally, though, they reveal their unfamiliarity with astronomical issues. Polo Ondegardo, for instance, confounds the moon's cycle with the revolution of the sun when he indicates that the ruling elite determined the beginning of their lunar months by observing the passage of the sun through twelve pillars built outside Cuzco<sup>11</sup>. His predecessors, however, do provide significant clues in unravelling the mechanisms of the Incan calendar and concur in dividing the year into twelve months, Betanzos underlining that each comprised thirty days. Cieza was the first known chronicler to describe the "natural things the Indians attained" in relation to the stars, such as the computation of the Sun's rotation or the waxing and waning cycle of the moon. The Incas, he explains admiringly, had reputable augurs who observed the sky and predicted the future in a fashion reminiscent of Roman practices<sup>12</sup>. They also reckoned a calendar of lunar months, and furthermore used solar pillars to determine agrarian labours. An anonymous source [c. 1570] corroborates this last datum and, following the same tradition as Betanzos and several others after him, attributes the conception of the ritual calendar to Pachacuti Yupanqui<sup>13</sup>. Molina dwells particularly on this point and, a few years later, he recorded how this Inca "eliminated and added cults and ceremonies, divided the year into twelve months, giving each one its name and describing the festivities to be held each month"<sup>14</sup>. His detailed presentation however, acknowledges the previous role of the dynasty founder, Manco Capac, in establishing major celebrations such as the initiation ritual.

All of these accounts were written before the introduction of the Gregorian calendar in the Spanish colonies. The events they describe follow the computation of the Julian calendar, which, in the mid-sixteenth century, lagged ten days behind the tropical year. In 1582, European countries under the influence of the Roman Catholic Church solved this issue by moving their calendar forward to the corresponding number of days, bringing the start of spring back to the crucial date of March 21, which was essential for fixing the feasts related to Easter. The decree, formulated under the

---

<sup>11</sup> Polo 1917a: pp. 16-17.

<sup>12</sup> Expanding further this parallel with Ancient times, Cieza de León (Pt. 2, Ch. 26, pp. 77-78) associates the formulation of Incan laws to astronomical knowledge and the calculation of time.

<sup>13</sup> Anónimo [c. 1570]: p. 150; Betanzos: Ch. 14-15: pp. 65-74; Sarmiento de Gamboa: Ch. 31, pp. 96-97.

<sup>14</sup> Molina: p. 58.



supervision of Pope Gregory XIII, contained two additional reforms, one regarding the regulation of the leap year and the other accommodating the Paschal date to the new calendar. In the provinces of the Peruvian viceroyalty, all of these adjustments were put into effect in 1584, and from then on, colonial records documented events following the modern computation<sup>15</sup>. It follows that, in order to reconstruct correctly the sequences of the Incan festivities in accordance with the Gregorian year, one needs to add ten days to the statements in pre-1584 accounts.

Garcilaso de la Vega's *Comentarios Reales*, written after the calendrical reforms, provides certainly the most detailed information on calendar calculation and includes several chapters on Incan "astrology". It eulogistically draws attention to the Incas' knowledge of celestial bodies, particularly the morning star (Venus) and the Pleiades, and their observation of astronomical phenomena, such as the eclipses and the equinoxes, to fix the date of the three most important festivals of the metropolis: the initiation rite at *Qhapaq rayme*, the Sun festival at *Inti rayme*, and the cleansing ceremony at *Quya rayme*. Garcilaso not only knew of, but also re-interpreted, Polo's account of the solar pillars, explaining that there existed eight outside Cuzco that served to fix the winter and summer solstices<sup>16</sup>. Although neither Polo nor any of his predecessors ever mentioned explicitly this particular function, a few documents, presumably authored by Polo, report that the solar markers fixed the beginning of the winter and summer seasons<sup>17</sup>. It can be assumed that Garcilaso deduced from this information the Incas' usage of the solstices and equinoxes to divide their calendar in a similar fashion to that in which European seasons are demarcated. His description of the Incan astronomical knowledge, therefore, should be handled with caution because the start of the two Andean *mit'a* differs greatly from the four seasons of the Western world, and does not concur with the same astronomical events.

Most Spanish chroniclers state explicitly that the Incan year was composed of twelve months of thirty days<sup>18</sup>, albeit the information provided by a handful of Spanish

---

<sup>15</sup> Bauer and Dearborn 1995: pp. 24-25.

<sup>16</sup> Garcilaso de la Vega: Bk. 1, Ch. 21-Ch. 22, pp. 108-111.

<sup>17</sup> Polo Ondegardo 1916: p. 16; 1917: p. 11.

<sup>18</sup> Betanzos: Pt. 1, Ch. 15, pp. 71-74; Polo Ondegardo 1916: p. 16; Molina: pp. 66-119; Fernández: Pt. 1, Bk. 1, Ch. 10, p. 86; Gutiérrez de Santa Clara: Ch. 65, p. 255; Herrera y Tordesillas: Bk. 4, Ch. 5, p. 279; Guaman Poma de Ayala: 235 [237]-260 [262], pp. 210-234; Cobo: T.2, Bk. 12, Ch. 37, pp. 142-143.

authors suggesting that only eleven months ordered this construction<sup>19</sup>. They also indicate that the calendar was primarily divided according to the moons, which is supported by the use of the word *killa* to refer to the months<sup>20</sup>. The same sources also point out that the Incas devised astronomical tools to determine important activities of the agricultural cycle in accordance with the movement of the sun. These observations may have regulated another annual cycle composed of solar months that R. Tom Zuidema identified with the *rayme*, a term describing the three major divisions of the ancient calendar<sup>21</sup>. On these particular occasions, the nobility conducted the most important festivals of the year: the commemoration of Wiraqucha's journey at *Inti rayme*, the annual cleansing ceremony at *Quya rayme*, and the public celebration of the youths' initiation on *Qhapaq rayme*. All three celebrations occurred when foreign delegates brought their share of imperial tribute and attended the final days of the festivities before receiving their share of the products. The recurrent theme of tribute collection in otherwise very different ritual contexts may explain the common denomination of these months. Indeed, as frequently occurred in transcriptions of native words, *rayme* could also be spelt *layme*<sup>22</sup>, which then and still today designates the communal idle lands<sup>23</sup>, situated at an altitude between 3500m and 4000m where tubers and grass cereals are cultivated in alternation. Only a sector of these fields is planted annually so that the rest of the *layme* area can regenerate and serve as pastureland for several years<sup>24</sup>. Thus, like the sequences of the Incan calendar, this agrarian system was retained sporadically, and involved the redistribution of collective goods to the extended community. Moreover, it should be noted that the word *rayme* also appears in the

---

<sup>19</sup> Alborno: p. 178; Murúa: Bk. 2, Ch. 38, pp. 436-439. An anonymous chronicler (c. 1570: pp. 156-157) reported as well that "the moon of March always reaches the one of April", explaining that these "two lunar months were celebrated as one".

<sup>20</sup> Ziolkowski and Sadowski 1992: pp. 293-368; Ibarra Grasso (1982: p. 9) notes that this designation does not suggest that the Incan month corresponded merely to the length of a lunation. The word *killa* might have referred to an earlier reality before the Incas developed new calendrical devices to calculate the tropical year, in a similar fashion that the word "month" today originates from the Greek word for moon but is no longer aligned to the moon conjunction.

<sup>21</sup> Zuidema and Urton 1976: pp. 90-106; Zuidema 1989: pp. 261-262.

<sup>22</sup> In many colonial texts, /r/ and /l/ often transcript the same phoneme. See Cerrón-Palomino 2002.

<sup>23</sup> I use the expression "idle land" as the most appropriate description for the collective lands that have not been worked for over two years and over which grows a spontaneous herbaceous vegetation. In Quechua, the general term for parcels "en descanso" is *samasqa*, from *sama-*, "to rest", to which is added the nominalizer *-sq*. Pierre Morlon points out that the Spanish term "barbecho" and English term "fallow" have greatly evolved in the last centuries and do not accurately translate the pre-Hispanic agricultural practice of rotational labour (personal communication).

<sup>24</sup> Fujii and Tomoeda 1981: pp. 42-43; Beyersdorff 1984: p. 55; Cerrón Palomino et al. 1992: p. 59; Gose 1994: pp. 46-51. The Layme is also an Aymara-speaking community of north Potosí (Bolivia), see Harris 2000.

denomination of two additional months, called *Uma rayme* and *Ayamarca rayme*, which coincided respectively with October and November in the Gregorian calendar. Both originated from the name of two populations, the Uma and Ayamarca, who at that time performed an initiation festival similar to the Incan rite of passage, but about which very little is known. Most importantly, though, the chroniclers indicate that both events coincided with the lunar months of *Puskay killa* and *Kantaray killa*, a time when the Incan ruling elite made preparations for their own youths' rite of passage. This picture therefore supports the assumption drawn by many scholars that a solar calendar, composed of *rayme* months, coexisted with an annual cycle regulated by the moon's conjunctions<sup>25</sup>.

The main disagreement in primary documents concerned the beginning of the year, which the chroniclers situated either in December with the *Warachiku* of young Incas<sup>26</sup>, or in June with the festival of *Inti rayme*<sup>27</sup>. These dates, as we indicated in Chapter 2, marked the beginning of Wiraqucha and P'unchaw's reigns and therefore, should not be regarded as discrepant data. Only two chroniclers contend a different start to the year, but their stances can be understood in reference either to their information sources or to the narrative effect they aimed to create. The first to adopt a divergent position is the author of an anonymous manuscript (c. 1570) who begins the Incan calendar in the conjunction of the lunar months of March and April, marking harvest time<sup>28</sup>. Given the general emphasis of this text on tilling the land, it is sound to regard this datum as a division of the agricultural cycle, with no reference to the more abstract construct that his fellow chroniclers noted. Finally, Guaman Poma de Ayala also offers an unusual date for the beginning of the Incan calendar, that is, in January. This aspect, together with other details of the Guaman Poma's description, was probably a deliberate attempt from the chronicler to echo the sequences of the Roman Catholic calendar. These authors aimed, as historian Sabine MacCormack pointed out, to produce a continuity between the past of Andean communities and their Christian present<sup>29</sup>. This appears to be a sound argument, considering that the information provided by the rest of the primary sources could be treated as consistent data rather than two discrepant groups

---

<sup>25</sup> Zuidema 1981, 1982, 1989b; Ziolkowski 1987-1988; Aveni 1989.

<sup>26</sup> Betanzos: Pt. 1, Ch. 15: p. 71; Polo Ondegardo: p. 18; Cabello de Balboa: p. 349; Murúa: Bk. 2, Ch. 38, p. 437.

<sup>27</sup> Molina: p. 66; Fernández: Pt. 1, Bk. 1, Ch. 10, p. 86; Gutiérrez de Santa Clara: Ch. 65, p. 255.

<sup>28</sup> Anónimo [c. 1570]: p. 150.

<sup>29</sup> MacCormack 1992: pp. 299-300.

of accounts. Analysed through this perspective, the Incan calendar appears halved into two equal periods of time, one starting in December and the other in June.

#### ASTRONOMY AND THE CALENDAR

Modern scholarship has focused more attention on calculation and observation techniques than on the evidence showing the existence of a bipartite system of time-reckoning. Important exceptions include works by R. Tom Zuidema and his student, ethnographer Billie Jean Isbell. In 1978, the latter suggested that Guaman Poma de Ayala's reconstruction of the Incan calendar revealed an opposition between the state activities held on the dry months and the rituals of *puquy mit'a*, while, more recently, Zuidema established that the Incan year had been divided into two seasons, each fixed by astronomical events<sup>30</sup>. However, his argument, being based on an unsatisfactory reconstruction of Incan cosmology (see Chapter 2), presents a number of flaws that this chapter addresses.

Prior studies have attempted to resolve the complex issue of calendar design by analysing the Incan year as a uniform cycle to which was added a certain number of epagomenic days. For ethnohistorian Mariusz Ziolkowski, the Incas devised a luni-solar calendar comprising of twelve synodic months adjusted to the tropical year by the addition of an extra month every three years<sup>31</sup>. In support of this theory is an entry found in González Holguín's lexicon, which translates "interpolated days: *allqa allqa p'unchawkuna*"<sup>32</sup>. The use of *allqa* is significant in this context for it refers, in Tristan Platt's words, to "the mutually exclusive relation of two opposites" which applies, in circumstances of historical transformations, when the old order is replaced by a new one<sup>33</sup>. The gloss, however, does not stipulate how these additional days operated in relation to the annual cycle, nor when they were integrated (if their use were calendrical). Mariusz Ziolkowski also suggests that the Incan calendar was composed of two superimposed cycles. One corresponded to the religious ceremonies, which were fixed due to solar observations (e.g. the solstices, equinoxes and passages of the sun at

---

<sup>30</sup> Isbell 1978: pp. 203-207; Zuidema 1996.

<sup>31</sup> A synodic month is the time taken for the moon to orbit the earth. The average length of a lunation is twenty-nine and half days, resulting in a shift of approximately eleven days with the tropical year.

<sup>32</sup> González Holguín, *Vocabulario*: p. 487.

<sup>33</sup> Platt 2002: pp. 135-136.

zenith and nadir), whereas the second cycle dealt with administrative and economic tasks, such as levying tribute or agricultural labours<sup>34</sup>.

This picture differs somewhat from Zuidema's reconstruction since the latter identifies different computation measures at the service of two coexistent, although independent, calendars. The first one was divided into twelve solar months of 30 to 31 days while the second comprised twelve sidereal months of variable length to which the Incas would have added a period of 37 days that corresponded (only in part) to the disappearance of the Pleiades from the night sky. This cycle was in turn related to the *seqe* system and its hypothetical observatory-shrines, so that each *waka* corresponded to a specific day of the sidereal year<sup>35</sup>. According to Zuidema's hypothesis, the temporal organization of the calendar and the topographical divisions of the Cuzco region were related in such a way that the *Qhapaq rayme* ceremonies were linked to the Chinchaysuyu quarter and to the Hanan part of the valley, while the *Inti rayme* festival corresponded to the Qullasuyu section of the *seqe* system, and to the Urin half of the valley. These propositions, however, provoked scepticism on the grounds that sidereal observations depend on a significant number of factors; as a matter of fact, no civilization in world history ever devised a calendar based on such computation<sup>36</sup>. Zuidema's rendition of the Incan calendar also extended his views on Incan dual religion, which suggest that *Qhapaq rayme* celebrated the head deity of the Hanan moiety while *Inti rayme* honoured the tutelary god of the Urin moiety. This argument was critically assessed in Chapter 2 of this dissertation.

Despite the critiques that his approach raise, a crucial aspect of Zuidema's theory, which he formulated in collaboration with astronomical specialist Anthony F. Aveni, has opened promising realms of research. Indeed, his analysis identified stellar observations as fundamental instruments in the design of the Incan calendar. This contribution received strong support from Gary Urton's own ethnographic works on Andean astronomy and cosmology in which he demonstrates the central role of celestial formations in determining ritual and communal activities<sup>37</sup>. This correlation between stellar and terrestrial events is further suggested by the contemporary belief that each

---

<sup>34</sup> Ziolkowski 1987, 1988; Ziolkowski and Sadowski 1982-1984; 1989.

<sup>35</sup> A sidereal month is the time taken for the moon to complete a revolution around the earth in relation to the background stars, which are fixed. It lasts 27, 32 days. See Zuidema 1982a, 1989b.

<sup>36</sup> Sadowski 1989; Ziolkowski 1989; Bauer 1995: pp. 64-65.

<sup>37</sup> Urton 1978, 1980, 1981. See also Aveni 1977.

species on earth is animated by a celestial double, or prototypical being, incarnated in the stars and the constellations. Significantly, this credo is documented in a substantial body of primary texts that attest to its Pre-Hispanic origin. Polo, for instance, records that “all animals and birds on earth were believed to have their equivalent in the sky which were in charge of their procreation and multiplication”<sup>38</sup>. Thus the *urqu chillay* cluster represented a multicoloured llama that watched over the livestock, the *chuqe chillay* constellation had the appearance of a feline and was in charge of the “tigers, ocelots and lions”, while the snake-shaped formation called *mach’akuay* protected the reptiles on earth<sup>39</sup>.

Incan observers and Andean people today identify two types of star formations. One is equivalent to the Western definition of constellation and conceptualises a design by assembling stars together, while the other, called *yana phuyu* (black cloud), is formed by a cluster of stellar dust that appears in negative against the brightness of the Milky Way, forming a shape resembling an animal and, occasionally, an object<sup>40</sup>. Belonging to the former category, the Pleiades are, and were, deemed as the matrix of all prototypes that “animated and formed [men and things]”<sup>41</sup>. In Cobo’s words, they were universally worshipped by all ayllus and their course scrutinized more attentively than any other constellation. Called *qullqa* (storehouse) and more rarely *qutu* (batch), the Pleiades were believed to influence the abundance of the terrestrial granaries. When they appear early in the year, large and shining brightly in the sky, the year was foretold to be fertile, but when they were almost invisible to the naked eye, the *hatun runa* feared that poor harvests were to come.

The course of every cluster of stars was therefore closely interconnected to human activities and to the life cycle of Andean fauna, insomuch as its vital force (*kamaq*) impacted on the prosperity of its earthly doubles. But, in return it also depended upon the actions of beings on earth. Thus, Garcilaso explains that fishing was plentiful only when the primordial and progenitor fish that resides in the upper world bestowed this abundance upon men by displaying its visible strength (*kallpa*)<sup>42</sup>. The

---

<sup>38</sup> Polo Ondegardo 1916a: p. 5.

<sup>39</sup> Cobo: T. 2, Bk. 13, Ch. 6, pp. 159-160.

<sup>40</sup> Urton 1981: pp. 95-111.

<sup>41</sup> *Ritos y Tradiciones de Huarochirí*: p. 379. See also Cobo: T. 2, Bk. 13, Ch. 6, p. 159; Urton 1981: pp. 113-127; Itier: 1996.

<sup>42</sup> Garcilaso de la Vega: Bk. 1, Ch. 10, p. 29.

fortune of one depended upon the fate of the other and this interdependence between the firmament and the terrestrial order also affected the Incan conception of the Milky Way. The *mayu* (river) as it was known, was seen as the celestial projection of an earthly watercourse supplying irrigation canals, whose waters joined the subterranean sea by flowing down under the earth<sup>43</sup>. Interdependence and complementarity regulated these two worlds in much the same way that the *waka* ancestors were believed to be dying of thirst if the lands suffered from drought.

Two elements were therefore central in the making of the Incan calendar. One was the observance of ritual tasks in accordance with astronomical events and particularly stellar activities; the other was a strong emphasis on duality suggesting that what occurred in the sky was duplicated on earth. The twofold structure of this cosmological system adds another dimension to the dual division of the Incan solar religion depicted in the previous chapter, but also helps to explain why Spanish sources recorded two radically opposed times marking the New Year. Thus, instead of addressing these data as discrepant, this chapter demonstrates the relevance of both dates in initiating a new cycle determined by stellar and solar observations. For this purpose, an understanding of the function of the pillars, erected on high altitude locations around Cuzco, appears to be of overriding importance.

Early Spanish sources recount that Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui ordered the construction of four columns or pyramids in order to fix the days for sowing and harvesting. On those respective days, an observer standing at a specific location in Cuzco, presumably on the *ushnu* of the main square<sup>44</sup>, would notice the sun rising and setting in between the pillars called *pacha unanchaq* (time marker)<sup>45</sup>. The verbal form of this expression means “fixing a moment to set about a task”<sup>46</sup>, which suggests that the pillars were not merely instrumental in establishing the length of the tropical year but they also regulated important activities. Their fundamental role in structuring the

---

<sup>43</sup> Urton (1981: p. 172) notes that in the community of Misminay (Cuzco) today, the Vilcanota River is conceived as a “mirror reflecting the Mayu”.

<sup>44</sup> The *ushnu* was a large stone erected in the centre of several Incan cities for ceremonial purposes. In Cuzco, it was covered in gold and would have reached two metres high. At its base was a basin in which the attendants poured their offerings. Betanzos: Pt. 1, Ch. 11, p. 53; Molina: pp. 74, 79; Albornoz: p. 176. Modern studies on the subject include Zuidema 1989e [1979]; Hyslop 1990: pp. 69-101; Meddens 1997; Staller 2008; Meddens et al. 2008.

<sup>45</sup> Betanzos: Pt. 1, Ch. 15, pp. 73-74; Cieza de León: Pt. 2, Ch. 26, pp. 77-78; Polo Ondegardo 1916: p. 16; Polo Ondegardo 1917: pp. 13-14; Anónimo [c. 1570]: p. 151.

<sup>46</sup> González Holguín, *Vocabulario*: p. 269.

agricultural cycle is also manifest in Polo's description in which the chronicler mentions two different names for each pair of pillars, *puquy sucanca* and *chiraw sucanca*. In the central sierra and the southern highlands, *puquy* designates the months of the rainy season between October and late February, when the cultivations mature. Primary sources and present-day studies record the words *hatun puquy* (high maturation), *alla puquy* (the tubers' maturation) and *pacha puquy* (the earths' maturation) in relation to the sequences of this period<sup>47</sup>. Conversely, *chiraw* describes a period dominated by the sun of the dry season, extending from March to November<sup>48</sup>. Zuidema has convincingly related this term to *carhua* (*qarwa*)<sup>49</sup>, used in the colonial Archbishopric of Lima to refer to "something withered, shrivelled or turning yellow"<sup>50</sup>. In relation to crops, *qarwa* describes the stage of the maturing maize when it dries and becomes suitable to reap. Accordingly, the festivals of *puquy mit'a* and *qarwa mit'a* in the central sierra celebrated two different phases of the cultivation cycle. The first ceremony was held "when the rain starts, before the Indians begin preparing the chakras, and the other [occurs] at the time of the Corpus, when the maize begins to mature"<sup>51</sup>. These two major events, Zuidema argues, had their equivalents in Cuzco, where they were celebrated at a time determined by the solar markers. Building on his argument, this chapter argues that both ceremonies not only divided the Incan calendar, but also respectively introduced a period of transition in the course of the year, which corresponded to a change of power in the cosmos.

#### FIRST TRANSITION PERIOD: THE HARVEST SEASON

According to all accounts, the maturation of the crops ended in April. It was in that month when the Incan elite presided over the ceremony inaugurating the harvesting period in the Cuzco valley<sup>52</sup>. On the first day of the festival, the sovereign and the members of the *panaqas* gathered in an open square outside the city called Limaqpampa

---

<sup>47</sup> Santo Tomás, *Lexicón*: p. 340; Betanzos: Pt. 1, Ch. 15, p. 71; Polo Ondegardo 1916: pp. 19-20; Anonymous, c. 1570: p. 160; Molina: p. 117; Cabello de Balboa: p. 350; Murúa: Bk. 2, Ch. 38, p. 438; Guaman Poma de Ayala: 238 [240]-241 [243], pp. 213-215; González Holguín, *Vocabulario*: pp. 141, 291-292; Cobo: T. 2, Bk. 13, p. 214; Beyersdorff 1984: p. 76.

<sup>48</sup> González Holguín, *Vocabulario*: p. 113; Dedenbach-Salazar Saénz 1985: p. 64.

<sup>49</sup> Zuidema 1996, 1997b.

<sup>50</sup> Santo Tomás, *Lexicón*: pp. 250-251.

<sup>51</sup> Duviols 1986: pp. 179, 198, 206-207; Mills 1994: Ch. 5, pp. 84-104.

<sup>52</sup> Following MacCormack (1991: pp. 74-77), a few scholars have contended that the ceremony witnessed by Bartolomé de Segovia in April 1535 was "the last Inti rayme" to have been performed by the Incan nobility (Salomon 1995: p. 336; Isbell 1997: p. 46). This statement is not only discordant with the primary sources that all situate Inti rayme in June, but also overlooks the two very different settings of these festivities.



(*rimaq pampa*) where the deities' effigies and the mummy bundles had been placed (see Map 2.3). Turning towards the rising sun, they intoned a chant that lasted from dawn until dusk while the gods' attendants continually burnt offerings on a large pyre. These activities were repeated for eight days, whereupon the Inca, in person, broke the earth with a plough (*chaki taklla*) to initiate the harvest<sup>53</sup>. According to Aveni and Zuidema, the *chiraw sucanca* would have served to fix the opening day of this festival that inaugurated, concurrently, the beginning of the dry season. This observation would have been held on April 26 of the Gregorian calendar, when the sun passes through the local nadir on the latitude of Cuzco. Such a phenomenon would have held a metaphorical significance as the observation was carried out when the sun set and disappeared between the *chiraw* pillars, indicating that the season ruled by the daylight god, P'unchaw, had ended, and was about to be substituted during the dry season by the reign of the subterranean deity, Wiraqucha. This hypothesis is further supported by the ritual calendar of other provinces in the Incan empire. In the Huarochirí district, for instance, the beginning of the dry season was commemorated during *awkisana*, a ceremony dedicated to the thunder deity Pariaqaqa. This major event was also held in April, at a time indicated by the high priest (*yanaq*) when the sun rose behind a hill and its light hit a "wall constructed according to very specific laws"<sup>54</sup>. This report, alongside the descriptions of the *sucanca* pillars, is the only explicit information indicating that Andean populations had elaborated artificial structures for solar observation<sup>55</sup>. Interestingly, they both fixed a celestial event occurring in the same month, and very likely on the same day, that is, April 26.

This argument is supported by still another evidence taken from contemporary data. Indeed, as the description of the Incan ceremony suggests, the abovementioned observation was held eight days before the labourers began reaping the maize, which would have corresponded to May 3. In present-day Peru, the important feast of *Cruz Velacuy* (the Wake of the Cross) ends at this exact date, following three days of continuous celebration around the boundary crosses of the valley communities. In the Cuzco region, these crosses are called *Taytacha* (Christ) and are erected on the

---

<sup>53</sup> Segovia: pp. 81-83.

<sup>54</sup> *Ritos y Tradiciones de Huarochirí*: pp. 125-145; Polia Meconi 1999: pp. 275-277.

<sup>55</sup> This does not imply that Andean people did not use other implements to calculate the occurrence of astronomical phenomena. However, the solar observations reported by the chronicles undoubtedly fixed major events of the calendar. Concerning the hypothetical identifications of shrines as astronomical observatories, see Zuidema 1981; Dearborn & Schreiber 1989; Bauer and Dearborn 1995.

communities' chakras at the end of November in order to protect the crops from frost<sup>56</sup>. Just before the harvest, on the first day of *Cruz Velacuy*, they are taken from the fields and carried in procession to a central chapel where they remain until the movable feast of Pentecost<sup>57</sup>. On the last night of the festivities, everyone keeps vigil in the attendants' house while many individuals avail themselves of the momentary sexual licence permitted during this transition period. Importantly, *Cruz Velacuy* occurs when the puna communities descend to the valleys to assist with the maize harvest, occasioning a significant population movement, which John V. Murra associated with the concept of "ecological complementarity"<sup>58</sup>. As Tristan Platt observed amongst the Macha of Bolivia, the workforce required for the harvest generates an intensive interchange of goods between the residents of the two ecological levels. The inhabitants of the high plateaux convey caravans of llamas transporting salt, dry potatoes (*ch'uñu*), wool, fabrics and clay from their localities, in order to trade them in the *qhishwa* zone with maize, chilli, honey or wood<sup>59</sup>. In the district of Puica (Arequipa), the llama breeders remain two months in the service of farmers who remunerate them with the produce of their lands<sup>60</sup>. Altogether, this interchange of goods between different ecological niches and the movement of populations are facilitated by the meteorological conditions of the dry season<sup>61</sup>. In this way, the first three days of May during which *Cruz Velacuy* is held, celebrate the complementarity of the different ecosystems, prompting Andeans to offer products of both the puna and the valley to their boundary crosses.

As anthropologist Antoinette Molinié observed, this festival intentionally infringes on the social rules that order the Andean world by blurring the frontiers that ordinarily divide the communities living in these two different ecosystems<sup>62</sup>. Tensions between puna and valley peoples are thus forgotten for the time of the celebration, allowing a promiscuity condemned outside the ritual context. Significantly as well, *Cruz Velacuy* is conducted at a critical time of the year, when the Pleiades are absent from the Andean night sky. Their disappearance occurs at the end of the rainy season (April 18), only a few days before the passage of the sun through the anti-zenith on the latitude of

---

<sup>56</sup> Urton 1986.

<sup>57</sup> The earliest date of Pentecost is May 10 while the latest is June 13.

<sup>58</sup> Murra 1972; Flores Ochoa and Núñez del Prado (eds.) 1983; Masuda et al. (eds.) 1985.

<sup>59</sup> Platt 1980.

<sup>60</sup> Inamura 1981: pp. 70-71.

<sup>61</sup> Concerning the trade system in use in present-day pastoralist communities, see Flores Ochoa 1979: Ch. 3, pp. 87-109.

<sup>62</sup> Molinié 1997. See also Isbell 1978: pp. 145-151.

Cuzco. The constellation will then cease to be visible during approximately forty-six nights before its heliacal rise on June 3. The present-day celebration of the crosses and the harvesting itself, therefore, occur as Andeans wait for the reappearance of the celestial granary that will predict the next agricultural year<sup>63</sup>. In this regard, the month of May constitutes a period of transition during which the order of the social world and the cosmos undergo a disruption.

Remarkably, the chronicles report that similar events took place in Incan times during the period concerned with harvesting. At that time, the sovereign collected and redistributed the yields, food, textiles and other rich products severed from his subjects as concessions to the empire. This economic system, which had prevailed for centuries before the Spanish conquest, had been adapted by the ruling elite of the Incan empire for its own benefit. Thus, in that month, the official delegates from the four parts of Tawantinsuyu gathered in Haucaypata to hand over their tributes to the Inca. After discussing the government of their chiefdoms with them, the sovereign distributed part of the benefits among his relatives and “dispensed the rest to the same curacas who had come to this council; to the ones who originated from Collao he gave the items brought from the Andes. To the ones from the Condesuyo he gave what had been brought from other parts, things that they lacked in their lands; what had been given by some was offered to others”<sup>64</sup>. Finally, the Sapa Inca sent inspectors to the empire’s provinces in order to verify the records of productivity provided by the local officials and to list the quantity of crops and herded animals alienated to the ruling elite<sup>65</sup>. The sovereign, therefore, positioned himself in the centre of what John Murra called the “vertical economy”, a system of reciprocity and redistribution that had long shaped the structures of Andean economy, and which is still today being celebrated at *Cruz Velacuy*<sup>66</sup>. In Incan times, however, this economy of redistribution springs into focus in the light of the events held later in Cuzco, after the maize had been yielded and stored.

Indeed, after several weeks of work on the *chakras*, the nobility performed the closing festival of the harvest called *Aymuray* during which the crops left on the field

---

<sup>63</sup> Urton 1981: Ch. 6, pp. 113-127; 1986.

<sup>64</sup> Anónimo [c. 1570]: pp. 157-158.

<sup>65</sup> Guaman Poma de Ayala: 254 [247]-247 [249], pp. 219, 221.

<sup>66</sup> Following John V. Murra’s definition of vertical economy, several studies have stressed the ideological significance of the figure played by the sovereign in the centre of the structures of Andean economy. See Murra 1982, 1995; D’Altroy and Earle 1985; Morris 1986; LeVine 1987; Stanish 1997; Hastorf and Johannessen 1993.

were finally garnered. On the first day of this festival, the young Incas who had been last initiated donned tunics resplendent with gold and silver adornments, together with bracelets and headdresses of yellow feathers. Wearing these, they headed to the *chakra* of Sausero, on the outskirts of Cuzco, to collect the cropped maize now gathered in sacks. The youths then carried the crops to the storehouses, singing a chant named *arawi* that narrated the deeds of the ancestor to whom the ritual was dedicated<sup>67</sup>. These recitations, in all likelihood, were directed to Mama Huaco as the yield of Sausero served solely for the preparation of the *chicha* dedicated to her mummy bundle<sup>68</sup>. The first day over, the people of Cuzco joined the young men in their task before attending the *chakras* dedicated to the other Incan deities. When all the crops had been stored, they assembled a small figurine, called *zara mama*, made with certain parts of the maize that had been carefully selected, and adorned it with fine garments. These figurines were then placed in the storehouses to protect the crops during the year<sup>69</sup>.

Another agrarian work soon followed *Aymuray*, when several Incan noblemen, wearing their martial attire, returned to Sausero and ploughed the land to prepare it for the next sowing. This particular ploughing, which initiated the new agricultural cycle, was called “*cuzqui*” (*kuskiy*), and was only conducted during the dry season on hard soil<sup>70</sup>. After this arduous labour, they returned to Cuzco and stopped at Limaqpampa where the Inca and the ruling elite had previously opened the harvest season, in late April<sup>71</sup>. The recently initiated youth joined them in this open plaza and, together, they encircled four vicuñas trapped in its centre. The young boys then attempted to catch a wild animal barehanded, enacting in this way a traditional hunt similar to the one performed by the pastoralists of the high plateaux<sup>72</sup>. Those who successfully captured a

---

<sup>67</sup> González Holguín, *Vocabulario*: p. 152.

<sup>68</sup> Molina: p. 118.

<sup>69</sup> Betanzos: Pt. 1, Ch. 15, p. 71; Molina: p. 118; Polo Ondegardo 1916: pp. 20-21; 1917: p. 27; Fernández: Pt. 1, Bk. 1, Ch. 10, p. 86; Gutiérrez de Santa Clara: Ch. 65, p. 256; Cabello Balboa: p. 350; Cobo: T. 2, Bk. 13, Ch. 27: pp. 214-215; Arriaga: pp. 37-38.

<sup>70</sup> González Holguín, *Vocabulario*: p. 72. See also Tables 3.1 and 3.2 and the use of *kuskiy* in reference to April, May and June.

<sup>71</sup> Cobo, who wrote more than a century after the Spanish conquest and did not witness these events, suggests that this rite was held in Haucaypata. On the other hand, Betanzos reports that the celebrations held between May and June all took place in Limaqpampa, which presents an undeniable coherence with the descriptions of the opening of the harvesting, dedicated to the sun, and also conducted in Limaqpampa.

<sup>72</sup> Cobo: T.1, Bk. 9, Ch. 58, p. 368.

quarry shared its flesh amongst all the attendants and were regarded in high esteem because, Cobo reported, “this was the sacrifice they made for victories”<sup>73</sup>.

Significantly, the warlike connotations of this last ritual characterised another ceremonial hunt that the ayllus Huari and Llacuaz performed at the same time of year in the province of Cajatambo (Huarochirí). An analysis of this particular celebration appears helpful not only in understanding the meaning of the Incan ritual, but also in determining its date. It was indeed on June 3, as the Pleiades reappeared in the sky, that the communities of the central sierra celebrated a new season called *unquy mit’a* (the season of the Pleiades). This date marked the end of a period of transition and uncertainty for the cultivators as the sky was seen to display the propitious signs that foretold the coming agricultural year. On this occasion, the upper ayllu of Llacuaz commemorated their ancestors’ victory over the valley’s aborigines, known as the Huari, and fasted for five days to honour the Thunder god. They then proceeded to the high altitudes of the puna to capture several camelids destined for general feasting. On their return to the village the same day, they were amicably received by the Huari who proffered them chicha, maize and potatoes and performed a dance in acknowledgment for the hunters’ offering of meat<sup>74</sup>. Pierre Duviols suggests that this ritual of confederation commemorated the bygone warfare that had forged the social and spatial order of the two ayllus, while the mutual offerings reflected the reciprocity binding the Andean ecosystems<sup>75</sup>. In the same way, the festivities performed in Cuzco at the transition between two agrarian cycles displayed warlike features and similarly celebrated ecological complementarity through the redistribution of tribute. Moreover, in the Incan heartland, as in the central highlands, the observation of the Pleiades was instrumental in fixing the time for agricultural tasks, so that their reappearance in June 3 may have equally determined the appropriate time to conduct the first ploughing of the season in Sausero. This parallel is all the more significant that the *kuskiy* preceded the ceremonial hunt performed in Limaqpampa, where the opening of the harvesting season in April 26 has been conducted. These two Incan celebrations, therefore, may have been interconnected in much the same way the feast of Pariaqaqa (*awkisana*), held in the district of Huarochirí at a date fixed by a solar observation in April, was related to

---

<sup>73</sup> Cobo: T. 2, Bk. 13, Ch. 27, p. 215.

<sup>74</sup> Duviols 1986: pp. 161, 177.

<sup>75</sup> Duviols 1973.

Chawpi Ñamca's ritual, an event retained forty days later<sup>76</sup>. According to colonial records, the latter was dedicated to Pariaqaqa's sister and frequently coincided with Corpus Christi, the movable feast held on the Thursday after Trinity Sunday<sup>77</sup>. Yet, if *awkisana* was held on the day of the Sun's passage through the nadir, as Zuidema suggests, the festival of Chawpi Ñamca fell exactly on June 3, when the Pleiades reappeared in the sky<sup>78</sup>.

Hence, analysed in the light of the central sierra festivals, the closing ritual of the harvest in Incan Cuzco takes on a more explicit meaning. The redistribution of goods and wealth that followed the foreign officials' visit to the capital, the ritual hunting of wild vicuñas and the apportioning of their sacrificial flesh amongst all the celebrants embodied an enduring pattern of Andean culture at an imperial level. In other words, they staged a temporary alleviation of the antagonisms that traditionally opposed the upper and lower social and cosmic divisions. In the central sierra, these rituals commemorated the victory of the Thunder god's worshippers, herders of the high plateaux, over the valley farmers and their subsequent settlement with the vanquished. Similarly, the ritual ploughing of Sausero, carried out after the crops' garnering, involved the members of nobility dressed in their war apparel to perform the usual sacrifice conducted in times of victory. These indications suggest that, in the month of *Aymuray*, the city of Cuzco honoured as well the subjugation of one of its moieties to the other. This change in power began in April 26, forty days before the heliacal rise of the Pleiades, when the *chiraw* pillars marked the end of the *mit'a* presided by P'unchaw. As the weak Sun of the rainy season made way to the vigorous god of the dry season, Wiraqucha, his vital force and capacity to animate similarly declined. The cosmic confrontation of these two divinities, therefore, impacted on the social order of their terrestrial offspring whose might and forcefulness depended on their ancestor's *kamaq*. Accordingly, when the change appeared in the firmament, the Llacuaz and the Huari, just like the Hanan and Urin Cuzcos, ritually enacted the victory of the upper moiety over the worshippers of the Sun god P'unchaw.

Finally, although the period during which these events occurred, between late April and early June, was a critical time in the agricultural calendar for the maize

---

<sup>76</sup> Polia Meconi 1999: p. 277; *Ritos y Tradiciones de Huarochirí*: Ch. 10, pp. 147-159; Ch. 9, p. 133.

<sup>77</sup> The earliest possible date for Corpus Christi is May 21, the latest is June 24.

<sup>78</sup> Zuidema 1996: pp. 199-200.

cultivators, the alternation of the two seasons was also deemed a requisite condition to guarantee the healthy maturation and appropriate conservation of the crops. Thus, while the universe underwent a complete disruption of the cosmological and social order, Andean communities celebrated simultaneously the complementary aspect of this transformation. In Incan Cuzco and in the central sierra, this transition period ended with the apportionment of the sacrifices and the redistribution of goods symbolizing the communion of the two moieties and their settlement together. Once the celebrations of reciprocity ended in June, the ruler of *chiraw mit'a* – Wiraqucha in Cuzco and the Thunder god in the central highlands – could assume power over a conciliated world. From then, his reign would last for approximately five months before P'unchaw rose again to claim his due. It was indeed when the first rains of *puquy mit'a* started to fall, that the universe underwent another disruption, which mirrored the astronomical and ritual events of the transition period described above.

#### SECOND TRANSITION PERIOD: THE HEIGHT OF THE WET SEASON

The first indication of a recurring time pattern is once again provided by the astronomical observations disclosed by Zuidema and Aveni. Discerning the importance of the sun's passage through the local nadir, both scholars suggest that the star's passage through the zenith on the latitude of Cuzco marked the beginning of the rainy season. On this occasion, the *puquy sucanca* fixed the exact date of this phenomenon when the Sun rose between the two pillars. For an observer located in the Incan capital, this event occurred on October 30, a few days only before the Pleiades reach their culmination period from November 5. Indeed, during fourteen nights, the cluster stands at its highest point in the sky and consequently appears at its maximum visibility for a ground witness<sup>79</sup>. This occurrence and the foregoing solar observation were clearly opposite manifestations to the celestial events opening the dry season marked by the disappearance of the stellar constellation and the sun's entrance into the subterranean world. Confirming this dualistic construction, the Pre-Hispanic ceremonies and communal activities performed at this time of year reciprocated the rituals conducted from late April to early June, but presented opposed social paradigms.

---

<sup>79</sup> Zuidema 1981; Zuidema 1982: p. 92-93.

November and December correspond to the period when the llama produces its offspring, during which the constellation of the animal rises in the sky<sup>80</sup>. At that time of year, the Incan officials visited the four provinces of Tawantinsuyu for the second time around, to inspect the houses of the chosen ones (*aklla wasi*) with their depositories of ceremonial items, and made an inventory of the herds and crops alienated to the empire. Simultaneous to the performance of these duties, came the inauguration of a ceremony dedicated to the livestock allotted to the sovereign and the *wakas* of the whole empire, and “in areas where there are wild herds, they organized *chacos* and large hunts of guanacos and vicuñas”<sup>81</sup>. Zuidema and Urton noted that similar rallies were conducted in the district of San Damián (Huarochirí) at the same time of year, which coincided with the apparition of the Llama constellation in the sky of the rainy season<sup>82</sup>. Significantly also, this custom conveyed a ritual significance comparable to the hunt performed by the Llacuaz at Corpus Christi. More specifically, they recalled the uniting of the upper and lower populations, the Checa and the Yungas<sup>83</sup>, after the mythical intervention of one of Pariaqaqa’s sons on earth. Indeed, tradition recounts that, in remote times, the thunder deity descended from the high altitudes upon the valley in the form of menacing rain, and summoned the worshippers of the Sun god to mix with the upper communities as brothers would. Every year, on the day of San Andrés (November 30) when “they asked for the rain to come”, the residents of the high plateaux followed the mythical route of their ancestor and performed a ritual hunt in his honour. Those who captured a guanaco or a taruca (Andean deer) would crop its tail and attach the trophy to their headdresses before executing a dance. The rest of the animal was finally offered to their ayllu’s minister (“huacsa”) to be sacrificed<sup>84</sup>. In the present-day Cuzco region, San Andrés is still an important celebration marking the end of the sowing period. Gary Urton indicates that in the community of Pacariqtambo, most of the seeds have to be planted before this particular day when both moieties erect the *Taytacha*

---

<sup>80</sup> Urton 1981: p. 187.

<sup>81</sup> Anónimo [c. 1570]: p. 159; see also Molina: p. 110.

<sup>82</sup> Zuidema and Urton 1976: pp. 85-89.

<sup>83</sup> The yunga refers to the mountain foots of the Andean highlands, situated at an altitude between 500m and 2500m altitude above sea level. In the eastern side of the Cordillera, it constitutes a transitional region between the Altiplano and the rainforest where the climate is extremely humid and warm, adequate for coca cultivation. In Pre-Hispanic times, the Yunga designated the ethnic groups living in the central coast of Peru, between the littoral and the highlands. They worshipped Pachacamac who, in several traditions, opposed Pariaqaqa, the main deity of the Checa, a population of the highland altitudes that lived in the district of San Damián.

<sup>84</sup> *Ritos y Tradiciones de Huarochirí*: Ch. 11, pp. 161-171. According to Salomon and Urioste (in Avila 1991: p. 18) the “huacsa” is a non-hereditary priesthood office that rotated among the ayllu members.



crosses on top of the hills. In this way, November 30 opens a season protected by the roods and which ends in early May when Andeans celebrate *Cruz Velacuy*<sup>85</sup>.

In Pre-Hispanic times, November was a period of ritual preparation for the Incan youths' initiation called *Warachiku*, that began at the turn of the month. During these weeks of anticipation, each novice-to-be accompanied by a male relative celebrated the *Itu* ceremony in Haucaypata. This event, performed both periodically and on extraordinary occasions<sup>86</sup>, was restricted to the descendents of noble lineages and witnessed the representatives of the two moieties sacrificing eight llamas so as to incite an abundant downpour of the first rains. Remarkably, Polo observes that the dances performed on that occasion were also enacted at the time of Corpus Christi, the Christian celebration coinciding with the closing of the harvesting period<sup>87</sup>. Other evidence of the symmetrical nature of the May and November celebrations can be found in the collection of tribute carried out at both times. For, following the *Itu* festivities, the empire's *principales* would have brought to Cuzco the refined garments that their people had prepared as a contribution to labour services<sup>88</sup>. However, contrary to the reciprocity that concluded the foreign officials' visit after harvest, these goods were intended exclusively for the ruling elite, who dispensed them among the Incan novices on their initiation. However, despite this difference, the last activities held after the *Warachiku* echo the festivities that closed the agricultural cycle. Replicating the hostilities that opposed the two cosmological moieties at the turn of the rainy season, the Urin and Hanan probationers fought each other in a mock battle that concluded the Incan rite of passage. Following this bloody encounter, the men and women of Cuzco left the city to perform a ploughing task called *chaqma*, consisting of weeding and breaking the soil of the idle fields that had been softened by the rains<sup>89</sup>. Thus, contrasting with the earlier *kuskiy*, this labour was conducted on the wet ground of the rainy season, before the foreign delegates could re-enter Cuzco and receive "maize

---

<sup>85</sup> Urton 1986: p. 54. Regarding the celebrations of San Andrés in the Bolivian highlands, see Van Den Berg 1989: pp. 65-68.

<sup>86</sup> Zuidema 1997: p. 265.

<sup>87</sup> Polo Ondegardo 1916: p. 26; Cobo: T. 2, Bk. 13, Ch. 30-31: pp. 220-222.

<sup>88</sup> Guaman Poma de Ayala: 257 [259], p. 231; Anonymous [c. 1570]: p. 159.

<sup>89</sup> Guaman Poma de Ayala: 860 [874], p. 806; González Holguín, *Vocabulario*: p. 91; Beyersdorff: p. 22.

bread with sacrificial blood of which they partook as a sign of confederation with the Inca<sup>90</sup>.

On the whole, the ritual and administrative activities of this period of transition mirrored the events held between late April and early June, starting with the ritual hunt and the collection of labour services, then followed by the moieties' confrontation and the completion of agricultural labours. Yet the symmetry of this structure was not specific to the metropolitan calendar, for in the central sierra as well, the colonial festivals of *puquy mit'a* shared common patterns with those of *qarwa mit'a*. Historian Kenneth Mills observes that it was during these two celebrations only that the residents of the Lima Archdiocese secretly confessed their wrongdoings to their local *hechicero* in the hope that their crops would be preserved from calamities<sup>91</sup>. Significantly, the first confession occurred "around Christmas or a little later", "when [the Indians] prepared their chakras, before cleaning and ploughing them"<sup>92</sup>, while the two other confessions opened and closed the transition period between the harvesting and the heliacal rise of the Pleiades<sup>93</sup>. It follows that this description not only parallels the chronology of the Incan rituals, but also supports Zuidema's assumption that the practice of confession in the central sierra echoed the rituals of communion performed in Cuzco at similar times<sup>94</sup>.

Another point of comparison between the festivities of the central highlands and those of the imperial capital concerns the periodization of the *puquy* and *chiraw* seasons. Colonial documents reveal that, in both locations, these two celebrations were held before the completion of agricultural works. Naturally, the preparation of the soil before and after planting could take place several times annually and depends on the altitude and irrigation methods, but the particular labours conducted after the *Warachiku* festivities were called *chaqma*, and consisted in ploughing ridges. Today, this type of labour is traditionally conducted by "three men together, working aligned: the one in the middle, *chawpi*, gives the rhythm for the two others (...) Two women or children, *rapa*, squat on each side of the drill in order to turn over the clods", and break them into two

---

<sup>90</sup> Polo Ondegardo 1916: pp. 18-19. See also Betanzos: Pt. 1, Ch. 14, pp. 65-70; Molina: pp. 98-112; Anónimo [c. 1570]: pp. 159-160.

<sup>91</sup> Mills 1994: Ch. 5, pp. 84-104; see also Acosta: Bk. 5, Ch. 25, pp. 256-261.

<sup>92</sup> Duviols 1986: p. 181.

<sup>93</sup> Arriaga: Ch. 5, pp. 57-60; Duviols 1986: p. 179.

<sup>94</sup> Zuidema 1996: pp. 190-193.

or three hunks<sup>95</sup>. Remarkably, the same scenario was documented in the 1570s by an anonymous chronicler who revealed how the ruling elite performed this labour on the maize fields allotted for ceremonial purposes:

[The Inca] placed himself for all to see on the chakra he wished to prepare then sat on his gold seat. Later, they put before him a gold *taklla*, which is a swing plough, and just behind him sat the four counsellors of his empire with the swing ploughs for their use and behind them sat the caciques who were in charge of ten thousand men, and following them came the provinces' ambassadors, each one with a swing plough (...) When the Inca deemed it was time to start working, he alone stood up followed by his wife and her retinue (*dueñas*), and took the swing plough in his hand and jabbed eight or ten times in the soil removing clods of earth, and his wife with her retinue broke them into pieces before being seated; the four counsellors of the empire would then stand up and with their wives started to plough where the Inca had left off, and did twice what he had done before turning back to take their seats; and later the caciques who were in charge of the ten thousand men stood up with all the men and women present and they worked until it was time to lunch (...) and after they had eaten, they all got up to work except the Inca, the four counsellors of the empire and the caciques who were in charge of the ten thousand men who played a game called "pisca", which is similar to playing dice, although it is larger and made of wood<sup>96</sup>.

The *pichqa*, meaning five in Quechua, is documented throughout Tawantinsuyu and has survived centuries of Spanish occupation remarkably well. This game, also known as *wayru*, was and is still used today as an augury device in ceremonial contexts and particularly for post-mortem rites<sup>97</sup>. In Pre-Hispanic times, not only was the game believed to communicate the deities' wishes but it was also the common pastime of the living during the five nights of wake held after the death of an individual<sup>98</sup>. Attesting to its persistent association with death, the ethnographer Billie Jean Isbell witnessed in 1967 a *pichqa* divination and purification ritual in the town of Chuschi (Ayacucho), which was conducted on the fifth day of a deceased's wake<sup>99</sup>. In Incan Cuzco, Guaman Poma wrote that noblemen played the *pichqa* and others games, such as one called *ayllus* (also known as *riwi*), at harvest time<sup>100</sup>. The first was played inside a sacred enclosure with dice in the shape of a truncated pyramid, while the second took its name

---

<sup>95</sup> Gade and Rios 1972, in Morlon 1992: p. 61.

<sup>96</sup> Anónimo [c. 1575]: pp. 165-166, my translation.

<sup>97</sup> Gose 1994: pp. 117-118; Gentile 1998; Salomon 2002; Arellano Hoffmann 2003.

<sup>98</sup> Arriaga: p. 66. See also González Holguín, *Vocabulario*: p. 284; Santo Tomás, *Lexicón*: p. 283.

<sup>99</sup> Isbell 1978: pp. 6-7.

<sup>100</sup> Guaman Poma de Ayala: 243 [245], pp. 217.

from the weapon called *ayllu* composed of three cords of gut or leather, each with a ball of metal at the end. To win this game, the contestants had to wind the ropes of their *ayllus* as many times as possible around a rod thrown into the air. The sovereign himself played this game with a ritual instrument in the shape of a serpent made of wool<sup>101</sup>. Colonial documents attest that both games were played in specific festive contexts in order to predict the outcome of an enterprise or the success of the coming agricultural season<sup>102</sup>. Zuidema and Ziolkowski also advance that the *ayllus* provided the sovereign with means to acquire more subjects to work on consecrated fields and to (re-)distribute agricultural plots among his kin of mixed Incan blood. As Albornoz reports, the ruler also gambled the herds, arable lands and service of labourers pertaining to provincial *wakas* in order to redistribute their resources<sup>103</sup>.

Most importantly, evidence in the texts reveal that such competitions also took place during or just after the initiation ceremony of young Incas, suggesting that both were played twice a year at the transition of the two Andean seasons. The first indication is provided by the association of the *ayllus* with the cosmological serpent that appears in the night sky at the beginning of the rainy season<sup>104</sup>. In Cuzco, the image of this sacred snake, like the instrument used in *ayllus* contests, was made of multicoloured wool and taken out of its temple only once a year, in January, following the completion of the *chaqma* labours<sup>105</sup>. Providing further support to the association of ritual games with this particular period, an Incan narrative relates how Tupa Yupanqui lost five *pueblos* at an *ayllus* contest against one of his sons. This episode took place during the *Warachiku* of the young boy whose mother was a native of the Huayro nation and the Inca's favourite wife. The story tells that the ruler's feelings were such that he decided to give her name to the ace of the *pichqa* die, which became known as *wayru*<sup>106</sup>. This element, as well as the symbolic number of the five prizes won by the youth, demonstrates that the Inca's dice and the *ayllus* were closely related games occupying the attention of the nobility between December and January, but also after the harvest in May. Finally, it should be noted that Guaman Poma associates the time of the *Warachiku* celebration with the festival of the dead whose presence among the living

---

<sup>101</sup> Albornoz: pp. 174-175.

<sup>102</sup> Duviols 1986: p. 192.

<sup>103</sup> Zuidema 1989: pp. 256-272; Ziolkowski 1996: Ch. 6, pp. 257-285.

<sup>104</sup> Urton 1981: pp. 177-181.

<sup>105</sup> Molina: pp. 112-113.

<sup>106</sup> Cobo: T. 2, Bk. 12, Ch. 15, pp. 86-87.

during *puquy mit'a* was believed to influence the sprouting of seeds (see Figure 3.1)<sup>107</sup>. The concurrence of these two ceremonies would therefore confirm that the *pichqa* die was a game associated with the spirit of the dead lingering, and not yet departed for the after-world.



Figure 3.1 November: the festival of the dead. In Guaman Poma 1980: 256 [258]: p. 230.

<sup>107</sup> Gose 1994: pp. 114-123; Harris 2000; Stobart 2006: p. 199.

It is significant that Frank Salomon recently recorded similar events at the start of the rainy season in the present-day district of Huarochirí. During his fieldwork, he observed that around New Year's Day all the communities organize a plenary meeting that includes a *pichqa* contest opposing the outgoing political authorities to their successors. In addition to taking place in a *kancha* divided into an upper and lower *barrio*, the game is also composed of two gender-specified sequences. On this occasion, the dice throws are believed to express the will of a divine pair called *dueños del agua* (rulers of the water) and interpreted as an augury for the coming agro-pastoral year. Each year, these two deities are invoked a second time around, also towards the end of the rainy season, prompting Salomon to analyse this ritual as a celebration of two traditional structures: one is "the division of the space between opposed halves and [the other] is the division of time in alternating intervals" corresponding to the two seasons<sup>108</sup>.

In the light of Salomon's argument, but also thanks to the descriptions provided by Guaman Poma and the anonymous chronicler quoted above, it is possible to relate the time setting of the Pre-Hispanic *pichqa* and *ayllus* with the ritual games of today. Indeed, the primary sources indicate that Incan noblemen were occupied with their recreations at the time of agricultural labours that were clearly identified in one instance with the harvesting activities held between April and May<sup>109</sup>. However, given the evidence associating the *pichqa* and the *ayllus* with the ceremonies conducted in December and January, it is most likely that they also concurred with the *chaqma* of the rainy season. Molina situates these activities after the mock battle that closed the *Warachiku* festival and just before the celebration of the snake-like figure in early to mid-January. These indications set the ritual games on the very first days of the Gregorian year, just like the contests conducted in the present-day district of Huarochirí. It seems, therefore, that the intermediary period between December and January was regarded as a crucial transition in both the Incan and the Christian calendars, which would explain in part the persistence of the *pichqa* as an augury device for predicting the new year in contemporary communities.

Molina provides a last piece of information that completes this reconstruction. Interrupting his account of the initiatory rite, the chronicler reveals that another

---

<sup>108</sup> Salomon 2002: p. 17.

<sup>109</sup> Guaman Poma de Ayala: 243 [245], p. 217.

celebration, separate from the youths' ordeals, was held outside Cuzco precisely twenty-three days after the start of *Warachiku*. On that occasion, a procession carrying the image of Wayna P'unchaw left Cuzco and made its way to Puquín hill beyond Cayaucache, on the outskirts of the city. Leading the cortège were the *suntur pawqar* insignia and the two precious figures of llamas that had also opened the march of the celebrants at *Inti rayme*<sup>110</sup>. The procession reached a temple dedicated to the Sun in *pukyu kancha* (The enclosure of the water spring, Cu. 10:2), the name of which was reminiscent of the water source from where the solar star arises<sup>111</sup>. It was also in this site that, according to Molina, the elite kept "the life of each Inca and the nations they each conquered painted in figures on some tablets, together with their origins"<sup>112</sup>. There, they offered their oblations for the prosperity of the people and their land before commemorating the regeneration of the young sun. The significance of this celebration in reference to the sun's mythical birth and its resemblances with the festivities of the June solstice suggest that it was conducted on the day of the summer solstice (December 21-22), when the sun is at its southernmost point at noon<sup>113</sup>. If such an assumption were correct, it would bring the opening of the initiation ceremony exactly twenty-three days before this date, on November 30 (GC), which today coincides with the Christian festivity of San Andrés marking the beginning of *puqy mit'a*. These elements provide corroboration of Urton and Zuidema's hypothesis, that the combination of the heliacal rise of  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  Centaurii – the eyes of the dark Llama cloud – and the zenith sun on October 30 served to fix the date for the Incan initiation rite one month later, in late November<sup>114</sup>. Stemming directly from this conclusion, the mock battle that closed the *Warachiku* after the solstice celebration and the re-entrance of the foreigners into Cuzco would have taken place on the last week of December (GC). This point eventually establishes a correlation in time between the rituals of Incan communion held in the empire's capital after these festivities and the confession rite at *puqy mit'a* in the central highlands which occurred "around Christmas" as reported by Arriaga.

---

<sup>110</sup> The *suntur pawqar* has been given different descriptions. Depending on the chroniclers, it was a "bulto", a "rich and coloured house" or a "royal insignia". See Cobo: T. 2, Bk. 13, Ch. 27: p. 214; González Holguín, *Vocabulario*: p. 332; Molina: p. 102. Guaman Poma de Ayala (329 [331]-330 [332], p. 302) mentioned the royal palace of *suntur wasi* where the figure was most likely kept.

<sup>111</sup> *Pukyu*: spring of water. See Bauer 1998: pp. 124-125, pp. 129-130.

<sup>112</sup> Molina: pp. 49-50.

<sup>113</sup> Zuidema and Urton 1976: pp. 89-94.

<sup>114</sup> Zuidema and Urton: 1976.

Thus, it has been argued so far that the Incan festivities conducted from late April to early June constituted an indivisible series of celebrations revolving around the change of seasons and the reciprocity of labour. This group of rituals, coinciding with the disappearance of the Pleiades, may be described as a transition period starting with the sun's passage through the nadir and ending with the redistribution of wealth and the sharing of sacrificial meat, all of which were orchestrated by the Incan elite. During this interval, the antagonisms opposing the ruling deities of *chiraw* and *puquy mit'a* disrupted the cosmological order and affected the pre-existent interrelations that structured human societies. This belief is still current, for today this interval of time is conducive to the formulation of new kin ties between peoples of different ecological levels, leading to the temporary alleviation of social rules condemning sexual intercourse between the puna and valley residents.

The next transition period, which took place in November, replicated the same structure starting with the sun's passage through the local zenith on October 30. On that date, the Incan novices assembled in order to celebrate the *Itu* festival and, for the next thirty days, the nobility prepared the ceremonial food and garments that they would later offer to their youths in honour of their passing of age. However, this time around, the reversal of the cosmological order presented an opposed pattern to its earlier counterpart, as P'unchaw was preparing to defeat Wiraqucha and the Pleiades were now close to their culmination period. In this context, human activities also had a different significance as the collection of labour services was not intended anymore for redistribution but was strictly alienated to the Incan nobility and their divinities. Eventually, the start of *Warachiku* on November 30 ended this intermediary period on the same day that the communities of the central sierra conducted a ritual hunt of wild camelids. This last event, retained at San Andrés, could be seen as a mirror image of the celebration of *unquy mit'a* held on June 3 when young Incan males enacted the capture of four vicuñas on the main plaza (see Figure 3.2).

This overall picture is concordant with the chroniclers' testimonies giving two different dates, June or December, for the start of the Incan year. Thus, depending on the informants' appreciation of the annual cycle, each of these dates can be seen as initiating a new season. Much like the two narrative variants of the Incas' settlement in the Cuzco valley, this discordance can be attributed to moiety membership so that Urin



members started the year with the celebration of their tutelary deity in December whereas Hanan members situated it in June, with the advent of Wiraqucha. Finally, it is also worthy of note that this reconstruction gives a similar length to each season of the year, that is, 147-148 days for *puquy mit'a* and 149-150 days for *chiraw mit'a* and shows that the bipartition of the metropolitan calendar had progressively detached itself from strict ecological manifestations to be more directly informed by astronomical events and social interactions<sup>115</sup>. In turn, this dual structure sheds light on the meaning of the rituals comprising the two major divisions of the Incan calendar, since each season appears to have been dominated by a specific deity. This chapter now turns to the examination of these festivities and outlines their respective links to the two cosmological halves. In this process, it establishes that each season opened with the enactment of the Incas' mythical origin and settlement in the Cuzco valley, revealing how the Hanan staged it differently from the Urin moiety.

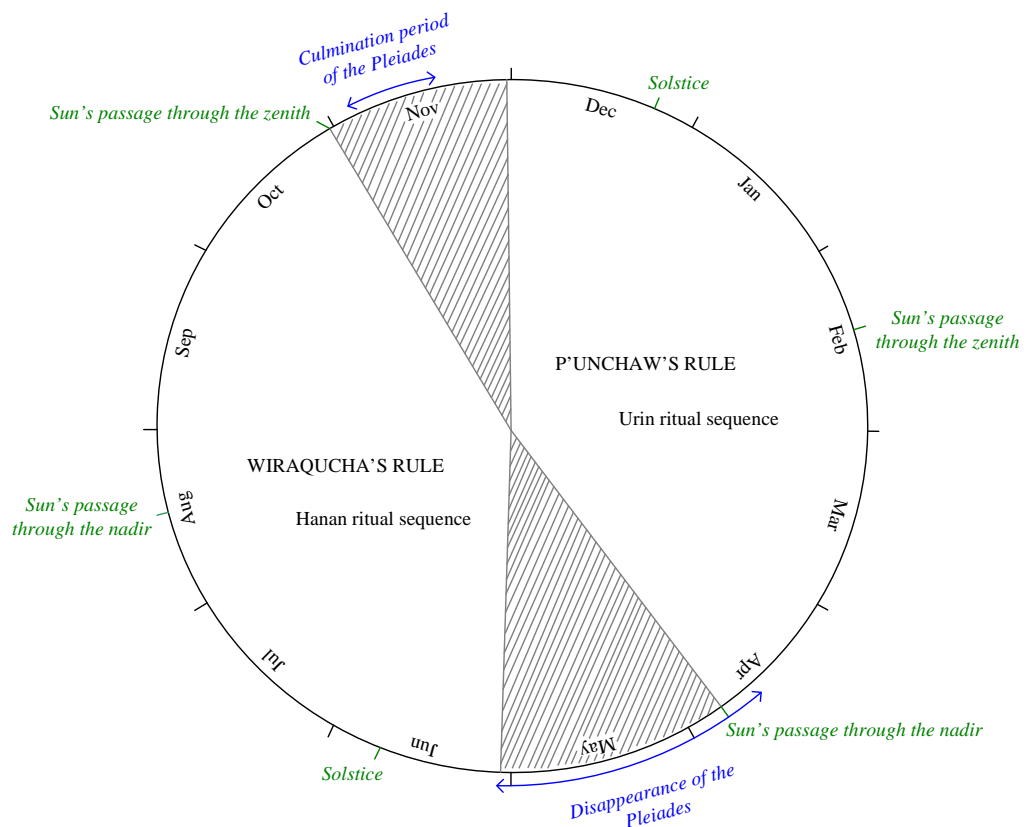


Figure 3.2. The ritual cycles of the Incan year, with their transition periods. Prepared by the author.

<sup>115</sup> The one-day variation depends on the fluctuation of astronomical events, especially the passage of the sun through the local zenith and nadir.

## THE RULE OF WIRAQUCHA

The activities of the new agricultural year started in June when the prediction for the coming cultivation cycle was announced. Still performed nowadays, this augury consists of observing the luminance of the Pleiades on June 24, the day of San Juan, two to three days after the winter solstice<sup>116</sup>. This time of year thus coincided with the Incan celebration of *Inti rayme* that commemorated, for more than twenty-five days, Wiraqucha's mythical path from Lake Titicaca to the sea (see Chapter 2)<sup>117</sup>. This journey also marked the dawn of a new humanity as the deity and his attendants walked across the land and ordered the nations who had been following the course of the subterranean river, to emerge from their *paqarina* and populate the earth. It was this particular tradition, tracing the origin of the Incan ancestors back to the Qullasuyu region, that the people of Hanan Cuzco claimed as their own. Accordingly, it was the Sapa Inca, as head of the upper moiety, who conducted the festivities on Mantucalla hill while a group of celebrants from the Tarpuntay non-noble ayllu, also members of Hanan Cuzco, proceeded towards Vilcanota to pay tribute to the *wakas* at which Wiraqucha had stopped on his way to the sea<sup>118</sup>. From this celebration rose the rule of the subterranean Sun, who then received the central devotions of the dry season festivals centred on cleansing, irrigation and the early maturation of crops.

## THE PACHAYACHACHIQ AND THE EARTH REGENERATION

After the closing rite of *Inti rayme*, the Cuzqueños and villagers of the high puna irrigated their fields in preparation for sowing the early crops and tubers also known as *maway* potatoes<sup>119</sup>. This activity usually lasted from July to mid-August, a period that Juan de Betanzos calls *Qarpay killa*, "the month of irrigation"<sup>120</sup>. In most documents, however, the problematic word "chahuaruay" designates the month of July<sup>121</sup>. Three

---

<sup>116</sup> Urton 1981: pp. 118-199; Orlove et al. 2002.

<sup>117</sup> The duration of *Inti rayme* is difficult to estimate. Molina indicates that the first two days of this festivity took place in Cuzco and Huanacauri before the Tarpuntay officiants left the city for a pilgrimage of twenty-two days. Meanwhile or after this pilgrimage, the Inca and the nobility went to Mantucalla for an undetermined number of days.

<sup>118</sup> Molina's description of the *Sitwa* festival and Sarmiento's account of the Incan ancestors' migration both associate the Tarpuntay ayllu to the Hanan moiety. See Molina: p. 75; Sarmiento: Ch. 11, p. 53.

<sup>119</sup> "Mahuay o uripapa: the very early potatoes" in González Holguín, *Vocabulario*: p. 235; Guaman Poma de Ayala: 248 [250]-249 [251], p. 223.

<sup>120</sup> Betanzos: Pt. 1, Ch. 15, p. 72; González Holguín, *Vocabulario*: p. 137; Beyersdorff 1984: p. 82.

<sup>121</sup> Betanzos: Pt. 1, Ch. 15, p. 72; Polo Ondegardo 1916: p. 22; Anónimo [c. 1570]: p. 160; Molina: p. 71; Fernández: Pt. 1, Bk. 1, Ch. 10, p. 86; Gutiérrez de Santa Clara: Ch. 65, p. 255; Cabello de Balboa: p. 351; Cobo: T. 2; Bk. 13; Ch. 28, p. 216.

possibilities are more likely to translate its meaning, all constructed around the verb *rura-*, “to make, realize”<sup>122</sup>. The *ch’awar* is a plant commonly used in Andean housing, the bark of which also served “to prepare the fibres the Indians use [to make] bags for coca, sandals and arquebus’ fuses”<sup>123</sup>. Although no sources record these activities as taking place in July, it should be noted that house rethatching in modern Andean communities occurs approximately at the same period, from August to mid-September<sup>124</sup>. Anthropologist Peter Gose observes that this activity coincides with a seasonal shift from domestic appropriation to the collective production initiated by the growing season<sup>125</sup>. However, due to lack of primary data it remains speculative to associate this activity with the Incan month of July. “Chahua” could alternatively be associated to *chawa*, “the fruit still to ripen” or “something raw” and refers to the preparation of the seeds in July<sup>126</sup>, but a third option of translation, linked to the Aymara language, appears more plausible. In Bertonio’s lexicon, the “cchahua” is “a club used to break up the clods (*desterronar*) in the chakra, it is a stone attached to a stick”<sup>127</sup>. This implement was originally used on dry soil after it had been ploughed and before sowing began, three conditions that characterise the fields in July. Moreover, Gutiérrez de Santa Clara specified that “chahuaruay” meant “month of labour” during which several offerings of chicha were poured into the irrigation canals and the rivers to induce a prosperous year with abundant rain and plentiful yields. It is therefore likely that the Incan month corresponding to July was named after a ploughing tool of the dry season. During this period, the Incas also sacrificed a hundred head of brown llamas and dedicated two of them to Tocaripuquiu *waka*, a spring of water located in the Chinchaysuyu division and “from which issues a stream that passes through the city”<sup>128</sup>. Traditions recount that Inca Roca generated it by pressing his newly pierced and bloodstained ear on the ground of Cacha hill where water suddenly burst forth from the soil to become Cuzco’s main water supply<sup>129</sup>. Each year in July, the ruler’s *panaqa* immolated two llamas in memory of this wonder, one where the irrigation of the valley began and the other where it ended<sup>130</sup>. With this act, the descendents of the first Hanan

---

<sup>122</sup> González Holguín, *Vocabulario*: p. 322; Santo Tomás, *Lexicón*: p. 349.

<sup>123</sup> Cobo: T.1, Bk. 6, Ch. 125, p. 283; *Ritos y Tradiciones de Huarochirí*: pp. 335, 411.

<sup>124</sup> Isbell 1978: p. 168; Gose 1994: pp. 74-90.

<sup>125</sup> Gose 1994: p. 74.

<sup>126</sup> González Holguín, *Vocabulario*: p. 92; Santo Tomás, *Lexicón*: p. 259.

<sup>127</sup> Bertonio: p. 74.

<sup>128</sup> Polo Ondegardo 1917: p. 42. The location of this shrine is uncertain, see Bauer 1998: pp. 71-72.

<sup>129</sup> Cieza de León: Pt. 2, pp. 105-106.

<sup>130</sup> Cobo: T. 2, Bk. 13, Ch. 28, p. 216.

ruler not only commemorated their command of this fountainhead but also placed the upper moiety in control of the city's irrigation canals<sup>131</sup>. It finally initiated the ritual cleansing of the water channels (*yarqa aspiy* or *yarqa faena*), performed in the Andes at the beginning of every agricultural season, and sometimes lasted several months<sup>132</sup>.

In the Cuzco valley today, the early sowing of maize starts immediately after the feast of the Virgin's Assumption (August 15) and usually lasts up to a month<sup>133</sup>. However, in many parts of the Andes, this activity ends in late December because it is not only contingent on climatic and ecological conditions, but also varies according to the nature of the produce. In Incan times, as in present-day Cuzco, the official sowing season started in the same period, when the pillars erected outside the city indicated for the second time around the passage of the sun through the local nadir on August 16<sup>134</sup>. As Zuidema and Aveni indicate, this astronomical event occurs twice annually, and therefore would have fixed two important events of the dry season: its beginning on April 26, and the start of the planting period<sup>135</sup>. Thus, when the moment had come to sow the chakras, the Incas conducted several sacrifices of llamas and guinea pigs in and around Cuzco for the preservation of their crops. Later, as they started to work on the fields, they intoned a chant of victory called "haylli" celebrating triumphal warfare and laboured "as if they triumphed over the earth, ploughing it up and penetrating the soil so it will bear fruit"<sup>136</sup>. Brian Bauer notes that the violent connotation of this agricultural task was overtly paralleled with warlike activities, for both possessed fertilizing qualities<sup>137</sup>.

While sowing was under way, an important ritual was held in the designated chakra of Sausero (Co 2:3) where several *akllakuna*, dedicated to the Sun, poured chicha around a white llama attached in the centre of the fields. This offering occurred at a time of year when the vital power of *Pacha Mama* (Mother Earth) is depleted by the last agricultural cycle and needs renourishment. The ceremonial beverage, spilled on the

---

<sup>131</sup> For a more thorough analysis of the Cuzco irrigation system, see Sherbondy 1987; 1994.

<sup>132</sup> Depending on the altitude and the type of cultivation, today *yarqa aspiy* is performed from July to October. See Isbell 1978: pp. 138-145; Urton 1986: p. 52; Zuidema 1986b: p. 184; Paerregaard 1994: pp. 196-197; Ossio 2002: 482-492.

<sup>133</sup> Urton 1986: p. 50; Rozas Álvarez and Calderón García 2000: p. 319.

<sup>134</sup> Anónimo [c. 1570]: p. 151.

<sup>135</sup> Zuidema 1981; Aveni 1989.

<sup>136</sup> Garcilaso de la Vega: Bk. 5, Ch. 2, p. 228. "Hayllini, gui: to capture someone", Santo Tomás, *Lexicón*: p. 290; "haylli: song joyously performed in warfare, or on the chakras well finished and vanquished", González Holguín, *Vocabulario*: p. 157; Pachacuti Yamqui: f. 25 v., p. 232.

<sup>137</sup> Bauer 1996.

soil during sowing, would appease her thirst and impregnate her womb ready to be fertilized. This practice is concordant with contemporary beliefs prevalent in Peru but also Bolivia, where locals maintain that the earth is enraged in August and February before “resurrecting” and “opening up” to receive ritual offerings<sup>138</sup>. Molina reports that, in Pre-Hispanic times, the priests of the Tarpuntay ayllu, who had already served Wiraqucha at *Inti rayme*, fasted from the time the maize was planted until it reached one finger high. Throughout this critical period of germination, while the seed grew underground and benefited from the warmth of the subterranean sun, the *hatun runa* danced in honour of Wiraqucha and asked for his benevolence in the year to come. Meanwhile, the sole drink consumed by the Tarpuntay celebrants was “cloudy chicha”, also known as *qunchu* or *aqha mama*, which is the deposit that collects at the bottom of the fermented liquor and is kept aside as a fermenting agent for the preparation of the next batch. Anthropologist Robert Randall notes that this sediment is comparable to a fertilizing component indispensable for the completion of the ceremonial drink. Therefore, by drinking solely this substance during the crops’ early growth, the Tarpuntay ministers accompanied and replicated the yields’ maturation process in their own bodies<sup>139</sup>. This symbolic act appears all the more significant that the same ayllu officiated at the service of Wiraqucha several times during the annual cycle in order to regenerate the god’s fertility: it fed the subterranean Sun during the deity’s terrestrial journey along the Vilcamayu River at *Inti rayme*, it fasted during the early phase of the maize maturation in July, and finally closed the agricultural year by sacrificing a llama to Wiraqucha, and “asked him to always send them good years”<sup>140</sup>. Hence, although Molina indicates that a specialised, and probably noble, priesthood attended this deity, the Tarpuntay ayllu was also undeniably dedicated to Wiraqucha’s service<sup>141</sup>. The link this Hanan group maintained with the god is perhaps enclosed in its name for *tarpuy*

---

<sup>138</sup> Isbell 1978: pp. 138, 151-163; Hopkins 1982: p. 178; Tomoeda 1993: p. 290; Rozás Álvarez and Calderón García 2000: p. 317; Ossio 2002: p. 482.

<sup>139</sup> Randall 1993: p. 82.

<sup>140</sup> Molina: pp. 72, 118.

<sup>141</sup> It is peculiar that Cristóbal de Molina regularly mentions the role of this non-noble ayllu in the course of the Incan ritual calendar, while he does not identify the lineage affiliations of the rest of the Incan priesthood. It could be contended that one of his informants was affiliated to the Tarpuntay ayllu. Indeed, like Sarmiento de Gamboa, Molina gathered the material necessary for his chronicle during the inquests ordered by viceroy Francisco de Toledo. Yet Sarmiento and Molina are the only Spanish chroniclers to mention the presence of non-noble ayllus, including the Tarpuntay ayllu, next to the *panaqas* at *Sitwa*, and in the narrative of the Incan ancestors’ migration.

means “to sow” (any type of seed, whether tubers or legumes)<sup>142</sup>. The sacerdotal duties of the Tarpuntay ayllu, then, would have been directed to the preservation of the agricultural cycle and thereby were linked to a particular aspect of the god, the *Pachayachachi* who animated the earth and the crops.

While sowing was underway, large offerings of chicha were made to the rivers and irrigation canals of the valley between July and August<sup>143</sup>. These oblations, which are still performed nowadays in several localities after the communal cleaning of the waterways<sup>144</sup>, were the separate responsibility of each ayllu and may have conveyed a symbolism similar to the Tarpuntay’s consumption of *aqha mama*. Indeed, streams also carry sediments called *qunchu uñu* that rise to the surface and cloud the water during *puquy mit’a* but are absent from the low and clear water that flows unhindered throughout the dry season. Randall argues convincingly that the fermented chicha poured in the rivers from July to August recreated the conditions brought about by the precipitations and regenerated the streams so that they could fertilize the crops<sup>145</sup>. This belief may also be paralleled with the rite of *yaku cambio* held today in several communities of Peru and Bolivia in order to attract the rainfall. This modern practice varies somewhat from the pre-Hispanic offering since it consists in mixing the waters of different sites, and sometimes of contrasting types (stagnant versus flowing waters). However, the opposed nature of the two ingredients and the aim of the Incan and present-day rituals concur as both were meant to generate a beneficial encounter inducing clouds and precipitations<sup>146</sup>. After these offerings, the Incan celebrations that accompanied the early growth of the crops eventually ended once the priests concluded their fast and everyone assembled in Limaqpampa, dressed in colourful garments ready to perform a *taki* called “yahuayra”<sup>147</sup>. This dance put an end to a little more than two months of agrarian and ritual activities centred around the division of water resources during which offerings to the rivers and springs were entrusted to separate lineages. The festivities of the following two months reversed this situation by exalting ritual

---

<sup>142</sup> Beyersdorff 1984: pp. 108-109. In the Southern and northern Andes today, *tarpuy* refers more precisely to “the action of planting the tubers (seed) in a land already laboured” (Cerrón Palomino et al. 1992: p. 108)

<sup>143</sup> Fernández: Pt. 1, Bk. 1, Ch. 10, p. 86; Gutiérrez de Santa Clara: Ch. 65, p. 255.

<sup>144</sup> Isbell 1978: p. 162; Paerregaard 1994: pp. 195-197; Ossio 2002: pp. 482-492.

<sup>145</sup> Randall 1993: pp. 80-82.

<sup>146</sup> Van den Berg 1989: pp. 68-70; Sikkink 1997.

<sup>147</sup> Molina: p. 72; Polo Ondegardo 1916: p. 22; Guaman Poma de Ayala: 251 [253], p. 225; Cobo: T. 2, Bk. 13, Ch. 28, p. 216.

communion and collective production in much the same way the growing season today inaugurates “inter-household cooperation” in the Andes<sup>148</sup>.

#### TIQSI WIRAQUCHA AND THE RITES OF PURIFICATION

The next important festivity of the year was known as “situa” (*Sitwa*), which began three days after the conjunction of the moon, in the month of *Quya rayme*<sup>149</sup>. Despite detailed accounts of this event, the testimonies of early and late chroniclers are equally divided in situating the festival in either August or September<sup>150</sup>. Reliable authors such as Fernández or Molina, for example, situate *Sitwa* in August, whereas Garcilaso de la Vega maintains that it began on “the first day of the September moon following the equinox”<sup>151</sup>, a proposition widely accepted among scholars today<sup>152</sup>. This last hypothesis, however, situates *Sitwa* on the very last days of September, at a date that cannot be harmonized with the early data provided by Fernández and Molina, even with the addition of the ten lapsing days introduced by the Gregorian calendar. Moreover González Holguín, who published his lexicon twenty years after this reform and a few months only before Garcilaso’s *Comentarios*, still situates *Sitwa* in August. Garcilaso’s assumption, therefore, appears tenuous, not least because he is the first chronicler, half a century after the conquest, to mention explicitly the use of the vernal equinox as fixing the start of this celebration<sup>153</sup>. Yet, if September 23 did not determine the date of *Sitwa*, another solar observation, harmonizing early and late primary sources, may have marked it. It is argued here that the passage of the sun through the local nadir (August 16) constitutes a better point in time for fixing *Sitwa* because the new moon following this event would have extended from August 16 to September 13<sup>154</sup>. This interpretation, which admittedly contrasts with most scholarly works, not only resolves the discrepancy observable in the sources but also places *Sitwa* within a more appropriate

<sup>148</sup> Gose 1994: p. 74-75.

<sup>149</sup> Molina: p. 73.

<sup>150</sup> Garcilaso de la Vega: Bk. 7, Ch. 6: p. 383; Betanzos: Pt. 1, Ch. 15, p. 72; Polo Ondegardo 1916: p. 23; Cabello de Balboa: p. 351; Acosta: Bk. 5, Ch. 28, p. 269; Guaman Poma de Ayala: 253 [255], p. 227; Molina: p. 73; Fernández: Pt. 1, Bk. 1, Ch. 10, p. 86; Gutiérrez de Santa Clara: Ch. 65, p. 255.

<sup>151</sup> The vernal equinox occurs on September 23.

<sup>152</sup> Zuidema and Urton 1976: p. 90; Ziolkowski 1987; Sallnow 1987: p. 38; Silverblatt 1987: p. 65.

<sup>153</sup> Bauer and Dearborn 1995: pp. 46-50.

<sup>154</sup> Following Zuidema (1981), Bauer and Dearborn (1995: p. 95) contend that the passage of the sun through the local nadir occurs around August 18 (variability is +/- 1 day). In 2006, a professional of the Collecte Localisation Satellites (Toulouse) kindly re-calculated this occurrence at my request and suggested that August 16 was a more accurate date. This date is also closer to the Virgin of Assumption day (15 August), a major festival in the Andes. Moreover, I count August 16 as the first possible date for the *Sitwa* celebration because the observation of the sun’s passage through the local nadir occurred at daytime, and could therefore coincide with the new moon.

time-span. Indeed, the chronicles describe it as one of the major festivals of the Incan calendar, during which all living beings were purified of any illnesses and defects that could endanger the community. In Molina's words, it took place when "the first rainfalls started [because] the first rainfalls usually brought many diseases"<sup>155</sup>. Complementing this statement, Guaman Poma provides an extensive list of illnesses that break out in the Andes at that time of year, affecting men, crops and water supplies. It is a time when the irrigation waters rise up from their underground realm, bringing to the surface of the earth the dangers of the subterranean world in which the dead journey. Popular beliefs today associate the month of August with an unsettled period when a warm insalubrious wind (*wayra*), considered to originate from corpses and caves, can infect the villagers<sup>156</sup>. The characteristics of this *remolino* conjure up the attributes of the Pre-Hispanic god Huari, the dark Sun of the underground, who manifested himself on earth as "a powerful and great wind"<sup>157</sup>. This connection is further supported by the meaning of the word *Sitwa*, which refers to "the resplendence of the sun, of that which reflects [light]"<sup>158</sup>. Hence, during August and throughout September, dense clouds gather progressively in the sky before producing any rain, while the puna vegetation completely disappears after the llamas have grazed. As anthropologist Hiroyasu Tomoeda phrased it, Andeans perceive this transition as "a period of crisis, when the breath of the vital force is hardly perceptible"<sup>159</sup>. The earth, animals, and men have little supplies left during this period of privation, so that the world needs to regenerate by expelling the ailments and misfortunes that could affect the *kallpa* of living beings.

In Incan times, this purification ceremony was carried out as follows. Every provincial lord subject to the empire was pledged to bring to Cuzco the effigy of the principal deity worshipped by his community. During the first stage of the celebration, these images were kept in their private temples while all foreigners, disabled and deformed people were expelled from the city, followed by dogs whose barking was not only considered disruptive to the ritual, but also regarded as a bad omen<sup>160</sup>. Then, on the day of the moon's conjunction, the Inca and the main officials assembled in the Sun

---

<sup>155</sup> Molina: p. 73.

<sup>156</sup> Kato 1989; Rozás Álvarez and Calderón García 2000: p. 321. This wind bears the name of "agosto wayra" in the Calca Province (Cuzco). For specific studies on ethnomedicine, see Carey 1993; Larne 1998: pp. 1008-1010.

<sup>157</sup> AAL, Leg V, cuad. 2, 1656 in Cock and Doyle 1979: p. 58 n. 14. See Chapter 2.

<sup>158</sup> González Holguín, *Vocabulario*: p. 85.

<sup>159</sup> Tomoeda 1993: p. 290. See also Flannery et al. 1989: p. 177.

<sup>160</sup> Murúa: Bk. 2, Ch. 34: p. 425.



temple, where they waited three days for the first crescent to reappear. When the new moon finally rose in the sky, the ruler, together with the high priest of the Sun, left the temple and decreed the start of *Sitwa*. This announcement was soon relayed throughout Cuzco, and all its inhabitants now shouted, “plagues, disasters, misfortunes and dangers get out of this land!”, all the while shaking their clothes to expel the evils. At that signal, a crowd of four hundred armed warriors, who had assembled in the square of Haucaypata, ran out of the city in the direction of the four *suyus*, carrying burning torches and exhorting the illnesses to depart the land. All these men were members of the nobility accompanied by two to three non-royal ayllus, each one grouped according to their moiety and *suyu* division. Their specific journey outside Cuzco reached a secluded close a few kilometres away from the capital, where they relayed their task to several groups of *mitmaq* waiting on the roads to continue the ritual expulsion<sup>161</sup>. The run itself eventually ended when each of the four contingents reached their respective streams, in which they bathed and cleansed their weapons.

Dawn was then approaching and, back in Cuzco, all city residents assembled in the streams, “each one in his own *seqe*”, in order to purify themselves with water<sup>162</sup>. After this cleansing, a group of celebrants would light balls of dry grass bound with cords and, dancing with these torches in the streets, loudly beseeched the illnesses to leave the city. Everyone, including the sovereign and his wife, finally re-entered their respective homes, where they rubbed their face with a sort of maize mush called *sanku* before spreading it over the main parts of their habitation, in the belief that it protected its occupants and their food supplies from afflictions. In the different sanctuaries of Cuzco, the mummy bundles and the statues of Incan gods were also “warmed” with the same mush, and having done, both the deities and the people were able to enjoy rich food in the privacy of their residence.

A glance at the religious practices performed today in the same month confirms that *Sitwa* was a ritual of regeneration. Every year, in several communities of the high plateaux, the pastoralists conduct a ritual called *Herranza* or *Agustukuy* during which the participants renew the vital force of the herds and crops<sup>163</sup>. Hiroyasu Tomoeda has

---

<sup>161</sup> The *mitmaq* were foreign ethnic groups that had been displaced from their far land of origin and resettled around Cuzco to ensure political stability. See Wachtel 1982; Pärssinen 1992: pp. 163-170.

<sup>162</sup> Polo Ondegardo 1916: p. 23.

<sup>163</sup> Quispe 1969; Isbell 1978: pp. 151-164; Flannery et al. 1989: pp. 143-182; Vivanco Guerra 2001; Rivera Andía 2003.

shown that this celebration takes on the same patterns as the Incan festival, for both involve “warming” the beings chilled by their loss of *kamaq*, and lead to the decontamination of the area defiled by ills<sup>164</sup>. The contemporary rite also echoes its pre-Hispanic antecedent in that only a stranger to the family, like the *mitmaq* in Incan times, was able to carry away the impurities from the household and pour them into a distant watercourse. Yet, beyond its significance as a purification ceremony, *Sitwa* was also clearly embedded in a topographical setting, as the four rivers not only signalled the precincts of its ritual space, but also stood for the symbolic confines beyond which stretched the enemy nations<sup>165</sup>. This conception is clearly present in a similar rite witnessed in 1617 by a Jesuit missionary in the district of Cajatambo. In a *carta annua*, he reported to his superior the existence of a cleansing festival that commenced with a race of several naked men pursued by a group of villagers carrying a figure called Aupi, or “illness”. The celebrants ran beyond their community to reach the lands cultivated by the adjacent village and threw the malevolent figure over to the opposite side, thus “passing the illness over to their neighbours”<sup>166</sup>. The same idea may have applied to the dissemination of the diseases outside the ritual space of the *Sitwa*, which symbolically recreated a microcosm of Tawantinsuyu itself. In this context, the *mitmaq* would have played a defining role by representing the plurality of foreign chiefdoms subjected to the Incas throughout the realm.

Zuidema, building upon Jeanette Sherbondy’s work, suggests that the ceremonial space of *Sitwa* reflected the organization of Cuzco’s irrigation system, in the way that the four squads of nobles and *mitmaq*, passing through the non-Incan communities, would have controlled the water channels around the valley<sup>167</sup>. This argument is particularly interesting for it concurs with other aspects of this festival that were all related to the mythical deeds of the subterranean sun. Indeed, *Sitwa*’s spatial organization focuses on the distribution of the arable lands, the diversity of peoples, and the opening of irrigation canals, all of which was the work of Wiraqucha, to whom this ritual was apparently dedicated. Primary sources report that He, “who lives at the edge of this world”, was believed to carry away the illnesses from the rivers into the sea and

---

<sup>164</sup> Tomoeda 1993.

<sup>165</sup> Zuidema 1986b.

<sup>166</sup> *Carta Annua* 1617, ARSI, Perú 14: f. 54, in Polia Meconi 1999: pp. 392-393.

<sup>167</sup> Zuidema 1986b; Sherbondy 1979.

to protect the Incas from any affliction<sup>168</sup>. The orations that would have been declaimed on that occasion, and which were later transcribed by Cristóbal de Molina, were also dedicated to the Hanan god, together with thirty immolated figurines made of *kishwar*, similar to those he received for *Inti rayme*<sup>169</sup>.

The final days of *Quya rayme* confirm that Wiraqucha was associated with the early stage of the crop maturation. Following the ritual cleansing described above, the celebrants gathered in Haucaypata where they assembled the images of their main gods and the mummified bodies of the dead sovereigns. Seated next to Apu P'unchaw was a woman of noble descent called *quya paqhsa* whose fate was sealed during the course of the celebration, for she was to be sacrificed as the wife of the deity. The nobility consecrated their first offerings to Wiraqucha and spent the last part of the day performing a dance called *arawi sitwa* in honour of the same deity. The name of this *taki* evokes a chant of devotion and love towards the resplendent Sun, while its tune, referred to as *t'ika t'ika* (blooms), celebrated the abundant burgeoning that followed the early sowing of the plants<sup>170</sup>. Thus, during the early stage of the crops' growth, dancing and music were closely interconnected with the predominance of the subterranean sun Wiraqucha, showing how different ritual melodies and musical instruments were believed to induce particular atmospheric phenomena associated to the gods, an opinion still widespread today in several parts of South America<sup>171</sup>.

On the following days several thousands of llamas, claimed from the four *suyus* and alienated to the Incan divinities, were brought to the main plaza. Four immaculate animals were chosen from the flock to be sacrificed. Their lungs were inspected to foretell the coming year, and their blood mixed with the *sanku* mush. A share of this mixture, called *yawar sanku*, was then distributed among the participants together with a slice of raw llama meat, which they ate as a sign of confederation with the Inca and the divinities present. Two goddesses, the Moon and Pacha Mama, were next to be honoured, and on the following day, both received similar oblations while the officiants uttered prayers. Gender roles seem to have played a central part in this ceremony for, in

---

<sup>168</sup> Molina: pp. 81-95.

<sup>169</sup> Cobo: T. 2, Bk. 13, Ch. 29, p. 218.

<sup>170</sup> "Tica: the flower which is plumage", González Holguín, *Vocabulario*: p. 340. In Quechua, the plural is usually inferred. In order to specify an indefinite but large quantity, speakers double the noun concerned by the plural. *T'ika t'ika* thus refers to the numerous flowers growing after the plantation.

<sup>171</sup> Stobart 2006: p. 52.

addition to the expressions of devotion bestowed on these two female deities, *Sitwa* took place during the Incan month of *Quya rayme*, commonly translated as the “festival of the queen”<sup>172</sup>. Catherine Julien recently challenged this interpretation and demonstrated that the word *quya* extended to a class of noble women related to the sovereign, and from whom his wife was elected<sup>173</sup>. It was also from this elite group that the female victim, sacrificed as the Sun’s spouse during *Sitwa*, was chosen. Moreover, indications that gender duality was present in August rituals can be found from colonial times through to the present day. For historian David Cahill, the festival of Our Lady of Loreto, conducted on 22 August 1692 by indigenous officials, may have echoed the Pre-Hispanic cleansing ritual. At the heart of this feast was the veneration of a particular representation of the Virgin who, in all likelihood, had become the female patron of the colonial Incan nobility<sup>174</sup>. Nowadays, the Assumption feast in August is often equated with the celebration of Mother Earth, believed to be renewed and therefore “virgin” when she [i.e., the earth] opens during this period of the year. In several communities, this characteristic may have favoured the merging of indigenous lore with the Christian feast, where a certain aspect of the Virgin Mary is frequently associated with the *Pacha Mama* and the early growth of crops<sup>175</sup>.

Finally, *Quya rayme* closed as the last portions of *yawar sanku* were dispensed to the exiles and foreign delegates who were now authorized to re-enter the city with the images of their deities, and on doing so were required to declare publicly their obedience to the ruler and his tutelary gods. For two days, a great quantity of clothes was burnt and each nation was asked to perform its own traditional dances, whereupon the provincial lords received rich goods, garments, servants and wives in recognition for their loyalty. Despite this acknowledgement, when returning to their land, the foreign delegates were only entitled to take the figures of the gods that had remained in Cuzco the previous year, while the images they had brought for this last occasion were kept in the Incas’ possession until the next *Sitwa* was commemorated. In this way, the ruling elite always held in custody several of their subjects’ deities, thereby ensuring “a

---

<sup>172</sup> Guaman Poma de Ayala: 252 [254], p. 227; Zuidema 1986b: p. 180; Sallnow 1987: p. 38.

<sup>173</sup> Julien 2000: pp. 35-37.

<sup>174</sup> Cahill 2002.

<sup>175</sup> Mariscotti 1978a; Harris 1999: pp. 201-219; Albó 2002: pp. 406-410. This parallel has its limitations, because certain characteristics attributed to the Virgin Mary, such as chastity and mercy, cannot be equated with those of Pachamama. See Salles-Reese 1997: pp. 30-39.

carefully balanced system of patronage and censure of provincial shrines”<sup>176</sup>. The festivities eventually over, the ashes of all the sacrifices conducted during that month were dispersed over the pastures of the puna, an act that helped to regenerate the vegetation of the high altitudes after the general grazing of the llamas.

#### *PURA UPYAY*

Two weeks after the beginning of *Sitwa*, at the time of the full moon, the Incas carried out another festivity called *pura upyay* dedicated to the first phase of the crops’ maturation process<sup>177</sup>. This ritual was held on the edge of the city during a period of four days, while in Haucaypata the common people shared the early fruits and crops that had just ripened. Significantly, this festival shows strong similarities with the dispersion of the ashes performed in early January, which Molina called *mayu qatiy* or “following the river”<sup>178</sup>. Gutiérrez de Santa Clara confirms this parallel by naming the late January ritual *pura upyay*<sup>179</sup>, suggesting that it was performed at least twice a year, upon the opening and closing of the heavy rains. On this occasion, the ruling elite gathered at the junction of the two rivers in Pumap Chupan and cast several offerings of llama blood and precious garments into the watercourse. They incinerated a great number of llamas in a fire lighted *in situ* and scattered the ashes of the sacrifices at the rivers’ junction, together with ground coca and flowers they had brought “from all the plants of the fields afar”<sup>180</sup>. Eventually, every *Orejón*, having poured a tumbler of chicha into the streams, drank from one “as if [they were] toasting with the waters”<sup>181</sup>. While these oblations were being made, two lords, one affiliated to Hanan Cuzco and the other to Urin Cuzco, posted themselves on opposite sides of the river, each one with a group of ten or so assistants carrying long poles. The offerings accomplished, both teams followed the current downstream for approximately a hundred and fifty kilometres, using their staffs to remove the items stuck in the backwaters. They finally ended their journey in the town of Ollantaytambo, which would have stood as the farthest settlement area of the Incas-by-Privilege northwest of Cuzco<sup>182</sup>, hence circumscribing the *pura upyay* festival, like that of *Sitwa*, to a ritual space associated with the Incas’

---

<sup>176</sup> MacCormack 1991: p. 104.

<sup>177</sup> Primary sources report that this celebration started fourteen days after the beginning of *Sitwa*, that is the interval separating the first crescent that followed the conjunction of the moon to the full moon.

<sup>178</sup> Molina: pp. 114-117.

<sup>179</sup> Gutiérrez de Santa Clara: Ch. 65, p. 256.

<sup>180</sup> Betanzos: Pt. 1, Ch. 15, pp. 72-73.

<sup>181</sup> Ibid.

<sup>182</sup> Zuidema 1985: p. 223. See also Bauer 1992: pp. 18-35.

allies. Molina, who carefully described this event as being held in January, reports that these offerings were intended for Wiraqucha, who received them once the river met the waters of *Mama Qucha* that surround the universe.

The name of this ritual, as recorded by Betanzos and Gutiérrez, and its focus on dual organization, may cast some light on the meaning of these events. To begin with, González Holguín notes several uses of the term *pura* in reference to the opposition between two contrasting sides. Followed by *kill*, it refers to the full moon and its waning crescent, which provided Zuidema with the substance for his own translation of the ceremony: “to drink after the full moon”<sup>183</sup>. Although this rite effectively took place at this specific time, Zuidema’s definition remains doubtful because it overlooks the broader meaning of the gloss *pura*. In several entries of González Holguín’s lexicon, it refers to an intermediate position in the middle of two factions, which accommodate or disparage both parties<sup>184</sup>. Holguín records another meaning of *pura*: the complementary aspect of two opposed elements forming a couple, a definition that may have influenced its contemporary meaning of “pure”. Remarkably, all these variations in meaning ideally depict the concepts that characterised the moieties’ relationships at the heart of the September festival. As a result, the combination of *pura* and *upyay* (to drink) describe the act of “drinking to/with the division that opposes and brings together [the moieties]”. Indeed, this ceremony was addressed to the Vilcamayu River, which proceeded from the union in Pumap Chupan of the four tributaries supplying the Hanan and Urin divisions with irrigation water. Upstream, the upper part supervised two major watercourses called the Tullumayu and Saphi, while the lower one controlled the Chunchulmayu and the Huancaru. Anthropologist Jeanette Sherbondy showed that the headsprings supplying these rivers were all located in a different *suyu* and suggested that each of them was supervised by a *panaqa* associated to the respective division<sup>185</sup>. *Pura upyay*, therefore, commemorated the complementary role of each moiety in the

---

<sup>183</sup> Zuidema (2002: p. 22) also considers *pura upiyay* to not only be the name of this ritual, but also that of this specific month. However, the testimonies of Fernández and Santa Clara indicate that this ceremony was performed at least twice a year so that *pura upiyay* could not have designated a month, but rather the celebration in itself.

<sup>184</sup> “Pura: entre si uno con otro, o uno y otro”; “Purap man sayani: hazer entrambos vandos contrarios, o arrimareados”; “Purapman sonco: Ynclinado a rreboluer y embarrar, o ayudar a entrambas partes con dezir a unos mal de otros”; “Purap man sayak: El de dos bandos, o embarrador rebolvedor”; “Purap man, o purap simiyoc: El que rebuelue y lleua chismes entre dos”, González Holguín, *Vocabulario*: pp. 296-297. The semantic field of this word recalls the concepts of *taypi* or *chawpi*, see Bouysse-Cassagne 1986; Harris 1985.

<sup>185</sup> Sherbondy 1987: pp. 121-122, 127-128. See also Zuidema 1986b.

maintenance of these watercourses and honoured the salutary confluence of these forces essential for the irrigation of the valley and the growth of the early cultivations. It also mirrored and counterbalanced the early rituals conducted by the Vicaquirao *panaqa* (Hanan Cuzco) in the primary feeder canal of the city, because the second stage of *pura upyay* took place in the Kuntisuyu region, a location associated with Urin Cuzco. Moreover, while the offerings conducted after the cleansing of the water ditches were entrusted to each lineage on the specific water channel it was in charge of, *pura upyay* engaged the members of both moieties as a conciliation of the two divisions, which was only made possible once the city had been ritually purified and the foreigners reintegrated into its centre.

#### PREPARATIONS FOR THE RITE OF PASSAGE

After *Pura upyay*, another religious event soon occupied the attention of the nobility and for the next two months every household in Cuzco that included a male youth, ready for initiation, lived in the expectation of the next *Warachiku* (the donning of the loincloth). During this period, the novices-to-be and several of their family members were kept occupied with the preliminaries of the forthcoming public ceremony. To begin with, the male sponsors of high status provided a large quantity of black wool to their female relatives who would spend the entire month spinning (*puskay*) and weaving (*away*) a garment destined for the probationer. In reference to this activity, the period in question was called *Puskay killa* or the “month of spinning”<sup>186</sup>. Simultaneously, the boys left their home and settled in the countryside to fast and collect bundles of straw, which they later dispensed among their female kin. In a location close by, on a hill called Chaca, a group of maidens aged between twelve and fourteen years gathered together to spin the wool for weaving the loincloths’ fringes. While the spinning process was underway, the young girls worked under the auspices of the Huanacauri *waka*, which had been temporarily moved from its location southeast of Cuzco (Co. 6:7) to this hill in Chinchaysuyu (Ch. 5:7), that is from the Urin part of the valley to its Hanan part<sup>187</sup>. Finally, if the rainfall were late in arriving during this crucial period for the

---

<sup>186</sup> “Puchcani puchcaccuni: to spin” in González Holguín, *Vocabulario*: p. 292. “Puchayquis” in Polo Ondegardo 1916: p. 23; “puzquay quiz” in Gutiérrez de Santa Clara: Ch. 65, p. 255; “puzcuay quiz” in Fernández: Pt. 1, Bk. 1, Ch. 10, p. 86; and “puchay quiz” in Cabello de Balboa: p. 352; Acosta: Bk. 5, Ch. 28, p. 270; Murúa: Bk. 2, Ch. 39, p. 440; Cobo: T. 2, Bk. 13, Ch. 30, p. 219.

<sup>187</sup> Cobo: T. 2, Bk. 13, Ch. 25, p. 208; The information provided by Cobo was probably based on a document of Polo Ondegardo, to whose papers the Jesuit had access. In his inventory of the *wakas*, Polo notes: “Chacaguanacauri; which is a hill on the road to Yucay where the young men who were armed

growth of young crops, in Haucaypata the Incas would attach a black llama and pour chicha around it, before letting it starve and bleat of hunger for several days (see Figure 3.3). At the origin of this practice was the belief, still widespread today, that the llamas' plaintive cry attracts the rains; the animal therefore remained tethered in the main plaza until Wiraqucha sent the rain<sup>188</sup>.

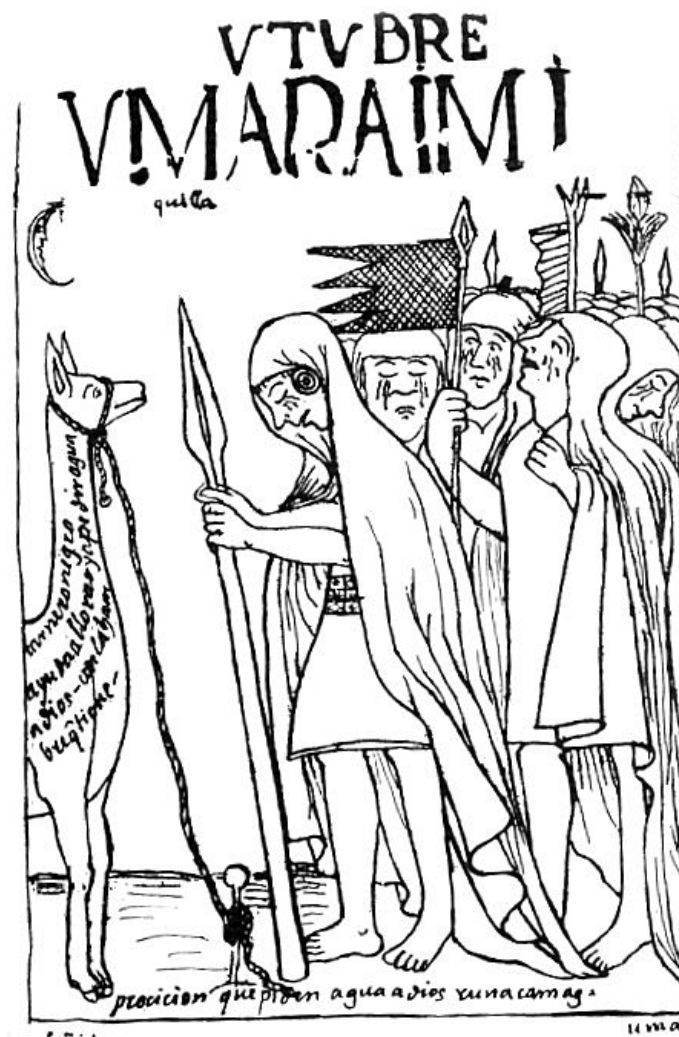


Figure 3.3. October, *Uma rayme*. Inserted in the drawing: “Carnero negro ayuda a llorar y a pedir agua a dios con la hambre que tiene”. In Guaman Poma 1980: 254 [256]: p. 228.

orejones went to find a certain straw they attached to their lances”, Polo Ondegardo 1917: p. 9. This site can be identified with the ruins of Chacan northwest of Cuzco, see Bauer 1998: pp. 61-62.

<sup>188</sup> Guaman Poma de Ayala: 255 [257], p. 229; Cobo: T. 2, Bk. 13, Ch. 30, p. 219; Isbell 1978; Stobart 2006: p. 218.



It is often assumed that the *Warachiku* commenced with the public festivities of *Qhapaq rayme*, when the novices were tonsured and began their pilgrimage outside the city. However it should be noted that, before this event occurred, the passage of the sun through the local zenith on October 30 marked an important date. This was when the young boys requested of their ancestor Huanacauri the privilege of being initiated. In order to do so, they first assembled in the main square to drink with the deities and the mummies of their past sovereigns before praying for courage and good fortune in the coming ordeals. Then, a hundred llamas chosen for their purity were brought to Haucaypata and distributed among thirty attendants. Each day of the month, one of these celebrants walked around the main square with three, sometimes four llamas, and sacrificed them to Wiraqucha. This ritual lasted until no animal remained to be slaughtered, thus coming to an end thirty days later, on November 30, when the actual ordeals of the rite of passage started. The ashes of these sacrifices were then carried away to a house in Pumap Chupan where the Incas stored the remains of their past offerings<sup>189</sup>. Interestingly, when recording the details of Pachacuti Yupanqui's reforms, Betanzos also mentions the observance of an elapse of thirty days between the decree of the *Warachiku* and its enactment. According to him, the sovereign called for his three loyal captains to gather in Cuzco where he imparted to them the festivity's events that he had devised. This assembly, Betanzos specifies, occurred thirty days before the actual celebration of the initiation ritual, in order to prepare the garments and offerings of chicha<sup>190</sup>. Altogether, this evidence confirms that *Warachiku* started on November 30 (GC).

In the same month, and five days after the first sacrifice of llamas, the young boys left Cuzco with several adults and spent the night in Huanacauri hill. In Molina's words, the reason for this journey was to "reproduce the pilgrimage their forefathers had made in this place", referring to the Ayar siblings' migration to the valley<sup>191</sup>. Arriving

---

<sup>189</sup> Cobo: T. 2, Bk. 13, Ch. 25, pp. 208-209; Molina: pp. 97-98. Molina mentioned briefly the sacrifices of three llamas every day of the month. However, Cobo recorded this information in detail for his description of the *Qhapaq rayme* festival. Although he situates this celebration in December, his invaluable relation does not fit in the timeframe of a single month but rather embraces the whole festival, starting from October with the spinning activities. He therefore fixes the beginning of the *Warachiku* on October 30, when the Incan nobility started to perform the *Itu* celebration and the young men asked Huanacauri the licence to be initiated. However, Cobo's description becomes confusing later on, as he merges the first visit of the boys to Huanacauri with the second, which was held several weeks later at the start of the public celebrations of *Warachiku*.

<sup>190</sup> Betanzos: Pt. 1, Ch. 14, p. 70.

<sup>191</sup> Molina: p. 98.

at the shrine, the celebrants gashed the legs of six old llamas, the blood of which they smeared on the boys' faces. These creatures were then walked around the hill, bleeding, until they dropped dead, and were then cremated<sup>192</sup>. Once having made these offerings, the youths were granted the licence to be initiated. Before returning to Cuzco, they collected another bundle of straw which they later distributed among the women who had spent the previous few weeks fasting and preparing the ceremonial chicha. According to Juan de Betanzos, this drink was kept in the household during the festival and only consumed on the day of the ear piercing. The offerings to the gods therefore required an additional quantity of chicha, which the young maidens or the novices themselves would have prepared by chewing maize and mixing it with the water of Calispuquio (Ch 3:8)<sup>193</sup>. The preparation of this ceremonial drink gave its name to the month, *Kantaray killa*, which refers literally to this activity<sup>194</sup>.

November ended with the *Itu* festival when the probationers walked solemnly around Haucaypata playing on small drums, gravely rehearsing the daily preliminaries of the *Warachiku*. This procession, however, not only announced the rite of passage to come, but was also directed to the protection of the recently sowed crops. Indeed, the Incas believed that the sound of drums incited abundant downpours and, importantly, prevented the appearance of hail and frost that could damage the yields at this crucial time of year<sup>195</sup>. Drums were therefore closely associated with Illapa, the warlike deity of the high plateaux who ruled these atmospheric phenomena (see Chapter 2). Such an association also explains that the same instruments accompanied other activities of the puna, such as the llamas' ritual mating held later in the rainy season, and were played before warfare encounters<sup>196</sup>. Similarly, the sound of drums at *Itu* heralded the warlike ordeals of *Warachiku* whose time-span coincided with the herds' breeding and early birthing periods. While these events unfolded, the dark cloud of the Llama watched over the terrestrial activities that marked the start of the ceremonial cycle ruled by the Sun god P'unchaw.

---

<sup>192</sup> Cobo: T. 2, Bk. 13, Ch. 2, p. 209.

<sup>193</sup> Betanzos: Pt. 1, Ch. 14, p. 69; Gutiérrez de Santa Clara: Ch. 65, pp. 255-256; Cobo: T. 2, Bk. 13, Ch. 30, p. 220.

<sup>194</sup> *Kantaray* referred to a specific type of chicha, see Molina: p. 97.

<sup>195</sup> Murra 1983: p. 43; Zuidema 1985: p. 201; Gruszczynska-Ziółkowska 1995: pp. 116-117.

<sup>196</sup> Zuidema 1985: pp. 196-199; Niles 1999: pp. 40, 61-62; Tomoeda 2004: p. 180; Gudemos 2005: p. 44.

Yet, prior to the inauguration of this new cycle, the official celebrations of the metropolitan calendar constituted an indivisible body of traditions. From early June to September, these public representations placed Wiraqucha at the head of the hierarchy of Incan gods because it was he who regulated the underground waters supplying the irrigation systems. This function was ultimately crucial because, at the end of the dry season, the fields required artificial watering in anticipation of the rains. It was also Wiraqucha who bore the illnesses away from the sacred centre of Cuzco when the first rainfalls fell drenching the city. He was the divinity who received the Incas' offerings in the sea bordering the edge of the world, and it was he who animated the different ethnic groups at the dawn of the new era, bestowing them with their own territory, customs and language. Accordingly, his rule over *chiraw mit'a* opened with the re-enactment of his journey from Lake Titicaca to the sea, during the June festival conducted by the Sapa Inca, and proceeded with the celebration of his deeds at *Sitwa* when the communities' boundaries were reasserted and foreign delegates performed their traditional dances at the close of the revelry.

The last festivities of the Hanan cycle focused on regulating the precipitations brought about by Illapa, the divinity to whom Wiraqucha was closely associated (see Chapter 2). With the apparition of the first rains at *Quya rayme*, artificial irrigation had become obsolete and Tiqsi Wiraqucha was now living on the edge of the world where he had carried away the illness. From this time forth, Illapa ruled over the atmospheric elements and was assisted in this task by the mummies of late Incan lords, also known as *Illapa*<sup>197</sup>. These corpses were bundled within many layers of rich fabrics, and had their head covered similarly to the thunder god's figure, *Ch'uqi Illa*, whose "face was not visible"<sup>198</sup>. Like the divinity of lightning and thunderbolt, they were believed to regulate the precipitations; the reason for which Sinchi Roca's mummy was carried throughout the fields when the annual rains had not been abundant enough to nourish the land<sup>199</sup>. Their attendance at public ceremonies also largely coincided with the rule of Illapa on earth: they received chicha and maize mash at *Sitwa*, and later attended the Incas' initiation rite, as Manco Capac's embalmed body was carried to Huanacauri hill<sup>200</sup>. Their benevolence during this crucial moment of the agrarian cycle was later

---

<sup>197</sup> Albornoz: p. 167; Guaman Poma de Ayala: 288 [290], p. 263.

<sup>198</sup> Cobo: T. 2, Bk. 14, Ch. 19, p. 275; Molina: p. 67.

<sup>199</sup> Polo Ondegardo 1916: p. 10; Cobo: T. 2; Bk. 12, Ch. 9, p. 73. See also Ziolkowski 1996: pp. 132-133.

<sup>200</sup> Molina: pp. 76, 78, 107, 112, 114; Sarmiento de Gamboa: Ch. 14, p. 64.

remembered at the Sun festival marking the start of the harvesting season, when they received large offerings of food<sup>201</sup>. Guaman Poma de Ayala is alone in suggesting that November (GC) corresponded as well to the annual celebration of the dead when the mummies received food, garments and livestock<sup>202</sup>. Still today, the dead ancestors are believed to look after the early maturation of crops and, for this purpose, receive rich offerings around All Saints and All Souls Days (November 1 and 2)<sup>203</sup>. In Incan time as well, the mummies assisted Illapa in regulating the precipitations, but their public appearance extended beyond the cycle ruled by the tutelary deities of Hanan Cuzco. The royal mummies thus attended the *Qhapaq rayme* festivities inaugurating the reign of P'unchaw. This is perhaps because their cult was more strictly associated with the meteorological season of *puquy mit'a*, regardless of the cultural construct that divided the ceremonial calendar between the two moieties, and/or perhaps because, together, the embalmed bodies of past rulers represented the continuity of the Incan dynasty, "the key reference points in genealogical reckoning" in Frank Salomon's words<sup>204</sup>. Be that as it may, the Urin cycle started with the public celebrations of *Warachiku* during which the celebrants re-enacted the Ayar siblings' journey across the valley, as had been stored in the memory of the lower moiety.

#### THE ADVENT OF P'UNCHAW

The public celebrations of *Warachiku* took up the entire month of December and came to an end with a mock battle in January. It is certainly the most documented celebration of the Incan calendar, but also one for which we have many contradictory accounts. Hence, attempting to draw any single picture of this initiation ritual is a challenge, the intricacies of which stem partly from the very nature of the festival. As with other rites of passage worldwide, the *Warachiku* would have involved secluded and secret practices entailing a certain degree of social and gender partition. Only Incas of noble status participated in the celebration, while other ethnic groups from the Cuzco region

---

<sup>201</sup> Segovia: pp. 81-83; Santillán: p. 34. In colonial times, communities of the central Andes conducted similar oblations at the beginning of the harvesting season. In San Pedro de Hacas (Cajatambo), for instance, the mummies were offered the first produce of the year together with the new chicha prepared from half-ripened corn. See Duviols 1986: pp. 148-149.

<sup>202</sup> Guaman Poma de Ayala: 257 [259], p. 231.

<sup>203</sup> *Ritos y Tradiciones de Huarochirí*: Ch. 28, pp. 365-371; Allen 1988: pp. 56-57, 164-165; Gose 1994: pp. 141-146; Harris 2000a [1982].

<sup>204</sup> Salomon 1995: p. 339.

conducted their own initiation at a different time of year<sup>205</sup>. Several sources also indicate that this festival was the occasion for the young men to receive a new name, dispensing with the one they had been given at birth. None of the accounts, however, situate this episode in the exact sequence of the events, which suggests that it took place in the privacy of the novices' houses. In this context, it would seem unlikely that any Spaniard personally witnessed the entire ritual, a likelihood that could partly explain the discrepancies observable in colonial texts.

Yet, despite these ritual constraints, women and provincials were not entirely denied access to this drama. A group of maidens, for example, was able to perceive the young men's sufferings as they followed the procession around, each carrying a jar of chicha to alleviate the novices' thirst. These girls, aged between twelve and fourteen years, probably underwent their own, although undocumented, initiation<sup>206</sup>. As for the foreigners, they were commanded to come all the way from their provinces at the very beginning of the celebration, only to wait outside Cuzco for several weeks, in the knowledge that the Incan nobility was conducting the initiation of its youth.

To those [provincials] who were leaving and entering court, [the Incas] designated a certain place, designated for this purpose, at the entrance of each road. In each of these locations gathered the people of the *suyu* through which this road went. There, they collected the tributes and the goods for the Religion that every province of the realm provided in this season, and those who had brought them waited there for the king's and the huacas' ministers to receive them<sup>207</sup>.

Although they were denied any involvement with the celebrants until the last days of *Qhapaq rayme*, foreign officials were aware that the probationers' pilgrimage outside Cuzco was a demonstration of the Incas' bravery and endurance at war. In this sense, the effectiveness of the *Warachiku* not only rested on the impact it had upon the initiates and the ruling elite itself, but also on those who were excluded from it. These were made aware that the young men returning from their journey, and passing by the foreigners' secluded residences, were wounded and covered with blood from their trials.

While the chronicles attribute the institutionalisation of the Incan initiatory rite to different sovereigns, two important traditions prevailed. The first locates the origin of

---

<sup>205</sup> Molina: p. 97.

<sup>206</sup> MacCormack 1991: pp. 114-117.

<sup>207</sup> Cobo: T. 2, Bk. 13, Ch. 25, p. 208. My translation.

*Warachiku* before the Incan settlement in Cuzco, when Ayar Uchu appeared to his brothers at the summit of Huanacauri and enjoined them to perpetuate ear piercing as a sign of nobility among their descendants<sup>208</sup>. It was therefore at the foot of this hill, in Matahwa, that Manco Capac's young son underwent the first trials of the initiation rite, whereupon he and his relatives recommenced their journey, leaving the petrified *waka* of Ayar Uchu behind them<sup>209</sup>. In memory of these founding events, the novices paid their respects to this shrine and several others where their forefathers had stopped along their way to the fertile valley. Another cluster of narratives, however, assigns the entire conception of this ritual to Pachacuti Yupanqui who, having defeated the Chancas and taking his place on the imperial stool, instituted the numerous festivities of the metropolitan calendar, decreeing that the *Warachiku* was to mark the beginning of each year<sup>210</sup>. Spanish authors often intermingle these two traditions and report that, although *Warachiku* had been inaugurated at the beginning of the Incan era, the rite of passage would have undergone various transformations under the auspices of Hanan lords<sup>211</sup>. Given that the Incan initiation ritual was a celebration for the entire Cuzqueñan nobility, these discrepant accounts may have corresponded to the divergent traditions held separately by the two moieties. This would also explain why Wiraqucha, the head deity of the upper moiety, is sometimes said to have bestowed part of the *Warachiku* customs to Manco Capac. It follows that, as with the narratives of the Incan migration to the Cuzco valley, the chroniclers' rendition of the ritual events synthesizes different traditions. Still, despite these contrasting aspects, it remains evident that the itinerary of the *Warachiku* celebrants replicated the journey of the Incan ancestors within the topography of the Cuzco region. This characteristic, but also Huanacauri's central role as P'unchaw's servant during these events and the link of several ceremonial shrines with the Pre-Deluge era, suggest that *Warachiku* inaugurated the annual cycle of the lower cosmological half ruled by P'unchaw, the Urin moiety, and the first generation of settlers.

---

<sup>208</sup> Cieza de León: Pt. 2, pp. 6-20; Molina: p. 107; Sarmiento de Gamboa: Ch. 13, p. 58.

<sup>209</sup> Cieza de León: Pt. 2, pp. 16-17; Sarmiento de Gamboa: Ch. 13, pp. 57-58; Murúa: Bk. 1, Ch. 2-3, pp. 42-45.

<sup>210</sup> Betanzos: Pt. 1, Ch. 15: p. 71; Polo Ondegardo: p. 18; Cabello de Balboa: p. 349; Murúa: Bk. 2, Ch. 38, p. 437.

<sup>211</sup> Sarmiento, for instance, asserts that the *Warachiku* had been instituted in honour of Manco Capac's son when father and son entered the valley at the dawn of the Incan era. Later, however, he adds that Pachacuti Yupanqui built four houses in honour of the Sun around Cuzco, so that his son could undergo his initiation ritual there, and receive his new weapons in each place (Sarmiento de Gamboa: Ch. 63, pp. 116-117). See also Molina: pp. 106-107.

THE *WARACHIKU* ORDEALS

On the eleventh day of the month *Qhapaq rayme*, an elderly relative of the novice-to-be sheared the child's hair and dressed him in a tunic, woven previously by his female kin. He then placed a black headband (*llaytu*) on the boy's forehead and threw a light-coloured *manta* over his shoulders, both of which were adorned with black feathers. Several maidens from the Incan noble caste joined the participants on the main square where each of them paired with a boy. From then on, the young girls would accompany the novices on their journey outside Cuzco and alleviate their thirst with the small jar of chicha they bore with them. Together, the celebrants proceeded to Matahua, located some twelve kilometres from Cuzco, where the Ayar siblings had settled for a short season before entering the valley<sup>212</sup>. In memory of this foundation act, the novices and several adults spent the night there, and at sunrise they ascended the slope of Huanacauri to reach their ancestor's shrine. Upon arriving, they presented their offerings to the *waka*, in return of which they received a sling (*waraka*) similar to the one their Incan ancestors carried when they entered the valley<sup>213</sup>.

These offerings completed, the celebrants descended the hill to a nearby ravine called Quirirmanta where their ancestors had initially interrupted their journey in order to dispense different functions amongst themselves, entrusting the perpetuation of their lineage to Manco Capac, the occupation of the land to Ayar Auca, while Ayar Uchu was commanded to remain "a huaca for their religion"<sup>214</sup>. In memory of this event, the "uncles, relatives and curacas" who attended the initiation festival struck the novices and enjoined them to follow their ancestors' example. On receiving the blows, the young men remained on their feet and stoically restrained from showing any sign of distress. After this trial, everyone intoned a chant, called *wari*, which was a term denoting un-domesticated camelids, especially the vicuña<sup>215</sup>. The provenance of this song can be traced back to the mythical emergence of the Ayar siblings from the cave, when, according to Molina, Wiraqucha entrusted it to Manco Capac with the directive to sing it only at *Warachiku*<sup>216</sup>.

---

<sup>212</sup> Bauer (1998: pp. 110-112) identifies this site with the shrine of Matoro (Co 7:5), which may have been located on the mountain summit above the present-day community of Matao.

<sup>213</sup> Molina: p. 101.

<sup>214</sup> Sarmiento de Gamboa: Ch. 12, p. 56.

<sup>215</sup> Urbano and Duviols in Molina: p. 102 (77); Bertonio: p. 151; Gudemo 2005: p. 33.

<sup>216</sup> Molina: p. 107.

On their way back to Cuzco, the novices met up with a small procession led by a banner-bearer carrying the two royal insignia that the Incas had previously paraded for the festival of *Inti rayme*. The first emblem was the *suntur pawqar*, followed by a white llama called *napa* (or *tupa guanaco* depending on the sources) chosen from the herd of the Sun god P'unchaw. This animal represented the first of its species to have emerged from the cave with the Ayar ancestors. Its ears were pierced and its back covered with a red mantle over which was laid a harness adorned with red shells or spondylus (*mullu*). Two *mamakuna* accompanied this procession while the *napa*'s herder blew into a large conch-shell, probably a *strombus*, which was an instrument traditionally played by pastoralists<sup>217</sup>. Following the sound of music, the celebrants launched into another *wari* dance before finally reaching Cuzco. The use of conch-shells and spondylus on this occasion was certainly related to their alleged virtues of attracting heavy, and sometimes even apocalyptic, precipitations. In Incan times, offerings of *mullu* were presented to the rivers in order to bring rain to the young crops, while sounding the *strombus* was believed to cause a reversal of time and social order brought about by the rise of the water level (*uñu pachakuti*)<sup>218</sup>. Accordingly, the shells' appearance at that time of year not only referred to the meteorological conditions of the December month, when the rains are heaviest, but also created a link between the time of the celebration and the primordial Deluge that destroyed the old world to be replaced by a new order. It was following this cataclysmic event that the Ayar siblings entered the valley and saw over Huanacauri the propitious rainbow that announced the advent of their reign. In a similar fashion, the novices passed through their initiatory ordeals to be reborn under a new name and thereby reached another stage of social life.

After a day of rest the participants returned to Haucaypata where the novices and the young maidens received a new tunic that had been woven by the tributaries of Tawantinsuyu as part of their labour service. Now on the plaza, the young men held in their hands a spear (*yawri*) to which they had attached a tuft of red wool and a handful of straw (*ch'awar*). According to Cieza de León, these additional items represented their enemies' mortal remains and reminded the novices of the imperatives of war, "as a sign that when they went to battle against their enemies, they should endeavour to bring

---

<sup>217</sup> Gudemo 2005: p. 36.

<sup>218</sup> Paulsen 1974: p. 603; Allen 1988: p. 98; Allen 1993-1994: pp. 89-90.



back the heads and hair of those”<sup>219</sup>. Thus, as a test of their endurance, the boys once more endured the blows inflicted by their older relatives before departing for a long march to Anahuarque hill (Cu 1:7). Here, after offering food to the shrine and being struck again, they were obliged to stand on their feet, holding their *yawri*, to witness the elders performing another *wari* accompanied by the trumpeting sound of a shell. After this dance, however, the young men were given no time to rest as the prospect of a new ordeal opened before them.

For this new contest, the maidens first reached their allotted post some two kilometres away from Anahuarque, at the top of Rauraua hill (Cu 2:4), where they waited for the young men to arrive. On the other side of the dale, the boys prepared to race down and up the two hills by ranking in a single row on the departure line. Each youth was supervised by an adult positioned behind him, and at the signal given by a noble Inca, the adults and youths all started to run in the direction of Rauraua. During this arduous race, the adults stayed behind their protégés to urge them on every time they tumbled on the wet, slippery slopes or wounded themselves on the thorny vegetation; Molina records that many contestants even died from their injuries. The winner’s prize, however, was worth the torments, for he received the prestigious appellative of *waman* (hawk) and, thenceforth, was assigned to high-ranking military posts. At the end of the race, all the contestants were offered a tumbler of chicha to quench their thirst, whereupon the adults danced another *wari* that culminated in them assaulting the young boys with their slings, bringing the ordeal to a close.

According to Molina, the origin of this trial went back to the primordial Flood from which Anahuarque escaped by running to the summit of the hill “as fast as a falcon flies”<sup>220</sup>. It was on this site that the probationers demonstrated their agility in conditions ostensibly similar to those extant at the dawn of time, exactly at the height of the rainy season. Moreover, the concurrent commemoration of the Deluge episode, and the appearance of the dark Llama cloud in the sky together with the procreation cycle of this animal, gives the *Warachiku* pilgrimage another level of significance. As Zuidema and Urton observed, several myths of the central sierra recount how legendary llamas

---

<sup>219</sup> Cieza de León: Pt. 2, p. 18. For Betanzos, this practice occurred in Anahuarque on the following day. This warlike practice had been observed long before the Incas, evidenced by trophy heads in Andean iconography dating from the Ancient Horizon onwards.

<sup>220</sup> Molina: p. 105.

had warned humans about the imminent coming of a flood<sup>221</sup>. This gift of prophecy was related to the belief that the *yana phuyu* of the llama, who walks in the middle of a river at night (the *mayu* or Milky Way), drinks the water of the sea when no one watches, because “if it does not do so, the sea would immediately inundate the earth”<sup>222</sup>. The potentially destructive and heavy falls of the rainy season were therefore believed to originate from the water of the celestial river, which only “the *kamaq* of llamas” could prevent from becoming cataclysmic. It was thus in order to attain an equilibrium in the vital force of the herds, that the *Warachiku* celebrants performed the *wari* dance and honoured the emergence of the first llama together with their ancestors. The fulfilment of these ritual requirements ensured that a new and stable era opened before them, in much the same way that the rainbow arching over Huanacauri at the Ayars’ entrance in the valley indicated that “the world would never again be destroyed by water”<sup>223</sup>.

With the race to Rauraua hill over, the procession headed back to Cuzco in the afternoon preceded by the white llama and the *suntur pawqar*. Upon entering the main square, the novices respectfully saluted the deities and the sovereign before attending the rest of the festival standing. Another *wari* dance was performed, followed by the adults assaulting the young boys. Finally, the celebrants left Haucaypata and arrived at a place called Huamancancha (Ch 4:5), at the foot of Picchu hill, where they spent the night<sup>224</sup>. The following morning they reached the shrine of Yauira, located on the summit of Picchu, which was linked to the primordial destruction of the world:

He had emerged from the earth with Huanacauri, and having lived a long time there lifted himself up and became a stone; one that all the ayllus went to worship during the Raymi feast<sup>225</sup>.

Here, the celebrants conducted the usual rituals of offering maize and coca before sacrificing several llamas and using their blood to trace a line on the boys’ face, from ear to ear. They also ate a piece of raw meat sliced from the animal, so that they would remember that, “if they were not valiant, their enemies would eat their flesh in like manner they had eaten the llama they killed”<sup>226</sup>. This practice was preceded by a

---

<sup>221</sup> Zuidema and Urton 1976: pp. 82-83; Molina: p. 57; *Ritos y tradiciones de Huarochirí*: Ch. 3: pp. 33-37; *Carta Annu* 1614 ARSI Perú 19: ff. 258-262, in Polia Meconi 1999: pp. 358-359.

<sup>222</sup> *Ritos y tradiciones de Huarochirí*: Ch. 29: p. 377.

<sup>223</sup> Sarmiento de Gamboa: Ch. 12, p. 56; Murúa: Bk. 1, Ch. 2, p. 41; Cabello de Balboa: p. 262.

<sup>224</sup> Polo Ondegardo 1917: p. 8.

<sup>225</sup> Polo Ondegardo 1917: p. 15. My translation.

<sup>226</sup> Cieza de León: Pt. 2, Ch. 7, p. 19. My translation.

long oath when the novices expressed their obedience to the Inca and their dedication to the worship of the Sun god. In return, Yauira's attendant offered them a loincloth (*wara*), made by the empire's subjects as their contribution to labour service. In addition, the novices received pendants of gold and silver together with a colourful feather headband from which hung golden rings. After performing another *wari*, the novices' parents struck them as they reminded the youths of their pledge of allegiance to the sovereign and the main deities. They finally returned to Haucaypata, where the deities and the mummy bundles of the Incan lords and their royal spouses were gathered. Around the plaza, a large golden rope, strung on gold and silver posts, enclosed the entire space where, for the next six days, the Hanan and Urin nobility of Cuzco performed a *taki* called *caua* or *aucayo* twice a day. The dancers were covered with a red tunic cloaked in puma hides, while their face was covered with the head of a puma adorned with golden teeth, earrings and a headband. Four *Indios principales* accompanied them by playing on large drums, two from each moiety<sup>227</sup>.

R. Tom Zuidema has thoroughly discussed the theme of the puma in Andean mythology, and posits that it represented the "body politic" in periods of transition and uncertainty<sup>228</sup>. Puma skins were worn in rites of seasonal changeover: at *Qhapaq rayme* and during harvesting festivals, but also insured victory to those who sought to overcome the established order: at times of royal succession or at the turn of a new era<sup>229</sup>. Hence, the young Inca Pachacuti, who had not yet received the *maska paycha*, was said to have placed a puma hide on his head before affronting and defeating the Chancas. A Huarochirí tradition also recounts how a poor Yauyo man won a dancing contest against a wealthy Yunca local by wearing a puma skin, whereupon a rainbow appeared above his head, announcing the imminent rule of his protector, Pariaqaqa<sup>230</sup>. In addition, drums were associated with military invasion, and were played when the stability of the nations making up Tawantinsuyu was threatened<sup>231</sup>. In this way, the four moieties' drums that accompanied the *caua* or *aucayu* dance would have indicated that

---

<sup>227</sup> Garcilaso de la Vega evokes a golden rope that Huayna Capac would have ordered to be made when his firstborn, Huascar, was born. See Garcilaso de la Vega: Bk. 6, Ch. 2, p. 293; Bk. 9, Ch. 1, pp. 505-506.

<sup>228</sup> Zuidema 1985.

<sup>229</sup> Cieza de León: Pt. 1, Ch. 117, p. 306.

<sup>230</sup> Cieza de León: Pt. 2, Ch. 45, p. 133; *Ritos y tradiciones de Huarochirí*: Ch. 5, pp. 65-67. In the central sierra traditions, the Yauyo people are highlanders commonly opposed to the Yuncas who resided in the lowlands. See Rostworowski 1978.

<sup>231</sup> See this chapter, note 196.

the stability of the Incan polity was endangered. In the light of these data, Zuidema suggested that the symbolism of this *taki* served to reassert Incan political borders at a transitional period when the youths underwent a transformation to become warriors<sup>232</sup>. Yet an alternative and, perhaps, complementary perspective can be articulated here. Indeed, we observed earlier in this chapter that the Incan nobility played the *ayllu* and *wayru* (*pichqa*) games while the boys underwent their *Warachiku* ordeals. The stake of these contests was in part to redistribute cultivable parcels among the ruler's kin. Polo Ondegardo indicates as well that the lands, *akllas* and livestock alienated to the empire were "redistributed" annually at the Rayme festival, which he situates in February<sup>233</sup>. These lands were not owned in the literal sense but rather exploited on a rotational basis, and the fruit of their farming granted to the royal lineages as tribute<sup>234</sup>. Like the allotment of communal lands today, this procedure would have generated conflicts, tensions and rivalry among the *panaqas*, so that potential disputes may have been averted through the entertainment of the *ayllu* and *wayru* competitions. In modern Pacariqtambo, the ayllus' headmen anticipate these hostilities by engaging in a ritual battle, each one grouped according to their moiety affiliation. In Gary Urton's words, this encounter serves "to re-establish hierarchical relations of authority"<sup>235</sup>. A similar rationale may have prevailed in the *caua* or *aucayo* dance, also set prior to the redistribution of lands and other goods. In this way, the four drum players evoked the asymmetric relations that shaped the social organization of Cuzco e.g. moieties and moieties' subdivisions, and echoed the inter-lineages rivalries that could endanger the Incan polity. The presence of the puma-dancers not only confirms that a period of transition and instability was taking place; they also transcended this volatile situation to give way to a unified and stable polity<sup>236</sup>.

---

<sup>232</sup> Zuidema 1985: p. 242.

<sup>233</sup> Polo Ondegardo 1916: pp. 69-70; Polo Ondegardo 1990: pp. 56, 80. This date would have corresponded to the end of the *Qhapaq rayme* in the Gregorian calendar.

<sup>234</sup> Murra [1995] 2002; Rostworowski 1993a; Ramírez 1996: pp. 42-61.

<sup>235</sup> Urton 1993: p. 129.

<sup>236</sup> This dance is either called "cayo" (Molina: p. 108), or "aucayo" (Cobo: Pt. 2, Bk. 13, Ch. 25, p. 212). For Cabello de Balboa it was performed in June, which corresponded to the harvesting season. In different sources, June (GC) is referred to as "aucay cuzqui" or "cauay" (see Tables 3.1 and 3.2). The spelling "cauay" is particularly interesting because Pachacuti Yamqui (f. 13v., p. 208) refers to the puma as "caua or chuqi chinchay" in his drawing of the Coricancha altar. Guaman Poma (321 [323], p. 296) also describes "caua" as a dance. This information suggests that the dances with puma skins performed in January and June were closely related and may have originally bore the same name, which transformed by metathesis.

Twenty-one days had eventually gone by since the start of *Warachiku* and the novices now headed toward the water shrine of Calispuquio (Ch 3:8), behind the walls of Sacsahuaman in order to bathe, and put on a new garment. They then walked back to the main square where the deities' images were assembled and, there, they received war weapons from their "main uncle" and other noblemen. For each present the boys received, the adults would strike them and enjoined them to be brave and faithful to their ruler. Eventually, on the following morning, the novices' family gathered in the privacy of their home and offered their boys the four jars of chicha that the women had prepared prior to the celebration. The probationers, befuddled by the beverage, were then carried onto the fields to have their ears pierced.

The *Qhapaq rayme* feasts finally came to a close when foreign governors were invited to re-enter the city precinct and were given an offering of *yawar sanku* similar to the one they had shared after *Sitwa* as a sign of confederation with the Inca<sup>237</sup>. For this purpose, they all assembled in the main plaza where a group of Incan celebrants, "descendents of Lluque Yupanqui" and affiliated to Urin Cuzco, presented them with the maize mush<sup>238</sup>. Although priesthood membership is largely undocumented for the rest of the month, this last information suggests that the sacerdotal duties of *Qhapaq rayme* were entrusted to the lower moiety so that their members would have presided over the celebration marking the advent of their tutelary god, P'unchaw, on earth. But the closing ceremony of *Qhapaq rayme* was also the opportunity to acknowledge the contribution of every subjugated nation to the imperial tribute, and in this spirit, every foreign delegates received *akllas*, wool, herds and clothes in the ruler's name<sup>239</sup>. The nature of these transactions placed the Sapa Inca at the heart of the redistribution of goods because only those who displayed obedience and loyalty towards the central power benefited. It was with this pageant display of asymmetric reciprocity that the nobility eventually closed the public demonstration of *Qhapaq rayme*.

---

<sup>237</sup> Polo Ondegardo, 1916: pp. 18-19.

<sup>238</sup> Acosta: Bk. 5, Ch. 23, p. 256. Acosta is the only chronicler to mention the role of this particular *panaqa* at the end of this celebration. This unusual information is however too specific to be disregarded and appears coherent with the general picture of a festival commemorating the advent of P'unchaw, ruler of the lower half of the cosmos and tutelary god of the Urin moiety.

<sup>239</sup> Polo Ondegardo 1916: p. 18; Polo Ondegardo 1990: pp. 56, 80, 84. In this last document Polo situates the collection of the tribute in February, after the feast of Rayme that lasted one month. His other account of the Incan festivities contradicts this information and places the Rayme in December, like several other chroniclers. Accordingly, the re-entrance of the foreign delegates would have taken place in January. This discrepancy in the writings of the same author has not found any conclusive explanation but from a comparative perspective, the most likely option for the collect of labour services would be January.

RITUALS OF FERTILITY AND IMPREGNATION

As the *Warachiku* reached an end, Incan delegates inaugurated another festival for the multiplication of the llamas. For this event, officials were sent throughout the land to count the livestock alienated to their ruler and divinities, while in Cuzco, the celebrants sprinkled the animals with chicha. During their visits, the Incan inspectors dispensed presents to the pastoralists who had taken best care of the herds and punished those who had neglected their task. Today, this custom is still perpetuated in the high plateaux and follows a similar scenario of purification, reward and occasional punishment<sup>240</sup>. Yet, besides expressing the elite's control over the empire's goods and supplies, this event was marked by the llamas reaching sexual maturity, a stage which can be paralleled with the transformation undergone by the novices who were now facing their first public appearance since their ears had been pierced. Hence, after they were ritually killed, the novices were now reborn as mature beings who had acquired sexual potential. This new aptitude was at the centre of a new ordeal during which the blood they shed was destined to fertilize the earth. On the new moon of the following month (*Kamay killa*), the recently initiated males gathered in Haucaypata and lined up in two factions according to their moiety affiliation. In this fashion, the Hanan and Urin youths fought against each other in a mock – although excruciating – battle by hurling thorny fruits with the slings they had recently acquired. During the hostilities, the participants could suffer deadly injuries and often engaged in a hand-to-hand confrontation before the Sapa Inca finally separated the two camps<sup>241</sup>.

The Incas performed mock battles during, at least, three ceremonial occasions: at the end of the *Warachiku*, for the royal funerals of *Purukaya*, and to commemorate the triumphal return of their leaders from far-off campaigns<sup>242</sup>. As Antoinette Molinié underlined, these ritual confrontations dramatized a passage between two temporal and social states, from childhood to adulthood and from life to death<sup>243</sup>. However, the timing of the young men's last ordeal also corresponded to another transition, situated between the end of the sowing season and the maturation of the crops. In this way, the

---

<sup>240</sup> Tomoeda 2004: p. 175.

<sup>241</sup> Molina: p. 111; Gutiérrez de Santa Clara: Ch. 65, p. 256.

<sup>242</sup> Betanzos: Pt. 1, Ch. 31, pp. 145-148; Pachacuti Yamqui: f. 25 v., p. 232; Zuidema 1991. An early seventeenth-century document reports a ritual battle, opposing the Cañares to the Canas, performed in Cuzco on the Sunday following Assumption. It commemorated the victory of the Cañares, "the Inca's guard", against the Canas. See "Relación de la Fiesta, 1610" in Bradley and Cahill 2000: pp. 156-161.

<sup>243</sup> Molinié 1988: p. 55.

mock battle performed by the novices was closely linked to the agricultural cycle and had this characteristic in common with the ritual battles (*tinku*) enacted in present-day Peru. Andean communities, from Ecuador to Bolivia, conduct these fights at different times of the year, principally on January 1 and 20 (San Sebastian), and at pre-Lenten time, around Carnival<sup>244</sup>. In the Bolivian highlands, the Macha also engage in a ritual fight at Corpus Christi, while Olivia Harris observed this practice among the Laymi at All Saints Day<sup>245</sup>. In the first cases, the outcome of the ritual battles serves to predict the forthcoming agricultural cycle because the winning side is believed to be the fortunate beneficiary of a prosperous year. The blood spilt by the participants is also seen as an offering to the earth that fertilises its soil<sup>246</sup>, at a time of year when young adults often display erotic familiarity in rituals<sup>247</sup>. In P'isac, for instance, the young males engage in a fierce *tinku* on the Sunday of Carnival. Earlier the same day, the unmarried men and women who had danced separately over the past six weeks joined each other to perform sexual games<sup>248</sup>. Likewise, in Pacariqtambo, young fighters hurl unripened fruit at their opponents during the Mardi Gras *tinku*<sup>249</sup>. Ethnologist Jorge Muelle, who witnessed this ritual in 1945, reports that the unmarried men and women of this town celebrated this day by throwing green fruit and chasing one another with thorny branches. These events, he argues, were decisive for the constitution of matrimonial unions<sup>250</sup>.

In many respects, the modern *tinkus* are comparable to the ritual battle of the recently initiated – and unmarried – Incas who also hurled fruit, called *pitahayas*, to their opponents. There exist two main species of these *vine cacti*, yet only one yields prickly fruit, the yellow *pitahayas*, which can grow thorns up to two centimetres but loses them upon ripening (see Figures 3.4 and 3.5). This means that the projectiles used by the young fighters at *Kamay killa* also were unripe fruit, and may have denoted their

---

<sup>244</sup> Bastien 1978: pp. 57-58; Hopkins 1982: p. 171; Molinié 1988: p. 50; Allen 1988: pp. 183-187, 205-207; Urton 1993.

<sup>245</sup> Platt 1986: pp. 239-240; Harris 1999: p. 38. Both these authors emphasize that mock battles were performed during different festivities throughout the year. Among them, the *tinkus* held at Corpus Christi and All Saints Day seem to be the most important and the best documented of all.

<sup>246</sup> Zorn 2002: p. 140.

<sup>247</sup> Hopkins 1982: pp. 174-176; Allen 1988: p. 206; Stobart 2006: pp. 248-255.

<sup>248</sup> Hopkins 1982: pp. 179-180; Sallnow 1987: pp. 137, 139.

<sup>249</sup> Urton 1993: pp. 126-128. In the community of Kaata (Bolivia), the fighters sling ripe fruit (Bastien 1978: p. 57)

<sup>250</sup> Muelle in Urton 1993: pp.129-130.

early and vigorous sexuality. The youths' fertility, in turn, concurred with that of the livestock that had just begun breeding.

Figure 3.4 Pitahaya in halves

Figure 3.5 Unripe pitahayas

Sources: <http://www.hort.purdue.edu/newcrop/ncnu02/v5-378.html> and <http://www.loreto.com/transportation/buses.htm>

Remarkably, today, many *tinkus* conducted in the Cuzco district on the day of Comadres, which falls on the Thursday before Ash Wednesday, exploit the vitality of both humans and herds. Alpacas and llamas are therefore symbolically or actively present among the fighters<sup>251</sup>. About this festival, Michael Sallnow reports that the residents of Qamawara cover the animals' fleece with the red soil in which *tinku* victims had been buried, before deploying the herd in the path of their enemy<sup>252</sup>. In this way, men and llamas join to become the sacrificial victims whose fertile blood nourishes the earth. A similar symbolism may have pervaded the Incan ritual battle, which closed a cycle during which the probationers and the llamas shared a common destiny dramatized by the *Warachiku* ordeals. Indeed, while the youths were ritually slaughtered before being reborn under a new name, the same ceremony celebrated the emergence of the first llama in the presence of the *napa*. Therefore, both animals and men initiated at *Qhapaq rayme* a new cycle that opened with the re-enactment of their respective ancestors' journey through the land, and ended with a celebration of their sexual potential. During this ritual process, the nature of the young novices mingled

---

<sup>251</sup> Hopkins 1982: pp. 174-175.

<sup>252</sup> Sallnow 1987: pp. 138-140.



with that of the wilderness, whereas the llamas assumed human traits. The *Warachiku* procession was thus led by the white *napa* whose ears were pierced and adorned with the large pendants that distinguished Incan nobility. Meanwhile, the youths' physical substance underwent a transformation that resulted in their own flesh being likened to the raw meat of the llama slaughtered in Yauira<sup>253</sup>. As they were given this meat, the novices were reminded of their enemies' cannibalistic behaviour and symbolically consumed their own bodies that had, at this liminal moment, become the incarnation of sacrificial meat.

Finally, the *wari* dances performed several times daily during *Warachiku* may have been a variation of the *wariqsa* dance conducted in April, which reproduced the herds' vocalisations<sup>254</sup>. Guaman Poma reports that the *wariqsa* consisted of the celebrants imitating the plaintive cry of this animal to the sound of a small "pingollo" flute. His chronicle offers an illustration of this practice in which the Inca is depicted singing with a *puka llama* (red llama) (see Figure 3.6)<sup>255</sup>. In Macha (Bolivia), Henry Stobart observes that the animal's yammering sound is also closely associated with the *pinkillu* flute, an instrument mostly played during the rainy season. Both are believed to influence the maturation of the crops so that, on All Souls Day, humans imitate the llamas' mating habits by suggestively putting the flute in between their legs before playing on it, after which "men and women have sex, copulate like llamas"<sup>256</sup>. In Pre-Hispanic times, a similar symbolism, associating the animal's vocalisations with fertility, may have connoted the *wari* dance.

The ritual assimilation of the novices with the livestock reinforces the thesis, put forward by Zuidema and Urton, that the heliacal rise of the Llama dark cloud and the start of the breeding season determined together the beginning of the Incan initiation rite<sup>257</sup>. Significantly, Urton indicates that the superior culmination of this constellation at midnight occurs in late April, concurrently with the end of the llamas' breeding and

---

<sup>253</sup> Cieza de León: Pt. 2, Ch. 7, p. 19. My translation.

<sup>254</sup> Gudemos 2005: p. 30.

<sup>255</sup> Guaman Poma de Ayala 1980: 243 [245], p. 217; 318 [320], p. 292; 319 [321], p. 293. This author details the dance called *warisqa arawi*, while Pachacuti Yamqui retold that the Ayar ancestors sang the *chamay warisqa* when they conquered the Cuzco valley. See also Mannheim 1986; Zuidema 1986c.

<sup>256</sup> Stobart 1996: p. 478. For similar festivities in other parts of the Andes, see Isbell 1978: p. 201, Hopkins 1982: pp. 179-180.

<sup>257</sup> Zuidema and Urton 1976.

birthing season<sup>258</sup>. In the Incan calendar, this date coincides with the Sun festival opening the harvesting season when, Betanzos indicates, the newly initiated youths ended their fast, but also terminated the sacrifices they had started in November<sup>259</sup>. On that day, they dressed in “tunics of woven gold, silver and iridescent feathers”, and assembled in Limaqpampa to honour the Sun before harvesting<sup>260</sup>. This information suggests that the novices’ probation period extended beyond the scope of the *Warachiku* ordeals and would have lasted for the entire length of the cycle ruled by P’unchaw, alongside the llamas’ mating season and production of offspring. The April festival, therefore, closed a period of a little less than six months, which began with the sun’s passage through the zenith on October 30, when the novices requested of Huanacauri the licence to be initiated. The song *puka llama* performed that month may have closed this cycle by echoing the *wari taki* with which the novices opened it.

---

<sup>258</sup> Urton 1981: p. 187.

<sup>259</sup> Betanzos: Ch. 15, p. 71.

<sup>260</sup> Betanzos: Pt. 1, Ch. 15, pp. 71-72; translation from Hamilton 1996: p. 66; Molina 1989: p. 118.



Figure 3.6. Drawing of the *wariqsa arawi*. In Guaman Poma 1980: 318 [320], p. 292.

#### THE CELEBRATIONS OF THE DAYLIGHT GOD

As indicated earlier in this chapter, the Incan nobility celebrated the December solstice at the turn of *Qhapaq rayme* whilst the *Warachiku* trials were still under way. On that day, a procession carrying Wayna P'unchaw's figure left Cuzco, together with the *suntur pawqar*, the *napa*, and the two llama figures that had composed the cortège of the June solstice festival at *Inti rayme*. Three kilometres southwest of the city, the celebrants joined the temple of *pukyu kancha*, on the height of Puquín hill, where they burnt garments, conch shells and thirty white llamas to honour the regeneration of the young Daylight deity who was believed to have been reborn from a *pukyu* (spring). With these offerings and the procession of the solar emblems, this festival echoed the composition of the celebration conducted in Mantucalla at *Inti rayme*. Puquín hill,

however, was located in the Kuntisuyu area, which belonged to the Urin section of the Cuzco valley, while Mantucalla's structure was situated in Antisuyu, associated with the Hanan division of the valley<sup>261</sup>. Accordingly, both ceremonies were held in the geographical division related to the cosmological half ruling the annual cycle at the time of the respective solstices. This characteristic also extended to the two ritual dispersions of sacrificial ashes that followed the January festival of the snake-cord, and *Inti Rayme* respectively. The first ceremony took place on the nineteenth day of the lunar month following the December solstice, as the Incas assembled at the junction of the Saphi and Tullumayu rivers in Pumap Chupan (Kuntisuyu) and poured the remains of their past offerings into the flowing water<sup>262</sup>. The second dispersion of sacrificial ashes was held in the opposite quarter of Antisuyu, on the second week of July when the nobility "collected all the charcoal and bones of the burnt offerings and strewed them over a plain nearby the [Mantucalla] hill, where nobody could enter other than those who had brought them"<sup>263</sup>. Both these ritual scatterings of ashes followed the first festival of the two respective divisions of the metropolitan calendar, supporting the assumption that they each closed a season of ritual offerings and inaugurated a new cycle that began with the solstices. Within this picture, the Incan month of *Qhapaq rayme* initiated the reign of P'unchaw as ruler of the lower half of the cosmos, whose celebrations were sponsored by the members of the Urin moiety. Accordingly, the next festivity of the calendar honoured a supernatural figure closely associated with P'unchaw, the *amaru*.

Hence, on the day following the full moon of *Kamay killa*, a group of female and male dancers, dressed in a black attire adorned with white fringes and feathers, walked to a house located near the Sun temple, Coricancha, from where they took a large woollen cord. They carried this image to Haucaypata, the men on one side and women on the other, dancing along the streets and around the plaza before dropping the cord on the ground, leaving it in the shape of a coiled snake. This figure was called *muru urqu*, which Zuidema and Urton believe represented a male llama<sup>264</sup>. This argument nevertheless contradicts the primary sources that explicitly associate this figure with a multicoloured serpent. As a matter of fact, *urqu* not only described a llama

---

<sup>261</sup> Sherbondy 1987; Zuidema 1986b: p. 190.

<sup>262</sup> Molina: pp. 114-117.

<sup>263</sup> Cobo: T.2, Bk. 13, Ch. 28, p. 216.

<sup>264</sup> Zuidema and Urton 1976: pp. 71-74.

buck, but also referred to any male animal<sup>265</sup>, so that the *murū urqu* more likely represented a “blotched male snake”. Moreover, at that precise time of the year, the *yana phuyu* of the Serpent rules the night sky. Called *Mach’acuay* today, this constellation becomes apparent in the Milky Way with the first rainfalls and gradually disappears by early February. Its presence in the firmament also replicates the active period of the reptile on earth, when it emerges from its hibernation with the coming of the rains and the warm weather<sup>266</sup>. As the previous chapter indicates, the constellation of the Snake is commonly associated with the rainbow, deemed a giant multicoloured *amaru* rising from springs of water. It was also noted that the rainbow-snake was closely associated with Huanacauri, P’unchaw’s servant and messenger, in the account of the Ayar siblings’ original migration. It was above this hill that the founders of the Incan dynasty spotted a rainbow they interpreted as a favourable omen. This apparition, they believed, was a sign that the rising waters of the subterranean sea will not annihilate the earth, and that a new sun will emergence in the midst of the downpours to rule the chaos. This new sun, whose rays on the raindrops created the spectral colours of the rainbow, can be identified with P’unchaw. He was the Daylight deity in his vigorous form (Wayna P’unchaw) who established his authority from the December solstice, as the sun reached its southernmost point, causing the days to last longer. He therefore prevented the deluge by overcoming Wiraqucha, the god who ruled the underground water. Hence, very much like the presence of the rainbow above Huanacauri hill, the dance of the snake-cord can be seen as announcing the advent of the Daylight god on earth. The imagery of the *murū urqu* dance suggests that this Incan ritual celebrated the supernatural manifestation of the multicoloured cosmic snake, as if moving against the starry night sky evoked by the black and white costumes of the dancers.

#### THE END OF THE MAIZE MATURATION

Following this change of power, a time of respite and anticipation set in as every man and woman returned to their home and waited for the crops to be fully-grown before the reaping. Partly for this reason, the period stretching from the end of *Warachiku* to the harvesting of the crops in late April has been poorly documented. Molina forthrightly records that the Incas did not hold any specific festival over those months but only worked on their chakras. Betanzos and Polo Ondegardo are just as laconic, and the only

---

<sup>265</sup> González Holguín, *Vocabulario*: p. 357.

<sup>266</sup> Urton 1981: pp. 88-89, 177-180.

substantial data provided by other sources concerns agricultural labour. An overview of these last accounts reveals that this period was dominated by the maturation of the crops (*puquy*), during which the labourers weeded their chakras and broke the clumps of soil softened by the heavy rains (*chaqma*). In the month corresponding to February (GC), the priests immolated one hundred chestnut coloured llamas in order to attract the gods' benevolence. They also gathered around in a field and sacrificed a score of guinea pigs (*cuyes*), which they burnt over a wood fire. The women of the Sun (*mamakuna*) assisted in this ceremony and were eventually offered rich food, which they set aside to serve their godly spouse.

In the following month, one hundred black-coated llamas were sacrificed at a time when the maize started to dry and turn yellow. In several sources, this period is called *Pawqar waray killa*, that is the month of "a diversity of flowers, when they all blossom", with no further explanation<sup>267</sup>. Guaman Poma also uses this designation but in reference to February, when he suggests that the newly initiated boys put on their loincloths (*wara*). Although he situates *Warachiku* in November like others, Guaman Poma may have referred here to a private stage of the rite of passage, when the youths finally donned the *wara* they had been given in Yauira. This information supports our argument, exposed earlier in this section, that the novices' probation period extended beyond the scope of the *Warachiku* ordeals, and would have ended in late April with the Sun festival.

Finally, the rituals held in April included the sacrifice of one hundred mottled llamas known in Quechua as *murumuru*<sup>268</sup>. In addition to these, the daily offering of a ceremonial beverage was made to the earth in P'unchaw's name. To accomplish this, the two insignia of the Sun god were placed in the middle of the main plaza, the *suntur pawqar* next to the white *napa*. Every day, two attendants placed a jar, filled to the brim, at the feet of the sacred llama that would spill the contents on the ground by kicking it over<sup>269</sup>. With this offering, it was believed that the thirst of Pachamama was quenched and the maize would dry appropriately. Every man could now head to the fields to start harvesting. At this time, the young men who had been recently initiated

---

<sup>267</sup> González Holguín, *Vocabulario*: p. 282; Molina: p. 117; Fernández: Pt. 1, Bk. 1, Ch. 10, p. 86; Gutiérrez de Santa Clara: Ch. 65, p. 256.

<sup>268</sup> In his ethnographical work on the classification of camelids, Flores Ochoa (1986) noted the persistence of this type of denomination among present-day pastoralists.

<sup>269</sup> Polo Ondegardo 1916: p. 20; Cobo: T. 2, Bk. 13, Ch. 27, p. 214.

received a young wife to marry and parcels of land to cultivate<sup>270</sup>, bringing to an end both their period of trial and the rule of the Sun god P'unchaw over the annual cycle.

## CONCLUSION

This chapter showed that the temporal regulation of Incan social activities only remotely coincided with the alternation of the meteorological seasons. Although the sequential structure of *puquy mit'a* and *chiraw mit'a* was crucial to the fulfilment of organic life, crops and livestock included, these periods did not serve to divide social practice *per se*. By the time Francisco Pizarro's troops marched into Cuzco, the Incas had considerably expanded their astronomical knowledge and implemented various observation devices to fix the setting of their festivities. This knowledge, which they had inherited in part from past civilizations<sup>271</sup>, enabled the metropolitan elite to divide time around two ideologies: one that reflected the ruling nobility's dual identity, and the other that served its imperialist values. The cornerstone of this time construction was the *rayme* months, held at separate times of the year and fixed by the sun's passage through pairs of pillars erected in different locations around Cuzco. The primary purpose of the grandiose gatherings held during those months was to commemorate the supremacy of the elite's solar religion before the Incas' subjects. It was therefore on these specific occasions that foreign delegates brought their share of the tribute to the imperial capital. Through these requirements set by the Sapa Inca, and more generally through the implementation of a determined timeframe for the completion of political and economic activities, the Incan nobility ensured an effective means of social control over every constituent population of Tawantinsuyu. For the ruling nobility, as for many civilizations throughout the world, control over time was a strategy of hierarchic dominion<sup>272</sup>.

Besides its function as an imperialist means of socio-economic regulation, the Incan calendar also reinforced hierarchy by contrasting the identity of the ruling elite

---

<sup>270</sup> Anónimo [c.1575]: pp. 156-157.

<sup>271</sup> Zuidema (1983a) suggests that the Incan calendar inherited traits of a solar calendar that may have been in use in the Middle Horizon (AD 600-1000). Technical points concerning Incan astronomical knowledge could not be fully developed in this chapter for lack of space. For further information, see Urton 1978; Zuidema 1981, 1982a, 1989b; Aveni 1981, 1989; Ziolkowski and Sadowski (eds.) 1989; Bauer and Dearborn 1995.

<sup>272</sup> There exists a substantial literature on the function of calendars as tools of social control and identity making. See notably Burman 1981; Zerubavel 1981; Aveni 1989: pp. 334-339; Munn 1992: pp. 109-112; Gell 1992: pp. 306-313.

with that of its subjects, a distinction that opposed “insiders” versus “outsiders”, to paraphrase sociologist Eviatar Zerubavel<sup>273</sup>. The festivities of the Incan metropolis thus emphasize the symbolic value of maize not only as the favoured staple of ritual offerings to the gods, but also as the crop imported by the dynasty’s founders. It was around this produce that the Incan nobility conducted its periodic rites of propitiation. Hence, although the Spanish chroniclers of Incan Cuzco may have partly overlooked the activities related to tuber agriculture in the course of Incan yearly occupations<sup>274</sup>, maize was undeniably a prestige good associated to imperial power<sup>275</sup>. By contrast, as Thérèse Bouysse-Cassagne remarks, the calendar of Altiplano communities integrated into Tawantinsuyu reflected a different social time directed to the cultivation of high altitude produce and the maintenance of pastoral activities. By imposing an additional timeframe over the annual activities of these populations, and by requesting that these performed their traditional dances at *Quya rayme*, the Incas intended to maintain ethnic distinctions and through them, hierarchical differences<sup>276</sup>. As Julius T. Fraser phrased it, “temporal segregation through calendars and chronologies (histories) is a powerful means of creating and maintaining communal distinctness”<sup>277</sup>.

However, the Incan calendar not only operated as an identity marker and a subjection tool, but also mirrored the dual social division of the ethnic group in power. In this way, the calendar in use in Cuzco before the Spanish invasion reflected the order of the Incan cosmos and rested upon the alternate rules of the moieties’ tutelary deities, Wiraqucha and P’unchaw, both of whom shared solar aspects. It was probably for this reason that the observation of the sun’s activity determined the beginning and ending of these two cycles, which were each separated by an intermediary period corresponding to a changeover of power between the lower and upper cosmological halves. Such an argument is based on an elementary rereading of the primary sources concerned with the description of the Incan calendar. It reveals that the commemorations of the June solstice were dedicated to the tutelary divinity of the upper moiety, Wiraqucha, and celebrated the ethnic groups’ subterranean migration from Lake Titicaca to the site of their final settlement. During the next few months, every performance was directed to

---

<sup>273</sup> Zerubavel (1981) argues that calendars are means to reinforce group identity, so that those who share a common social time (the “insiders”) may differentiate themselves from the “outsiders”.

<sup>274</sup> Murra 1983: pp. 37-42; Bouysse-Cassagne 1987: pp. 288-290.

<sup>275</sup> Caverro Carrasco 1986; Hastorf and Johannessen 1993.

<sup>276</sup> Bouysse-Cassagne 1987: pp. 290-291.

<sup>277</sup> Fraser 1987: p. 80.



assisting the circulation of water from the cosmic river to the underground canals supplying the valley's irrigation systems. Half way through this cycle, at *Quya rayme*, the Thunder god relayed Wiraqucha on earth following the latter's disappearance in the waters of Mama Tiqsi Qucha, situated in the edge of the existing world. Illapa now regulated the rains by pouring the water of the Milky Way down to the earth until the December solstice announced P'unchaw's rise. To celebrate the start of this new cycle, the Incan novices re-enacted their ancestors' journey in the Cuzco valley as part of their initiation ordeals. Their pilgrimage echoed the Urin narratives that confined the Ayars' migration to the Incan heartland, while the *Inti rayme* procession to the Qullasuyu recalled the Hanan traditions locating the Incas' origin in the Lake Titicaca Basin.

Within this balanced partition of ritual time, it remains difficult to grasp the involvement of the *panaqas* and other ayllus in the conduct of the annual festivities; whether there existed particular classes of ministers, and what was their mode of recruitment. Despite the scarcity of data on this issue, the evidence presented in this chapter suggest that Hanan and Urin alternated in officiating the metropolitan festivities: Upper Cuzco and the Sapa Inca were responsible for seeing to the ceremonies held between June and November, while Lower Cuzco attended to the rituals stretching from December to April. Therefore, each divinity would have received a service of priests who were affiliated to him/her by moiety membership. Such an organization appears very similar to the way present-day Andean communities continue to divide their civico-religious duties. The next chapter will investigate this subject further by investigating the sacerdotal role of the Inca and the dignitary known as the high priest of the Sun. It also looks at different aspects of social antagonisms in Cuzco while questioning ritual oppositions in Incan religious performances.

## CHAPTER 4.

# DUAL ANTAGONISMS IN RITUAL PERFORMANCES AND HISTORICAL NARRATIVES

*Dual organization is at once a tangible imprint of reciprocity and a condition conducive to its own negation, i.e. asymmetry. Once the function of establishing reciprocity is left to a pair of sociocentric moieties, an increment in genealogical exogamy may be expected to yield more severely hierarchical in-law relationships.*

(Hornborg 1988: p. 280)

## INTRODUCTION

This chapter, while contributing to the general study of the representations and roles of social dichotomies in Incan festivities, also incorporates this specific issue into a wider debate concerned with kinship and social hierarchy in Cuzco. The approach adopted draws both on primary textual sources and anthropological fieldwork dealing with dual organizations in Andean and Lowland South America. On the whole, the following analysis regards questions of social stratification and identity in Incan ritual expressions as a promising avenue of research into the understanding of local and imperialist politics implemented by the ruling elite in order to consolidate its authority. Inasmuch as binary oppositions, such as moiety division, gender opposition, and insiders/outside relationships are particularly salient examples of social antagonisms, they will receive close attention here. Lamentably, few of them have been recorded in sufficient depth. There is, for example, a paucity of details concerning female participation in rituals, most notably in the brief descriptions of the sacerdotal role of the queen and, even more so, on the priesthood of the Moon. Although little data can be gleaned from this scarce documentation, some colonial texts strongly suggest that the Spaniards were oblivious to women's crucial part in ceremonial events<sup>1</sup>. Among these sources, an anonymous text reveals that the Sapa Inca and his spouse, together with her retinue, performed the first ritual ploughing of the agrarian cycle, replicating in this way the interdependence

---

<sup>1</sup> Silverblatt 1978: p. 38; Dransart 1988: p. 64; Hernández Astete 2002a: pp. 22-23.

of gender roles as it operated in the fields<sup>2</sup>. Betanzos also records the presence of female transvestites, dressed as warriors during *Purukaya*, the exequies carried out a year after the death of a prominent individual. These gender-oppositions and associated complementarities were unmistakably central to the organization of the moiety system and will be approached here in the light of the Incan social structure.

A better-documented expression of dual antagonism in ritual contexts was the Hanan/Urin relationship. Spanish observers frequently reported how the dual division of Incan society reflected on the spatial organization of the metropolitan ceremonies. Molina “El Cuzqueño” and, later, Father Cobo noted that the participants of the *Sitwa* and *Warachiku* gathered “according to their *parcialidades*”, placing the mummified bodies of their ancestors in conformity with the moieties division<sup>3</sup>. Antagonisms between Hanan and Urin members were most strongly apparent on two occasions: at the *Purukaya* funerals of sovereigns and their first wives, and during the last days of the initiation ceremonial. Molina uses the word “chocanaco” (*chuqanaku*) to describe the mock battle during which the novices of each moiety fought one another to demonstrate their bravery<sup>4</sup>. This violent encounter, which frequently led to casualties, only ended by command of the Inca himself. This aftermath differed from the ritual battle performed by the moieties at *Purukaya*, which concluded as prearranged. According to Betanzos, it was Pachacuti Yupanqui who established the course of this celebration in detail, indicating that the “people from Hurin Cuzco [would] act like losers and those from Hanan Cuzco like winners, representing the wars the lord had conducted in his life”<sup>5</sup>.

These patterns of ritual opposition reflected the strictly asymmetrical nature of the Cuzco moieties’ relationship with each other in the domain of administrative and political affairs. For some Incan specialists, these antagonisms had their origins in historical events and could be traced back to the recurrent conflicts that opposed the two Incan dynasties over the wielding of power<sup>6</sup>. Contrasting with this interpretation,

---

<sup>2</sup> Anónimo 1970 [c. 1575]: pp. 165-166.

<sup>3</sup> Molina: pp. 78, 106, 108, 111; Cobo: T. 2, Bk. 13, Ch. 25, pp. 211, 218.

<sup>4</sup> “Choccanacuni: to throw stones or other things at one another” (González Holguín, *Vocabulario*: p. 116).

<sup>5</sup> Betanzos: Pt. 1, Ch. 31, pp. 145-148; Pt. 1, Ch. 39, p. 162; Pt. 2, Ch. 2, p. 192; Pt. 2, Ch. 33, pp. 297-298. There exists evidence showing that *Purukaya* was also performed in honour of noble women. Betanzos mentioned the organization of this ceremony for Mama Ocllo, mother of Huayna Capac. See Betanzos: Pt. 1, Ch. 44, pp. 189-190.

<sup>6</sup> Bravo Guerreira (1992: pp. 39-55), basing her argument on a diachronic reading of the colonial sources, suggests that the Hanan leaders’ rise to power took place at the expense of the Urin lords and gave rise to

various Incan traditions recount how the city and its residents came to be divided at a precise time in history, under the rule of an Inca reformer who divided the capital into two moieties and resettled its inhabitants according to this new spatial organization. Hence, depending on the sources, it was either Inca Roca, Pachacuti Yupanqui, or his successor Tupa Yupanqui, who commanded the descendents of early kings to occupy the lower part, called Urin Cuzco, while his own lineage and those of the rulers who were to reign after him, were given the upper part, or Hanan Cuzco. To complicate the problem further, chroniclers like Betanzos and Gutiérrez de Santa Clara explained moiety membership in terms of kinship grades. In their perspective, it was no longer the historical anteriority of the Urin lords distinguishing them from the Hanan rulers that defined moiety division, but rather the kin relations that connected individuals with the ruling Inca. As Chapter 1 indicated, these seemingly contradictory accounts gave rise to different interpretations, some of which attempted to harmonize the socio-historical facts. The present chapter builds upon these studies and suggests that moiety oppositions, as they are portrayed in Incan historical traditions and rituals, reflected the internal dynamics of kingship succession. These antagonisms not only reveal the underlying structure of Incan kinship relations, they also transcend social patterns by depicting/enacting the necessary qualities of every Cuzqueñan lord: his ability to lead, command, and conquer. For any aspirant to the *maska paycha*, both his position in the dynastic line and his personal aptitudes conditioned his accession to the imperial *tiyana*. These two qualities gave rise to two, contrasting, historical genres that had their origin in the dual social division of Incan society.

This chapter posits that representations of group coalition and antagonistic relations in rituals and historical narratives cannot be fully grasped without a sound knowledge of Incan social structure. In order to further penetrate this issue, the first section of this chapter reviews the different modes of hierarchical division and opposition identified in the Cuzco spatial and kinship system. Some features of Incan social classification, such as marriage preferences, younger/older brothers' relations,

---

repeated rebellions from the oppressed faction. Thus, an insurrection of the Urin Cuzcos under Viracocha Inca would have led to the assassination of the governor left in the city by the king in campaign (Cieza de León: Pt. 2, Ch. 40, pp. 118-120). For this reason, Pachacuti Yupanqui and his successor were compelled to restrict gradually the insurgents' power before Huayna Capac dramatically infringed on the Urin leader's authority by appropriating for himself the office of *mayordomo* of the Sun's herds. The final hostilities irrupted not long before the Spaniards landed on the Peruvian coast, when Huascar publicly declared war on his brother, residing in Quito, and expressed his resolve to restore the authority of the Urin lineage.

name/rank transmission rules, affiliation, and unilineal descent will serve to support our reading of the Incan social structure as a conical clan. It is argued that this formal model clarifies the dynamics of moiety antagonisms and unveils some of the mechanisms that shaped Incan historical consciousness. In a last section, the chapter addresses the nature of the elite's relations to foreign populations in the representations of their exclusion and re-integration from the major festivities of Cuzco, notably the *Qhapaq rayme*, *Sitwa*, and *Qhapaq hucha*. This final section examines the Incas/non-Incas relationship as an instance of dual opposition, which took up and extended the characteristics of Cuzco moiety division, through the mediation of alliances and classificatory terms of address/reference.

## DUALISTIC AND HIERARCHICAL RELATIONS IN INCAN SOCIETY

### HIERARCHICAL PRINCIPLES OF SOCIOPOLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Modern scholarship has demonstrated that several principles of hierarchical division articulated the social organization of Incan Cuzco. The first and foremost was the elementary principle of binary opposition whereby the members of the Upper part were more highly esteemed and ranked than those residing in the Lower part of the city. This dual dimension of social disparity also operated within the organization of the maximal ayllu, or moiety. Both Hanan and Urin Cuzco, therefore, were internally divided into an upper and lower *parcialidad*, generating four quarters of asymmetric value identifiable with the *suyus*<sup>7</sup>. The upper part included the demographic divisions of *Antisuyu* and *Chinchaysuyu*, whereas the lower covered the less prestigious quarters of *Qullasuyu* and *Kuntisuyu*. In turn, each of these four sections obeyed a principal lord so that each moiety was administered by two leaders of unequal power. The respective positions of these dignitaries were comparable to that of the *cacique principal* and his *segunda persona* in colonial times, so that the power of decision was ultimately given to the headman of the Hanan subdivision when the interest of the whole moiety was at stake. This stratified model of sociopolitical organization, which María Rostworowski called quadripartition, is abundantly documented for the southern Andes in the colonial era<sup>8</sup>.

---

<sup>7</sup> Zuidema 1964: pp. 42-43; 1986b: p. 188; Pease 1978: pp. 109-110; 1986: pp. 229-230; Pärssinen 1992: pp. 171-173; Ziolkowski 1996: pp. 113-118.

<sup>8</sup> Rostworowski 1999: pp. 177-181; Ramírez 2005: p. 25. Certain traditions emphasized more this quadripartite model. The narratives of the Incan ancestors' emergence out of Paqariqtampu, for instance, mention the Ayars' formation into four couples of common ancestry. Sarmiento de Gamboa (Ch. 13: p.

Associated with each sociopolitical division was a pattern of contrasting generations. Hence, the descendents of the Urin leaders, traditionally believed to have ruled in the early period of Incan dominion, inhabited the Lower part, whereas the lineages proceeding from the Hanan lords, whose epics celebrated the expansion of Incan territory outside the valley, peopled the Upper, more prestigious half. Similar principles equally divided several Aymara-speaking communities and other settlements of the Peruvian central highlands. In the latter area, the Lower division was often associated with the long-established population, the Huari, which had been subjugated by the Llacuaz, the bellicose newcomers who then settled in the Upper part<sup>9</sup>. Carmen Arellano notes that colonial lexicons associate Hanan with the term *hawa*, which refers to objects located outside or above<sup>10</sup>. On the other hand, Urin, whose stem *ruri-* may have derived from a non-Cuzqueñan dialect, means “inside”<sup>11</sup>. *Uri* (QII), for instance, relates to the yields, tubers or roots, which grow underground<sup>12</sup>. These etymologies confirm what the historical narratives had suggested: Hanan referred to the outside populations and the world above, while Urin was associated to the insiders’ category.

This is not all. The word *hawa*, to which Hanan was often associated, also designated the grandchildren of either sex<sup>13</sup>. Another appellation for this kin relation was *willka*, which in turn was a synonym for *ayllu*, the kin-based corporation with patrilineal features<sup>14</sup>. Members of upper Cuzco were therefore perceived in terms of direct descent while Urin individuals were called *wakcha q’uncha*, literally “the poor sister’s son”<sup>15</sup>. This expression not only refers to collateral relatives related through female siblings, but also infers an absence of ancestry, since *wakcha* means orphan<sup>16</sup>. Interestingly, another source places patterns of filiation at the heart of Hanan Cuzco’s membership while associating Urin Cuzco with kin by alliance. Juan de Betanzos, in his

---

61) indicates as well that Manco Capac originally divided Cuzco into four parts. Garcilaso de la Vega (Bk. 1, Ch. 18: pp. 43-44) reports as well the work of a supreme being from Tiahuanaco who divided the world into four quarters and distributed them among four chieftains. Finally, Fernández (Pt. 2, Bk. 3, Ch. 6, p. 83) and Gutiérrez de Santa Clara (Ch. 64, p. 254) stated that the Incan initiation ritual were restricted to the members of the elite, composed of “four *parcialidades* or *ayllus*, Hanan Cuzco, Hurin Cuzco, Tampu (Apu) and Masca (Payta). The Incas regarded these four *ayllus* as their own as these were the true Incas”.

<sup>9</sup> Duviols 1973; Bouysse-Cassagne 1986.

<sup>10</sup> Arellano Hoffman 1998.

<sup>11</sup> Cerrón-Palomino 2002.

<sup>12</sup> González Holguín, *Vocabulario*: pp. 350, 357.

<sup>13</sup> Arellano Hoffmann 1998.

<sup>14</sup> Zuidema 1980; Rostworowski 1981.

<sup>15</sup> Betanzos: Pt. 1, Ch. 16, p. 78.

<sup>16</sup> González Holguín, *Vocabulario*: p. 167; Santo Tomás, *Lexicón*: p. 280.

account of the moieties' foundation, reports that Pachacuti Yupanqui distributed the upper part of the city to the "relatives and descendants of his lineage in a direct line" and ordered the "illegitimate sons of lords, born of women foreign to this nation" to settle in the lower part<sup>17</sup>. Examined together with the moieties' terminology, this account presents the Urin residents as the sovereigns' offspring from their unions with secondary wives identified as (classificatory) *pana*, or sister/cousin in Quechua<sup>18</sup>. It articulates Cuzco's moiety organization around gender opposition, as Silverblatt and Hernández Astete had already suggested<sup>19</sup>, but also around relational dichotomy (cognates/affines).

In his account of the moieties' foundation Garcilaso de la Vega evokes another aspect of dual asymmetry, which mirrors the generational prominence of newcomers versus first settlers. He indicates that members of the Upper half "prevailed in office" over the residents of Lower Cuzco, much like firstborn and elder brothers command more respect than their younger siblings<sup>20</sup>. Although this image may have reflected Garcilaso's own "colonized" appreciation of birth order hierarchy, it should be noted that, among the Incas, both men and women were hierarchically organized according to broad categories, or age-grades<sup>21</sup>. In fact, ranking prestige according to birth order is an enduring feature of Andean and Amazonian dual organizations<sup>22</sup>. At first glance, however, the chroniclers appeared divided on the issue. On the one hand, several of Garcilaso's predecessors emphasize the hierarchical predominance of the eldest child over his younger siblings and also identify primogeniture as the principle of kingship inheritance<sup>23</sup>. On the other hand, a substantial corpus of colonial sources asserts that the youngest child often succeeded his father's office. Hence Murúa's astonishment that

---

<sup>17</sup> Ibid. This statement has severe implications for the distribution of *panaqa* lands. Concerning the nature and allotment of these lands, see Moore 1973: pp. 33-38; Rostworowski 1993a: pp.105-110; Ziolkowski 1996: pp. 257-285; Sherbondy 1996; Rowe 1997.

<sup>18</sup> "Pana o pani: hermana como quiera, prima hija de hermano o hermana de padres" (Santo Tomás, *Lexicón*: p. 336); "Pana: hermana del varon, o prima hermana, o segunda, o de sus tierra, o linaje o conocida" (González Holguín, *Vocabulario*: p. 277).

<sup>19</sup> On the association of the moieties to a respective gender, see also Silverblatt 1987; Hernández Astete 1998.

<sup>20</sup> Garcilaso de la Vega: Bk. 1, Ch. 16, p. 41.

<sup>21</sup> Bandera: p. 62; Guaman Poma de Ayala: 195 [197]-234 [236], pp. 170-209. See also Rowe 1946: p. 156; Zuidema 1986a: pp. 86; Classen 1993: p. 63; Jenkins 1995; Rostworowski 1999: pp. 167-170.

<sup>22</sup> Salomon and Urioste, in Avila 1991: pp. 19-21. Hornborg signals explicit birth-order hierarchy among the Gê-speaking societies and Tukano tribes (Hornborg 1988: pp. 114, 183).

<sup>23</sup> Collapiña et al.: p. 29; Cieza de León: Pt. 2, Ch. 10, p. 22; Ch. 31, p. 95; Ch. 33, p. 101; Ch. 35, p. 107; Betanzos: Pt. 1, Ch. 16, p. 78; Fernández: Pt. 2, Bk. 3, Ch. 5, p. 80; Cobo: T. 2, Bk. 12, Ch 5-16, pp. 67-88.

Manco Capac became king “although some people say he was the youngest and last of the Inca brothers” to have emerged from Paqariq Tampu<sup>24</sup>. Betanzos reported the same information, as did Cieza de León and Las Casas who named Manco Capac the last of the Ayar siblings<sup>25</sup>. Other narratives, such as Pachacuti Yupanqui’s epic or Tupa Yupanqui and Huayna Capac’s stories of ascent to the imperial throne (*tiyana*, *dúo*), also relate how the youngest son inherited the *borla* after killing or outshining his older brother<sup>26</sup>. María Rostworowski described this situation as succession by “the most able”, whereby any son of the deceased ruler could inherit the royal fringe if he proved able in battle and apt to govern<sup>27</sup>. Modern scholarship, therefore, finds little truth in the existence of a primogeniture rule among the Incas, and believes that it reflected the Spanish’s own understanding of inheritance<sup>28</sup>. Many chroniclers support this picture and, among them, Guaman Poma tells us:

To be *qhapaq apu Inca* (perfect king), one has to be the legitimate son of the mother Queen, *qhapaq apu quya*, and married to his sister or mother. And he has to be called by his father the Sun in his temple to be named king. They did not consider whether he was the eldest or youngest [son], but whether he was the one elected by the Sun as legitimate<sup>29</sup>.

These data suggest that birth position among siblings or within a given lineage did not inevitably afford individuals with the corresponding title or office. Rank in pre-Hispanic Cuzco, as in most societies with social ranking, can be seen as “a latent quality, a potential that must be ‘activated’ through experience and deed”<sup>30</sup>. For this reason, every pretender to the imperial *tiyana* had to demonstrate his warlike abilities, including his aptitude to coalesce powerful allies under his command. In this task, his mother and her *panaqa* played a significant role in imposing their favourite on the council of Incan *Orejones* that eventually handed down the title of Sapa Inca. Their influence is particularly perceptible in the Spanish accounts of the fratricidal war that set Atahualpa against Huascar upon the death of their father, soon before the collapse of Tawantinsuyu. Narratives relate that several noblemen of the Hatun ayllu, to which

---

<sup>24</sup> Murúa: Bk. 1, Ch. 2, p. 39.

<sup>25</sup> Betanzos: Pt. 1, Ch. 3, p. 17; Cieza de León: Pt. 2, Ch. 6, p. 13; Las Casas: T. 2, Ch. 250, p. 393.

<sup>26</sup> Betanzos: Pt. 1, Ch. 6-9, pp. 21-41; Sarmiento de Gamboa: Ch. 26-33, pp. 84-99; Ch. 42, pp. 115-116; Ch. 55-56, pp. 138-139.

<sup>27</sup> Rowe 1946: pp. 257-258; Rostworowski 1983: pp. 154-167.

<sup>28</sup> Pease 1991: p. 88, 107; Rostworowski 1999: p. 98.

<sup>29</sup> Guaman Poma de Ayala: 118 [118], p. 96. See also Santillán: p. 108

<sup>30</sup> Carr 2005: p. 240.



Atahualpa's mother belonged, were involved in – successfully – convincing a number of Huascar's generals to desert their leader and join their ranks. Later, in a decisive battle, Atahualpa's troops seized and burnt the embalmed corpse of Tupa Yupanqui, founder of the Qhapaq ayllu, because this lineage had sided with Huascar under the probable influence of his mother, a member of the Qhapaq ayllu<sup>31</sup>. Reporting an earlier episode in Incan history, Sarmiento describes the failed intrigues set up by a female relative of Capac Huari, brother of Huayna Capac, to evict the latter and place her own kinsman on the imperial throne<sup>32</sup>. Cieza de León also mentions the influential words of a woman from Hanan Cuzco, who stood before the Incan *principales* to suggest the nomination of Viracocha Inca to the deceased Inca Roca's succession<sup>33</sup>.

Despite its openness to historical contingencies and individual exploits, the Incan kingship system did not challenge the foundations of the authority structure that organized the whole society. Indeed, once presented for succession, a candidate had to be recognized *Intip churin* (the Sun's son) by the god itself<sup>34</sup>. To receive this divine sanction, the Inca-to-be started by fasting several weeks in the Sun temple where he presented the deity with offerings. A high-ranking officiant then examined the god's will by performing a *kallpa rikuy* sacrifice on a llama. This ritual revealed the *kallpa* of the potential heir, that is, the vital strength infused in him by the Sun god, and with which he would accomplish great deeds<sup>35</sup>. If the close inspection of the llama's lungs proved propitious, the new Sapa Inca received the *maska paycha* the following day, which marked the beginning of ostentatious festivities. This divine legitimacy placed him at the head of the Incan hierarchy of prestige, which henceforth redefined the status of his descendents and relatives.

#### TRIPARTITION: THE ASYMMETRIC DIVISION OF INCAN KIN GROUPS

Several primary sources allude to another principle of social classification, structuring sibblingship around tripartition. This model appears in the narratives of the Ayars' journey to the Cuzco valley, either in the form of three pairs of migrants in Cieza de

---

<sup>31</sup> Rostworowski 1999: pp. 106-135; Hernández Astete 2002: pp. 129-134.

<sup>32</sup> Sarmiento de Gamboa: Ch. 55, p. 138.

<sup>33</sup> Cieza de León: Pt. 2, Ch. 38: p. 112.

<sup>34</sup> Regalado de Hurtado 1996: pp. 81-83; Ramírez 2005: pp. 92-94.

<sup>35</sup> See Chapter 2, note 156, 157.

León's and Las Casas's versions, or in the three openings of Paqariq Tampu cave<sup>36</sup>. In this latter variant, the founders of the imperial dynasty emerge from *Qhapaq t'uqu*, while the non-royal ayllu of Hanan Cuzco and Urin Cuzco emerge from *Maras t'uqu* and *Sutiq t'uqu* respectively. Moreover, Sarmiento indicates that, upon their arrival in fertile lands, the Incas would have settled in a site already divided among three autochthonous ayllu (Sausera, Antasaya and Hualla) and three recently-established communities (Alcauisa, Copalimayta and Culumchima).

The *Relación de los adoratorios de los indios* [c. 1560], attributed to Polo Ondegardo, reveals another instance of tripartite division. This manuscript enumerates and briefly describes the *wakas* of the *seque* system, which were periodically attended and fed by the *panaqas* and the non-royal ayllu of Cuzco. Building upon Jeanette Sherbondy's work, Zuidema suggests that the *seques* were instrumental in mapping out water rights, and determined the Incan lineages' cooperation around the maintenance of the valley's irrigation system<sup>37</sup>. In addition, the spatial organization of this system was such that each *suyu* was crossed by nine *seques* regrouped in triads (except for the Kuntisuyu that included fourteen of them)<sup>38</sup>. Within these subdivisions the *seques* were known as *collana*, *payan* and *cayao*, which were three categories that also described the internal tripartition of the ayllu. In seventeenth-century Cuzco, for instance, the Ayarmaca-Pumamarca ayllu was divided into two moieties, each one composed of the *collana*, *payan* and *cayao* divisions<sup>39</sup>. Likewise, a century earlier, the magistrate Ulloa Mogollón described the Collagua province as follows:

They governed themselves according to what the Inca had ordered, which was, that each ayllu and *parcialidad* nominated a cacique. There were three ayllus called *collana*, *pasana* and *cayao*; each one of these ayllus had three hundred Indians and one principal whom they obeyed<sup>40</sup>.

---

<sup>36</sup> Cieza de León: Pt. 2, Ch. 6, pp. 13-15. Las Casas: Ch. 250, pp. 393-394; Santo Tomás, *Grammatica*: pp. 128-129; Sarmiento de Gamboa: Ch. 11, pp. 51-54. Cieza synthesised two of Manco Capac's brothers into one character called Ayar Cache Arauca.

<sup>37</sup> Zuidema 1986b: p. 182.

<sup>38</sup> It is impossible to review critically here the extended literature dealing with the *seque* system. Its description and its function still pose numerous problems deserving to be treated in a single monograph. See for example, Zuidema 1964, 1982b; Sherbondy 1987.

<sup>39</sup> Bauer 1998: p. 37.

<sup>40</sup> "Gobernábanse conforme a lo quel inga tenía puesto, que era, por sus ayllus e parcialidades nombraba de cada ayllu un cacique, y eran tres ayllus, llamados Collona, Pasana, Cayao; cada ayllu destos tenía trescientos indios y un principal a quien obedecían" in *Relaciones geográficas de Indias*, 1965 [1586], T.1: p. 330.

These three categories also served as hierarchical principles of classification. According to a 1689 official inquiry conducted in the Cuzco diocese, several villages at that time included maximal and minimal collana ayllu, invariably listed as the primary ayllu of the community<sup>41</sup>. The same record indicates that, in the parish of Capacmarca (Chumbivilcas), the headmen who administrated the three ayllu of the town invariably came from the collana division, confirming the elevated position of this group in the social hierarchy.

R. Tom Zuidema was the first scholar to focus any particular attention on these three categories and suggested they formed an organizational social principle determining marriage classes and hierarchical positions in relation to the living ruler. He argued that the collana, glossed as “excellent” or as “first or principal thing” in colonial lexicons<sup>42</sup>, held the most prestigious rank and thus constituted the endogamous group of ego. Cayao, on the other hand, stood for the non-Incan group from which collana men chose their secondary wives, while payan gathered the middle-ranked commoners who originated from the union between the other two classes. For him, these three categories served as exogamous kin groups bound together by asymmetric cross-cousin marriages with MBD; payan and cayao could, however, operate as endogamous units<sup>43</sup>.

While Incan kin terminology accords with this matrimonial pattern (MB = WF = WB), another aspect of Zuidema’s theory appears less consistent, when he associates tripartition with an additional dimension of social hierarchy based on a four-generation descent model<sup>44</sup>. His interpretation draws mainly from an unreliable text by Pérez Bocanegra, the *Ritual Formulario* (1631), which presents collana as the group of “not so distant connections”, payan the close relatives, and cayao the closest kin. Soon after Zuidema published his first analysis of the material, it was revealed that the text was of European origin<sup>45</sup>; its author had sought to illustrate matrimonial prohibition according

---

<sup>41</sup> Villanueva Urteaga (ed.) 1982: pp. 57, 74, 226, 221-225, 232, 299, 319, 365, 367, 397, 413, 450, 471. I use Platt’s distinction between major and minor ayllu, the first referring to what is known as the moiety in ethnographical literature and the second to the subdivision of Andean societies into kin units of common ancestry (Platt 1986). The generic term *ayllu* seems to refer to any kin-based corporate group with a head. On the many uses of the term by the natives today, see Isbell, 1977: p. 91.

<sup>42</sup> Santo Tomás, *Lexicón*: p. 267; González Holguín, *Vocabulario*: pp. 521, 642.

<sup>43</sup> Zuidema 1964; 1980: pp. 91-97; 1992: pp. 23-25.

<sup>44</sup> In his publication on the *seque* system, Zuidema suggested that collana stood for the relatives of ego, FFF and SSS, payan for S and the FF’s relatives, while cayao for the F and SS’s relatives (Zuidema, 1964: p. 75; 1980, 1986a: pp. 38-45, 57-64). Duviols (1997b) also expresses criticisms on Zuidema’s use and reading of the *Ritual Formulario*.

<sup>45</sup> Zuidema 1986a: p. 41.

to Church's standards by listing relatives according to their degrees of distance from ego<sup>46</sup>. The three categories, however, may well have referred to degrees of relational distance since they appear in another colonial record referring to land inheritance, the 1569 *memoria* of Tupa Yupanqui's descendents, members of the Qhapaq Ayllu<sup>47</sup>. This early source indicates that collana, payan and cayao did not operate according to genealogical ties, as suggested by Zuidema, but rather followed principles of siblingship.

In this 1569 manuscript, the three heads of the lineage's divisions attested their noble status before the Crown. The first individual to testify was lord of the collana ayllu division who regarded himself and his kin as the own grandchildren (*hawa*) of Tupa Inca Yupanqui. On the other hand, the members of the other two sub-ayllus, payan and cayao, traced their ancestry back to Amaru Tupa Inca and Tupa Yupanqui respectively, who were both described as brothers, and not descendants, of the great sovereign<sup>48</sup>. Importantly, oral tradition records Amaru Tupa Inca as Tupa Yupanqui's older brother who led the conquest of the Collao region when their father, Pachacuti Yupanqui, was still in power. During the same period, he inspected the lands alienated to Tawantinsuyu and ensured that the ancestral *wakas* of the empire's allies received rich offerings and food<sup>49</sup>. Sarmiento de Gamboa also reveals that Pachacuti Yupanqui had first nominated Amaru Tupa as his successor but later changed his mind in favour of his youngest son, who eventually received the *maska paycha*. In the course of these events, however, the siblings' rivalry did not spark conflict, and Amaru Tupa retained considerable military power. His memory was even inscribed in the surroundings of the imperial city where two shrines of the *seque* system recalled his presence<sup>50</sup>. Hence, despite the two brothers' contention over the royal fringe, it is significant that primary sources associate Amaru Tupa Inca's grandchildren (and their descendants) with his younger brother's kin group, the Qhapaq Ayllu. As Catherine Julien pointed out, this information refines our understanding of Incan affiliation since it emphasizes

---

<sup>46</sup> Pérez Bocanegra: pp. 612-613. The text also mentions a fourth category called *caru* "a distant relation in the fourth degree", but this word does not appear in the documents relative to Cuzco's socio-political organization.

<sup>47</sup> Pärssinen and Kiviharju, 2004: pp. 91-92.

<sup>48</sup> Pachacuti Yamqui (p. 230) confirms that Amaru Tupa's *chakra* belonged to the Qhapaq ayllu.

<sup>49</sup> Sarmiento de Gamboa: Ch. 37, p. 106; Ch. 41, pp. 114-115; Ch. 43, pp. 116-118; Cabello de Balboa: pp. 334-335; Murúa: Ch. 24, pp. 78-79; Pachacuti Yamqui: pp. 224, 228.

<sup>50</sup> These are Chacuaytapara (Ch. 8:5), and Amaromarcahuasi (*Amaru marka wasi*) (An. 1:7). See Bauer 1998: pp. 68, 75-76.

siblingship over principles of filiation in the formation of royal lineages (*panaqa*)<sup>51</sup>. Significantly as well, it provides evidence that the older brother would have held a lower status (*payan*) than that of his younger sibling (*collana*).

While there may be general agreement among scholars that asymmetry was an inherent aspect of the *ayllu* tripartition, one important facet of this model remains to be examined, and that is reciprocal obligations. An analysis of ethnographic data from the Cuzco region will assist in further clarifying this aspect. Among the three divisions, *collana* is a word still in use today to describe a specific agrarian function. The *qullana* conducts labour in the fields; he is the first to plough the *chakra*, and the first to carry the yields to the storehouse at harvest time<sup>52</sup>. Garcilaso de la Vega and Guaman Poma's depictions of Incan life both offer a vibrant illustration of communal work in the fields, where men joined forces in small groups to perform agricultural tasks<sup>53</sup>. In his study of agricultural cooperation (*ayni*) in the Cuzco region today, Mario E. Tapia describes the same practice, and makes reference not only to the *qullana*, but also to his attendant, called *qayawa*, whose name calls to mind the third division of the Incan *ayllu* tripartition, the *cayao* (*qayaw*) category<sup>54</sup>:

At dawn the field owner (*chakrachikuy*) calls those who will work with him (...) They form groups of three persons called *masa* [which] are organised by a *qullana* or *capitán*, whose role is to distribute the work fairly, according to the age and strength of every member of the *masa* (which, among other things, allows group competition) and he sets the pace of work. The *capitán* is usually a kinsman, son-in-law or brother of the field owner. Another role is that of *qayawa* or second-in-command, who inspects the completion of the work<sup>55</sup>.

Competitiveness and prestige are certainly the two leading aspects that characterise the function of the *qullana* who routinely competes against other *masa* leaders with the

---

<sup>51</sup> Julien 2000: p. 38.

<sup>52</sup> Beyersdorff 1984: p. 83; Cerrón Palomino, Ballón Aguirre and Chambi 1992: p. 71.

<sup>53</sup> Garcilaso de la Vega: Bk. 5, Ch. 2, p. 228; Guaman Poma de Ayala: 250 [252], p. 224.

<sup>54</sup> Zuidema correctly notes that "callahua" was another written form of "cayao". It also probably became "cayhua" (*qaywa*) by metathesis in certain dialects. I believe that all of these early Spanish spellings refer to the *qayawa* function. However, this word cannot mean "beginning or origin" as Zuidema suggested following Jorge A. Lira's disputable spelling of "kkálla" (*qaylla*). Nor should it be associated with the Spanish "callao" that came to designate certain port cities of South America (Zuidema 1964: 165 n. 159). If *qayawa* has any linguistic link with *qaylla*, which remains to be demonstrated, then its meaning is one of "edge", "border" or "close by".

<sup>55</sup> Tapia 1986, *Guía metodológica para la caracterización de la agricultura andina*. Universidades de Arequipa, Ayacucho, Cusco y Puno, IICA-CIID, In Morlon (ed.) 1992: pp. 57-58. I am grateful to David Cahill for pointing out to me that the person in charge of leading the communities' *mitayos* to Potosí or Huancavelica were also called *capitán* (de *mit'a*).

assistance of his second in office, the *qayawa*<sup>56</sup>. Among the Ch'eqec today, the *qullana* is also a high-ranking *cargo* due to its heavy financial obligations. For a year, he provides food and drinks for all community cooperation projects, for which he has the authority to begin and close ritually<sup>57</sup>. In other parts of the southern Andes, funerals and the cleanings of irrigation canals are overseen by a *qullana* and a *qayaw* whose function is to maintain discipline among the celebrants<sup>58</sup>. In these different examples, they are heads of a social hierarchy operating in a context of collective work, for the benefit of their ayllu or entire community. They exercise authority over an organized group of individuals who perform complementary roles in the completion of labour and ceremonial rites<sup>59</sup>.

Thus, it could be argued that the tripartite division of Incan social organization was based on similar principles of complementary and communal obligations that entailed hierarchy and competitiveness. This conclusion is all the more consistent in the context of the *seque* system, where the internal organization of the *suyus* operated according to the three categories *qullana*, *payan* and *qayaw*. Indeed, although the *seque* came to denote a line, a ray or a limit in colonial time, it also – and perhaps originally – described an arable land divided into several cultivation parcels<sup>60</sup>. The *seque*, therefore, not only complements other modes of (asymmetric) demographic organization, like the *suyus* or the moieties, but its meaning also suggests a connection between the ritual organization of the Cuzco region and the system of dividing work in the fields. Accordingly, each triad of *seque* was attended by a *panaqa* and two ayllus of lesser status who were individually in charge of a section of the ritual landscape. Despite their hierarchical difference, each group was tied by their ritual duties to a certain number of *wakas* and, similar to agricultural labour, it was the mutual completion of every sacrifice and offering to these shrines that made the ritual efficacious.

---

<sup>56</sup> Fabre 1976: p. 128.

<sup>57</sup> Webster 1981: p. 621.

<sup>58</sup> Cáceres Chalco 2001.

<sup>59</sup> There exist other examples of tripartite work distribution throughout the Andes. During the cleaning of Saywite's irrigation canals (Abancay), for instance, the work force was divided out into three groups of a hundred men, each division working respectively in the first, middle and last sections of the canal (Sherbondy 1987: p. 136).

<sup>60</sup> Beyersdorff 1984: p. 102. Bouysse-Cassagne (1986: p. 201) drew a similar conclusion concerning the *suyu*, which she sees as a "subdivision" or "distribution".

AFFILIATION AND MARRIAGE PATTERNS

Inca rulers	Principal wives
Sinchi Roca	Mama Coca, native of Sañu
Lluque Yupanqui	Mama Caua Pata, native of Oma
	Mama Tancar Achi Chimpu Urma, native of Tancar
	Mama Cura, sister or first cousin
Mayta Capac	Mama Chianta/Chiancha, native of Sañu
	Mama Tancaray/Tacucaray, native of Tancaray/Tacucaray
	Chimpu Urm, sister or first cousin
Capac Yupanqui	Curi Hilpay, daughter of the Ayamarca lord
Inca Roca	Mama Micay, daughter of the Huayllacan lord
Yahuar Huacac	Mama Chiquia/Ipa Huaco Coya, daughter of the Ayamarca lord
Viracocha Inca	Mama Runtucaya, daughter of the Anta lord
Pachacuti Yupanqui	Mama Anahuarque, native of Choco
Tupa Inca Yupanqui	Mama Ocllo, full sister

Table 4.1. List of the Incas' principal wives, with mention of their origin<sup>61</sup>.

In a society in which hierarchical status and moiety membership determined each individual's position in the religious and sociopolitical spheres, patterns of affiliation and marriage preferences were instrumental. Primary sources indicate that Incan rulers preferably married outside of their kin group (see Table 4.1) and received their first wives from non-Incan lords with whom they forged symmetric alliances<sup>62</sup>. Some terminological features suggest as well that they privileged asymmetric cross-cousin marriage, restricted to the matrilateral form. Indeed, the term *kaka* referred to a man's maternal uncle, his father-in-law, and his wife's brother (MB = WB = WF) while *ipa*

<sup>61</sup> I have compiled this table from information taken from Cieza de León, Betanzos, Las Casas, Fernández, Sarmiento de Gamboa, Murúa and Garcilaso de la Vega. The last two authors often provide names different from their predecessors, and identify the principal wives as full sisters or first cousins of the Incas.

<sup>62</sup> Zuidema 1989: p. 261. The kinship terminology "symmetric alliance" describes the nature of the marriage exchange; it does not indicate the equivalence of the spouses' hierarchical rank (isogamy). Moreover, it remains difficult to identify post-marital residence patterns among Incan rulers. None of them, who practised polygyny, moved to their non-Incan wives' residence outside of Cuzco, so that residence was either patrilocal or neolocal.

designated the woman's husband's sister and her father's sister's daughter (HZ = FZD)<sup>63</sup>. As Lounsbury observes:

All of these point to an equivalence between a man's wife and his mother's brother's daughter, and conversely also of a woman's husband and her father's sister's son, at least as a principle of kinship reckoning, whatever may have been the social facts behind it<sup>64</sup>.

This model is supported by the implementation of the kinship term *kaka* to the foreign nations that had provided spouses for the rulers. Early colonial documents thus refer to the Choco and Cachona ayllus – also known under their principal *waka*'s name: “Anahuarque Indians” – as “Indians Caca Cuzcos”<sup>65</sup>. In Incan times, the latter were exempted from the *mit'a* owing to their matrimonial connections with the Cuzco nobility.

It came about that Pachacuti Ynga Yupangui, who was Lord of these Kingdoms, married Mama Anaguarque *aunt* of the Yncas, [who descended from the] Caca Cuzcos Anaguarquez. At that time, when the Yngas succeeded the aforementioned Pachacuti Ynga Yupangui, the said Caca Cuzcos Anaguarquez benefited from the aforementioned freedoms; they were addressed as *uncles* and called the Yngas *nephews*. This custom has survived and is still in use today<sup>66</sup>.

The document makes clear that the denomination Caca Cuzcos was employed by a population who had provided a Cuzqueño ruler with a wife, Mama Anahuarque, homonym of the *waka* honoured during the Incan initiatory rite. Pachacuti Yupangui's wedding, therefore, was the condition for the acquisition of this statutory title whose classificatory aspect is also clearly underlined. Indeed, the document indicates that the Caca Cuzcos had the privilege of addressing the Incas as “cousins” and were called “uncles” in return. The importance of classificatory kin was similarly emphasized in the nomenclature, for the Incas had separate terms to refer to cross cousins and spouses

---

<sup>63</sup> Zuidema, 1964: pp. 40-43; Lounsbury 1986: pp. 122-123. These terms are glossed in Santo Tomás, *Lexicón*; Ricardo [1586], González Holguín, *Vocabulario*; Torres Rubio [1619].

<sup>64</sup> Lounsbury 1986: pp. 122-123.

<sup>65</sup> Rostworowski 1983: p. 135.

<sup>66</sup> “De como Pachacuti Ynga Yupangui Señor que fue de estos Reynos se caso con Mama Anaguarque tia de los Yngas Caca Cuzcos Anaguarquez y que en tiempo de los Yngas que subcedieron despues del dicho Pachacuti Ynga Yupangui los dichos Caca Cuzcos Anaguarquez gosavan de las dichas libertades y que los llamavan tios, y ellos a los dichos Yngas Sobrinos, y esta costumbre se ha guardado y guarda hasta el día de oy”. (Archivo Departamental del Cuzco, Real Audiencia: Ordinarias, leg. 42 (1670 [1589]), Expediente sobre el Cacigazgo de Chumbivilcas, fol 16v.) The translation and emphases are mine. I am most grateful to David Cahill who generously gave me a copy of this document. See also Rostworowski 1993a: pp. 132-37.



(*warmi*). Hence, when Betanzos argues that the Inca's principal wife had to be a sister or first cousin (*pana*) of the ruler, he referred as much to a genealogical relative than a classificatory one<sup>67</sup>.

Marriage with the full sister, however, reportedly occurred between members of the Incan nobility but was strictly prohibited among commoners on pain of death<sup>68</sup>. Tupa Yupanqui, for example, is known to have married his genealogical sister, Mama Ocllo, on the day he was invested with the *maska paycha*<sup>69</sup>. Yet few rulers resorted to this type of union. Royal incest in Incan Cuzco, as in pharaonic Egypt or nineteenth-century Hawaii, remained an ideal rather than the actual convention<sup>70</sup>. Its association with Incan kingship is nevertheless illuminating because marriage with the full sister is the most elementary combination to ensure high-ranking offspring in stratified societies where status is bilaterally transmitted. It therefore indicates that a male's rank depended as much on his mother as his father<sup>71</sup>. Supporting this point, Betanzos insists that the *paqsha*, the Inca's principal wife, had to be "a noblewoman from both the paternal and maternal line"<sup>72</sup>. These conditions made her a *quya*, a status held by "any women whose birth qualified them as a possible spouse for the Inca"<sup>73</sup>.

The kin terminology also suggests that kinship statuses are transmitted down the female line for women (HZ = FZ), while proceeding through the male line for men (MB = MBS)<sup>74</sup>. A similar pattern of "parallel transmission" was found to have existed in the Cuzco region during the early colonial period, and is indeed attributed to many South American dual organizations today<sup>75</sup>. This specific form of affiliation, however, is commonly misunderstood and misinterpreted in a number of early studies on Incan kinship. It was Zuidema who first used, inappropriately, the expression "parallel descent" to describe the practice, leading Irene Silverblatt to argue that Andean

---

<sup>67</sup> Betanzos: Pt. 1, Ch. 16, p. 78.

<sup>68</sup> Fernández: Pt. 2, Bk. 3, Ch. 9, pp. 85-86.

<sup>69</sup> Betanzos: Pt. 1, Ch. 26, p. 127; Sarmiento de Gamboa: Ch. 43, p. 118; Cobo: T. 2, Bk. 12, Ch. 14, p. 83. Huayna Capac, also, would have married his principal wife on the day of his ascent to the imperial throne (Pachacuti Yamqui: f. 31, p. 243), but the practice seems to have varied. See Hernández Astete 2002a: pp. 118-119.

<sup>70</sup> Rostworowski 1960; Bixler 1982a, 1982b; Davenport 1994.

<sup>71</sup> Julien 2000: pp. 259-260; Jenkins 2001: p. 169.

<sup>72</sup> Betanzos: Pt. 1, Ch. 16, p. 78.

<sup>73</sup> Julien 2000: p. 35.

<sup>74</sup> Lounsbury 1986: pp. 122, 125.

<sup>75</sup> Zuidema 1967; Flores Ochoa and Nuñez del Prado (eds.) 1983: p. 118; Isbell 1977: p. 92; Scheffler and Lounsbury 1971: pp. 179-190; Hornborg 1988: pp. 234-237; Bernard-Muñoz 1989.

communities in pre-Hispanic time reckoned descent as bilineal<sup>76</sup>. However, descent is a concept that should be dissociated from other forms of affiliation, although it may (or may not) inform the latter<sup>77</sup>. Thus, parallel transmission is but an aspect of affiliation that can be described as “a pronounced tendency for cross-collateral kin types to take the terminological statuses of their parents of the same sex”<sup>78</sup>. Hence, while we observed that there is ample evidence pointing to the existence of this practice in pre-Hispanic Cuzco, there also exists a substantial body of data indicating that descent was fundamentally unilineal among the ruling elite. The ayllu, which is loosely described in sixteenth-century sources and still functions as a local unit of social organization<sup>79</sup>, was a segmentary kin group in which links were predominantly traced through the father, at least among the Incas<sup>80</sup>. Children, regardless of their sex, belonged to their father’s line but only males transmitted the descent to the next generation<sup>81</sup>. The apical forebear of the ayllu was male so that noblewomen also traced their ancestry back to this figure<sup>82</sup>. This model of unilineal descent, however, does not rule out the existence of parallel transmission within the Incan society<sup>83</sup>. These two principles of affiliation widely coexist in other dual organizations of South America, including the Pano-speaking groups of lowland eastern Peru<sup>84</sup>, and most certainly coexisted in Incan society. Moreover, parallel transmission among the Incan nobility was closely related to another

---

<sup>76</sup> Silverblatt 1987: pp. 4-5. The first observations of parallel transmission and its correlate, sex affiliation, were made in the early 1930s in the Gulf of Papua. A few years later, Curt Nimuendajú applied the description “parallel descent” to the Apinayé system (Eastern Timbira), which likely influenced Zuidema’s approach of the Incan kinship system (1980; pp. 73-77). At the turn of the 1980s, an important literature on bilaterality and bilineal descent in the Andes appeared, such as Earls 1971: p. 69; Zuidema and Quispe 1973: p. 360; Isbell 1978: pp. 13, 105; Lambert 1980; Salomon 1986: p. 133.

<sup>77</sup> Parkin 1997: pp. 14-27.

<sup>78</sup> Scheffler and Lounsbury 1971: p. 179.

<sup>79</sup> Early primary sources describe the ayllu as *parcialidad*, genealogy, family, lineage, caste, nation, segment of inalienable community lands, and barrio of Toledan *reducciones*. See Santo Tomás, *Lexicón*: p. 232; González Holguín, *Vocabulario*: pp. 39-40; Fernández: Pt. 2, Bk. 3, Ch. 7, p. 84.

<sup>80</sup> The purpose of the present chapter is not to engage with the extensive literature on the ayllu whose form varied in time and space, and whose geographical dimension was not as defined as early scholars suggested. With few exceptions, the data largely reflect a preference for patrilineal descent in the Andean ayllu. For an overview of the question, see Cunow 1929; Tschopik 1946: pp. 539-540; Mishkin 1946: p. 441; Bastien 1978: pp. xxiii-xxiv; Webster 1980: pp. 184-185 especially n. 2; Rostworowski 1981; Godoy 1986: pp. 723-724, 726-728; Allen 1988: pp. 33-34, 108-109; Salomon and Urioste, in Avila 1991: pp. 19-23; Urton 1990: pp. 76-77; Rostworowski and Morris 1999: p. 780; Salomon 2004: pp. 62-64; Ramírez 2005: p. 245, n. 35.

<sup>81</sup> Rowe 1946: p. 254; Julien 2000: pp. 24-27.

<sup>82</sup> Julien 2000: pp. 35-42.

<sup>83</sup> Julien (2000: pp. 25-26) expresses strong reservations about the existence of parallel transmission in pre-Hispanic Cuzco on the basis that Incan descent was patrilineal. I argue here that both features can coexist, as already suggested by Hornborg 1998.

<sup>84</sup> Siskind 1973: p. 199; Kensinger 1985: pp. 20, 24; Hornborg 1993.

principle of affiliation: cross-transmission of names. This last practice was fundamental in articulating marriage practice with the bestowal of statuses.

### NAME TRANSMISSION AS A PRINCIPLE OF RECIPROCITY

Chapter 1 of this dissertation briefly outlined Susan E. Ramírez's (2006a) hypothesis on positional inheritance and examined the primary sources supporting her argument. Her study indicated that members of the Incan elite bore several names in the course of their lifetime, to which corresponded a hierarchy of statuses. Names, therefore, were indicators of social prestige and remained the ownership of individual kin groups. This might explain why, according to Garcilaso de la Vega, no one dared pronouncing Manco Capac's name publicly, because he was so highly esteemed<sup>85</sup>. Today, Central Brazilian societies sanction with shame and reprobation any person uttering his/her kin's names in public. This is because, as anthropologist Joan Bamberger observed:

Names, representing both kin connections as well as avenues of access to position of social prestige in village ritual, constitute a form of symbolic representation which link generational succession with individual social status<sup>86</sup>.

In most Gê tribes, for instance, social categories of high status are determined by precise "great" names to which adhere ceremonial roles<sup>87</sup>. In Incan time, the same condition may have applied to both male and female individuals since personal names were the exclusivity of a specific moiety<sup>88</sup>, a phenomenon particularly widespread in dual organizations of Lowland South America<sup>89</sup>. In Incan Cuzco, the highly restricted festivities during which names were transmitted to both boys and girls were presided over by a prominent relative whose identity could bring new insight into the nature of Incan affiliation and the articulation of dualism and hierarchy. Yet little has been said by scholars of the key role played by the name-giver in the context of moiety recruitment; the present section offers to fill this lacuna.

---

<sup>85</sup> Garcilaso de la Vega: Bk. 1, Ch. 23, p. 55.

<sup>86</sup> Bamberger 1974: p. 363.

<sup>87</sup> Hornborg 1988: p. 114.

<sup>88</sup> Pärssinen 1992: pp. 176-177; Ziolkowski 1996: pp. 99-121.

<sup>89</sup> Hornborg 1988.

In Incan Cuzco, new names were bestowed on the festivals of *Rutuchiku* (hair cutting) and *Warachiku*<sup>90</sup>, while there is evidence suggesting that the ruler also changed name at his investiture on the royal *tiyana*. Thus depending on which chronicle is consulted, the bestowal of the first name took place a few weeks to two years after birth, during the private ritual of *Rutuchiku*<sup>91</sup>. On that occasion, the child's kin gathered with offerings and the "closest uncle" cropped his nephew's hair, whereupon the infant received his first name<sup>92</sup>. In the central highlands, the same celebration was enacted in the presence of both parents' brothers. A document from Chinchaycocha (Central sierra) reveals that it was the matrilineal uncle or, in his absence, "the closest relative from the mother's side" who conducted the ceremony, cropped the first lock of hair and presented the child with a llama and other precious goods. The patrilineal uncle came after him to perform the same acts, followed by the rest of his relatives<sup>93</sup>.

Years later, the imposition of a new name and the ritual tonsure were renewed in a similar fashion during the initiation ceremony of both boys and girls. The Spanish chronicles evoke the presence of "close relatives" or "main uncles" side-by-side with the novices during the *Warachiku* trials. They were the ones who repeatedly assaulted the youths, performed the *wari* dances, and handed over the war weapons to the male novices. For Garcilaso de la Vega, the young Incan heir was "sponsored" by the great priest of the Sun, the very same man who was ideally the sovereign's brother or uncle<sup>94</sup>. Guaman Poma de Ayala explicitly identifies the initiate's relative with the mother's brother, referred to as *kaka* in Quechua. He writes that on the day of the *Warachiku* "they took with them certain loincloths that they call uara and the uncle called caca tied it to them"<sup>95</sup>. In colonial Chinchaycocha, a similar context framed the initiation of young boys whose hair was first cut by, and who received the *wara* loincloth from, their mother's brother<sup>96</sup>. As for the Incan maidens, the first menstruation ritual, called

---

<sup>90</sup> From the Quechua *rutu-chi-ku*: "having one's hair cropped", and *wara-chi-ku*: "having one's loincloth put on". See González Holguín, *Vocabulario*: p. 323, p. 182.

<sup>91</sup> Cieza de León: Pt. 1, Ch. 65, pp. 200-201; Betanzos: Pt. 1, Ch. 45, p. 191; Molina: p. 119.

<sup>92</sup> Molina 1989: 119; Garcilaso de la Vega: Bk. 4, Ch. 11, p. 345.

<sup>93</sup> Arriaga: pp. 64-65; Polia Meconi: p. 348.

<sup>94</sup> Betanzos: Pt. 1, Ch. 14, pp. 65-70; Cieza de León: Pt. 2, Ch. 7, p. 18; Polo Ondegardo 1916: p. 18; Fernández: Pt. 2, Bk. 3, Ch. 5, p. 83; Molina 1989: pp. 98-110; Múrua 2001: p. 437; Garcilaso de la Vega: Bk. 2, Ch. 9, p. 199.

<sup>95</sup> Guaman Poma de Ayala: 893 [907], 837. This author indicates that similar events took place during two other rites de passage he called "cuzmallicoc" (*kusmalliyuq*) and "anacaco" (*anakaku*). The first referred to a specific garment called *kusma* that males start wearing at a specific age, although unspecified; the second describes a female skirt, the *anaku*, which women start wearing at a mature age.

<sup>96</sup> Polia Meconi 1999: 354. For contemporary ethnographical studies see also Christinat 1989.

*k'ikuchiku*, also involved adopting another name that the initiate received after three days of seclusion and fast. The ceremony was held privately and required that the young girl bathed before putting on new clothes. A “most important relative”, although different from the MB, would then name her and instruct her on the duties of a married woman. The rest of the family and friends thereafter offered the maid the domestic goods she was now entitled to possess<sup>97</sup>.

These different descriptions agree in identifying the matrilineal uncle with the relative who conducted the male initiate’s rites of passage and symbolically removed him from his former social status. The prominent position of this individual in the kin nucleus entitled him to name, but also hand down goods (livestock), to his nephew, suggesting that affiliation was matrilineal for a man. Supporting this view, Sarmiento de Gamboa reports how the young Titu Cusi Hualpa, future Inca Yahuar Huacac, was invited to his maternal uncle’s lands in Paullu, northeast of Cuzco, because the latter “wanted to pamper him while he was still a child and to have him meet his relatives on his mother’s side and see their estates for they wanted to make him the heir of their *haciendas*”<sup>98</sup>. Although the notion of private property as Sarmiento understood it was alien to Incan land tenure<sup>99</sup>, this information undeniably reflects a form of matrilineal affiliation that the chronicler is unlikely to have entirely invented. The same narrative, however, indicates that Yahuar Huacac’s matrilineal cousins were so furious at seeing their father favouring the young Inca at their expense that they conspired to eliminate him. Transmission of goods, therefore, may have followed both matrilineal and patrilineal principles of affiliation.

Returning to the Incan naming ceremonies, Cristóbal de Molina’s description of the first menstruation ritual clearly distinguishes the relative who named the boys from the girls’ ritual sponsor<sup>100</sup>. From the context he depicts, the latter was acquainted with female-specific responsibilities in the household, which were the knowledge domain of women. This important detail alludes to a situation where name-givers and name-

---

<sup>97</sup> Molina: pp. 119-120.

<sup>98</sup> Sarmiento de Gamboa: Ch. 20, p. 73. Translation by Bauer and Smith 2007, p. 90.

<sup>99</sup> Issues of land tenure in Incan time have been addressed by Sally Falk Moore 1958; Rostworowski 1962, 1993a; Farrington 1992: pp. 378-381; Gose 1993: pp. 486-487; Murra 1995 [2002]; Ramírez 1996: Ch. 3, pp. 42-86; Rowe 1997.

<sup>100</sup> One century later, this distinction was not made by Cobo who used the expression “most prominent uncle” to refer to the girls’ ritual sponsor. However, Cobo’s information largely, if not entirely, draws from Molina’s text, which indicates that he probably misinterpreted his source or simply assumed that the same relative performed this role for both boys and girls. See Cobo T. 2, Bk. 14, Ch. 6: p. 247.

receivers are same-sex individuals, while affiliation was matrilineal for men (from MB to ZS) and patrilineal for women in which the father's sister was the ideal name-giver (from FZ to BD). Zuidema reported a similar practice in the Huarochirí district in colonial times, while this equation is also common among Gê-speaking dual organizations where name transmission is entrusted to cross-sex siblings and effects moiety membership<sup>101</sup>.

Moreover, this equation is all the more congruent with Incan data because, in eastern Brazil as in Pre-Hispanic Cuzco, name-givers belonged to a category that included individuals positioned two ascending generations removed in a direct line from the child. This emerges with particular clarity from an archival document quoted by Martti Pärssinen in his study of Incan political organization. Recalling an event that took place more than thirty years after the conquest, a servant at the house of Doña Catalina told how she objected to the names chosen by the Spaniards for her grandson. She was the widow of Paullu, crowned Inca in 1537, with whom she had a son, called Carlos. In 1571, the latter became the father of a boy that Spanish officials wished to christen Melchor Viracocha Inca. Upon hearing this news, "Doña Catalina responded that they should not for Viracocha Inca is a name of the Incas Urin Cuzco that belongs to a different *parcialidad* from that of my husband"<sup>102</sup>.

Doña Catalina's influence was such that her admonition was followed. Her intervention in this instance of name transmission demonstrates that she held a key position in relation to the young boy. Moreover, it is significant that in order to justify the appropriate name to be bestowed, she does not mention her own son's moiety adherence, although he is the name-receiver's father, but instead evokes her husband's membership to Hanan Cuzco, suggesting that he was the kin whose moiety affiliation was passed on to his grandchild. Such a model conforms to the principles of generational level distinction in operation with cross-transmission of names in other

---

<sup>101</sup> Zuidema 1980: pp. 74-75; Hornborg 1988: pp. 118-119.

<sup>102</sup> Audiencia de Lima 1575-1576, fol. 2588v., Justicia 465, AGI in Pärssinen 1992: p. 176. As Pärssinen observed, Doña Catalina's statement that Wiraqucha was a name of the Incas Urin is peculiar because Viracocha Inca was also a famous lord of Hanan Cuzco. This information suggests that names/titles followed a complex rule of moiety affiliation that cannot be readily established from the scant documents at hand. For Pärssinen (1992: pp. 176-178), the answer may lie with the quadripartition of Cuzco, whereby each moiety was subdivided into a Hanan and Urin division.

dual societies<sup>103</sup>. More important, certainly, is the concurrence of this naming practice with other features of Incan kinship that were long regarded as contradictory or incompatible.

Indeed, as Floyd G. Lounsbury observed, the chronicles provide data from two different systems of classification, identified as Crow and Omaha principles, which “are thoroughly at odds in their nature”<sup>104</sup>. The Incas were not the only ethnic group to have observed these equations simultaneously. In fact, nowadays, other dual organizations of South America, such as the Apinayé of western Timbira, the Sirionó of Bolivia, and other Gê-speaking tribes fit a similar typology to that which Lounsbury has demonstrated to be related structurally to parallel transmission. The latter, combining patrilineal and matrilineal equations and cross-transmission of names, from MB to ZS and FZ to BS with a distinction of generation level, was and is still intrinsically linked to other aspects of binary social oppositions that could enhance our understanding of the Incan kinship system<sup>105</sup>. Christopher Crocker observes that the pertinence of these related principles “is that they transform oppositional human structures into complementary relationships” for brothers and sisters as well as cross-sex cousins enter in a reciprocal interrelation once they bestow names on “a same-sex child of such an opposite sex-sibling”<sup>106</sup>. This observation can equally be applied to the Incan model of parallel affiliation.

Moreover, this relationship of reciprocity was established during the Incan rite of passage (*Warachiku*), through the bestowal of personal names. The central figure mediating this bond was the *kaka* who was at once name-giver and wife-provider to a man, since there was a predilection for matrilateral cross-cousin marriage among the elite. This evidence suggests that a man ideally married his name-giver’s daughter in a union that consolidated the bond created in his early teenage years<sup>107</sup>. Since moiety membership depended on name inheritance, the relationships between opposed social

---

<sup>103</sup> The Krahó, Ramkokamekra, Krikatí, Apinayé, Kayapó and Suyá all observe this rule. See Hornborg 1988.

<sup>104</sup> Lounsbury 1986: p. 126. “Crow equations conventionally express the matrilineal unity of particular kin types”, whereas Omaha equations express their patrilineal unity (Parkin 1997: 110-111).

<sup>105</sup> For this reason, Maybury-Lewis and his followers perceive it as another aspect of binary opposition, in much the same way that gender, generations and spatial organization are structured. Others, such as Crocker, conceive it as the primary cognitive pattern that characterises the social and political systems, and structures the basic principles of dualism. See Maybury-Lewis 1979; Crocker 1984.

<sup>106</sup> Crocker 1984. See also Lave 1979: pp. 20-21, 31.

<sup>107</sup> The same is true of the Suyá in Central Brazil, see Seeger 1981: pp. 129-132, 261

halves in Cuzco appear intrinsically associated with matrimonial strategies, confirming that dual social organizations are an “alternative expression of kin-affine duality”<sup>108</sup>. This interpretation casts considerable light on Juan de Betanzos’ account of the moieties’ origin wherein Pachacuti Yupanqui assigned the lower part to his cognates (*wakcha q’uncha*), and the upper part to his offspring from the second generation, or *hawa*. Anthropologist Alf Hornborg, analysing similar features in societies of lowland South America, observes that “the connection between name transmission and marriage arrangements seems fundamental and pervasive” among those dual organizations<sup>109</sup>. Finally, this observation nuances our understanding of what it meant to be part of the Incan nobility since it essentially contradicts the historical narratives that associate the lower moiety with the descent of early Incan rulers (see Chapter 1). However, rather than considering as mutually exclusive these two perspectives on moiety formation, it is possible to reconcile them through a better understanding of Incan descent relations and kingship succession, as we shall now see.

#### FILIATION IS HISTORY: ANTAGONISMS IN REPRESENTATIONS OF THE INCAN PAST

The first section of the present chapter reviewed the main traits of Incan sociopolitical organization and identified siblingship, younger/elder brother hierarchy, patrilineal descent (*ayllu*), positional inheritance, and parallel transmission of names/ranks in conjunction with cross-transmission, as constitutive of the kin system. This presentation, however, did not examine in detail the composition of the *panaqas*, or moiety subgroups, which have hitherto been defined as the descent groups of each Sapa Inca. The term *panaqa* most likely derives from the Quechua for sister, *pana*, from the male Ego’s perspective<sup>110</sup>, and may therefore denote collateral lines of descent. Yet, as we noted earlier in this chapter, the *ayllu* is a segmentary kin group. It may consist of “multiple patrilineages (or, in principle, matrilineages) insofar as any given member can trace descent from the ‘founder’ or apex via a given child of the ‘founder’”<sup>111</sup>. It can therefore be argued that the *panaqas* were ramifications of the Incan royal patriline whose apical ancestor, Manco Capac, was regarded as the founder of the dynastic line, while the other Incan lords were heads of hierarchically ranked collateral lines. This

---

<sup>108</sup> Hornborg 1988: p. 275.

<sup>109</sup> Hornborg 1988: p. 236.

<sup>110</sup> Zuidema 1964, 1980: pp. 77-78; Regalado de Hurtado 1996: p. 46; Rostworowski 1999: pp. 15-16.

<sup>111</sup> Salomon 1991: p. 22.



hypothesis, as we shall demonstrate, is consistent with the various traits of Incan sociopolitical organization listed above. It identifies siblingship and its relational hierarchy as core principles of affiliation within the royal ayllu, but it also supports the argument first advanced by Paul Kirchhoff and recently developed by David Jenkins, that Incan descent is best described as a conical clan<sup>112</sup>. This system, also known as status lineage or ramage (see Figure 4.1), is often associated with rules of positional inheritance, particularly in Oceania where kingship in societies like Tonga and Hawaii is characterized by a duality of aspects<sup>113</sup>. These two societies provide enlightening examples for the following discussion. It is argued here that the model of the conical clan not only offers the best analytical framework to understand Incan descent, but also reconciles structure with history by allowing the contingencies of the succession wars to play an active role in legitimising kingship.

Figure 4.1. Sahlins's (1958) model of the conical clan (ramage) in Polynesia. Source: Hage and Harary 1996, p. 102.

---

<sup>112</sup> Kirchhoff 1949; Jenkins 2001.

<sup>113</sup> Kirchhoff 1955; Firth 1957; Sahlins 1958; Goldman 1970: pp. 417-443. See also Hage and Harary 1996: pp. 90-124; Petersen 1999; Hage 2000. It has been argued that the Maya as well were organized into status lineages, see Hendon 1991.

Figure 4.2. White's (1959) model of the conical clan. Source: Hage and Harary 1996, p. 109.

Figure 4.3. Model of rank relations of Urin Cuzco rulers, based on primogeniture. Source: Jenkins 2001: p. 177.

#### THE INCAN CONICAL CLAN<sup>114</sup>

Since its formulation in the 1940s, anthropologists of all persuasions have revisited and amended Kirchhoff's definition of the conical clan<sup>115</sup>. In the light of these critics, it is possible to delineate a number of characteristics attached to this particular model of social organization. First and foremost, in its anthropological definition, a "clan" is a unilineal descent group, which can encompass and unite a series of ramifications or lineages recognizing a theoretical common ancestor<sup>116</sup>. As this chapter stressed earlier on, the Andean ayllu also functioned as a model of unilineal descent, most commonly in its patrilineal variety. Schematically, Incan descent can be conceived as composed of a main dynastic line from which proceeded a variety of ramifications: the *panaqa*s. The particularity of the conical clan is that it is a system of stratification by kinship whereby every member of the society is ranked according to closeness to the apical ancestor. In this way, the closer one stands to the dynastic/senior line, the higher his status is. In other words, "temporal proximity – genealogically reckoned – to a source-event (the founding of the lineage inscribed in an ancestor's procreation) determines status"<sup>117</sup>. Figures 4.1 and 4.2 reproduce two structural models of the conical clan following this principle. A logical implication of this structure is the hierarchy of senior and junior lines and its correlate: the relational asymmetry between elder and younger brothers. Primogeniture, but also sometimes ultimogeniture, is therefore the ideal criterion for determining rank<sup>118</sup>. The data gathered in the first section of this chapter suggest as well that one of these two rules of inheritance applied to Incan descent. Figure 4.3, elaborated by Jenkins, shows the positions of the Urin lords (points) and their *panaqa*s based on primogeniture. Secondly, the collateral lines necessarily decline in status at each generation for their members grow away from the founding ancestor. This characteristic, which Clifford Geertz called the "sinking status pattern", implies that individuals have to increase their parents' ranks in order to reproduce the dynastic continuity<sup>119</sup>. This increment is obtained through marriage. Hence, thirdly, the model is

---

<sup>114</sup> I chose to use the term "conical clan" throughout this study rather than "status lineage" or "ramage" for two reasons. First, it is consistent with the previous references of this model in the field of Incan study (Kirchhoff 1949; Jenkins 2001). Secondly, as we shall see, the word "clan" best conveys the extended nature of Incan descent.

<sup>115</sup> A historical overview is provided by Hage and Harary 1996: pp. 90-124.

<sup>116</sup> Parkin 1997: pp. 17-18.

<sup>117</sup> Valeri 1990a: p. 159.

<sup>118</sup> Edmund Ronald Leach (1970: pp. 109, 260-263) observes that the Kachin of Burma rank lineages through a rule of ultimogeniture.

<sup>119</sup> Geertz 1980: pp. 30-33; Valeri 1990b: p. 48.

open to bilateral principles of affiliation in which transmission of ranks proceeds through both the paternal and maternal lines. This is because, among the nobility, the combined ranks of parents produce a higher rank in their children, and thus (metonymically) increase their genealogical closeness to the apical ancestor. The same principle is found in the Incan practice of parallel transmission since names are also indicators of social prestige. Moreover, these bilateral principles of affiliation are inherently interconnected with marriage preferences. In Tonga, Edward W. Gifford observes that the superior rank of sisters was correlated with a predilection for matrilateral cross-cousin marriage. The sister's children were indeed superior to their MB and thus, had the privilege of taking their uncle's goods and that of his children "either during life or after his death"<sup>120</sup>. Stemming from the same prerogative, a man had the prerogative to marry his MB's daughter, so that wife-takers were superior to wife-givers. Significantly, Steven S. Webster reports a similar order in the Cuzco region today (Q'ero) where he observes that a woman's rank is superior to that of her husband<sup>121</sup>. If such an arrangement already existed in pre-Hispanic times in combination with matrilateral cross-cousin marriage, it may well explain why the young Yahuar Huacac was made heir of his maternal uncle's lands and goods at the expense of his cousins (see above). Finally, bilateral reckoning of ranks had another implication on marriage preferences. In Hawaii, anthropologist Valerio Valeri notes:

Since the son's rank depends on his mother as much as his father, a dynasty can automatically reproduce its rank only if its male members consistently marry their sisters. However, brother-sister marriage is allowed to happen only exceptionally; otherwise the collateral lines would steadily lose rank for lack of access to the rank of the senior line (Valeri 1972). The dynasty must reproduce, then, by way of a trade-off between it and its collaterals: in exchange for political support, it gives the collaterals part of its rank through its women. But unless the ruling line periodically shuts itself off by making a few brother-sister (or uncle-niece) marriages, its rank becomes equal to that of some of its collaterals, who may then wrest the rule from the patrilineal successors<sup>122</sup>.

As mentioned previously, the possibility of brother-sister marriage among the Incan nobility indicates that rank was bilaterally transmitted. Therefore, individuals who could trace their genealogical relationship through both his/her parents' lines to the apical ancestor acquired a higher status, and were thereof "more legitimate" in regards

---

<sup>120</sup> Gifford 1929: p. 23, in Hage and Harary 1996: p. 97.

<sup>121</sup> Webster 1980.

<sup>122</sup> Valeri 1990a: p. 166.

to kingship succession. Theoretically, such a principle implies that only firstborns inherited the imperial throne, as suggested by a substantial body of Spanish sources. Modern scholarship, however, largely dismisses this eventuality since María Rostworowski observed, rightly, that the royal fringe was given to the most able child of the deceased ruler. She argued that primogeniture reflected the Spaniards' own perception of inheritance and deformed the reality of kingship succession among the Incas<sup>123</sup>.

While it seems clear that the royal office was open to many pretenders, there are no grounds in dismissing primogeniture as the *ideal* rule of inheritance, at least among the Incan nobility. Indeed, any formal model of social organization, such as the conical clan, represents an ideal, a structure of reference that does not take into account variations in the political context even though historical actors continuously transgress rules and rework their institutions. These transgressions, moreover, do not always call into doubt the core structure of the political and social system. In Hawaii, for example, genealogical seniority was only one of the rationales whereby pretenders could claim kingship. Historical narratives from the archipelago list several instances of secondary wives' sons succeeding to the royal office, although the rules of descent theoretically favoured primogeniture<sup>124</sup>. Still in Hawaii, another historical genre (the genealogical chants) contradicts these narratives and depicts the dynasty as "an uninterrupted descent from firstborn to firstborn"<sup>125</sup>. There thus existed two different historical traditions to refer to the institution of kingship. It is argued here that similar circumstances applied to Incan kingship: the Spanish chronicles cite many examples of "usurpation" of the throne by a young son, but also state in several instances that the royal *borla* went to the eldest son of the Inca's legitimate children, whom Juan de Betanzos called *piwi churi*. These two positions, therefore, are not incompatible, and suggest that the chronicles enclose two narrative genres: one that exalts the individual qualities of the ruler-to-be, his ability to govern and conquer new territories, and the other that emphasizes his connection with the dynastic line and his status as firstborn. Both qualities were equally important to legitimise his position as Sapa Inca.

---

<sup>123</sup> Rostworowski 1999: p. 98.

<sup>124</sup> Sahlins 1985; Valeri 1990b.

<sup>125</sup> Valeri 1990a: p. 169.

Another reason not to dismiss primogeniture as a rule of kingship succession among the Incas stems from our first point: sixteenth-century Europe and modern western societies did not, and do not have the monopoly of this practice. It was, and still is, largely observed in various kingship systems throughout the world<sup>126</sup>. In the Incan empire, however, as in other forms of polities, the reality of the political arena meant that the principle of primogeniture did not always prevail<sup>127</sup>. Importantly, this same principle holds true for other rules of affiliation. Thus, reverting to the Hawaiian case, we observe that transmission of titles and land benefits not only proceeded through conventional principles of affiliation but also depended on the ruler's magnanimity. The latter was entitled to redistribute his subjects' prerogatives upon his accession to power, which inevitably induced conflicts of interest and factional wars at the time of a new nomination<sup>128</sup>. As mentioned in the first section of this chapter, similar features characterized the *panaqas*' interrelationships. Hence, succession to the *maska paycha* regularly sparked hostilities between the noble lineages because it enabled any son of the dead ruler to claim the royal fringe. In these situations, the mothers of every aspirant considerably influenced the political game. Finally, although the Incan elite followed a series of conventions in name/rank transmission (parallel transmission, cross-transmission, positional inheritance), names and titles could also be bestowed on personal merit<sup>129</sup>. During the *Warachiku* ordeals, for example, the young novice who won the race to the top of Anahuarque hill received the prestige name *Waman*, which distinguished him among his peers<sup>130</sup>. All of these elements demonstrate the great flexibility of the Incan system, which facilitated upward social mobility through good deeds<sup>131</sup>.

To summarize, Incan descent can best be described as a conical clan whose features of social classification included: unilineal (patrilineal) descent, parallel/cross transmission of name/rank, positional inheritance, matrilineal cross-cousin marriage, and primogeniture. The *panaqas* were a series of hierarchically ranked ramifications

---

<sup>126</sup> Catherine Julien (2000: p. 296) articulated the same point concerning the patrilineal character of Incan descent.

<sup>127</sup> Moore 1978; Earle 1997: pp. 5-6.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid.

<sup>129</sup> Zuidema 1980: p. 76.

<sup>130</sup> Betanzos: Pt. 1, Ch. 14, p. 67.

<sup>131</sup> The dynamics of the socio-political arena in Hawaii and Cuzco are certainly not specific to these two societies. Petersen (1999), to only cite this study, offers another example of such state of affairs in the Caroline Islands. There is not sufficient space in this dissertation to enter in the details of this debate. I have chosen to emphasize the Hawaiian case because it offers a convenient comparative object.

that proceeded from the main dynastic line. These were the formal characteristics of Incan descent, the foundations of a structure largely documented in primary sources. The same chronicles, however, record data showing that the Incas, like every society, did not conceive of these principles as mere rules of social reproduction. In fact, their narratives exalt the individual qualities of their rulers, such as endurance, charisma, or ingenuity, which enabled them to transcend the established order of kingship succession. This emphasis on personal merit is particularly manifest in Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui's epic, which describes how the latter overthrew his older brother, Inca Urcon, the most legitimate heir in the dynastic line, whom their father favoured for being the eldest child. This narrative not only praises Pachacuti's exploits, it also puts his deeds in contrast to the multiple flaws of Inca Urcon, who is described as "simple-minded", "arrogant", "contemptuous of others", and "lacking the capacity and character" of his younger brother<sup>132</sup>. The story discursively warns the audience that should the rule of succession had been followed, the Incan state would have perished in the hands of an adverse polity. Incan narratives thus recognize and encourage personal merit as the main driving force that insured the viability of their sovereignty in the Cuzco region first and, later, in a large part of South America.

Yet, the monarchy's openness to history did not challenge the hierarchical structure of the Incan descent system, nor did it question its divine essence because a new ruler, whatever his genealogical closeness to the senior line, had to demonstrate that the Sun divinity had elected him for the royal office. This condition was not only examined during the *kallpa rikuy* sacrifice, it also constitutes the substance of many historical narratives. Pachacuti Yupanqui, for instance, is said to have acceded power with the assistance of the tutelary deity of Hanan Cuzco: the young and vigorous Sun, Wiraqucha. Animated with the vital strength infused by the god, Pachacuti manifested his capacity to lead an army of supernatural warriors, the *puruaucas* (*purun awkas*). In a different narrative, Amaru Tupa Inca, Pachacuti Yupanqui's eldest son, relinquished the *maska paycha* to his younger brother, Tupa Yupanqui, after he visited his cadet in the temple of the Sun where the young boy had lived under the protection of the deity for several years. Sarmiento records that Amaru Tupa fell at his brother's feet seeing how much magnificence (*majestad*) and how many noble allies surrounded Tupa Inca

---

<sup>132</sup> Betanzos: Pt. 1, Ch. 8, p. 31; Sarmiento de Gamboa: Ch. 25, p. 83.

Yupanqui<sup>133</sup>. In this way, divine sanction to the royal office could be inherited as well as acquired through merit, and/or by mustering support from the Sun's attendants. Moreover, divine legitimacy re-established the order of the Incan prestige hierarchy that the election of a younger son had disrupted. Indeed, once elected, the Sapa Inca became *Intip churin*, the Sun's son, that is, the closest relative to the ultimate ancestor. According to the system of stratification by kinship followed in conical clans, the ruler's mythical relationship with the Sun positioned him at the top of the prestige hierarchy. Each royal succession, therefore, reconfigured the status of every *panaqa* in Cuzco, for the sovereign and his lineage were now genealogically closer to the senior line and thereby held the highest hierarchical status.

However, the election of a cadet to the royal office could ultimately disrupt the dynastic continuity if the ruler's firstborn, his most legitimate heir, did not increase his lowborn father's rank. To restore this continuity, the newly appointed Inca was required to marry a woman of the highest possible rank so that his firstborn's status will be increased by the combination of his parents' rank. The most elementary union in this situation is the marriage with the full sister, which is precisely the strategy adopted by Tupa Inca Yupanqui, Pachacuti's youngest son, who married Mama Ocllo, his high-ranking genealogical sister<sup>134</sup>. This union explains that the most prestigious division of the Qhapaq ayllu (*qullana*) went to the descent of Tupa Inca Yupanqui, whereas the grandchildren of his older brothers, Amaru Tupa and Tupa Yupanqui, respectively held the *payan* and *qayaw* statuses. Marriage strategies and rules of rank/ name transmission, therefore, insured that the genealogical continuity of the dynasty was preserved despite the dynamics of the political arena. The underlying principles of the Incan conical clan formed a social structure, a frame of reference that historical actors were prompted to transgress but which they ultimately strove to restore in order to insure social stability.

Significantly, Incan traditions closely associate the disruption of the dynastic continuity with moiety antagonisms. Huascar, for instance, reportedly changed moiety affiliation when he learnt that Atahualpa was claiming the *maska paycha* for himself (see anon). Scholars have long considered that brothers' rivalry and fratricidal wars,

---

<sup>133</sup> Sarmiento de Gamboa: Ch. 43, p. 117; Julien 2000: p. 259. The same conclusion can be drawn from the narrative of the Ayar siblings' settlement in the Cuzco valley, as Mama Huaco's violent divination act revealed the support of the potent divinity on the Incas' sides (see Chapter 2).

<sup>134</sup> This confirms that sisters held a higher rank than their brothers, as Webster (1980) observed in the modern Cuzco region.



whether real or ritualised, were a commonplace of royal succession<sup>135</sup>, but the relationships between siblingship and moiety conflicts remain largely unstudied. In 1996, however, Peter Gose laid the foundations for an understanding of this nexus by arguing that temporal process (and thus generational difference) was a core principle of the moiety system. The latter, he argues, “encodes a developmental cycle for the careers of Inka sovereigns”<sup>136</sup>. Following Zuidema, he remarks that Urin Cuzco lords are portrayed as “timid”, “senile”, and “original” rulers who were overthrown by the younger upstarts of Hanan Cuzco<sup>137</sup>. The next section further develops this argument by reintegrating into the discussion elements of the kinship system elaborated in the chapter. It is argued here that Incan historical traditions enclose two discrete corpuses of narratives, or genres, both of which aimed at legitimating kingship, albeit by emphasizing different qualities. The first presents primogeniture as the sole and unchallenged rule of royal succession, whereas the second legitimates rulers by their merit and bravery<sup>138</sup>.

#### HANAN VERSUS URIN, OR THE LEGITIMATION OF INCAN KINGSHIP

Temporal process in Incan historical narratives, that is, the linear perspective on dynastic succession whereby Urin lords preceded Hanan leaders, should not simply be understood as an elaboration of Spanish chroniclers, as early scholars advanced<sup>139</sup>. This is suggested by the very nature of the dichotomies that opposed the two moieties, which operated within a strong temporality. Indeed, the Lower Cuzco sovereigns were associated with past action and exercised restricted power, whereas the ambitious leaders of Upper Cuzco, epitomized by the young Pachacuti Yupanqui, enjoyed the fruits of extended conquests<sup>140</sup>. These oppositions not only reflected a structural order whereby past generations of lords were relegated to a lesser status than the living ruler, but also allowed for the articulation of a linear perspective on dynastic succession, which the primogeniture rule ideally perpetuated. Hence, it can be argued that such an undisturbed representation of Incan genealogy was relayed by the historical traditions that describe the dynastic line as a patrilineal system wherein firstborns inherited their

---

<sup>135</sup> See for example Conrad and Demarest 1984: pp. 131-132; Rostworowski 1988: pp. 159-167; Bravo Guerreira 1992; Pease 1991: pp. 95-146; Hernández Astete 2002b.

<sup>136</sup> Gose 1996a: p. 406.

<sup>137</sup> Ibid.; Zuidema 1964: pp. 111-113; 138, 156-166.

<sup>138</sup> This is closely akin to the argument developed by Valerio Valeri (1990a) on Hawaiian historical traditions.

<sup>139</sup> Zuidema 1964: pp. 122-128; Duviols 1979c.

<sup>140</sup> Zuidema 1964: p. 138; Duviols 1973, 1997a; Gose 1996.

father's office. This observation immediately calls to mind Catherine Julien's work on Incan history (2000) wherein she identifies two narrative genres she calls "dynastic genealogy" and "life history". The former, she argues, articulated its narratives around the notion of *qhapaq* status, which she describes as the divine essence flowing from the apical pair to members of its descent group through patrilineal succession<sup>141</sup>. This genre served to forge an immutable image of royal succession in much the same way described by Valerio Valeri for Hawaii:

Rules expressed in terms of duration allow the social group they define to magnify and thus legitimate itself by adding extent in time to its extent in space. Thus society and its rules mutually legitimate one another through one single powerful image: duration as proof of greatness, potency, vitality, righteousness, divine election, predestination, historical mission, historical necessity, or whatever<sup>142</sup>.

This particular mode of historical recollection, emphasizing continuity in the dynastic line, aimed at creating a group identity wherein the two moieties merged to constitute a line of single ancestry. It is therefore akin to the way Hanan and Urin members clustered together, upon the entrance of foreign delegates during *Qhapaq rayme* and *Sitwa* in order to appear as a unified corps. Such a linear mode of representation contrasted with another historical genre, for which Julien coined the term "life history" because it comprised the body of epics that each *panaqa* composed and perpetuated about the life of its own founder. Unlike the genealogies, life histories gave preference to the law of the most able, and exalted change as a means to legitimate power. These narratives reflected the inward perspective of the Incan noble groups, and thus featured moieties' antagonisms and internal rivalries. Like the oft-repeated scenario of the ritual battles acted during the royal funerals of *Purukaya*, which ended invariably with the defeat of the Lower sector, these epics ended with the victory of the ambitious youth. The latter defied the law of the older generation, represented by his father and elder brother, in order to demonstrate his personal ability to rule.

Illustrating this genre is Juan de Betanzos's retelling of Pachacuti Yupanqui's accession to power where the old order is transcended, giving way to new institutions,

---

<sup>141</sup> Julien 2000: pp. 21-48. Although this author makes no comparative analysis in her work, it should be noted that her definition of *qhapaq* is closely akin to the Polynesian *mana*. The latter is the divine potency acquired through descent from the gods, or directly given by them to a person they elect. It is the ultimate source of legitimacy (Valeri 1990a: pp. 167-168).

<sup>142</sup> Valeri 1990a: p. 162.

thus inaugurating at the same time the rule of a new god, namely Wiraqucha. The Inca is described as a reformer who devised the metropolitan calendar, invented the *Purukaya* ritual, and divided the city into two moieties of asymmetric values. His achievements therefore emphasize dual antagonisms and the hierarchical pre-eminence of the Hanan sector. In this account, Inca Pachacuti's partition of Cuzco negates the anteriority of the Urin leadership by associating the Lower sector with the descent of the three lords who assisted the young leader in his victory against the Chancas.

From the Temple of the Sun upwards including everything between the two rivers up to the hill which is now the fortress, he distributed to the most prominent lords among his relatives and descendants of his lineage in a direct line, children of lords and ladies of his own family and lineage. The three lords whom he sent to settle in the section below the Temple of the Sun, as you have heard, were illegitimate sons of lords, though they were from his lineage. They were born of women foreign to his nation and of low extraction<sup>143</sup>.

This particular genre of historical representation was thus associated with the deeds of Hanan rulers described as younger and rebellious brothers. In fact, Pachacuti Yupanqui is not the only Hanan lord whose reign is described in those terms; different chronicles attribute similar achievements to Viracocha Inca or Tupa Inca Yupanqui<sup>144</sup>. Bartolomé de Las Casas and Gutiérrez de Santa Clara provide two illustrations of this genre in their depiction of Pachacuti Yupanqui and Tupa Inca's division of Cuzco<sup>145</sup>. Both relate how these lords ordered that the descendants of their heir, son, grandfather and great-grandfather settle on one side of the city (Hanan), while the secondary sons of the Incas who would rule after them were to reside on the other (Urin). As with the Betanzos narrative, these authors do not mention the anteriority of Urin versus Hanan lords, but instead list first the lineages of the Upper division, and explain moiety partition as a result of hierarchical distinction. It follows that Pachacuti Yupanqui was not the only reformer of Incan tradition even though his epic was certainly the best-preserved example of its narrative genre, most notably in the Betanzos' account<sup>146</sup>. The Hanan lords all demonstrated the qualities of young upstarts who defied the past/established order embodied by their older brother, to conquer nations others than those subdued by their ancestors. Urin rulers, on the other hand, were commonly described as

---

<sup>143</sup> Betanzos, translation by Hamilton 1996: p. 71.

<sup>144</sup> Collapiña et al.: pp. 33-38; Gutiérrez de Santa Clara: Ch. 50, pp. 213-215; Cabello de Balboa: pp. 349-352; Murúa: Bk. 1, Ch. 13: pp. 58-59.

<sup>145</sup> Las Casas: Ch. 251, pp. 398-399.

<sup>146</sup> Julien 2000: pp. 91-165.

weak and having limited power because they had accessed power by birthright, not by demonstrating their leadership abilities.

This interpretation throws considerable light on an obscure event that followed Huayna Capac's death, as the royal fringe awaited its next owner. Huascar, who was resident in Cuzco, became enraged upon receiving the presents his younger brother Atahualpa had sent him from Quito. Understanding his sibling's intention to claim the *maska paycha*, Huascar declared that he no longer belonged to the Upper moiety,

Because Atahualpa was of Hanan Cuzco, descended from the lineage of Inca Yupanqui, and he no longer wished to be of that lineage (...) Henceforth he wished them to recognize him as from Urin Cuzco because he intended to kill Atahualpa and all his kinsmen and lineage that was of Hanan Cuzco, and form a new lineage of Urin Cuzco<sup>147</sup>.

Most chroniclers assert that Huascar was indeed the most legitimate heir to the imperial office. The firstborn of Huayna Capac and his full sister, Raura Ocllo, he belonged to the Qhapaq ayllu, which affiliated him to the Hanan moiety<sup>148</sup>. However, as we have noted, the rules of affiliation were often shattered by the intrigues of the political arena, leaving Huascar no other choice but to fight for the *borla* he should have inherited by birthright. For that reason, Incan narratives depict Huascar with the characteristics traditionally associated to Urin lords, that is the keeper of the tradition: before the fratricidal war, he lived leisurely in Cuzco with his court, and did not take part in any military campaign. Atahualpa, in contrast, is said to have been actively involved in expanding Tawantinsuyu's territories under his father's command. His abilities as an army chief, and his lower status in the prestige hierarchy made Atahualpa an archetypal upstart of Hanan Cuzco. Following the lines dictated by Incan traditions, Huascar embodied the values of the past and the established order perpetuated by Urin lords. It was therefore the rule of kingship succession by birthright that he hoped to re-establish at his accession to power by forming "a new lineage of Urin Cuzco".

Significantly, the two chroniclers to have reported Huascar's change of moiety affiliation were Juan de Betanzos and Sarmiento de Gamboa, both of whom appear to

---

<sup>147</sup> Betanzos, Pt. 2, Ch. 2. Translation by Hamilton and Buchanan 1996: p. 194. Also, Sarmiento Ch. 63, p. 151.

<sup>148</sup> Rostworowski 1999: pp. 107-110.

have drawn from the “life history” genre identified by Julien<sup>149</sup>. This particular mode of historical representation, because it was the repository of each *panaqa*, not only emphasized inter-lineage and moiety conflicts, but may also have given prominence to influential women in the political making process. It was indeed through marriages with high-ranking women that the ramification lines, or *panaqas*, secured their access to the dynastic line, thus enabling the fruits of these alliances to compete for the royal office. It is therefore not surprising that the chronicles provide countless examples of the central role mothers and wives played in diplomatic missions or in the election (as opposed to inherited succession) of the most able ruler<sup>150</sup>. One event, the discovery of the main irrigation source of Hanan Cuzco, offers a patent illustration of a single episode being viewed from two different angles. One attributes its finding to Inca Roca, when drops of his blood fell on the ground and opened the water spring; the other that accredits its construction to his wife, Mama Micay<sup>151</sup>. The first is entirely oblivious to the role the queen may have played in these events, and largely focuses on the supernatural origin of the stream as a given of the Sun god. The second account evokes the human will and industry behind the construction of the irrigation canal, and thus stresses the active type of vitality that also characterises Hanan rulers. All of this suggests that these two narratives belonged to different historical genres. The first was outward-oriented and emphasized the coalition of opposites, thereby forging a linear history where continuity characterized descent from a divine source. The other was inward-oriented, focused on conflicts, rupture and personal achievements, but also stressed the hierarchical pre-eminence of Hanan versus Urin members.

In the light of these data, the moieties’ antagonisms enacted during the ritual battle of *Purukaya*, the royal funerals devised by Inca Pachacuti Yupanqui, take on a new significance. This splendid ceremony, regularly described as a celebration of the Incas’ glorious deeds in battle<sup>152</sup>, can alternatively be seen as a demonstration of male subjection to their female companions. The festivity went as follows: after the nobility had mourned the dead for two weeks on various sites outside Cuzco, a dance was staged on the main plaza. Four men, accompanied by two young children of both sexes, positioned themselves at each corner of the square. Each adult had, attached to their

---

<sup>149</sup> Julien 2000: pp. 91-165.

<sup>150</sup> Rostworowski 1995: pp. 7-8; Hernández Astete 2002: pp. 129-134. See also Nowack 2000.

<sup>151</sup> Sarmiento: Ch. 19, p. 71; Cieza de León: Pt. 2, Ch. 35, pp. 105-106; Cobo: T. 2, Bk. 12, Ch. 9, pp. 72-73. See also Zuidema 1986b.

<sup>152</sup> MacCormack 1991: p. 128.

belt, a fine rope of gold and wool that a group of ten women held firmly in their hands. The four males would then execute forwards and backwards movements while the women released or pulled the cord as they pleased. During this performance, the little girls escorting each ritual prisoner fed him with coca leaves but also carried a stick with them, “and threatening him with it, [they] would go hopping on one side of the disguised man as if [they] wanted to hit him on the arm”<sup>153</sup>. The performers eventually left the plaza, exhausted by the constant strain of the dance, and gave way to the Sapa Inca and the rest of the nobility who engaged in communal mourning.

Betanzos reports that his informants identified the ten women as the lords’ will (*voluntad*), leaving little doubt that this scenario enacted a form of male subjection. He thus explains: “If his will gave him a long piece of cord with which he was tied, he acted like a free man. If it was pulled up short, he did not do another thing, as he did when he was given a long piece of cord, he would say that his will had him tied”<sup>154</sup>. It should be noted, moreover, that the Spanish word *voluntad* only approximately translates the Quechua *munana* or *munay* whose stem *muna-* means “to want, love, or have the will to do something”, and in which the notions of appetite and desire are implied<sup>155</sup>. The semantic field of *muna-* thus illuminates the gender relations of the *Purukaya* dance, for alternatively the men could be seen as tied by their love and desire to the women. But this ceremony acquires further significance in the light of the ritual battle that followed the dance, and which opposed members of the Upper moiety against those of the Lower moiety. This violent encounter, Betanzos reveals, invariably ended with the victory of Hanan Cuzco because it represented the wars that the defunct won in his life<sup>156</sup>. In the light of the argument developed in this section, this scenario not merely appears to have represented the Inca’s past conquests, but also depicted the victory of the most vigorous and promising heir against the established and past order dictating that legitimacy should be acquired by descent. It celebrated kingship’s openness to history as the source of imperial expansion and, by the same token, exalted the central role of high-ranking women in the perpetuation of the Incan dynasty. It is significant that no other festival in the metropolis overtly portrayed the authority of those women as did the *Purukaya* funerals, for they and their lineages insured the

---

<sup>153</sup> Betanzos: Pt. 1, Ch. 31, pp. 146-147.

<sup>154</sup> Betanzos: Pt. 1, Ch. 31, p. 147. Translation Hamilton and Buchanan 1996: p. 136.

<sup>155</sup> González Holguín, *Vocabulario*: pp. 249-251.

<sup>156</sup> Betanzos: Pt. 1, Ch. 31, p. 147.

viability and resourcefulness of the Incan monarchy. Perhaps their number on the plaza also stood for the ten *panaqas* that regularly engaged in ritual performances such as the *Sitwa* festival. Finally, the women's active role in the political and military making process might also explain why a group of female warriors, holding weapons of war and accompanied by men carrying slings, reappeared in the final representation of the *Purukaya*. As they left the plaza, the communal mourning reached an end, and gave way to the final sacrifices in honour of the dead.

In the light of the argument elaborated in this chapter, it can be argued that succession to the royal office, with its share of contingencies, lay at the heart of the various moiety antagonisms evoked in Incan narratives. Temporal process not only structured these oppositions around two different principles of succession, it also mediated the asymmetric relations of Incan descent by allowing individuals to transcend the hierarchical position they had been given at birth. Interestingly, the conflictive relationships the Cuzco nobility forged with the populations that provided spouses to their rulers took on similar features. These nations were entitled to certain privileges, and were required to attend specific ceremonies. In this way, they entered into a personal relationship of mutual obligation with the Inca, which ensured the stability of the empire and the tenure of local chieftainships. The next section provides a systematic overview of foreign presence during Incan festivities and demonstrates how ritual context dramatized the equivocal relations that the ruling elite maintained with other native leaders. It examines the ritual strategies devised by the Incan elite to express their ascendancy over the conquered nations while establishing relations of reciprocity with them. The most obvious illustrations for this overview are the foreigners' entrance at the end of *Qhapaq rayme*, the *Sitwa* purification rite at *Quya rayme*, and the *Qhapaq hucha*. This last section examines the Incas/non-Incas relations as an instance of dual opposition that took up, and extended the characteristics of Cuzco moiety division. In order to apprehend correctly the nature of the Incan elite's relation with provincial lords, it will first be necessary to understand the relationships that the Cuzqueñan celebrants maintained with the outside world and the shrines they worshipped in the Incan heartland.

**CONCENTRIC DUALISM: THE INCAS' RELATIONSHIP TO THE OUTSIDE WORLD**

## THE FOREIGN WAKAS OF THE INCAN HEARTLAND

As the previous chapters briefly outlined, a vast web of shrines, interconnected via the *seques*, encircled Cuzco and extended over lands and people under the jurisdiction of non-Incan chieftains (see Maps 4.1 and 4.2). The *Relación de los adoratorios de los indios* [c. 1570] is the only surviving description of this system, which would have comprised 328 *wakas*, distributed over 41 *seques*. The report provides details of the shrines' location and configuration, the sacrifices they received and, for some, mentions their astronomical function. Most of the sanctuaries are explicitly associated with great Incan leaders, while others are linked to local traditions and, notably, to the deeds of provincial lords. *Senga* (Ch. 5:9) and *Antuiurco* (An 1:4), for example, were worshipped by the Ayarmacas and the Huallas as their respective places of origin, while *Vicaribi* (Ch. 9:5) was described as the sepulchre of a notorious Maras lord. The Allawillay ayllu, undocumented in other official chronicles, had also a *waka* included in this system where its chiefs had been buried (Co 4:5)<sup>157</sup>. The status of these foreign ayllus was such that their sanctuaries received periodic offerings from members of the Incan *panaqa*s and non-royal ayllus, as well as *Qhapaq hucha* sacrifices. However, none of them would have shared similar relations with the Incan nobility.

Of the fore-mentioned ethnic groups, the Ayarmacas were the most powerful. During the Late Intermediate Period (approximately between AD 1000-1400), they had subjugated nations from Pucyura, west of Cuzco, to the Chinchero area, northwest of the capital (see Map 4.1), where their interests progressively collided with those of the Incas<sup>158</sup>. For this reason, the two powers long maintained fluctuating relations, ranging from bride exchanges to armed conflicts. It was Pachacuti Yupanqui who reportedly put an end to their rivalries when he captured and killed the powerful Ayarmaca warlord known under the name of Tocay Capac<sup>159</sup>. In contrast with this nation, primary sources describe the Huallas as an indigenous population, producer of coca and chilli, which never attained regional authority. The Incan founding narratives also record that Manco Capac and his siblings, arriving in the valley, usurped the parcel of land cultivated by

---

<sup>157</sup> Polo Ondegardo 1917: pp. 10, 15, 16-17, 29.

<sup>158</sup> Rostworowski 1993b; Bauer 2004: pp. 79-80.

<sup>159</sup> Julien 2000: pp. 245-247; Cahill 2002: pp. 616-618; Yaya 2008: pp. 67-68.



the Huallas in Huanaypata<sup>160</sup>. Finally, according to the same traditions, the Maras ayllu was one of the non-royal lineage to have emerged from Paqariq Tampu with the Ayars, and to have taken part in their migration in search of fertile lands<sup>161</sup>. Little is known about this ayllu whose name also designated an area thirty kilometres northwest of Cuzco, renowned for its salt pans. This zone would have been under the jurisdiction of the Ayarmacas at the apex of their supremacy, but the latter's relations with the Maras ayllu remain unclear<sup>162</sup>.

Map 4.1 The Incan heartland and its ethnic groups in the Late Intermediate Period. Source: Bauer 2004, p. 73.

---

<sup>160</sup> Betanzos: Pt. 1, Ch. 4, p. 20; Sarmiento de Gamboa: Ch. 13, p. 60; Cabello de Balboa: Ch. 10; Múrua: Bk. 1, Ch. 3, p. 45.

<sup>161</sup> Molina: p. 106. Sarmiento de Gamboa: Ch. 6, p. 53.

<sup>162</sup> Santo Tomás, *Grammatica*: pp. 128-129; Sarmiento de Gamboa: Ch. 11, p. 53.



These three populations were not the only ones whose main shrines received special honours from the Incan nobility. Various, dispersed, sources complement the information of the *sege* manuscript, and confirm that the Cuzqueñan elite venerated certain *wakas* related to the history of local chiefdoms during the important festival of *Warachiku*. As regards this celebration, Bernabé Cobo indicates that, before the actual initiation rite took place, the young girls spun the novices' loincloths in Chaca. It was there, he wrote, that the maidens carried out their task while the novices collected bundles of straw under the surveillance of the *waka* of Huanacauri, transferred there for the occasion<sup>163</sup>. Father Cobo's information was partly based on the *Relación de los adoratorios*, to which he had access, wherein he could have read the following lines: "Chacaguanacauri; which is a hill on the road to Yucay where the young men who were armed *Orejones* went to find a certain straw they attached to their lances"<sup>164</sup>. Another account, which also links this site to the *Warachiku*, relates Inca Roca's dreadful suffering following the piercing of his ears. Enfeebled by the pain, the young Inca was compelled to pray to the gods at the summit of the Chaca hill. Pressing his bloodstained ear on the ground, he saw a spring of water burst forth from the soil, which became a major hydrological source to supply Cuzco<sup>165</sup>.

Archaeologist Brian S. Bauer identifies this place with the ruins of Chacan, northwest of Cuzco, the site of "an important canal system, a huge outcrop spanning the upper Saphi (or Chacan) River, several large outcrops with platforms on their summits, a number of carved stones, and many terraces"<sup>166</sup>. Situated nearby the ruins of Chacan is the spring of Tambo Machay whence emanated a subterranean canal leading to lands whose product went to the Ayarmaca ayllu. Zuidema notes that present-day popular traditions identify the main provider of Tambo Machay's waters as Lake Coricocha, located on native plots administrated by another ethnic group, the Huayllacans<sup>167</sup>. This population had political authority over subjects living fifteen kilometres north of Cuzco, extending from the high plateaux of Patabamba, down to the present-day communities of Coya and Lamay, on the banks of the Urubamba River (see Map 4.1)<sup>168</sup>. According

---

<sup>163</sup> Cobo 1964: T. 2, Bk. 13, Ch. 25, p. 208.

<sup>164</sup> Polo Ondegardo 1917: p. 9. The Spaniards used the word "orejones" to refer to the members of the Incan elite, in relation to their large pendant earrings.

<sup>165</sup> Cieza de León: Pt. 2, Ch. 35, pp. 105-106.

<sup>166</sup> Bauer 1998: p. 61. From this point, the Chacan canals run southwards onto the Saqsaywaman plateau before turning eastwards towards the city.

<sup>167</sup> Zuidema 1997: p. 298.

<sup>168</sup> Bauer 2004: pp. 81-82; Covey 2006a: pp. 147-155.

to historical traditions, the Huayllacans provided Inca Roca with his wife, Mama Micay (see Table 4.1). In another narrative, she is credited an active role in setting the water-ditching project of one of the main irrigation canal supplying Cuzco, perhaps the same water source whose mythical discovery was attributed to Inca Roca<sup>169</sup>. This information would thus suggest that the principal irrigation canal supplying Cuzco was associated with a foreign ally to the Incan nobility, the Huayllacans.

Given the chroniclers' consensus over the elitist nature of the *Warachiku* rite, it is intriguing that Chaca constituted a major site visited by the Incan initiates in preparation for their initiation ordeals. Primary sources, however, indicate that Chaca was only the first stage in a series of pilgrimages that commemorated several shrines ancestrally linked to non-Incan ethnic groups. Thus, second to be visited at *Warachiku* was Huanacauri, the predominant site where Ayar Uchu became petrified while his siblings gazed. Pierre Duviols stresses that a series of documents commissioned by viceroy Toledo offers an alternative version to this migration narrative<sup>170</sup>. Between 1571 and 1572, several jurists of the Spanish Crown recorded the testimonies of three ayllus: the Sauasiray, the Antasayaq, and the Alca Uiza, who all asserted they exerted sovereignty over ancient Cuzco before the coming of the "tyrannical" rulers. Contradicting the narrative of the Incan settlement in Cuzco, the testimonies brought forward by the Alcahuiza recorded that their ancestor, called Ayar Uchu, settled in Pukamarka and cohabited with three other ayllus before Manco Capac's group entered the valley. The same reports further stated that the early Incas subjugated the Ayar Uchu ayllu progressively, and eventually annihilated it under Mayta Capac<sup>171</sup>. Betanzos also suggests that a lord by the name of Alca Uiza ruled over the Cuzco valley before the Incan ancestors entered the valley. It would have been Wiraqucha who, on his way to the sea, elected this lord before disappearing<sup>172</sup>. Therefore, as in the case of Chaca, there existed two contradicting traditions as to the origin of the ancestor petrified in Huanacauri. One narrative depicted Ayar Uchu as a kinsman of the first Incan ruler, while the other portrayed him as the forefather of a foreign ayllu.

---

<sup>169</sup> Cobo: T. 2, Bk. 12, Ch. 9, pp. 72-73.

<sup>170</sup> Duviols 1997a.

<sup>171</sup> *Informaciones al virrey Toledo*: p. 135.

<sup>172</sup> Betanzos: Pt. 1, Ch. 2, p. 15.

The second and third shrines visited by the novices on their initiatory ordeal present the same characteristics. On the fifteenth day of the festival, the running race took place in Anahuarque, also described as “the guaca of the Indians of the village Choco and Cachona”, the place of origin of Pachacuti Yupanqui's homonymous wife, Mama Anahuarque<sup>173</sup>. Sarmiento locates these two related communities in a district (*barrio*) south of Cuzco, where the Incas venerated the petrified *waka* of Chañan Curi Coca (Cu 8:1), a woman lord (*cacica*) of Choco and Cachona who fought against the Chancas on Pachacuti's side<sup>174</sup>. Finally, the Incan novices received their loincloth and ornaments in Yauira, a shrine associated with the past of the Maras, one of the foreign ayllus to have emerged with Manco Capac from Paqariq Tampu<sup>175</sup>.

For Garcilaso de la Vega, these provincial classes were “Incas by privilege”, and resided in the Incan heartland within a radius of up to sixty-five kilometres from Cuzco<sup>176</sup>. None of them, therefore, administrated lands beyond the topography delimited by the *Sitwa* cleansing festival and the *mayu qatiy* dispersion of ashes<sup>177</sup>. This ritual space, which enclosed the plots exploited to benefit the deceased rulers and their lineages, would have defined the boundaries of the Incan civilized world<sup>178</sup>. Garcilaso also suggests that the populations residing on these lands shared traditions in common with the Incas since their settlement in the valley together with Manco Capac. From this time onwards, Garcilaso declares, the Incan lords favoured these nations with special honours, such as the wearing of pendant earrings and participating (albeit separately from the members of the royal lineages) in an initiation rite similar to that performed by young Incas<sup>179</sup>. Distinguishing them was the type of earring ornaments they wore, which indicated their hierarchical status:

---

<sup>173</sup> Molina: p. 104.

<sup>174</sup> Sarmiento de Gamboa: Ch. 27, p. 88; Pachacuti Yamqui: f. 19v., p. 220; Polo Ondegardo 1917: p. 39.

<sup>175</sup> Yauira was also located next to the shrine named *Vicaribi*, the burial place of a principal lord of the Maras people (Polo Ondegardo 1917: p. 15).

<sup>176</sup> Garcilaso de la Vega: Bk. 1, Ch. 20: pp. 48-49; Bk. 1, Ch. 23, pp. 53-55. See also Betanzos: Pt. 1, Ch. 15, p. 73; Molina: p. 97; Fernández: Pt. 2, Bk. 3, Ch. 5, p. 83; Gutiérrez de Santa Clara: Ch. 64, p. 254; Guaman Poma de Ayala: 337[339] p. 310, 740[754] p. 690.

<sup>177</sup> Farrington 1992: pp. 375-377; Miño Garces 1994: p. 33.

<sup>178</sup> Farrington 1992: pp. 374-375, 378-381; 1995; Rostworowski 1993a; Rowe 1997.

<sup>179</sup> Zuidema 1983b: pp. 54-69; Bauer 1992: pp. 18-35.

Some were given as a token a splinter of wood as thick as the little finger, as were the tribes called Mayu and Çancu. Others were to have a little tuft of white wool which stuck out of the ear on both sides the length of the top of the thumb: these were of the tribe called Poques. The Muina, Huaruc, and Chillqui tribes were to have earplugs of the common reed the Indians call *tutura*. The Rimactampu tribe and their neighbours had them made of a plant called *maguey* in the Windward Islands and *chuchau* in the general tongue of Peru (...) The three tribes bearing the name of Urcos, Yucay, and Tampu, all dwelling down the river Yucay, were given the special privilege and favour of wearing larger holes in their ears than the rest<sup>180</sup>.

For Guaman Poma, these ethnic groups were *wakcha Inka*, that is poor/orphan Incas, or *hawa* (outsiders). Being tribute-payers, they received goods from other lands in exchange of their own contribution, and held intermediately placed offices in the Incan administrative hierarchy<sup>181</sup>. Although Guaman Poma's list of *wakcha Inka* (see Table 4.2) differs slightly from the enumeration given by Garcilaso de la Vega, none of them include the Ayarmaca and Huayllacan ethnic groups. These two nations, as this chapter will demonstrate, held a higher status than the common *hawa* populations because they provided the Incan rulers with principal wives. For this reason, they were called "Caca Cuzcos", where *kaka* is the kin nomenclature for MB = WB = WF.

	Garcilaso de la Vega [1609]	Guaman Poma de Ayala [c. 1615]
Antisuyu	Poques	
Kuntisuyu	Masca, Chillque, Papri	Masca, Chillque, Papri, Tampu, Acos, Yana Uara
Chinchaysuyu	Mayu, Sancu, Chinchay Pukyu, Rimac Tampu, Yucay, Tampu	Mayu, Sancu, Rimac Tampu, Anta, Equeco, Sacca Uana, Quiliscachi, Quichiua, Lare, Uaro Conde
Qullasuyu	Ayarmaca, Quespicnacha, Muina, Urcos, Quehwar, Huaru, Cauña	Quehwar, Huaru, Cauña

Table 4.2. "Incas by privilege" according to Garcilaso de la Vega and Guaman Poma de Ayala. Prepared by the author<sup>182</sup>.

<sup>180</sup> Garcilaso: Bk. 1, Ch. 23. Translation from Garcilaso 1989, p. 57.

<sup>181</sup> Guaman Poma de Ayala: 340 [342] to 363 [365], pp. 312-335.

<sup>182</sup> See also Zuidema 1983b: pp. 54-69; Bauer 2004: pp. 16-22.

In the light of this information, it appears that pre-Hispanic narratives depicted ambiguously the relations linking the *wakcha* ethnic groups with the ruling nobility, at once celebrating their long-lived confederation and emphasizing their antagonisms. The *Warachiku* festival, for example, largely took place outside the imperial capital, in various locations ancestrally linked to these foreign ayllus, although it excluded non-Incan participants from its course. Certain traditions also suggest that the *hawa* nations held equal status as Manco Capac's descendents during the early phase of Incan expansion. One chronicle, attributed to Father Bartolomé Segovia, records that several populations occupying the Cuzco region would have pierced their ears, wore the loincloth and occasionally tonsured their hair in like fashion before the arrival of the Incas in the valley<sup>183</sup>.

Some of the *Orejones* were shorn, while the others grew long hair, called *chilques* today; these peoples fought each other, and the shaved one subdued the others in such a way that these last never became leaders nor residents of the city. There are today villages of them in the vicinity of Cuzco; yet, in the city itself, they were forbidden to live except for the commoners who served in what they were asked<sup>184</sup>.

Like Segovia, Cieza de León and Sarmiento mention the conflicts that opposed the Incas to other chiefdoms of the Cuzco region at a time corresponding with the Late Intermediate Period<sup>185</sup>. Their information suggests that, earlier on, these ethnic groups held a potent control over the fertile lands of the valley and competed against each other for the monopoly of irrigation sources and matrimonial networks.

Why, then, would the Incan nobility have periodically honoured the tutelary *wakas* of their long-standing enemies? Irene Silverblatt and Susan A. Niles posit that, in the course of Incan expansion, the rising rulers of Cuzco “reconstructed customary order” from ancient customs<sup>186</sup>, and rewrote the past in which the deeds of their rivals were inscribed. By appropriating provincial shrines for themselves, the Incas devised an important aspect of their imperialist strategy whereby they appeared as the prime holder of elitist traditions and benefactor of their loyal subjects. In Niles' view, discordances in

---

<sup>183</sup> Cieza de León: Pt. 1, Ch. 97, p. 268.

<sup>184</sup> Segovia: pp. 72-73. My translation. Following Louis Baudin (1928: p. 71), this extract has often been quoted to explain the origin of the Hanan and Urin scission. It is however clear from the text that we are dealing here with the conflicts that opposed different ethnic groups, including the Incas, for the occupation of the Cuzco valley.

<sup>185</sup> Cieza de León: Pt. 2, Ch. 33, pp. 100-101; Sarmiento de Gamboa: Ch. 14, pp. 61-62; Ch. 17, pp. 67-68; Ch. 20, pp. 72-74; Ch. 23, p. 79.

<sup>186</sup> Silverblatt 1988: pp. 92-93.

narration were the result of this strategy of hegemonic policy. The “reshaping of history”, to borrow her expression, would have brought legitimacy to the dominion of the authoritarian leaders by erasing the memory of past leaders<sup>187</sup>.

This rationale, however, does not entirely explain the Incas’ devotion towards the tutelary shrines of neighbouring chiefdoms at *Warachiku*, nor does it account for the *Qhapaq hucha* offerings they periodically presented to the provincial *wakas* whose deeds were explicitly remembered in the oral traditions of the *seqe* system. In fact, the Incas did not completely annihilate the memory of past leaders, but instead held two contrasting types of discourses explaining their relations with local *wakas*. One set of traditions traced the ancestors of outside communities back to pre-Incan times and emphasized their early resistance to Incan dominion, while the other linked the same foreign ayllus to the ruling elite, either through ancestral siblingship or matrimonial alliances. Like the narrative and ceremonial antagonisms opposing Hanan to Urin Cuzco, these discourses emphasized differentiation on the one hand, and assimilation, on the other. The aforementioned narrative by Segovia, for example, stresses the common origin of all *Orejones* in the Cuzco region, but contrasts their status through the opposition centre/periphery. This twofold poetics articulated as well the sequences of *Warachiku*, commencing with the exclusion of the foreign lords to the outskirts of the city, followed, later on, by their reinsertion in the ceremonial centre.

This dual structure is reminiscent of what anthropologists Michael Houseman and Carlo Severi have called ritual condensation, that is,

The simultaneous enactment of nominally contrary modes of relationship: affirmations of identity are at the same time testimonies of difference, displays of authority are also demonstrations of subordination, the presence of persons or other beings is at once corroborated and denied, secrets are simultaneously dissimulated and revealed, and so forth<sup>188</sup>.

In the example of the *Naven* performance studied by Houseman and Severi in Papua New Guinea, “ritual condensation” serves to mediate the antagonistic nature of opposite equations existing *de facto* (e.g. male/female, cadet/elder), thereby transcending the boundaries isolating them in order to create alliances and relations of

---

<sup>187</sup> Niles 1999: pp. 20-24.

<sup>188</sup> Houseman 2004: p. 76.



exchange<sup>189</sup>. Likewise, the *Warachiku* festival, and the primordial migration it re-enacted, intended transcending the asymmetrical divisions separating the Incas and foreign populations so as to celebrate the matrimonial alliances that the former contracted with the ethnic groups whose *wakas* were visited by the novices, and to commemorate the sibblingship tying the Ayars, although these mythical ancestors had reportedly founded different, and sometimes rival, ayllus.

#### THE PROVINCIAL PRESENCE AT YEARLY INCAN FESTIVALS

The *Sitwa* celebration followed a similar structure of exclusion and reinsertion. Before the festivity started, the foreign lords brought to Cuzco their tutelary *waka*, and were then summoned to leave the city for the duration of the festival. While the provincial delegates sojourned at the periphery of the city, the Incan nobility assembled in the main plaza according to their *panaqa* affiliation, and formed four armed regiments, each one associated to a different *suyu*. As noted in Chapter 3, the allocation of each royal lineage to a specific *suyu* reflected its exact same position in the *seque* system. To complete this picture, each individual was requested to purify himself/herself in the rivers and springs located in his/her “own *seque*”, in Cobo’s expression<sup>190</sup>. In this way, the spatial organization of the *Sitwa* participants replicated the social divisions of the ruling elite and formed a microcosm internally structured around the *seque*, *suyu* and moiety divisions. Moreover, the *Sitwa* spatial organization followed a centrifugal movement inclusive of the outside world. Like the novices’ pilgrimages to a number of provincial *wakas* at *Warachiku*, the ruling nobility extended the ritual cleansing of Cuzco to the sectors occupied and exploited by the “Incas by privilege”, and handed over the purification of this land to different ethnic groups under their control (*mitmaq*). Both the *Sitwa* and *Warachiku* festivities, therefore, reaffirmed the central position of the Cuzco nobility in the political chessboard and simultaneously conceded to non-Inca ayllus a role in its religious apparatus. The radial movement of the *Sitwa* celebrants towards the outside world was the reverse-image of the journey accomplished by the provincial officials to the city before the opening of the celebration. The convergence of the foreign leaders and their *wakas* to the centralized location of power, therefore, respected the hierarchy established by the ruling elite. It was only once Cuzco and its

---

<sup>189</sup> Houseman and Severi 1994.

<sup>190</sup> Cobo: T. 2, Bk. 13, Ch. 29, p. 218.

surroundings had been purified that the provincial delegates would re-enter the city and share with the ruling elite the sacrificial offering prepared by the Incan officiants.

According to Duviols (1976c), a similar structure ordered the Incan ritual of *Qhapaq hucha*, an event during which offerings, and occasionally child sacrifices, were offered to the most venerated *wakas* of Tawantinsuyu. Depending on the sources, this imperial ceremony would have been held cyclically or on exceptional occasions, such as the death or illness of a Sapa Inca, the accession to power of a new ruler, or the subjugation of additional nations<sup>191</sup>. Sarmiento also suggests that two young children were immolated at Huanacauri during the ritual of *Warachiku*. When a *Qhapaq hucha* was announced, the provinces first sent to Cuzco their tribute of precious garments, ornaments and food, together with virginal boys and girls aged between four and fifteen, drawn from the local elite. For the next ten days, the provincial delegates and the Incan nobility feasted together in the capital before the sovereign decided on how the offerings should be distributed among the *wakas*. It was generally the case that the divinities that had favoured the Cuzco sovereigns in battle, or formulated auspicious prophecies in their honour, received the richest oblations such as human sacrifices. On the appointed day, the ritual processions departed from Cuzco in the directions of the four *suyus* that composed the realm. Walking in wing formations, each cortège of participants was composed of provincial, as well as Incan, representatives who carried offerings of llama blood and *mullu* that they dispensed along the way to the different shrines<sup>192</sup>.

As a vivid narrative from the Huarochirí manuscript reveals, the *Qhapaq hucha* offerings were subject to reciprocal benefits and served in part to insure the allegiance of powerful chiefdoms to the cause of the Cuzqueñan leaders<sup>193</sup>. This narrative opens with Tupa Yupanqui's setbacks in battles against three rebellious populations and tells that the ruler summoned all the *wakas* of the empire to Cuzco in order to end the rout. Assembled in the capital, Tupa Inca reminded the deities of the silver, gold, foods and other presents he regularly sent them, and pledged for their support in a conflict he could not resolve alone. It was a *waka* of the central highlands called Macahuísa who

---

<sup>191</sup> Betanzos: Pt. 1, Ch. 11, p. 51; Ch. 30, p. 141-143; Cieza de León: Pt. 2, Ch. 29, pp. 87-89; Molina: pp. 120-127; Sarmiento de Gamboa: Ch. 13, p. 59; Ch. 31, p. 96; Ch. 42, p. 116.

<sup>192</sup> Betanzos: Pt.1, Ch. 11, pp. 52-53; Molina: pp. 120-127; Cobo: T. 2, Bk. 13, Ch. 32, p. 222.

<sup>193</sup> Silverblatt 1987: pp. 94-100.

helped Tupa Inca win victory, in return for the offerings of *mullu* the sovereign served the deity in person<sup>194</sup>.

The reciprocal nature of the *Qhapaq hucha* ceremony, however, respected the asymmetric relations that the ruling elite had established with foreign ethnic groups. The Incan nobility was indeed exempted from ritual donations while, at the head of this prestige hierarchy, the ruler was assigned the task of redistributing the goods<sup>195</sup>. Moreover, scholars have suggested that the different routes followed by each group corresponded to the formation of the *seques*, such that Cuzco represented the concentric centre from which the ceremonial necessities of the whole empire were distributed<sup>196</sup>. It is also apparent from the chroniclers' descriptions that the *Qhapaq hucha* processions not only aimed at coalescing populations under the yoke of one single power, but also served to (re-)define local rights to natural resources and labour assignments on the lands crossed by the ritual processions<sup>197</sup>. Hence, in each locality, local officials accompanied the celebrants, the ritual victims and other offerings to the periphery of the land they occupied and exploited, where they were relayed by a similar envoy mandated by the neighbouring community. These foreign delegates thus held similar duties to that of the *mitmaqs* who, during *Sitwa*, carried the illness to the limits of the lands they were assigned to work, whereupon it was taken over by subjects of the next province. This emphasis on communal repartition is also suggested in the chants that the *Qhapaq hucha* processions sang in honour of Wiraqucha, the deity who assigned to each people the arable lands they should populate and exploit. Communal repartition was all the more crucial to regional stability that, in Inca times, ayllus did not occupy a cohesive geographical zone and arable lands were cultivated on a rotational basis<sup>198</sup>. In this way, both the Incan cleansing ceremony of *Sitwa* and the *Qhapaq hucha* commemorated the primordial repartition of arable lands by Wiraqucha, a task taken over by his descendent on earth, the Inca ruler.

---

<sup>194</sup> *Ritos y Tradiciones de Huarochirí*: Ch. 23, pp. 289-301.

<sup>195</sup> MacCormack 1991: pp. 103-105. See also Abercrombie 1998: pp. 170-173.

<sup>196</sup> Zuidema 1973; 1982b: pp. 428-435; Duviols 1976c; Sallnow 1987: p. 39. Zuidema (1977) suggests that the *Qhapaq hucha* was a ritual only performed in the Chinchaysuyu region and was generalized to the whole empire by the chroniclers. His conclusions have since been refuted by archaeological evidences. See Cerruti 2004; Reinhard and Cerruti 2005; Bray et al. 2005.

<sup>197</sup> McEwan and van de Guchte 1992.

<sup>198</sup> Ramírez 2005, p. 38.

To summarize, the repartition of communal lands (with their resources), the reciprocal yet asymmetric nature of the Incas' relations with foreign populations, and the integration of non-Incan ethnic groups into the core of the ruling elite, constituted three major features of the *Warachiku*, *Sitwa* and *Qhapaq hucha* rites. These characteristics were framed by the concentric structure of the festivities, whereby the centre (ruling elite) opposed the periphery (subjects)<sup>199</sup>. Interestingly, this type of binary opposition also structured a narrative recorded by several chroniclers, and which depicts the ambiguous relations the Incas maintained with the chiefdoms surrounding their capital. This narrative retells the abduction of the young Titu Cusi Hualpa, later known as Yahuar Huacac. In this account, the matrimonial unions that the protagonists, all foreign lords of the Cuzco region, contract with the Incan nobility take place after they successfully enacted a series of ritualised performances traditionally restricted to the ruling elite. Through the completion of this formal procedure, the conflicting nature of the local leaders' relations with the Incas becomes one of complementarity, taking on the features of a triadic system resolving binary oppositions<sup>200</sup>.

#### THE NARRATIVE OF YAHUAR HUACAC'S ABDUCTION

The story, recorded in details by Sarmiento de Gamboa, opens with a conflict between the maternal family of the young Inca, leaders of the Huayllacan ethnic group, and the Ayarmaca. Inca Roca's new wife, mother of Titu Cusi Hualpa (the future Yahuar Huacac), had been previously promised by her family to Tocay Capac, the Ayarmaca warlord<sup>201</sup>. Following the wedding, the rejected chief decided to declare war on the Huayllacan, and the ensuing conflict lasted for years. Eventually, as their condition for ending the war, the Ayarmaca demanded custody of the child born from the recent union. Tocay Capac entrusted a Huayllacan chief, the spouse's brother named Inca Paucar, to hand over the young boy. Consenting to this, Inca Paucar invited his eight-year-old nephew to his lands in Paullu on the pretext that he wished to present the child to his mother's relations and to display the possessions that he intended him to

---

<sup>199</sup> Duviols 1976c: pp. 16-24; Zuidema 1989d: p. 272; Sallnow 1987: pp. 37-40.

<sup>200</sup> I have analysed this narrative at length in an earlier work, see Yaya 2008. Only a short section of this article was relevant to this chapter and is included here.

<sup>201</sup> The identity of the figure(s) behind the name of Tocay Capac has recently given rise to an extensive literature. In the mid-colonial period, he appears to have held an elevated position in the Inca nobility. See Rostworowski 1993b: pp. 241-259; Julien 2000: pp. 245-249; Cahill 2002: pp. 616-626; Yaya 2008.

inherit<sup>202</sup>. An important feast was thus organized in Paullu to honour the young heir, before each man left the town to cultivate their lands.

When the festivities were over, the Huayllacans sent to give notice to the Ayarmacas that, while they were occupied in ploughing certain lands that they call *chakra*, they might come down on the town and carry off the child, doing with him what they chose, in accordance with the agreement<sup>203</sup>.

The Ayarmaca entered the village and in no time wounded the boy before abducting him. Stunned with remorse, the Huayllacan confronted the kidnappers in a town called Amaru, but Tocay Capac's partisans successfully fought them off. The child was then taken away to the Ayarmaca capital, Ahuayrocancha, where he boldly reminded the Ayarmaca lord that he was the son of Mama Micay and Inca Roca. Furious, Tocay Capac sentenced him to death. Tito Cusi Hualpa thus invoked curses upon the Ayarmaca: should the threats declared by their chief be carried out, they would face certain annihilation by the Incas; professing these words, tears of blood ran down his face. His retort deeply disturbed the Ayarmaca, who, after this event, decided to rename the child Yahuar Huacac – “the one who wept tears of blood”. In order to evade the curse, they resolved to let the boy starve in captivity.

During one year, Yahuar Huacac remained sequestered on an Ayarmaca *estancia* (estate) before one of Tocay Capac's spouses noticed him. She was the daughter of the *sinchi* of Anta, a village situated a few kilometres northwest of Cuzco, at the entrance to the Jaquijahuana Valley. Faced with the boy's distress, she took the decision to rescue him and asked the young Inca to organize a race with other children up the side of a mountain. Fleet-footed, Yahuar Huacac arrived at the summit of the hill as the winner and was immediately taken by the Anta to their village. Seeing they had lost custody of the child, the Ayarmaca tried to fight their opponent in the region of Lake Huaypo, but were defeated.

For another year, the boy remained in Anta cherished and indulged by his liberators. Finally, considering it was time for the child to return home, the Anta sent ambassadors to Cuzco to announce the good news. Inca Roca received them with joy

---

<sup>202</sup> Here, the narrator seems hesitant as he suggests that the child could also have been sent to Micaycancha, a place near Paullu bearing the name of Tito Cusi Hualpa's mother.

<sup>203</sup> Sarmiento de Gamboa: Ch. 20, p. 73. My translation.

but, still distrustful, decided to delegate a “pauper” (*pobre*) to Anta in order to discreetly investigate the information. Once convinced that the child was alive, and on being returned to his father, Inca Roca granted the people of Anta the right to be called “relatives” (*parientes*). An alternative variant of the narrative, recorded by Gutiérrez de Santa Clara and Fernández, recounts that it was the Huayllacan lord who, disguised as a pauper, entered the abductors’ town and liberated the child<sup>204</sup>. Three singular alliances concluded the story: Yahuar Huacac married Mama Chicya, the daughter of his Ayarmaca abductor Tocay Capac, who in turn took his son-in-law's sister as his wife. Later succeeding Yahuar Huacac to the throne, Viracocha Inca married an Anta woman.

R. Tom Zuidema was the first to analyse this narrative and summarized its essential theme as a contest for the hero’s paternity<sup>205</sup>. He used this account to defend his hypothesis on kinship groups and matrimonial alliances. In this way, he developed his now well-established hierarchical diagram, beginning from the great-great-grandfather function, founder of the irrigation system, in this case Inca Roca, to the grandfather Viracocha Inca. Between the reigns of these two monarchs came that of Yahuar Huacac. These three generations would have represented the political evolution of Cuzco and illustrated the various unions contracted between the Incas and the outer populations, mythically conveyed by a succession of exogamic, symmetric, and finally endogamic alliances.

Zuidema’s politico-matrimonial interpretation of this account appears sound, but two contestable points hold his exegesis together. First, his tripartite schema in which the patrilinear ancestry governs the relationship between the different characters is open to doubt. In the narrative, it is not clear that the original conflict rests on the assertion of paternity. Indeed, Inca Roca plays only a minor role during these events, and he never intervened to set his son free. On the contrary, every conflict brought together populations outside the control of Cuzco, with each one vying for rights over the child. It is not the filial link which is attested here, but another kinship relation monopolized, in turn, by the three foreign lords: Inca Paucar, Tocay Capac and an unnamed Anta chieftain. The first indication of this is given by Inca Paucar’s status as the young boy’s uncle. During his nephew's stay in Paullu, Inca Paucar expressed his desire to make Titu

---

<sup>204</sup> Gutiérrez de Santa Clara: Ch. 49, p. 210; Fernández: p. 81.

<sup>205</sup> Zuidema 1986a: pp. 57-64.

Cusi Hualpa the inheritor of his possessions and “haciendas”<sup>206</sup>. The granting of this inheritance, even though Inca Paucar had direct heirs, obliges us to consider the importance of the avuncular function.

Second, Zuidema situates the abduction of the young heir in April, during the celebration of the harvest. From this observation, he deduced the position of Yahuar Huacac’s *panaqa* in the calendar and suggested that the lineage attended periodically the festivities of this month. However, the information given by the narrative more likely refers to another time in the agrarian calendar, between the months of January and February. At that time, men performed the *chaqma* consisting of breaking the soil of the idle fields outside the city limits for over twelve days in preparation for sowing<sup>207</sup>. The ploughing was undertaken by the Cuzqueños following the ritual battle that brought the initiation of young Incas to a close. As Chapter 3 indicated, it was during this warlike festival that the boys from Incan nobility received their new name and dispensed with the one they were given at birth. Taking into consideration this time period, the geographical route covered by the young Inca outside Cuzco, and the severe sufferings he endured, an interesting structure emerges that evokes the *Warachiku* stages with precision. The main plot confirms it: a young boy is kidnapped at the time of a celebration organized by certain members of his family. He is assaulted, undernourished, sentenced to death, only to re-emerge under another name.

Through this perspective, it becomes apparent that the novices’ ascent of Anahuarque finds its equivalent in the race organized by the young Yahuar Huacac before fleeing to Anta, a town also located at high altitude, on the edge of a plateau overlooking the Jaquijahuana Valley. Similarly, the tears shed by the young Inca heir in the Ayarmaca capital vividly recall the lines of blood traced on the boys’ face after they reached Yauira, the *waka* of the Maras ayllu whose territory was earlier occupied by the Ayarmacas<sup>208</sup>. In the same province were located several sites detailed in the narrative and undoubtedly associated to the *Warachiku*. Thus, two kilometres south of the present

---

<sup>206</sup> The haziness of the “hacienda” description precludes any identification of the status of the land/people referred to in the account. In fact, *hacienda* has a broad, generic definition that does not necessarily have anything to do with lands. Concerning the classification of the lands, see Moore 1973; Rostworowski 1993a: pp.105-116; Murra. On the notion of inheritance in pre-Hispanic times, see also Ramírez 1996: Ch. 3, pp. 42-86; Hernández Astete 1998: pp. 109-134; Salles and Noejovich 2006: pp. 47-50.

<sup>207</sup> *Chaqma*: “Plowing or other work such as breaking the sods and clearing the soil to make it fit for sowing” (González Holguín, *Vocabulario*: p. 91). See also Molina: p. 112. For colonial information, see Guaman Poma de Ayala: pp. 1031, 1034.

<sup>208</sup> Rostworowski 1993b: pp. 255-256.

town of Maras is a hill named Ahuayro that the narrative refers to as the Ayarmaca capital. Further on, less than seven kilometres south spreads Lake Huaypo, also an Ayarmaca site, where the battle pitting the Anta against the Ayarmaca took place (see Map 4.3). It was also in this location that Cristóbal de Albornoz situated “Guaypon Guanacauri, a stone next to a lake [where] the Cuzco Indians pierced their ears”<sup>209</sup>. These different sites were connected by a major *qhapaq ñan* (royal road) remarkably passing through Maras, north of Lake Huaypo down to Anta; reflecting Yahuar Huacac’s journey before being rescued.



Map 4.3. The Cuzco region with the major sites mentioned in the narrative of the young Yahuar Huacac’s abduction. Prepared by the author.

<sup>209</sup> Albornoz 1989: p. 180.



STRATEGIES OF ASSIMILATION: MATRIMONIAL UNIONS BETWEEN INCAS AND NON-INCAS

The analogies between the Sarmiento narrative and the *Warachiku* suggest that both traditions depicted similar types of interactions among the protagonists, and followed the same chronology of events. The child's odyssey, the development of the *Warachiku*, and its associated myth of the primordial Flood, all present a similar ritual scenario describing the end of one age and the advent of a new humankind or a new sovereign. Moreover, the defining characteristic of the Incan rite of passage was to stage a nexus of relations between the celebrants (novices-relatives-priests) in relation to the route they covered outside Cuzco, to the different shrines attended by non-Incan populations. The same feature is yet present in the Sarmiento narration, in which the heir's journey through foreign towns justifies the concluding weddings. Hence, the successive roles of the provincial lords beside the young heir recall unmistakably the services performed by the novice's uncle during their peregrination outside Cuzco, so that the kinship status claimed in turn by the three lords appears clearly. In the case of Inca Paucar, the biological ties linking him to the child are extant and ensure Yahuar Huacac the inheritance of his uncle's belongings. As for Tocay Capac, he expresses the ritual kinship reserved for the novice's "main uncle", by allowing the child to acquire the social recognition granted through the initiation. It is indeed under his authority that Yahuar Huacac suffers the toughest ordeals and obtains a new identity that empowers him to ascend the throne. Finally, at this stage of the narrative, the status of the Anta *sinchi* remains suspended until Viracocha Inca's rule. While the kin connection is established at the end of the heir's captivity, the matrimonial alliance it creates takes place one generation later, suggesting that the Incas only contracted marriages with their classificatory relatives. Moreover, the role of the three foreign lords in the course of these events not only establishes their cognation with the child, it redefines the relations between all actors involved in these events. In other words, the ritual events constituting the nucleus of this account exercise a dynamic change of status on both the young heir and the entire group of participants. In this way, Yahuar Huacac's spouse, daughter of the Inca's ritual uncle, is also her husband's cousin. Equally, Tocay Capac's wife, his now brother-in-law's daughter, is also her husband's niece.

Two primordial elements emerge from this interaction: on the one hand, it confirms that the Incan nobility privileged matrilateral cross-cousin marriages; on the other hand, these alliances are governed by a strong sense of temporality. Moreover,

Yahuar Huacac's marriage with Mama Chicya possesses a *sine qua non* condition, that of Tocay Capac with his ritual niece (ZD), which characterizes the union as a matrimonial exchange. Thus, Yahuar Huacac marries Mama Chicya because she is his classificatory sister/cousin, or *pana*. It is not the symbolic son who is given back to Tocay Capac through this alliance, nor are the other provincial lords contesting Yahuar Huacac's paternity. On the contrary, the stake of those confrontations is the recognition of the three lords' avuncular status expressed at three successive times. As a result, the threefold alliance concluding the narrative serves to set different pictures of the integration of outside populations within Cuzqueño power. In the first case, that of Inca Paucar, the kinship is already established and the matrimonial alliance has been concluded. The Huayllacan are therefore Caca Cuzcos. In the second case, that of Tocay Capac, the kinship is actualised during the ordeals suffered by the child, ritually authorizing the Ayarmaca leader to aspire to the exchange. In the last case, that of the Anta chief, kinship is proclaimed but the alliance would only be effective in the next generation.

The narrative's closing episode further stresses the difference of status existing between these three lords. It was indeed a *pobre*, or *wakcha* in Quechua, whom Inca Roca delegated to Anta in order to discreetly investigate the presence of his son in this town. According to Gutiérrez and Fernández's version of the narrative, it was also under the disguise of a pauper that Yahuar Huacac's liberator entered unnoticed the Ayarmaca town in order to set the child free. Yet, as previously indicated in this chapter, *wakcha* was also a term used to refer to the nations, allies of Cuzco, who had the privilege of wearing pendant earrings. The semantic plurality of the word *wakcha*, therefore, is likely to have engendered a narrative metaphor throughout the different versions of Yahuar Huacac's abduction. Effectively, the pauper is a character who does not attract attention, thereby allowing him to spy on people. Alternatively, the *pobre* delegated by Yahuar Huacac's father can be seen as an official from a *wakcha* nation who was able to investigate unnoticed the *dicta* of the Anta lord because the people of this town were themselves *wakcha*. Likewise, in Gutiérrez's version, the young Inca's liberator had to disguise as a *wakcha*, that is, as someone whose garments and ornaments were similar to those of the inhabitants of Anta. Most remarkable, through the different metaphorical use of the word *wakcha*, the different variants of the narrative describe the same fact: if Anta was a place where *wakcha* could act discreetly, it was because the inhabitants of

this town were themselves *wakcha* and belonged to the Incas' allied nations. Their status would only change later, becoming in turn Caca Cuzcos, when Viracocha Inca married a woman from Anta. Through this metaphor, therefore, the narrative offers three pictures of the foreign nations' assimilation into the Incan kinship and political nexus. It is also tempting to see here a last analogy between the narrative and the general framework of the initiation ritual. Indeed, the tripartite model of assimilating foreign nations into the Incan kinship nexus seems to be echoed by the tripartite liminality of the initiatory rite<sup>210</sup>.

The Incan kinship nomenclature evoked at the start of this chapter finds its expression in the matrimonial alliance contracted by Tocay Capac, Yahuar Huacac's classificatory maternal uncle, when he married Yahuar Huacac's sister, becoming in this way his brother-in-law. Hence, these two unions appear symmetric not only because they constitute an exchange, as R. Tom Zuidema pointed out, but also because both protagonists share, as a result, the same kin relations to each other. Besides being Yahuar Huacac's *kaka*, Tocay Capac is also his *qatay*, a term referring to the sister's and the daughter's husband, while the young Inca adopts the same positions having espoused the Ayarmaca lord's daughter (*qatay*) and being his wife's brother (*kaka*). The narrative also emphasizes the classificatory aspect of the statutory title received by wife-givers, known as Caca Cuzcos – “the Cuzcos' maternal uncles” – in primary sources. Indeed, when Yahuar Huacac was handed back to his parents, the only condition set by the Anta was that, “from now on, the Cuzco's *Orejones* will *call* them relatives”, entitling them as potential wife providers. Likewise, the privilege of the Anahuarque Caca Cuzcos who provided Pachacuti Yupanqui with his wife, was to address the Incas “cousins” and to be called “uncles”, as indicated in archival records (see Page 204).

As Pachacuti Yamqui suggests, the Caca Cuzcos held a more privileged status than other foreign populations to the ruling elite, such as the *wakcha* populations. Depicting Huascar's allies mobilized against Atahualpa, the chronicler describes the lord's war escort as follow:

---

<sup>210</sup> Victor Turner's (1969) theory on the rite of passage distinguishes three spatial phases to the ritual: preliminal (rites of separation from the existing order), liminal (period of transition), and postliminal (rites of reintegration).

As halberdiers of his person [were] all the *orejones* of Mancop churin Cuzco <who are *caballeros*>, and *caca cuzcos* and *ayllon cuzcos* <who are specific *caballeros*>. In the frontline, he positioned the Quiguare etc., Collasuyos y Tambos, Mascas, Chillques, Papres, Quichguas, Mayos, Sancos, Quilliscaches etc., and as their halberdiers he brought the Chachapoyas and Cañares<sup>211</sup>.

An obvious hierarchical framework structures this enumeration, starting with Manco Capac's direct descent, followed by the Caca Cuzcos, the non-royal ayllus of Cuzcos, and ending with the disloyal ethnic groups that betrayed the Incas during the Spanish conquest. Here, the Caca Cuzcos are differentiated and hierarchically more esteemed than the Incas' common allies, the *wakcha* nations. Being the Cuzqueños' "maternal uncles", these selected nations entered the Incan kinship nexus through matrimonial unions and constituted one of the main forces in Incan social organization and policy. At the other end of the spectrum, the *wakcha* populations, although linked to the mythical account of the original migration and observing the custom of ear piercing, did not belong to the royal kinship nexus.

Hence, in Sarmiento's account, the prevailing role of the three provincial lords next to Yahuar Huacac reflects the ritual pathway of *Warachiku*. Similar to the heir's journey, the initiation ceremony actualised the privileged relations between the Incas and the *wakas* of foreign populations that provided spouses to early Incan sovereigns, or whose apical ancestor was mythically related to Manco Capac. By representing this link, the narrative enters the extended corpus of traditions in which foreign nations are ambiguously represented as related/unrelated, allies/enemies, and excluded from/ re-integrated in the Incan ceremonial centre. In this light, rituals and mythical narratives appear as agents of social structure: by staging the characters' interrelations and thereby displaying their (classificatory) kinship links, the *Warachiku* and its related mythical narrations (Yahuar Huacac's abduction, and the Ayar ancestors' migration) constructed the foundations of a unified identity, serving as a powerful tool of political and social cohesion.

Moreover, in the account of the heir's abduction, it is particularly significant that the formulation of this identity emerged from the mediation of concentric dualism with a triadic structure. As Levi-Strauss observed in his essay on dual organizations, the

---

<sup>211</sup> Pachacuti Yamqui: p. 261. My translation.

dynamic tension tying these two systems together is devised to regulate the fundamentally unequal nature of concentric binary oppositions. In the Incan narrative of Yahuar Huacac's initiatory journey, the boundaries that traditionally discriminated the ritual centre from its periphery enter in a dynamic process with the triadic union pattern, thereby allowing external elements to integrate progressively the core of political power and to share its privileges. Hierarchy, nonetheless, still structures the relationship between the two poles as the story depicts three degrees of assimilation and, therefore, three different positions from the centre. Most importantly, this perspective places the recognition of marriage network at the heart of the *Warachiku* festival but also explains the presence of foreign officials on the edge of the celebration. As Levi-Strauss noted about concentric dualism, it is not a self-sufficient system and its frame of reference is always the environment. Thus, "The opposition between cleared ground (central circle) and waste land (peripheral circle) demands a third element, brush or forest – that is virgin land – which circumscribes the binary whole while at the same time extending it"<sup>212</sup>. In other words, binary oppositions exist because its two constituents also form a unit, which itself contrasts with an external entity.

Significantly, this type of settlement pattern is a widespread feature of spatial organization in the Andes. It "opposes a central village to the fields which lie around it, while these lands are subsequently opposed to the less populated, uncultivated, and hence symbolically "wild" *punas* (grasslands) outside of them"<sup>213</sup>. According to Deborah A. Poole, this settlement pattern also translates socio-political hierarchies, as in the relation between insiders and outsiders<sup>214</sup>. In the example of the Incan initiatory ceremony, the tributary nations stationed outside Cuzco would have constituted this third element, referred to as *sallqa* (savage, uncivilized) in present-day ethnographies, to which the unity composed by the Incas and their allies was opposed. It is in this context that Terence Turner's notion of "social totality" can be used to unravel the participants' interaction. For Turner, the relationship of asymmetrical predominance that characterizes dual oppositions works hand-in-hand with a second framework in which the two terms become a "social totality" by appropriating the status of "its dominant member"<sup>215</sup>. This twofold dimension describes accurately how the

---

<sup>212</sup> Levi-Strauss, 1963: p. 152.

<sup>213</sup> Poole 1991: p. 330.

<sup>214</sup> Poole 1991: p. 330; Isbell 1978: pp. 57-62; Urton 1984.

<sup>215</sup> Turner 1984: p. 367.

participants of the *Warachiku* engaged with one another and their environment. On one hand, the ritual was restricted to the descendents of royal lineages and hence enacted asymmetrical relations. On the other, the celebrants paid allegiances to non-Incan, yet assimilated, *wakas* and, therefore, displayed coherency. This operation of unification, furthermore, is indivisible from the formulation of a constructed identity, forged by oral traditions and actualised by the celebrations. It is in regards to this social – if not nationalist – unity that the Incas developed a body of narratives relating their former rulers to their allies' ancestral shrines and devised the *Warachiku* as a demonstration of this authority.

### CONCLUSION

As Tawantinsuyu extended, the Incas imposed a series of stringently hierarchical institutions upon subjugated nations, co-opting a royal elite exempted from tribute and labour service, to preside over their political, economic, and religious administration. Further consolidating the imperial institutions, a provincial elite, with whom the Incas established political and matrimonial alliances, assisted the Cuzqueñan elite. These foreign lords occupied essential positions in the imperial bureaucracy and served as intermediaries between the central power and provincial delegates. In this way, the maintenance of royal authority was partly ensured by the privileges the ruling nobility granted to their allies. In the early phase of their expansion, however, the Incan rulers maintained complex relationships with a number of provincial leaders, headmen of neighbouring chiefdoms, whose interests frequently collided with the Incas' thirst for hegemony. Historical traditions evoke these early tensions in details, and depict the Cuzco region before Incan rule as a theatre of incessant clashes between rival polities.

These hostilities, however, are multifaceted: although each story ends with the brutal defeat of the resisting chiefdoms, the bloody encounters are often interspersed with political and matrimonial alliances between the combatants. A similar ambivalence characterizes other aspects of the Incas/non-Incas relationships, notably in the religious sphere. Several narratives portray a complex picture of the honours the lords of Cuzco bestowed upon foreign *wakas*, and evoke the ancestral links binding the Incan nobility with rival chiefdoms. They tell that the dominant groups of the region shared together a collective identity from time immemorial, and observed a series of ritual practices in common, such as ear piercing and the wearing of the loincloth. Contrasting with these

traditions, other accounts claim that the Incan nobility was the first to follow these ritual usages and to initiate their youth following the ordeals of the *Warachiku*. They state that the Incas later granted these specific honours to their allies, in recognition for their support in battle.

This chapter has shown that these antagonistic representations assumed traits of dual opposition in which reciprocity was as significant an aspect as that of asymmetry and exclusion. In this light, the relations that the Incas maintained with their foreign allies disclose resemblances with the dichotomies opposing Hanan to Urin. Hence, at the supralocal level of the Incas' relations with their allies, but also within the moiety structure, the members of the dominant group defined themselves as cognates, and regarded the residents of the opposite division as affines. Moreover, in both cases, the figure of the wife-giver (*kaka*) mediated the two antagonistic spheres. His position as MB articulated a structure of assimilation whereby dual asymmetry (Hanan/Urin and Incas/non-Incas) was recast onto a tripartite hierarchy of social prestige accessible to outsiders. In this way, the *wakcha* nations could aspire to privileges by becoming wife-givers to the Incan nobility, that is, Caca Cuzcos, while moiety membership and upward social mobility were mediated by the name-giver, here again a man's MB. In this picture, triadic structures are mediating forces of dual social division.

This chapter demonstrated that the Incan social structure and the nature of its moiety system cannot be solely interpreted as the expression of "a universal tendency to think in antitheses", as anthropologists suggested about societies of the Amazon Basin<sup>216</sup>. The asymmetric nature of the Incan model and the diachronic dimension of its moiety system indisputably contradict David Maybury-Lewis's view that dual organizations are relics of un-shattered times, preserved from "external constraint"<sup>217</sup>. It thus appears reductive to circumscribe gender opposition, generational hierarchy and kin/non-kin differentiation in Incan festivals and historical narratives to a series of symbols explaining the inherent dual nature of the universe as understood by the elite. Such a portrayal leaves unanswered the question of why the social organization of the Incan society and other past and present communities, unlike others, revolved around dual institutions, and ignores the dynamics of changes that nurture every culture. This chapter has argued that comprehension of antagonistic relationships in pre-Hispanic

---

<sup>216</sup> Maybury-Lewis 1960: pp. 41-42.

<sup>217</sup> Maybury-Lewis 1979: p. 312; Critic of this view has been addressed by Ortiz 1969: pp. 131-137.

Cuzco is incomplete without an appreciation of Incan kinship strategies as factors of social mediation.

Finally, ritual praxis was central to the enactment of the particular relations that brought together opposite equations. It was indeed through “ritual condensation” that antagonisms and reciprocity were simultaneously depicted in Incan ceremonies. These dual ritual oppositions included respect and transgression of the established order in the form of moiety conflicts, the communal repartition of lands and resources, the assimilation of ethnic groups at *Sitwa* and *Qhapaq hucha*, the foreigners’ exclusion from the ceremonial centre and the celebration of their outer *wakas* at *Warachiku* together with significant *wakas* of the origin myth, all of which can be added to other forms of dual oppositions documented in other parts of the Andes such as upper/lower, centre/periphery, migrant/native, younger/older generations, and so forth<sup>218</sup>. Rituals not only recalled, but also shaped, Incan historical consciousness by mediating hierarchical disparities and other dual antagonisms to convey another alternative, that of assimilation. The Incas, however, were a highly stratified society, so that this principle of reciprocity did not entail equilibrium between the opposite parties. Rather, it created a new social order in which asymmetry remained a core principle, but gave the elite’s provincial allies access to various privileges. This practice, in turn, would have enabled the descendants of foreign women and Incan lords to people the lower part of the city and to become an even more integrated part of the political, administrative and religious system. It was through the agency of time that foreign nations could gain access to these increasing honours, rising through the ranks of social hierarchy to obtain the ultimate privilege of contracting symmetric alliances with the ruling nobility. That the Incas themselves conceived of the central role of temporal process in the articulation of social privileges is clearly illustrated in the account of Yahuar Huacac’s abduction, in which the three alliances contracted by the Incan lords took place over three generations.

---

<sup>218</sup> Duviols 1973, 1997a; Netherly 1990.



## CONCLUSION

In order to gain a new insight into the beliefs and practices of the Cuzco nobility, this dissertation has examined a rich corpus of primary data ranging from Incan historical narratives, to ceremonial descriptions, Quechua kinship nomenclature, as well as published reports on the extirpation of idolatry. In exploring such material, this study not only took cognisance of the agendas and biases of their respective authors, but also delineated the pre-conquest cultural framework that provided a fertile ground for syncretisms to take root. This emic approach, coupled with ethnographic knowledge of dual organizations, has been instrumental in identifying and reconciling the narrative inconsistencies that could not be explained merely through Spanish misinterpretation or the chroniclers' intentional deformation. The study also draws attention to the value of literary analysis in the reading of Spanish chronicles. Such a line of investigation, which was recently advocated by Julien (2000), provided a key to distinguishing between different Incan historical genres and different narrative traditions within a vast and diverse body of primary sources. The present analysis thus highlights the value of including in the field of analysis several chronicles – such as the controversial *Quinquenarios* by Gutiérrez de Santa Clara – whose agendas and biases were long assumed to have distorted the oral traditions they recorded. In this way, chapter 2 demonstrated that the Gutiérrez narrative of migration was not an isolated fable proceeding from the fantasy of the Spanish chronicler. Rather, it was part of a larger corpus of traditions, documented by several authors, that reflected the perspective of Hanan Cuzco on its own mythical origin. Many other fragments of the *Quinquenarios*, such as the narrative of the young Yahuar Huacac's abduction, or the detailed account of Tupa Inca Yupanqui's division of Cuzco into two asymmetrical moieties, also hint that Gutiérrez had access to the lore of Hanan Cuzco. Examination of this material in chapter 4 proved most valuable for an understanding of Incan historical representations. It shows that whether or not Gutiérrez extensively copied passages from other sources,

and whether or not he had seen with his own eyes the collapse of the Incan realm, his text, like that of other overlooked chroniclers, contains fragments of indigenous traditions that can be uncovered by isolating and comparing the narrative patterns it shares with other colonial sources. Significantly, this approach refocuses Incan historiography on the peoples it described, and demonstrates that despite the layers of interpretation and recomposition that shaped this early literature, new insights into pre-Hispanic lore are at hand.

Building on this methodological framework, the evidence put forward in the present thesis reveals that Incan solar religion was composed of two sub-cults headed by Wiraqucha and P'unchaw, the respective tutelary deities of Hanan Cuzco and Urin Cuzco. Significantly, the rationale that underpinned these divinities' association with either moiety was not based on an abstract analogy that would associate their domains (subterranean and celestial) with the spatial partition of the city (Lower and Upper). Rather, Wiraqucha and P'unchaw's affiliation with Hanan and Urin Cuzco depended on the influence they exerted over the environmental phenomena and the agricultural activities of the two divisions of the Incan calendar. In turn, each moiety maintained a particular account of their ancestors' origin and a separate listing of Incan rulers that contradicted those elaborated by the opposite division. At the centre of Incan cosmology was the concept that divinities alternated twice a year in regulating water through the different planes of the cosmos. Their descendants on earth, who formed the Hanan and Urin factions, also rotated in conducting the annual festivals of the metropolitan calendar. In this way, moiety membership determined the ritual services that each individual was entitled to accomplish in honour of the divinities of his/her division. Contrary to the conclusions articulated hitherto by scholars, this study has demonstrated that *Inti rayme* opened the ritual cycle of the Upper moiety in June with the commemoration of Wiraqucha's journey on earth. Six months later, at the festival of *Qhapaq rayme*, the Lower moiety took over the responsibility of attending to the Incan celebrations until harvest time. Chapter 3 has shown that the dual division of these yearly activities did not coincide *sensu stricto* with the temporal setting of the meteorological seasons. Indeed, while aspects of this segmentation are evident in the Incan cosmology, the ruling elite's ritual praxis followed a time framework guided by astronomical knowledge and communal activities.

This dissertation concludes with a chapter on dual antagonisms in Incan ritual action, a focus which expands our understanding of moiety interrelations, gender dynamics, and Incan noble identity by exploring how and why relationships between opposites were periodically enacted. The post-structuralist approach followed in this chapter has been most valuable not only in understanding Incan descent, but also in formulating an alternative perspective on dualistic and hierarchical principles in Incan ritual praxis. The argument elaborated in this last chapter re-integrates time within the cultural dynamics that mediated Incan dual antagonisms, and demonstrates that the ruling elite articulated their oral traditions around a twofold historical consciousness. Following this line, it shows that Incan historiography enclosed two narrative genres. The first emphasizes continuity in the dynastic line and situates the reigns of Hanan leaders after those of Urin lords in a chronological sequence. The second genre gives preference to the law of the most able and exalts change as a means to legitimate power. The argument advanced in this chapter refutes the widely accepted assumption that the chronicles' emphasis on primogeniture and the chronological sequence of Incan rulers merely resulted from Spanish misinterpretation. It shows that there is no reason to dismiss entirely the substantial body of testimonies evoking these two points on the sole ground that they resembled the colonizers' appreciation of inheritance and history. A sufficient body of work demonstrates that past and present European societies do not have the monopoly of patrilineality and linear time process<sup>1</sup>.

Overall, the present thesis demonstrated that Incan historical representation was bi-dimensional, and its two facets reflected divergent interests and preoccupations. The first was outward-oriented and aimed at creating a homogenous identity that served the imperialist ideology. It emphasized a coalition of opposites, thereby forging a linear history in which continuity characterized descent, and durability legitimised leadership. By the same token, it depicted the Incas as a unified and unwavering people whose authority was supported by a single divine hand: Inti. The official religion spread by the ruling elite, therefore, revolved around the cult of one great denomination of the Sun that all nations of Tawantinsuyu were compelled to revere, and which embraced the two solar devotions of the royal lineages. The other facet of Incan historical representation was inward-oriented and expressed the particular perspectives of the *panaqas*, the moieties' subgroups. It thus focused on conflicts, rupture and personal achievements,

---

<sup>1</sup> Julien 2000: p. 296.

but also stressed the hierarchical pre-eminence of Hanan over Urin members. Accordingly, the narratives pertaining to this tradition emphasized the superiority of Wiraqucha over P'unchaw and accredited to the rulers of Upper Cuzco the articulation of a "metaphysical" discourse that evinced the ascendancy of the subterranean god over Daylight. Mediating these two pictures was a dynamic view of the past, fluctuating between the paradigms of duration and change, depending on the result Incan narrators sought to achieve. In developing this argument, I have integrated a perspective on dual opposition that distinguishes, on the one hand, between the social praxis that moieties elaborate in their rapport with each other, and, on the other, that which they articulate in relation to the totality they form. In the first context, Incan ritual and historical representations played up contrast and asymmetry, whereas in the latter they accentuated identity and coalition. Such an analysis, which derives from Louis Dumont's formal model of binary oppositions, successfully decenters conceptions of time consciousness in Incan Cuzco, resulting in a more subtle understanding of the narratives elaborated by the pre-Hispanic elite. An acknowledgment that the Incas devised an historical consciousness of their own is therefore the first step towards a sharper and more inflected approach to Incan studies, one that decolonizes the Andean past by uncovering native voices inscribed in Spanish texts, and enriches our wider comprehension of pre-colonial societies. Significantly, the study of Incan kinship, and particularly the examination of descent rules, transmission of names and marriage preferences, has been instrumental in arriving at this new perspective on historical representations. The outlook gained through this analysis calls for an approach to Incan historiography wherein history and anthropology are interrelated and intersecting domains of research whose aim is not to reconstruct past events or fixed social structures, but to unravel how the Incas related to their past, and to delineate the contours of alternative forms of historical representation.

Finally, this dissertation challenged the views of cultural anthropologists who have argued that dual organization is a system for discerning order that always tends towards equilibrium. Although their argument may apply to a number of Lowland South American societies, a similar "quest for harmony" cannot be imparted to the Incan ruling elite. The latter was a highly stratified society with imperialist designs whose dual organization was based on profoundly asymmetric values. Hence, although the ceremonial cycles and the ritual duties of each moiety alternated with time, the

prominence of Hanan Cuzco invariably characterized moiety relationships. Through this hierarchical structure, which sublimated the deeds of lords who had defied the established order, the Incan dual organization exalted its openness to historical contingencies. It recognized the role of individual actions in reinforcing the foundations of their imperialist agenda against the structural order of the elite's kinship relations. The Incan dual organization, therefore, cannot be said to have strived towards reciprocity, but instead mediated upward social mobility to allow the most able individuals to enter the political arena. Within these dynamics, attaining a new social status operated according to two principles: convergence towards the centre and time. Indeed, names/titles were bilaterally transmitted and, as a result, marriages with high-ranking women of the periphery (born outside the dynastic line) enabled any male offspring of such unions to access the Incan prestige hierarchy. When the time came for these young men to choose a spouse, their ability to secure a hypergamous union increased the rank of their future progeny, thereby moving them closer to the senior line. Hence, like the tripartite model of alliance as revealed in the narrative of Yahuar Huacac's abduction, the Incan authority structure reproduced itself through a temporal process. Likewise, the provincial ethnic groups that entered in symmetric alliance with the ruling elite converged towards the core of the Incan body politics: from *hawa* nations (outside), they firstly became *wakcha* (poor, orphan), and then *kaka* (maternal uncle, wife-giver).

This thesis has demonstrated that the Incan system of social classification shared several features in common, albeit intertwined in different ways, with other dual organizations of the South American continent. It has highlighted the relevance of cross-cultural comparison in the study of dual social systems, while stressing the variability that exists within this model. As anthropologist Alf Hornborg observed, "there can be no master narrative. Yet, there are serial congruities between various representations"<sup>2</sup>. In the hands of the Cuzqueñan nobility, the dual organization model became a vehicle of imperial authority allowing at the same time the Incan prestige hierarchy to reproduce itself through name/rank transmission and marriage strategies, while extending the elite's matrimonial network throughout the various provinces of Tawantinsuyu. It thus preserved the divine essence of the dynasty, while adapting its mechanisms to the imperialist need for expansion. The research findings of this

---

<sup>2</sup> Hornborg 1998: p. 182.

dissertation support the view that the hierarchical principles intrinsic to every binary system, from the Amazonian non-centralized polities to the pre-Hispanic authoritarian states, explain the adaptability of dual organizations<sup>3</sup>. This formal model, once regarded by anthropologists as a mere instrument of social reproduction, therefore enshrines asymmetric principles which are conducive to creating its own transformations, thereby enabling a regional polity like Incan Cuzco to become an imperial power.

This reconstruction of Incan history and society opens promising routes into the thinking and culture of ancient Andean polities. Many contradictions in primary sources, which are sometimes disparaged as Spanish constructs, can thus be investigated through the light of dual organization and enhance our understanding of Incan civilization. One specific topic of research that would benefit from this approach is the Incas' relations with local lords and, notably, the role of foreign wives and concubines in political decision-making. As stressed throughout this dissertation, fragmentary evidence in the chronicles alludes to the influence these women played during the wars of succession and conquest. This scarce information suggests that the stability of the Incan imperial edifice was heavily reliant on bride exchange and on the mutual obligations in goods and services attached to this practice. Additional research in early colonial archives could refine our knowledge of marriage preferences and transmission of names/titles among the indigenous elite. It may thereupon clarify the system of assimilation through which the offspring of Incan lords and foreign women could attain high positions in the Incan social hierarchy.

---

<sup>3</sup> Turner 1996.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### MANUSCRIPT SOURCE

ARCHIVO DEPARTAMENTAL DEL CUZCO, Perú (ADC)

Real Audiencia, Causas Ordinarias, Leg. 42 (1670 [1589]), Expediente sobre el Cacigazgo de Chumbivilcas.

### PRIMARY SOURCES

ACOSTA José de, 1940 [1590]. *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica.

AGUSTINOS, 1918 [1560]. “Relación de idolatrías en Huamachuco por los primeros Augustinos” in *Informaciones acerca de la religión y gobierno de los Incas*. Lima: Sanmartí y Ca.

ALBORNOZ Cristóbal de, 1989 [1582]. “Instrucción para descubrir todas las guacas del Perú y sus camayos y haciendas” in Henrique Urbano and Pierre Duviols (eds.), *Fabulas y mitos de los Incas*, Pp. 163-198. Madrid: Historia 16.

ANDAGOYA Pascual de, 1986 [1545]. “Relación que da el Adelantado de Andagoya de las tierras y provincias que abajo se hará mención” in *Relación y documentos*. Madrid: Historia 16.

ANÓNIMO, 1934 [c. 1551]. “Carta sobre el gobierno, las costumbres y los antiguos ritos del Perú” in *Zeitschrift für ethnologie*, Braunschweig: Limbach, vol. 66. Pp. 402-416.

ANÓNIMO, 1962 [c. 1565]. “Discurso de la sucesión y gobierno de los Incas” in Julio Luna Gonzalez Polar (ed.), *El cusco y el gobierno de los Incas según una crónica anónima*. Lima: imp. D. Miranda.

ANÓNIMO, 1906 [c. 1570]. “Discurso de la sucesión y gobierno de los Yngas” in Víctor M. Maúrtua (ed.), *Juicio de límites entre el Perú y Bolivia, prueba peruana presentada al gobierno de la república argentina*, vol. 8, Pp. 149-165. Madrid: Imprenta de los hijos de M.G. Hernández.

ANÓNIMO, 1874 [1571]. “Información de las idolatrías de los Incas e indios y de cómo se enterraban” in *Colección de documentos inéditos del Archivo de Indias*, vol. 21, Pp. 131-220. Madrid: Imprenta de Manuel G. Hernandez.

ANÓNIMO, 1970 [c. 1575]. “Aviso de el mode que havia en el gobierno de los indios en tiempo del inga y como se repartían las tierras y tributos”, Biblioteca del Palacio Real de Madrid, Miscelánea de Manuel José Ayala, t. XXXII, fs. 265-266, in *Revista Española de Antropología Española* 5: 163-173.

ANÓNIMO, 1920 [c. 1580]. “Relación de señores indios que sirvieron a Tupac Yupanqui y Huayna Capac” in Horacio Urteaga (ed.), *Informaciones sobre el antiguo Perú*, Colección de Libros y Documentos Referentes a la Historia del Perú, 2nd ser. Lima: Sanmartí y Ca.

ARRIAGA Pablo José de, 1999 [1621]. *La extirpación de la idolatría en el Perú*. Cusco: Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos Bartolomé de Las Casas.

ATIENZA Lope de, 1931 [c. 1575]. “Compendio historial del estado de los indios del Perú” in Jacinto Jijon y Caamaño (ed.), *La religión del imperio de los Incas*, Apendices I, Pp. 1-235. Quito: Escuela Tipográfica Salesiana.

AVILA Francisco de, 1991 [1598]. *The Huarochirí manuscript: a testament of ancient and colonial Andean religion*. Translation by Frank Salomon and George L. Urioste. Austin: University of Texas Press.

BANDERA Damían de la, 1921 [1557]. “Relación del origen y gobierno que les Ingas tuvieron y del que había antes de ellos” in Horacio H. Urteaga (ed.), *Informaciones sobre el Perú*

- antiguo*, Colección de Libros y Documentos Referentes a la Historia del Perú, 2<sup>nd</sup> ser. Lima: Sanmartí y Ca.
- BERTONIO Ludovico, 1984 [1612]. *Vocabulario de la lengua Aymara*. Cochabamba: Centro de Estudios de la Realidad Económica y Social.
- BETANZOS Juan de, 1987 [1551]. *Suma y narración de los Incas*. Madrid: Editorial Atlas.
- BORREGAN Alonso, 1948 [1571]. *Crónica de la conquista del Perú*. Sevilla: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos.
- CABELLO de BALBOA Miguel, 1951 [1586]. *Miscelánea Antártica, una historia del Perú antiguo*. Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, Instituto de etnología.
- CASTRO Critóbal de, ORTEGA MOREJON Diego de, 1968 [1558]. “Relación y declaración del modo que este valle de Chíncha y sus comarcas se gobernaban antes que oviese Yngas y despues que los vuo hasta que los cristianos entraron en esta tierra” in Hermann Trimbörn (ed.), *Quellen zur Kulturgeschichte des präkolumbischen Amerika*. Stuttgart: Strecker und Schröder, Verlag.
- CIEZA de LEÓN Pedro, 1996a [1553]. *Primera parte de la Crónica del Perú*. Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú.
- , 1996b [1554]. *Segunda parte de la crónica del Perú: El señorío de los Incas*. Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú.
- COBO Bernabé, 1964 [1653]. *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, 91-92. Madrid: Editorial Atlas.
- COLLAPIÑA, SUPNO Y OTROS QUIPUCAMAYOS, 1974 [1542]. *Relación de la descendencia, gobierno y conquista de los Incas*. Lima: Ediciones de la Biblioteca Universitaria.
- CONTRERAS Y VALVERDE Vasco, 1983 [1649]. *Relación de la ciudad del Cusco*. Cusco: Imprenta Amauta.
- ESTETE Miguel de, 1924 [1535]. *Noticia del Perú*, Colección de Libros y Documentos Referentes a la Historia del Perú, 2 ser., vol. 8. Lima: Sanmartí y Ca.
- FERNÁNDEZ Diego, 1963 [1571]. *Historia del Perú*, Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, 165. Madrid: Editorial Atlas.
- FIGUEROA Francisco de, 1904. *Relación de las misiones de la compañía de Jesús en el país de los Maynas*. Madrid: Librería General de Victoriano Suárez.
- GARCÍA fray Gregorio, 1981 [1607]. *El origen de los indios del nuevo mundo e Indias occidentales*, México: Fondo de cultura económica.
- GARCILASO de la VEGA, 1959 [1609]. *Comentarios Reales de los Incas*. Lima: Librería Internacional de Perú.
- , 1989. *Royal commentaries of the Incas, and general history of Peru*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- GONZÁLEZ HOLGUÍN Diego, 1952 [1608]. *Vocabulario de la lengua general de todo el Perú*. Lima: Imprenta Santa Maria.
- , 1842 [1552]. *Gramática y arte nueva de la lengua general de todo el Perú*. Genève: Pagano.
- GUAMAN POMA DE AYALA Felipe, 1980 [c. 1615]. *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, 3 vols. México: Siglo Veintiuno Editores.
- GUTIÉRREZ de SANTA CLARA Pedro, 1963-64 [c. 1590]. *Quinquenarios o Historia de las guerras civiles del Perú*, Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, 166. Madrid: Editorial Atlas.
- HERRERA y TORDESILLAS Antonio de, 1991 [1601-1615]. *Historia general de los hechos de los Castellanos en las islas i tierra firme del mar océano*. Madrid: Universidad Complutense de Madrid.
- “Informaciones al Virrey Toledo”, 1920 [1571-1572] in Horacio Urteaga (ed.), *Informaciones sobre el antiguo Perú*, Colección de Libros y Documentos Referentes a la Historia del Perú, 2<sup>nd</sup> ser. Lima: Sanmartí y Ca.
- JEREZ Francisco de, 1947 [1534]. *Verdadera relación de la conquista del Perú y provincia del Cusco*, Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, 26. Madrid: Editorial Atlas.
- LAS CASAS Bartolomé de, 1909 [1562-1564]. *Apologética historia de las Indias*, Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, 105-106. Madrid: Editorial Atlas.



- LIZÁRRAGA Reginaldo de, 1968 [c. 1603-1609]. *Descripción breve de toda la tierra del Perú, Tucumán, Rio de la Plata y Chile*, Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, 216. Madrid: Editorial Atlas.
- LÓPEZ de GÓMARA Francisco, 1932 [1552]. *Historia General de las Indias y conquista de México*. Madrid: Calpe.
- MATEOS Francisco (ed.), 1944 [c. 1600]. *Historia general de la compañía de Jesús en la provincia del Perú*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas.
- MENA Cristóbal de, 1937 [1534]. “La conquista del Perú llamada Nueva Castilla” in Raúl Porras Barrenechea (ed.), *Las relaciones primitivas de la conquista del Perú*, Cuadernos de Historia del Perú, Pp. 79-101. Paris: Imprimeries les Presses Modernes.
- MOLINA Cristóbal de (el Cusqueño), 1989 [1575]. “Relación de las fábulas y ritos de los Incas” in Henríque Urbano and Pierre Duviols (eds.), *Fábulas y mitos de los Incas*, Pp. 48-134. Madrid: Historia 16.
- MONTESINOS Fernando, 1920 [1644]. *Memorias antiguas historiales y políticas del Perú*. Philip Ainsworth Means (trans.), Second series XLVIII, London: Hakluyt Society.
- MURÚA Martín de, 2001 [1590-1602]. *Historia general del Perú*. Madrid: Dastin Historia.
- OVEDO y VALDÉS Gonzalo Fernandez de, 1959 [1547]. *Historia general y natural de las Indias*, Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, 117-121. Madrid: Editorial Atlas.
- PACHACUTI YAMQUI SALCAMAYGUA Juan de Santa Cruz, 1993 [c. 1615]. *Relación de antigüedades deste reyno del Pirú*. Lima – Cuzco: Institut Français d’Etudes Andines - Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos Bartolomé de Las Casas.
- PÄRSSINEN Martti, KIVIHARJU Jukka (eds.), 2004. *Textos andinos – Corpus de textos khipu incaicos y coloniales*, Tome I. Madrid: Instituto Iberoamericano de Finlandia, Universidad Complutense de Madrid.
- PIZARRO Hernando, 1921 [1533]. “Relación de Hernando Pizarro acerca de la conquista” in Horacio Urteaga (ed.), *Informaciones sobre el antiguo Perú*, Colección de Libros y Documentos Referentes a la Historia del Perú, 2nd ser., Pp. 165-180. Lima: Sanmartí y Ca.
- PIZARRO Pedro, 1917 [1571]. *Relación del descubrimiento y conquista de los reinos del Perú*, Colección de Libros y Documentos Referentes a la Historia del Perú. Lima: Sanmartí y Ca.
- POLO ONDEGARDO Juan, 1916 [1559]. “Los errores y supersticiones de los Indios sacados del tratado y averiguación que hizo licenciado Polo” in *Informaciones acerca de la religión y gobierno de los Incas*, Colección de Libros y Documentos Referentes a la Historia del Perú. Lima: Sanmartí y Ca.
- (attributed to), 1917 [c. 1560]. “Relación de los adoratorios de los indios en los quatro caminos (ceques) que salían del Cuzco” in *Informaciones acerca de la religión y gobierno de los Incas*, Colección de Libros y Documentos Referentes a la Historia del Perú. Lima: Sanmartí y Ca.
- , 1990 [c. 1560-1570]. *El mundo de los Incas*. Madrid: Historia 16.
- RAMOS GAVILÁN Alfonso, 1976 [1621]. *Historia de Nuestra Señora de Copacabana*. La Paz: Cámara de comercio.
- Relaciones geográficas de Indias*, Perú, 1965 [c. 1570-1586]. Marcos Jiménez de la Espada (ed.), Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, 183-184. Madrid: Editorial Atlas.
- RICARDO Antonio, 1951 [1586]. *Vocabulario y phrasis en la lengua general de los indios del Perú, llamada Quichua y en la lengua española*. Lima: Instituto de Historia de la Facultad de Letras, Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos.
- Ritos y tradiciones de Huarochirí*, 1999 [1598]. Gerald Taylor (ed.), Travaux de l’Institut Français d’Etudes Andines, 116. Lima: Banco Central de Reserva del Perú, Universidad Particular Ricardo Palma.
- ROMÁN Y ZAMORA Jerónimo, 1897 [1575]. *Repúblicas de Indias, idolatrias y gobierno antes de la conquista*, Colección de Libros Españoles Raros o Curiosos que tratan de América, vol. XIV-XV. Madrid: Victoriano Suarez Editor.
- SAN PEDRO Fray Juan de, 1992 [1560]. *La persecución del demonio. Crónica de los primeros Agustinos en el norte del Perú*. Málaga: Algazara.

- SANTILLÁN Hernando de, 1968 [1563]. *Relación del origen, descendencia, politica y gobierno de los Incas*, Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, 209. Madrid: Editorial Atlas.
- SANTO TOMÁS Domingo de, 1951a [1560]. *Lexicón o vocabulario de la lengua general del Perú*. Lima: Instituto de Historia de la Facultad de Letras de la Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos.
- , 1951b [1560]. *Grammatica o arte de la lengua general de los Indios de los Reynos del Peru*. Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos.
- SARMIENTO de GAMBOA Pedro, 1988 [1572]. *Historia de los Incas*. Madrid: Miraguano – Polifemo Ediciones.
- SEGOVIA Bartolomé, 1916 [1553]. *Relación de muchas cosas acaescidas en el Perú*, Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, 209. Madrid: Editorial Atlas.
- TRUJILLO Diego de, 1948 [1571]. *Relación del descubrimiento del reyno del Perú*. Sevilla: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos de Sevilla.
- VALERA, Blas (attributed to) 1927 [c. 1595]. “Relación de las costumbres antiguas de los naturales del Pirú” in *Tres relaciones de antigüedades peruanas*, Pp. 133-203. Lima: Sanmartí y Ca.
- VÁZQUEZ de ESPINOSA Antonio, 1969 [1629]. *Compendio y descripcion de las Indias occidentales*, Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, 231. Madrid: Editorial Atlas.
- YUPANQUI Titu Cusi, 2006 [1570]. *History of how the Spaniards arrived in Peru/Relación de como los españoles entraron en el Perú*. Dual language edition, translated by C. Julien. Idianapolis/Cambridge: Hackett Publishing Company.
- ZÁRATE Agustín de, 1965 [1555]. *Historia del descubrimiento y conquista del Perú*, Buenos Aires: Publicaciones del Instituto de Historia Argentina y Americana, Universidad de Buenos Aires.

## SECONDARY SOURCES

- ABERCROMBIE Thomas A., 1998. *Pathways of memory and power, ethnography and history among an Andean people*. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press.
- , 2002. “La perpetuidad traducida: Del “debate” al Taki Onkoy y una rebelión comunera peruana” in Jean-Jacques Decoster (ed.), *Incas e indios cristianos. Elites indígenas e identidades cristianas en los Andes coloniales*, Travaux de l’Institut Français d’Etudes Andines 149, Pp. 79-120. Lima, Cuzco: Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos Bartolomé de Las Casas, Institut Français d’Etudes Andines, Asociación Kuraka.
- ABERNETHY David B., 2000. *The dynamics of global dominance: European overseas empires 1415-1980*. New Haven, London: Yale University Press.
- ADORNO Rolena, 1988. *Guaman Poma, writing and resistance in colonial Peru*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- , 2001. *Guaman Poma and his illustrated chronicle from colonial Perú: from a century of scholarship to anew era of reading*. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, University of Copenhagen and the Royal Library.
- , and BOSERUP Ivan, 2003. *New Studies of the autograph manuscript of Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala’s Nueva corónica y buen gobierno*. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press.
- ALBERTI MANZANARES Pilar, 1985. “La influencia económica y política de las Acllacuna en el Incanato” in *Revista de Indias* 45 (176): 557-585.
- , 1986. “una institución exclusivamente femenina en la época incaica: las acllacuna” in *Revista Española de Antropología Americana* 16: 153-190.
- ALBÓ Xavier, 2002. “Preguntas a los historiadores desde los rituales andinos actuales” in Jean-Jacques Decoster (ed.), *Incas e indios cristianos. Elites indígenas e identidades cristianas en los Andes coloniales*, Travaux de l’Institut Français d’Etudes Andines 149, Pp. 395-438. Lima, Cuzco: Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos Bartolomé de Las Casas, Institut Français d’Etudes Andines, Asociación Kuraka.

- ALCONINI Sonia, 2004. "The southeastern Inka frontier against the Chiriguanos: structure and dynamics of the Inka Imperial borderlands" in *Latin American Antiquity* 15(4): 389-418.
- ALLEN Catherine J., 1988. *The hold life has. Coca and cultural identity in an Andean community*. Washington, London: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- , 1993-1994. "Time, place and narrative in an Andean community" in *Journal de la Société Suisse des Américanistes* (57-58): 89-95.
- ALONSO Pedraz, 1960. *Diccionario compendiado del idioma español*. Madrid: Aguilar.
- ALONSO SAGASETA Alicia, 1989. "Las momias de los Incas : su función y realidad social" in *Revista española de antropología americana* XIX: 109-135.
- AMADO GONZALES Donato, 2002. "El alférez real de los Incas: resistencia, cambios, y continuidad de la identidad indígena" in Jean-Jacques Decoster (ed.), *Incas e Indios cristianos: elites indígenas e identidades cristianas en los Andes coloniales*, Travaux de l'Institut Français d'Etudes Andines 149, Pp. 221-249. Lima, Cuzco: Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos Bartolomé de Las Casas, Institut Français d'Etudes Andines, Asociación Kuraka.
- ANDREWS Tamra, 2000. *Dictionary of Nature's myth: Legends of the Earth, Sea and Sky*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- ANDRIEN Kenneth J., 2001. *Andean worlds: indigenous history, culture, and consciousness under Spanish rule, 1532-1825*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- , and ADORNO Rolena (eds.), 1991. *Transatlantic encounters, Europeans and Andeans in the Sixteenth Century*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- ARDENER Edwin, 1985. "Social anthropology and the decline of modernism" in Joanna Overing (ed.), *Reason and Morality*, Pp. 47-70. London: Tavistock.
- ARELLANO HOFFMANN Carmen, 1998. "Hanan/Urín: reflexiones acerca de un viejo concepto dual Inka y su aplicación en el Chinchaysuyu" in Sabine Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz et. al (eds.), *50 años de Estudios Americanistas en la Universidad de Bonn: nuevas contribuciones a la arqueología, ethnohistoria, ethnolingüística y etnografía de las Américas*, BAS 30, Pp. 473-493. Bonn Verlag: Anton Saurwein.
- , 1999. "Quipu y tocapu: sistemas de comunicación inca" in Franklin Pease et al. (eds.), *Los Incas: Arte y símbolos*, Pp. 215-261. Lima: Banco de Crédito del Perú, Colección Arte y Tesoros del Perú.
- , 2003. "El juego de Chuncana entre los Chimú un tablero de madera que prueba la hipótesis de Erland Nordenskiöld" in *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Etudes Andines* 32 (2): 317-345.
- ARMAS ASÍN Fernando, 2001. "Religión, género y construcción de una sexualidad en los Andes (siglos XVI y XVII). Una acercamiento provisional" in *Revista de Indias* 61 (223): 673-700.
- , 2002. "Wiracocha, pastoral católica y mitología del Titicaca, consideraciones desde la mitografía y la andinística" in *Anuario de Historia de la Iglesia* 11: 191-213.
- ARNOLD Denise, JIMÉNEZ Domingo, and YAPITA Juan de Dios, 1992. *Hacia un orden andino de las cosas*. La Paz: HISBOL/ILCA.
- ARNOLD Denise and ESPEJO AYCA Elvira, 2006. "On drinking cups and constellations: some relations between Aymara astronomical and textual practices in Qaqachaka ayllu (Bolivia)" in *Journal of the Latin American Cultural Studies* 15 (2): 183-213.
- ASCHER Marcia and ASCHER Robert, 1981. *Code of the quipu. Study in media, mathematics, and culture*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- ASTVALDSSON Astvaldur, 2000. "The dynamics of Aymara duality: change and continuity in sociopolitical structures in the Bolivian Andes" in *Journal of Latin American Studies* (32): 145-174.
- AVENI Anthony F. (ed.), 1977. *Native American Astronomy*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- , 1981. "Horizon astronomy in Incaic Cuzco" in Ray R. Williamson (ed.), *Archaeoastronomy in the Americas*, Pp. 305-318. Maryland: Ballena Press/Center for Archaeoastronomy.

- , 1989. "The Incas and their orientation calendar" in Anthony F. Aveni, *Empires of times, calendars, clocks and cultures*, Pp. 278-304. New York: BasicBooks.
- BAMBERGER Joan, 1974. "Naming and the transmission of status in a Central Brazilian society" in *Ethnology* 13 (4): 363-378.
- BARNES Mónica, 1986. "Representations of the cosmos: a comparison of the Church of San Cristobal de Pampachiri with the Coricancha drawing of Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamaygua" in Daniel Sandweiss and Peter Kvietok (eds.), *Perspectives on Andean Prehistory and Protohistory*, Pp. 145-158. Ithaca: Cornell University, Latin American Studies Program.
- BARRY Laurent S., 2000. "Argument" in *L'Homme* 154-155, Question de parenté: 9-20.
- BASTIEN Joseph W., 1978. *Mountain of the condor: metaphor and ritual in an Andean ayllu*. Saint Paul: West Publishing Co.
- BATAILLON Marcel, 1961. "Gutiérrez de Santa Clara, escritor Mexicano" in *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispanica* 15: 405-440.
- BAUDIN Louis, 1928. *L'empire socialistes des Inkas*. Paris: Institut d'Ethnologie.
- BAUER Brian S., 1992. *The development of the Inca state*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- , 1996. "Legitimization of the state in inca myth and ritual" in *American Anthropologist*, vol. 98 (2): 327-337.
- , 1998. *The sacred landscape of the Inca: the Cusco ceque system*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- , 2004. *Ancient Cuzco, heartland of the Inca*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- , and DEARBORN David S. P., 1995. *Astronomy and empire in the Ancient Andes*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- , and STANISH Charles, 2001. *Ritual and pilgrimage in the Ancient Andes, the Islands of the Sun and the Moon*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- , and COVEY Alan, 2002. "Processes of state formation in the Inca heartland (Cuzco, Peru)" in *American Anthropologist* 104 (3): 846-864.
- BAUMANN Max P., 1996. "Andean music, symbolic dualism and cosmology" in Max Peter Baumann (ed.), *Cosmología and Música en los Andes*, Pp. 15-66. Frankfurt am Main, Madrid: Vervuert Iberoamericana.
- BERNARD Carmen and GRUZINSKI Serge, 1992. *De la idolatría. Una arqueología de las ciencias religiosas*. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica.
- BEYERSDORFF Margot, 1984. *Léxico Agropecuario Quechua*. Cuzco: Centro de estudios Rurales Andinos Bartolomé de las Casas.
- BIXLER Ray H., 1982a. "Sibling incest in the royal families of Egypt, Peru, and Hawaii" in *Journal of Sex Research* 18 (3): 264-281.
- , 1982b. "Comment on the incidence and purpose of royal sibling incest" in *American Ethnologist* 9 (3): 580-582.
- BLOCH Maurice, 1977. "The past and the present in the present" in *Man* 12 (2): 278-292.
- BOLIN Inge, 1998. *Rituals of respect. The secret of survival in the High Peruvian Andes*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- BOLTON Ralph, 1979. "Guinea pigs, protein and ritual" in *Ethnology* 18 (3): 229-252.
- BONILLA Heraclio, and FONSECA MARTEL César, 1967. *Tradición y conservadurismo en la área cultural del Lago Titicaca: Jesús de Machaca, una comunidad aymara del altiplano andino*. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.
- BOONE Elizabeth Hill, and MIGNOLO Walter D. (eds.), 1994. *Writing without words: alternative literacies in Mesoamerica and the Andes*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- BOURDIEU Pierre, 1977. *Outline of a theory of practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- BOURLIAUD Jean, HERVE Dominique, MORLON Pierre, and REAU Raymond, 1988. *Chakitaklla : estrategias de barbecho e intensificación de la agricultura andina*. Lima: Orstom-Pisa.
- BOUYASSE-CASSAGNE Thérèse, 1986. "Urco and uma: Aymara concepts of space" in John V. Murra, Nathan Wachtel, and Jacques Revel (eds.), *Anthropological history of Andean politics*, Pp. 201-227. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- , 1987. *La identidad Aymara, aproximación histórica (siglo XV-XVI)*. La Paz: HISBOL, Institut Français d'Etudes Andines.
- , 1988. *Lluvias y cenizas: dos Pachacuti en la historia*. La Paz: HISBOL, Institut Français d'Etudes Andines.
- , 1992. "Le lac Titicaca: Histoire perdue d'une mer intérieure" in *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Etudes Andines* 21 (1): 89-159.
- , 1993. "'El rayo que no cesa' d'un dieu pukina à un dieu inca" in *Religions des Andes et Langues indigènes. Equateur-Pérou-Bolivie, avant et après la Conquête espagnole*, Pierre Duviols (ed.), Pp. 165-180. Aix en Provence: Publication de l'Université de Provence.
- , 1997a. "De Empédocles a Tunupa: Evangelización, hagiografía y mitos" in Thérèse Bouysse-Cassagne (ed.), *Saberes y Memorias en los Andes. In Memoriam Thierry Saignes*, Pp. 157-212. Paris, Lima: Institut des Hautes Etudes de l'Amérique latine, Institut Français d'Etudes Andines.
- , and BOUYSSÉ Philippe, 1984. "Volcan Indien, volcan Chrétien. A propos de l'éruption de Huaynaputina en l'an 1600" in *Journal de la Société des Américanistes* (70): 43-68.
- BOWMAN Glenn, 1997. "Identifying versus identifying with 'the Other': reflections on the siting of the subject in anthropological discourse" in Allison James, Jenny Hockey, and Andrew Dawson (eds.), *After writing culture: epistemology and praxis in contemporary anthropology*, Pp. 34-50. London and New York: Routledge.
- BRADBY Barbara, 1987. "Symmetry around a centre: music of an Andean community" in *Popular music* 6 (2): 197-218.
- BRADING David A., 1986. "The Incas and the Renaissance: The Royal Commentaries of Inca Garcilaso de la Vega" in *Journal of Latin American Studies* 18: 1-23.
- BRADLEY Peter T., and CAHILL David, 2000. *Habsburg Peru, images, imagination and memory*. Liverpool Latin American Studies, New Series 2. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.
- BRAVO GUERREIRA Concepción, 1992. "Del poder dual a la diarquía en el estado Inca" in *Revista Complutense de Historia de América* 18: 11-62.
- , 2004. "La planificación de los sistemas educativos en las estrategia política de los Incas" in *Revista de ciencias de la educación* 200: 397-420.
- BRAY Tamara L., MINC Leah D., CERUTI María Constanza, CHÁVEZ José Antonio, PEREA Ruddy, and REINHRAD Johan, 2005. "A compositional analysis of pottery vessels associated with the Inca ritual of *capacocha*" in *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 24: 82-100.
- BROKAW Galen, 2003. "The poetics of khipu historiography: Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala's *Nueva corónica* and the *Relación de los quipucamayos*" in *Latin American Research Review* 38 (3): 111-147.
- BROWMAN David L, 1994. "Titicaca basin archaeolinguistics: Uru, Pukina and Aymara AD 750-1450" in *World Archaeology* 26 (2): 235-251.
- BRUNDAGE Burr Cartwright, 1963. *Empire of the Inca*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- BURGA Manuel, 1988. *Nacimiento de una utopía: muerte y resurrección de los Incas*. Lima: Instituto de Apoyo Agrario.
- BURKE Peter, 1997. *Varieties of cultural history*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- BURMAN Rickie, 1981. "Time and socioeconomic change in Simbo, Solomon Islands" in *Man* 16 (2): 251-267.
- CÁCERES CHALCO, Efraín, 2001. "La muerte como sanción y compensación: vision de equilibrio y reciprocidad en Cusco" in *Chungará*, 33 (2): 187-200.
- CAHILL David, 1996. "Popular religion and appropriation: the example of Corpus Christi in eighteenth-century Cuzco" in *Latin American Research Review* 31 (2): 67-107.
- , 1998. "After the fall: constructing Inca identity in Late Colonial Cuzco" in Luis Roniger and Mario Sznajder (eds.), *Constructing collective identities and shaping public spheres: Latin American paths*, Pp. 65-99. Brighton: Sussex Academic Press.

- , 1999. "The Inca and Corpus Christi: the feast of Santiago in colonial Cuzco" in *Cuadernos del CEDLA* (5). Amsterdam: Centro de Estudios y Documentación Latinoamericano.
- , 2000. "The Inca and Inca symbolism in popular festive culture: the religious processions of seventeenth-century Cuzco" in Peter T. Bradley and David Cahill (eds.), *Habsburg Peru: images, imagination and memory*, Part II, Pp. 87-150. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.
- , 2002. "The Virgin and the Inca: An Incaic procession in the city of Cuzco in 1692" in *Ethnohistory* 49 (3): 611-649.
- , 2006. "Estimating elites: the Inca nobility of Peru under colonial rule" in Russell MacGregor (ed.), *Collisions of cultures and identities: settlers and indigenous peoples*, Pp. 64-71. Melbourne: University of Melbourne.
- CARPENTER Lawrence K., 1992. "Inside/Outside, which side counts? Duality-of-self and bipartization in Quechua" in Robert V. H. Dover, Katharine E. Seibold, John H. McDowell (eds.), *Andean cosmologies through time, persistence and emergence*, Pp. 115-136. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- CAREY James W., 1993. "Distribution of culture bound illnesses in the Southern Peruvian Andes" in *Medical Anthropology Quarterly* 7 (3): 281-300.
- CARNEIRO Robert L., 1981. "The chiefdom: precursor of the state" in Grant D. Jones and Robert R. Kautz (eds.), *The transition to statehood in the New World*, Pp. 37-75. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- CARR Christopher, 2005. "The question of ranking in Havana Hopewellian societies, a retrospective in the light of multi-cemetery ceremonial organization" in Christopher Carr and D. Troy Case (eds.), *Gathering Hopewell: society, ritual and ritual interaction*, Interdisciplinary Contributions to Archaeology, Pp. 238-257. New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum.
- CAVERO CARRASCO Ranulfo, 1986. *Maíz, chicha y religiosidad Andina*. Ayacucho: Universidad Nacional de San Cristobal de Huamanga.
- CERECEDA Verónica, 1986. "The semiology of Andean textiles: the talegas of Isluga" in John V. Murra, Nathan Wachtel, and Jacques Revel (eds.), *Anthropological history of Andean polities*, Pp. 149-173. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- CERRÓN PALOMINO Rodolfo, 1998. "El cantar del Inca Yupanqui y la lengua secreta de los Incas" in *Revista Andina* 32 (2): 417-458.
- , 2002. "Hurin: une espejismo léxico opuesto a hanan" in Javier Flores Espinoza and Rafael Varón Gabai (eds.), *El Hombre y los Andes: Homenaje a Franklin Pease G. Y*, t. I. Pp. 219-235. Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú.
- , 2003 [1987]. *Lingüística Quechua*. Cuzco: Centro de Estudios Rurales Andinos Bartolomé de las Casas.
- , BALLÓN AGUIRRE Enrique, and CHAMBI Emilio, 1992. *Vocabulario razonado de la actividad agraria andina*. Cuzco: Centro de Estudio Regionales Bartolomé de las Casas.
- CERUTI María Constanza, 2004. "Human bodies as objects of dedication at Inca mountaintop shrines (northwest Argentina)" in *World Archaeology* 36 (1): 103-122.
- , and REINHARD Johan, 2005. "Pilgrimage, sacred mountains and human sacrifice among the Incas" in Carlson J. (ed.), *Pilgrimage and ritual landscape in Pre-Columbian America*. Washington DC.: Dumbarton Oaks.
- CHARLES John, 2007. "Unreliable confessions: *kipus* in the colonial parish" in *The Americas* 64 (1): 11-33.
- CHÁVEZ HUALPA Fabiola, 1997. "Embarazo y parto en los cronistas de los siglos XVI-XVII" in *Antropológica* 15: 97-134.
- CHIAPPELLI Fredi (ed.), 1976. *First images of America, the impact of the New World on the old*, vol. I. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press.
- CHRISTINAT Jean Louis, 1989. *Des parrains pour la vie. Parenté rituelle dans une communauté des Andes Péruviennes*. Paris: Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, Recherches et Travaux de l'Institut d'ethnologie 9.

- CLASSEN Constance, 1993. *Inca cosmology and the human body*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.
- CLIFFORD James, 1986. "On ethnographic allegory" in James Clifford and George E. Marcus (eds.), *Writing culture. The poetics and politics of Ethnography*, Pp. 98-121. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- , and MARCUS George E. (eds.), 1986. *Writing culture. The poetics and politics of Ethnography*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- COCK C. Guillermo, and DOYLE Mary Eileen, 1979. "Del culto solar a la clandestinidad de Inti y Punchao" in *Historia y Cultura* (Lima) 12: 51-71.
- COLÁS Alejandro, 2007. *Empire*. Cambridge, Madlen: Polity Press.
- COLLARD Chantal, 2000. "Kinship studies au tournant du siècle" in *L'Homme* 154-155, Question de parenté: 635-658.
- CONRAD Geoffrey W. and DEMAREST Arthur A., 1984. *Religion and empire, the dynamics of Aztec and Inca expansionism*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- COVEY Alan R., 2006a. *How the Incas built their heartland: State formation and the innovation of imperial strategies in the sacred valley, Peru*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- , 2006b. "Chronology, succession, and sovereignty: the politics of Inka historiography and its modern interpretation" in *Comparative Study of Society and History* 48 (1): 169-199.
- CRICKMAY Lindsey, 1999. "Speaking to God: Observation on the vocabulary of Andean prayer and suggestions for the reconsideration of its interpretation" in Sabine Dedenbach-Salazar Saénz and Lindsey Crickmay (eds.), *La lengua de la cristianización en Latinoamérica: Catequización e instrucción en lenguas amerindias*, BAS vol. 32, Pp. 151-167. Verlag: Anton Saurwein.
- CROCKER, William H., 1984. "Canela marriage: factors in change" in Kenneth M. Kensinger (ed.), *Marriage practices in Lowland South America*, Illinois Studies in Anthropology 14, Pp. 63-98. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- , 1990. *The Canela (Eastern Timbira), I: an ethnographic introduction*, Smithsonian Contributions to Anthropology 33. Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- CUMMINS Tom, 1994. "Representation in the sixteenth century and the colonial image of the Inca" in Elizabeth Hill Boone and Walter D. Mignolo (eds.), *Writing without words: alternative literacies in Mesoamerica and the Andes*, Pp. 188-219. Durham and London: Duke University Press.
- , 2002. *Toasts with the Incas: Andean abstraction and colonial images in quero vessels*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- CUNOW Heinrich, 1929. *El sistema de parentesco peruano y las comunidades gentilicias de los Incas*. Paris: le "Livre Libre".
- D'ALTROY Terence N., 2002. *The Incas*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers.
- , and EARLE Timothy K., 1985. "Staple finance, wealth finance, and storage in the Inka political economy" in *Current anthropology* 28 (2): 187-206.
- , and BISHOP Ronald. L., 1990. "The provincial organization of the Inka ceramic production" in *American Antiquity* 55: 120-138.
- DA MATTA, Roberto, 1982. *A divided world: Apinayé social structure*, Harvard Studies in Cultural Anthropology 6. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- DAVENPORT William H., 1994. *Pi'o: an inquiry into the marriage of brothers and sisters and other close relatives in old Hawai'i*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America.
- DEAN Carolyn 2001. "Andean androgyny and the making of men" in Cecelia F. Klein (ed.), *Gender in Pre-Hispanic America*, Research Library and Collection, Pp. 143-182. Washington DC.: Dumbarton Oaks.
- DEARBORN David S. P., SCHREIBER Katharina J., 1989. "Houses of the Rising Sun" in Mariusz Ziolkowski and Robert Sadowski (eds.), *Time and calendars in the inca empire*, Pp. 49-74. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports.
- DECOSTER Jean-Jacques (ed.), 2002. *Incas e indios cristianos. Elites indígenas e identidades cristianas en los Andes coloniales*. Cuzco – Lima: Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos Bartolomé de Las Casas, Institut Français d'Etudes Andines.

- DEDENBACH-SALAZAR SAENZ Sabine, 1985. *Un aporte a la reconstrucción del vocabulario agrícola de la época incaica*, Bonner Amerikanistische Studien 14. Bonn: Bonn University.
- , 1994. “Releyendo las fuentes andinas a la luz de la pragmática y del discurso” in *América Indígena* 4, vol. LIV: 157-188.
- DEMAREST Arthur A., 1981. *Viracocha, the nature and antiquity of the Andean god*, Peabody museum monographs 6. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University.
- DERRIDA Jacques, 1967. *De la grammatologie*. Paris: Minuit.
- DÍEZ HURTADO Alejandro, 2005. Los sistemas de cargos religiosos y sus transformaciones, in Manuel M. Marzal (ed.), *Religiones Andinas*, Enciclopedia Iberoamericana de Religiones 04, Pp. 253-286. Madrid: Editorial Trotta.
- DOYLE Mary Eileen, 1988. *Ancestor cult and burial ritual in seventeenth and eighteenth century central Peru*. PhD diss: University of California, Los Angeles.
- DOYLE Michael W., 1986. *Empires*. Ithaca, London: Cornell University Press.
- DRANSART Penny, 1988. “Women and ritual conflict in Inka society” in Sharon Macdonald, Pat Holden and Shriley Ardener (eds.), *Images of women in peace and war: cross-cultural and historical perspectives*, Pp. 62-77. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- , 1997. “Cultural transpositions, writing about rites in the llama corral” in Rosaleen Howard-Malverde (ed.), *Creating context in Andean cultures*, Oxford Studies in Anthropological Linguistics, Pp. 85-98. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- DUMONT Louis, 1980. *Homo Hierarchicus, the caste system and its implications*. Chicago, London: University of Chicago Press.
- , 1986. *Essays on individualism, modern ideology in anthropological perspective*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- DUVERGER Maurice, 1980. “Le concept d’empire” in Maurice Duverger (ed.), *Le concept d’empire*, Pp. 5-23. Paris: Presse Universitaire de France.
- DUVIOLS Pierre, 1962. “Les sources religieuses du chroniqueur péruvien Fray Martin de Morúa” in *Annales de la Faculté des Lettres d’Aix*, t. XXXVI, Pp. 267-277.
- , 1971. *La lutte contre les religions autochtones dans le Pérou colonial: l’extirpation de l’idolâtrie entre 1532 et 1600*. Lima: Institut Français d’Etudes Andines.
- , 1973. “Huari y Llacuaz, agricultores y pastores. Un dualismo prehispánico de oposición y complementariedad” in *Revista del Museo Nacional* (Lima) XXXIX: 153-191.
- , 1976b. “Punchao, idolo mayor del Coricancha, Historia y Tipología” in *Revista Antropología Andina* 1-2: 156-182.
- , 1976c. “La Capacocha” in *Allpanchis* (9): 11-58.
- , 1977a. *La destrucción de las religiones andinas (durante la conquista y la colonia)*. México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.
- , 1977b. “Los nombres Quechua de Viracocha, supuesto “Dios Creador” de los evangelizadores” in *Allpanchis* 10: 53-63.
- , 1978. “Camaquen, upani: un concept animiste des anciens Péruviens” in R. Hartmann and U. Oberam (eds.), *Estudios americanistas*, vol. 1, Pp. 132-144. Saint Augustin: Collectanea Instituti Anthropos.
- , 1979a. “Datation, paternité et idéologie de la ‘Declaración de los quipucamayos a Vaca de Castro’ (Discurso de la descendencia y gobierno de los Ingas).” In *Les cultures ibériques en devenir: essais publiés en hommage à la mémoire de Marcel Bataillon (1895–1977)*, Pp. 583-591. Paris: La Fondation Singer-Polignac.
- , 1979b. “Un symbolisme de l’occupation, de l’aménagement et de l’exploitation de l’espace. Le monolithe ‘huanca’ et sa fonction dans les Andes préhispaniques” in *L’Homme* XIX (2): 7-31.
- , 1979c. “La dinastía de los Incas : monarquía o diarquía ? Argumentos heurísticos a favor de una tesis estructuralista” in *Journal de la Société des Américanistes* LXVI: 67-83.
- , 1980. “Periodización y política : la historia prehispanica del Perú segun Guaman Poma de Ayala” in *Bulletin de l’Institut Français d’Etudes Andines* 9 (3-4): 1-18.
- , 1986. *Cultura Andina y Represión*. Cuzco: Centro Bartolomé de las Casas.



- (ed.), 1993. *Religions des Andes et langues indigènes: Equateur, Pérou, Bolivie avant et après la conquête espagnole*, Actes du Colloque III d'Etudes Andines. Aix-en-Provence: CARLAM, Université de Provence.
- , 1997a. "Del discurso escrito colonial al discurso prehispánico: hacia el sistema sociocosmológico inca de oposición y complementaridad" in *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Etudes Andines* 26 (3): 279-303.
- , 1997b. "La interpretación del dibujo de Pachacuti Yamqui" in Thérèse Bouysse Cassagne (ed.), *Saberes y Memorias en los Andes*, Pp. 101-114. Paris, Lima: Institut des Hautes Etudes de l'Amérique Latine, Institut Français d'Etudes Andines.
- EARLE Timothy, 1997. *How chiefs come to power, the political economy in Prehistory*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- EARLS John, 1971. "The structure of modern Andean social categories" in *Journal of the Steward Anthropological Society* 3: 69-106.
- ELLIOTT John H., 2002 [1963]. *Imperial Spain, 1469-1716*. London: Penguin Books.
- ESCRIBENS Augusto, 1980. "Debilitamiento de vocables y metatesis en el Quechua de Ferreñafe" in Ramiro Matos Mendieta (ed.), *Tercero Congreso peruanos del hombre y de la cultura andina*, Tome V, Pp. 994-1002. Lima: Editores Lasontay.
- ESPINOZA SORIANO Waldemar, 1997. "Los cuatro suyos del Cuzco, siglos XV-XVI" in *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Etudes Andines* 6 (3-4): 109-122.
- ESTENSSORO FUCHS Juan Carlos, 1996. "Les pouvoirs de la parole. La prédication au Pérou: de l'évangélisation à l'utopie" in *Annales Histories, Sciences Sociales* 6: 1225-1257.
- , 2001. "El simio de Dios. Los indígenas y la Iglesia frente a la evangelización del Perú, siglos XVI-XVII" in *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Etudes Andines* 30 (3): 455-474.
- , 2003. *Del paganismo a la santidad, la incorporación de los indios del Perú al catolicismo 1532-1750*. Lima: Institut Français d'Etudes Andines, Pontificia Universidad Católica.
- FARRINGTON Ian S., 1992. "Ritual geography, settlement patterns and the characterization of the provinces of the Inka heartland" in *World Archaeology* 23 (3): 368-385.
- FERGUSON Yale H., 1991. "Chiefdoms to city-states: the Greek experience" in Timothy Earle (ed.), *Chiefdoms: power, economy, and ideology*, Pp. 169-192. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- FERNÁNDEZ JUÁREZ Gerardo 2004. *Yatiris y Ch'amakanis del Altiplano: sueños, testimonios y prácticas ceremoniales*. Quito: Abya Yala.
- FINLEY Moses I., 1975. *The use and abuse of history*. London: Chatto & Windus.
- FIRTH Raymond, 1957. "A note on descent groups in Polynesia" in *Man* 57: 4-8.
- FLANNERY Kent V., MARCUS Joyce, REYNOLDS Robert G., 1989. *The flocks of the Wamani. A study of llama herders on the punas of Ayacucho, Peru*. San Diego: Academic Press, Inc.
- FLORES OCHOA Jorge, 1979. *Pastoralists of the Andes, the alpaca herders of Paratía*. Philadelphia: ISHI.
- , 1986. "The classification and naming of South American camelids" in John V. Murra, Nathan Wachtel, and Jacques Revel (eds.), *Anthropological History of Andean polities*. Pp. 137-148. New York – Paris: Cambridge University Press, Maison des Sciences de l'Homme.
- , 1997. "La missa andina" in Rafael Varón Gabai, Javier Flores Espinoza (eds.), *Arqueología, antropología e Historia en los Andes: Homenaje a María Rostworowski*, Pp. 717-728. Lima, Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.
- , 2000. "... en el principio fue el inka: El ciclo del Inti Raymi cuzqueño" in Luis Millones, Hiroyasu Tomoeda, Tatsuhiko Fujii (eds.), *Desde Afuera y desde adentro, ensayos de etnografía e historia del Cuzco y Apurímac*, Pp. 123-147. Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology.
- , 2002. "El Inka histórico es el Enqa contemporáneo" in Javier Flores Espinoza and Rafael Varón Gabai (eds.), *El Hombre y los Andes: Homenaje a Franklin Pease G. Y*, t. II, Pp. 611-616. Lima, Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.

- , and NÚÑEZ DEL PRADO Juan (eds.), 1983. *Q'ero, el último ayllu Inka: Homenaje a Oscar Núñez del Prado Castro*. Cusco: Centro de Estudios Andinos.
- FOSSA Lydia, 2000a, "Two khipu, one narrative: Answering Urton's questions" in *Ethnohistory* 47 (2): 453-458.
- , 2000b. "La Suma y narración... de Betanzos: Cuando la letra Hispanica representa la voz Quechua" in *Revista de crítica literaria Hispanoamericana* 52: 195-214.
- FRASER Julius Thomas, 1987. *Time, the familiar stranger*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.
- FUJII Tatsuhiko, TOMOEDA Hiroyasu, 1981. "Chacra, laime y auquénidos" in Shozo Masuda (ed.), *Estudios etnográficos del Perú meridional*, Pp. 33-63. Tokyo: Tokyo University Press.
- GARCÍA ESCUDERO María del Carmen, 2007. "El Arco Iris en la tradición prehispánica centroandina" in *Gazeta de Antropología* 23. Available online: [http://www.ugr.es/~pwlac/G23\\_15Carmen\\_Garcia\\_Escudero.html](http://www.ugr.es/~pwlac/G23_15Carmen_Garcia_Escudero.html) [Accessed 10 April 2008].
- GAREIS Iris, 2005. "Las religiones Andinas en la documentación de la extirpación de las idolatrías" in Manuel M. Marzal (ed.), *Religiones Andinas*, Enciclopedia Iberoamericana de Religiones 04, Pp. 115-141. Madrid: Editorial Trotta.
- GEERTZ Clifford, 1967. "The cerebral savage: the structural anthropology of Claude Levi-Strauss" in *Encounter* 28 (4): 25-32.
- , 1980. *Negara: the theatre state in nineteenth-century Bali*. Princeton N.J: Princeton University Press.
- , 1990. "History and Anthropology" in *New Literary History* 21 (2): 321-335.
- GELL Alfred, 1992. *The anthropology of time, cultural constructions of temporal maps and images*. Oxford, Providence: Berg.
- GELLES Paul H., 1995. "Equilibrium and extraction: dual organization in the Andes" in *American Ethnologist* 22 (4): 710-742.
- GENTILE Margarita E., 1998. "La pichca: oráculo y juego de fortuna (su persistencia en el espacio y tiempo andinos)" in *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Etudes Andines* 27 (1): 75-131.
- GODELIER Maurice, TRAUTMANN Thomas R., TJON SIE FAT Franklin E. (eds.), 1998. *Transformation of kinship*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- GODOY Ricardo A., 1986. "The fiscal role of the Andean ayllu" in *Man* 21 (4): 723-741.
- GOLDMAN Irving, 1970. *Ancient Polynesian society*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- GOSE Peter, 1993. "Segmentary state formation and the ritual control of water under the Incas" in *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 35 (3): 480-514.
- , 1994. *Deathly waters and hungry mountains, agrarian ritual and class formation in an Andean town*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- , 1996a. "The past is a lower moiety" in *History and Anthropology* 9 (4): 383-414.
- , 1996b. "Oracles, divine kingship, and political representation in the Inka state" in *Ethnohistory* 43 (1): 1-32.
- , 2000. "The state as a chosen woman: brideservice and the feeding of tributaries in the Inka empire" in *American Anthropologist* 102 (1): 84-97.
- , 2003. "Converting the ancestors: indirect rule, settlement consolidation, and the struggle over burial in colonial Peru, 1532-1614" in Kenneth Mills and Anthony Grafton (eds.), *Conversion: Old Worlds and New*, Pp. 140-174. New York: University of Rochester Press.
- GOW David, GOW Rosalina, 1975. "La alpaca en el mito y el ritual" in *Allpanchis* (8): 141-165.
- GOW Peter, 1991. *Of mixed blood: Kinship and History in Peruvian Amazonia*. Oxford Studies in Social and Cultural Anthropology. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- , 1993. "Gringos and wild man: images of history in Western Amazonian cultures" in *L'Homme* 33 (126-127): 327-347.
- GRAUBART Karen B., 2007. *With our labor and sweat: Indigenous women and the formation of colonial society in Peru, 1550-1700*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

- GRIFFITHS Nicholas, 1996. *The Cross and the Serpent, religious repression and resurgence in colonial Peru*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- GRIMES Ronald L., 2006. "Performance" in Jens Kreinath, Jan Snoek and Michael Stausberg (eds.), *Theorizing rituals: issues, topics, approaches, concepts*, Pp. 379-394. Leiden, Boston: Brill.
- GRISEL Etienne, 1976. "The beginnings of International Law and general public law doctrine: Francisco de Vitoria's *De Indiis prior*" in Fredi Chiapelli et al. (eds.), *First Images of America: The Impact of the New World on the Old*, Pp. 305-325. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press.
- GRUSZCZYNSKA ZIÓLKOWSKA Anna, 1995. *El poder del sonido: el papel de las crónicas españolas en la etnomusicología andina*. Quito: Abya-Yala.
- GUDEMOS Mónica, 2005. "Capac, Camac, Yacana. El Capac Raymi y la música como emblema de poder" in *Anales del Museo de América* 13: 9-52.
- GUILLÉN GUILLÉN Edmundo, 1991. "Wila Oma: el ultimo gran Intip Apun del Tawantinsuyo" in Mariusz Ziolkowski (ed.), *El culto estatal del imperio Inca*, Centro de Estudios Latinoamericanos, Pp. 75-80. Varsovia: Universidad de Varsovia.
- GUZMÁN PALOMINO Luis, 1997. *Los Incas Hurin contra Hanan y guerra de panakas*. Lima: Ediciones Pachamama.
- HAAS Jonathan, POZORSKI Sheila, and Thomas POZORSKI, 1987. *The origins and development of the Andean state*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- HAGE Per, 2000. "The colonial clan in Microsenia: The Marshall Islands" in *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 109 (3): 295-309.
- , and HARARY Frank, 1996. *Island networks. Communication, kinship, and classification structures in Oceania*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- HAMPE MARTÍNEZ Teodoro, 2001. "El licenciado Polo de Ondegardo, encomendero, burócrata y conocedor del mundo andino (c. 1520-1570)" in *Nueva Síntesis* 7: 107-155.
- HARRIS Olivia, 1978. "Complementarity and conflict: an Andean view of women and men" in Jean S. La Fontaine (ed.), *Sex and age as principles of social differentiation*. Pp. 21-40. London, New York: Academic Press.
- , 1985. "Ecological duality and the role of the centre in Northern Potosí" in Shozo Masuda, Izumi Shimada, and Craig Morris (eds.), *Andean Ecology and Civilization, an interdisciplinary perspective on Andean ecological complementarity*, Pp. 331-355. Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press.
- , 1986. "From asymmetry to triangle: symbolic transformations in northern Potosí" in John V. Murra, Nathan Wachtel, and Jacques Revel (eds.), *Anthropological history of Andean polities*, Pp. 260-279. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- , 2000a [1982]. "The Dead and the Devils among the Bolivian Laymi" in *To make the earth bear fruit: essays on fertility, work and gender in highland Bolivia*. Londres: Institute of Latin American Studies.
- , 2000b. "Andean anthropology in the fulcrum of history" in *To make the earth bear fruit: essays on fertility, work and gender in highland Bolivia*, Pp. 1-24. Londres: Institute of Latin American Studies.
- HARRISON Regina, 1989. *Signs, Songs and Memory in the Andes: translating Quechua language and culture*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- HARTMANN Roswith, 1970. "Otros datos sobre las llamadas batallas rituales" in XXXIX *Congreso Internacional de Americanistas*, Lima, Actas y Memorias, vol. VI: 125-135.
- HASTORF Christine A., JOHANNESSEN Sissel, 1993. "Pre-hispanic political change and the role of maize in the central Andes of Peru" in *American Anthropologist* 95 (1): 115-138.
- HEMMING John, 1993. *The conquest of the Incas*. London: Macmillan.
- HENDON Julia A, 1991. "Status and power in Classic Maya society: An archaeological study" in *American anthropologist* 93 (4): 894-918.
- HERNÁNDEZ ASTETE Francisco, 1998. "Roles sexuales en la organización incaica" in *Histórica* 22 (1): 93-134.
- , 2002a. *La mujer en el Tahuantinsuyo*. Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú Fondo Editorial.

- , 2002b. “El poder incaico: una aproximación a la figura del Inca hurin” in Javier Flores Espinoza and Rafael Varón Gabai (eds.), *El Hombre y los Andes: Homenaje a Franklin Pease G. Y.*, t.II, Pp. 589-596. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.
- HEGGARTY Paul, 2005. “Enigmas en el origen de las lenguas andina: aplicando nuevas técnicas en las incógnitas por resolver” in *Revista Andina* 40: 9-57, 70-80.
- HILL Jonathan D. (ed.), 1988. *Rethinking history and myth, Indigenous South American perspectives on the past*. Urbana, Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- HILTUNEN, Juha J., 1999. *Ancient kings of Peru, the reliability of the chronicle of Fernando Montesinos*. Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura.
- HOBSBAWM Eric J. and RANGER Terence (eds.), 1984. *The invention of tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- HOPKINS Diane, 1982. “Juegos de enemigos” in *Allpanchis* 20: 167-188.
- HORNBORG Alf, 1988. *Dualism and hierarchy in lowland South America, Trajectories of indigenous social organization*, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis 9. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell International.
- , 1998. “Serial redundancy in Amazonian social structure: is there a method for poststructuralist comparison?” in M. Godelier, T. Trautmann, F. E Tjon Sie Fat (eds.), *Transformations of kinship*, Pp. 168-186. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- HOUSEMAN Michael 2004. “The Red and the Black, A practical experiment for thinking about ritual” in *Social Analysis* 48 (2): 75-97.
- , 2006. “Relationality” in Jens Kreinath, Jan Snoek and Michael Stausberg (eds.), *Theorizing rituals: issues, topics, approaches, concepts*. Pp. 413-428. Leiden, Boston: Brill.
- , and SEVERI Carlo, 1998. *Naven or the Other Self: a relational approach to ritual action*. Michael Fineberg (Trans.). Leiden: Brill.
- HOWARD-MALVERDE Rosaleen, 1990. *The speaking of history: “Willapaakushayki” or Quechua ways of telling the past*, Institute of Latin American Studies. London: University of London.
- HUDDLESTON Lee Eldridge, 1972. *Origins of the American Indians, Europeans concepts, 1492-1729*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- HYLAND Sabine, 2004. *The Jesuit and the Incas: the extraordinary life of Padre Blas Valera, S.J.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- HYSLOP John, 1990. *Inka settlement planning*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- IBARRA GRASSO Dick Edgar, 1982. *Ciencia en Tiahuanacu y el incario*. La Paz: Los Amigos del Libro.
- INAMURA Tetsuya, 1981. “Adaptación ambiental de los pastores altoandinos en el Sur del Perú” in Shozo Masuda (ed.), *Estudios etnográficos del Perú meridional*, Pp. 65-83, Tokyo University Press.
- ISELL Billie Jean, 1977. “Kuyaq: those who love me, an analysis of Andean kinship and reciprocity within a ritual context” in R. Bolton and E. Mayer (eds.), *Andean kinship and marriage*, Pp. 81-105. Washington, DC.: American Anthropological Association Special Publication 7.
- , 1978. *To defend ourselves. Ecology and ritual in an Andean village*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- ISELL William Harris, 1997. *Mummies and mortuary monuments: a postprocessual prehistory of Central Andean social organization*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- ITIER César, 1992a. “La tradición oral Quechua antigua en los procesos de idolatrías de Cajatambo” in *Bulletin de l’Institut Français d’Etudes Andines*, 21 (3): 1009-1051.
- , 1992b. “Discurso ritual prehispánico y manipulación misionera: la oración de Manco Capac al señor del cielo y tierra” in *Bulletin de l’Institut Français d’Etudes Andines*, 21 (1): 177-196.
- , 1994-1995. “La littérature quechua d’évangélisation (XVIe et XVIIe siècles) comme source ethnolinguistique” in *Amerindia* 19-20: 321-330.

- , 1996. “Le jeune homme et l’étoile ou le voyage au pays de la multiplication des grains. Un mythe andin sur les dangers de l’exogamie” in *Journal de la Société des Américanistes* 82: 157-191.
- , 1997. “Las fuentes quechuas coloniales y la etnohistoria: el ejemplo de la Relación de Pachacuti” in Thérèse Bouysse Cassagne (ed.), *Saberes y Memorias en los Andes*, Pp. 93-100. Paris: Institut des Hautes Etudes de l’Amérique Latine.
- , 1997. *Parlons Quechua, la langue du Cuzco*. Paris: l’Harmattan.
- , 2000. “Lengua general y quechua cuzqueño en los siglos XVI y XVII” in Luis Millones, Hiroyasu Tomoeda, Tatsuhiko Fujii (eds.), *Desde Afuera y desde adentro, ensayos de etnografía e historia del Cuzco y Apurímac*, Pp. 47-59. Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology.
- , 2004. *La littérature orale Quechua de la région de Cuzco, Pérou*. Paris: INALCO, Karthala.
- JAMARD Jean-Luc, 2000. “La passion de la parenté: derniers échos ou retour de flamme?” in *L’Homme* 154-155, Question de parenté: 733-748.
- JENKINS David, 1995. “Temporal processes and synchronic relations: age and rank in the central Andes” in *Ethnohistory* 42 (1): 91-131.
- , 2001. “The Inka conical clan” in *Journal of Anthropological Research* 57 (2): 167-195.
- JULIEN Catherine, 1983. *Hatunqolla: a view of Inca rule from the Lake Titicaca region*. Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- , 1998. “La organización parroquial del Cusco y la ciudad incaica” in *Tawantinsuyu* 5: 82-96.
- , 2000. *Reading Inca history*. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press.
- , 2002. “Punchao en España” in Javier Flores Espinoza and Rafael Varón Gabai (eds.), *El Hombre y los Andes: Homenaje a Franklin Pease G. Y*, t.II, Pp. 709-715. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos
- KAULICKE Peter, 1998. “La muerte del Inca: aproximaciones a los ritos funerarios y a la escatología inca” in *Actas del Congreso Internacional Etnohistoria*, T. 3, Pp. 134-171. Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica.
- KELLEY David H., MILONE Eugene F., 2005. *Exploring Ancient skies, an encyclopedic survey of archaeoastronomy*. New York: Springer.
- KENNEDY Paul M., 1987. *The rise and fall of the great powers: economic change and military conflict from 1500 to 2000*. London: Fontana.
- KENSINGER Kenneth M., 1985. “Cashinahua sibllingship” in Kenneth M. Kensinger (ed.), *The sibling relationship in lowland South America*, Pp. 20-24. Bennington, VT: Bennington College.
- KIRCHHOFF Paul, 1949. “The social and political organization of the Andean peoples” in J. Steward (ed.), *Handbook of South American Indians* vol. 5, Pp. 293-311. Washington: Government Printing Office.
- , 1955. “The principles of clanship in human society” in *Davidson Journal of anthropology* 1: 1-10.
- LA LONE Mary B., LA LONE Darrell E., 1987. “The Inka state in the southern highlands: state administrative and production enclaves” in *Ethnohistory* 34 (1): 47-62.
- LAMBERT Berndt, 1980. “Bilateralidad en los Andes” in Enrique Mayer and Ralph Bolton (eds.), *Parentesco y matrimonio en los Andes*, Pp. 11-54. Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú.
- LARME Anne C., 1998. “Environment, vulnerability and gender in Andean ethnomedicine” in *Social Sciences and Medicine* 47 (8): 1005-1015.
- LAURENCICH MINELLI Laura (ed.), 2000. *The Inca world, the development of Pre-Columbian Peru, A.D. 1000-1534*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- LAVALLEE Bernard, 2002. “La cuestión del origen de los indios en el virreinato del Perú: teorías y práctica colonial (siglos XVI y XVII), in Javier Flores Espinoza and Rafael Varón Gabai (eds.), *El hombre y los Andes: Homenaje a Franklin Pease G. Y*, t.I, Pp. 409-418. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.

- LAVE Jean Carter, 1977. *Eastern Timbira moiety systems in time and space: a complex structure*, in *Actes du XLIIe Congrès International des Américanistes*, vol. 2, Pp. 309–321. Paris: Société des Américanistes.
- , 1979. “Cycles and trends in Kriatí naming practices” in David Maybury-Lewis (ed.), *Dialectical societies, the Gê and Bororo of Central Brazil*, Pp. 16-44. Cambridge, London: Harvard University Press.
- LEACH Edmund R., 1970 [1954]. *Political systems of highland Burma: A study of Kachin social structure*. Monographs on Social Anthropology 44. London: Athlone Press.
- , 1961. *Rethinking anthropology*. London: Athlone Press.
- LEVILLIER Roberto, 1924. *Gobernantes del Perú. Cartas y papeles. Siglo XVI*, vol. IV. Buenos Aires: Biblioteca del Congreso de Argentina.
- , 1925. *Gobernantes del Perú. Cartas y papeles. Siglo XVI*, vol. IX. Madrid: Documentos del Archivo de Indias.
- , 1935-1940. *Don Francisco de Toledo, supremo organizador del Perú: su vida, su obra (1515-1582)*, Madrid, Espasa-Calpe.
- LEVINE Terry Yarov, 1987. “Inka labor service at the regional level: the functional reality” in *Ethnohistory*, 43 (1): 14-46.
- LEVI-STRAUSS Claude, [1958] 1963. *Structural anthropology*, vol. I. New York, London: Basic Books.
- , [1949] 1969. *The elementary structures of kinship*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- LOCKHART James, 1968. *Spanish Peru, 1532-1560: a colonial society*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- LÓPEZ-BARALT Mercedes, 1986. “The *yana k’uychi* or black rainbow in Atawallpa’s elegy: a look at the Andean metaphor of liminality in a cultural context” in Edmundo Magaña and Peter Mason (eds.), *Myth and the imaginary in the New World*. Pp. 261-303, Amsterdam: CEDLA publication.
- LOUNSBURY Floyd G., [1977] 1986. “Some aspects of the Inka kinship system” in John V. Murra, Nathan Wachtel and Jacques Revel (eds.), *Anthropological history of Andean politics*, Pp. 121-136. Cambridge, Paris: Cambridge University Press, Edition de la Maison des Sciences de l’Homme.
- LUPHER A. David, 2003. *Romans in a New World. Classical models in sixteenth-century Spanish America*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- LUQUE ALCAIDE Elisa, 2000. “El primer ciclo evangelizador hispano y lusoamericano” in *Anuario de Historia de la Iglesia* 9: 115-130.
- LYNCH, Thomas F., 1984. “Current research” in *American Antiquity* 49 (2): 416-420.
- LYOTARD Jean-François, 1979. *La condition postmoderne: rapport sur le savoir*. Paris: Minuit.
- MACCORMACK Sabine, 1984. “From the Sun of the Incas to the Virgin of Copacabana” in *Representations* 8: 30-60.
- , 1985. “The heart has its reasons”: predicaments of missionary christianity in early colonial Peru” in *Hispanic American Historical Review* 65 (3): 443-466.
- , 1988. “Pachacuti: miracles, punishments, and last judgment: visionary past and prophetic future in early colonial Peru” in *The American Historical Review* 93 (4): 960-1006.
- , 1991a. *Religion in the Andes, vision and imagination in early colonial Peru*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- , 1991b. “Demons, imagination, and the Incas” in *Representations* 33: 121-146.
- , 1998. “Time, space and ritual action: the Inka and Christian calendars in Early colonial Peru” in Elizabeth Hill Boone and Tom Cummins (eds.), *Native traditions in the Postconquest world*, Pp. 295-343. Washington: Dumbarton Oaks.
- , 2001a. “History, historical records, and ceremonial action: Incas and Spaniards in Cuzco” in *Comparative studies in Society and history* 43 (2): 329-363.
- , 2001b. “Cuzco, another Rome?” in Susan E. Alcock, Terence N. D’Altroy, Kathleen D. Morrison, Carla M. Sinopoli (eds.), *Empires, Perspectives from Archaeology and History*, Pp. 419-435. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- , 2007. *On the wings of time. Rome, the Incas, Spain and Peru*, Princeton University Press.

- MACKEY Carol J., PEREYA Hugo, RADICATI DI PRIMEGLIO Carlos, RODRÍGUEZ Humberto, VALVERDE oscar (eds.), 1990. *Quipu y yupana: colección de escritos*. Lima: Consejo Nacional de Ciencia y Tecnología.
- MACLEAN Y ESTENÓS Roberto, 1952. *La educación en el imperio de los Incas*. Lima: Ediciones del Instituto Peruano de Sociología.
- MANN Michael, 1986. *The sources of social power: a history of power from the beginning to 1740*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- MANNHEIM Bruce, 1991. *The language of the Inkas since the European invasion*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- , 1986. “Poetic form in Guaman Poma’s *wariqsa arawí*” in *Amerindia* 11: 41-67.
- MARISCOTTI DE GORLITZ Ana María, 1978a. “Pacha Mama Santa Tierra. Contribución al estudio de la religión autóctona en los Andes centro-meridionales” in *Supplement of Indiana* 8, Pp. 364-411. Berlin: Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut Preussischer Kulturbesitz.
- , 1978b. “Los curi y el rayo” in *Actes du XVI<sup>e</sup> Congrès International des Américanistes*, Pp. 365-376. Paris: Société des Américanistes.
- MARTÍNEZ I ALVAREZ Patricia, 1998. “Espiritualidad franciscana en el Perú: continuidades, ruptura y debate en el proyecto evangelizador, s. XVI” in *Histórica* 21 (2): 227-272.
- MARZAL Manuel M., 1988. “Persistencia y transformación de ritos y sacerdocio andinos en el Perú” in Manuel Gutiérrez (ed.), *Mitos y ritual en América*, Pp. 263-285. Madrid: Alhambra.
- MASON Peter, 1990. *Deconstructing America, Representations of the Other*. London, New York: Routledge.
- MASUDA, Shozo (ed.), 1981. *Estudios etnográficos del Perú meridional*. Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press.
- , SHIMADA Izumi, and MORRIS Craig (eds.), 1985. *Andean Ecology and Civilization, an interdisciplinary perspective on Andean ecological complementarity*. Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press.
- MAYBURY-LEWIS David, 1960. “The analysis of dual organizations: a methodological critique” in *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 116: 17-44.
- , 1979. “Cultural categories of the Central Gê” in David Maybury-Lewis (ed.), *Dialectical societies, the Gê and Bororo of Central Brazil*, Pp. 218-248. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- , and ALMAGOR Uri, 1989. *The attraction of opposites: thought and society in the dualistic mode*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- MAYER Enrique, BOLTON Ralph (eds.), 1980. *Parentesco y matrimonio en los Andes*. Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú.
- MAGAÑA Edmundo, 1986. “South American Ethnoastronomy” in Edmundo Magaña and Peter Mason (eds.), *Myth and the imaginary in the New World*, Pp. 399-426. Amsterdam: CEDLA 34.
- MCEWAN Colin, VAN DE GUCHTE Maarten, 1992. “Ancestral time and sacred space in Inca state ritual” in Richard F. Townsend (eds.), *The ancient Americas: art from the sacred landscapes*, Pp. 359-371. Chicago, Munich: The Art Institut/Prestel Verl.
- , CHATFIELD Melissa, GIBAJA Arminda 2002. “The archaeology of Inca origins, excavations at Chokekukio, Cuzco, Peru” in William H. Isbell and Helaine Silverman (eds.), *Andean archaeology (volume 1): variations in sociopolitical organization*, Pp. 287-301. Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers.
- MCINTOSH Susan Keech (ed.), 1999. *Beyond chiefdoms: pathways to complexity in Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- MEDDENS Frank M., 1997. “Function and meaning of the Usnu in Late Horizon Peru” in *Tawantinsuyu* 3: 5-14.
- , BRANCH Nicolas P., VICANCO POMOCANCHARI Cirilo, RIDDIFORD Noami, and KEMP Rob, 2008. “High altitude *ushnu* platforms in the department of Ayacucho, Peru: Structure, ancestors, and animating essence” in John Edward Staller (ed.), *Pre-Columbian landscapes of creation and origin*, Pp. 315-355. New York: Springer.

- MÉNISSIER Thierry (ed.), 2006. *L'idée d'empire dans la pensée politique, historique, juridique et philosophique*. Paris: l'Harmattan.
- MEYERS Albert, 1975. "Algunos problemas en la clasificación del estilo incaico" in *Pumapunku* 8: 7-25.
- , 2002. "Los Incas ¿bárbaros advenedizos o herederos de Tiahuanaco?" in *El Hombre y los Andes: Homenaje a Franklin Pease G. Y*, t. II. Pp. 525-535. Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú.
- MILHOU Alain, 1992. "Misión, represión, paternalismo e interiorización. Para un balance de un siglo de evangelización en Iberoamérica (1520-1620)" in Heraclio Bonilla (ed.), *Los conquistados, 1492 y la población indígena de las Américas*, Pp. 263-296. Bogotá: Libri Mundi, FLACSO, Tercer Mundo Ediciones.
- MILLONES Luis (ed.), 1990. *El retorno de las huacas. Estudios y documentos sobre el Taki Onqoy, siglo XVI*. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos y Sociedad Peruana de Psicoanálisis.
- MILLS Kenneth, 1994. *An evil lost in view? An investigation of post-evangelisation Andean religion in mid-colonial Peru*. Liverpool: University of Liverpool, Institute of Latin American Studies.
- , 1997. *Idolatry and its enemies, colonial Andean religion and extirpation, 1640-1750*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- MIÑO GARCES Leornado, 1994. *El manejo del espacio en el imperio inca*, Ecuador, facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales.
- MISHKIN Bernard, 1946. "The contemporary Quechua" in Julian H. Steward (ed.), *Handbook of South American Indians*, vol. 2, Pp. 441-470. Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American ethnology.
- MITCHELL William P., GUILLET David (eds.), 1994. *Irrigation at high altitudes: the social organization of water control systems in the Andes*, Society For Latin American Anthropology Publications Series, vol. 12. Washington: American Anthropological Association.
- MOLINIÉ Antoinette, 1986. "Instruments symboliques aux frontières andines" in *Techniques et Cultures* 7: 145-179.
- , 1987. "El regreso de Viracocha" in *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Etudes Andines* 16 (3-4): 71-83.
- , 1988. "Sanglantes et fertiles frontières. A propos des batailles rituelles andines" in *Journal de la Société des Américanistes* 74: 49-70.
- , 1993-1994. "Héros mythique, dieu étatique: soleil aquatique" in *Bulletin de la Société Suisse des Américanistes* 58-59: 25-36.
- , 1996. "The spell of Yucay: a symbolic structure in incaic terraces" in *Journal of the Steward Anthropological Society: Structure, knowledge and representation in the Andes* 24 (1-2): 203-230.
- , 1997. "Buscando una historicidad andina: una propuesta antropológica y una memoria hecha rito" in Rafael Varón Gabai, Javier Flores Espinoza (eds.), *Arqueología, antropología e Historia en los Andes: Homenaje a María Rostworowski*. Pp. 691-708. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.
- MOORE Jerry D., 1995. "The archaeology of dual organization in Andean South America: a theoretical review and case study" in *Latin American Antiquity* 6 (2): 165-181.
- MOORE Sally Falk, 1973 [1958]. *Power and property in Inca Peru*. Westport: Greenwood Press.
- MORALES Edmundo, 1995. *The guinea pig: healing, food and ritual in the Andes*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- MORLON Pierre (ed.), 1992. *Comprendre l'agriculture paysanne dans les Andes Centrales : Pérou-Bolivie*. Paris: Institut National de la Recherche Agronomique.
- MORRIS Craig, 1986. "Storage, supply and redistribution in the economy of the Inka state" in John V. Murra, Nathan Wachtel, and Jacques Revel (eds.), *Anthropological history of Andean polities*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.



- , 1998. "Inca strategies of incorporation and governance" in G. Feinman and J. Marcus (eds.), *Archaic States*, Pp. 293-309. Santa Fe: School of American Research Press.
- , and VON HAGEN Adriana, 1993. *The Inka empire and its Andean origin*, American Museum of Natural History. New York: Abbeville Press.
- MORRISON Kathleen D., 2001. "Sources, approaches, definitions" in Susan E. Alcock, Terence N. D'Altroy, Kathleen D. Morrison, Carla M. Sinopoli (eds.), *Empires, Perspectives from Archaeology and History*, Pp. 1-9. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- MULDOON James, 1980. "John Wyclif and the rights of the Infidels. The *Requerimiento* re-examined" in *The Americas* 26: 301-316.
- , 1999. *Empire and order: the concept of empire 800-1800*. New York: Saint Martin's Press.
- MUMFORD, Jeremy, 1998. "The Taki Onqoy and the Andean nation: sources and interpretations" in *Latin American Research Review* 33 (1): 150-165.
- MÜNKLER Herfried 2007. *Empires: the logic of world domination from Ancient Rome to the United States*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- MUNN Nancy D., 1992. "The cultural anthropology of time: a critical essay" in *Annual Review of Anthropology* 21: 93-123.
- MUÑOZ-BERNAND Carmen, 1989. "Estrategias matrimoniales, apellidos y nombres de pila: libros parroquiales y civiles en el Sur del Ecuador" in Segundo E. Moreno Yáñez (ed.), *Antropología del Ecuador: Memoria del primer simposio Europeo sobre Antropología del Ecuador*, Pp. 223-244. Quito: Abya-Yala.
- , 1999 [1986]. *Enfermedad, daño y ideología: Antropología médica de los renacientes de Pindilig*. Quito: Abyala Yala.
- MURRA John V., 1972. "El 'control vertical' de un máximo de pisos ecológicos en la economía de las sociedades andinas" In Ortiz de Zúñiga, *Visita a la provincia de León de Huánuco* [1562], t. II, Pp. 427-476. Huánuco: Universidad Nacional Hermilio Valdizán.
- , 1975. *Formaciones económicas y políticas del mundo andino*. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.
- , 1982. "The mit'a obligations of ethnic groups to the Inka state" in George A. Collier, Renato I. Rosaldo, John D. Wirth (eds.), *The Inca and Aztec States 1400-1800, Anthropology and History*, Pp. 237-262. New York: Academic Press.
- , 1986. "The expansion of the Inka state: armies, war, and rebellions" in John V. Murra, Nathan Wachtel and Jacques Revel (eds.), *Anthropological history of Andean polities*, Pp. 49-58. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- , 1983. *La organización económica del estado inca*, Tercera edición. México: Siglo XXI, Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.
- , 1995. "Did tribute and markets prevail in the Andes before the European invasion?" in Brooke Larson, Olivia Harris (eds.), *Ethnicity, markets, and migration in the Andes, At the crossroads of History and Anthropology*, Pp. 57-72. Durham, London: Duke University Press.
- , [1973] 2002. "Las etnocategorías de un *kipu* estatal" in *El mundo andino. Población, medio ambiente y economía*, Pp. 248-260. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú.
- , [1995] 2002. "Derechos a tierras en el Tawantinsuyu" in *El mundo andino. Población, medio ambiente y economía*, Pp. 294-307. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú.
- MUYSKEN Pieter, 2000. "Semantic transparency in Ecuadorian Quechua morphosyntax" in *Linguistics* 38 (5): 973-988.
- NEEDHAM Rodney, 1960. "Alliance and classification among the Lamet" in *Sociologus* 10 (2): 97-119.
- (ed.), 1971. *Rethinking kinship and marriage*. Association of Social Anthropologists of the Commonwealth Monographs 11. London: Tavistock Publications.

- (ed.), 1973. *Right and left: essays on dual symbolic classifications*. Chicago, London: University of Chicago Press.
- , 1987. *Counterpoints*. Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- NETHERLY Patricia J., 1990. "Out of many, one. The organization of rule in the north coast polities" in Michael E. Moseley and Alana Cordy-Collins (eds.), *The Northern dynasties: kingship and statecraft in Chimor*, Pp. 461-487. Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.
- NILES Susan A., 1999. *The shape of Inca history: narrative and architecture in an Andean empire*. Iowa city: University of Iowa Press.
- NIMUENDAJÚ Curt, and LOWIE Robert H., 1937. "The dual organizations of the Ramko'kamekra (Canella) of northern Brazil" in *American Anthropologist* 39 (4): 565-582.
- NOWACK Kerstin, 1998. *Ceque and more : a critical assessment of R. Tom Zuidema's studies on the Inca*, BAS 31. Bonn: Markt Schwaben.
- , 2002. "Las intenciones del autor: Juan de Betanzos y la Suma y Narración de los Incas" in *Revista Andina* 34: 47-64.
- , 2003. "Aquellas señoras del linaje real de los Incas: Vivir y sobrevivir como una mujer inca noble en el Perú colonial temprano" in David Cahill and Blanca Tovías (eds.), *Élites indígenas en los Andes: Nobles, caciques y cabildantes bajo el yugo colonial*. Quito: Abya Yala.
- OGBURN Dennis, 2004. "Power in stone: the long distant movement of building blocks in the Inca empire" in *Ethnohistory* 51 (1): 101-135.
- OHNUKI-TIERNEY, Emiko 1990. *Culture through time, anthropological approaches*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- ORLOVE Benjamin S., 1979. "Two rituals and three hypotheses: an examination of solstice divination in Southern Highland Perú" in *Anthropological Quarterly* 52 (2): 86-98.
- ORLOVE Benjamin S., CHIANG John C. H., and CANE Mark A., 2002. "Ethnoclimatology in the Andes: a cross-disciplinary study uncovers a scientific basis for the scheme Andean potato farmers traditionally use to predict the coming rains" in *American Scientist* 90(5): 428-435.
- ORTIZ Alfonso, 1969. *The Tewa world: space, time, being and becoming in a pueblo society*. Chicago, London: University of Chicago Press.
- OSSIO A. Juan M., 1978. "El simbolismo del agua y la representación del tiempo y el espacio en la fiesta de la acequia de la comunidad de Andamarca" in *Actes du XLIIIe Congrès International des Américanistes*, vol. 4, Pp. 377-395. Paris.
- , 1996. "Symmetry and asymmetry in Andean society" in *Journal of the Steward Anthropological Society: Structure, knowledge and representation in the Andes* 24 (1-2): 231-248.
- , 2002. "La imagen de la unidad social en las fiestas andinas" in Jean-Jacques Decoster (ed.), *Incas e Indios cristianos. Elites indígenas e identidades cristianas en los Andes coloniales*, Travaux de l'Institut Français d'Etudes Andines 149, Pp. 475-496. Cuzco: Centro Bartolomé de Las Casas, Institut Français d'Etudes Andines, Asociación Kuraka.
- PAERREGAARD Karsten, 1992. "Complementarity and duality: oppositions between agriculturalists and herders in an Andean village" in *Ethnology* 31 (1): 15-26.
- , 1994. "Why fight over water ? Power, conflict, and irrigation in an Andean village" in Mitchell, Guillet (eds.), *Irrigation at high altitudes: the social organization of water control systems in the Andes*, Society For Latin American Anthropology Publications Series vol. 12. Washington: American Anthropological Association.
- PAGDEN Anthony, 1986. *The fall of natural man: the American Indian and the origins of comparative ethnology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- , 1990. *Spanish Imperialism and the political imagination*. New Haven, London: Yale University Press.
- , 1995. *Lords of all the world: Ideologies of empire in Spain, Britain and France c. 1500-c. 1800*. New Haven, London: Yale University Press.

- , 2004. "Afterword: from empire to federation" in Balachandra Rajan and Elizabeth Sauer (eds.), *Imperialisms: Historical and literary investigations, 1500-1900*, Pp. 255-271, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- PARKER Gary John, 1969. *Ayacucho Quechua grammar and dictionary*. Paris, The Hague: Mouton.
- PARKIN Robert, 1992. "Asymétrie dualiste ou opposition hiérarchique? Le legs de Robert Hertz dans le travail de Rodney Needham et de Louis Dumont" in *Recherches sociologiques* 23 (2): 43-68.
- , 1996. *The dark side of humanity: the work of Robert Hertz and its legacy*. Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers.
- , 1997. *Kinship, an introduction to the basic concepts*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- , 2003. *Louis Dumont and hierarchical opposition*. New York: Berghahn Books.
- PÄRSSINEN Martti, 1992. *Tawantinsuyu: the Inca state and its political organization*, Studia Historica 43. Helsinki: Societas Historica Finlandiae.
- , and SIIRIÄINEN Arii, 1997. "Inka style ceramics and their chronological relationship to the Inka expansion in the southern Lake Titicaca area (Bolivia)" in *Latin American Antiquity* 8 (3): 255-271.
- PAULSEN Allison C., 1974. "The thorny oyster and the voice of god: *spondylus* and *strombus* in Andean Prehistory" in *American Antiquity* 39 (4): 597-607.
- PEASE Franklin G. Y., 1970. "The Andean Creator God" in *Numen* 17: 161-175.
- , 1978. *Del Tawantinsuyu a la historia del Perú*. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.
- , 1986. "Notas sobre Wiraqocha y sus itinerarios" in *Histórica* 10 (2): 227-235.
- , 1991. *Los últimos incas del Cusco*. Madrid: Alianza Editorial.
- , 1995. *Las Crónicas y los Andes*. Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica.
- PELETZ Michael G., 1995. "Kinship studies in the late twentieth-century anthropology" in *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24: 343-372.
- PÉREZ CANTO María Pilar, 1996. *El Buen gobierno de Don Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala*. Quito: Ediciones Abya-Yala.
- PERRIN Michel, 1987. *The way of the dead Indians, Guarijo myths and symbols*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- PETERSEN Glenn, 1999. "Sociopolitical rank and conical clanship in the Caroline islands" in *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 108 (4): 367-410.
- PLATT Tristan, 1976. *Espejos y maíz: temas de la estructura simbólica andina*. Cambridge, Paris: Cambridge University Press, Edition de la Maison de l'Homme.
- , 1980. "Espejos y maíz: el concepto de yanantin entre los Macha de Bolivia" in Enrique Mayer and Ralph Bolton (eds.), *Parentesco y matrimonio en los Andes*, Pp. 139-182. Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú.
- , 1986. "Mirrors and maize: the concept of yanantin among the Macha of Bolivia" in John V. Murra, Nathan Wachtel and Jacques Revel (eds.), *Anthropological history of Andean politics*, Pp. 228-259. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- , 1987. "The Andean soldiers of Christ, confraternity organisation, the mass of the Sun and regenerative warfare in rural Potosí" in *Journal de la Société des Américanistes* LXXIII: 139-192.
- , 2002. "El feto agresivo: parto, formación de la persona y mito-historia en los Andes" in *Estudios Atacameños* 22: 127-155.
- POLIA MECONI Mario (ed.), 1999. *La cosmovisión religiosa andina en los documentos inéditos del Archivo Romano de la Compañía de Jesús (1581-1752)*. Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú.
- POOLE Deborah A., 1991. "Rituals of movement, rites of transformation: pilgrimage and dance in the Highlands of Cuzco, Peru" in N. Ross Crumrine and Alan Morinis (eds.), *Pilgrimage in Latin America*, Pp. 307-338. Westport CT: Greenwood Press.
- PORRAS BARRENECHEA Raúl, 1967. *Las relaciones primitivas de la conquista del Perú*. Lima: Instituto Raúl Porras Barrenechea.
- PUENTE BRUNKE José de la, 1990. "los encomenderos y la administración colonial en el virreinato del Perú, siglos XVI-XVII" in *Boletín del Instituto Riva-Agüero* 17: 383-399.

- QUILTER Jeffrey and URTON Gary, 2002. *Narrative threads: accounting and recounting in Andean khipu*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- QUISPE M. Ulpiano, 1969. *La herranza en Choque Huarcaya y Huancasancos, Ayacucho*, Instituto Indigenista Peruano, monografía 20. Lima: Ministerio de Trabajo.
- RADCLIFFE-BROWN Alfred R., 1926. "The rainbow-serpent myth of Australia" in *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 56: 19-25.
- RAJAN Balachandra and SAUER Elizabeth, 2004. "Introduction: Imperialisms. Early Modern to Premodernist" in Balachandra Rajan and Elizabeth Sauer (eds.), *Imperialisms: Historical and literary investigations, 1500-1900*, Pp. 1-11. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- RAMÍREZ Susan Elizabeth, 1996. *The world upside down. Cross cultural contact and conflict in sixteenth-century Peru*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- , 2005. *To feed and to be fed, the cosmological bases of authority and identity in the Andes*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- , 2006a. "Historia y memoria: la construcción de las tradiciones dinásticas andinas" in *Revista de Indias* LXVI (236): 13-56.
- , 2006b. "From people to place and back again: Back translation as decentering – an Andean case study" in *Ethnohistory* 53 (2): 355-381.
- , 2006c. "Lost – and found – in translation? The practice of translating, interpreting, and understanding the past" in *The Americas* 62 (3): 305-312.
- RANDALL Robert, 1993. "Los dos vasos: cosmovisión y política de la embriaguez desde el inkano hasta la colonia" in Thierry Saignes (ed.), *Borrachera y memoria: la experiencia de lo sagrado en los Andes*, Pp. 73-112. La Paz, Lima: Hisbol/Institut Français d'Etudes Andines.
- RAPPAPORT Joanne. 1990. *The politics of memory: native historical interpretation in the Columbian Andes*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- RAPPAPORT Nigel, 1997. "Edifying anthropology. Culture as conversation; representation as conversation" in Allison James, Jenny Hockey, and Andrew Dawson (eds.), *After writing culture: epistemology and praxis in contemporary anthropology*, Pp. 177-193. London, New York: Routledge.
- REGALADO DE HURTADO Liliana, 1996. *La sucesión incaica. Aproximación al mando y poder entre los Incas a partir de la crónica de Betanzos*. Lima: Fondo Editorial Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú.
- , 1997. "Control de excedentes y proceso sucesorio en el periodo incaico: algunos aspectos relacionados con la organización política" in Rafael Varón Gabai, Javier Flors Espinoza (eds.), *Arqueología, antropología e Historia en los Andes: Homenaje a María Rostworowski*, Pp. 321-333. Lima, Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.
- REINHARD Johan, 1995. "House of the Sun: the Inka temple of Vilcanota" in *Latin American Antiquity* 6 (4): 340-349.
- RENARD-CASEVITZ France-Marie, SAIGNES Thierry, TAYLOR Anne-Christine, 1986. *L'Inca, l'Espagnol et les sauvages: rapports entre les sociétés amazoniennes et andines du XVe au XVIIe siècle*. Paris: Ed. Recherche sur les Civilisations.
- RICHARDS E. G., 1998. *Mapping time, the calendar and its history*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- RIVA GONZÁLEZ Palmira La, 2005. "Las representaciones del *animu* en los Andes del sur peruano" in *Revista Andina* 41: 63-88.
- RIVERA ANDÍA Juan Javier, 2003. *La fiesta del ganado en el valle de Chancay (1962-2002). Religión, ritual y ganadería en los Andes: etnografía, documentos inéditos e interpretación*. Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú.
- ROBIN Valérie, 1997. "El cura y sus hijos osos, o el recorrido civilizador de los hijos de un cura y una osa" in *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Etudes Andines* 26 (3): 369-420.
- RODICIO GARCIA Sara, 1980. "El sistema de parentesco inca" in *Revista española de antropología americana* 10: 183-254.
- ROSTWOROWSKI DE DÍEZ CANSECO María, 1960. "Sucesion, cooption to kingship, and royal incest among the Inca" in *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 16 (4): 417-427.

- , 1977. “La estratificación social y el Hatun Curaca en el mundo Andino” in *Histórica* 1(2): 249-285.
- , 1978. *Los señoríos indígenas de Lima y Canta*. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.
- , 1981. “La voz parcialidad en su contexto de los siglos XVI y XVII” in Marcia Koth de Paredes and Amalia Castelli (eds.), *Ethnohistoria y Anthropología Andina*, Pp. 35-48. Lima: Museo Nacional de Historia.
- , 1988. *Estructuras andinas del Poder, ideología religiosa y política*. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.
- , 1993a. “Nuevos datos sobre la tenencia de tierras reales en el incario” in *Ensayos de Historia Andina. Elites, Etnías, Recursos*, Pp. 105-146. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, BCRP.
- , 1993b [1970]. “Los Ayarmaca” in *Ensayos de historia andina, elites, etnías, recursos*, Pp. 241-290. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.
- , 1995. “La mujer en el Perú prehispánico” in *Tawantinsuyu* 1: 4-10,
- , 1997. “Breve ensayo sobre el universo religioso andino” in Garrido Aranda A. (ed.), *Pensar América : cosmovisión mesoamericana y andina*, Pp. 201-213. Córdoba: Caja Sur Publicaciones, Ayuntamiento de Montilla.
- , 1999 [1988]. *History of the Inca realm*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- , and MORRIS Graig, 1999. “The fourfold domain: Inka power and its social foundations” in Frank Salomon and Stuart B. Schwartz (eds.), *The Cambridge history of the native peoples of the Americas*, vol. 3, South America, Pt. 1, Pp. 769-863. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- ROWE John H., 1944. *An introduction to the archaeology of Cuzco*, Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 22. Cambridge MA: Harvard University.
- , 1945. “Absolute chronology in the Andean area” in *American Antiquity* 10 (3): 265-284.
- , 1946. “Inca culture at the time of the spanish conquest” in Julian H. Steward (ed.), *Handbook of South American Indians*, vol. 2, Pp. 183-330. Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American ethnology.
- , 1997. “Las tierras reales de los Incas” in Varón Gabai Rafael, Flores Espinoza Javier (eds.), *Arqueología, antropología e Historia en los Andes: Homenaje a María Rostworowski*, Pp. 279-287. Lima, Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.
- ROZAS ALVAREZ Jesús Washington, CALDERON GARCIA María del Carmen, 2000. “La renovación: una interpretación de los rituales de agosto” in Luis Millones, Hiroyasu Tomoeda, and Tatsuhiko Fujii (eds.), *Desde Afuera y desde adentro, ensayos de etnografía e historia del Cuzco y Apurímac*, Pp. 317-352. Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology,.
- SADOWSKI Robert M., 1989. “A few remarks on the astronomy of R. T. Zuidema’s “quipu-calendar” in Mariusz Ziolkowski and Robert Sadowski (eds.), *Time and calendars in the inca empire*, Pp. 209-212. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports.
- SAHLINS Marshall D., 1958. *Social stratification in Polynesia*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- , 1981. *Historical metaphors and mythical realities, structure in the early history of the Sandwich Islands kingdom*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- , 1983. “Other times, other customs: the anthropology of History” in *American Anthropologist* 85 (3): 517-544.
- , 1985. *Islands of History*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- SAIGNES Thierry, 1985. “La guerre contre l’histoire: les Chiriguanos du XVIe au XIXe siècle” in *Journal de la Société des Américanistes* 71(1): 175-190.
- SALLES-REESE Verónica, 1997. *From Viracocha to the Virgin of Copacabana, representation of the Sacred at Lake Titicaca*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- SALLES Estela Cristina, and NOEJOVICH Héctor Omar, 2006. “La herencia femenina andina prehispánica y su transformación en el mundo colonial” in *Bulletin de l’Institut Français d’Etudes Andines* 35 (1): 37-53.

- SALLNOW Michael J., 1987. *Pilgrims of the Andes: regional cults in Cuzco*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- SALOMON Frank, 1986. *Native lords of Quito in the age of the Incas, the political economy of Northern Andean chiefdoms*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- , 1995. “‘The beautiful grandparents’: Andean ancestors shrines and mortuary ritual as seen through colonial records” in Tom D. Dillehay (ed.), *Tombs for the living: Andean mortuary practices*, Pp 315-353. Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks.
- , 1999. “Testimonies: the making and reading of native South American historical sources” in Frank Salomon and Stuart B. Schwartz (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Native Peoples of the Americas*, vol. III, South America, Part 1, Pp. 19-95. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- , 2002. “‘¡Huayra huayra pichcamanta!’: augurio, risa y regeneración en la política tradicional (Pacota, Huarochiri)” in *Bulletin de l’Institut Français d’Etudes Andines* 31 (1): 1-22.
- , 2004. *The cord keepers: Khipus and cultural life in a Peruvian village*. Durham, London: Duke University Press.
- SÁNCHEZ Sebastián, 2002. “Demonología en Indias. Idolatría y mimesis diabólica en la obra de José de Acosta” in *Revista Complutense de Historia de América* 28: 9-34.
- SCHECHNER Richard, APPEL Willa (eds.), 1990. *By means of performance: Intercultural studies of theatre and ritual*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- SCHEFFLER Harold W., LOUNSBURY Floyd G., 1971. *A study in structural semantics: The Siriono kinship system*. Englewood Cliffs NJ.: Prentice Hall.
- SCHNEIDER David M., 1984. *A critique of the study of kinship*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- SEEGER, Anthony, 1981. *Nature and society in Central Brazil: the Suyá Indians of Mato Grosso*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press.
- SEIBOLD Katharine E., 1992. “Textiles and cosmology in Choquecancha, Cuzco, Peru” in Robert V. H Dover, Katharine E. Seibold, and John H. McDowell (eds.), *Andean cosmologies through time, persistence and emergence*, Pp. 166-201. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- SHAPIRO, Judith R., 1984. “Marriage rules, marriage exchange, and the definition of marriage in lowland South American societies” in Kenneth M. Kensinger (ed.), *Marriage practices in lowland South America*, Illinois Studies in Anthropology 14, Pp. 1-30. Urbana, Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- SHAVER Dwight and SHAVER Gwynne, 1989. “Bosquejo de la metatesis en el Quechua de Incahuasi” in Stephen Parker (ed.), *Estudios ethno-lingüístico*, Pp. 5-14. Lima: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano y el Ministerio de Educación.
- SHERBONDY Jeanette, 1979. *Cuzco: aguas y poder*. Cuzco: Centro de Estudios Rurales Andinos Bartolomé de Las Casas.
- , 1982. “El regadío, los lagos y los mitos de origen” in *Allpanchis* 17 (20): 3-32.
- , 1987. “Organización hidráulica y poder en el Cuzco de los Incas” in *Revista Española de Antropología Americana* 17: 117-151.
- , 1992. “Water Ideology in Inca Ethnogenesis” in Robert V. H Dover, Katharine E. Seibold, and John H. McDowell (eds.), *Andean cosmologies through time: persistence and emergence*, Pp. 46-66. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- , 1994. “Water and power: the role of irrigation districts in the transition from Inca to Spanish Cuzco” in William P. Mitchell, David Guillet, and Inge Bolin (eds.), *Irrigation at high altitudes: the social organization of water control systems in the Andes*, Society for Latin American Anthropology Publications Series vol. 12, Pp. 69-97. Washington: American Anthropological Association.
- , 1996. “Panaca lands: re-invented communities” in *Journal of the Steward Anthropological Society: Structure, knowledge and representation in the Andes* 24 (1-2): 173-201.
- SIKKINK Lynn, 1997. “Water and exchange: the ritual of *yaku cambio* as communal and competitive encounter” in *American Ethnologist* 24 (1): 170-189.

- SILLAR Bill, 2002. "Caminando a través del tiempo: geografías sagradas en Cacha/Raqchi, departamento del Cuzco (Perú)" in *Revista Andina* 35: 221-246.
- SILVA MEINEL Javier, 1998. *Perú calendario: tiempos de fiesta = fiesta times*. Lima: Unión de Cervecerías Peruanas Backus y Johnson.
- SILVA SANTISTEBAN Fernando, and RAVINES Roger, 1994. *Historia general del Perú: Los Incas*, Tomo III. Lima: Editorial Brasa.
- SILVERBLATT Irene, 1978. "Andean women in the Inca empire" in *Feminist Studies* 4 (3): 37-61.
- , 1987. *Moon, sun and witches, gender ideologies and class in Inca and Colonial Perú*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- , 1988. "Imperial dilemmas, the politics of kinship, and Inca reconstructions of History" in *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 30 (1): 83-102.
- SILVERMAN Gail P., 1994a. "Iconografía textil Q'ero vista como texto: leyendo el rombo dualista Hatun Inti" in *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Etudes Andines* 23 (1): 171-190.
- , 1994b. *El tejido Andino, un libro de sabiduría*. Lima: Banco Central de Reserva del Perú.
- SISKIND Janet, 1973. *To hunt in the morning*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- SPERBER Dan, 1985. *On anthropological knowledge*. Cambridge, Paris: Cambridge University Press, Maison de Sciences de l'Homme.
- , 1996. *Explaining culture: a naturalistic approach*. Oxford, Cambridge MA: Blackwell Publishers.
- STAHL Peter W., 2003. "Pre-Columbian Andean animal domesticates at the edge of empire" in *World Archaeology* 34 (3): 470-483.
- STALLER John Edward, 2008. "Dimensions of place: the significance of centers to the development of Andean civilization: an exploration of the *ushnu* concept" in John Edward Staller (ed.), Pp. 269-313, *Pre-Columbian landscapes of creation and origin*. New York: Springer.
- STANISH Charles 1992. *Ancient Andean political economy*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- , 1997. "Nonmarket imperialism in the Prehispanic Americas: the Inka occupation of the Titicaca basin" in *Latin American Antiquity* 8 (3): 195-216.
- , 2003. *Ancient Titicaca: the evolution of complex societies in southern Peru and northern Bolivia*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- STERN Steve, [1982] 1993. *Peru's Indian peoples and the challenge of Spanish conquest. Huamanga to 1640*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- STIRLING Stuart, 1999. *The last conquistador, Mansio Serra de Leguizamón and the conquest of the Incas*. Phoenix Mill: Sutton Publishing.
- STOBART Henry, 1996. "The llama's flute: musical misunderstandings in the Andes" in *Early Music* 24 (3): 470-482.
- , 2006. *Music and the poetics of production in the Bolivian Andes*, SOAS Musicology series. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- SZEMIŃSKI Jan, 1991. "Wanakawri waka" in Mariusz Ziolkowski (ed.), *El culto estatal del Imperio Inca*, CELSA. Warsaw: University of Warsaw.
- , 1997. *Wira Quchan y sus obras, teología andina y lenguaje, 1550-1662*. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, Banco Central de Reserva del Perú.
- TAMBIAH Stanley J. 1985. *Culture, thought and social action: an anthropological perspective*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press.
- TAYLOR Gerald, 1980. "Supay" in *Amerindia* 5: 47-64.
- , 1987. "Cultos y fiestas de la comunidad de San Damián (Huarochiri) según la Carta Anua de 1609" in *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Etudes Andines* 16 (3-4): 85-96.
- , 1990. "Los dialectos Quechuas de Yauyos" in *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Etudes Andines* 19(2): 293-325.
- , 2000a. *Camac, camay y camasca y otros estudios sobre Huarochirí y Yauyos*. Lima, Cusco: Institut Français d'études Andines, Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos Bartolomé de Las Casas.
- , 2000b. "La Platica Breve de la Doctrina Christiana (1584)" in *Amerindia* (25): 173-188.

- , 2001. “La platica de Fray Domingo de Santo Tomás (1560)” in *Bulletin de l’Institut Français d’Etudes Andines* 30 (3): 427-453.
- , 2003. *El Sol, la luna y las estrellas no son Dios...La evangelización en quechua (siglo XVI)*. Lima: Institut Français d’Etudes Andines, Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú.
- TCHERKÉZOFF Serge, 1987. *Dual classification reconsidered: Nyamwezi sacred kingship and other examples*. Cambridge, Paris: Cambridge University Press, Editions de la maison des sciences de l’homme.
- TELLO Julio C., MIRANDA Prospero, 1923. “Wallallo ceremonias gentílicas realizadas en la region Cisandina del Perú central (distrito arqueológico de Casta)” in *Revista Inca* 1 (2): 445-549.
- THIERCELIN Raquel (ed.), 1991. *Cultures et sociétés: Andes et Meso-Amérique: mélanges en hommage à Pierre Duviols*. Aix-en-Provence: Université de Provence.
- THOMAS Nicholas and HUMPHREY Caroline, 1994. *Shamanism, History and the State*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- TOMOEDA Hiroyasu, 1993a. “Los ritos contemporáneos de camélidos y la ceremonia de la Citua” in Luis Millones and Yoshio Onuki (eds.), *El mundo ceremonial andino*, Senri Ethnological Studies 37, pp. 289-306. Osaka: Museo Nacional de Etnología.
- , 1996. “The concept of vital energy among Andean pastoralists” in Roy F. Ellen and Katsu-Yoshi Fukui (eds.), *Redefining Nature: ecology, culture and domestication*, Pp. 187-212. Oxford, Washington: Berg.
- , 2004. “Un poderoso espectáculo: el estado Inca visto desde un rincón de las punas” in *Perspectivas Latinoamericanas* 1: 174-192.
- TOPIC John R., TOPIC Theresa L., and CALVA Alfredo Melly, 2002. “Catequil: the archaeology, ethnohistory, and ethnography of a major provincial huaca” in William H. Isbell and Helaine Silverman (eds.) *Andean archaeology: variations in sociopolitical organization*, Pp. 303-335. New York: Plenum Press.
- TORERO Alfredo, 1974. *El Quechua y la historia social andina*. Lima: Universidad Ricardo Palma.
- , 1990. “Procesos lingüísticos e identificación de dioses en los Andes” in *Revista Andina* 15 (1): 237-263.
- , 2002. *Idiomas de los Andes. Lingüística y Historia*. Lima: Institut Français d’Etudes Andines.
- TSCHOPIK Harry, 1946. “The Aymara” in Julian H. Steward (ed.), *Handbook of South American Indians*, vol. 2, Pp. 501- 573. Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American ethnology.
- , 1951. *The Aymara of Chucuito, Peru, I: Magic*. New York: Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History 44 (2).
- TURNER Terence, 1984. “Dual opposition, hierarchy, and value. Moiety structure and symbolic polarity in central Brazil and elsewhere” in Jean-Claude Galey (ed.), *Différence, valeurs, hiérarchie. Textes offert à Louis Dumont*, Pp. 335-370. Paris: Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales.
- , 1996. “Social complexity and recursive hierarchy in indigenous South American societies” in *Journal of the Steward Anthropological Society* 24 (1-2): 37-59.
- TURNER Victor 1969. *The ritual process: structure and anti-structure*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- , 1982. *From ritual to theatre. The human seriousness of play*. New York: Performing Arts Journal Publications.
- URBANO Henrique, 1981. *Viracocha y Ayar. Heroes y funciones en las sociedades andinas*. Cusco: Centro de Estudios Rurales Andinos Bartolomé de Las Casas.
- , 1988. “Clases sacerdotales y sociedades andinas” in *Rituales y Fiestas de las Américas*, 45° Congreso Internacional de Americanistas, Pp. 90-102. Bogotá: Ediciones Uniandes.
- , 1993. *Mito y simbolismo en los Andes: la figura y la palabra*. Cuzco: Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos Bartolomé de las Casas.



- , 1994. “La invención del catolicismo andino, introducción al estudio de las estilísticas misioneras. Siglo XVI” in Gabriela Romas (ed.), *La venida del reino. Religión, evangelización y cultura in América, siglo XVI y XVII*, Cuaderno para la Historia de la evangelización en América Latina 12. Cuzco: Centro de Estudios Andinos Regionales Bartolomé de Las Casas.
- URTEAGA Horacio (ed.), 1982. *Cuzco 1689, documentos. Economía y sociedad en el sur andino*. Cuzco: Centro de Estudios Rurales Andinos Bartolomé de las Casas.
- URTON Gary, 1978. “Orientation in Quechua and Incaic astronomy” in *Ethnology* 17 (2): 157-167.
- , 1981. *At the crossroads of the earth and the sky: an Andean cosmology*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- , 1984. “*Chuta*: el espacio de la práctica social en Pacariqtambo, Perú” in *Revista Andina* 3: 7-56.
- , 1986. “Calendrical cycles and their projections in Pacariqtambo, Perú” in *Journal of Latin American Lore* 12 (1): 45-64.
- , 1988. “Calendrical cycles and their projections in Pacariqtambo” in *Rituales y Fiestas de las Américas*, 45° Congreso Internacional de Americanistas. Bogotá: Ediciones Uniandes.
- , 1990. *The history of a myth, Pacariqtambo and the origin of the Inkas*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- , 1993. “Moieties and ceremonialism in the Andes: the ritual battles of the Carnival season in Southern Peru” in Luis Millones and Yoshio Onuki (eds.), *El mundo ceremonial andino*, Senri Ethnological Studies 37, Pp. 117-142. Osaka: Museo Nacional de Ethnología.
- , 1996. “R. Tom Zuidema, Dutch structuralism, and the application of the ‘Leiden Orientation’ to Andean studies” in *Journal of the Steward anthropological society* 24 (1): 1-36.
- , 1997. *The social life of numbers. A Quechua ontology of numbers and philosophy of arithmetic*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- , 1998. “From knots to narratives: reconstructing the art of historical record keeping in the Andes from Spanish transcriptions of Inka *quipus*” in *Ethnohistory* 45 (3): 409-438.
- , 2002. “An overview of Spanish colonial commentary on Andean knotted-string records” in Jeffrey Quilter and Gary Urton (eds.), *Narrative threads: accounting and recounting in Andean khipu*, Pp. 3-25. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- , 2003. *Signs of the Inka khipu, binary coding in the Andean knotted-string records*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- VALCÁRCEL Luis E. 1967. *Etnohistoria del Perú antiguo*. Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos.
- VALERI Valerio, 1990a. “Constitutive history: genealogy and narrative in the legitimation of Hawaiian kingship” in Emiko Ohnuki Tierney (ed.), *Culture through time, anthropological approaches*, Pp. 154-192. Stanford CA.: Stanford University Press.
- , 1990b. “Diarchy and history in Hawaii and Tonga” in Jukka Siikala (ed.), *Culture and History in the Pacific*, TAFAS 27, Pp. 45-79. Helsinki: The Finish anthropological society.
- VAN DEN BERG Hans, 1989. *La tierra no da así no más, los ritos agrícolas en la religión de los Aymara-Cristianos*. Amsterdam: CEDLA.
- VEGA Juan José, GUZMÁN PALOMINO Luis, 2003. “El Inti Raymi Inkaico. La verdadera historia de la gran fiesta del Sol” in *Boletín del Museo de Arqueología y Antropología* 6 (1): 37-71.
- VIGNERAS Louis-André, 1977. “Saint Thomas, Apostle of America” in *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 57 (1): 82-90.
- VILLANUEVA URTEAGA Horacio (ed.), 1982. *Cuzco 1689, economía y sociedad en el sur andino*. Cuzco: Centro de Estudios Andinos Bartolomé de las Casas.
- VILLAR CÓRDOVA, Sócrates, 1966. “La institución del yanacona en el incanato” in *Nueva Corónica* 1. Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos.

- VILLARÍAS ROBLES Juan José R., 1998. *El sistema económico del imperio inca. Historia crítica de una controversia*. Madrid: CSIC, Centro de estudios Históricos.
- VIVANCO GUERRA Alejandro, 2001. "Una herranza en el valle de Chancay: San Juan de Viscas en 1963 de los cuadernos de campos de Alejandro Vicanco" in *Antropologica* 19: 335-345.
- WACHTEL Nathan, 1971. *La vision des vaincus, les indiens du Pérou devant la conquête espagnole*. Paris: Gallimard.
- , 1982. "The mitimas of the Cochabamba valley: the colonization policy of Huayna Capac" in George A. Collier, Renato I. Rosaldo, John D. Wirth (eds.), *The Inca and Aztec states 1400-1800: Anthropology and History*, Pp. 199-235. New York: Academic Press.
- WEBSTER Steven S., 1980. "Parentesco y afinidad en una comunidad indígena Quechua" in Enrique Mayer and Ralph Bolton (eds.), *Parentesco y matrimonio en los Andes*, Pp. 183-245. Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú.
- , 1981. "Interpretation of an Andean social and economic formation" in *Man* 16 (4): 616-633.
- WEDIN Ake, 1963. *La cronología de la historia incaica*, Instituto Ibero-Americano. Madrid, Gotemburgo: Ínsula.
- WOLF Eric R., 1982. *Europe and the people without history*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- YAYA Isabel, 2008. "The importance of initiatory ordeals: kinship and politics in an Inca narrative" in *Ethnohistory* 55 (1): 51-85.
- ZERUBAVEL Eviatar, 1981. *Hidden rhythms: schedules and calendars in social life*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- ZIÓLKOWSKI Mariusz S., 1984. "La piedra del cielo: algunos aspectos de la educación e iniciación religiosa de los príncipes Incas" in *Anthropologica* (Lima) 2: 45-65.
- , 1987-1988. "Las fiestas del calendario metropolitano" in *Ethnologia Polona*, vol.13: 183-217, vol. 14: 221-258.
- , 1988. "El Sapan Inka y el sumo sacerdote: acerca de la legitimización del poder en el Tawantinsuyu" in *El culto estatal del imperio Inca*, Memorias del 46° Congreso Internacional de Americanistas. Amsterdam: Simposio ARC – 2.
- , 1989. "Knots and oddities: The quipu-calendar or supposed Cuzco luni-sidereal calendar" in Mariusz Ziolkowski and Robert Sadowski (eds.), *Time and calendars in the inca empire*, Pp. 197-208. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports.
- , 1996. *La guerra de los Wawqi, los objetivos y los mecanismos de la rivalidad dentro de la élite inka, siglos XV-XVI*. Quito: ABYA-YALA.
- , and SADOWSKI Robert M., 1982-84. "Los problemas de la reconstrucción de los calendarios prehispánicos andinos" in *Estudios Latinoamericanos* 9: 45-87.
- , and SADOWSKI Robert M., 1992. *La arqueoastronomía en la investigación de las culturas andinas*. Quito: Instituto Otavaleño de Antropología, Banco Central del Ecuador.
- ZORN Elayne, 2002. "Dangerous encounters: ritual battles in Andean Bolivia" in David E. Jones (ed.), *Combat, ritual and performance, Anthropology of the martial arts*, Pp. 120-152. Westport, London: Praeger.
- ZUIDEMA R. Tom, 1964. *The ceque system of Cuzco, the social organization of the capital of the Inca*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- , 1973. "kindship and ancestorcult three peruvian communities" in *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Etudes Andines* 2 (1): 16-33.
- , 1976. "La imágen del Sol y la Huaca de Susurpuquio en el sistema astronómico de los Incas en el Cuzco" in *Journal de la Société des Américanistes* (63-64): 199-230.
- , 1977. "The Inca Calendar" in Anthony F. Aveni (ed.), *Native American Astronomy*, Pp. 219-259. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- , 1980. "Parentesco Inca" in Enrique Mayer and Ralph Bolton (eds.), *Parentesco y matrimonio en los Andes*, Pp. 57-113. Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú.

- , 1981. "Inca observations of the solar and lunar passages through zenith and anti-zenith at Cuzco" in Ray R. Williamson (ed.), *Archaeoastronomy in the Americas*, Pp. 319-342. Maryland: Ballena Press/Center for Archaeoastronomy.
- , 1982a. "The sidereal lunar calendar of the Incas" in Anthony F. Aveni (ed.), *Archaeoastronomy in the New World*, Pp. 59-107. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- , 1982b. "Bureaucracy and systematic knowledge in Andean civilization" in George A. Collier, Renato I. Rosaldo, John D. Wirth (eds.), *The Inca and Aztec states 1400-1800: Anthropology and History*, Pp. 419-458. New York: Academic Press.
- , 1982c. "Myth and history in ancient Peru" in Ino Rossi (ed.), *The logic of culture, advances in structural theory and method*, Pp. 150-175. South Hadley: J. F. Begin Publishers.
- , 1983a. "The Inca solar calendar and its Huari and Tiahuanaco antecedents" in *Archaeoastronomy* 6 (1-4): 47.
- , 1983b. "Hierarchy and space in Incaic organization" in *Ethnohistory* 30 (2): 49-75.
- , 1985. "The lion in the city: royal symbols of transition in Cuzco" in Gary Urton (ed.), *Animal myths and metaphors in South America*, Pp. 183-246. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.
- , 1986a. *La civilisation inca au Cusco*, Collège de France Essais et Conférences. Paris: PUF.
- , 1986b. "Inka dynasty and irrigation: another look at Andean concepts of history" in John V. Murra, Nathan Wachtel, and Jacques Revel (eds.), *Anthropological history of Andean polities*, Pp. 177-200, Cambridge University Press.
- , 1986c. "The place of the *chamay wariqsa* in the rituals of Cuzco" in *Amerindia* 11: 58-63.
- , 1989a [1967]. "El juego de los Ayllus y el Amaru" in *Reyes y Guerreros. Ensayos de cultura andina*, Pp. 256-272. Lima: Fomciencias.
- , 1989b [1978]. "Lugares sagrados e irrigación: tradición histórica, mitos y rituales en el Cusco" in *Reyes y Guerreros. Ensayos de cultura andina*, Pp. 455-487. Lima: Fomciencias.
- , 1989c. "A quipu calendar from Ica, Peru, with a comparison to the ceque calendar from Cuzco" in Anthony F. Aveni (ed.), *World archaeoastronomy*, Pp. 341-351. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- , 1989d. "The moieties of Cuzco" in David Maybury-Lewis and Uri Almagor (eds.), *The attraction of opposites, thought and society in the dualistic mode*, Pp. 255-275. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- , 1989e [1979]. "El Ushnu" in *Reyes y Guerreros. Ensayos de cultura andina*, Pp. 402-454. Lima: Fomciencias.
- , 1990. "Dynastic structures in Andean culture" in Michael E. Moseley and Alana Cordy-Collins (eds.), *The Northern dynasties: kingship and statecraft in Chimor*, Pp. 489-505. Washington, DC.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.
- , 1991. "Batallas rituales en el cuzco colonial" in Pierre Duviols and Raquel Thiercelin (eds.), *Cultures et sociétés, Andes et Més-Amériques: melanges en hommage à Pierre Duviols*, Pp. 811-834. Aix en Provence: Université de Provence.
- , 1992a. "El encuentro de los calendarios andino y español" in Heraclio Bonilla (ed.), *Los conquistados, 1492 y la población indígena de las Américas*, Pp. 297-316. Bogotá: Libri Mundi, FLACSO, Tercer Mundo Ediciones.
- , 1992b. "Inca cosmos in Andean context, from the perspective of the Capac Raymi Camay Quilla feast celebrating the december solstice in Cuzco" in Robert V. H. Dover, Katharine E. Seibold, John H. McDowell (eds.), *Andean cosmologies through time, persistence and emergence*, Pp. 17-45. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- , 1996. "Fête-Dieu et fête de l'Inca, châtement et sacrifice humain comme rite de communion" in Antoinette Molinié (ed.), *Le Corps de Dieu en fêtes*, Pp. 175-216. Paris: Les Editions du Cerf.
- , 1997a. "La política matrimonial incaica según Juan de Betanzos: un ejemplo implicando a los reyes Inca Roca y Yahuar Huacac" in Varón Gabai Rafael, Flores Espinoza Javier

- (eds.), *Arqueología, antropología e Historia en los Andes: Homenaje a María Rostworowski*, Pp. 289-300. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.
- , 1997b. “Cosmovisión inca y astronomía en el Cuzco: nuevo año agrícola y sucesión real” in Garrido Aranda A. (ed.), *Pensar América : cosmovisión mesoamericana y andina*, Pp. 249-270. Córdoba: Caja Sur Publicaciones, Ayuntamiento de Montilla.
- , 1997c. “Pachacuti Yamqui Andino, repuesta de Tom Zuidema a Pierre Duviols” in Thérèse Bouysse Cassagne (ed.), *Saberes y Memorias en los Andes, In memoriam Thierry Saignes*, Pp. 115-123. Paris, Lima: Institut des Hautes Etudes de l’Amérique Latine, Institut Français d’Etudes Andines.
- , 2002. “La organización religiosa del sistema de panacas y memoria en el Cusco incaico” in Jean-Jacques Decoster (ed.), *Incas e Indios cristianos. Elites indígenas e identidades cristianas en los Andes coloniales*, Travaux de l’Institut Français d’Etudes Andines 149, Pp. 19-37. Cuzco: Centro Bartolomé de Las Casas, Institut Français d’Etudes Andines, Asociación Kuraka..
- , 2005. “La religión Inca” in Manuel M. Marzal (ed.), *Religiones Andinas*, Enciclopedia Iberoamericana de Religiones 04, Pp. 89-113. Madrid: Editorial Trotta.
- , and QUISPE Ulpiano, 1973. “A visit to God: The account and interpretation of a religious experience in the Peruvian community of Choque Huarcaya” in Daniel Gross (ed.), *Peoples and cultures of native South America*, Pp. 358-376. New York: Natural History Press.
- , and POOLE Deborah, 1982. “Los limites de los quatro suyus incaicos en el Cuzco” in *Bulletin de l’Institut Français d’Etudes Andines* 11 (1-2): 83-89.
- , and URTON Gary, 1976. “La constelación de la Llama en los Andes peruanos” in *Allpanchis Phuturinga* 9: 59-119.
- ZWARTJES Otto, 1999. “El lenguaje en la catequización de los moriscos de Granada y los indígenas de Latinoamérica: las obras de los gramáticos como vehículo entre instrucción religiosa y pensamiento lingüístico” in Sabine Dedenbach-Salazar Saénz, and Lindsey Crickmay (eds.), *La lengua de la cristianización en Latinoamérica: Catequización e instrucción en lenguas amerindias*, BAS vol. 32, Pp. 17-40. Verlag: Anton Saurwein.