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"Some Considerations on Social
Classification in the Inca Empire, the
Concept of VIRACOCHA, and its response
to the Spanish Invasion"

by

Christopher N. Wallis

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ABSTRACT

The initial intention of the thesis was to explore an alternative framework for the interpretation of VIRACOCHA, described by the Spanish chroniclers as the Creator God of the Incas. If the different applications of the term 'viracocha' (to an Inca ruler, to certain supernatural beings, and to the deity) are assumed to have some coherence then VIRACOCHA as a concept may be seen in relation to a specific sociological contradiction that, it is presumed, arose with the expansion of the Inca empire. This contradiction is the point of departure for the thesis as follows. In local sources (ie non-Inca oriented) a dual form of classification can be found that distinguishes between 'Insiders' and 'Outsiders', the latter being conceptually subordinate. This 'exclusivist' orientation, it is argued, was upset by the spread of the Inca empire, which posited a more 'inclusive' framework for the classification of its subject groups. The MITIMAS (Inca colonists), by being outsiders to the communities in which they were settled but being also agents, with political power, of the ruling Incas, are taken as a case of the contradiction of 'exclusivist' values. In the dual organization of Cuzco, the Inca capital, it is suggested that the superordinate moiety had associations with the 'Outsider' category. In religious organization it may be seen that an 'imperial' framework was being extended over local cults and it may be that VIRACOCHA had a key position in generating this more inclusive framework. But the same framework may be referred back to the aforementioned sociological contradiction (Exclusive/Inclusive), between which the VIRACOCHA concept may be seen to mediate and to allow

for transformation between old and new models. The mediating role of the concept in the above instance is seen to carry over into the relations between the Indians and Spaniards, between whom new applications of the VIRACOCHA concept could be said to have also mediated, ensuring the compatability of both Spaniards and Indians being included within the same conceptual framework.

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INTRODUCTION

The initial interest that directed my study to Inca Peru and the period that immediately followed after its conquest by the Spaniards in the 16th century lay in the old question of what happens when two unrelated societies meet for the first time. I wished to ask if the concept of 'syncretism' could offer any insights to the process, and if it could then it was hoped that the concept itself might gain more precision and meaning, which at the present it sadly lacks.¹ The area I chose to study was religious, since the division and conflict between the pagan religion of the Indians and Christianity was felt as so pressingly obvious to the early Spanish commentators. It was thus hoped that it would be possible to reconstruct aspects of Incaic religion (especially in the realm of thought) and observe how these responded to the Christian teachings on such central subjects as Christ's Nature, the Crucifixion, the Holy Eucharist, the doctrine of the Saints. This project soon showed itself to be hopelessly misguided since there was not anything like the source material that would make it possible.

There was, however, one curious case that offered an opportunity for a study of syncretism, this was the myth of Tonapa written in the early 17th century by an Indian called Joan de Santacruz Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamayhua.² Its subject was an unmistakable

-
- 1 By the word syncretism I wish to imply as loose a meaning as possible, such as a situation where in one society features of a previously alien society are prominent. The question is how are elements incorporated from without, assuming a systematic organization to society, its values, and activities, which will not permit additions or subtractions to occur purely randomly?
 - 2 Salcamayhua (c.1613), 1968, pp. 283-4. The dates in brackets after the name of the author, in the case of historical sources, refer to the date of the work's first publication or estimated date of completion.

blend of Christian and native Indian tradition and was linked with the growing legend that in the distant past a Christian Apostle (St Thomas or St Bartholomew) had once visited, and preached in, Peru. On the Indian side Tonapa could be associated with Viracocha, who was described by the Spanish chroniclers as the Creator God of the Incas.¹ I at once set to trying to understand Viracocha, who displayed several puzzling features in the descriptions of him, including certain identifications with the Spaniards. The material on Viracocha proved to be much more complicated than expected with the consequence that I found it necessary to divert all attention to trying to understand Inca society more generally and the place of Viracocha within it. The available material began to reveal certain contradictions in Indian conceptions of social classification within the Inca empire, and these suggested a possible framework for the interpretation of Viracocha, whom it then became convenient and enlightening to consider more as a concept than as primarily a god. This procedure was aided by the circumstance that the term 'Viracocha' had a multiple application although the different usages all continued to bear some relation to one another.²

The enquiry into Inca society indicated the importance of a widespread and fundamental classification in pre-hispanic Peru between 'Insiders' and 'Outsiders', which appears to have operated at a general level of classification and also, more specifically, in the social organization within particular communities. This kind of dual distinction between 'Insiders' and 'Outsiders' has been given emphasis in the more recent Inca studies of Tom Zuidema and Juan Ossio³ and this encouraged me to trust my own opinion of its importance.

1 Chapter 5
 2 Chapter 4
 3 Zuidema, 1964
 Ossio, 1970, 1973

Curiously, however, Zuidema has paid no attention to this classification in its most explicit form (LLACTA/LLACHUAZ), but rather came to his conclusions after research into other examples of social organization, involving both dual and tripartite models of classification. In this omission I found further reason to emphasize the classification of 'Insiders'/'Outsiders' in its most explicit form, between LLACTAS (Insiders) and LLACHUASES (Outsiders), because it suggested certain variations and refinements in the model as handed down by Zuidema.

It will be apparent that by this stage the subject of the thesis had shifted considerably from its origins, but possibly this shift indicates some of the peculiar problems that a subject like 'Syncretism' poses; problems that include relating specific elements in a culture to a more total setting, in a more holistic conception of society, and balancing this with a concern for the histories of the elements or whole institutions. Here is an area for exploring the relation of history to anthropology, both as disciplines and as subjects.

The problems inherent in the subject were made no easier by the conditions of the source material that is available to the Inca student. The first ^tlimi_^nation that has always to be borne in mind is that in the Inca society one is dealing with an illiterate culture. Unlike the later civilizations of Central America which left some kind of literature behind them, the Incas have bequeathed no non-oral records with which one might compare their oral traditions as they were first written down by the Spanish conquerors.

1 The QUIPU, knot-record, still holds its mysteries and I do not think that the possibility of treating it as a form of literature has yet been adequately disproved. It has been thought that it could convey only statistical information, but then the most advanced forms of communication in contemporary Western society themselves are statistically grounded. But this as it may be, there are not many QUIPUS surviving and they have yet to await their own true Champollion

For more than a century Inca scholars have accepted as valid the Histories of the Incas that were recorded by the Spaniards from Indian informants and it is only within the last twenty years that this validity has been seriously challenged and even exposed as largely mistaken. It is no longer generally believed that there was, in fact, a dynasty of 13 Inca rulers as the Histories relate and it has been proposed that, alternatively, the significance of much of the material be considered as sociological rather than historical.¹ But whether the sources are treated for their historical, or for their sociological content the same aggravating problem of the plethora of inconsistencies, contradictions, and lacunae still faces the student and his soon vertiginous pursuit after clarity.

Classifications of the sources on pre-hispanic Peru have been attempted from several different angles, taking into account the reliability, attitudes and prejudices, of the writers involved.² In my treatment of the sources a dichotomy developed fairly spontaneously between those sources that are in their content Inca-oriented and those which are more locally based, ie their primary concern is more with the subjects of the Incas than with the Inca rulers themselves. I think this has proved a useful distinction, although it should be recognized as largely heuristic and contingent to the purpose of the present essay. Throughout I have tried to avoid the question of the reliability of individual sources as much as possible, much in keeping with Zuidema's approach. This neglect is

1 Zuidema, 1964. The list of rulers as presented most commonly in the Histories is as follows, starting with Manco Capac:

<u>Hurin Cuzco</u>	<u>Hanan Cuzco</u>
Manco Capac	Inca Roca
Sinchi Roca	Yahuar Huacac
Lloque Yupanqui	Viracocha Inca
Mayta Capac	Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui
Capac Yupanqui	Tupac Inca Yupanqui
	Huayna Capac
	Huascar Atahualpa

2 Bibliographical material may be found in Means, 1928; Rowe, 1946, pp. 192-197; Porras Barrenechea 1955; and Zuidema, 1964, pp. 29-35

justified by the lack of any really decisive and fixed criteria for assessing reliability, and where the assessment has been attempted in the past it has frequently resulted in a dependence on one source at the expense of others. With the one major reservation regarding the validity of the traditional Inca Histories as pure history, I have tried to accept as much information as valid, in its own right, as possible.

I have thus made use of the traditional histories by Cieza de León, Betanzos, Sarmiento de Gamboa, Cabello Balboa,¹ and Garcilaso de la Vega (the Inca). Of the more general works, those of the two Jesuits José de Acosta and Barnabé Cobo provide concise and generally respected information as a guideline on many subjects.² The works of Polo de Ondegardo, the jurist, provide a fair amount of detailed information on various religious and political subjects,³ from which the two above-mentioned Jesuits drew freely. In another bracket, but still very much concerned with the Incas themselves, are the works of the Brother Martin de Murúa and the Indian Huaman Poma de Ayala.⁴ It has been noted by Zuidema that both writers appear to have shared similar sources while it is known that the two men knew each other.⁵ Huaman Poma's book has the particular attraction of offering a more direct way into the mind of an Indian after the Conquest and in this it compares with the work of the other Indian author, Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamayhua.⁶ Both these sources have been respected in my work for their peculiar indigenous origins.

1 Cieza de León (1553) 1967
 Betanzos (1551), 1968
 Sarmiento de Gamboa (1572), 1942
 Balboa (1586) 1840
 Garcilaso de la Vega (1609) 1966
 In one or two instances I have been unable to consult an up-to-date, or the most reliable, edition of a particular work.
 (continued)

On religious matters, the work of Molina of Cuzco another priest, contains much useful information, although I have been led to question certain central preoccupations in Molina's estimation of Inca religion.¹

Of the sources which I have called local, the most important have tended to be of an ostensibly religious nature. The official enquiries into Indian idolatries, like that of Hernandez Principe,² were invaluable and revealed much more than

-
- 1 Molina (1576) 1943. There is another Molina, who wrote in the 1550's on secular matters. These two men may be distinguished in references by the different bracketed dates of the work of each
 - 2 Hernandez Principe (1621), 1923

footnotes (contd)

This is the case with the 19th century French Translation of Balboa's work which I have used; it is drastically shortened, cutting many important sections, but I have been unable to obtain a copy of the recent complete edition, 1951.

- 2 Acosta (1588) 1962
- Cobo (1653) 1956
- 3 Polo de Ondegardo (c.1565) 1916
- 4 Murúa (1590) 1946
- Huaman Poma (1615) 1936
- 5 Zuidema, 1964, p.30
- 6 Salcamayhua (c.1613), 1968

'religious' information. Most of the writers involved in this category were clerics, and I include here such men as Cristóbal de Albornoz, José de Arriaga, and Francisco de Avila.¹ Of a secular character, the two regional reports from the province of León de Huánuco and from the Lupaka,² which have been given much profitable attention by John Murra, have been referred to, although I feel I could have learnt much more from them than I had time for. The RELACIONES GEOGRAFICAS, collected with the instructions of the Spanish Crown contain descriptions of the provinces with details of conditions under the Incas.³ The First Part of Cieza de León's chronicle recounts observations from his travels throughout Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia, providing more information on local conditions.⁴ The INFORMACIONES of Toledo offered evidence from both the provinces and the Inca capital, Cuzco, and was found to have a considerable amount of biographical detail on Indians which has been unfairly much disregarded in the past.⁵ Finally, where dictionaries were required, I relied chiefly on the early 17th century lexicon of Gonzalez Holguín and on its predecessor published by Antonio Ricardo, while reference was also made to the first Quechua dictionary of Domingo de Santo Tomás.⁶ Translations from the Spanish have been my own except where the edition of the work I have been using is itself in English, as with the ROYAL COMMENTARIES of Garcilaso de la Vega

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- 1 Albornoz (c.1583), 1967
Arriaga (1621) 1968
Avila (1608) 1942
 - 2 Ortíz de Zúñiga (1562) 1967
Garci Diez (1567) 1964
 - 3 Relaciones Geograficas (1586) 1965
 - 4 Cieza de León (1553) 1947
 - 5 Informaciones (1572) 1940
 - 6 Gonzalez Holguín (1608), 1952
Ricardo (1586) 1951
Santo Tomás, 1560

This account of the sources is not intended to comprehend all the material available on the subject or all the sources utilized in the present essay. For a fuller treatment of the sources and their writers it is necessary to refer to the bibliographies on the subject.¹

Of Modern works, by far the most useful and enlightening have been those of J.V. Murra, R.T. Zuidema, and J.Ossio, who in their more critical approach to the Inca sources in the light of more recent anthropological findings, have opened up whole new vistas in Inca studies.² Before them, probably the most learned and trustworthy authority on the Incas was J.H. Rowe, accepting L. Valcárcel, who produced relatively little critical work of his own. In the end, however, one cannot help but wish to look back and pause with gratitude and admiration on the founding work of William Hickling Prescott, which has in many ways only been surpassed in the last few years.

1 See footnote 2 , p. 4

2 For modern works the reader may refer to the bibliography

CHAPTER I

Among the more general questions that have stimulated students of the Andean peoples, both of the Inca past and of the nearer present, is the extent to which patterns of organisation and activity can be said to have been (or still are) homogeneous throughout the different communities of the central Andean region. In this essay I shall be attempting to generalize about particular aspects of social classification over a wide area and as such I shall be positing a far-ranging homogeneity within the analytical framework I have adopted. But the framework itself implies a degree of homogeneity, since it follows the evolving concept of an imperial community under the impetus of the Inca expansion. The Incas themselves had no word equivalent to our 'empire' and instead, their domains were known as the Tahuantinsuyu, the "Four Regions" or the "Four Quarters", possibly implying the most comprehensive community imaginable, into which all lands could be integrated. The Tahuantinsuyu (which I shall call an empire for convenience) was an Inca project and must inevitably have implied a social and geographical scope which was at its inception original, contrasting with the more fragmentary classification of native groups already existing within the area that was to become the Inca empire. It has been argued by some scholars that the growth of Inca power eroded the established heterogeneity of social and political division in the Central Andes. The exploitation of a

1 Rowe, 1946
Baudin, 1961
Mason, 1969

single language (Quechua), extensive colonial and resettlement programmes, administrative rationalization and centralization, have been invoked to portray the social revolution that the Inca empire implied. More recently, other scholars have¹ emphasized the occurrence of structural features in the organization of the Inca empire that may best be understood as deriving from a long Andean heritage. Any homogeneity that may have existed in the empire is thus seen as largely the result of a projection of traditional forms onto an imperial scale. "The whole organization of the state," R.T. Zuidema has written, "was extrapolated from the organization of Cuzco, which was in turn based on kinship and the application of kinship principles."²

But, it may be asked, how were coherent patterns of organization extended over the great number of different tribes and communities that lived within the confines of the Inca empire? For, whatever the Incas may have achieved in the unification of central Andean culture, it has to be recognized that a diversity of demographic groups, if not of social and political structures, existed at the onset of the Inca expansion and even up until the Spanish conquest. The numbers of named tribes speaking their own languages, besides the imperial Quechua, testifies to this diversity and suggests the existence of political divisions, which the Inca empire was liable to compromise.

Although when the Incas were rising to power there flourished on the Coast a number of urban states which culminated in several

1 Murra, 1961, 1966, 1967, 1972
 Zuidema, 1964, 1968, 1972
 see also Moore, 1958

2 Zuidema, 1964, p. 27

relatively extensive organizations, in particular the Chimu state in Northern Peru, the evidence of archaeology has tended to give the picture of a high degree provincialism in the post-Tiahuanacan¹ period, to which a terminal date of roughly about 1200 AD is usually given. In the Highlands especially, there appears to have been recession from any extensive political organization after the decline of the cultures associated with Huari and Ayacucho² (c. 800 - 1100 AD). Tribal groups existed, but the extent to which they functioned as corporate units is uncertain. Both the Inca historians and provincial Indian informants from the Highlands repeatedly insisted that before Inca rule leaders only had local³ authority and were chosen for their individual qualities, particularly valour, so implying that political power was not necessarily concentrated in particular hereditary groups. The lack of stable and precise rules of succession is visible even in the histories⁴ of the Incas themselves.

Now, although the picture of political disorganization prior to Inca rule has a certain mythical ring in its implicit elevation of the benefits of Inca rule and order, it does deserve credibility for its consistency and its accord with what archaeological evidence there is from the Peruvian Highlands. One may also call upon the literary evidence of demographic distribution immediately after the Spanish conquest to indicate the highly dispersed pattern,

-
- 1 Bennett and Bird, 1949
Kubler, 1962
Mason, 1969
- 2 Menzel, 1967
- 3 E.G. Vaca de Castro (1542), 1892, p.7
Santillán (1563), 1968, p.104
Acosta (1588), 1940, p.304
Garcilaso de la Vega (1609), 1966, p.35
and Relaciones Geográficas (1586), 1965, Vol. I, p.169
Informaciones (1572), 1940, pp. 4, 5
- 4 Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, 1960

and diminutive size, of most settlement in the Central Andes largely as a consequence of ecological conditions. The dispersal of tiny communities over a wide area caused the Spanish administrators and missionaries considerable irritation and from an early period attempts were made, on a massive scale under the Viceroy Toledo, to resettle the Indians in more accessible and controllable collectivities, known as 'Reducciones' (reductions). The sheer geographical isolation of many of these small settlements before the Spanish Reductions struck many observers, and social isolation may to some extent have been involved in these physical circumstances.

Trading activities, on the other hand, will have been a corrective to a too restricted view by the Indian of his social world. The Chupachos and Yachas of Huánuco, questioned by Ortíz de Zúñiga (1562) on their trading activities prior to the Spanish advent,² must have been describing a situation with a long history when they spoke of their trade for salt, fish, llamas, charqui, and wool, with their neighbours (Yaros, Chinchacochas, Huamalies, and Yachas) who lived at higher altitude than themselves, and for maize, pepper, cotton and coca with neighbouring Indians (chiefly Chupachos) in the lower-lying forests. J.V. Murra has drawn attention to the existence of a periodic fair in Chinchacocha for the exchange of what he calls 'zonal' products, but he continues by proposing, after Polanyi, " ... the hypothesis that as the redistributive functions of the Inca state increased in importance, the local markets atrophied."³ Even the effects of wider contacts that the Highlands Indian achieved through their trading relations cannot have compared with the vast

- 1 The report of Ortíz de Zúñiga (1562) from the province of Huánuco is particularly illuminating in this respect. 1967
- 2 op. cit. (question 18)
- 3 Murra, 1962, p.2

restructuring of the social universe (the economic universe in Murra's perspective) entailed in the inclusion of the often geographically alien Inca overlords, and concomitant groups (MITIMAS) moved by the Incas from one province to another. The world-view of most Indian groups in the Central Highlands must have suffered a severe shock from the consequences of the new Inca power, that worked to systematize relations between previously unconnected and disparate groups. New political entities were fostered which although they may at times have coincided with traditional divisions, may at other times have been substantially novel, grouping together populations which had previously held themselves apart. At the most general level, the division of the empire into four SUYU (regions) suggested identities and contrasts between one group and another which had no traditional existence, and these new relations were materially acted out in the imperial festivals held throughout the year in the Inca capital of Cuzco. It was said that the Incas themselves implemented a policy of Reductions,¹ although this probably only affected provincial capitals, centres of Inca culture and authority. But, whatever the details and these will provide the material of the following chapters, it is evident that before the Spaniards arrived and put an end to the process, a new 'imperial' community was evolving in Peru, under the positive aegis of Inca rule and the need to justify Inca authority, along with the new order which emerged beside it.

With the rise of the Incas there were, therefore, all the seeds for an important conceptual and organizational contradiction

1 Acosta (1588), 1940, p.296

between the high degree of traditional localism and the new 'imperialism' implied by Inca rule, which paid less respect to the minute distinctions and differences that existed among the peoples the Incas subjected. I will be arguing that such a contradiction did actually exist, if primarily within a geographically circumscribed area, and that it provoked a number of novel conceptual representations and projected resolutions, including the concept of VIRACOCHA which was identified by the early Spanish chroniclers as a Supreme Creator God, comparable in points to the God of the Christians. To demonstrate this frankly most speculative proposition, I shall first proceed by isolating certain aspects of social classification in Inca Peru which emphasized the superior value of the local group, defined by its unshifting attachment to a particular geographical site, in opposition to the inferior qualities associated with the stranger, the outsider who came from another land. More loosely, one could speak of an 'exclusive' ideal in Inca Peru which sought to emphasize the differences between one group, one person, one phenomenon, and another; conversely, this ideal was faced in the spread and systematization of the Inca empire by an 'inclusive' ideal which suggested to men's minds compatibilities, associations, and mutual relations, which were required for the construction of a conception of an 'imperial' community. I will suggest that a tension existed between these two abstracted ideals, a tension that may be depicted simply, from 'on the ground', in the position of the Incas as foreigners having authority over a local population. To be a stranger and a ruler at the same time was according to certain traditional native categories, I suggest, a contradiction in terms.

It could be answered that the two ideals of 'exclusiveness' and 'inclusiveness' that I am abstracting refer separately to two

different levels of classification between which no tension need have developed. While an individual identified himself with one relatively confined group in exclusion of all others on grounds of, say, marriage rule (ie his endogamous group), there is no reason why he should not also have identified himself with a wider group, his tribe for example and ultimately the empire, on quite different grounds. This is a theoretically reasonable consideration when applied to an on-going society, but the crucial circumstance in the present case is the historical incidence of the wider group, the Tahuantinsuyu, for which there were no adequate traditional terms of reference and where, rather, the existing terms of social classification militated against so comprehensive a conception of society. Moreover, one cannot satisfactorily argue that the need for a wider 'collective consciousness', implied by the Tahuantinsuyu, could be adequately answered by a mere superimposition of another more inclusive stratum of classification. If a world framework of larger social dimensions was to be generated under the Incas, the established local communities had to relax the conceptual boundaries of their smaller 'worlds' so as to perceive and introduce the new, wider, framework. The old 'world' must itself change, be expanded, to accept the new 'world'.

I shall continue in this chapter to isolate and interpret certain precise features of social classification existing at the time of the Inca empire in Highland Peru, but I shall be presuming that, since they were not common to the Incas themselves, their history predated the rise of the Incas. These features relate to the 'exclusive' ideal, and in particular to a dual classification distinguishing between 'natives' and 'strangers'. It is important to recognize that the primary evidence I shall be advancing does

not cover the whole area of the Tahuantinsuyu, but a significantly large section through the Central Highlands. I have extrapolated features from this social classification and compared them with similar qualities in social organizations from other parts of the Inca empire. I will be suggesting a general significance for terms and values which in reality were explicitly only limited, but in the process I hope it may be possible to shed a little light on some of the more general questions that our meagre knowledge of the Inca empire suggests.

If one wishes to present a concise image of the exclusive tendency in Inca Peru, there is possibly one suggestive illustration in architecture and settlement patterns. Although town planning was plainly practised by the Incas, as exemplified in the rigid grid plan of Ollantaytambo,¹ the conception of the town seems to have been largely limited to a multiplication of traditional architectural units in an ordered manner. The unit was the CANCHA, or enclosure, consisting of three or four rectangular rooms placed around the walls of the enclosure and facing inwards into an open space. Having only one entrance, the CANCHA formed the setting for the smallest corporate group, possibly even thought of as an AYLLU.² It was a pointed expression in architectural demography of the introverted

1 Kubler, 1962, pp 316-17

2 My reasons for suggesting this are admittedly speculative; they depend on the formal homology between the four generational model of the AYLLU as a social and endogamous unit (see p. 31-33) and the quadripartite plan of the CANCHA, in Ollantaytambo at least. It is important to stress, as Zuidema has done, that the word AYLLU need not designate a concrete, fixed, group, but can be applied to "any social or political group with a boundary to the outside" (1972, p.22)

group in ancient Peru. In a looser, but no less indicative form than that of Ollantaytambo, was the arrangement of houses at Machu Picchu. Once again one finds clearly defined if irregular CANCHAS, which H. Bingham associated with clan (AYLLU?) groups, each CANCHA bearing some distinctive feature and each, as usual, having a single entrance. But particularly revealing in this case is the evidence that these CANCHAS also provided an important focus for ritual activities. In most of the CANCHAS there is a prominent boulder or crag, into which a seat or platform has been cut. These may be compared with similar constructions at other sites in the central Andes and which are thought to have had a cultic significance. Bingham thought that those of Machu Picchu were the centres for the ancestor worship of each group, but whether or not this is true it is evident that ritual organization functioned within closely defined social groups.

If the CANCHA provided a material and local setting for religious activity in the towns, it is apparent from literary evidence that the actual social groups that shared a 'religious' identity were indeed often small. The reports of the Licentiate Rodrigo Hernandez Principe are particularly revealing in this respect. This man was appointed in 1614 to explore the new regions of the archdiocese of Lima for the persistence of idolatrous practices among the native population. In 1621 and 1622 he carried out a series of investigations among the Huaylas Indians, in central Peru, and although his findings were ostensibly concerned with religious matters, there is a worthy

1 Bingham, 1930, p.76

2 The best literary evidence on the subject is recorded in Duviols, 1971, p.388

3 It is significant that the CANCHAS of Cuzco were thought by the Spanish Chroniclers to have been both palaces of former Kings and temples dedicated to the dead rulers and idols associated with them. Each was supposedly in the care of the AYLLU descended from the ruler in question

store of more sociological information implicit in them. It is a revealing coincidence that the reports of Indian religious practice often provide invaluable information on social organization, suggesting the strong organizational concurrence of religion and society in pre-hispanic Peru. Thus Hernandez Principe's report respects the named social divisions, which each reveals their own particular cults. The divisions which he records are pueblos, which may imply a fairly dispersed population as at San Ildefonso de Recuay, and within the pueblos are PACHACAS (theoretically a group of 100 households), and within these AYLLUS, while the latter seem to be subdivided into lineages, or families, which might take into account up to nine or ten generations. Numerically it is extremely hard to gauge the size of any of these groupings, and even the figure 100 for the PACHACA can only be a very rough estimate. If the evidence of Ortíz de Zúñiga, from the not so distant province of León de Huánuco is anything to go by,² pueblos were usually fairly small, where more than 100 inhabitants was exceptional in 1562, but on the other hand two of the three main communities that Hernandez Principe examined in the present report were clearly of some local importance, and Recuay may have had a population of as many as 1000.³ But, in the present context, the important circumstance is that religious activity in these three communities seems to have been less in the charge of the pueblo than of the AYLLU. The run of religious affairs was not so concerned with the expression of a "collective force" as with the distinction of the smaller collectivities, one from another, within a territorial group.

1 Hernandez Principe (1622), 1923

2 Ortíz de Zúñiga (1562), 1967

3 Duviols, 1967, p. 97

Amidst all the differing AYLLIUS there was one pervading distinction between the AYLLUS of LLACTAS and the AYLLUS of LLACHUASES. This distinction was noticed in each pueblo and with it was involved a difference of cults. The LLACHUASES thought they were the children of the Lightning and Thunder, to whom they devoted their worship, while the LLACTAS thought they had originated from¹ their HUACAS, which in turn provided the focus for their own cults. HUACAS comprised a wide variety of sacred objects of collective significance. They were usually identified with specific and individual natural phenomena - rivers, caves, mountains, rocks, trees, etc. - but they may also have taken artificial forms. The common use of this dual distinction between LLACTAS and LLACHUASES, with the same associated features, in a number of different places at once suggests that it may have had a social structural significance and was not merely incidental.

In his general book designed as an Instruction for the discovery and destruction of Indian idolatries, Pablo José de Arriaga² drew attention to the same dual distinction. He advised that the first question that should be asked of an Indian informant was whether he was a LLACTAYOC (or HUARI) or a LLACUAZ. The first word is a derivative form of LLACTA, and LLACUAZ is the singular of the Spanish plural, LLACUACES, rendered LLACHUASES by Hernandez Principe. I shall hereafter use the terms of the latter authority for convenience. According to Arriaga, the LLACTA was a native of his pueblo, as had all his ancestors been before him, but the LLACHUAZ, even though he had been born in the same pueblo, traced his ancestry to another place.

1 Hernandez Principe (1621), 1923, p.51

2 Arriaga (1621), 1968, p.248

The LLACTAS (or HUARIS) had many HUACAS, while the LLACHUASES¹ tended to have MALLQUIS, mummies of their ancestors. It may be noted that HUACAS were essentially rooted to one place, whereas MALLQUIS were more mobile and had no particular territorial affinities. It was thus appropriate that the LLACTAS should have, or be thought to have, HUACAS and that the LLACHUASES should have MALLQUIS. There is possibly an allusion in Arriaga to an antagonistic relationship between these two groups, but the striking feature of the relationship lies in the terminology which implies a distinction of the 'inside', exclusive group faced by an 'outside', stranger group. The 'inside' group is distinguished by its permanent attachment to a limited territory, while the 'outside' group is known primarily by the condition that it does not share in that attachment.

Arriaga understood the relationship between the LLACTAS and LLACHUASES in historical terms and assumed as a fact that the LLACHUASES had, in reality, been latecomers to a particular locale. The possibility has already been raised that this dichotomy had a structural significance, and this can be further demonstrated by a variety of evidence.

In an 18th century report on the Omasuyo, a tribe that on the eastern side of Lake Titicaca, it was said that "Originals are those who had their first origin in the AYLLU to which they at present belong and consider themselves natives and ancients and ancient in the place. AYLLU is what we call a district group. For this reason they consider themselves superior and of better class than the Yanacunas and Uros, so that among them an original is more to be recommended than an outsider, especially in holding office, in .

1 Loc. cit.

obtaining more land, and of receiving a better place ..."¹ Latcham, who recorded and translated this statement, adds that the same description was given by Ramos Gavilán,² who lived in the same area at the beginning of the 17th century, with reference to the divisions Hurinsaya and Hanansaya (original and outsider respectively), so one may trust that the 18th century account reflected a traditional model. Latcham accepted the literal, historical, sense of the two terms and took the outsiders to be latecomers, as were those, he³ thought, of Hanansaya. However, although an historical meaning may have also been implied, it has been shown by Zuidema that the relationship between Hanansaya and Hurinsaya had in Cuzco a social structural significance,⁴ while the same dual organization was imposed by the Incas in other parts of their dominions. Closer to the Omasuyo, the Lupaka nation had a dual organization of Hanansuyu and Hurinsuyu, which clearly operated at several different levels of social and political organization, from the nation down to the local village.⁵ One may already suspect then, that the relationship between the Originals and the Outsiders among the Omasuyo had more than an historical rationale, and this is demonstrated in the position of the Uros in the outsider category. The Uros were according to most accounts, indigenous to the Titicaca basin and it has even been suggested that they may have been the descendants of an original population. It is clear, then, that in this case a social structural explanation, rather than an historical one, would be more appropriate.

1 Latcham, 1927, p.79

2 Ramos Gavilán, 1621. Unfortunately this book is extremely rare and I have been unable to check Latcham's comparison, but from what will be said hereafter I believe it may be trusted.

3 Latcham, 1927, p.79

4 Zuidema, 1964

5 Diez de San Miguel (1567), 1964
Murra, 1968

Unfortunately, the Indian words (probably Aymara) for Original and Outsider are not given by Latcham, but the relationship between the two groups, along with its hierarchic character as will later be seen, suggests the same pattern as that in the relationship between the LLACTAS and the LLACHUASES.

Accepting the validity of the association between these two sets of terms, the evidence of the Omasuyo illustrates the wide geographical range of this form of organization. Arriaga's evidence alone covers the archdiocese of Lima, which included the Chachapoyas in the North and at least the Yauyos in the South. Arriaga himself travelled considerably further South in his own enquiries, as far as Arequipa, and this before he wrote his book. In his passage on the LLACTAS and LLACHUASES he remarked that this distinction was maintained in many parts of the country. One may reasonably suppose that this dual organization operated over an extensive area, so diminishing the likelihood that individual historical circumstances can provide an explanation in so many cases. To justify the latter would require the assumption that there were massive movements of population in pre-hispanic Peru, quite apart from the movement of MITIMA under the Incas, but there is little ground to support this assumption. Fortunately, there is one example which neatly illustrates the non-historical basis of the LLACTA/LLACHUAZ relationship.

One of the communities of the Huaylas Indians which Hernandez Principe investigated, Magdalena de Ichoca, was a 'reduccion' composed of four separate pueblos. It is reasonable to assume that when the four pueblos were reduced to one only one of the four, if any, remained in its original position. In relation

to that one the other three should therefore have been Outsiders, or LLACHUASES. In fact, only one of the four groups figured as LLACHUASES, and so one is led to believe that the different groups that were brought together organized themselves according to a traditional pattern comprising LLACTAS and LLACHUASES: the particular history of the community was of less importance.¹

Although the above evidence does not automatically imply a dual organization, there are some other indications that this may have been the case. This has already been suggested in the material from the Omasuyo, where a resemblance was noticed with the organization of Hanansuyu and Hurinsuyu, a form of organization that will be considered later. Also suggestive is another piece of information from the Huaylas Indians. In San Ildefonso de Recuay, the Hecos AYLLU recognized two mythological beings, who represented respectively the LLACTAS and the LLACHUASES: Marca Llitan came from Llacjacochoa (a lake) close by and represented the 'native' population; Yaro Vilca Llajhuaz had come from Lake Titicaca and was the son of the Lightning and father to the 'immigrants'.² It is said in a somewhat ambiguous passage that "in order to consolidate friendship between themselves, these LLACTAS and LLACHUASES used to offer to the Lightning two sons of their family ..."³ Whose family was meant is unclear; possibly one is meant to understand the corporate group of LLACTAS and LLACHUASES, and since two children were offered it may be that each group provided one of the two. It is interesting that it was to the Lightning, the deity of

1 Hernandez Principe (1621)), 1923, p.65

2 Ibid, p.26

3 Ibid, p.27

the LLACHUASES, that these children were offered for it emphasises that the 'outsiders' were functionally involved in the community to the extent that on occasions they assumed a superordinate position.

It may be noted that the characterization of the two groups in this instance fulfils expectations, with the LLACHUASES appearing as foreigners, come from the distant Lake Titicaca as sons of the Lightning. This depiction may be compared with another, which appears in the confession of a Camachico Indian, from the province of Cajatambo, in the middle of the 17th century.

Domingo Rimachim confessed to the Visitor of idolatries that there were two types of primordial beings in the land, the HUARIS (LLACTAS) and LLAGUACES. The former with whom Rimachim identified, were a nation of bearded giants, created by the Sun, who were responsible for the original distribution of fields and the construction of irrigation channels. They seem to have been associated with agriculture and thus with fixed communities while the LLAGUACES, on the other hand, who were created by the Lightning, were invisible and wild, hunters and shepherds, living originally on the PUNAS¹ (bleak plateau-land) above Lake Titicaca. In this characterization one suspects the deprecatory insinuation of the agriculturalist against the shepherd who represented the Outsider of shifting domicile. The hierarchic relation of the LLACTAS to the LLACHUASES is here apparent and it may be corroborated in the differing descents of the two groups as here described. In Inca cosmology, at least, the Sun was invariably considered the superior of the Lightning. More specifically a relationship as of father to son between the two categories is insinuated in some information, recorded by Arriaga, in a letter from

1 Duviols, 1971, pp 374-375

Hernandez Principe on the idolatries of the Huaylas, and neighbouring, Indians. The information consists of a list of the HUACAS, MALLQUIS, and other sacred objects, of a number of communities, and wherever both HUACAS and MALLQUIS were found together in one place it was said that the MALLQUIS were the sons of the HUACA.¹

The subordinate position of the 'outsiders' was even more explicitly seen, from a political point of view, in the evidence from the Omasuyo. The Yanaconas in that representation were a class of servile retainers, while the Uros were technologically poor and generally despised. They were traditionally fishermen, and so like the LLACHUASES of Domingo Rimachim's confession they failed in not being agriculturalists. This is not to say that all LLACHUASES were necessarily not farmers, but rather that that was how they were portrayed, and if reality fitted the picture so much the better.

On the other hand, the superordinate position of the LLACTA is witnessed in the translation of the word LLACTAYOC as "lord of the pue²blo", which is given in Ricardo's Quechnu dictionary. The superior position of the LLACTA is probably best understood in relation to a nexus of ideas extolling the value of unflinching descent from one and the same place. To explain these ideas it will be necessary to refer to some aspects of religious organization in pre-hispanic Peru, and possibly also pre-Incaic.

Following what has gone before, it has been seen that one can make a broad classification of general sacred phenomena in pre-hispanic Peru in the distinction between the HUACAS of the LLACTAS and the MALLQUIS of the LLACHUASES. Whereas MALLQUIS were easily removable, HUACAS were not, and even when they were artificial, which usually

1 Arriaga (1621), 1968, Ch. 10

2 Ricardo (1586), 1951, p.53

means they were carved out of stone, the Spanish missionaries had considerable difficulty in properly demolishing them. And supposing one cleric did manage to destroy such a HUACA, there was no certainty that the place where it had stood would not continue to be venerated with the broken pieces of the HUACA, or with a new one.¹

The chief centres of cultic activity in Peru were specific places, which by their nature could not be removed. Although more mobile HUACAS were in existence, one could conjecture that many of these were introduced by the Incas, an idea that could be inferred from a quite considerable body of opinion in the Spanish sources. How else is one to interpret the repeated belief that HUACAS were originally introduced into the provinces by the Incas? Huaman Poma thought that the whole cult of HUACAS was introduced by the first Incas,² an opinion that was more or less endorsed by several other authorities.³ Alternatively, Polo de Ondegardo thought that the Incas imposed the HUACAS of Cuzco on the subject peoples.⁴ As will be seen in the third chapter the mobility of HUACAS played an important role in Inca religious policies. This need not imply that Andean Indians had no movable cultic objects before the Incas, but that on the whole they tended to be geographically bound, whereas Inca HUACAS were carried from one place to another, in the service of the army or other more civil enterprises.⁵

1 Arriaga (1621), 1968, pp. 202, 229, 230, 231

Duviols, 1971, p.207

2 Huaman Poma (1615), 1936, p.81

3 Molina (1553), 1968, p.75

Murua (1590) 1946, Book III, Ch. 13, p.193

Santillan (1563) 1968, Ch. 28, p.111

Sarmiento de Gamboa (1572), 1942, p. 90

The question of HUACAS in Inca Peru will be considered in more detail in Chapter 3. The influence that the Incas had over local religious practice was extensive, and although the present suggestion on the introduction of movable HUACAS is decidedly speculative it does fit with other known facts

4 Polo de Ondegardo (c.1565) 1916a, Ch. 15

5 See, for example, Salcamayhua (c.1613), 1968, p.297

The geographical definition of 'pre-Incaic' HUACAS is largely evident in the accounts of the extirpators of idolatries in the provinces, but it may again be inferred from a comment of Huaman Poma. While he insisted that the ruinous practice of HUACAS originated in the Incas, he also mentioned that the people of the Third Age (that is, previous to the Incas) had left the road of glory, the way of the Christians, and had begun to say that they originated from rocks, caves, lakes, mountains, rivers, and so on, thus denying the Adamite origin of men. ¹ These natural phenomena, plainly unmovable, from which the Indians were said to take their origin, were otherwise known as PACARINAS, or PACARISCAS, and were the centres of important local cults at the time of the Spanish conquest and after.

One of the first systematic extirpators of Peruvian religion, Cristobal de Albornoz, wrote that "the principal kind of HUACA that the people had before they were subjected to the Inca, they called PACARISCAS, which is to say creators of their characters (creadoras de sus naturalezas)". ² This description of the PACARISCA succinctly draws out its peculiar and powerful significance as the depository of the group's identity, of its character and distinctiveness. But the words PACARINA and PACARISCA do not share exactly the same meaning, although they were equally used for the same type of HUACA. 'PACARISCA' carries the meaning suggested above of the character or nature of a thing. In Ricardo's dictionary it is translated as "naturaleza" ³ (character or essence), and for "natural cosa" the translation given is PACARISCANCHIC. ⁴ In another entry,

1 Huaman Poma (1615), 1936, p.60
But see Salcamayhua (c1613), 1968, pp.286-7 for a different opinion!

2 Albornoz (c.1583), 1967, p.20

3 Ricardo (1586), 1951, p.164

4 Loc. Cit.

PACARISCA SIMI is translated as "the native language of each nation"¹ (language propio de cada nacion), which may express the idea of the essential quality that naturally subsists with a particular category. Gonzalez Holguín follows a similar implication when he translates PACCARISCCA SONCCO by "la inclinacion mia natural"².

'PACARINA', on the other hand, carries the meaning of "morning", to "dawn", "to give birth", or "to originate". Derived from the same root, PACARICHINI is given by Gonzalez Holguín to mean "to begin (originate) anything, to establish a custom, or to invent new and difficult things."³

Considered together, the two words suggest a nexus of ideas which imply that a notion of the essential quality of a phenomenon could be vested in the origination of that phenomenon. In other words the conception of origin and the conception of character could have been synonymous in Peruvian thought and certainly this seems to have been the case in the HUACAS known interchangeably as PACARINAS and PACARISCAS.

To the PACARINAS, then, it was thought that each group owed its very existence and character. Arriaga made the pertinent observation that the PACARINAS might also be addressed as CAMAC which is to say "creator",⁴ yet, of course, it is essential to recognize the multiplicity involved, for just as one group differed from another so did their PACARINAS differ from each other. A PACARINA might take one of a variety of forms - a stone, a spring, river, tree, a mountain, a cave, and so on, but invariably a fixed geographic phenomenon - and one may imagine that an Andean Indian might have conceptualized the difference between himself, his group, and an outsider in terms of their

1 Ibid, p.66

2 Gonzalez Holguín (1608), 1952, pp.266, 599

3 Ibid, p.266

4 Arriaga (1621), 1968, Chp. 7, p.220

¹
 respective PACARINAS. In the Third Chapter an Inca myth on the origins of the different Indian groups will be considered which emphasizes that the cultural distinctions between the groups were seen to go back to the very origin of each group. In the myth each band of Indians emerged from its respective PACARINA fully equipped as a cultured society, with its own distinctive dress, hairstyle and language.

One should not be led into thinking that the PACARINA was but an abstract device. Arriaga recognized the power the PACARINAS exercised and he commented, "this is one of the reasons why they (the Indians) so strongly resist the reduction of their pueblos and like to live in such unpleasant and troublesome spots. I have seen several (places) where it was necessary to go down about one league for water, and many can go neither down nor up but on foot, and the main reason they give is that that place is their PACARINA"². In unmistakable terms, this observation emphasizes that the territorial definition of social groups by their PACARINAS was a real and persuasive force and was not simply a metaphor for group relations, although it could have been that too.

Although PACARINAS are rarely explicitly linked with the cultic activities of LLACTAS, they were described as HUACAS and so one might expect that there was a connection. But it is in the character of the PACARINAS that one may appreciate this connection, for if the LLACTA was thought to depend for his position on the unchanging descent of a people from one place, that place can only have been conceived of as a PACARINA. The immobility of the PACARINA could hardly have been appropriate as the cultic centre of the shifting LLACHUAZ.

1 Garcilaso de la Vega (1609) 1966 Book I, Ch. 18, p.49

2 Arriaga (1621), 1968, Ch. 2, p.202

In the light of this description of the PACARINA one may the better appreciate the weighted value set on the category LLACTA, as opposed to the LLACHUAZ, who had forfeited both his direct connection with his origin and thereby some of his 'essential' character as well. He lacked a certain legitimacy, a notion which only the Indian Huaman Poma could appreciate. When he wished to vilify the memory of Manco Capac, the founding Inca according to most traditions, he described him as a man who had "neither pueblo, nor land, nor fields, nor fortress, nor race, nor kinsmen." He was, in fact, a LLACHUAZ, rootless, placeless, PACARINA¹less, in contrast to the true Inca, in Guaman Poma's eyes, Tocay Capac, who had rightly emerged from Pacari Tambo, the traditional PACARINA of the Incas.

I have so far desisted from considering what precisely were the groups in this pattern of PACARINA cults, because the question raises certain problems. At the time of the Spanish conquest it seems likely that the PACARINAS were operative at several levels of social organization and not just at the most local. It is suggested that they were particularly associated with LLACTA divisions, although Albornoz remarked that there was no group, whether large or small, that did not have its PACARISCA, noting at one end of the scale that even the provincial divisions of Hanansaya and Hurinsaya had them.²

I think that what Albornoz meant by this statement was that groups of all proportions had PACARISCAS, rather than that every

- 1 Huaman Poma (1615), 1936, pp.80-81
 J. Ossio, 1970, p.191-2 thought that Poma's portrayal of Manco Capac in this case was based on Spanish conceptions of property and ownership as titles to respect. I think that the interpretation I have offered is equally valid in the light of the foregoing considerations. I see no reason why both lines of thought may not have been operating simultaneously in Poma's mind.
- 2 Albornoz (c.1583), 1967, p.20

single group had its PACARISCA. This implies an hierarchy of PACARISCAS to accord with the organizational hierarchy that the Incas were creating in the social and political spheres. The other divisions of which he was thinking belong to the famous decimal system of administration which the Incas were thought to have imposed throughout their conquered territories. Now, the decimal system and the provincial divisions of Hanansaya and Hurinsaya (the latter in Northern and parts of Central Peru at least) were almost certainly of Inca provenance in the forms in which they were found, and so one may fairly discount the PACARINAS of these groupings from the traditional non-Inca distribution of PACARINAS. Albornoz, himself, makes no further mention of PACARINAS of decimal divisions in his own list of HUACAS of the land, and so one may doubt that they had any lasting effect on local religious practice.

Whether or not PACARINAS were traditionally cultivated by tribal groupings is less easy to ascertain. Albornoz mentions several tribal PACARINAS and there are a number of tribal myths, such as that of the Cañaris, which suggest that the PACARINA¹ concept was operative at this level as well. It would seem reasonable to argue that, since the PACARINAS were involved in group distinction, any self-defined social group was liable to have a PACARINA and this doubtless included the 'tribe'.

1 Molina (1574), 1943, pp.15-16

See also the mention of similar myths from the Collagua and Cavana tribes of Southern Peru; Relaciones Geograficas (1586): 1965, Vol. I, p.327

The existence of myths about tribal origins does not, of course, say anything of the history of the myths. It may well have been in the Incas' interests to encourage such myths: whether or not they already existed

One may thus expect that there was an hierarchy of PACARINAS from the tribe down to the smallest AYLLU, although the information which Arriaga presented makes it evident that the emotive force of these HUACAS existed most fully at the level of the local AYLLU with which Arriaga himself associated the PACARINAS.

In the treatment of these PACARINAS I have tried to suggest the twofold aspect of their significance, both in the construction of values which were associated with the social structural position of LLACTAS, and in their more pragmatic role in defining the boundaries of local groups in the Andes by reference to geography. One may fairly conclude that the superior position in the LLACTA/LLACHUAZ dichotomy was defined by territorial immobility as opposed to mobility. Fixity to one place represented the ideal.

Before considering how the LLACTA/LLACHUAZ classification related to patterns of social organization observed among the Incas, it may be useful to review the salient features of the former. In translation the terms LLACTA and LLACHUAZ suggest an historical significance, indicating the first inhabitants of a place on the one hand, and on the other all latecomers. But the terms define social categories which may be shown to have had a social structural significance, irrespective of all historical events. I have included here a simplified tabulation of the values and associations of each category, but it must be insisted that this can only be an artificial guide and one which could be extended or reduced according to the particular context. It deals, moreover, with concepts, not empirical facts, and thus the oppositions need not have been invariable.

<u>Llacta</u>	<u>Llachuaz</u>
(Inside)	(Outside)
Native	Foreign
Agriculture	Pastoralism
Settled	Moving
Superior	Inferior
Sun	Lightning
Huacas	Mallquis
Origins	Death

The terms LLACTA and LLACHUAZ do not, as far as I know, occur in conjunction in any of the sources bearing on the social organization of Cuzco. Gonzalez Holguín's dictionary has the entry CUZCO LLACTAYOC, which is translated to mean "natural del Cuzco" (native of Cuzco)¹, but there is no entry for LLACHUAZ. As will be seen in the following chapter, the population in and around Cuzco evidently underwent considerable change with the rise of the Incas, and the extent to which populations were mixed may have made nonsense of the historical values (if not the significance) that were placed on the LLACTA/LLACHUAZ distinction. This event is itself extremely important for an understanding of the transformation of social values in the Inca empire, and a question that will be taken up in more detail in the Second Chapter.

It can not be expected that the form of organization considered in the preceding pages will be found in replica in the social organization of Cuzco. In fact, it seems as if the Incas deliberately attempted to assimilate as many different forms of organization, from among their subject peoples, as possible, so as, perhaps, to appear as the model of the empire, a multum in parvo, comprehending

1 Gonzalez Holguín (1608), 1952

all the peoples of the realm. R.T. Zuidema has shown how the confusions in the sources regarding both the history and the organization of Cuzco (most of which material was recorded by the Spanish chroniclers in the form of history) may be resolved by recognizing that the Incas had more than one representation of their own social organization. The differences, he argues, may be reduced to three basic principles of social classification, these being tripartition, quadripartition, and decempartition, the latter also involving a quinquepartition. The different representations of organization are taken to be combinations of these three principles. Also considered, but not included among the three basic principles, is the classification of HANAN (Hanansuyu, Hanan Cuzco) and HURIN (Hurinsuyu, Hurin Cuzco). The two terms can be literally translated as "high" and "low" respectively, and the opposition is seen by Zuidema primarily within the second principle.

Zuidema notes from his research in the local archives throughout Peru, Bolivia, and Ecuador that the terms HANAN and HURIN frequently occurred from Central Peru to the South of Bolivia. Terms (PACHACA=100, and HUARANCA=1000) associated with a decimal form of organization were found in Central and Northern Peru; while the terms of the tripartite model occurred mainly in Central and Southern Peru. Zuidema concludes that the decimal organization was probably adopted

- 1 The social organization of Cuzco has been considered by a number of Inca scholars in the past, but Zuidema's works are the most recent and substantial and it is on them I will be depending for description and any interpretation. The two most important works in the present context are "The Ceque System of Cuzco. The Social Organization of the Capital of the Inca" (1964) which briefly outlines the major contributions to the subject, along with the failures, of the past. The other work is the unpublished "Inca Kinship System: a new Theoretical View" (1972)
- 2 Zuidema, 1964.

by the Inca from the Chimu kingdom, which was centred in the Moche Valley and had been conquered by the Inca. As to the fourfold principle of organization, it has been suggested elsewhere that it originated either from the Aymara region or from the Coast (Chincha Valley), while it is possible that an Aymara origin should again be considered for the threefold division. Recognizing this convergence of a variety of forms of organization in Cuzco, one may better appreciate the colossal task that Zuidema undertook in trying to explain the social organization of the Incas and one may sympathise with him the more if at times he also is hard to comprehend. (It must be noted that Zuidema himself did not see the convergence of these different forms as a consequence of events, but rather suggested that the different representations be viewed in terms of a logical progression.) For the present it may be observed that although no simple characterization of Inside/Outside could do justice to the complexity of Cuzco's social organization, it may still be found that principles of exclusion were operative. On the other hand, one crucial difference from the LLACTA/LLACHUAZ pattern will be found in the shift away from the fixed definition of a group by the territory it does or does not occupy.

The most recognizable form of organization after the LLACTA/LLACHUAZ form is found in the HANAN/HURIN dualism. This operated both within Cuzco itself and in the relation of Cuzco to the outside world. In both instances the point of reference for the superior, and exclusive, group was the living Inca ruler, who filled a position in Hanan Cuzco. The hierarchic nature of the dual relationship was

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- 1 Zuidema, 1964, pp.220-1
 - 2 Kirchhoff, 1949, pp.303,305
 - 3 Loc. Cit
 - 4 Zuidema, 1964, Ch. 7
 - 5 Zuidema, 1964, p.41, passim.

expressed in a variety of ways, but all sources agreed with Molina of Chile that those of the Hanan division, whether it was in the social organization of Cuzco or anywhere else in the Inca Kingdom,¹ were considered more noble than those of the Hurin division. That some degree of ritual antagonism was involved in the division is suggested on occasions; Molina of Cuzco recorded that the month of Camay Quilla (equivalent to January) was begun in Cuzco with a battle among the novitiate Incas, fought with slings between those of Hanan and those of Hurin Cuzco.² In a wider context, Zuidema has pointed to the antagonistic relationship between HANAN and HURIN as applied to the relation of the mountains to the Coast in pre-hispanic Peru.³

In the same way that the empire was divided into four regions (SUYU), so was Cuzco representable in terms of four parts, which Zuidema thought were grounded in a system of four marriage classes practising matrilateral cross-cousin marriage.⁴ Whether or not this was the case, and Zuidema admitted the difficulty of demonstrating it,⁵ quadripartition was clearly an important feature of the organization of Cuzco. The four SUYU were known as Chinchasuyu, Andesuyu, Collasuyu, and Condesuyu. While these SUYU implied geographical entities, at the same time they provided a framework for the conception of social relations between the Inca PANACA and AYLLU within Cuzco itself. According to the Spanish accounts each Inca ruler founded its own PANACA (royal AYLLU), but Zuidema has demonstrated the unlikelihood of this historical construction

1 Molina (1553), 1968, p.73

2 Molina (1574), 1943, p.61. Molina consistently placed the Inca months forward by one month, according to the Gregorian calendar, in which he differed from all other authorities

3 Zuidema, 1962

4 Zuidema, 1964, p.42-3, passim

5 Loc. Cit.

and has proposed instead that the putative rulers represented the different social groups which constituted the social organization of Cuzco contemporaneously. So one is not to suppose that there was a steady growth from 1 to 10 PANACAS, but that all existed together as part of one whole.¹ The associations of the rulers with particular positions in the four SUYU are then to be taken as personifying the different functions of the individual groups, and these functions again take their reference from the ruling Inca.² Thus, while the four SUYU provided a fixed structure for social and political relations, the actual groups could be moved from one position to another within the four SUYU depending on their relations vis-à-vis the ruling Inca. The latter was invariably associated with the Chinchasuyu, while the positions of the other putative kings and their AYLLUS were decided on the basis of their propinquity to the living ruler in terms of kin-relatedness.³ It may be appreciated that this organization, while still basing itself on territorial arrangements, escaped the values of fixity to one place enshrined the LLACTA category and thus it permitted a more flexible system for ordering social relations. There can have been little opportunity any longer for maintaining the territorially bound values involved in the LLACTA/LLACHUAZ classification.

To understand in more detail how the quadripartite model operated it is necessary to consider the effect on it of tripartition, which Zuidema took to be the fundamental principle of organization, from which all other forms or representations of organization could be derived.⁴

1 Ibid, pp.122-128

2 Ibid, p.129

3 Zuidema, 1972, pp.39-40

4 Zuidema, 1964, p.67

Since his paper on Inca Kinship, I think that Zuidema would prefer to speak of the tripartite and the quadripartite principles as both working together

The starting point for Zuidema's study of Inca social organization was the evidence from the 'Ceque system' of Cuzco.¹ A CEQUE is literally an irrigation channel, but in this case the word refers to a series of 41 ordered lines imagined as radiating outwards from the Coricancha, or Temple of the Sun, in the centre of Cuzco. These imaginary lines were arranged in groups of three distributed over the four SUYU; each group consisted of a COLLANA, a PAYAN, and a CAYAO CEQUE. Along each of these lines were a number of sacred objects or places, which were in the ritual care of a particular AYLLU of Cuzco. The association of particular CEQUES with particular social groups suggested not only a system of ritual, but also of social organization and on the basis of this and the information in the chronicles of the putative Inca kings, it has been possible for Zuidema to suggest ways in which the social groups of Cuzco were ordered and related to one another. The ordering of these groups, it is argued, followed definite structural principles, for which the three associated terms of the CEQUES are isolated as fundamental concepts. The three terms, COLLANA, PAYAN, and CAYAO, when used together implied a tripartite model of social organization, in which (where Ego was always COLLANA) COLLANA described one's primary kin, the group to which one belonged and the same group into which theoretically one should marry; CAYAO applied to all non-kinrelatives, but also to those from whom men of COLLANA might take secondary wives; while PAYAN designated one's subsidiary kin, the offspring of the marriage between a COLLANA man and a CAYAO woman.²

1 Cobo (1653), 1956, Book XIII, Chs. 13-16
Zuidema, 1964, pp. 1-5

2 Ibid. pp.40-42, 101, passim.

The tripartite model described above suggests a 'relative' quality, according to which an ego will invariably define his endogamous group as COLLANA in relation to all others, but Zuidema has proposed an alternative interpretation. He has argued that the three categories were ranked hierarchically, so that COLLANA represented the group most immediately related to the ruling Inca, while PAYAN and CAYAO represented two further removed stages of relatedness to the Inca.¹

The social organization of Cuzco has now been twice introduced in terms of the degree of relatedness of its constituent groups to the ruling Inca. This supposes some form of hierarchy, which Zuidema has explained in terms of kinship and marriage, but he would maintain that although the model for the hierarchy was grounded in structures of kinship and marriage its application extended to broader social and political relations. The model in question Zuidema claims to see expressed in the internal configuration of the AYLLU.

In the past, the AYLLU has been one of the lasting bugbears of Peruvian studies and has persistently defied precise definition.

1 The way in which Zuidema implicitly interprets the relationship between these three terms in two different ways is disturbing and not adequately explained by Zuidema himself. On the one hand he argues that COLLANA will have a relative application to the endogamous group to which Ego belongs, but on the other hand COLLANA may apply more fixedly, as we shall see, to the most highly ranked group, ie that of the ruling Inca. From Zuidema's account it would seem as if the terms could have had both a 'relative' and an 'absolute' significance in defining the relations between groups. Zuidema recognizes the problem (1964, p.65), but does not openly tackle it.

In the sources, definitions of the concept are scarce and cursory and it seems to have been presumed that the meaning of the word was known or apparent. Barnabé Cobo, for example, usually meticulous in his explanations, gives no description of the AYLLU and the nearest he approaches to it is when, like other writers before him, he alternates the word with 'lineage'¹. In a somewhat later source the factor of kinrelatedness is given less emphasis than the condition of demographic propinquity in the definition, the "AYLLU is what we call a district group" (18th Century source)². In the 16th century, Ricardo translated the term to mean "Tribe, genealogy, the family household"³, so drawing attention to the scope of its applicability, to the idea of descent and, perhaps, to its demographic connotations in 'casa familia'. The general sense of the word is demonstrated in its derivative AYLLUNI, which Ricardo translates "to collect people, or animals."⁴ (Gonzalez Holguín gives a second meaning of the word which again emphasises its generic connotations: "The kind or type in things"⁵. It is apparent from a subsequent entry that the term may denote a kind of animal, such as the bird).

In recent research,⁶ the AYLLU in Inca Peru has been recognized as a type of local group practising endogamy, but beyond this little explanation has been offered. Zuidema, on the other hand, has posited a specific conceptual model of the AYLLU without denying the breadth of the concept's application, to political as well as to kinship relations. According to Perez Bocanegra,

1 Cobo (1653), 1956, Book XI, Ch. 10, p.30

2 Latcham, 1927, p.79

3 Ricardo (1586) 1951, p.18

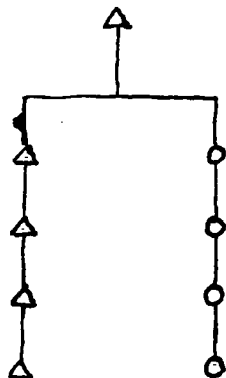
4 Loc. Cit.

5 Gonzalez Holguín (1608), 1952

6 Rowe, 1946

Kirchhoff, 1949

whom Zuidema uses as his primary source for the structure of the AYLLU, the AYLLU is theoretically comprised of a male line and a female line of four generations each, descended from a single ancestor, in this case a genitor.



The AYLLU could then include a FFFZDDD or a MMMBSSS. Zuidema explains that the reason why the AYLLU was thought to comprise four generations was because it could thus present the appearance of an endogamous unit. This was possible since the closest marriageable relative for the non-noble was one of the fourth degree. In other words, the great, great grandchildren of a common ancestor could marry one another.²

Not only did the endogamous conception of the AYLLU provide the model for the local group, but it could also be extended to apply, according to Zuidema, to "any social or political group with a boundary to the outside".³

But all this does not yet suggest any form of hierarchy. If I understand Zuidema aright he suggests that among the Incas the four grades, or generations, within the AYLLU model were elaborated into a system of yet more exclusive marriage rules, which served

1 Zuidema, 1972

2 Ibid, pp.22-3

3 Ibid, p.22

to distinguish not only the Inca nobility from the common people but also to distinguish from one another different degrees of relationship propinquity next to the ruling Inca. Zuidema thus proposes that there was not just a single marriage prescription or preference, but that there were several different and clearly defined types of marriage which were ranked hierarchically.¹ This marriage hierarchy reached its logical apex in the ideal union of the ruling Inca with his full sister, proclaiming the most endogamous and exclusive marriage conceivable. The marriage of the Inca to his full sister was supposed to take place at the same time as the Inca's investiture, which insinuates the probability that the summit of the hierarchy was thought to lie in a position of authority and not in a particular line of descent. This circumstance would seem to endorse Zuidema's view that the list of kings in the Spanish sources was not a dynasty as previously believed, but possibly a list of leaders, or personifications, of different Inca social groups. In other words, there was probably no precise hereditary right to the position of the Inca ruler and the position itself was considered of more importance than the person who filled it. Maria Rostworowski has, indeed, shown that, beyond the rights of all the sons of the Inca king (and even then it seems strained to speak of 'rights'),² there was no specific rule of succession. This absence may provide an explanation for the various conflicts between the sons of the recorded Incas, the most notable of which was the disastrous struggle between Huascar and Atahualpa, which aided the Spanish conquest of the Inca state. As regards the marriage hierarchy,

1 Zuidema, 1969
 Zuidema, 1972, pp 34-5
 2 Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, 1960

it may be said that the marriage of the Inca with his full¹ sister was between persons "of a degree of relationship zero".

Descending the hierarchy of marriage forms, one finds that brothers of the ruler and the higher nobility could marry their half-sisters of the same father but different mother. These were considered first degree relatives. The nobility in general could marry second and third degree relatives (eg MBD, FZD, and MMBDD and FFZDD), while the common people might marry their fourth² degree relatives (eg MMBDDD and FFFZDDD). Thus it may be seen how the marriage hierarchy existed within the structure of the AYLLU model, and it may be added that it was but one facet of the way in which the four grades of relationship in the AYLLU model were used for conceiving of social relations generally within Cuzco in an hierarchic manner. Zuidema sums up the arrangement in this description:

"The living king was the centre of Cuzco, according to which all nobles and other direct descendants defined their own rank as S, SS, SSS, or SSSS. Moreover, each of these ranks corresponded to the rank of a former king, who was³ respectively a F, FF, FFF, or FFFF to the living king."

1 Zuidema, 1972, p.35

2 Ibid, pp 34-5

3 Ibid, p.35

I have deliberately avoided entering into a discussion of kinship terminology and rules, despite Zuidema's basic opinion that kinship principles were at the root of all Inca organization. I have done this because I feel that it would be necessary to make several serious criticisms of Zuidema's analysis, which is itself extremely obscure on points. To undertake a restudy of Inca kinship organization is outside the intentions of this essay and with my present knowledge I could only handle the subject most inadequately. I have, therefore, illustrated from Zuidema's study as generally as possible so as to provide no more than a reference for the material and ideas that are more central to my purpose

At this point one can reintroduce the terms COLLANA, PAYAN and CAYAO, with the additional term CARU, which together assume a further meaning in the context of kinship structure. (Logically, however, it must be realized that this meaning precedes the application to social structure, according to Zuidema.) In this context COLLANA is associated with first degree relatives of the Inca, ~~PAYAN~~¹ with second, CAYAO with third, and CARU with fourth. So it is evident that the terms, the first three at least, carried the same hierarchic significance in both social and kinship structure and what is so interesting is the way in which the same terms could apply to different levels of organization, in the same way that did the classification of HANAN and HURIN. This must have allowed for a fair degree of flexibility, for if in one context a noble placed himself in a CAYAO position in relation to the ruling Inca, in another context he could participate in a COLLANA group in relation to another more distant than his own and the Inca's. One could depict this arrangement as a series of ever-widening, or ever-narrowing concentric circles, with the ruling Inca occupying the central and smallest circle. The validity of this representation is to some extent borne out in the street plan of present-day San Jeronimo, to the East of Cuzco,² but it is even more explicitly justified in Garcilaso de la Vega's description of the demographic organization of the subject peoples settled around Cuzco according to a concentric plan of radiating circles.³

1 Loc. cit.

2 Zuidema, 1964, pp.49-50, 241-2

3 Garcilaso de la Vega (1609), 1966, Book VII, Ch. 9

From the foregoing discussion of Inca social organization a number of conclusions may be drawn; in the first place it should be remarked that Zuidema holds that the underlying numerical principles, in particular those of tripartition and quadripartition, along with the AYLLIU model as the precise formulation of these two principles together, were derived from a common stock of social conceptions, and so one should possibly visualize these properties in conjunction with the dual classification, in some areas at least, of LLACTAS and LLACHUASES. Zuidema has not at any point considered this latter form of organization, nor to my knowledge has anyone else in the past, so the question of its relation to the patterns of organization which Zuidema has isolated still remains. I have already suggested that it may best be seen in relation to the HANAN/HURIN classification and this connection will be pursued in the following chapter.

Although Zuidema never speaks of any principle of exclusivity in Inca social organization, he has clearly been interested in the tendency to conceive of relations in the basis of as small a scale model as possible. The AYLLIU model, comprising five generations is itself an indication of this tendency, suggesting both the proportions by which the Andeans thought of the local group and the inclination to fix clearly defined boundaries in terms of endogamy to their conception of that local group. The value set on endogamy in Inca social organization has prompted Juan Ossio¹ to speak of an 'endogamous ideal', which he sees in more than just marriage rules in the thought of the Indian Huaman Poma de Ayala.

1 Ossio, 1970, p.147

Ossio draws attention to Huaman Poma's fear of the confusion of social and abstract categories, both amongst the Indians themselves and in their relations with the foreign Spaniards.¹ The desire for precise differentiation of groups is again sounded in this comment of Garcilaso de la Vega on Inca policy, "it was not lawful for those of different provinces to intermarry, or even those of different towns (pueblos). All were to marry within their own towns (pueblos) and their own families ... so as not to confuse and mix the lineages and tribes".² Zuidema himself wondered at the Inca interest in conceiving of the smallest endogamous group possible, intellectually that is, and the practical result of their enquiry may be seen in the Inca marriage with his full sister.³ The Inca marriage hierarchy was one expression of the 'endogamous ideal'; wherever a man married outside the degree of relatedness expected of him according to his relation to the ruling Inca, this marriage was considered of secondary value. And as in the marriage of a COLLANA man to a CAYAO woman, that is an 'outsider', the offspring would be considered as PAYAN (secondary) in relation to the offspring of the COLLANA man with a COLLANA woman.⁴

But while the marriage and social hierarchy took its reference from the ruling Inca, it would be mistaken to conceive of it as merely inward looking. This was not feasible given an empire to maintain. The crucial point to recognize is that there was a continuous hierarchy in the relations of COLLANA-PAYAN-CAYAO, while possibly outside Cuzco the three groups functioned more independently. The image of a series of concentric circles may be invoked to illustrate the point. Certainly by means of it one could postulate the smallest

1 Ibid, Ch. 3

Ossio, 1973, passim

2 Garcilaso de la Vega (1609), 1966 Book IV, Ch. 8 p.206
Ossio, 1970, p.150

3 Zuidema, 1964, pp. 65,66
Ibid, p.102

4 Zuidema, 1969

possible circle excluding all but the ruling Inca, but conversely the circles could be expanded outwards to comprehend ever larger groups of people and in this way, one might suggest, one could ultimately reach the all-inclusive, the rim of the empire. At the same time it may be appreciated that this conceptualization may form a powerful motivation for a physically expanding empire. The attempt to incorporate the outside within ever-wider circles cannot logically eliminate the outside and the possibility of yet another larger circle. Unlike the traditional local community in the Andes, the Inca empire depended for its existence on the ability to comprehend all peoples, to eliminate 'outsiders', which inevitably set it on an endless course of conquest and growth. If, as Zuidema has said, "Inca society was based on the relationship between the local endogamous group, Collana, and the outside world Cayao,"¹ these categories had become more fluid and elastic, I suggest, than social categories of the past, and one crucial agent of this must have lain in their transcendence of traditional territorially bound definitions, like that which existed in the LLACTA/LLACHUAZ categories outside Cuzco.

In the following Chapter I will discuss some more positive aspects of Inca dominance that tended to contradict the values associated with the LLACTA/LLACHUAZ classification, diminishing an emphasis on local 'exclusiveness' and leading to an implicit elevation of the idea of 'inclusiveness'.

1 Zuidema, 1964, p.63

CHAPTER II

It was suggested in the first chapter that the social organization of Cuzco under the Incas displayed certain novel tendencies in the conception of social groups which I have assumed were not merely the consequence of an urban condition. At the same time it can be realized that the physical expansion of the Inca empire must have positively threatened more local patterns of organization, especially if Cuzco was in some sense to be a model of and for the empire. In the same way as the Incas exported¹ their HUACAS to their subject people,² conceptions of social organization probably infiltrated the conquered lands from Cuzco. On an imperial scale at least, we know that the Incas attempted to rationalize the organization of the empire according to a decimal system.³ But possibly of most importance in the development of a new conception of social relations was the mere 'fact', or existence of the empire; the presence of a foreign authority in one's own lands, which can only have contradicted the values set on the local community, in particular the values associated with the LLACTA category. There is no evidence in the Spanish sources to show that the local communities had any conceptual means of explaining the reality of political power that intruded from without. As rulers in a foreign land, the Incas most probably suggested to the indigenous communities a LLACHUAZ identity and if this was so, as I shall attempt to demonstrate further on, then the hierarchical relationship between the

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- 1 Garcilaso de la Vega (1609), 1966, Book VII, Ch. 9
Zuidema, 1964, p.210
 - 2 See under pp.67-8, p.76
 - 3 See under pp.83-4

LLACTA and the LLACHUAZ was liable to be disturbed, and even reversed. This inevitably had its implications for the kind of exclusive bias traditionally adhering to the LLACTA category.

Irrespective of this potential contradiction, but also perhaps to overcome it, the Inca empire posited a more comprehensive, more inclusive, community than the Andes can have been immediately accustomed to. New relations had to be created and conceived between groups that had previously had little to do with one another, and besides this an intelligible framework had to be built within which Inca authority over many different and unrelated groups could be explained. But before launching into a consideration of what this framework may have implied, it will be necessary to look in more detail at certain new developments consequent to the Inca expansion and, in particular, at their likely influence on the values which emphasized local attachments and immobility, enshrined in the LLACTA category.

Bearing in mind what was earlier said about the association of language in myth with the definition of a group sharing a single ¹ PACARINA, one must acknowledge the immense influence that the extension of one language, Quechua, throughout the conquered territories must have had. Garcilaso de la Vega, who was particularly sensitive to the idealized role of the Incas as the Makers of a single nation or family, well expressed in his overabundant manner this aspect of the dissemination of Quechua. This policy was adopted by the Incas, he says, so that "foreign peoples, who, as we have said, held themselves as enemies and waged cruel war because

1 See under p. 21

they did not understand one another, might come to love one another as if they were of the same family and kinship by talking and revealing their inmost hearts to one another, thus losing the fear that arises from not understanding each other. With this device the Incas tamed and united a great variety of different tribes of conflicting religions and customs whom they brought into their empire and welded by means of a common language into such a friendly union that they loved one another like brothers." ¹ One need not literally accept Garcilaso's romanticism on primitive bellicosity and civilized amity, but one may find in his portrayal an indigenous substance. Quite apart from its administrative value, the propagation of a single language must have suggested the possibility of a common origin for all the communities within the empire which makes sense of Garcilaso's 'brotherly love' ideal.

At a more select level, the education of the sons of local leaders (CURACAS) either in Cuzco or in the provincial capitals, ² must also have been generating new cross tribal relations. According to Murúa (1590), the education offered in Cuzco lasted four years, among which one year was dedicated to the teaching of religion, the HUACAS and their cults, and another year to the learning

1 Garcilaso de la Vega (1609), 1966 Book VII, Ch. I, p.403
See also, Ibid, Book VII, Ch. 3, for a long quotation from Blas Valera which emphasizes the unifying function in the exploitation of a single 'Imperial' language.

2 For education in the provinces, see Murra, 1961, p.54
Garcilaso de la Vega (1609), 1966, Book VI, Ch. 35, p.393;
in which he is quoting from Blas Valera

from the QUIPU knot - records of so called histories (myths?)¹.
 It may be supposed that this education involved consideration of the HUACAS from throughout the empire and probably also of Inca myths, which involved other people than the Incas alone. It may fairly be assumed that the son of a provincial CURACA developed new patterns of thought in Cuzco from those of his native tribesmen, and which in turn may have influenced his own people.

The Incas were evidently sensitive to what was heard and believed more generally, and sought to exercise control over 'imperial' traditions. According to Cieza de León, the Incas were extremely cautious to maintain only authorized versions of public oral traditions. Official recorders were carefully appointed and the recital of 'Histories' and myths closely controlled. If recitals were unauthorized, delivered on the wrong occasion, the teller was liable to a severe punishment.² The same applied to the songs in which myths and histories were commemorated; they were only to be recited on solemn occasions when, with the lords of the land and the Inca, were gathered the people of all parts of the empire. On such occasions the MALLQUIS, or mummies, of the Incas (and possibly also those of other lords) held forth and control of what they had to say may be conjectured as most likely. There can be no doubt that Inca traditions and imperial myths were disseminated throughout the land and from them a new consciousness must to some extent have been stimulated.

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- 1 Murua (1590) 1946, Book III, Ch. 4, p.169
 See also, Las Casas (1564), 1892, Ch. 21, p.179
 Garcilaso de la Vega (1609) 1966, Book IV, Ch. 19; Ibid. Book V
 Ch. 12, p.265; Ibid., Book VII, Ch. 2
 2 Cieza de León (1553), 1967, Ch. 12
 3 Ibid, Ch. 11

At a more fundamental level the increased movement of populations from one area to another under the Incas, in the form of MITIMA, must have provoked disturbing dilemmas for a people steeped in values prizing longlasting and unshifting residence in one place. However, the question of the nature and history of the MITIMA is a problematic one. The dictionaries simply describe him¹ as a newcomer, or a settler in a particular place, but the chronicles, in particular Cieza de León's, give the impression that the MITIMAS were created by the Inca as part of a deliberate policy.

Cieza de León gives the fullest early account of the MITIMAS,² explaining that they were employed by the Inca in a variety of occupations, including those of shepherd, quarryman, clothier, silversmith, sculptor, and farmer. To this list other functions can be added from the local sources. But more important is Cieza's classification of three types of MITIMA according to their function in imperial policy. The first type was involved in the pacification of newly conquered peoples; MITIMAS were sent from among loyal and secure subjects to introduce good order and government (buena orden y policia) amongst the new subjects at the same time as MITIMAS were drawn from the latter so as to weaken their homogeneity and power of insubordination. Cieza adds that, knowing how much the people resented leaving their natural homes, the Inca accorded them much honour, presenting them with gold and silver bracelets, clothes of wool and feathers (much esteemed!), women, and many other privileges. The second purpose of the MITIMA was the provision of

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- 1 Ricardo (1586), 1951, p.61
 Gonzalez Holguín (1608), 1952 p.244
 Both these dictionaries give the word MITMAC;
 There are other renderings, like MITIMAC, but I have kept
 simply to MITIMA
- 2 Cieza de León (1553), 1967, Ch. 22

soldiers for garrisons on the frontier of the empire, and among these MITIMAS were included OREJONES ('big ears'), the lesser and incorporated Inca nobility. To a third end the MITIMAS were sent to populate and cultivate wastelands, although Cieza adds that these MITIMAS were only sent to climates with which they were familiar.

Adopting a thoroughly different approach to the question of the MITIMAS ^{from} ~~than~~ that in Cieza's description, J.V. Murra has argued for considering the MITIMAS in a traditional pre-Incaic context.

This scholar has presented the evidence to suggest the existence of a long established economic pattern, by which communities in one ecological zone established colonies in other parts of the country so as to profit from the natural products of a variety of ecological settings. Murra has isolated a number of alternative patterns of this kind of colonial activity, depending upon the geographical setting of the mother community. Thus, for example, in the province of Huánuco the settlement nucleus was in the mountains at a height of between 3000 and 32000 metres where maize and tubers were the staple crops; but in order to profit from the produce of llamas and alpacas (mainly wool and meat), and from the deposits of salt there, the natives established small outposts on the PUNAS, at a height of some 4000 metres. Similarly, for the sake of cotton, pepper, wood and coca, other settlements were established in the lowland forests. As an alternative example, amongst others, Murra has also considered the Lupaka, S.W. of Lake Titicaca, who formed a coherent political unit, or kingdom, of considerable dimensions and

1 Murra, 1972

The original argument was presented in his Ph.D. thesis (1956) which unfortunately I have been unable to consult

who seem to have operated a highly developed form of "vertical control". Based on the PUNA at a height of about 4000 metres, the source of their wealth lay in their vast llama and alpaca herds and so their colonial activities extended only vertically down, into the jungle for wood and coca, and to the more distant Pacific coast for maize, cotton, and guano.¹ Whereas the outposts established by the Indians of Huánuco were small and probably no more than three or four days walking distance from the nuclear settlement, the colonies established by the Lupaca on the coast were of a more permanent character and were some 10 to 15 days travelling distance from the PUNA homelands. Murra gives examples of other patterns of "vertical control" from different parts of the country and concludes that the MITIMA system of the Incas was but a re-elaboration of this traditional economic model. In the empire the vertical pattern of control lost its importance and was replaced by a system of multi-functional 'islands' established at all ecological levels, far from the nuclear settlement of Cuzco.²

If Murra's interpretation of the Inca MITIMA policy is completely valid it would be less possible to argue convincingly that this policy posed a profound threat to traditional Andean society, and in particular to the values it placed on the LLACTA concept. Although Murra does himself recognize the potentially disturbing effects of the MITIMA system he explains these mainly in terms of the scale of the movements of population under the Incas and of their subversion of the old economic pattern for military ends.³ The strains the system may have imposed, that he sees, are economic

1 Murra, 1972
Murra, 1968, pp.121-125
2 Murra, 1972, pp.464-468
3 Loc. cit.

rather than intellectual. I, conversely, would like to emphasize the intellectual threat of the Inca MITIMA policy and would insist that in certain crucial aspects the Inca MITIMA was very different from the colonist of the old economic pattern of "vertical control".

In the first place it should be emphasized that the word MITIMA was most often used explicitly in connection with the Incas, although there are some instances where its application is unclear in this respect.¹ But more important than this formal difference between traditional colonists and the Inca MITIMAS, is the total removal of the latter, in their persons and in their rights from their native communities, a circumstance that radically differentiated them from the type of colonist with which Murra was concerned. Murra himself quotes a passage from the *Visita* of the province of Chucuito, one of his major sources, which describes the Inca MITIMAS as people permanently removed from their homeland and all connections with it (concerning Inca rule, "los dichos MITIMAES como se encomendaron los repartimientos donde estaban se quedaron alla y nunca mas se contaron con los de esta provincia ...").²

The traditional colonists of whom Murra writes, on the other hand, retained their associations and rights in their own nuclear settlement.³ This implies a quite crucial difference if what has earlier been said about the high value set on an ancestral commitment to one place of origin was true. That the distinction I am making did actually exist is made quite clear by an observation of Polo de Ondegardo, a jurist with an eye for this kind of detail.

- 1 Possible examples being, Cieza de Leon (1553), 1947, Ch. 104, p.446 and scattered references in Ortiz de Zúñiga (1562), 1967; but in this source the MITIMAS are usually described as placed by the Incas Murra, 1972, p.460
- 2 Garci Diez (1567), 1964, p.170 Murra, 1972, p.439
- 3 Op. Cit.

He noted that there was a class of people who, for the sake of the Inca and his religion, went to work on land beyond their own district and some of whom actually stayed on these lands, away from their own communities. But these people, Polo explained, who remained subject to their own leaders, were not the same as the MITIMAS who had been removed from the jurisdiction of the chiefs under whom they had been born.¹

The Inca MITIMAS, unlike the traditional Peruvian colonists, lost all connection with their homeland and their traditional leaders. Initially, they must have been in the position of having no PACARINA, in a position which may have been thought to resemble that of the LLACHUASES. From this circumstance, then, it is evident that although an adapted pattern of "vertical control" may have continued under the Incas, the MITIMAS represented a quite new development and significance.

Rather than considering the MITIMAS with reference to a traditional economic situation, I believe it will shed a different light on their significance if one envisages them in relation to a traditional Andean form of social classification, that posed in the contradiction between LLACTA and LLACHUAZ. That this is a valid source of reference is insinuated in the meaning that the Spanish lexicographers gave for the term, MITIMA. As a "stranger" or a "newcomer", MITIMA suggests a significance akin to that of the LLACHUAZ in relation to the LLACTA, implying a sociological connotation. Indeed, one often finds in the sources a stated opposition between the MITIMAS and the 'naturales' of a district,² suggesting a parallel

1 Polo de Ondegardo (c.1565), 1916, b., p.71
The observation is repeated in Cobo (1653), 1956, Book XII
Ch. 23, p.109

2 See, for example, Informaciones (1572), 1940. passim.

relationship to that traditionally existing between LLACHUA SES and LLACTAS respectively. But if there was a superficial resemblance between these two conceived dichotomies, there was otherwise a fundamental difference that implied a complete reversal of the traditional conception. If the LLACHUAZ had filled a formally subordinate and disrespected position, the MITIMA was honoured, at least according to official Inca policy. Cieza de León remarked that the MITIMAS were honoured and privileged by the Incas. After the OREJONES they were held as the most noble people in the provinces, and this picture was reiterated by both Garcilaso de la Vega and Barnabé Cobo.¹ Amongst other reasons, this elevation of the MITIMAS seems to have been possible because Inca nobles were often placed over them as their lords, while the latter as Incas may have been in governing positions vis-à-vis the native population. The situation that arose out of this condition is succinctly depicted in this statement from a report on the Indians of Huánuco in 1562: "the said MITIMAES have their own chief, from Cuzco, and never did the main chief of this division (the local population) have any lordship or power over them, on the contrary the MITIMAES had power over these since they were placed as overseers of the Inca."²

With respect to the commanding position of the MITIMAS over local populations it is revealing to look at the composition of the population surrounding Cuzco. Undoubtedly the imperial capital was exceptional for its wealth, its store of spiritual power, and for

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- 1 Cieza de León (1553), 1967, Ch. 22
 Garcilaso de la Vega (1609), 1966, Book VII, Ch. 1, p.403,
 and Ch. 2, p.404
 Cobo (1653), 1956, Book Xii, Ch. 23, p.110
- 2 Ortíz de Zúñiga (1562), 1967, p.51, quoted in Murra, 1961, p.50

its great variety of peoples that were deliberately gathered there. But Cuzco, as a number of authorities have noted, was designed to be an image of the empire, a multum in parvo of the scope and order of the Inca realm. It may be noted for example, that the CEQUE system of Cuzco was intended to ^{be} replicated in all towns ¹ throughout the empire; although there is not the evidence yet to show that this projection had taken root. But in the case of the MITIMA one can compare provincial patterns with those centred on Cuzco.

The INFORMACIONES of the Viceroy Toledo (1572) that covered an area between Jauja and Cuzco, have generally been treated as too ² prejudiced to be of any valid use, but regardless of the highly

- 1 This, at least, is the inference from a number of comments in Polo de Ondegardo and Barnabé Cobo
 Polo de Ondegardo (c.1565) 1916 a., Ch. 15;
 1916 b., pp.50-51
 Cobo (1653), 1956, Book XIII, Ch. 12, p.167
 The importance of this example lies in the material of the first Chapter, where it was shown that the Ceque system of Cuzco had a sociological import as well as a religious one. Viz. Zuidema, 1964!
- 2 This attitude is the consequence of Toledo's well-known policy towards the Indians; his determination to affirm the Spanish Crown's just right to rule Peru, Indians as well as Spaniards, and his ruthless energy in trying to establish what he believed would be the most efficient and profitable administration for the land. He was not so much an inveterate enemy of the Indian, as a man who wished simply to extract as best he could the most from all productive elements under his rule. The Indian population, needless to say, was the major human productive element

loaded questions that were posed to the native informants, they do reveal an unusual wealth of biographical information on the individual Indians questioned. Before any informant replied to the carefully framed questions, he was expected to say briefly who he was and where his ancestors had lived before him. Often the informant with his ancestors, was native to the place in which he lived, but at other times he, or his ancestor, was an outsider described as a MITIMA. From this biographical evidence it is unmistakably apparent that some remarkable juggling of populations was afoot under the Incas which must have transgressed all the traditional sensibilities on local distinctions. A good example of this situation is to be found in the enquiries conducted in Jauja. One Indian who was questioned was named Don Diego Lucana and he described himself as the 'prencipal' (chief lord) of the MITIMAES of the Cañaris and Chachapoyas, and of the Llaguas who lived in the repartimiento of Lurin (Hurin) Huancas.¹ One could hardly have a better example of the mixing of populations to the detriment of the indigenous inhabitants ('Originals?') than this. Lucana, in the name of the 'prencipal', must refer to a tribe of the same name that occupied an area in the mountains to the South West of Cuzco, in the present province of Ayacucho.² It is known that this tribe was highly respected by the Incas and with the Soras it held the privilege of being the Inca's own litter bearers.³ The Cañaris and the Chachapoyas, over whom Don Diego was lord, were of two separate tribes living far to the North of either the Lucanas or the Huancas of Jauja province. The Chachapoyas lived in the North

1 Informaciones (1572) 1940,

2 The adoption of a tribal name in this manner was a quite common practice, at least after the Spanish Conquest

3 Huaman Poma (1615), 1936, p.336

Cieza de León (1553), 1967, Ch.20, pp.67-8

Garcilaso de la Vega (1609), 1966, Book VI, Ch. 3, p.319

of what is now Peru, to the East of Cajamarca, while the Cañaris lived in the South of what is now Ecuador, in the province of Cuenca. Both tribes were respected by the Inca for their military prowess and they provided the pick of the Inca's army, including his own personal bodyguard.¹ The third group over which Don Diego had authority was the Llaguas, none other than the LLACHUAZ met with before. Here, then, is a specific example where the two concepts or categories of people, MITIMA and LLACHUAZ appear in one and the same grouping. Unfortunately there is no indication of whether or not the MITIMAS had any authority over the native population. But the point to be made, quite apart from the fact that four different populations were gathered in the land of yet another people, is that an Inca institution, accorded considerable value by the ruling establishment, was associated with a category of people (the LLACHUAZ) traditionally occupying a structurally inferior position. This reversal will become more apparent in other material still to be treated.

Moving closer to Cuzco one finds a similar pattern in the village of Chiuchis, in the Yucay valley just North of Cuzco. Here Pedro Yhoc recorded that Tupac Inca had brought his grandfather from Ucros, on the borders Huánuco, to govern the shepherd Indians who the Inca had established there.² It is highly probably that these shepherds were themselves settlers or strangers, since one may notice from the informants of the pueblo that it was inhabited by the Indians from several parts of the empire (although significantly all from the Chinchasuyu). There are still other cases where a stranger appears quite plainly to have been placed in a

1 Murua (1590), 1946, Book III, Chs. 3 and 17
Cieza de León (1553), 1947, Chs. 43 and 44

2 Informaciones (1572), 1940

position of authority over a native population. Don Caspar Cana related that his father had been brought by Inca Yupanqui (Tupac Inca Yupanqui? 'Tenth Ruler') from Hatun Cana and appointed 'MITIMAE' of the 'naturales' of Lacroma, a village in the Valley of Jaquijaguana, because he was a valiant Indian and did not rebel against the Inca.¹ This testimony is important not only because it is one illustration of the composition and political relations of the population surrounding Cuzco, but also because it provides a specific example of the meaning of the word 'MITIMA' under the Incas. In this instance 'MITIMAE' clearly denoted a political office of authority held by a foreigner in a local community.

The foregoing examples were intended to illustrate how the MITIMA system under the Incas may have profoundly upset cherished notions about the relation of the LLACTA to the LLACHUAZ. It should be noted that whereas the participants in the old pattern of "vertical control" were grouped in multi-ethnic communities² where there could have been little basis for a binary distinction between 'original' and 'outsider', the MITIMA filled positions that were unmistakably contrasted with the position of a 'native' population. Acknowledging that the contradistinction between the LLACTA and the LLACHUAZ was conceptually and emotionally a genuinely significant one, it is not hard to understand how these fundamental categories were not only placed under severe strain by the Inca MITIMA policy, but were also reversed from the political point of view, in a number of situations. And one should not underestimate the extent to which the MITIMA policy was applied. In the 17th century, Barnabé Cobo

1 Ibid, p.108

2 Murra, 1972

remarked that "there is scarcely a valley or a pueblo in the whole of Peru where there is not some AYLLU or group (parcialidad) of MITIMAES"¹. Although the movements of populations after the Spanish conquest must be included in Cobo's observation, one may still consider that many of the groups he referred to were the result of Inca rule. Certainly J.H. Rowe believed in the immensity of the MITIMA policy and concluded that "shuffling of populations on this gigantic scale made the Inca empire a regular melting pot, and there is no doubt, even if the convulsions which the Spanish conquest brought had not speeded up the process, the old tribal divisions would have entirely lost their significance in a couple of generations, and the heterogeneous population of the empire would have become a single nation."² Although Dr Rowe's assessment of the magnitude of MITIMA activity can be endorsed, it is important to stress that this did not therefore imply that the heterogeneity of groups was being totally demolished. As Rowe himself writes of the MITIMAS (from reliable evidence) one page earlier than his opinion on the movement towards homogeneity expressed above, "they kept their own customs and distinctive headdress and were never really united with the old population."³

From an observation of Clements Markham in the second half of the last century, it would appear that the distinction between the MITIMA and the 'natural' persisted at least until that time. He writes, "it is curious that the descendants of MITIMAES on the coast of Peru still retain the tradition concerning the villages in the Andes, whence their ancestors were transported. Thus the Indians of

1. Cobo (1653), 1956; Book XII, Ch. 23 p.110
 2. Rowe, 1946, p.270; and he gives several examples
 3. Ibid, p.269

Arequipa are descended from MITIMAES who were sent from a village Cavanilla, near Puno; those of Moquegua, from MITIMAES who were natives of Acora and Llave, on the shores of Lake Titicaca; and those of Tacna, from natives of Juli and Pisacoma, near the same lake.¹ If the Incas were involved in the creation of a single and comprehensive community it is not to be thought that this necessitated the eclipse of regional variations and political divisions. Certainly old boundaries had to be removed for the sake of new associations and distinctions, but the concern for differentiation was not thereby lost. What was at stake was often not so much the traditional divisions, but more the relations across those divisions.

1. Markham, 1864, under p. 149.

This evidence, however, raises again the problem of the distinction between traditional colonists and Inca MITIMAS since the MITIMAS of Moquegua may refer to colonists from the Lupaca sent quite independently of Inca policy. The evidence for this is in, Garci Diez (1567), 1964, p.80. This is another example where the term MITIMA applied irrespective of the Incas. It should be remembered that a homonym need not imply a homologous function. If the term was traditional and the Incas appropriated it, this may have been a means of casting a novel practice in a traditional frame. This behaviour has been suggested in other contexts by Murra, 1967, p.349; and by Godelier, 1973. Basing his interpretation on Murra's work Godelier argues for the existence of what he calls "a mechanism of extension" (p.90), whereby a new mode of production in Inca Peru, in which local communities were exploited by the state, drew its support from the old mode. This support consisted in the ideological utilization of traditional forms for new ends. I think that Murra might agree that the Inca MITIMAS were such a case in point, an interpretation I would wholly endorse

The relation of the MITIMAS to 'naturales' suggests some interesting parallels with the relation between the two concepts HANAN and HURIN. These two terms had a wide application in Inca Peru, covering a variety of phenomenon. Simply translated they meant "high" and "low" respectively, and when used in conjunction they implied an hierarchical relationship between two opposed entities, of which HANAN was always thought the superior. Thus the Incas of Cuzco were divided between Hanan, Cuzco and Hurin, Cuzco, and at the time of the Spanish conquest, the Inca rulers were associated with Hanan Cuzco. Garcilaso de la Vega explained that Hurin, Cuzco had been founded by the first mythical Coya (queen) and added that its inhabitants stood in relation to those of Hanan, Cuzco (founded by the first Inca, brother and husband of the first Coya) as younger brothers to their elder.¹ Betanzos gives a somewhat different interpretation, but the meaning is the same. According to him, Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui (putative Ninth Inca) had made the said division ordaining that in Hanan, Cuzco were to live his closest relatives and descendants in the direct line of his lineage, while Hurin, Cuzco was to be inhabited by only the bastard sons of the Incas, children born of foreign women.²

Denoting a social and political division, these two terms were applied throughout the Inca realms, and it was thought that their existence in provinces, valleys, towns and villages was established by the Incas.³ Where there is evidence of the functioning of this

1 Garcilaso de la Vega (1609), 1966 Book I, Ch. 16, p.44

2 Betanzos (1551), 1968, Ch. 16, p.48

3 It is generally believed, however, that this dual organization pre-existed the Incas, but that the Incas appropriated it and extended it to new areas, while possibly modifying certain of its features. Zuidema suggested (1964, p.220) that the division between Hanansuyu and Hurinsuyu was of Bolivian and Southern Peruvian provenance, spreading into Central Peru, but existing in the North only where there was considerable Inca influence, as at Cajamarca

moiety division (usually described as Hanansuyu and Hurinsuyu) outside Cuzco it is equally apparent that the HANAN division commanded the superior position. Writing from his experience in the Highlands of Bolivia, Juan de Matienzo explained that "in each region there are two parts ... each has a major lord who rules the leading Indians of his part and does not interfere with the rule of the other, but the lord of the Upper half is the chief¹ of the province as a whole. The Lower chief obeys him." A specific example of this arrangement could be found among the Lupaka, South West of Lake Titicaca, where the moiety division² operated from the tribal level down to the local village.

In other aspects the two terms, HANAN and HURIN, appear to have more obviously indicated contrasting qualities or phenomena. In the social organization of both Cuzco and the whole empire, HANAN was associated with Chinchasuyu, and HURIN with the opposing Collasuyu. In geographical terms the latter incorporated lands to the South and East of Cuzco, and the former lands to the North and West. The Collasuyu was thought of as the land of the rising sun and according to Inca myth it harboured the origins of the Sun and Moon, the planets, and man; the Chinchasuyu, on the other hand, lay where the sun set and there are several indications in Huaman³ Poma's book that it was associated with the dead.

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- 1 Matienzo (1567), 1967, p.20. I have not consulted this work; the quotation is taken from Ossio, 1970, p.43
 - 2 Garci Diez (1567), 1964
 - 3 I base my opinion on the logic of the given opposed qualities, but also on an extraordinary iconographical association of MALLQUIS with the Chinchasuyu. If one compares the picture in Huaman Poma on p.165, depicting a war leader of the Chinchasuyu, with the picture on p.256, of a MALLQUIS in a ceremony of the dead, one is struck by the fact that the latter has been given the same distinctive headdress of the Chinchasuyu as the living warrior. This may be coincidence, but I prefer to think not, since the association is quite within the known organization of values, see Ossio, 1970, Ch. 3 for a general treatment of the values opposed in the forms HANAN and HURIN

If this be true one is posed with the interesting possibility that the logic of Inca thought implied that the cult of the MALLQUIS should locate the revered ancestors less in the past than in the 'future', admitting that our conceptions of time can only inadequately express the Inca contradistinction. This as it may be, one may see that this contrast between the Collasuyu and the Chinchasuyu accords with the broad division in religious practice between the cult of HUACAS, and in particular PACARINAS (LLACTA), and the cult of MALLQUIS (LLACHUAZ). If this is not too wild a connection to make, it follows that the ruling Incas, who were associated with the Chinchasuyu in the social organization of Cuzco, may have been thought to have had a particular connection with the cult of MALLQUIS, and thus also with the category LLACHUAZ, a remarkable circumstance but one which can be substantiated.

In one account of the foundation of Inca Cuzco, given by Gutierrez de Santa Clara, an historical explanation is presented for the relationship of Hurin Cuzco to Hanan Cuzco. The foundation of the Inca city is described as an historical event when Tupac Inca Yupanqui ('Tenth Inca') conquered his enemy and the slayer of his father, the CURACA of the then existing Cuzco. "The Inca built a citadel very close to Cuzco on a slope beside a stream of water, which he called Annan Cuzco, which is to say the district of upper Cuzco, so as to make fierce war from there against his mortal enemy,"¹ whose own position was in what was to become Hurin Cuzco. Zuidema endorses this account and adds, "The point of departure for the description of the organization of Cuzco has to be the account of the actual conquest, for the description of this clearly indicates the relationship between the conquerors and the conquered. The

1 Gutierrez (1548), 1963, Book III Ch. 50, p.213

conquerors belong to Hanan-Cuzco, the conquered to Hurin-Cuzco.¹ This being the case, one need have little doubt as to the validity of making the association between the Inca rules and Hanan Cuzco and the concept of the Outsider, the LLACHUAZ, only the traditional value attached to the latter concept was totally reversed.

One must here admit two very important qualifications to the foregoing interpretation. In the first place, there is no tangible evidence that the social organization of Cuzco explicitly considered the categories LLACTA and LLACHUAZ as significant. In fact the relationship of Hanan Cuzco to Hurin Cuzco was more often seen in terms of kinrelationship, as has already been noted from Garcilaso de la Vega, and Betanzos. If we transcribe the discussion into Inca terms the issues will be more clearly appreciated; the relevant terms are COLLANA, PAYAN, and CAYAO. It will be remembered that COLLANA was associated with the Inca rulers, the conquerors, and CAYAO with all outsiders, the subjects of the Inca, the conquered. However, in terms of mobility and settlement, the Inca conquerors of Cuzco were the outsiders to the settled population of Cuzco. I suggest that one effective solution to this contradictory situation was the imposition of a mediating category so as to effect a "weakening of the opposition" between the stigma of the LLACHUAZ attached to the conquerors and the pride of the LLACTA who had been conquered. The mediating category was PAYAN, in which were involved the offspring of COLLANA (the conquering LLACHUAZ) and CAYAO (the conquered LLACTA) and thereby the relationship of Hanan Cuzco to Hurin Cuzco became one of COLLANA to PAYAN, as Zuidema himself has

1 Zuidema, 1964, p.200. It may be added that Zuidema took this account as the only one with any historical value regarding the origin of Inca Cuzco. Rowe may have been tempted to think similarly (1946), since he thought one could only speak of an 'historical period' from the reign of Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui, and consigned all that went before in the Inca narratives to a quasi-mythical stage

shown, implying the conception of kinrelationship recognized above.¹
This may be one reason why the terms LLACTA and LLACHUAZ no longer had any significance in the social organization of Inca Cuzco.

The second problem arises out of the manner in which I have implicitly considered the terms LLACTA and LLACHUAZ. I have treated them as if they had both a structural and an empirical significance. In the first Chapter it was argued that 'LLACHUAZ' denoted the 'outsider' only from the viewpoint of social classification WITHIN a group and that he was not necessarily an outsider in a concrete and historical sense; but in this Chapter, as in the matter of the Inca conquest of Cuzco, and the function of the Inca MITIMA, it has been argued as if LLACHUAZ could imply a 'true' outsider, one who had historically come from elsewhere, as indeed Arriaga understood by the term. This procedure on my part has not been a display of duplicity nor wantonness, for I am persuaded that concepts, forms of social classification, may have both a structural existence and an historical life. A social structural relationship in Andean communities between theoretical 'originals' and 'outsiders' could exist because historically this distinction was significant.

The terms LLACTA and LLACHUAZ functionally indicated a structural relationship which need have had no historical significance. But, the literal meaning of the two terms did imply an historical significance and so they could not entirely ignore the effect of history upon them. A real outsider, as opposed to a social 'outsider' was, I suggest, associated to some extent with the category LLACHUAZ because of the literal meaning of the latter term. In the event of a real outsider assuming a position of overall authority within a community, it is reasonable to assume that the meanings and values

1 Zuidema, 1964, pp.78-8, 140

attached to the terms LLACHUAZ and LLACTA underwent critical change, or at the very least the old meanings must have been severely threatened. What seems so important about Inca history is that the traditional values attached to this pair of concepts were in many cases empirically upset and intellectually wholly reversed, as in the opposition of HANAN to HURIN. This, at least, is the logical, if hypothetical, conclusion which one may draw from the simultaneous and contradictory existence of two sets of dual values in Inca Peru.

Although he does not consider them in this way, Zuidema records in a footnote some data on the social organization of the city of Copacabana (admittedly from a later date), which demonstrates that the same form of relationship between HANAN and HURIN existed elsewhere in the empire than Cuzco alone.¹ The baptismal register for the city for 1729 gives the following division:

HANANSAYA: ayllu	HURINSAYA: ayllu
Cozco	Cana
Chinchaysuyu	Lupaca
Chachapoyas	Capa Anco
Yanaconas	
Uro	

The names of the first three AYLLIUS under Hanansaya indicate groups foreign to the Collasuyu (within which Copacabana was situated) and associated with the Incas. Chinchaysuyu positively represents the converse to the area in question (the Collasuyu), while Cozco suggests the Incas themselves, or a group associated with them. The Chachapoyas, it will be remembered, formed the vanguard of the Inca army, and the Yanaconas can be associated with the serving retinue of the Inca. The place of the Uro is harder to explain, since the word usually

1 Zuidema, 1964, p.100

designates an ethnic group of economically primitive fishermen living around Lake Titicaca. Historically they were natives to the area, but we know from other sources that the dominating Aymara despised them and so structurally they may have occupied a position equivalent to the LLACHUAZ, with whom the Inca had associations. In fact, in another piece of information recorded earlier, the Uro with the Yanacona were both described as 'outsiders'. Here, then is an explicit example of a category involving both historical and structural significances.

Under Hurinsaya, the Cana and the Lupaka AYLLUS both represent tribes indigenous to the Collasuyu and the Lake Titicaca region. I can not place the Capa Anco ayllu, but the distinction between the two moieties is already evident.

In the two examples given above, from Cuzco and Copacabana, of the relationship between HANAN and HUREM in social organization, a relation of the same form as that of LLACHUAZ to LLACTA, Outsider to Original, is plainly suggested. However, in these cases, the Outsiders are identified with the Ruling people, the Incas, and associated with the superior quality of HANAN.¹ Recognizing this, one can not fail to appreciate the contradiction with which the values elevating the LLACTA were faced and with which the Incas themselves were presented if they were to justify their authority.

1 It could be asked whether this apparent reversal of values had any peculiar connection with the concept of 'Pachacuti'. This term literally implies "a world turned upside down", a cataclysm, and was associated with the putative Ninth Inca ruler, Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui, either as a result of the immense reformatory acts attributed to him or because of a series of natural disasters that supposedly occurred in his reign. In the account of Gutierrez de Santa Clara and the many local accounts, Pachacuti Inca is the father of the Conqueror of Cuzco, or of the provinces, as the case may be, while in most Inca records it is his name that is attached to the great political and social reforms. It could be that his name was also 'thought' to have had a significance with respect to the particular reversal outlined above

On the one hand the Incas could be nothing other than Outsiders to their subject peoples yet on the other hand, the conquered tribes had to admit a superior power which might normally have been classed in the LLACHUAZ category. This I would suggest, was the substance of a fundamental conceptual contradiction within certain areas of the Inca empire and which was only at a very fluid state of resolution at the time of the Spanish Intrusion.

In the following two Chapters I shall attempt to outline certain Inca policies in the realm of religious practice and conceptions which I believe may be interpreted, in part at least, in the light of the kind of contradiction I have isolated in this Chapter. I shall present the information, although it is still pitifully slender in the present state of our knowledge, to show that the Incas were in the process of constructing an 'imperial' religious organization, a system of shrines and sacrifices, along with imperial rituals, that all tended to promote the conception of an 'imperial' community that could override certain local distinctions. In particular, I will suggest that an Imperial system of PACARINAS was being generated which may have confounded some of the distinctions between LLACTAS and LLACHUASES. Finally, I shall consider the concept of VIRAGOCHA, usually explained as the Inca High God, with reference to the LLACTA/LLACHUAZ contradiction and point to its characteristics which suggest some kind of a mediating position between the qualities associated with the two categories. I should emphasize already that in treating VIRACOCHA in this way I have implicitly projected the LLACTA/LLACHUAZ dichotomy on to a scale that in the sources it never explicitly had. The explanation I give of VIRAGOCHA will have to be its own verification of this procedure.

CHAPTER III

It was suggested in the last Chapter that departures in social and political organization under the Incas upset values based on the relationship of the LLACTA to the LLACHUAZ, but it is within the realm of religious activity and speculation that one may more readily discern the positive urge towards new conceptions of society which might correct the imbalances that the expansion of the empire had brought about. It will be proposed that the Incas attempted to organize systematically the different subject peoples within a single framework so as to suggest the conception of an overriding community, integrating all the various groups within the empire.

In the same way as the Incas posed (and were posed) as the orderers of social and political life, they were also presented as the founders, or reformers of religion. Even if one can not accept Garcilaso de la Vega's thesis of a progression from barbaric idolatries of the Age before the empire to the aspiring monotheism of the last Incas,¹ it is clear from most of the sources that important transformations in religious practice were thought to have been effected by the Incas. Primary amongst these was the cult of the Sun, which the Incas were thought to have introduced wherever they ruled.

The Sun cult, like so much else about the Incas, remains disturbingly enigmatic. Although it was supposed to be the central cult of the Inca state, notably little information has been preserved

1 On the subject see Duviols, 1964

on the conduct of this cult. The reason commonly proposed for this circumstance is that the cult was so intimately enmeshed with the Incas and their state that it at once disintegrated with the collapse of the empire at the Spanish invasion. But would there not have remained some men alive to tell of what the cult had once been? One can surmise that the Sun occupied a highly esoteric position in Inca ritual and the few who were equipped to speak on the subject preferred not to. Yet, some sort of cult associated with the Sun was dispersed throughout the conquered territories and it must have provided one form of link between the different subject peoples of the empire. At a local level, informants to the visitors of idolatries in the Archdiocese of Lima (1614-1621), repeatedly confirmed that they worshipped the Sun, although it is not clear what was implied by this admission. Whether, for example, these cults of the Sun functioned independently of the state cult or whether they were the same is not certain. Were these cults indigenous locally or did they grow under the influence of the Inca cult is equally unknown.

According to the chronicles, one of the first acts of the Incas following the subjection of a people was the institution of centres of Sun worship and the organization of estates and ritual labour for the provision of materials for this worship. Cieza de León, who

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- 1 Arriaga (1621), 1968, Ch. 2, p.201
 Hernandez Principe (1622), 1923, pp.38, 51, 58, 66
 Mora y Aguilar (1614), 1966, p.504
 See also, Cieza de León (1553), 1947, Ch. 49, p.402, *passim*
 Avila (1608), 1942, Ch. 22, p.389
 Relaciones Geograficas (1586), 1965, *passim*, eg Vol.I, pp.168, 222, 311, 314, Vol.II, pp.18, 25, 262, 272
 The examples cited, and there could be many more, all indicate local worship of the Sun, rather than worship organized in Inca towns. In some cases these local cults are explicitly attributed to Inca influence, in other cases not.
 For the Visitors (1614-21) and their proceedings, see Duviols, 1971 Ch. 2, IV
- 2 eg Santillán (1563) 1968, Ch. 34, p.113
 Las Casas (1564), 1892, Ch.7, p.62
 Cobo (1653), 1956, Book XIII, Ch. 5, p.157

travelled throughout Peru, recounted that palaces and temples were established at every 10 or 20 leagues along the main highways and, for the service of the temples, priests and chosen virgins were re-¹quired. It is clear from his description of the Sun temple at Tumbamba that the said virgins were of local extraction,² suggesting one way in which the local populace might have been drawn into the new cult and its attendant concepts. Garcilaso was of the opinion that the local CURACAS were responsible for the building of these³ temples. If this was so, it is nonetheless probable that the plan of the temples and the ritual of the cult were carefully supervised by the Incas according to prescribed formulas. Las Casas presents a theoretical description of the ideal Inca Sun Temple, which, as he remarks, can be found in practice in the temple of Pachacamac, admitting several discrepancies.⁴

However, there is no escaping the signs that the Sun represented the peculiar Father and tutelary deity of the Incas and seems to have been especially associated with powers of conquest and dominion of the Incas.⁵ The Sun temples, whatever else they may have suggested, were the material expression of the rulers amongst their subjects, even if they were not a manifestation of a shared religion of one empire. One striking suggestion of this configuration occurs in the close resemblance of the temples of the Sun with the USNO of the Inca. The latter was a pyramidal throne in the centre of town squares throughout the empire on which the Inca was supposed to have regarded military

1 Cieza de León (1553), 1947, Ch. 44, p.397

2 Loc. cit.

3 Garcilaso de la Vega (1609), 1966, Book III, Ch. 24, p.188

4 Las Casas (1564), 1892, Ch. 8, pp.66-68

For the temple at Pachacamac, see Kubler, 1962, pp.278-82

5 See, for example, the prayer to the Sun in Molina (1576), 1943, p.43; retranslated in Rowe, 1953, p.93

parades and to have given orations to the people of the town.¹ It may be noted that the USNO at Vilcas bears a remarkable resemblance to Las Casas' plan of the Inca Sun temple and has, in fact, been frequently mistaken for a Sun Temple.² It was not necessarily, then, through religious conformity to one cult (at least not to the Sun cult) that the concept of community was being created.

Nonetheless, the idea that radical religious reform had been introduced by the Incas was repeatedly expressed from various points of view. Huaman Poma thought that the entire worship of idols and HUACAS had been introduced by Manco Capac,³ supposed first Inca, to the detriment of the religious life of the Indians. Under a different guise, the same opinion was expressed by Molina of Chile,⁴ Martin de Murúa,⁵ and Hernando de Santillán, although there was clearly some doubt in the latter's mind as to the veracity of the view, for, as he writes, "the worship of huacas, ACCORDING TO THE ACCOUNT THAT SEEMS MOST CERTAIN, is a recent introduction of Tupac Inca"⁶ (my emphasis). The account given in other sources sounds the more plausible, if one assumes that there was some historical truth in the stories of the Incas as religious reformers. According to this account the role of the religious reformer is commonly attributed to Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui, the father of Tupac Inca, who was accredited with a general reform of the different religious practices of the empire. According to Las Casas, Pachacuti Inca, whom he significantly describes as the first Inca,

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- 1 Molina (1553), 1968, p.68
 - Albornoz (1583), 1967, p.24
 - Huaman Poma (1615), 1936, p.398
 - 2 Relaciones Geograficas (1586), 1965, Vol.I, p.207
 - 3 Huaman Poma (1615), 1936, p.81
 - 4 Molina (1553), 1968, p.75
 - 5 Murúa (1590), 1946, Book III, Ch.45, p.269
 - 6 Santillán (1563), 1968, Ch. 28, p.111

initiated a general inquiry into the gods of each province, pueblo, and house; "they say that at many of the gods that they recorded to him he laughed and ridiculed, giving to understand that such things were not worthy to be gods; and so he declared that it was a mockery to hold as gods, and worship, such base and vile objects, and that they ought not to reverence them, nor sacrifice to them ..."¹ but, Las Casas adds, the people were permitted to keep them if they so wished. Sarmiento and Balboa, however, had a harsher tale to tell of the reforming activities of Pachacuti. Balboa relates that an assembly was held in Cuzco at which it was decided which cults in the empire were to be recognized and which were not. Pachacuti afterwards charged two of his sons, Amaru Tupac Inca and Huayna Auqui Yupanqui, with the execution of the assembly's decisions, and the two travelled throughout the empire introducing new ceremonies and abolishing old ones, and even putting to death those who continued to practise forbidden rites.² Unfortunately the criteria for the reform of local cults are not known, although one may be sure that some sort of systematization was involved; Sarmiento informs us that Pachacuti ordered the HUACAS of Cuzco to be adopted in all the conquered provinces,³ an idea that the respected Polo de Ondegardo also recorded.⁴

Although contemporary scholarship on the Incas is extremely wary of making any statement of historical events in Inca Peru due to the highly dubious 'historical' quality of the reports Indians gave of their past, and prefers to keep to studies of a synchronic nature, I believe in this case one can justify hazarding that such a religious reform did take place, although its historical context and exact

1 Las Casas (1564), 1892, Ch. 7, p.58

2 Balboa (1586), 1840, p.62

3 Sarmiento de Gamboa (1572) 1942, p.90

4 Polo de Ondegardo (c.1565), 1916, b., p.52

character must remain obscure. What is unmistakable is that the changes involved more than just the imposition of the Sun cult and even imperial religious demands required more than just the co-operation of an esoteric priesthood. In a statement from the 'visita' of the province of León de Huánuco, it is said that among the five major failings on the part of the local CURACA which could lead to his dismissal from office, one was carelessness in organizing the sacrifices required three times a year.¹ But, the evidence that is most important in this matter is that which shows the Incas interfering with established local cults (permitting the sources some degree of historical validity), a development which can only have had profound repercussions on local consciousness.

Even if the reforms in question were not intended to foster, as I believe they were, the conception of an imperial community based on the systematic relations of its formerly disparate parts, it is reasonable to suppose that the boundaries of the local community were extended by reforms imposed from without. Accepting the proposition that cultic devotion in Inca Peru was fundamentally local, one may wonder at the extraordinarily wide knowledge of HUACAS and oracles (VILLGAS?) that Indian informants and writers displayed long after the Spanish conquest. Huaman Poma could write with ease of HUACAS throughout the land, of the HUACAS of the four SUYU, and of HUACAS to which the Incas introduced their own priests.² In the course of his narrative, Salcamayhua mentions almost 40 different HUACAS by name, often including specific details of their supposed histories.³ Although he was a native of the Canas, the HUACAS he speaks of by no means show a bias to his own homeland, but range over virtually the whole area of the empire from Quito to Titicaca.

1 Ortíz de Zúñiga (1562), 1967, p.46

2 Huaman Poma (1615), 1936, pp.183, 280

3 Salcamayhua (c.1613), 1968, passim.

These two Indians, by virtue of their literacy, may be thought to have possessed a peculiar education and knowledge, but from the information gathered in small communities from less literate and cosmopolitan Indians, it is equally apparent that certain sacred sites had a significance far beyond their immediate geographical surrounds. I believe that these idiosyncrasies in the predominant pattern of local religious activity are best explained as a consequence of developments following on from the Inca expansion.

Coming from small communities, the Huaylas informants of Hernandez Principe could remember sending children as sacrifices to a variety of shrines including Quito, Huánuco 'el Viejo', the temple¹ of the Sun in Cuzco, Huanacauri, Titicaca, and Chile. This information is particularly revealing for an understanding of the systematics of Inca religious organization. The sacrifices of these children were known as CAPACCOCHA, which according to all accounts was an Inca² institution and so it may be presumed that the places to which the children were sent were involved in an Inca religious schema. The connections of the Sun sanctuary at Titicaca (Copacabana), the Sun³ temple in Cuzco, and the Inca tutelary HUACA of Huanacauri, with the Incas is evident enough, while Quito was the northern capital of the Inca empire, much favoured by the last Incas and the seat of one of the two governments in the fratricidal civil war that engulfed the empire at the time of the Spanish invasion. Still, the most interesting feature of this particular evidence is that, of the seven different groups - AYLLUS and PACHACAS - which Hernandez Principe recorded as

1 Hernandez Principe (1622) 1923, pp.28,30,32,41,61

2 Cieza de León (1553), 1967, Ch. 29, p.102
Molina (1576), 1943, p.77

Murúa (1590), 1946, Book III, Ch. 44, p.267

3 On all three see, for example, Cobo, (1553), 1956

having been involved in CAPACUCHA not one can be identified with a group of LLACTAS. On the contrary, one group of Inca MITIMAS, working as potters, was involved, and all the other six were explicitly LLACHUASES. This, surely, is not a coincidence, but remarkably insinuates how in religious practice existing social categories were brought into new relations with one another. In this case, through their peculiar participation in CAPACUCHA, the LLACHUASES became associated with the empire, the new extended community, in contrast to the LLACTAS who were conceptually rooted in one place and thus intellectually inappropriate as the bearers of wide-ranging ideas and practices. Since the LLACHUASES were thought of as strangers it was only consistent that the novel should be identified with them and under the Incas this entailed a particular systematization, of which the integration of the LLACHUASES within a sacrificial system of imperial proportions was but one aspect.

It has been seen before that the LLACHUASES, in communities far apart, shared the belief that they had come from Titicaca and were the progeny of the Lightning. The rationale of this regular classification is unclear, although it is likely that as more source material comes to light it will be understood. Equally uncertain is the question of how such common ideas were spread amongst different people. One can suggest that the education of the sons of local leaders provided one crucial means for dispersing ideas, but less formal means should also be admitted as probable. Intercourse with MITIMA, trading between groups in market centres, and various forms of labour service for the Inca, such as soldiering, the building of temples and palaces, and store-houses, the transport of tribute in kind to provincial capitals and to Cuzco itself, and especially the

imperial festivals held in Cuzco (and local capitals), to which subjects from all the Inca lands might be expected to attend - all of these could have been instrumental in the dissemination of new ideas. It is possibly in the organization and expression of ritual activity in Cuzco that one will most clearly see the deliberate attempt to generate a wider (imperial) and systematic framework for the classification of the people of the empire.

In Cuzco, the capital city of the Incas, were gathered many different peoples not only for the service of the Inca, but also for the service of the 'gods'. Cuzco was the "home and dwelling place¹ of the gods", and this meant not just the gods, or HUACAS, of the Incas, but those of all the peoples of the empire. The principal HUACAS of all the subject tribes were brought to Cuzco and were there served by MITIMA from their respective homelands.² Several chroniclers speak of a pantheon in which all these HUACAS were kept³ and it seems most likely that this was the celebrated Coricancha, or 'Golden Enclosure', which has usually been simply equated with the principal temple of the Sun. Undoubtedly it was this, but if it was also a pantheon one may surely suspect that a precise protocol was elaborated in the relations between the different subject HUACAS and the presiding Sun. Blas Valera thought that each idol had its altar and insignia, as well as a chain fastened to its base as a symbol of the subjection of its people.⁴

1 Polo de Ondegardo (c.1565), 1916b., p.50

2 Loc. cit.

Ibid, 1916a., Ch. 15, pp.42-3

Blas Valera (c.1590), 1968, p.158

Acosta (1588) 1962, Book V, Ch. 12, p.236

Murúa (1590), 1946, Book III, Ch. 45, p.269

3 Murúa, Loc. cit.

Blas Valera, Loc. cit.

Calancha, 1638, Book II, Ch. 10, p.366

Cobo (1653), 1956, Book XIII, Ch. 1, p.147

4 Blas Valera (c.1590), 1968, p.158

Molina of Cuzco mentions another system whereby HUACAS of the provinces were brought at an appointed time each year to Cuzco where they spent a whole year before being replaced by other HUACAS from their respective provinces. The occasion for this change-over was significantly timed at the culmination of the SITUA, which was held annually in September. The SITUA was ostensibly an elaborate ritual of purification practised by communities throughout much of the Peruvian Andes, but as performed in Cuzco it suggests a form of cyclic rite de passage, by which the social and political relations of groups both in Cuzco itself and within the wider empire were regenerated. The ceremonies significantly began at the time of the conjunction of the Moon (ie an eclipse), but already beforehand all strangers, non-Incas, and all others who were in any way deformed or unsound in health were expelled from the city. For four days Cuzco went into seclusion, passing through a series of ritual phases that led into the smallest groups, the individual households (the group of brothers), and then slowly expanding outwards again reconstructing the larger social and political groupings. By the time the strangers re-enter the city, bringing their HUACAS with them, Cuzco had built itself up again through its AYLLUS and through the four divisions or SUYU, into the two basic divisions of Hanan Cuzco and Hurin Cuzco, but in the face of the outsiders they formed into one single group, standing as the Incas in relation to all other external divisions. At this point the SITUA became an imperial ceremony concerned with the relations between all the major divisions within the empire. Molina explains that all the nations that the Inca

1 Molina (1576), 1943, pp. 44, 46
also, Cieza de León (1573), 1967, Ch. 29, p. 100

2 For the SITUA see
Molina (1576), 1943, pp.29-46
Betanzos (1551), 1968, Ch. 15, p.45
Acosta (1588), 1962, Book V. Ch. 28, pp.269-70
Garcilaso de la Vega (1609), 1966, Book VII, Chs. 6 and 7
Huaman Poma (1615), 1936, pp.253, 285, 1155
Cobo (1653), 1956, Book XIII, Ch. 29, p.216

had subdued entered the Haucaypata (the central square of Cuzco) wearing their distinctive costumes and carrying their HUACAS. Each group had to enter from the direction in which its homeland was, each according to its respective SUYU. The HUACAS were led in front of those of the Inca and state, to which they made their reverences and were then carried and set down in previously assigned positions. Two days of ceremonial followed during which each nation was expected to perform its own ritual dances with song. How all these groups were organized and set in order is not known, but order there must have been in such a huge concourse and each group must have become unusually aware of its position in relation to others. If nothing very specific can be said about these relations, a fair amount may be inferred from the arrangement of the groups into the four SUYU. These implied far more than mere geographical divisions, for as Zuidema has shown in the social organization of Cuzco the SUYU functioned as a conceptual structure for the ordering of the different Inca AYLLU.¹ The associations in this case between AYLLU and SUYU are not to be considered as necessarily demographic and immutable, but rather as socially structured. In other words, particular social and political roles were identified with specific positions within the four SUYU and over time the individual AYLLU were liable to shift from one position (in the four SUYU) to another according, primarily, to their relation to the living Inca ruler. In the same way, one may expect that during the SITUA the subject peoples were distributed over the four SUYU for other than just territorial reasons; similarly the same may apply to the positions of the foreign HUACAS that were permanently settled in and around Cuzco in relation to the four SUYU.

1 Zuidema, 1964

Unfortunately there is little other information on the participation of the subject peoples and their HUACAS in the rituals of Cuzco. There appear to have been four main calendrical festivals in Cuzco, including the SITUA, in all of which subjects of the empire seem to have taken part, and possibly with their HUACAS as well.

Hernando de Santillán relates that to the Inti Raimi, the great festival of the Sun held in June, "they used to bring all the HUACAS of the land, which were certain stones in which the Devil used to speak, with all their apparatus of drinking vessels and other gold objects for service, and in the house of the Sun they placed them next to the Sun and the Moon, who had their images there."¹

Albornoz implied that HUACAS of every province came to all the festivals held in Cuzco, although this claim can² not be substantiated.

One may suggest that the provincial HUACAS that were left each year in Cuzco were probably involved in many of the state ceremonials throughout the year and in these they would surely have been performing in relation to the different HUACAS of other people. One can hardly doubt that the individual characters of these HUACAS were affected by the influence of one on another and they must have returned to their homelands significantly altered.

At the same time as a new framework for the relations of the HUACAS of the different parts of the empire was being created in Cuzco, it is evident that local shrines and ritual were also being reorganized by the Incas. The introduction of new HUACAS from the capital into the provinces has already been suggested, and specific examples of the procedure occur from time to time in the sources.

1 Santillán (1563), 1968, Ch.30, p.112

2 Albornoz (1583), 1967, p.25

Albornoz's "Instruction for the Discovery of all the HUACAS of Peru" records a number of cases where HUACAS were plainly planted by the Incas in places that either were, or then became, prominent.

Mollotero, for example, was a very high mountain in the province of Tumbamba which was held by the Cañaris Indians as a most important HUACA, and here Tupac Inca Yupanqui placed a large collection of HUACAS with many names. In this instance, the name of the site is itself significant since it is most likely a Quechua compound of MOLLO and TORO, meaning 'shell' and 'clay' respectively. Mollotero would be translated as 'clay of shells'. The appreciable number of HUACAS throughout the Inca lands that bore Quechua names is on its own a poignant indication of the extent to which local cults were influenced by Inca rule, and this circumstance cannot be fully explained by the common use of Quechua; if the proper names of local shrines could be translated, one may be sure that more could have been transformed in the process, and this apart from the possibility that in many cases a Quechua name may have implied an Inca appointed HUACA. A blatant example of the latter was the stone HUACA of Tupac Inca Yupanqui in the province of Parinacocha, whose natives "held this statue in great veneration and with many estates."² And the immediate powers of intruding Inca HUACAS could be other than merely economic. There is a telling record in Avila's account of the idolatries of the province of Huaruchiri, of a HUACA called Cataquila that was sent by the Inca to the village of Llacsatampu. This HUACA had the power to force any other HUACA to speak, even against its will!

1 Ibid, p.32

2 Ibid, p.29

3 Avila (1608) 1942, Ch. 20, p.379

Besides the introduction of new HUACAS in the provinces influence must have been exerted by Inca patronization of certain HUACAS for their effective and oracular powers. Macahuasi, son of the Yauyo mythical being Pariacaca, aids Inca Tupac Yupanqui in the subjection of the rebellious Alancuna, Calancos, and Chaquis, and thereafter he and his father were accorded greater veneration.¹ Llucllayhuancupa, son of Pachacamac, came to protect the village of Llacsatampu; for lack of adequate cultic attention he leaves, but with Inca assistance he is persuaded to return. "The Inca recognized this cult with all his authority" and ordered that maize from the public expenses be appointed to this HUACA.²

Similarly, one finds other HUACAS that were respected by the Incas for their oracular power. The feminine HUACA of Apurimac was one such, and in this case an Inca priestess came to fill the key position as the medium through which the 'deity' spoke.³ The principal HUACA of the Huamachucos, called Catequil, was consulted by Tupac Yupanqui, although it is also said that one of the Incas, either Huascar or Atahualpa, attempted if unsuccessfully to destroy it.⁴ Among the Huaylas, the LLACTAS of Urcon (Ocross) recognized Llasac as their PACARINA, to which according to local informants the Inca had resorted for advice.⁵

Besides such cases as these there were others of more general importance where the Incas not only patronized, but even seemed to possess themselves of influential HUACAS. Some HUACAS were taken in captivity to Cuzco, or to other places, where their powers might be

1 Ibid, Ch. 23

2 Ibid, Ch. 20, p.380

3 Cieza de León (1553), 1947, Ch. 91, p.436
Cobo (1653), 1956, Book XIII, Ch. 20

4 Arriaga (1621), 1968, Ch. 2, p.203
Anon. Augustin (1555), 1840, p.99

5 Hernandez Principe (1622), 1923, p.55

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used for Inca ends; but often it seems that an established shrine like that at Titicaca was occupied by the Incas who built new temples on the spot and introduced priests and attendants of their own nomination. Albornoz and Huaman Poma give lists of such sites, amounting together to about 20, although neither source claims to provide a comprehensive count.²

The extremely idiosyncratic situation that must have arisen from these arrangements, where strangers served as the priests of a local shrine, is well illustrated in an account that Avila has given of the HUACA of Pariacaca, a snowy peak in the province of the Y³auyos. The Inca selected 30 men from Hanan-Yauyo and Hurin-Yauyo to act as priests on his behalf at this shrine. Now, although the 30 men would appear to have been natives, being Yauyos, there are strong indications that in this case they constituted strangers in relation to the established order of priests at Pariacaca. The mere fact that they were appointed by the Inca must have given them an authority that was other than local. (I think it may be trusted that such appointments did actually take place as Huaman Poma also mentioned them at least twice in connection with the HUACAS to which the Incas introduced priests.)⁴ But the best evidence of the 'outside' character of these 30 priests is in Avila's account itself. One of the 30 was called Llacuhua Quita Paryarcca; the first word is a variant of the familiar LLACHUAZ (LLACAHUAZ), meaning a 'stranger'. This 'foreign' priest, the only one who is mentioned by name, gets himself into an argument with one of the local priests over the interpretation of the entrails and heart of a sacrificial llama.

1 See, for example, Avila's note under Salcamayhua (1613), 1968, p.297

2 Albornoz (1583), 1967, pp.20-21
Huaman Poma (1615), 1936, pp.183,280.

See also Murúa (1590), 1946, Book III, Ch. 15, pp.201-2

3 Avila (1608), 1942, Ch. 18

4 Huaman Poma (1615), 1936, pp.183, 280.

The local priest disagrees with his prediction, and with his fellow natives all join together in insulting the LLACHUAZ as a "foul-smelling foreigner" (este hediondo de Llacuhuas) who could not possibly know anything about Pariacaca, their father (nuestro padre).¹

This story is interesting for several reasons. Apart from being a specific example of Inca interference in local religion it illustrates the tensions that were bound to emerge where the native felt threatened by outside intrusion. But the significant feature of the account is the indication that the Incas were attempting to transform Pariacaca into some kind of presiding HUACA over the Yauyos as one social and political entity, and this in spite of the disfavour of those most immediately associated with the shrine. One should recognize that the divisions Hanan-Yauyo and Hurin-Yauyo were themselves probably Inca conceptions and so the roles of the priests whom the Inca drew from each to serve at Pariacaca must to some extent have been politically qualified. It is indicative that Pariacaca was widely known outside the Yauyos and was mentioned by both Huaman Poma² and Salcamayhua.

One striking suggestion of the attempt to create larger associations in connection with specific religious sites appears in the contradictory accounts of the HUACA called Huallallo, a high and snowy peak not far from Jauja. Albornoz described this mountain as the "principal HUACA of the whole of the province of the Huancas and Yauyos",³ which he could only have heard from the Huancas for, by all accounts, the Huancas and the Yauyos were long-standing enemies and the

1 Ibid, p.375-6

2 Huaman Poma (1615), 1936, pp. 183, 267, 280
Salcamayhua (1613), 1968, pp. 293, 297

3 Albornoz(1583), 1967, p.29

latter would hardly have been likely to admit to such a discrediting arrangement of their own accord. They had quite a different story to tell on the character and standing of Huallallo, according to which he had been repeatedly vanquished by Pariacaca himself and finally banished to the wild mountain retreat that after took his name. Although one can not know whether the idea of the pre-eminence of Huallallo was in this case of Inca or Huanca origin, the possibility of the former should be borne in mind, especially since this shrine was also provided with Inca priests.² Possibly a kind of dual relationship existed between the Yauyos and the Huancas, like that which Zuidema has suggested existed between the Coast and the Mountains in general.³ In this situation the positions of the deities of the two peoples in relation to one another were reversed for each people. If this was the case one wonders whether this was a traditional configuration or one stimulated by the Incas.⁴

1 Avila (1608) 1942, Ch. 8, p.339

Relaciones Geograficas (1586), 1965, Vol. I, p.161

2 Huaman Poma (1615), 1936, pp.183,280

3 Zuidema, 1962

4 I think there are sufficient indications, quite apart from the material which Zuidema (1962) presents, to show that the Incas were involved in establishing some kind of dual classification of HUACAS, or shrines, throughout the empire, but how to interpret this circumstance I am not sure. Avila (1942, Ch.22) speaks of two major deities in Inca Peru, Pachacamac on the Coast and the Sun in the Mountains; he thought this arrangement was instituted by the Incas. The Taqui Oncoy, a Chiliastic movement in the 1560s worked within the same dual arrangement; it was believed that the HUACAS of all the Indians had risen up against the god of the Spaniards and had arranged themselves under the two principal HUACAS of Pachacamac and Titicaca, the latter being the pre-eminent sanctuary of the Sun. The same dualism of the Sun and Pachacamac is given by Santillán (1968, p.111). I disagree with Zuidema (1962) when he associates Pachacamac with Viracocha and sees the dualism as between the Sun and Viracocha. This subject will be considered in the fourth Chapter.

The transforming influence of the Incas on such religious centres as considered above is again apparent in the evidence on the PACARISCAS, and in this case there is more to suggest the systematic organization of HUACA sites under the Incas. It has already been ¹marked that Albornoz thought that every social division had its own PACARISCA and believed that the decimal divisions of Inca administrative units were included in this pattern. Whether or not decimalization was effective on the PACARISCAS may be doubted, but it is quite significant enough that Albornoz had the impression of a systematic hierarchy of PACARISCAS which is what the decimal pattern would have implied. The process of building this system had all the attendant features that have already been witnessed in connection with other HUACAS, but possibly on a larger scale. Albornoz, the best authority on the subject, wrote that "there are very many among the HUACAS PACARISCAS which the Inca rebuilt, giving them the services of many MITIMAS ¹..." as was the case, for example, with the PACARISCA of the province of Parinacocha, on the snowy mountain of Caraçara. ² More explicitly this time, one finds once more the introduction of outsiders to a local shrine, and Albornoz was in no doubt that when he used the term MITIMA he meant Indians who had been moved by the Inca from one region, or province, to another. Exactly what services these MITIMAS fulfilled is not made clear, but it is likely that priestly functions were involved, as well as a wide range of more manual duties, like cleaning and maintaining the temple precinct, while from somewhere farming and shepherding tasks would also have been required for the provision of food, chicha, and other ³sacrificial material, in the service of the shrine.

1 Albornoz (1583), 1967, p.20

2 Loc. cit.

3 Cobo (1653), 1956, Book XIII, Ch. 18, gives some details on the work performed by MITIMAS at Copacabana, ie Titicaca. It should be emphasized that MITIMAS often had a religious role which is perhaps a further justification for treating them within a conceptual framework.

The mere presence of these MITIMAS must have had a profound influence on the prestige and significance of established PACARISCAS, and one should even consider the possibility that entirely original PACARISCAS were instituted when required. There is some indication in Albornoz that something of this nature was happening, which he suggestively considered "very important and most cunning" He remarked that there was a means by which MITIMAS could remove their PACARISCA from one place to another by a ritual transfer of the nature, or essence (naturaleza), of the HUACA. If the PACARISCA was a spring, then the MITIMAS carried some of its water to another spring in the land to which they came, and having thrown the water into it they renamed the spring after the original PACARISCA. If the PACARISCA was a rock, the transfer was effected with a piece of clothing taken from the original and placed upon its substitute.¹ It need hardly be said this procedure thoroughly contradicted all self-respecting notions of adherence to one unchanging place of origin, and while one may respect this custom in the context of a traditional pattern of "vertical control", in another situation where MITIMAS were deliberately introduced to a place for 'religious' purposes this behaviour assumes a new complexion.

Sadly, it is still not possible to be any more specific regarding the overall systematics of these local reforms. All one may say is that the Incas seem to have been actively involved in changing the significance of a number of local shrines, in particular PACARISCAS, which by their very nature were identified with particular groups. One may suggest that by an hierarchical schema of such PACARISCAS it would have been possible to posit ever widening associations, each under the auspices of a more comprehensive PACARISCA, until finally one arrived at the concept of an all-inclusive community at the head

¹ Albornoz (1583), 1967, p.21

of which the Inca ruler was placed. One might even hazard an image of some kind of imperial totemic system (re PACARISCAS), by which a variety of novel political relations could find expression within the enlarged imperial framework.¹

The model for this hypothetical hierarchy was possibly the decimal system (as Albornoiz thought), described in the sources as a piece of Inca administrative organization.² According to this hierarchy Indians were arranged into groups of ten adult men with their households (CHUNCA), of 100 (PACHACA), of 1000 (HUARANCA), and of 10,000 (HUNO), which latter was said to accord with a valley or a province. Within this arrangement was a further set of divisions into 50, 500, and 5000. These divisions may have been an expression of a dualistic organization at a number of levels of association.

Two points should be made in connection with this form of organization. There is no reason to believe that the units were intended as exact numerical counts, but rather that they provided a theoretical framework within which relations of an hierarchical

- 1 I do not mean to suggest that the only means of generating an imperial community was 'religious', only that this is the particular area with which I am concerned.
Murra, for example, has remarked that marriage in the Inca state acquired a new significance in marking a man's formal entry into the state structure: "... for state purposes marriage becomes the locally meaningful and, the Inca hoped, palatable symbol of the new status (in being liable to certain labour dues) not only in the (local) community, but in the wider state structure." 1967, p.346
- 2 Cobo (1953), 1956, Book XII, Ch. 25, p.114
Santillán (1563), 1968, Ch. 11
Acosta (1588), 1962, Book VI, Ch. 13, p.296
etc;
Means, 1931, Ch. 8
Rowe, 1946, p.263

nature could be expressed. "These decimally organized ranks", to quote J.H. Rowe, "provided a scale against which to measure the relative importance of the CURACAS, irrespective of whether they ruled a section, an AYLLU, or some subdivision of these groups¹". Zuidema believed that the PACHACA, at least, were made to coincide with existing forms of organization and that the same applied wherever possible higher up the scale.²

The other point that should be made is that it is likely that the decimal organization of the Incas was an extension of an existing Chimú form of organization. In his researches in the local archives up and down Peru, Zuidema found little sign of the existence of decempartition in the social organizations of the people from Southern Peru, while it constantly appeared in Central and Northern Peru.³ One may doubt then the validity of considering a comparable hierarchy of PACARISCAS in Southern Peru and prefer to expect its operation only in the land where there was already an institutional basis for its development. On the other hand, it is also feasible that other hierarchic forms could have been utilized in Southern Peru, and accepting the adolescence of the Inca empire one may quite reasonably expect that much in the way of organization was still inchoate. In this respect it may be significant that the Incas appear to have been particularly concerned with the arrangement of PACARISCAS in the Condesuyu, to the South West of Cuzco.⁴ But on this matter one can do little more than speculate, as on the whole question of an hierarchic pattern of PACARISCAS. There is little specific evidence on the local functioning of this supposed hierarchy and all one can, for the present, proceed with is Albornoz's statement

1 Ibid, pp. 263-4

2 Zuidema, 1964, p.231

3 Ibid., pp.230-1

4 Albornoz (1583), 1967, pp.20-1

that it existed and the suggestion of its culmination in the Inca myths of the origin of all Indian groups. To the latter I now turn.

True to the spirit of the Peruvian Indians' concern for their origins, two subjects loom large in the surviving Inca myths, the origin of the Incas and the origin of all other peoples. The latter, as far as one can tell, was peculiar to Inca mythology, at least in the manner of considering the different origins of various groups under one heading as opposed to simply positing an indiscriminate creation of man, as in the coastal myths involving Con and Pachacamac.¹ As suggested earlier, it was through the awareness of its own particular origin that each group asserted its peculiar identity in contradistinction to the origins and identities of all other groups. In the myths in which one tribe recounted its origins, the origins of other tribes were left unconsidered. The Cañaris traced their origin to Mount Huacaynan in a myth where other tribes were irrelevant.² The same would seem to have been true for other tribes whose myths (or fragments of myths) on their origins have survived (Collahuas, Cavanas, Aucasmamarca ...).³ Although richer in detail, one could even include in this pattern the Inca myth of origin, which considers Pacaritambo as the particular PACARISCA of the Incas and pays little regard to the origins of other people.⁴

1 Gutierrez (1548), 1963, Book III, Ch. 56

Zarate (1556), 1968, Book I, Ch. 10

2 Molina (1576), 1943, pp.15-16

Cobo (1653), 1956, Book XIII, Ch. 2, pp.151-2

3 Molina (1576), 1943, pp.16-17

Cobo (1653), 1956, Book XIII, Ch. 2, p.152

Relaciones Geograficas (1586), 1965, Vol. I, p.327

4 Cieza de León (1553), 1967, Ch. 6-7

Betanzos (1551), 1968, Ch. 3-4

Sarmiento de Gamboa (1572) 1942, pp.36-46

Although the Incas had a PACARINA to which they traced their origin they seem to have paid notably little ritual attention to it and one chronicler even related that the Incas feared to go to Pacaritambo on account of the belief that one of the four original Inca brothers had been incarcerated by the others in the cave from which they emerged. His vengeance was feared. In a number of myths of their origins the Incas seem to have wished to stress that although they may have emerged from Pacari tambo, they originally came from Titicaca and so they endorsed the imperial myth of origins considered by the

But such an isolated view on the world could hardly have been entirely satisfactory any longer among Inca subjects when a wider sphere of political relations was met with, in Cuzco, in the Inca army, and in the MITIMAS who arrived at one's doorstep, and perhaps even in the developing provincial capitals. A new overarching conceptual framework, for the sake of both subject and ruler, was required and one solution, found in Inca myth, was to posit a single origin for all Indians.

It would seem that two alternatives were considered in this solution. The simplest one, as related by Polo de Ondegardo, was to project the PACARISCA of the Incas onto an international scale and think that all men were descended from those who came from Paccaritambo.¹ Since Paccaritambo was the particular PACARISCA of the Incas, this myth had the value of emphasizing the peculiar association of the Incas with origins in general, but despite this it does not seem to have been the most popular Inca myth on the subject. One may suppose that one obvious reason for this was that the myth denied the existence of the pre-existing PACARISCAS of so many local groups, a condition that must have made the myth both intolerable and incredible for many of the Inca's subjects. At the same time, it cannot have been entirely satisfactory from the Inca point of view since the myth suggested the dangerous possibility of the Incas' own exclusive character being submerged under the undifferentiated identity of a people who shared only one PACARISCA, one nature. On the whole, then, if the proportions of the extant versions of Inca myths are any guide to their historical popularity, the Incas and their subjects preferred to treat the Paccaritambo myth as peculiar to the Incas and their own

1 Polo de Ondegardo (c.1565), 1916a., Ch. 3
 Ibid., 1916b., pp.48-9
 Acosta (1588), 1962, Book I, Ch. 25
 Cobo (1653), 1956, Book XII, Ch. 2, p.153

origins, and to attempt an alternative solution. This was to posit an original PACARISCA existing separately, over and above all the individual ones, even above that of the Incas, that already existed. This solution presents itself in the myths which placed the origins of men at Titicaca, or Tiahuanaco, in the Collao.

This myth appears in a number of versions,¹ but I shall here only briefly outline the main sections that occur in most of them: There is a first age of men who lived in darkness and of whom little is told except that a cataclysm, usually depicted as a flood, overwhelmed them. According to some versions, a few men survived by hiding in caves, or on mountain peaks. Viracocha Pachayachac, who had made these men and caused their destruction, reappears after some time from Lake Titicaca. At Tiahuanaco he makes models of a new race of men out of clay or stone. The models represent not generic man, but the different nations and tribes of Indians with the individual features of each depicted thereon. The models are given life and sent beneath the earth, each nation to its particular position, spring, mountain, or whatever, from which it is to emerge. Viracocha then sets out with two or more servant helpers to call the people forth from their respective places of origin. At Cacha, Viracocha is met by hostile natives, but at Urcos they are friendly. Viracocha travels through the mountains to the coast (commonly to Puerto Viejo), where he is joined by his assistants, and with them he takes his leave of men, walking out across the waters as if it were dry land.

In none of the known versions does the word PACARINA, or PACARISCA, occur, although the sites from which each nation or group

1 Betanzos (1551), 1968, Ch. 1-2
 Molina (1576), 1943, pp.10-14
 Sarmiento de Gamboa (1572) 1942, pp.25-31
 Cobo (1653), 1956, Book XIII, Ch. 2

emerged are identified with HUACAS, and Cobo speaks of "HUACAS¹ principales" for the origins of nations. From what has been said earlier about the character of PACARISCAS I think there can be no doubt but that these HUACAS were in fact PACARISCAS, a condition that sheds considerable light on the significance of the Inca origin myth and one which curiously has been largely overlooked by Inca scholars. While R. Latcham noted that the separate emergence of individual tribes from different places (in the myth) was in conformity with the general notion among Peruvian Indians of individual origins, he went no further than this, since he preferred to interpret the myth according to his idea that Viracocha was an ancient Colla² deity. Indeed, this has been the usual approach to this Inca myth; that is, to consider it as purely a myth about the god Viracocha and the idea of Creation. J.H. Rowe, while on the contrary considering the myth as an Inca formulation built on scraps of local myth, also treats it as a myth about Viracocha and the Creation. He believed, in fact, that it was the first true Creation myth to have been developed in Peru, put together for the sake of Viracocha, whom he thought was the first Creator god that the ancient Peruvians conceived of.³ This hypothesis is, of course, wholly incontestable since nothing is known of the myths of the societies and civilizations that preceded the Incas'. It may also be criticized theoretically for the way in which Rowe sought to distinguish the myth of Viracocha from all tribal myths of origin on the basis that the former was a myth of Creation and not of Origin; (and this despite his own conviction that "Inca mythology, and Andean mythology in general, is primarily concerned with explaining origins"⁴ It should be noted that the positing and description of

1 Ibid., p.151
 2 Latcham, 1929, Ch. 5
 3 Rowe, 1960
 4 Ibid, p.422

origins does not necessarily imply an explanation). To my mind this division between myths of origin and the Inca myth of Creation was an unnecessary one, for not only does the myth in question make more sense if it is treated as a development on a traditional conception, but it also introduces a completely new insight into the nature of Viracocha, a problem that will be discussed in the following chapter. For this reason I describe the myth as one of Origins, rather than of Creation, a distinction which I will uphold in the following Chapter with reference to Viracocha. Before explaining this description of the myth it is necessary to clarify the approach I have adopted.

Although I would have liked to have applied a structural analysis to the myths in question, it became clear that their substance had more to reveal than any logical qualities. Accordingly the interpretation I offer is at the level of manifest content, which itself has not yet been adequately understood. There is no need to deny that the myths may originally have had a structure, but as they have come down to us no structure is apparent.¹ This may be explicable as a consequence of poor translation on the part of Indian informants and the Spanish recorders, but it is equally probable that the chroniclers themselves seriously edited and abridged the myths they heard and often tried to concoct a coherent single myth out of a number of different ones. As Betanzos said at the end of his account of Viracocha, "many other things could have been said on this matter, but to avoid prolixity, bestiality, and great idolatries, I have not put them down."² On the basis of this sort of admission one is forced to acknowledge that in most cases one will only be able

1 By 'structure' I mean an arrangement of logical relations of the kind that Lévi-Strauss has isolated in his studies of myth. These Inca myths display no contradiction which they seek to overcome although it could be said that the contradiction between "exclusiveness" and "inclusiveness" stimulated the myth from without. It is true that there are a number of stated logical oppositions in Sarmiento's version, but they are of such a general nature that it is hard to proceed analytically with only these

2 Betanzos (1551), 1968, Ch. 2 p.11

to deal with subject-matter, and even this must have often suffered critical distortion. All I have tried to do with these myths, therefore, is to understand their ostensible subject and apparent intention and on these grounds I have assumed that some elements in the myths are more pertinent to their subject than others. Since I do not consider that any of the recorded versions of the Inca 'Origins myth' can be trusted as complete, or unadulterated, I see no reason to record any of the versions in toto.

The most important part of the myth is the making of the stone models at Tiahuanaco, for it is in this episode that the Inca myth is both connected with and distinguished from local myths of origin. The emergence of the various groups from their different PACARISCAS can be understood within a traditional Peruvian conceptual context, and this without any reference to the so-called Creator, Viracocha, who is merely the instrument by which the models can beforehand come into existence. The models themselves represent the differences and likenesses that PACARISCAS already asserted. This is clearly expressed in one version recorded by Molina of Cuzco:

"There, in Tiahuanaco, the Maker began to form the people and nations that there are in this land, making out of clay EACH NATION and painting on them (the models) the dress and apparel that EACH ONE had to have and wear; those that had to wear (long) hair, (he painted) with hair; and those that had to wear their hair cut, (he painted) with clipped hair; and to EACH NATION he gave the language it had to speak, the songs they had to sing, and the seeds and foods they had to plant. When he had finished painting and making these nations and figures of clay, he gave being

and soul to EACH ONE SEPARATELY, both the men and the women, and he ordered each nation to go SEPARATELY beneath the land and from there EACH was to come out in the regions and places to which he might send them. And so they say that some emerged from caves, others from mountains, others from springs, and from lakes, and from the bottom of trees, and other follies of this kind. And because they had emerged and begun to multiply from these places, the beginning of their descent having been from them, they made these places HUACAS and shrines in memory of the first of their line who had come from them. And thus each nation dresses and wears the apparel with which they clothe their HUACA." (my emphasis)¹

The same ideas are presented to some degree in all the other versions of this myth, in Betanzos, Sarmiento, and Cobo. Betanzos lays emphasis on the name ascribed to each people, and to the province and particular position of the origin of each. He adds that models were also made of the political leaders appointed to every group.

Certain qualities are immediately suggested in the received design of this part of the myth. Ostensibly it is very loose and provides no specific information on the PACARISCAS, habitats, dress, or leaders of the various groups it speaks of, and yet it surely justifies the possibility of very precise definition. With the control that the Incas were beginning to exert over myth in general, and local shrines in particular, one may appreciate that such a myth could provide the basis for justifying a variety of novel political conditions, new associations and distinctions, and possibly even the awkward presence of MITIMAS. Perhaps one should view Albornoz's

1 Molina (1576), 1943, pp.8-9

information on the way in which MITIMAS could transfer their PACARISCAS from one place to another in connection with this myth, which according to circumstance could place the origin of a group wherever may have been expedient (it may be significant that, in Molina's version, there are two survivors from the great flood whom the Maker places as MITIMAS in Tiahuanaco, where he himself forms the new race of Indians). In one respect, then, this myth was probably no more than a fairly crude political instrument, which may have been used in particular situations to cope with specific problems; it seems to be but a skeleton, or generalized complement to a particular application.

But the myth is more than this, for it does not simply state where each group lived, but rather suggests a common theoretical origin for all and a single plan according to which were organized all the peoples of the empire, down to the clothes they wore and the songs they sang. What this plan was, and whether or not it was truly systematic, one cannot yet say. One may only observe the Inca tendency to systematize other aspects of their empire and suspect from the available signs that the same held true for HUACAS and PACARINAS.

One can, at least, explain the significance of the geographical setting of the myth. Although the reason for the precise location (ie Tiahuanaco) is uncertain, excepting its impressive lithic remains, the general situation in the Collasuyu may be understood in terms of the HANAN/HURIN classification. In the social organization of Cuzco the Collasuyu was associated with the old population of the town and with the Hurin 'moiety'. The primordial character of the latter has already been mentioned and in the light of this one may understand

the association of the Collasuyu with origins in the Inca myth. This connection should be stressed since in the past historians of the Incas have tended to explain this feature in historical terms, ie that the myth originated in the Collao, or that the Collao was¹ for some reason significant in Inca history.

What has been said above can only be a very partial interpretation of the Origins myth, but it does shed some light on certain conditions within the evolving Inca empire and on the role of Viracocha, which will next be considered.

1 But see Ossio, 1970, p.288, for some interesting, and structurally-oriented remarks on the subject

CHAPTER IV

The place of the so-called high god of the Incas, Viracocha, has baffled Europeans from the first, and up to the present time there has been no authoritative interpretation of Viracocha's significance. The problem is aggravated by the fact that Viracocha as a title or a name appears in a number of different guises and contexts in the sources presenting on the one hand glaring inconsistencies and contradictions and on the other some remarkable associations, in particular between Viracocha the Inca and Viracocha the 'god'. A brief introduction to the range of applications of the term, and to some of the connections between them, may help to begin with.

In Inca myth Viracocha appears as the 'Creator' of heaven and earth, the 'Creator' of men and of all things on earth; yet he assumes a decidedly human shape in all his activities, travelling the land and meting out justice to those who fail to duly respect him.¹ In some accounts, features of his dress and physical appearance explicitly connect him with a number of idols, seen by the Spaniards and described in the sources and which were conjectured to be representations of a Christian Apostle - St Thomas or St Bartholomew - who the Spaniards proposed had spread the word of God even to these distant lands.² In this way any similarities between the pagan religion and Christianity could be explained as the survivals of the évangelist's work.

1 See Chapter 3

2 See Chapter 5

The appearances of the different manifestations of Viracocha vary, but there are nonetheless some striking similarities between different forms of Viracocha, and between Viracocha and other mythical beings. Thus Huaman Poma portrayed Viracocha Inca as¹ bearded and white.² The god Viracocha was also described as white and in some appearances he or his assistants were said to have had³ beards. Both whiteness and beards were evidently peculiar in pre-hispanic Peru, and so when the HUARIS are also described as having had beards one suspects a connection.⁴ The HUARIS, it will be remembered, were associated with the category LLACTA as being the 'founders', or first inhabitants of a place. The relation of the⁵ VIRACOCHA concept to the HUARIS will be considered further on,

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- 1 Huaman Poma (1615), 1936, P.107
 - 2 Cieza de León (1553), 1967, Ch. 5, p.8
Sarmiento de Gamboa (1572), 1942, p.29
 - 3 Garcilaso de la Vega (1609), 1966, Book IV, Ch. 21; Book V, Ch.22
Cobo (1653), 1956, Book Xii, Ch. 19, p.99
Acosta (1558), 1962, Book VI, Ch. 21, p.308
Garcilaso de la Vega (1609), 1966, Book V. Ch. 18
 - 4 Duviols, 1971, pp.369, 374
see under pp.120-124
I think it must be accepted that descriptions of bearded creatures were not simply post-Colombian interpolations. Ceramic representations of human heads with beards have been found in both Central and Southern America dating from pre-Columbian times. See, for example, Von Wutheman, 1969, p.163, etc, for Central America; and for Peru, KauffmannDoig, 1973, p.489
Cieza de León (1553), 1967, Ch. 4, p.7 writes of a white bearded people of Titicaca
 - 5 I have capitalized VIRACOCHA where I mean to imply a generic conceptual sense. Where I speak of a particular representation of the VIRACOCHA concept, which is obviously my own abstraction, I write Viracocha. Viracocha with a small 'v' applies to any group of beings known collectively as viracochas

for the present I shall briefly offer some indications of the interconnections of different forms of VIRACOCCHA that suggest that one may speak of a 'concept' of VIRACOCCHA, in which the Inca, the 'god', or the spirit beings were all in one way or another involved as different manifestations of one idea.

The beard, an important example, which was attributed by Huaman Poma and Murúa to Viracocha Inca,¹ was also a distinctive feature of certain spirit men sent by Viracocha the god and known in one context as viracochas² and in another as pururaucas.³ According to Garcilaso de la Vega there was no traditional god among the Incas called Viracocha, only a phantom (fantasma) that appeared to the putative Eight Inca, who thereafter took the same name.⁴ This phantom also had a beard (two palms long!) and his general appearance connects him with the other statues supposedly of the deity Viracocha, the ones which were thought by the Spaniards to have represented the evangelist. The connection of Viracocha Inca with the divine or mythical Viracocha was clearly believed to have been an intimate one. The Inca's name was the most obvious connection and was generally thought to have been derived from a vision of the supernatural Viracocha.⁵ But in a few accounts of the life of Viracocha Inca, this supposedly historical figure merges back into myth and suggests an even closer association with the supernatural Viracocha. He is described as a stranger coming from the sea,⁶ or as the first conquering Inca who came from Titicaca.⁷

1 Huaman Poma, loc. cit.

Murúa (1590), 1946, Book I, Ch. 10

2 Cobo, loc. cit.

3 Acosta loc. cit.

Garcilaso de la Vega, loc. cit.

4 Ibid, Book IV, Ch. 21

5 Loc. cit.

Sarmiento de Gamboa (1572), 1942, pp. 64-5

6 Murúa, loc. cit.

7 Molina (1553), 1968, pp. 72-3

Zarate (1556), 1968, Book I. Ch. 13

There is so much mystery attached to this personality that it becomes impossible to credit him with a purely historical significance. At times he seems to have appropriated certain of the functions of the god Viracocha with the result that the borders between the Inca and the 'god' fade, leading to an apparently insoluble ambiguity, in which one doubts the validity of distinguishing history from myth, Inca from god.

Besides the applications mentioned above, Viracocha was also the term that was immediately applied to the Spaniards by the indigenous Quechua-speaking population, and gradually this meaning of the word as a 'Spaniard', or any non-Indian, came to predominate. The usual explanation for this association of the Spaniards with Viracocha has been that the conquistadors were taken, for one reason or another, as the sons or messengers of the god Viracocha,¹ but another explanation will later be offered. I will now introduce in brief some of the interpretations that have in the past been given of Viracocha.

It should be made clear from the outset that students of Inca religion and thought have not generally seen fit to group together all the different applications of the term VIRACOCHA² as sharing any conceptual coherence. It has invariably been assumed, without comment, that the primarily pertinent application was to the putative deity of the Incas, and that all other usages were merely derivatory. I have disagreed with this assumption and have preferred

1 eg, Cieza de León (1553), 1967, Ch. 5

2 I have capitalized VIRACOCHA where I mean to imply a generic conceptual sense. Where I speak of a particular representation of the VIRACOCHA concept, which is of course my own abstraction, I write Viracocha. Viracocha with a small 'v' applies to any group of beings known collectively as viracochas

to follow a more phenomenological line of enquiry in emphasizing the interconnections between the different manifestations of VIRACOCCHA, hoping that in this way a more comprehensive understanding of the concept may be achieved.

In their interpretations of Viracocha as a god, scholars, apart from Zuidema, whose ideas will be considered later, have instinctively tended to adopt a 'Realist' standpoint. Divinity is assumed as a universal and it merely becomes a question of discovering the Inca conception of divinity. Some of the most celebrated writers¹ on Inca society, Prescott and Rowe being flagrant examples, appear even to have assumed the nature of the perfect and supreme form of divinity to which they would match particular conceptions, namely that of Viracocha. W.H. Prescott claimed that, like so many other American natives, the ancient Peruvians "had attained to the sublime conception of One Great Spirit, the Creator of the universe, who immaterial in his own nature, was not to be dishonoured by an attempt at visible representation, and who, pervading all space, was not to be circumscribed within the walls of a temple."² Although ideas have changed since Prescott's days and all manner of theory has been put to work on Inca religion, showing it to be truly animistic, fetishistic, animatistic, totemistic, or phallic, as the case may be, the divine position of Viracocha has remained largely unassailed. It is not, then, 'flogging a dead horse' to reply to Prescott, especially since critical consideration of the work of Inca historians has been too little attempted in the past.

1 Prescott, 1847, Book I, Ch. 3
Rowe, 1953, 1960
2 Prescott, 1847, p.81

Prescott identified his 'Great Spirit' with both Viracocha¹ and Pachacamac, an association that has often been made since. Pachacamac may be translated as "Maker of the Earth", and was the name given to a particular shrine on the coast, south of Lima. It is true that the two names, or terms, Viracocha and Pachacamac are found together in several sources,² and it has been argued that Pachacamac was but a title for Viracocha.³ Pachacamac is a Quechua word, but the shrine of the same name had existed long before the rise of the Inca empire. It could be suggested that the association of Viracocha with the deity that acquired the name Pachacamac was a piece of Inca syncretism, but there are a number of indications that to make a complete identification of these two 'gods' would be mistaken. Garcilaso de la Vega denied the identification of Pachacamac and Viracocha as traditional, holding that Pachacamac was the true high god of the Incas, unseen and unknown, whereas Viracocha was only the name of a phantom that appeared to the Eighth Inca. On the other hand, it is fairly clear that Pachacamac was materially represented and in the myths about him he appears in a very different guise from that of Viracocha. He is described as the child of the Sun and the Moon and, unlike Viracocha, he was thought to have had a wife and children, much like other HUACAS that we know of.⁴ In this respect it is essential to stress the peculiar identification of Pachacamac with a particular place, again like other HUACAS. The influence of this HUACA was certainly extensive, but it was especially associated with the Coast as

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- 1 E.G. Zuidema, 1962, p.159
 2 Murúa (1590), 1946, Book III, Ch. 15, p.201
 Huaman Poma (1615), 1936, pp.54, 286
 Salcamayhua (c.1613), 1968, p.287
 Molina (1576), 1943, pp.38, 39, 42
 3 Rowe, 1960, p.415
 4 Avila (1608), 1942, pp.316, 379
 Relaciones Geograficas (1586), 1965, Vol. I, p.163
 Zarate (1556), 1968, Book I, Ch. 10
 Santillán (1563), 1968, Ch. 28, p.111 describes Pachacamac as the brother of the Sun

opposed to the Highlands, where the Sun was thought pre-eminent.¹ Finally, it should be noted that Pachacamac does seem to have been "dishonoured by an attempt at visible representation". Miguel Estete, among the first conquistadors to reach Pachacamac, described the inner sanctum dedicated to the god, who was thought to have created the Indians of the coastland; he saw "a very dirty idol made of wood and kept in a very dark chamber with a close fetid smell."² Albornoz and Cieza de León both thought that the idol of Pachacamac represented a fox,³ and Galancha recorded that foxes, in particular, were sacrificed at this shrine.⁴ There must, therefore, be some doubt as to a simple equation of Pachacamac with either a "sublime conception of one Great Spirit", or Viracocha. As will become clearer later, it is possible that in one aspect Viracocha was identified with Pachacamac, where the latter was linked with one half of a dual form of religious organization.

Following Prescott, others have maintained inviolate the divine status of Viracocha. Although he argued according to a phallic interpretation of religion, Lafone Quevedo, for example, had no difficulty in concluding that "No one has doubted that Pachacama and Viracocha were gods that corresponded to our idea of a Supreme Being and that they were worshipped in America before the arrival of Columbus."⁵ But if the divine nature of Viracocha has rarely been questioned, there has been a fair amount of dispute on the historical origins and evolutionary significance of the 'god', questions that, according to their times, were pursued by etymological speculations

1 Avila (1608), 1942, Ch. 22

2 Miguel Estete (1533), 1872, p.82

3 Albornoz (c.1583), 1967, p.34

Cieza de León (1553), 1947, Ch. 72

See also Garcilaso de la Vega (1609), 1966, Book VI, Ch. 30

4 Calancha, 1638, Book II, Ch. 19

5 Lafone Quevedo, 1892, p.378

and historical conjectures along with the comparative approach of Frazer. Material was drawn from the Chaldean pantheon to amplify¹ the procreative significance of Viracocha, from Sanskrit to support² a similar meaning for the component 'camac' in Pachacamac, or from Hindu cosmology to postulate the association of the idea of the³ cosmic egg with Viracocha. In most cases current theories have been utilized and divine typologizing has resulted. Throughout there has been an obsession with the creative aspect of Viracocha, a circumstance that may reveal more about Christian-based conceptions of divinity than about Peruvian conceptions. Lehmann-Nitsche argued that Viracocha was an abbreviation of several related forms such as ILLAJ-TIJSI-HUIRA-KOCHA, which he translated, "lake of glowing lava". He proceeded with a psychological explanation of the procreative quality that would have been suggested to a primitive mentality by an erupting volcano, and he ended by fixing the origins of Viracocha to the specific volcano of Vilcanota, near Cachi.⁴ More recently, F.D. Pease has argued along variant but familiar lines, by interpreting Viracocha as a celestial deity⁵ signifying "foam of the water of life, fertilizing seed."

All these speculations have tended to leap to conclusions from a singular^(c) piece of evidence, rather than to consider all the material available.

Conjectures as to the historical origins of Viracocha are usually still more dubious since they cannot be verified with the

1 Ibid, p.365
 2 Ibid, p.368
 3 Lehmann-Nitzsche, 1928
 4 Op. cit.
 5 Pease, 1970, p.164

evidence that remains. Depending on the writer, Viracocha has
 been associated with the Colla Indians, the builders of Tiahuanaco,
 with Gachi, or with Urcos, with Aymara-speakers or with Quechua-speakers,
 although the general tendency has been to associate Viracocha with a
 Southern Peruvian origin due to his connection with this region in
 the Inca myth discussed above. However, there is no reason to believe
 that the significance of the places mentioned in this myth was
 historical, to the contrary a classificatory function has in part
 been already suggested and as Zuidema has pointed out, all this
 pseudo-history reveals nothing of the function of Viracocha in Inca
 society.

There has been at least one lasting and valid question that
 has stimulated a succession of scholars. The question is, considering
 the central position of the Sun cult in Inca religion, what could
 have been the relation of Viracocha to the Sun god? As far as I know,
 Von Tschudi was the first to offer an explanation on this matter and
 surprisingly proposed a similar solution to that which was again
 reached by Zuidema from a structural analysis. Von Tschudi suggested
 that Inti, the Sun, was the principal god of the Inca court while
 Viracocha was the supreme god of the people, but unfortunately this
 trustworthy scholar went no further than this in his explanation.

Other interpretations on this matter have wavered between
 theological, historical, and sociological explanation. Lehmann-
 Nitsche, for example, having accepted the presence of a concept of
 the Supreme Being among the Incas, remarked that this concept oscillated
 between the material representation of the Sun and the abstract
 divinity of Viracocha. In a different vein, F.D. Pease has described

1 Latcham, 1929
 Von Tschudi, 1918
 2 Means, 1931
 3 Lehmann-Nitsche, 1928
 Uhle, 1912, p.307
 4 Rowe, 1960
 5 Latcham, 1929

6 Rowe, 1960, et al.
 7 Zuidema, 1962, p.164
 8 Von Tschudi, 1918, p.211
 9 Lehmann-Nitsche, 1928

the contention between Pachacuti Yupanqui (Ninth Inca) and Viracocha (Eighth Inca) in Inca traditions as a struggle between the new fertilizing god of the Sun and the older celestial deity, Viracocha.¹ Adopting an historical line, Latcham argued quite differently that Viracocha was the totemic god of the Collas while the Sun was the totem of the Incas, and that the two were brought into one system by the reforms of Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui.² Recently, Zuidema has revived the type of dualistic interpretation of Von Tschudi, arguing that the Sun was associated with the HANAN division of social organization and Viracocha with the HURIN division.³ His arguments will need to be considered in more detail later.

Some idea of the wide diversity of opinion regarding the significance of Viracocha should by now be appreciated, and this non-agreement is itself an indication of the extremely problematic character of the Viracocha concept. The failure of scholars in the past to come to any satisfactory agreement on the subject is largely the consequence of insufficient source materials and the exasperating jungle of contradictions that they contain. For their greater clarity and authority, the more modern (and opposing) contributions of Rowe and Zuidema should here be considered in more detail.

The most recent and cogent interpretation of Viracocha as a Creator god has been given by J.H. Rowe.⁴ He argues that the Viracocha of the Incas was derived from a traditional oracle at Urcos and was elevated to the position of a High god in the theological and

1 Pease, 1970
 2 Latcham, 1929
 3 Zuidema, 1962; 1964
 4 Rowe, 1960

political revolution of the Ninth Inca, Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui. He argues beyond this that the conception of a Creator god under the last Incas was a novel departure in Peruvian religion, stemming from the theological speculations of Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui. In order to maintain this view Rowe had to trust implicitly the historical veracity of certain Inca traditions, but since his writing, considerable doubt has been cast on the validity of treating Inca traditions in the same way as European histories. The myth of Viracocha was thought by Rowe to have been a compilation of a number of local myths "combined by the Incas to provide a connected story of the general creation"¹. In this way Rowe followed the usual trend in taking creation as the crucial function of Viracocha and attempting to discover how the conception of a Creator god, "a being without beginning or end"², developed in ancient Peru. Although his presumption on the creative function of Viracocha may be questioned, Rowe should be acknowledged for his wish to escape so much of the vain etymologising of earlier students. He denied that Viracocha was an analyzable word and insisted that the term denoted a class of supernatural beings, rather than it having a specific and singular meaning. Considering the thoroughly inconclusive character of most of the attempted etymologies Rowe's opinion on this matter seems wise and emphasizes the need for studies of a more substantive character.

Before considering Zuidema's contribution to the subject it would be well to question the nature of the creative function that has been so readily attached to Viracocha and could provide the basis for an interpretation like Rowe's. It is true that the

1 Ibid, p.410

2 Ibid, 1946, p.293

Viracocha of myth appears to create natural phenomena as well as man, but a close inspection of the myth reveals Viracocha as much an Orderer as a Creator; he appoints the Sun, the Moon, and the Stars to their appropriate places, while his role as the Creator of men is highly dubious. Attention is fixed on the models of men that he makes and on the distinctions depicted thereon, and exactly what is the connection of the men, who emerge from the different PACARISCAS, with their models, is uncertain. There seems to have been a much stronger emphasis on a conception akin to that of the 'archetype' and its relation to its tangible manifestation, and in this context the question of Creation, per se, is of less importance. The notion of 'archetype' in Indian thought was, in fact, recognized in other contexts by contemporary observers, although never explicitly in this matter of Creation. José Acosta, for example, suggested that the Peruvian tendency to find a celestial model (semejante) for each creature, to act as its spiritual procreator and protector, approached the ideas of Platonic thought.

The Quechua term translated as 'Creator' in the Spanish is CAMAC, but the many instances in which this word was used in the sources suggests an appreciable deviation from the Christian conception of a divine creator. It may be noted in the first place that CAMAC could apply to both male and female 'creators'. In Avila there are two female HUACAS who are addressed as CAMAC, which is translated in H. Galante's edition as both "creadors" and "procreadors". These HUACAS, it should be emphasized, were conceived of as sisters and they cannot be considered as creator gods

1 E.G. Molina (1576), 1943, p.11

2 Acosta (1588), 1962, Book V. Ch. 4, pp.221-2

3 Avila (1608), 1942, §§ 135, 165, 172

(or goddesses) along the lines of our accustomed modes of thought. The one sister, Chaupifamca, is in one tradition said to have had a human father, and was a great prostitute to the HUACAS, having been a prodigious procreator of both men and women. She ended her days, like most HUACAS, turned into a stone.¹

It would seem that the use of the word CAMAC in the foregoing instance bears some resemblance to a particular application of the word MAMA (translated as "madre"), and operated within the same system of ideas which Acosta believed approached Plato's propositions on Ideal forms. According to Molina of Chile, the Sun who created all things gave everything a mother, and the Indians worshipped these mothers, which in turn may have had mothers of their own.² As an example of this pattern, Molina groups together water, vinegar, and CHICHA (a maize beer), but in a surprising order; water is the mother of vinegar, which is the mother of CHICHA.³ Unless Molina made a mistake in his description, this surprising order is one indication that the link between a phenomenon and its 'madre' was not necessarily causal, a condition which may also have applied with the meaning of the word CAMAC and which thoroughly contradicts European ideas about the causal relation between a creator and its creature.

It is significant that Molina saw this all-pervading system of the worship of 'Mothers' as built on the same propositions as the worship of the dead, who were worshipped as 'Fathers', and from whom men had proceeded.⁴ This dichotomy between male and female lines of procreation in 'religious' thought, as represented by MALLQUIS on

1 Ibid, Chs. 10, 13
 2 Molina (1553), 1968, p.76
 3 Loc. cit.
 4 Loc. cit.

the one hand and HUACAS on the other, suggests a common intellectual root as the predominant pattern of parallel descent in the Andes, although the significance of the dichotomy in this religious context is not exactly clear. There were, in fact, both male and female HUACAS and MALLQUIS, so one can only assume that Molina's portrayal accords with a particular ideal representation, rather than an actual organization.

The system of 'madres' and 'padres' appears to have been a form of classification, the concern of which was to understand creative power not in terms of first causes, but in as distributive a manner as possible, grouping together different orders of phenomena by the intellectual recognition of 'likeness' and 'contiguity' in objects. The sea as the MAMA of all waters was solicited when rain was desired, and sea-shells were thought particularly appropriate offerings to springs in the mountains because they could transmit the power of the sea.¹ The play of both 'likeness' and 'contiguity' is empirically apparent in this case, but within the same system of ideas 'likeness' may have required an imaginative projection.

According to Polo (and Acosta) each creature was thought to have had its "likeness in the heavens, in whose charge was its procreation and increase."² Urcuchillay, for example, was the star to which the Quechua shepherds resorted for the increase of their flocks and their wool. This constellation was pictured as a llama of many colours.³ In a different context, it is recorded in Avila that the stars were once believed to have been the creators (creadoras)⁴ and nourishers of men. As has been seen the word for a

1 Polo de Ondegardo (c.1565), 1916a., Ch. 14, p.39

2 Ibid, Ch. I, p.5
Acosta (1588), 1962, Book V, Ch. 4, p.221

3 Loc. cit.

4 Avila (1608), 1942, Ch. 29, p.412

creator in Quechua was CAMAC, which may suggest that the ideas of the CAMAC and MAMA were in some instance interchangeable. This appears more likely when it is found that the above mentioned ¹ Chaupifamca was referred to as both MAMA and CAMAC.

If there was a resemblance in the meanings of the words MAMA and CAMAC it may be suggested that one of the perceived ingredients of the relationship between a CAMAC and its 'creature' in Peruvian thought was likeness, and this may have entailed the joining together of phenomena which according to European conceptions can have no creature relationship. In other words, Spanish observers misinterpreted the meaning of the word CAMAC by implying a creative and causal power where, in fact, a more reciprocal power was intended, built upon the appreciation of existent likeness rather than on the progressive relationship of creator to creature. ² The distinction that I am trying to draw may possibly be best illuminated by reference to a development in anthropological theory in the lasting debate on 'primitive' thought. The two landmarks for the present purposes are Frazer's theory of magic and Lévi-Strauss's ideas on totemism and myth.

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- 1 For CAMAC, see under p. 10
For MAMA, Avila (1608), 1942, Ch. 10, p.350
- 2 By reciprocal power I mean to suggest a kind self-sufficient circle of influence. For example, if CHICHA was thought to derive from the influence of vinegar, and vinegar from its 'mother' water, in supplicating the Lightning and Thunder for rain CHICHA was a primary offering. If, then, one is to speak of a perception of causality it has to be understood that this may well have operated within semi-discrete spheres of classification, implying cyclic rather than linear development.

Frazer's essential contribution was to extend from the realm of philosophy to the anthropology of magic the notions of 'likeness'¹ and 'contiguity' as two mechanisms of mental association. However, Frazer was unable to escape from a conceptual framework of cause and effect, to which he duly harnessed his understanding of the operation of association. His emphasis on cause and effect could only prove a dull weight to his insight and it inevitably led to his disillusion with the value of association as a scientific procedure for understanding the relations between different phenomena. But "spurious science" need not, as Frazer thought, have been at the basis of these means of mental association, as Lévi-Strauss has demonstrated. It has been one of the latter's important achievements to bring together what was valuable in Frazer's theory with the ideas of primitive classification, developed out of (the) L'Année Sociologique group. He has taken up and extended the concepts of Similarity and Contiguity to apply to many facets of thought in general, only under the different titles of metaphor and metonymy.² But, he has tried to avoid the question of causality, or practical function, as important for an understanding of the workings of association, and has instead concentrated on the purely conceptual and classificatory value of metaphor and metonymy in human thought.³ Thus it may be shown that logical and imaginative thought can satisfactorily function without depending simply on the observation of cause and effect. It is with this realization in mind that, I suggest, one may appreciate some of the conceptual differences between the terms CAMAC and Creator.

1 Frazer, 1970, Ch. 3

2 Lévi-Strauss, 1966

3 In the same work Lévi-Strauss does admit a concern, or at least a recognition, of the principle of causality in primitive classification (1966, Ch. 1). The point is, however, that the basis of classification need not be the search for merely causal relations

Within a religious context, it should be emphasised that there appears to have been none of the singularity of the Christian concept of the Creator in the application of the word CAMAC, a circumstance that caused the early missionaries some aggravation. Acosta complained that it was extremely difficult to convince the Indians that there were not many gods or powers, although they had no word for 'god' as such.¹ Instead they called their huacas RUNAPCAMAC, "creator of men"² and by this multiplicity they denied the Creation and singular origin of all men, according to Christian dogma. Arriaga noted with evident exasperation that the Indians in their ignorance could not grasp the idea that all mankind shared the same first ancestors, but instead believed that "each AYLLU or group of Indians had its own origin, and PACARINA, which they name individually, worship and offer sacrifices to, calling it CAMAC, that is creator; and each (group) says that it has its own creator, some say that it is such and such a mountain, others that it is such and such a spring"³ The wide range of phenomena that were considered as PACARINAS (or PACARISCAS) has already been observed and the possibility that a system of social classification was involved was suggested. The connection of the word CAMAC with MAMA has been noted and this connection is reinforced by recognizing that CAMAC appears always to have been applied to HUACAS rather than MALLQUIS. It was seen before that there may have been a conceptual homology in the relation between MALLQUIS and HUACAS to that between LLACHUASES and LLACTAS respectively. If this is true and the usage of CAMAC was limited to HUACAS, one must acknowledge a particular sociological significance in the word, removing it further

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- 1 Acosta (1588), 1962, Book V, Ch. 3
 - 2 Arriaga (1621), 1968, Ch. 5, p.213
See also Duviols, 1971, p.391
 - 3 Arriaga (1621), 1968, Ch. 7, p.220

from the peculiar comprehensive connotation of the Christian Creator. Some of this significance will be considered later with reference to Viracocha. For the present one should draw attention to the sort of distortion that the translation of concepts imposed on Inca culture.

The process of interpretation, or assimilation, of alien concepts by the conquering Spaniards is a subject which demands more attention by anthropologists, and the little work done on this has shown how rewarding it can be.¹ From a different point of view, Duviols has demonstrated the very overt application of Western concepts to Inca society in the work of Garcilaso de la Vega, who most probably imposed on the 'god' Pachacamac the conception of a Final and First Cause of all created things.² If this imposition was effected consciously by a man with an Inca ancestry, how much more was distorted unconsciously by Spaniards who had no prior knowledge of Indian thought?

It has been necessary to stress the inexactitude of our concept 'Creator' as a translation of the term CAMAC, because it has been repeatedly assumed from the first that the concept of a 'creator' is self-evident, if admitting some variation in outward appearance. But it can be seen that the presumptions that went into the word CAMAC were appreciably different from those that went into the Spanish word 'creator' and it is in the light of these differences that one should withhold a hasty judgment of Viracocha as the Creator god of the Incas. It could be suggested that the applications of the word CAMAC given above were largely drawn from non-Inca

1 Elliott, 1970, Chs. 1, 2

2 Duviols, 1964

sources and therefore do not preclude the possibility of its elaboration under the Incas in a way more familiar to European minds. It seems a valid reply to suppose that the Inca idea of a CAMAC was liable to be closer to pre-existing Indian notions than to projected European ones.

Having, hopefully, dispensed with the 'creative' bugbear of so many descriptions and interpretations of Viracocha, Zuidema's untheological interpretation can be considered.

Zuidema adopts a thoroughly sociological perspective in associating Viracocha with a particular social position within a dual and quadripartite form of social classification in Inca Cuzco.¹ He argues that in order to achieve a quadripartite classification from a pre-existing tripartite one it was necessary, within the religious context, to generate a new divine category and this was effected by dividing the functions of the Sun god, of which one half became characterized as Viracocha. Although intriguing, this may have been an unnecessarily complex argument for Zuidema could not sustain it, but rather concentrated on the dualistic relationship of Viracocha to the Sun. This relationship is seen as an expression of the moiety partition between Hanan Cuzco associated with the Inca rulers and the Sun god, and Hurin Cuzco, which which the indigenous population, the priests, the lesser nobility, and Viracocha were associated. Zuidema goes on to see the opposition of the Sun to Viracocha under a number of conceptual forms or relations, such as respectively, mountains to coastland, High to Low, Fire to Rain, which may all be subsumed under the fundamental division between HANAN and HURIN. In this way Zuidema avoids all theological

1 Zuidema, 1964, pp.165-170, 243-6
Ibid, 1962

speculation and instead explains Viracocha more simply as an intellectual device, a proposition which is, I believe, much more enlightening than all the theological and historical hypothesizing. Nonetheless, a number of important criticisms of Zuidema's analysis cannot be avoided, and these chiefly refer to the way in which he fixes Viracocha in the Lower moiety.

It is important to recognize from the start that Zuidema's highly complex interpretation of the social organization of Cuzco allows for the possibility that Viracocha Inca (with whom Zuidema links the Viracocha deity) was associated with different divisions within the four suyu, depending on the particular representation in question. Thus, while this Inca is ostensibly linked with the Ande-suyu, Zuidema argues that according to one representation, based on a view of Inca society as composed of four marriage classes practising asymmetric connubium, Viracocha Inca filled a position identified with the Collasuyu, and thus withⁱⁿ Hurin Cuzco.¹ For reasons, which I believe are rather artificial, Zuidema has chosen this position of Viracocha Inca as fundamental for understanding the position of the deity Viracocha. In the first place, I think it is fair to say that the whole idea of an organization of four asymmetrically linked marriage classes among the Incas is highly speculative and one which, from a reading of his recent paper on Inca kinship,² I doubt that Zuidema would firmly uphold any longer. But the argument, in this case, is still more dubious since Zuidema, not refraining from shifting the position of merely Viracocha Inca, has also carried the Tarpuntay ayllu (priests) with the Inca and this on extremely slender grounds. In effect what Zuidema is arguing here and further on is that the representation based on these

1 Zuidema, 1964, pp.150-4

2 Ibid, 1972

four marriage classes provided the framework for ordering not only Inca marriages, but also other quite extraneous material. Thus he interprets an account of the rebellion of the Chanca Indians against Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui by assimilating it into the same framework.¹ But I am not convinced by Zuidema's procedure, nor by the series of associations that he sets up. Positing the association of Viracocha Inca, along with the priestly order, with the Collasuyu and Hurin Cuzco, Zuidema tries to support this association by another association of Viracocha Inca with the Chanca, who can be said to have filled a HURIN position in relation to the population of Cuzco. Zuidema argues that since both priests and Chancas were suppressed by Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui, Viracocha Inca, who had been ruling at the time of the rebellion and was associated with the priests, was thereby implicated with the Chancas and their HURIN status. But Zuidema fails to make sufficiently clear that in his own source the Chancas and the priests are viewed as opponents.² There are no grounds here, then, for fixing Viracocha Inca in the Hurinsuyu because of a false identification with the Chanca, while at the same time the priestly order is more readily identifiable with the Andesuyu (Hanansuyu). Recognizing these admissions, it is barely possible any longer to maintain Zuidema's connection of the divinity Viracocha with Hurinsuyu, at least not in the above respect.

In an article on "The relationship between the Mountains and Coast in Ancient Peru" (1962) Zuidema tried by other means to identify Viracocha with the Lower Moiety. He argued that the Incas associated the Coast with a HURIN position and that whereas Viracocha filled a subordinate position to the Sun in Inca cosmology, the relationship

1 Ibid. 1964, pp.111-13

2 Blas Valera (c.1590), 1968, p.167

was reversed on the Coast. His argument assumes that the empirical categories associated with each divinity remained constant and that it was only the hierarchical relationship (ie the values) that was reversed. The categories 'fire' and 'high' are linked with the Sun, while 'water' and 'low' are attached to Viracocha. These empirical deductions are themselves dubious since Viracocha could¹ equally be connected with the Highlands and fire, but they become even more dubious when Zuidema tries to interpret a myth on the basis of them so as to show the reversed hierarchy that existed between these categories on the coast. This myth comes from Huarochiri and relates the battle between Huallallo Carhuincho and Pariacaca, in which the former is vanquished.² Pariacaca's father was said to be Coniraya Huiracucha, whom Zuidema reasonably identifies with Viracocha, but he then makes the untenable identification of this god, Coniraya Huiracucha, with Pachacamac, the god of the coastland. The distinction between Viracocha and Pachacamac has already been in part explained, but it is even more explicit in this context, for in the same source is a myth in which both Coniraya Huiracucha and Pachacamac appear separately.³ Pariacaca's paternity cannot, then be taken as grounds for supposing a connection of him with the HURIN category. And the rest of Zuidema's argumentation is equally dubious. Pariacaca fights with water and Huallallo with fire, which Zuidema associates with the respective categories of Low and High, HURIN and HANAN. But if structuralism is to be a valid means of interpretation its 'empirical deductions' must be accurate and as unselective as possible. In this case, water

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- 1 Viracocha, for example, travels through the Highlands and calls down fire from the skies on the disrespectful inhabitants of Cacha
 2 Avila (1608), 1942, Ch. 8
 3 Ibid, Ch. 2

may equally be associated with 'high' and fire with 'low'. The water comes in the form of rain which descends from on high, while fire in opposition burns from the ground. This opposition is, in fact, explicitly made in Avila's text and is reinforced by the evidence of another version of the myth recorded at an earlier date than Avila's, which is Zuidema's authority. According to this account, Pariacaca was the god worshipped by the Yauyos, while Huallallo was originally the god of the Yungas, who were true coastal Indians, living at a lower altitude than the Yauyos. This contrast is reflected in the geographical relationship of the two gods to one another, in their idol forms. Pariacaca is a high mountain peak, whereas Huallallo lies at the foot of this mountain. So much, then, for Zuidema's straightforward dichotomy of High and Low.

It has been thought necessary to consider Zuidema's views on the significance of Viracocha in some detail, since his is the most important recent contribution and the only modern anthropological interpretation. In criticizing his ideas I have emphasized accurate textual interpretation, at least where possible, for the debates on Inca society and religion have too often revolved around theoretical differences rather than textual criticism. While one should wholeheartedly endorse Zuidema's attitude to the Inca traditions as being often non-historical accounts recorded as history by the Spanish chroniclers, this discrepancy between the true content and the medium of expression in the source material should not permit the sort of licence that has sometimes been indulged in. If there are contradictions and inconsistencies in the sources they should be recognized and interpretation may have to admit limitation. It is,

1 Ibid, Ch. 8, p.338

2 Relaciones Geograficas (1586), 1965, Vol. I, p.161

3 Zuidema, 1964, pp. 16-17, 29, 122

in fact, Zuidema who has been the most sensitive to such contradictions and, indeed, his whole book is built on the awareness of them. He has tried to explain the inconsistencies in the representations of Cuzco's social organization as the consequence of the conjunction of several different models of organization. With regard to the position of Viracocha he has, however, been too rigid and led, I believe, into such distortions as I have indicated above. I think it will have to be admitted, as I will attempt to illustrate, that the concept VIRACOCHA, in its various manifestations, was contradictory and ambiguous. I will suggest that this ambiguity was not haphazard, but that it reflected the concept's indeterminate position, a position that could comprehend opposites and so possibly supersede them. In structural terms VIRACOCHA could be described as a 'mediating' category, which attempts to reduce an apparently irreducible contradiction.

It is important to recognize that Lévi-Strauss's "Savage Mind" works from empirical to abstract (or 'transcendental') categories, so that the mediating category will in the first place be wholly tangible. Thus carrion-eating animals are seen to mediate between herbivorous animals and beasts of prey, because like beasts of prey they eat meat, but since they do not kill for their food they are also like herbivorous animals. These empirical categories give way to the abstracted distinction between agriculture and hunting, which in turn are transcended by the opposing principles of Life and Death. The mediating category in the Inca case, however, is already an intellectual abstraction, although it may comprehend a number of

1 Op. cit. See Chapter I

2 Lévi-Strauss, 1969, p.1
Ibid 1967
Ibid 1972, Ch. 9

3 Op. cit. Ch. 9, p.224

empirical categories. I shall argue that it was an intellectual resolution of an intellectual dilemma, which itself arose out of both structural and historical circumstances.

Viracocha's ambivalence as a deity has not passed entirely unnoticed in the past. Lehmann-Nitsche observed that in a number of prayers recorded to Viracocha there is doubt as to the gender of the god, and he interprets this as the asexuality fundamental¹ to the concept of the Supreme Being. However, one could interpret the passages in question as a muted statement of Bisexuality, implying a categorical ambivalence, and withhold from theological conclusions, for the present at least. It is of some significance that the prayer to Viracocha that Salcamayhua records frequently returns to a consideration of such oppositions as whether Viracocha is male or whether female; is he above or is he below? In the sky or in the sea? While the power of Viracocha is seen to extend over such explicit oppositions as Sun and Moon, day and night, spring² and winter. Several of these stated oppositions have already been met with in other contexts, while such an opposition as spring and winter may be understood by reference to the marked change in seasons from the wet summer months of October to March to the dry sunny months of winter.

The sexual ambivalence of Viracocha in Salcamayhua's prayer is matched by a similar ambiguity in myth. He is described as

1 Lehmann-Nitsche, 1928, pp.83-4

2 Salcamayhua (c.1613), 1968, p.287

Spanish Translation

Lafone Queredo, 1892, pp.339-40

English Translation

Markham, 1610, p.79

See also Salcamayhua's representation of the altar wall in the Coricancha for more oppositions. A disc representing Viracocha is placed in the middle. The drawing is reproduced in Lehmann-Nitsche, 1928

wearing a long white robe, which must have been a crucial characteristic of his representation for it is again repeated in the descriptions of the statues fashioned after him.² The Inca men wore knee-length tunics while the women wore a long garment,³ with which Viracocha's robe may possibly be compared. But there is another possibility if Murúa's information was correct. He recounts that the mysterious Viracocha Inca had many priests, diviners, and sorcerers, and these he ordered to wear long hair and a straight, long, white vestment with a mantle above.⁴ The white vestment of both priests and Viracocha patently suggests some identification of the two, especially since the outward signs of clothing were such a matter of concern to the Incas.⁵ What is to be emphasised here is that the priests, not only in their clothes but also with their long hair (the Inca men wore their hair short; the women long) renounced their full manliness. Viracocha is a little more ambiguous; he is described with both short hair and long hair.⁶⁷

When one recalls that the Viracocha of myth was largely associated with the Collao (in the Collasuyu), one may be pardoned for suspecting that there may have been some connection between his sexual ambivalence and a question that Toledo thought fit to ask the Indians of Cuzco for his INFORMACIONES. For some reason Toledo thought that the Collao had a propensity to transvestitism and so

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- 1 Betanzos (1551), 1968, Ch. 2, p.11
Sarmiento de Gamboa (1572), 1942, p. 29
Garcilaso de la Vega (1609), 1966, Book IV, Ch. 21
- 2 Molina (1576), 1943, p.39
Blas Valera (c.1590), 1968, p.158
Cieza de León (1553), 1947, Ch. 97
Garcilaso de la Vega (1609), 1966, Book V. Ch. 22, p.291
- 3 Evident in the drawings of Huaman Poma (1615), 1936
- 4 Murúa (1590), 1946, Book I, Ch. 10
- 5 The importance of cloth and clothing in Inca Peru has been considered by Murra, 1962. Huaman Poma's meticulous descriptions of the costumes of each Inca is one indication of the importance of clothing. Other examples are frequent in the sources
- 6 Betanzos (1551), 1968, Ch. 2, p.11
- 7 Molina (1576), 1943, p.39

asked, "if they knew that in the whole of the Collao walked men dressed like women with their faces made up so as to practise this unnatural vice."¹ It would be interesting to know whether 'make-up' ever involved whitening the face, for Viracocha is twice described as white-skinned.²

The uncertainty over Viracocha's gender is, I believe, but one manifestation of a more fundamental dichotomy which revolved around the problematic relationship of 'originals' to 'outsiders' that developed as a consequence of the Inca expansion. It may be remembered that according to one form of Inca social classification, Hanan Cuzco was associated with the founding Inca (king), while Hurin Cuzco was identified with the first Coya (queen).³ One may appreciate from this that the question of sexual identity could enter into the representation of social organization, so that sexual ambivalence may have been conceptually related to a social ambivalence. One need be little surprised, then, to find that the concept VIRACOCHA appears to have filled an indeterminate position in relation to the categories LLACTA and LLACHUAZ, or to the qualities which were invariably fixed to these two terms. The quality of the former was one of stasis, immobility, unshifting attachment to one place of origin, whereas the quality associated with the LLACHUAZ was the reverse one of movement and, from the viewpoint of the LLACTA, strangeness or foreignness. As was seen earlier, these two categories might be typified in the contrast between agriculturalists and pastoralists respectively.

It will be recalled that the HUARIS were identified with the LLACTA as the first founders of a social group in a particular land.

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- 1 Informaciones (1572), 1940, p.125
 - 2 Cieza de León (1553), 1967, Ch. 5, p.8
Sarmiento de Gamboa (1572), 1942, p. 29
 - 3 See under p. 56

Their homes were identified with snowy peaks, which the people revered, possibly as PACARINAS¹. But like the word VIRACOCHA, which could apply to either a class of beings or a single being, HUARI could designate a god-figure as well as the group of first founders. This dichotomous meaning may reflect a pattern of thought that has already been encountered, that one which Acosta likened to Plato's principles of archetypes. This formal homology in the applications of the terms VIRACOCHA and HUARI can be extended to a substantial one. The HUARIS, as a group, are described in one source as bearded beings created by the Sun, in which they compare with the bearded viracochas sent by the Viracocha to earth.² Similarly Huará, as a deity, is portrayed as a creator god who, like the mythical Viracocha, was responsible for the flood which drowned the population of the coastal plains but from which the people of the mountains escaped by hiding in caves;³ these became the post-deluvial PACARINAS with which Viracocha was associated in the Inca myth considered earlier. The god Huari is poignantly depicted by one Indian as "the one before Christ and was like (?!) a bearded man, like a Spaniard, who when the Indians lived without king or law, with the result that they killed each other and had wars, one against another, over the fields, he appeared among them and distributed all the said fields and irrigation channels and divided them among all the AILLOS, so that they should not kill themselves"⁴ This portrayal is similar to others and draws attention to the bearded appearance and to the ordering function which was attributed to the 'God' Viracocha, Viracocha Inca,

1 Arriaga (1621), 1968, Ch. 2, p.202
 2 Cobo (1653), 1956, Book XII, Ch. 19, p.99
 3 Duviols, 1971, p.388
 4 Ibid, p.369

or to other quasi-divine viracochas of myth. The 'god' Viracocha arranged the demographic distribution of the Peruvians, and in one form or another he instructed each group how to live, Viracocha¹ Inca taught men how to build houses and make clothes; the viracochas² in Inca myth were also teachers and determined the distribution, not so much of land, but of people over the land.³ The similarity in the practical functions of Huari and Viracocha cannot be overlooked and this is especially apparent in the involvement of both HUARIS and viracochas in the origins of people. Viracocha is he who orders the PACARINAS of the different social groups and the HUARIS are the first founders of these groups. The association of the VIRACOCCHA concept with origins (as opposed to Creation) is still more clearly displayed in traditions about Viracocha Inca. In a couple of sources this Inca is portrayed as the first Inca ruler, who significantly came from Lake Titicaca.⁴ Equally suggestive is the testimony of a CURACA from Huamanga who thought that Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui, usually given as the Ninth Inca ruler, was the son of Viracocha Inca, "the one who had emerged from a hole in a rock which they call Tampotoco"⁵ Tampotoco was another name for Pacaritambo, the PACARINA of the Incas, and so in this case the approximation of the concepts VIRACOCCHA and HUARI becomes almost an identity.

The close relation of the same two concepts is apparent in Huaman Poma's Quasi-historical representation of the Peruvian past.

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- 1 eg Cieza de León (1553), 1967, Ch. 5
 2 Molina (1553), 1968, p.72 In this version, at least.
 3 Betanzos (1551), 1968, Ch. 2
 Molina (1576), 1943, pp.13-14 etc; also Relaciones Geograficas (1586), 1965, Vol.I. p.245
 4 Molina (1553), 1968, p.72
 Zarate (1556), 1968, Book I, Ch. 13
 5 Informaciones (1572), 1940, p.40

He conceived of four ages preceding that of the Incas; the second was the age of the HUARI RUNA (runa: men) and the first was the age of the HUARI HUIRACOCCHA RUNA.¹ Here is the suggestion again, without any mention of a creation, that the viracochas denoted a category, temporally-conceived, antecedent to the category of beings (HUARIS) already associated with origins. In this respect VIRACOCCHA might be considered as something of an origin of an origin, or a conception of that which existed before that which could be conceived, a paradox which has its parallel in Christian thought (Anselm's paradox). But what is possibly most revealing for the present purposes is Huaman Poma's view of the descent of the Indians from the HUARI HUIRACOCCHA RUNA, whom he thought were the progenitors of both the great lords of the land, the legitimate and elder sons, on the one hand, and of the low people (gente baja), the illegitimate and younger ones, on the other.² This dichotomy is exactly the one which was described in the second chapter for the division between Hanan Cuzco and Hurin Cuzco,³ and in this case one finds that the notion of VIRACOCCHA was explicitly not fixed to the HURIN division, nor either moiety, but that it anticipated both. There is a further fascinating indication in this piece of evidence that the concept of VIRACOCCHA was involved in a mediation as a consequence of the categorical inversion considered in Chapter two. Although the HUARI RUNA were still envisaged in much the same way as described above - they begin to work the land, construct terraces and irrigation channels, build houses - they fall into the HURIN social category as 'low people'.⁴ This is just as we might have expected from what has

1 Huaman Poma (1615), 1936, pp.48-56

2 Ibid., p.51

3 See under p. 56

4 Huaman Poma, loc. cit.

been said earlier. In the local sources the category HUARI, or LLACTA, still could maintain the superior authority and values that arose out of the geographical definition of social units, but in an imperial perspective, which Huaman Poma certainly had whatever his own personal history, the values became reversed and the HUARI as a social category came to fill a subordinate position. The specific instance of this inversion seen already was in the position of the indigenous population of Cuzco in the Hurin division.

I believe that the role of the concept of VIRACOCHA considered above may be compared with a mythological example, where Viracocha appears in his divine guise. In the sources there are three versions of a myth which is said to derive from the Cañaris Indians, who lived in the province of Tumbamba, in contemporary Southern Ecuador.¹ The myth is ostensibly about the origin of the Cañaris Indians, or at least about their post-deluvial provenance. In Molina's version of the myth two brothers escape from the Flood by climbing a particular mountain that rises above the waters. After the Flood has subsided they are saved from starvation by two macaws who bring them food and then appear as beautiful women. After one abortive attempt by the elder brother to seize the macaw-women, the younger brother manages to capture the younger macaw and together they bear six sons and daughters, from whom the Cañaris are said to descend. The myth is thought to explain why the Cañaris venerate the said mountain and macaws.

1 Molina (1576), 1943, pp. 15-16
 Sarmiento de Gamboa (1572) 1942, pp. 26-27
 Cobo (1653), 1956, Book XIII, Ch. 2, pp.151-2
 I will here be concerned chiefly with versions of the first two authors. Cobo's version appears to be logically mid-way between the two, although content-wise it is more like Molina's text

There is no mention of Viracocha nor of any form of social organization, which may suggest, for reasons that will become apparent hereafter, that this version represents an authentic Cañaris production.

Sarmiento de Gamboa recorded another seemingly similar, but effectively very different, version of the Cañaris myth. In this version there are again two brothers who escape the Flood by climbing the same mountain. They, too, are saved from starvation, not by two macaw-women, but by two human women. Nonetheless there is still a non-human agent involved in the operation. Where the women of Molina's myth 'mediated' between nature (macaws) and men, the women of Sarmiento's version are sent by Viracocha (non-natural, non-human). It is as if Viracocha has appropriated the position of the macaws and nature as the source of life; but there is a further development which introduces a totally new significance to the myth. We are told (Sarmiento's version) that after the elder brother had been drowned in a lake, the younger brother married one of the women and took the other one for his concubine (*manceba*). From them are born ten sons who form two bands with five in each, comprising the divisions of Hanansaya and Hurinsaya. Bearing in mind that the Inca could represent their own social organization as composed of ten ayllu equally divided between Hanan Cuzco and Hurin Cuzco, we may follow Zuidema's assumption that "in this myth the ten sons stand for ten ayllu and that five were descended from the primary wife and belonged to Hanansaya and five were descended from the subsidiary wife and belonged to Hurinsaya." ¹ I think it is fair to say that

1 Zuidema, 1964. p.197. I have disagreed with Zuidema that Molina's version also belonged to the Incas, on the basis that the latter version makes no mention of Viracocha, who was associated with the Incas, whereas the macaws that are prominent in the myth are known to have played an important part in Cañaris religion; see Cobo (1653) 1956, Book XIII, Ch. 2 p.152
I think one might also be able to show that Molina's myth has an internal logic which has disintegrated in Sarmiento's (the Inca)

the subversion of the myth to a consideration of the origins of a particular form of social organization along with the introduction of Viracocha in the place of the macaws was not fortuitous. It is Viracocha who brings together the men and the women in the first place, but he necessarily remains above the social division that results. In this way he resembles the position of HUARI HUIRACOCCHA RUNA, who precedes the division between the lords and the common people, the legitimate and the illegitimate. What cannot be said in this instance is that Viracocha as a concept was utilized in a situation of inversion, unless it is admitted as significant that the younger brother replaces the elder at the focal point of the ensuing social organization; but this was also the case in Molina's myth where Viracocha made no appearance. The relevance of the myth seems to me to be that the VIRACOCCHA concept was invoked when a new form of social organization was being introduced by the Incas among a subject people. There is no evidence that a dual organization with the terms HANAN and HURIN had any historical basis among the Cañaris, or any where in the region of Southern Ecuador and Northern Peru. Equally, Cañaris informants in 1582 could not recall ever worshipping Viracocha before the Inca conquest (nor after, for that matter), and Cieza de León heard that a knowledge of the deity only came to the Cañaris with the Incas. It is thus reasonable to suppose that Sarmiento's version of the Cañaris myth was an Inca reworking of a Cañaris original, which I have assumed to find in Molina's text. We know that Sarmiento collected most of his information in Cuzco and sought to verify it with a certificate signed by the "principal and most intelligent Indians of the 12 ayllus, or lineages of the Incas ..."

1 See under pp. 26-7

2 Relaciones Geograficas, 1965 Vol. II, pp.265-289

3 Cieza de León (1553), 1947, Ch. 43

4 Sarmiento de Gamboa (1572), 1942, p. 155

Cañaris myth reinterpreted it according to more familiar terms, or whether the Inca interpretation was deliberate and possibly ultimately intended for Cañaris' ears cannot for certain be known; but the possibility of the latter being the case seems strong, when Inca control over myth and cultic devotions, throughout the conquered lands, has been seen to have been so pervasive. The effect of such a reinterpreted myth is another matter; it is significant enough for our understanding of the VIRACOCHA concept that such reinterpretations took place.

We have moved from seeing VIRACOCHA in its association with the category HUARI, or LLACTA, to seeing the concept as separate from, and logically antecedent to, the same category. It has been seen that the VIRACOCHA concept exists before, and with the introduction of, a form of dual organization particularly associated with the Incas, and one which in certain circumstances probably contradicted the values of an existing dualism, that of the LLACTAS and LLACHUASES. But besides the example in Huaman Poma, where it could be said that the two sets of oppositions were implicit and that the VIRACOCHA concept provided the point of rotation for them, it was found in the Cañaris myth that Viracocha could have a more general application in the introduction of a new form of social organization, irrespective of any earlier one that it may have appeared to contradict. It is possible that a contradiction was involved in the latter case, only there is not the information to demonstrate it.

It is in the light of this more general significance of the VIRACOCHA concept that it may be possible to interpret the relevance of the symbolic association of the Quishuar plant with Viracocha. Zuidema thought that the Quishuar could be associated with the

lower moiety (and Viracocha's position in it) because it grows at great altitude, implying the mountain top which according to Zuidema could be associated with priests and origins.¹ While Zuidema's sequence of associations could itself be questioned, his most important oversight is in failing to acknowledge that the Quishuar designates not a single variety of plant, but several varieties, which between them grow from the Highlands down to the Coast. What would seem to be the significant feature of this collection of plants, which fall into the Buddleia species (there are fifteen varieties in Peru alone), is their visible form, combining opposite lanceolate leaves with four-lobed flowers.² Could not this arrangement have presented an image of a form of social organization where bipartite and quadripartite groupings were prominent? If this was the case then one must confess again that the concept of VIRACOCHA insinuated a totality and not a part within that totality, as Zuidema has argued.

In pointing to the comprehensive character of the VIRACOCHA concept I have run ahead of my own argument for, it is still possible and necessary to indicate areas where the notion of VIRACOCHA inclined towards the LLAQTA'S opposite, the LLACHUAZ category. It is possible, if highly speculative, that the term VIRACOCHA itself constituted a combination of two opposites. Indeed, this was thought long ago by Von Tschudi, who with his peculiar structuralist bent suggested that while COCHA means "lake" or "water", vira (pronounced wira) could be a metathesis of HUARI (pronounced wari) meaning "air" or "wind". Thus VIRACOCHA could be interpreted as a compound of the

1 Zuidema, 1964, p.163

2 Towle, 1961, p.75

¹ opposites air and water. It is a curious theory and, although it is unprovable, it is the most revealing and plausible of all the etymological proposals I know, since it is about the only one that may be expanded upon with wholly independent evidence. Von Tschudi saw this union of opposites as purely an intellectual one, but a sociological one might also be suggested. For, the metathesis accepted, the component VIRA will link Viracocha with the HUARI and LLACTA category, but this is only half the word. Could the LLACHUASES have been thought to have had a peculiar relationship with water? Or could COCHA have also been a significant metathesis? COCHA might be taken as a metathesis for CACHUN, denoting son's wife,² but I can find no significance in this possibility, lacking any clear indication of an asymmetric relation between wife-givers and wife-receivers. It is possible, however, that the literal meaning of COCHA as a "lake" may have been pertinent. In the admittedly few and geographically restricted cases where a group of LLACHUASES has recorded its foreign origin, it has referred to Lake Titicaca as its source.³ This circumstance may shed more light on the idea that Viracocha also emerged from Lake Titicaca, by which an association with the LLACHUASES may have been intended. More generally, the association of the LLACHUASES with the Lightning may also be related to the COCHA (in the sense of water) component, since it was to the Lightning and Thunder that the Andeans primarily resorted to ensure the fall of rain.⁴ Irrespective of etymological and orthographic speculations, Viracocha was unmistakably placed in a peculiar relation to water,

1 Von Tschudi, 1918, pp. 189-191

2 Zuidema, 1972, p. 9
Ricardo (1586), 1951, p.19

3 Hernandez Principe (1522), 1923, pp.26, 35. But it is to be noted that the name Yaro is consistently associated in this source with the LLACHUASES and on p. 35 it is said that the first ancestor of the Allauca myth came from Yaro Titicaca. Now, Yaro was another name for Pariacaca; could this mean that a deliberate identification for some unknown purpose was being set up between the two shrines of Pariacaca and Titicaca? There was, after all, a lake at the foot of Mount Pariacaca known equally as Pariacaca or Yaro.

4 Polo de Ondegardo (c.1565) 1916 a., pp.6-7
Acosta (1588). 1962. Book V. Ch. 4. p.221

to the extent that Zuidema believed water was a distinguishing mark
of the concept's anatomy.¹ Viracocha rises out of Lake Titicaca, is
held responsible for the Flood,² or in Huaman Poma the HUARI
HUIRACCOCHA RUNA are the sons of Noah who first came to the Indies,³
and he disappears across the waters of the Pacific, buoyant as a
boat.⁴ The Huarochiri myth in which Pariacaca fights with rain
has already been mentioned;⁵ the mysterious Viracocha Inca of
Murúa's source comes from the sea,⁶ and in other accounts of Viracocha
as the first Inca, he is said to come from Lake Titicaca.⁷

Once again, it is the spontaneous insight of Huaman Poma that
reassures us that all these hopeful associations are more than mere
coincidences. When speaking of the men of the Second Age, Huaman
Poma appears to have quite casually merged the two figures of
Viracocha and the Lightning.⁸ He explains that despite the ignorance
of the ancient Peruvians, they did have some knowledge of the one god
who had three persons - a judging father, a charitable son, and a
younger son who conferred health, food and water. This god was

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- 1 Zuidema, 1964, pp. 168-9
 - 2 Betanzos (1551), 1968, Ch. 1
Sarmiento de Gamboa (1572), 1942, p.25
Acosta (1588), 1962, Book I, Ch. 25
 - 3 Huaman Poma (1615), 1936, P.49 etc.
 - 4 Betanzos (1551) 1968, Ch. 2, p.11
Sarmiento de Gamboa (1572), 1942, p.30
Cieza de León (1553), 1967, Ch. 5
Molina (1576), 1943, and Cobo (1653), 1956, Book XIII, Ch. 2
recount that Viracocha departed upwards to the sky, not across
the sea
 - 5 Avila (1608), 1942, Ch. 8
Relaciones Geograficas (1586), 1965, Vol.I. p. 161
 - 6 Murúa (1590), 1946, Book I, Ch. 10
 - 7 Molina of Chile (1553), 1968, p. 72
Zarate (1556), 1968, Book I, Ch. 13
 - 8 Huaman Poma (1615), 1936, pp.55-6

Yllapa, the Lord of sky and earth. Now, Yllapa was the name for the Lightning, which was invariably associated in some way with the LLACHUAZ category. Although Huaman Poma does not explicitly identify this god with Viracocha, the insinuation that such a correlation was operative in his mind is a strong one. On this occasion he is plainly implying that the ancient Peruvians had some knowledge of the true, Christian, god. It is a favourite theme of his and whenever he brings it forward, it is usually to Viracocha, or an associated title, that he refers. He does not do so explicitly this time, but it may be noted that he later refers to Pachacamac as god of the Sky, with whom he identified Viracocha. I do not mean to suggest that Viracocha and Yllapa were ever identical, or even equivalent concepts, but that there is the possibility that the two concepts converged in certain circumstances. The relationship of Viracocha to Pachacamac may have been similar, although there were some important differences in this case.

The potential connection between Viracocha and the Lightning is amplified in another, more tangible, context involving the temples of Cuzco. In his description of the Ceque system of Cuzco, Barnabé Cobo records the temple called Pucamarca twice, in two adjacent CEQUES in the Chinchasuyu. Once it is described as the temple of Chucuylla, the Thunder (of which the Lightning was a related aspect)¹ and the other time it is said to be the temple of Pachayachachic, one of the titles of Viracocha.² It is not irrelevant that this temple was positioned in the Chinchasuyu, that is Hanan Cuzco. It will be remembered that according to the logic I projected from the LLACTA/LLACHUAZ dichotomy onto the dual organization of Cuzco, the LLACHUAZ category would have found its home in Hanan Cuzco.

1 Cobo (1553), 1956, Book XII, Ch. 13, pp. 171-2

2 Ibid, p.172

I will present just one more case to demonstrate the ambivalence of the VIRACOCCHA concept; this pertains to its relations vis-à-vis Hanan Cuzco and Hurin Cuzco.

In the hypothetical dynasty of the Incas Viracocha Inca was considered within Hanan Cuzco.¹ His strange characteristics, and his coming from the sea, or Lake Titicaca might all suggest a LLACHUAZ character. More specifically, the position of the PANACA of Viracocha Inca in the 'ceque system' was in the Andesuyu,² and significantly this PANACA was thought to have been responsible for the HUAUQUE (literally "brother") of Ticci Viracocha.³ The connection in this instance is complemented by other associations of the VIRACOCCHA concept with the Andesuyu. Rodriguez de Figueroa, for example, recorded a tradition that in the reign of Viracocha Inca it failed to rain for two years. The Inca then gathered together all the HUACAS in the central square of Cuzco and with mace in hand began to harangue them, questioning them why all this suffering had been brought upon his people. Three times he asked them for an answer, but there was

- 1 The common account in the Chronicles of Inca history is that the first five rulers belonged to Hurin Cuzco. The sixth Inca, Inca Roca, was said to have founded the Hanan division and from thereon all the Inca rulers were said to proceed from Hanan Cuzco. For a criticism of this presentation see Zuidema, 1964, pp.122-128; in his reworking of the data in this instance Zuidema still places Viracocha Inca in Hanan Cuzco
- 2 The name of Viracocha's PANACA varies from one source to another, but the differences can usually be collated; Molina (1576), 1943, p.32 (Cuzco panaca ayllu) Cobo (1653), 1956, Book XIII, Ch. 14, p. 175 (subsu panaca ayllu) I have placed the name of the PANACA in each case after the reference. See also Gutierrez (1548), 1963, Book III, Ch. 50, p.214 (Cucco panaca) Las Casas (c 1564), 1892, Ch. 17, p.146 (Sucso panaca) Murúa (1590), 1946, Book I, Ch. 15, p.79 (Cococ panaca ayllu) Garcilaso de la Vega (1609), 1966, Book IX Ch. 40, p. 626 (Socso panaca) etc.
- 3 Cobo (1653), 1956, Book XIII, Ch. 14, p.175 Exactly what these HUAUQUES were is uncertain. They seem to have been a kind of personal double with the power to assist the 'other' The Inca rulers were supposed to have each had their own HUAUQUES; see Sarmiento de Gamboa (1572), 1942, *passim* Polo de Ondegardo (c.1565), 1916

no reply and so he set to, wrecking the HUACAS with his mace. Then a small voice was heard in the air, saying "these idols and HUACAS that you have broken to pieces can not do anything; it is cause for mockery. If you and your people believe in me, I will soon make it rain." Whereupon the people made an idol called Andesuyo and soon¹ after it rained.

The reasons for the repeated association of the VIRACOCHA concept with the Andesuyu are not easy to determine. It is possible that an idealization of the characteristics of the region identified as the Andesuyu had some relevance. In the Andesuyu spread the wild forests of the jungle, a land untamed, of wild creatures, and unconquered peoples. This at least was the view of the Indian Huaman² Poma, who expressed himself even more precisely in his pictographic map of the 'world'; the jungle is infested by all manner of strange beast, and from amidst the trees a bearded man emerges, a viracocha³ no doubt. We may add to this picture the opinion of Garcilaso de la Vega that the people of the forested Andesuyu were themselves new arrivals and strangers (advenedizos y extanjeros)⁴. The Andesuyu, then, would seem to have fulfilled certain of the qualities that have elsewhere been associated with the LLACHUAZ category, which in the social organization of Cuzco could best be assimilated to Hanan Cuzco.

On the other hand, the Viracocha divinity is expressly associated in one source with Hurin Cuzco. Betanzos recounts that, after ordering the respective origins of men at Tiahuanaco, Viracocha travelled north until he came to Cuzco where he established a Lord,

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- 1 Relaciones Geograficas (1582), 1965, Vol.II, p.66
 - 2 Huaman Poma (1615), 1936, pp.76-7, 176, 269, 292, etc.
 - 3 Ibid, pp.983-4
 - 4 Garcilaso de la Vega (1609), 1966, Book IV, Ch. 17, p.138

Alcaviza, and created the Orejones. Alcaviza in other authorities¹ was the name given to one group of the population that lived in Cuzco prior to the arrival of the Incas, while the Orejones usually denoted the incorporated and lesser nobility, who were not of pure Inca blood. The Alcavizas were not only separated from the Incas by their origin, but were further distinguished as enemies of the Incas, according to the traditions of both groups. Consistently the Alcavizas were recorded as having been subjected to the Incas, but that under the tyrannies of the putative Fourth Inca, Mayta Capac, they were said to have rebelled.² At the time of Toledo's enquiries (1572) they clearly still considered themselves³ distinct from the originally foreign Incas. The association of Viracocha with this group, then, stands in sharp contrast to his association at other times with the Incas of Hanan Cuzco and a bridging, or mediating role in the total VIRACocha concept seems the only satisfactory explanation for this.

The complexity of the VIRACocha concept begins to make itself apparent. I have deliberately tried to draw out some of this complexity so as to show that it may present its own solution without one having to resort to a too selective body of evidence in order to find an explanation. I have begun with the proposition that the different manifestations of VIRACocha - the god-figure, the Inca ruler, the various mythical beings, or assistants of the 'god' Viracocha - share some common conceptual ground, and some of the indications of this have been presented in passing. So, I have spoken of a 'concept' of VIRACocha (as did Zuidema) exactly because it is so difficult to

1 Betanzos (1551), 1968, Ch. 2, p.11

2 Informaciones (1572), 1940, pp.182-195

Betanzos (1551), 1968, Ch. 5

Sarmiento de Gamboa (1572), 1942, pp.52-3

Balboa (1586), 1840, Ch. 2

Cieza de León (1553), 1967, Ch. 33 etc.

3 Informaciones, loc. cit.

distinguish one material manifestation from another. Approaching VIRACOCKA as a concept I have attempted to understand this subject within the framework of a limited number of indigenous concepts, which have already been isolated and considered because they were thought peculiarly pertinent to the significance of the VIRACOCKA concept. I have proceeded to mark the relations of VIRACOCKA to these concepts, namely LLACTA, LLACHUAZ, HANAN, and HURIN, thus attempting a thoroughly sociological interpretation of VIRACOCKA since the afore-mentioned concepts were involved in two systems of social classification. The kinds of relations I have considered have operated largely at the level of manifest content and where there has been a likeness, or a contiguity, in the content of the concepts I have assumed an association. Thus in his involvement with origins Viracocha suggested an association with the LLACTA category and its involvement in PACARINAS, whereas the connection of the VIRACOCKA concept with the Andesuyu suggested an association with the LACCHUAZ category since the qualities especially associated with both the Andesuyu and the LLACHUAZ category were found to be alike in certain respects. Similar results were reached regarding Viracocha's relation to the categories HANAN and HURIN, which led to the conclusion that although the concept of VIRACOCKA could be associated with all four categories at one point or another, it could not be definitively associated with any one of them. For this reason I have chosen to describe VIRACOCKA as a mediating category,¹ some explanation of which I shall here attempt to give.

1 I would like to make two criticisms of my approach. In the first place, I cannot be certain that the indigenous concepts I have isolated provide the best framework for understanding VIRACOCKA.

I paid special attention to the two classifications of LLACTA/LLACHUAZ and HANAN/HURIN in the first two chapters because they both shared the same dualistic form while, on the other hand, the hierarchic values of each one seemed to contradict those of the other. The first classification was described as part of a

1. Continued from p. 135

The choice was one that largely formed itself as offering a means of explanation, but the acceptance of that choice was largely intuitive. Moreover, I do not feel that the framework has been fully justified yet; it has been presented more as an exploration and suggestion for the consideration of the new source material that it is hoped will come to light. Possibly, a more religious frame of reference should have been opted for, but the problem with this would have been that Viracocha's position as a god is itself unclear and does not easily fit into what is known about the rest of Peruvian religious thought and practice. Where there has been a connection, as with the ideas about origins, I have paid special attention to it.

The second major criticism might be described as the kind of bastard structuralist procedure I have adopted for sorting out so much confusing source material. Rather than interpret relations between phenomena in terms of metaphor and metonymy, I have tried to construct unapparent relations on the basis of similarity and contiguity. The dangers of this procedure are obvious, for not everything that is alike need be related. In my examples, then, I have tried to present cases where the likeness does not consist in only an isolated element but in a bundle of features and preferably where the likeness may be complemented by a contiguity. Thus the concepts HUARI and VIRACocha were compared for their similarities, but a contiguity was also found in Huaman Poma's quasi-chronological schema of the Indian past. From a strict structuralist point of view, it is also clear that I have emphasized content over formal relations in order to achieve my results.

But had I simply concentrated on the formal existence of the binary opposition between 'Insiders' and 'Outsiders', the significance of the reversal of values in the relationship would have been lost. Moreover, the mediating concept I have been working with did not grow out of a simple opposition, but out of the movement towards another dualism, which reversed the previous one. It was not a structure, but values, that were reversed.

pre-Incaic organization and the other as essentially Incaic; the latter thus had the power of the state behind it in contradicting the former. It should be stressed that these two forms of organization were not isolated because they were thought the most important for an understanding of Inca social organization in general. Their combined importance lies precisely in their contradictory values, which I have thought epitomised a significant contradiction and peculiar conceptual problem in the emerging Inca empire. The problem was that of forming a coherent imperial community and frame of social reference out of a multiplicity of divisions and an emphasis, in some areas at least, on the value of local geographical attachments. It was seen in the second chapter that the division between HANAN and HURIN social categories may have reversed in some areas the territorially-defined values of 'insider' and 'outsider'² with the effect, if not the intention, that the 'outside' became peculiarly involved in the conceptual construction of the empire. Although this is largely a conjecture and there is little specific evidence (beyond what was presented in the second Chapter) of political reversals at a local level chiefly, of course, because there is no proper historical material for the subject, it is nonetheless a rationally satisfying argument.

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- 1 This is not to say that the HANAN/HURIN classification did not exist before the Inca empire, but that in relation to the LLACTA/LLACHUAZ dualism it assumed an Imperial significance
- 2 It is the area of the Collao that presents particular problems for this argument; for the HANAN/HURIN dualism was probably native to the area before the rise of the Incas, and the HANAN category may well have always occupied the superior position. Nonetheless, it was apparent in the one example from Copacabana that similar relations to those found in Cuzco existed there between 'Insiders' and 'Outsiders'

The 'insider', the LLACTA, was defined by specific local attachments, whereas the 'outsider', the LLACHUAZ, was theoretically free of such definitions and could potentially partake in the outside world as a whole, in all in fact that was beyond the confines of the immediate, LLACTA-oriented group. It was on the basis of this rationality, I suggest, that the LLACHUAZ category assumed a new significance (involving the reversal of certain traditional values) in the emerging Inca empire. But this rationale was plainly conceptual. In reality, of course, all subjects of the Inca, whether LLACTA or LLACHUAZ (or whatever else), were involved in the new empire and could be required to furnish their labour for purposes of the state. In each case a transition was required from a locally-based social classification to a wider, 'imperial', social classification and it is at this point of transition that I would locate VIRACOCHA. In its association with the four social categories I have isolated VIRACOCHA would seem to comprehend both the old and the new orders, as I have defined them; in his ambiguity, the Viracocha deity could have suggested new sociological possibilities as well as imply a non-specific community that escaped traditional boundaries. Exactly how this mediating concept could be put into effect, or the extent of its effectiveness, can not be so easily estimated. What can be shown are the features in the concept's anatomy that could give VIRACOCHA a mediating significance. To understand better its application I think it would still be necessary to distinguish, so as to compare and contrast, the two roles of Viracocha as god and
¹
 Viracocha as Inca. This I have not done.

1 I think it might also be possible to show that VIRACOCHA could be associated with the category PAYAN in contradistinction to the two categories COLLANA (the endogenous group of Ego) and CAYAO (the outside world.) PAYAN it will be remembered occupied an intermediate position between the categories COLLANA and CAYAO. Partly through lack of sufficient information and understanding I have preferred not to enter into this question as well.

Finally, it may be remarked with interest that his mediating concept (if that it is) could be said to have had not only an intellectual, but also a political function. Mediation in Lévi-Straussian terms has been explained by its intellectual design, by its reference to an innate logical model of the mind. But in the case of VIRACOCHA the mediation evidently had political implications and was more than purely an intellectual resolution for it was involved in the forging of a new social and political order, the Inca empire.

There is, perhaps, an additional avenue for elucidating VIRACOCHA'S mediating function. While the VIRACOCHA concept partook in qualities of two opposed social and mythological categories, its aspect involved in the LLACHUAZ category might be said to display what Victor Turner has called 'liminality'¹. Although Turner emphasized the astructural quality of liminality, he also noted that there may be an homology between 'weakness' in the liminal condition and a structural position of inferiority in society. He adds, "the 'liminal' and the 'inferior' conditions are often associated with ritual powers and with the total community seen as undifferentiated."² It is often those in society who are somehow 'inferior' or 'outsiders' who become the bearers of what Turner calls 'communitas', which implies the removal of structured barriers and distinctions within society. I think it could be argued that the LLACHUAZ category, and possibly other similar categories in different parts of ancient Peru, because of its structural connotations of inferiority, could have represented a quality that had the potential to suggest liminality within a wider social context than

1 Turner, 1964, 1969

2 Ibid, 1969, p.86

the immediate community. In other words it may have become a vehicle of liminality in the creation of an imperial community. This has already been intimated in Chapter 3, when it was noticed that it was the LLACHUASES among the Huaylas Indians who became involved in the far more extended system of imperial religious prestations in CAPAC¹COCHA. The conception and authoritative status of the LLACTAS limited their potential for overcoming the traditional territorial and social boundaries pre-existing the Inca empire. In effect what is suggested is that, although the Inca empire was itself highly structured with the purpose of rationalizing authority and political relations in general, in order to create in the first place some sense of a total and integrated community a degree of astructure, or 'communitas', had to be effected so as to remove traditional boundaries and distinctions. We may reasonably expect that such imperial festivals as the Situa, which has already been described as a kind of rite de passage, were crucial for the expression of 'communitas'. For the Situa people from throughout the realm (although we know nothing more specific about their social positions) were gathered together in Cuzco, in the Haucay Pata (the central square), where they shared in a kind of sacramental communion (SANCU) and at one point all together were expected to dance at once. It may well be significant that it is precisely during this Situa that the prayers² to Viracocha, recorded by Molina of Cuzco, were so prominent.

Besides this coincidence, there are other indications that the VIRAC²COCHA concept, in itself, insinuated a quality of liminality.

1 See under p. 70-1

2 Molina (1576), 1943, pp.38-45

The best English translation of these prayers, which are given in Quechua and Spanish, is to be found in Rowe, 1953

In its association with the wild Andesuyu, with the Taruca and with the Huanaco, with the priesthood and with foreign origins, I suggest that the idea of VIRACOGCHA expressed this aspect of liminality in its own conceptual composition, allying it with the LLACHUAZ category and its liminal evocations.

The Taruca was the HUAUQUE of Viracocha positioned in the Andesuyu;¹ a Taruca is a variety of wild deer. Closely related to this association was the connection of Viracocha with the huanaco, an untamed member of the llamoid family. Significantly the huanaco traditionally had the widest geographical distribution of the four llamoids in South America, both in terms of latitude and altitude.² Polo de Ondegardo explained that in their sacrifices, the ancient Peruvians sought to offer like unto like and to Viracocha the appropriate sacrifice was thought to have been the wild huanaco.³ The uncontrolled nature and the comprehensive spread of the huanaco would seem to be properties eminently liable to suggest the quality of 'liminality'; unlike the commoner sacrifices of llamas and alpacas, the huanaco lived outside society.

The sacrifice of huanacos to Viracocha draws attention to possibly another aspect of the concept's liminality. There is scant information in the Spanish sources to indicate that a full cultic organization was devoted to Viracocha as a deity. Divinities like the Sun, the Thunder, or Pachacamac, or even more local HUACAS, had their own estates and llama flocks to provide for the upkeep

1 Cobo (155), 1956, Book XIII, Ch. 14, p.175

2 Gilmore, 1950

3 Polo de Ondegardo (c.1565), 1916 a., p.15

See also, Murúa (1590, 1946, Book III, Ch. 52, p.288

Acosta (1588), 1962, Book V, Ch. 18, p.247

Cobo (1553), 1956, Book XIII, Ch. 21, p.202

Cobo emphasized that it was the brown colour of the huanaco that lent it its sacrificial significance. Unfortunately little is known on colour symbolism in ancient Peru

of their shrines, an income for the priests and ritual attendances, and most importantly to supply material for sacrifice. But Viracocha seems to have had no flocks since his sacrificial animal was a wild huanaco. In none of the regional reports is there any record, of which I am aware, that estates or flocks were dedicated to Viracocha, although they are recorded for the service of the Sun, and the Thunder and the Lightning.¹ Barnabé Cobo, in fact, explicitly affirmed that estates had not been assigned to Viracocha.² The evidently ambiguous position of Viracocha in Inca ritual is brought out repeatedly by the chroniclers who proclaimed the supreme position of Viracocha in the Inca pantheon and then proceeded to expand on religious activities that had anything but to do with Viracocha. Las Casa's account of Inca religion epitomizes this situation; having praised the Peruvians for their awareness of the True God, he at once settles on a lengthy discussion of the splendour of the Sun cult, at the expense of any further consideration of Viracocha.³ With respect to the Inca ritual calendar, it may be noted that Betanzos, who was married to an Inca lady, does not seem to have considered Viracocha worth mentioning at all;⁴ while Huaman Poma, who wrote at some length about the rituals of the Incas, appears to have been largely ignorant of any significant part played by Viracocha, although he does mention the Sun, the Moon, and other HUACAS that were involved in the rites of each month.⁵

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- 1 See for example *Relaciones Geograficas* (1586), 1965, Vol. I, pp.310,388,177, etc
 - 2 Cobo (1553), 1956, Book XIII, Ch. 4, p.156
 - 3 Las Casas (1564), 1892
 - 4 Betanzos (1551), 1968, Ch. 15
 - 5 Huaman Poma (1615), 1936, pp.236-260. He does indeed record an oration to Aros Runa Camac ("God, the maker of men") in the month of Uma Raimi, October. It is quite unclear, however, how this oration is appropriate to the context and it looks as if its insertion here is quite fortuitous

I do not wish to suggest that there was no cult attached to the VIRACOCCHA concept, for there is too much evidence to show that at least sacrifices and prayers were offered and addressed to Viracocha, who in turn received a number of material representations. But the evidence is often incidental and fragmentary and so one may best assume that, if cult there was, it had not the clear-cut form of the more thoroughly organized cults, like that of the Sun.

In the light of what has been said above, it is hard to explain why Molina of Cuzco placed such emphasis on the worship of Viracocha in his account of the Inca ritual year, and even contradicts other information in his assertion that estates were dedicated¹ to Viracocha. Molina claimed that "in all their (Inca) sacrifices, the first was offered to the Creator,"² by whom he meant Viracocha, and in his account of the Situa festival, held in September, he includes ten prayers addressed by the officiating priests to Viracocha.³ These prayers reveal Viracocha as a distant but providential god, immaterial in his own being he is the sustainer of all material life, which he himself has established and arranged. It is a conception of divinity with which the Christian Spaniards could feel cognizant.

Molina's account of Inca religion is unusually coherent and consistent and one is led to believe that this may have been due to the persuasive influence of a particular informant. Molina was himself a priest, possible a mestizo (of Spanish and Indian descent), who worked in Cuzco and gathered his information there from a number of aged individuals and priests of the last Inca days, people who

1 Molina (1576), 1943, p.20

2 Ibid, p.35

3 See pp.73-4

had seen or been involved in ceremonies and rituals of the time of Huayna Capac and Huascar Inca.¹ I suspect that in the matter of Viracocha, and the prayers in particular, Molina must have been the ear for an old Inca priest of peculiar authority, or at least he must have relied heavily on sacerdotal sources. But the inconsistency in the differing accounts of the practical importance of Viracocha still remains and I fear this may only be resolved, at the present state of our knowledge, by admitting the inconsistency to reflect an actual discrepancy in the perceptions of men in different social positions. For some men, notably a small body of priests and intellectuals, Viracocha may well have risen to being an abstract entity of the first importance, the subject of philosophical speculation detached from the concrete forms, with which the VIRACOCHA concept was identified in other circumstances and by other people. By suggesting this I am, in a sense, only repeating Paul Radin's almost platitudinous premise that in any society there are 'thinkers' and 'actors' and that the same apparent concept will receive different expression at the hands of each.²

However, one may go beyond this truism so as still to find an underlying coherence in the different manifestations of the Viracocha concept, including Molina's evidence in the prayers he records. As J.H. Rowe has pointed out, the petitions in these prayers are general rather than highly specific³ and the uncertain characterization of Viracocha in his more tangible representations finds its complement in such questions posed in the prayers, as "Where art thou? Without? Within? In the clouds? In the shadows?"⁴

1 Molina, o. cit, p.7

2 Radin, 1927, 1937

3 Rowe, 1953, p.95

4 Molina (1576), 1943, p.38

Rowe, 1953, p.87, from which the quotation is taken

A similar passage to this one will be recalled from Salcamayhua where the questioning was conscientiously phrased in terms of opposites, and there are still other prayers of a similar kind in Huaman Poma's book.¹ The uncertainty regarding the habitation of the divinized Viracocha, matched with his comprehensive competence, may surely be compared with the VIRACOCHA concept in the form in which it has already been presented, without necessitating a resort to theological conclusions. Again, it is to be noted that whereas the Sun is portrayed as the Father of the Incas in their role as "conquerors and despoilers",² Viracocha is described invariably as a god of peace, the Lord of both kings and the poor.³ Since war inevitably implies political differences and divisions, it is only logical that Viracocha would be associated with peace, in which, theoretically at least, such divisions may be overcome.

It can be readily recognized that the conception of Viracocha portrayed in Molina's prayers has shifted from a form with which sociologists may be familiar to one which may seem more recognizable to a theologian, although I have still tried to present this latter form, if sketchily, in sociological terms. I have followed a single line of enquiry and found that the constitution of the VIRACOCHA concept permits both a sociological interpretation as well as a theological appreciation. It is beyond the scope of this essay to pursue the latter possibility, as also it is to consider more generally whether or not one could interpret the historical development of a conception of divinity as a progression from a

1 Huaman Poma (1615), 1936, pp. 54, 285, 287, etc.

2 Molina (1576), 1943, p. 43
Rowe, 1953, p. 93

3 eg Molina (1576), 1943, p.42
Rowe, 1953, p.92

resolution of a contradiction within society to a universal 'resolution', transcending any particular social exigencies. In the present example one can do little more than suggest this possibility, lacking any proper historical material on the Inca past. It need hardly be said that such a suggestion could not claim to comprehend any ultimate significance vested in the divinity of Viracocha; it would merely consider a development of ideas from a sociological point of view, without questioning the reality behind the final ideas.

Nonetheless, the indications are present that Viracocha's transcendence may possibly be seen to rise, not simply from a spiritual quest, but from an unstable and possibly intolerable intellectual confusion of particular values in certain forms of social classification. This, at least, is what I have attempted, rather hypothetically, to demonstrate in the foregoing chapters, and it is with more interest, and even understanding, that one may then come to observe the spiritual response of the Peruvians to ideas that in another context had a more sociological intent. I see no reason to doubt the co-existence of both poles of meaning, and so as to emphasize its existence, it may be appropriate to conclude with an expression of the spiritual pole. Manco Capac, the founding Inca according to most traditions, is attributed with these words addressed to Viracocha:

"Hear me!
 From the sea above in which you abide,
 From the sea below in which you are,
 Creator of the world,
 Maker of men,
 Lord of all lords.
 To you I strive (?)
 With my eyes that fail to see you,
 Or out of pure desire to know you.

Then might I come to you,
Might I know you,
Might I think on you,
Might I understand you.
You will see me,
You will know me." ¹

1 Salcamayhua (c.1613) 1968, p. 287
For my translation I used the Spanish translation of
Lafone Queredo, 1892, p.339, and the English translation
of Markham, 1910, p.79, with the help of the Quechua
dictionaries of Gonzalez Holguin and Ricardo

CHAPTER V

There are a number of applications, or interpretations, of the word VIRACOCHA that can only have acquired their meaning after the Spanish arrival; by understanding these applications it may be possible to learn more about both the meanings of the pre-hispanic usages and their developing significance in the new, Spanish-dominated, situation. Instances of these post-Incaic applications have already been met with. The designation of the Spaniards by the term Viracocha is the most flagrant example, but it has also been noticed that Viracocha was identified with Jesus Christ and with one of the Apostles. It is with the association of the term with the Spaniards, and with St Thomas, or St Bartholomew, that I will be most interested in this chapter.

To distinguish a pre-hispanic from a post-Incaic usage of the concept VIRACOCHA, I have adopted the rather crude assumption that a pre-hispanic usage of the concept will have no identity with a personality from the Christian tradition. Thus, when Viracocha is described by several authorities as bringing down¹ fire upon the people of Cacha and is called the Maker of men, I assume a pre-hispanic significance, but when the same incident is described by Huaman Poma and is attributed to St Bartholomew,² I assume a post-Incaic significance, still relevant to the concept VIRACOCHA although the latter is not ostensibly implicated. The question in this instance then becomes, how was it that the VIRACOCHA concept could become identified with a personality from

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- 1 Betanzos (1551), 1968, Ch. 2
Cieza de León (1553), 1967, Ch. 5
Sarmiento de Gamboa (1572), 1942, pp.29-30
 - 2 Huaman Poma (1615), 1936, p.93

another culture? The question touches on the old problem of syncretism and on what basis in general cross-cultural identifications, or comparisons, are made.

I recognize that the simple means by which I am distinguishing the two sets of usages cannot be certain, since the lack of an overt identification, of the kind in the case above from Huaman Poma, need not preclude the possibility of a more subtle association, an example of which will appear in due course. But if one were to admit this latter qualification from the start, one would be led into a variety of quite insurmountable complexities, which cannot be adequately treated in the present state of our knowledge. One is faced with the difficult task of explaining the response of Inca concepts to others from the Spanish tradition which the Spaniards thought were comparable. The trinal form, for example, recurs frequently in Inca thought applied both to supernatural figures and social classification. The 'One God' (Viracocha) is actually described in one source as a trinity,¹ similar to the trinity of the Thunder, and of the Sun, and inevitably comparable to the Holy Trinity of the Christian tradition.² Garcilaso de la Vega, however, cast doubt on the validity of such trinities, claiming that the names attributed to the Thunder and

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- 1 Ibid, p.55. See below p.130-1 for the reasons for associating this god, Yllapa with Viracocha
- 2 Polo de Ondegardo (c.1565), 1916, p.6
Molina (1576), 1943, p.25
Acosta (1588), 1962, Book V, Ch. 28, p.268
Murúa (1590), 1946, Book III, Ch. 51, p.286
Cobo (1653), 1956, Book XIII, Ch. 5, p.158 and Ch. 7, p.160
Calancha, 1638, Book II, Ch. 3
Anon. Augustin (1555), 1840, p.96
Hernandez Principe (1622), 1923, p.26
- 3 Acosta, loc. cit., certainly made the connection between these Peruvian trinities and believed they were the work of the Devil, who always attempts to usurp the position of the True God by fraudulent imitation. Calancha, loc. cit., on the other hand, believed that these trinities were a residue of the teaching of the Apostle, St Thomas, who had travelled to these lands

to the Sun to suggest trinities were Spanish inventions.¹ Another tricky problem is that of the bearded personalities of Inca myths and traditions. Were they really all bearded or did some of them only become so after the sight of the bearded Spaniards?² And did Viracocha really carry a book in his hand, as Sarmiento de Gamboa³ believed? In this case one may just perceive how the suggestion of a likeness at one point in time may have led to a positive identification at a later point. Betanzos had recorded that Viracocha carried something in his hands that the Indians thought was LIKE the breviary which the Catholic priests could be seen carrying.⁴ By Sarmiento's time a comparison had become an identity and the original object that Viracocha had in fact carried was being replaced, in thought at least, by an object of an alien culture. In this instance one witnesses the invasion and occupation of a category of the conquerors, introducing a common link for both conquerors and conquered into the interpretation of a mythical personality of primarily only Indian significance. One could, indeed, interpret the whole development of the idea of VIRACOCHA under Spanish rule in these terms, as the progressive compromise between two distinct traditions, as they attempted to forge some common links for mutual comprehension. Viracocha comes to hold a book, a staff, and wear a priest's hat; he is compared with the catholic priest or with the wandering, discalced, pilgrim; he becomes by degrees a preacher and evangelist of the Christian Word, and finally he assumes the fixed identity of St Thomas, or

1 Garcilaso de la Vega (1609), 1966, Book II, Ch. 1, p.69

2 See below p.95 on this subject

3 Sarmiento de Gamboa (1572), 1942, p.29

4 Betanzos (1551), 1968, Ch. 2, p.11

St Bartholomew. Once this compromise has been reached, one that must have necessarily been a largely Spanish project, it was possible to explain all manner of apparent similarities between Spanish and Indian religion and custom as truly springing from one origin, moreover, from a Spanish origin which could only enhance the conquerors' self-esteem. But if one withholds judgment on the ethics of such a syncretic projection, one may at least acknowledge that the identification of Viracocha with St Thomas could serve as a real bridge (if a biased one) for comprehension between the two cultures.

In his pioneering book on "The Struggle against the Native Religions in Colonial Peru", Pierre Duviols has explained the emergence of the legend of the Apostle in Peru in terms similar to those outlined above.¹ He has argued that the Inca myth of Creation underwent progressive contamination at the hands of the Spaniards and he gives his reasons for this process. He points to the Christianocentrism of the Europeans which from the first suggested to them analogies in the indigenous religions. In the case of Viracocha, his general appearance, his clothes, his staff, and his whiteness could be taken to resemble the appearance of an Apostle. "The demon of analogy is so strong", Duviols writes, "that the myth is adulterated at the very moment when the Spaniard took it from the native's mouth, at the moment when he wrote it down, and the informer, influenced in turn, modified little by little the details, according to a well-known process."² Besides this process and the motive of religious chauvinism on the part of the Spaniards, Duviols also marks the implicit blackening of the

1 Duviols, 1971, pp.55-67

2 Ibid, p.56

Indians' religious repute in the identification of Viracocha with the Apostle. For the myth of Viracocha was sufficiently distorted that Viracocha, in the part of the Apostle, became a figure of rejection whose teaching was not accepted by the idolatrous Peruvians. On the basis of this account it was possible for the Spanish missionaries to justify harsh treatment of the Indians and their idolatries for their evil ways in the past, for their rejection of the Word of God from the mouth of his Apostle. The view was explicitly stated and elaborated by Francisco de Avila in the 17th century in a sermon on the Peruvian Evangelist especially designed for Indian ears.¹

Although Duviols' treatment of the Apostle legend is perfectly adequate in itself, I think it falls into the same kind of misrepresentation that Duviols himself recognized in the ethnocentrism of the Spanish interpretation of Viracocha. Duviols can only see the Apostle legend as the product of Spanish thought and will, and thus he dismisses the potential that the Indian concept of VIRACocha may have had to transform itself and adapt, according to its own internal properties, to the new situation with which the Spaniards confronted Peruvian society. In effect he denies that the Indians played any significant part in this instance of syncretism and the analogizing process is seen as wholly unidirectional. I think it may be shown, however, that the 'history' of the VIRACocha concept which I tried to isolate in the last Chapter, played a crucial role in allowing the growth of the Apostle legend and was also involved in the naming of the Spaniards as viracochas.

1 Ibid, pp.60-61
Valcarcel, 1971, Vol. IV, pp. 447-8

The identification of VIRACOCCHA, in one form or another, with both the Spaniards and the evangelizing Apostle is commonly explained in the sources as the consequence of a physical likeness. The Spaniards were said to resemble Viracocha as he had been concretely represented or described in narrative, and for this reason they earned the name Viracocha. Garcilaso de la Vega, for example, placed these words on the lips of Atahualpa, as he greeted the Spanish ambassadors of Pizarro, "There you see the face, figure, and habit, of our god Viracocha, just as our ancestor, Inca Viracocha left him portrayed in the stone statue ..."¹ Garcilaso earlier described both the statue in question and the phantom that appeared to the young Inca Viracocha, giving as the salient features a long beard, and a long robe like a cassock.² He added that the statue of Viracocha appeared to resemble images of the apostles and especially that of St Bartholomew. This comparison had already been made by Blas Valera,³ and Cieza de León had recorded the opinion held by some that an idol at Cacha, said to represent Viracocha, was in fact a representation of an apostle.⁴ An idol known as Hatun Viracocha at Urcos, was given a similar description,⁵ while other descriptions of the Viracocha deity tend to emphasize characteristics, such as his white skin, that could associate him with a Spanish appearance.⁶ I see no reason to doubt the essential honesty of these early comparisons, although details may have been exaggerated or distorted so as to enhance the likeness between

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- 1 Garcilaso de la Vega (1617) 1966, Book I, Ch. 19, p.672
 - 2 Ibid (1609), 1966, Book V, Ch. 22, p.291
 - 3 Blas Valera (c.1590), 1968, Ch. 4, pp. 157-8
 - 4 Cieza de León (1553), 1947, Ch. 98, p.441
Ibid, 1967, Ch. 5, p.11
 - 5 Molina (1576), 1943, pp. 39-40
 - 6 eg Sarmiento de Gamboa (1572), 1942, p.29

Viracocha and the Spaniards. This possibility is in itself significant and suggests that the identification of the Spaniards with Viracocha was for some reason considered worthwhile and meaningful by the Indian informants.¹

The meaning of the likeness has often been thought to rest in the notion that the Spaniards were received as the sons of the Inca god, come to save the beleaguered faction of Inca Huascar in the face of the ruthless and successful opposition of Atahualpa. This was the view put forward by Cieza de León, but his own explanation is far from convincing. He argues that the Spaniards were originally called viracochas by the followers of Huascar in Cuzco, because the latter believed that the Spaniards had been sent by Tici Viracocha in answer to a sacrifice made on behalf of the captive Huascar.² But, according to Cieza, the Spaniards to whom this name was given were those who first came to Cuzco specifically in order to seize its gold, to ransack its temples and palaces, for the ransom of Atahualpa, the very enemy of Huascar; and as Cieza admits, their behaviour soon confirmed that they had not come as saviours of the deposed Inca's followers. On account of these circumstances alone, it would seem highly improbable that the title Viracocha would have stuck to the Spaniards, let alone spread throughout the empire, if Viracocha was the title of the Supreme and most respected deity of the Incas, as Cieza was presuming.

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- 1 One must always consider that Indian informants encouraged comparisons for merely expedient reasons, in order to ingratiate themselves with the Spaniards and also so as to defend some of their own custom by claiming it to be of the same derivation as Spanish custom. An interesting example of this is given by Cieza de León (1553), 1947, Ch. 72, p.422, in which he explains that some Indians avoided baptism since they believed that they had no need of it because the oracle at Pachacamac had declared that he and the God of the Spaniards were one and the same
- 2 Cieza de León (1553), 1967, Ch. 5, pp. 12-13

One could put this story of the naming of the Spaniards down to a piece of Indian chicanery, by which the Indians sought to ingratiate themselves with their new overlords, but I believe there are other less machiavellian reasons that can be considered as contributing to, not only the comparison, but even to the positive identification of Viracocha with the invading Spaniards and with the apostle. These reasons I see as arising out of certain of the qualities isolated in the last chapter in the interpretation of the VIRACOCHA concept.

Barnabé Cobo informs us that the Quechua-speaking Indians distinguished between all whites whom they called viracocha, and all Indians who were called RUNA, which was the general word for "man".¹ This clear-cut division would seem to imply that the term viracocha in this case applied to a category of outsiders, or strangers, that conversely defined the coherent 'ingroup', and so possibly equivalent, in some respects, to the LLACHUAZ category. Viracocha might also here imply a category of beings who are not entirely normal, not entirely human. Betanzos remarked that "when the Spaniards came to this land and they (the Indians) saw people very strange in their nature ... they called all and each one separately, Viracocha."² This quality of strangeness once again suggests an affinity with the LLACHUAZ category, which it was proposed may have had a liminal quality, that could have rendered it suitable in the instrumentation of a wider, imperial, community. Possibly we should consider the application of the VIRACOCHA concept to the Spaniards in a similar light; in other words, it was now the Spaniards who came as the bearers of an overriding community, for good or for ill.

1 Cobo (1653), 1956, Book XI, Ch. 2, p. 10

2 Betanzos (1551), 1968, Ch. 16, p.49

Huaman Poma gives a somewhat similar generic meaning for the word *viracocha* to that of Cobo's, when he writes, "they call in common *Viracocha*, the foreign Castilian, Jew, Turk, Englishman, and Frenchman, who are all *Viracocha Spaniards* (*espanoles uiracochas*)"¹. It looks as if Huaman Poma has used *viracocha* at the end of this sentence as an adjective, perhaps implying the general quality of 'foreignness', which may well have included the implication of something 'other than natural', or what we might call supernatural. However, there is a most curious addition to Huaman Poma's statement, following directly on from the end of the sentence translated above; he adds "*aci son yngas*", and then² continues to explain what constitutes legitimacy among the Incas. I have left the three words in Spanish because they could be translated in two ways, to mean either "so they (*viracochas*) are Incas" or "so the Incas are (*viracochas*)". In either case there is the imputation of an identity between *viracochas* and Incas, and between Incas and Spaniards. This is a remarkable instance of one possible use of the term *viracocha* and it lends a further dimension to its significance with regard to the Incas' position as foreigners throughout their dominions, or more precisely as potential *LLACHUASES*.

It was considered in the last chapter that the *VIRACOCHA* concept may have operated in situations where the Incas had subjected a people and were in the process of introducing new forms of social and political organization, and of justifying their own authority thereby. To the local populace, then *Viracocha* as the 'god'

1 Huaman Poma (1615), 1936, p. 118

2 Loc. cit.

would have appeared as peculiarly associated with the foreign rulers who claimed quasi-divine descent from the Sun. Could not this response have been at the root of Huaman Poma's association in this instance of VIRACOCCHA with the empire-building Incas, and in turn of the Incas with the Spaniards, who vaunted their authority with the conviction of a divinely-sanctioned mission? At any rate, it is apparent that the identification of the Spaniards with the Incas provided a way of incorporating the Spaniards into Huaman Poma's world view, and underlying his view the traditional potential of the ~~VIRACOCCHA~~ concept to express 'liminality' may have exercised its influence.

Huaman Poma was not content to understand the relation of the Spaniards to the Indians in only one way, but considered two other ways, both of which were clearly in general circulation by the 17th century. While the HUARI HUIRACOCCHA RUNA were said to be progenitors of the Indians, they were also thought by Huaman Poma to have been the sons of Noah, descended from the Spaniards, or descended from one of the sons of Noah who was called Uiracocha1 espanol. In this way an original unity of descent was posited, which might suggest an overriding community of both Indians and Spaniards, a community of the same totalistic kind as was asserted in the Inca myth of the single origin of all Indians from Tiahuanaco through the agency of the divine Viracocha. The very name UARI UARICOCHA RUNA suggests such a unity, where UIRACOCCHA implies a foreigner and RUNA an Indian. But it must be stressed that, although viracocha could imply one half of a pair (ie viracocha:runa) it was equally the concept that was thought, partly due to its 'liminal' associations, to override oppositions; as the UARI UIRACOCCHA RUNA preceded the distinction between the lords and the

1 Ibid, pp. 49, 911

low people, containing both within their seed, so they provided the point of articulation between the invading Spaniards and the known Indian population. The resolution, or bringing together, of the separate halves is achieved in two ways; by suggesting an anterior union of opposites, and by proposing a character (be he viracocha espanol or the apostle) who literally mediates between the two distinct entities. It is of interest to observe that the first means (in the UARI UIRACOCCHA RUNA) is plainly dialectical, but in this intellectual form the resolution of the 'contradiction' is projected back into the past rather than into an equally mythical future. It represents a dialectical idealism put into reverse.

The mediating function of viracocha espanol would appear to be much the same as the role of the Apostle in bringing the word of God to the Indians, the third way by which Huaman Poma envisaged the tangible incorporation of the Spaniards and their ideas into the Indian 'world'. Like the notion that the Indians might have been descended from the sons of Noah, the apostle story was not Huaman Poma's invention, but one which we know arose initially out of Spanish speculation.¹ Nonetheless, it should be apparent by now that Indian motives for supporting an idea need not have been the same as those of the Spaniards in first proposing the idea.

The mere fact that it was thought that the god of the Spaniards had sent an apostle to preach among the Indians might indicate a mediating role in the apostle. But this 'mediation' drew its life for the Indian from the condition that the apostle was

1 On the connection with Noah, see Garcia (1607), 1729, Book V, Ch. 1
 Acosta (1588), 1962, Book I, Ch. 16, p.45, who rejects the idea
 Garcilaso de la Vega (1609), 1966, Book I, Ch. XVIII, p.49
 For the Apostle legend see
 Calancha, 1638, Book II, Chs. 1-6
 Duviols, 1971, pp. 55-67
 Valcarcel, 1971, Vol. IV, pp. 436-455 for a collection of the source material on the subject
 Writing in the middle of the 16th century Molina of Chile and Cieza de León, as will have been noticed before, already alluded to the belief in the Peruvian Apostle or evangelist

associated with Viracocha. Although Huaman Poma does not explicitly associate the Apostle, St Bartholomew in his case, with Viracocha¹ as other contemporaries did, the connection is evident enough in certain details. St Bartholomew is met by hostile natives at Cacha² on whom he brings down fire from the skies, as Viracocha had done in the Inca myth in the same situation. The first convert of the apostle is christened Anti Viracocha,³ insinuating perhaps the association of Viracocha with the Andesuyu remarked upon in the last chapter. It may be asked why, if Viracocha truly had been conceived of as solely a Supreme Creator God, did the Peruvians permit him to be equated with a mere mortal? My reply has been that the mediating function of the VIRACOCHA concept was of more significance to most Indians than its purely divine aspect.

The association of the apostle with Viracocha is the basis for an elaborate narrative by the other Indian author, Juan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamayhua, who chose St Thomas for his evangelist.⁴ The hero of Salcamayhua's narrative passes under several names, chief among them is Tonapa, but he also carries the names, or titles, Tarapaca and Viracochanpachayachichachan. The latter name may be translated as "messenger of Viracocha, the creator (or teacher) of the world", while Tarapaca appears elsewhere as an epithet, or title, of Viracocha; it literally means an "eagle". The exact relation of Tonapa to Viracocha is thus not entirely lucid in Salcamayhua's mind, but it is clear that a direct relation was imagined. As a professed Catholic, there are obvious reasons why Salcamayhua could not present a strict identity between the

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- 1 Cieza de León (1553), 1967, Ch. 5, p. 11
Salcamayhua (c.1613), 1968, p.283 etc.
 - 2 Huaman Poma (1615), 1936, p.93
 - 3 Loc. cit.
 - 4 Salcamayhua (c.1613), 1968, pp. 283-285, 293

mythical Viracocha and the holy apostle, but a conceived homology in the functions of the two characters might (among other reasons) be inferred from their association.

This is not the place to enter into a detailed discussion of the Tonapa story, which would raise a number of thorny problems. The name Tonapa can be traced to a mythical personality of the Aymara-speakers of the Collao, called Tunuupa in Bertonio's dictionary,¹ while the name Tarapaca, along with certain incidents in Salcamayhua's story, strongly suggest a connection with another mythical person known as Tahuapaca. The latter is described in two sources as a kind of Trickster foil to Viracocha who contradicted or attempted to undo all that Viracocha did.² Salcamayhua's Tonapa, then, is a rather complex composite of various mythical personalities from different Peruvian traditions which could be said to represent a syncretic conception before even its association with St Thomas, a figure from yet another cultural tradition.

While I do not feel I can adequately explain this example of native syncretism, it may be noted that another instance of such a syncretism, if a less complex one, involving the Viracocha concept was possibly seen in the name of Coniraya Viracocha, a figure from the traditions of the Huarochiri Indians.³ Such syncretisms do not disagree with what has already been discovered in the constitution of the VIRACOCOA concept, in its ability to absorb and overrule existing distinctions of one kind or another. Without wishing to deny the complexities in the present case of Tonapa, I think one may still treat this personality within the tradition of the VIRACOCOA concept,

1 Bertonio, 1612, p.192

2 Sarmiento de Gamboa (1572), 1942, pp. 27-8, 30-1
Las Casas (1564), 1892, Ch. 7, pp. 55-56

3 Avila (1608) 1942

recognizing that an interpretation on this basis cannot claim to be complete.

Apart from the names which may connect Tonapa with Viracocha, there are several details in Salcamayhua's account that reveal its debt to various traditions of Viracocha. The details that were emphasized are those which most obviously insinuate an identity with the Spaniards, stressing the new position of the VIRACOCHA concept between Indians and Spaniards. Thus, in the same line as Sarmiento's portrayal of the mythical Viracocha, Salcamayhua describes Tonapa as a man of medium height, wearing a long shirt,¹ and carrying a staff and a book. It was noted earlier that the idea of the book was probably derived from the book-LIKE object which statues of Viracocha were said to carry, while the staff could have suggested that of a christian pilgrim, especially since the word Salcamayhua used, un 'Bordon', had such a religious² connotation. But staffs were, and still are, potent and enduring symbols in the religious and political activities of the native Peruvians. Pre-hispanic iconography attests their importance back³ to the Chavin culture, and Molina of Cuzco recorded that the idols of the Incas were always preceded in processions by their golden staffs or sceptres (YEURIS),⁴ while the Viracocha of earlier accounts⁵ is usually presented carrying a staff, or rod. From the staff of

1 Salcamayhua (c.1613), 1968, P.283

2 The word 'Bordon' was particularly used to imply Jacob's staff and more generally, the staff of a pilgrim

3 eg the Raimondi Monolith from Chavín de Huántar, c.500 BC, illustrated in Kubler, 1962, p.125

Nearer the time of the Incas, art associated with the Tiahuanacan Culture is renowned for its 'sceptered deities'

See Posnansky, 1945, for illustrated examples

4 Molina (1576), 1943, p.35

5 eg Betanzos (1551), 1968, Ch. 2, p.10

Tonapa, the first Inca, Manco Capac, took a splinter which became¹ the Tupac Yauri, a sacred and powerful symbol of Inca authority. Tonapa's staff thus had a double meaning, a native and a foreign one, which one could say constituted a syncretism that can only be understood as an expansion of meaning and not as a degeneration, as is sometimes intended in the word 'syncretism'.

Tonapa's staff, while it is only one element, epitomizes the intricate combination of Peruvian and Spanish traditions that composed Tonapa's mediating role. On the one hand, Tonapa calls down fire from the skies, turns men to stone, and moves in a wholly Indian landscape after the fashion of Viracocha. His dramatic passage above the waters of Lake Titicaca recalls episodes in² the myths of Viracocha and Tahuapaca, while his name had a plainly Peruvian significance. On the other hand, he is interpreted as St Thomas, who appeared after the Crucifixion of Christ and travelled the land as a wandering preacher, with book and pilgrim's staff in hand, and eventually disappeared down the Pacific and³ "passed through the straits into the other sea."

To describe Salcamayhua's Tonapa as a syncretic creation is nothing new. But to place this creation within the context of a long tradition of a concept which, I have argued, had an historically defined function of mediation lends an additional depth to our understanding of Tonapa in particular and, possibly, of syncretism

- 1 Salcamayhua (c.1613), 1968, p. 296, etc.
Gonzalez Holguín (1608), 1952, p. 347
The halberd with which a number of Incas are depicted by Huaman Poma was probably the Tupac Yauri, although Huaman Poma calls it a Conca Cuchuna, which is probably a descriptive designation
- 2 Sarmiento de Gamboa (1572), 1942, p. 28
Las Casas (1564), 1892, Ch.7, p.56
- 3 Salcamayhua (c.1613), 1968, p.284

in general. The immediate stimulus for this syncretic product may have been external (ie Spanish), but it can only have developed as a consequence of the nature of the indigenous concept of VIRACOCHA.

The identification of Viracocha with the Apostle was virtually the end of the road for the Inca concept. Appropriated by the Spaniards, Viracocha as the apostle was distorted in the ways already mentioned so that it became a weapon of aggression and division, quite removed from the purpose of the concept as handled by the Indians. Apart from the intellectual reinterpretations of the concept by Huaman Poma and Salcamayhua, one can perhaps still detect some persistence of its mediating quality in the years shortly after the Spanish conquest. Writing in about 1595, Garcilaso de la Vega recorded that "30 years ago the mestizos of Cuzco had a fellowship of their own, into which they refused to admit Spaniards; they spent a great deal on their celebrations, and took the blessed apostle as their patron, declaring that as he was said to have preached in Peru, whether truly or falsely, they would have him as their advocate, though some malicious Spaniards, seeing the adornments they put on for the occasion, asserted that this was done for the Inca Viracocha¹ (the phantom), not for the Apostle." It seems appropriate that this cult, which seems to have involved both the VIRACOCHA concept and the Christian apostle, should have been promoted by mestizos, those who were both Spanish and Indian, and neither, at the same time. They were the new intermediaries.

1 Garcilaso de la Vega (1609), 1966, Book V, Ch. 22, pp.291-2

CONCLUSION

In attempting to formulate some conclusions to this thesis, I have thought that it is in its shortcomings and negative results that one may find the most evocative call for further consideration. It could be argued that it would have been better to have concentrated on a more limited and specific subject, but it should be borne in mind that such a Study might have been frustrated by the lack of adequate source material. It is absolutely imperative that more of the documentary material that is collecting dust in local archives in Peru be brought to light and published. We know, for example, that the official Visitors of idolatries in the early 17th century were advised to make two written copies of their findings, one of which was to be kept in the local parish and the other to be retained by the relevant episcopal authorities. The invaluable work of Pierre Duviols has made available some of this and similar material, but there is hopefully much more to be found.

J.V. Murra has proposed that Inca studies should focus more on the provincial documents that are beginning to come to light than on the traditional sources relied upon, the general histories and Inca-oriented accounts that have been quarried for so long. His proposal should be encouraged to materialize by the publication of the material that will allow for it. It is in the light of this state of research into the period I am concerned with in the present essay that I have oriented and organized my work. In other words I have taken account of the material as it has been available to me.

1 Lobo Guerrero (1614) 1966, pp.508-9

2 See under Duviols in the bibliography of historical sources

3 See under p. 2

I have relied heavily on the traditional sources, but the framework I have attempted to work within has been largely supplied by local sources. There is little mention of LLACTAS and LLACHUASES, or of PACARINAS, in the histories of the Incas, but these terms were the starting point for the study. They were emphasized, in part, because their significance contrasted so obviously with aspects of organization in the Inca empire that have been noticed in the basic histories of the Incas. It has been by approaching such peculiarly Inca concepts as VIRACOCHA from a local religious and sociological position that I have hoped to reach some sort of understanding. Such is the procedure that has been consistently emphasized as necessary by J.V. Murra, but the dangers inherent in such a method should not be overlooked. However much one tries to avoid making historical judgments on the Incas and their past the dichotomy made between local and Inca sources inevitably assumes an historical complexion. The local sources are given historical precedence over the Inca ones, an assumption upon which I have worked and one which Murra implicitly espoused in his interpretation of the Inca MITIMAS.¹ Indeed, research of the type that J.V. Murra has been pioneering has turned much traditional interpretation of Inca history onto its head. For example, the traditional Inca Histories maintain that the YANACONA (servile retainers) were first instituted by Tupac Inca Yupanqui and then granted by the Inca to lords about the land. But when it is found that in Huanucc, or among the Lupaka, informants reported the same institution as having descended from their own pre-Incaic past, one wonders whether, in fact, the Inca YANACONA were¹ not just another development of a long-standing Andean theme.

1 See under pp.45-46

2 Murra, 1966

It is finds of this kind that suggest the legitimacy of the more general assumption that one may consider that the local sources often speak of conditions that preceded the conditions described in the Inca Histories.

In this essay I have argued that the LLIACTA/LLACHUAZ classification had an existence before the rise of the Incas because it is more apparent in local than in Inca sources. This must be recognized as an assumption, but as one which is logically satisfying given complementary information along with the considerations explained above. Consequently, instead of supposing a chronological view of Inca history as students of the past did, the viewpoint which I have adopted (after Murra and Zuidema) could be said to involve the construction of a plan of stages, a kind of structural history, which must acknowledge its own idealism and veiled empiricism at the same time. But the problem in isolating analytically discrete stages of history is hardly any different from one in the chronological interpretation of traditional historians. How is one to decide whether this factor should be associated with others, for purposes of interpretation, chronologically considered before or after itself?

I associated PACARINAS with pre-Incaic religious patterns, but I am aware that possibly they are better seen as a deliberate construction of Inca systematization. This at least was Salcamayhua's belief, and one might develop an argument to suggest that the generalized conceptions of the relation of LLIACTAS to LLACHUASES were also primarily involved in some Inca organization. However, working on the basis that institutions pre-dating the Inca conquests survived within the Inca empire, I have argued that the LLIACTA/LLACHUAZ classification was traditional to the central Andes, but

that aspects of the contrasted values involved are better considered in the light of Inca organizational developments. To interpret the evidence in this manner required some degree of artificial segregation of the data, a segregation which is not necessarily inherent in the data as they have come to us. Moreover, the segregation of events implicit in historical analysis, as in the present study, involves in its turn an implicit causal, or at least developmental, explanation of data. In the present case, one could ask for example, did the material considered in the first two chapters really provide the framework for the emergence of the VIRACOCHA concept? Within my own adopted frame of reference it did to some extent, but had I emphasized other characteristics of the VIRACOCHA concept I might have been led back into other pre-existing circumstances, into another historical setting. The multiplicity of possibilities is one indication of the inadequate and indeterminate range of evidence at the student's disposal.

Accepting these limitations and deficiencies, the essay as it stands does suggest some conclusions. In the first place there is the suggestion that where historical evidence on a society is lacking or untrustworthy, a dialectical analysis may elicit, at the least, certain historical stages in that society's past. Thus the analytical contradiction of the two abstractions 'Exclusiveness' and 'Inclusiveness' suggested two stages in an historical sequence. The reasons for placing one stage prior to the other had to depend on independent evidence without which the sequence could only be arbitrarily determined.

In order to elaborate this kind of pseudo-history of Inca society I have had to interpret ostensibly historical evidence as if

its significance were structural while, nonetheless, avoiding a purely logical explanation. The organization of values by means of binary opposition took on a wholly new appearance in pre-hispanic Peru, with extensive sociological implications, when the signs¹ (ie + and -) attached to the existing values were reversed. This was the reversal from the LLACTA/LLACHUAZ to the HANAN/HURIN classification. One could say that, in this case at least, the character of history lay in the assertion of content over form, where the form remained constant. But the crux of the issue lies in the position of the VIRACOCHA concept, for if there be any validity in considering VIRACOCHA as a mediating category within the framework adopted in this essay then it must be apparent that the mediation arose not simply from a logical opposition, but from a 'substantial' contradiction. The contradiction had its form, but it took its vitality from the values that were involved; it was because in one situation the 'Outsider' could be subordinate, while in another he was superordinate that, I have argued, VIRACOCHA could assume a significant position in the Inca empire.

In the attempt to interpret VIRACOCHA'S significance I have tried to exclude as little information on VIRACOCHA as possible. Inevitably selection of evidence was necessary, but the absence of material on the subject need not imply a contradiction of the thesis' argument, which itself allows for the existence of contradiction. Yet it is in the adoption of binary contradictions as a revealing analytical framework that one may most question the validity of the thesis' argument, for where one's classification of phenomena

1 One might argue that it was the values that were reversed and not the signs; in effect, of course, to speak of the reversal of signs is one abstraction for what was a reversal of values. What I wish to stress is the qualitative aspect of a simple binary opposition which itself permits the opportunity of change within its own structure.

is merely dualistic the possibility of inducing an order is so much the easier than if the classification were more complex. One might aver that where one refers an idea to a dual classification one could without too great ^a difficulty discover specific contradictions in which the idea could be related to both sides of the opposition.

While granting the validity of such a doubt, the present interpretation of VIRACCOCHA need not be deserted. The binary classifications that were initially set forth were not merely analytical devices, but had an observable reality at the time of the Spanish conquest of Peru. The intimacy of VIRACCOCHA'S relation to the classifications and the contradiction that were isolated beforehand is less easily determined, for there is no single intellectual isolate (such as a myth, a series of narratives, or a specific symbolic identification) in which the VIRACCOCHA concept, in one form or another, can be linked unequivocally to the classifications and contradiction in question. The relationship which has been presented had to be pieced together from a variety of evidence so as to construct a seeming coherence. But there were advantages in this kind of construction work, for it permitted a flexibility of explanation. It was possible to explain VIRACCOCHA'S mediating position in more than one way, allowing the concept of mediation an elastic depth. In short, the mediation of VIRACCOCHA was seen to have two possible meanings. Historically VIRACCOCHA may have mediated between two sets of opposed dual classification, making possible a transition from one to the other by its participation in both. Sociologically, in the development of a social classification of imperial proportions, VIRACCOCHA'S mediation assumed a 'liminal' quality where it overcame divisions and

oppositions by ignoring their relevant existence. In a similar fashion, the VIRACocha concept may have permitted the inclusion of both Spaniards and Indians within one conceptual framework by its projected mediation (eg in the form of the Apostle) between the two ethnic groups. In the case of VIRACocha, then, the idea of mediation implies both a vehicle for transformation (diachronic) and the insinuation of compatibility (synchronic). In either case mediation suggests a point of articulation between opposites, or, simply, between differences.

Finally, although the first impulse in writing the thesis to consider the nature of syncretism in the context of religious belief has not been satisfied, I believe a start has been made in the direction of understanding some of the possible roots of syncretic growths. Some degree of historical analysis seems unavoidable for this understanding and yet more structural considerations were found equally essential. The syncretism in the Apostle legend depended historically on Christian beliefs in the life of St Thomas (or St Bartholomew)² and on Indian notions of the character and appearance of Viracocha, but the latter as a concept was seen to have filled a peculiar structural position in Inca Peru which was again relevant in the relations of the Spaniards to the Indians. What became apparent in the Indian treatment of the Apostle legend was that the syncretism was not simply a haphazard consequence of Culture Contact, but an operation of comprehension, an

1 See under p. i

2 It has not been within the scope of this essay to consider the Christian background to the Apostle legend. Some idea on the subject (as regards St Thomas) may be gained from Calancha, 1638, Book 2, or more recently from Butler, 1928, vol. 4. pp. 355-359

attempt to understand the alien with the aid of a basic intellectual mechanism, in this instance in the form of the VIRACocha concept. Syncretism may after all be found to be less arbitrary than critics in the past have often resigned themselves to believing.

GLOSSARY OF INDIGENOUS TERMS

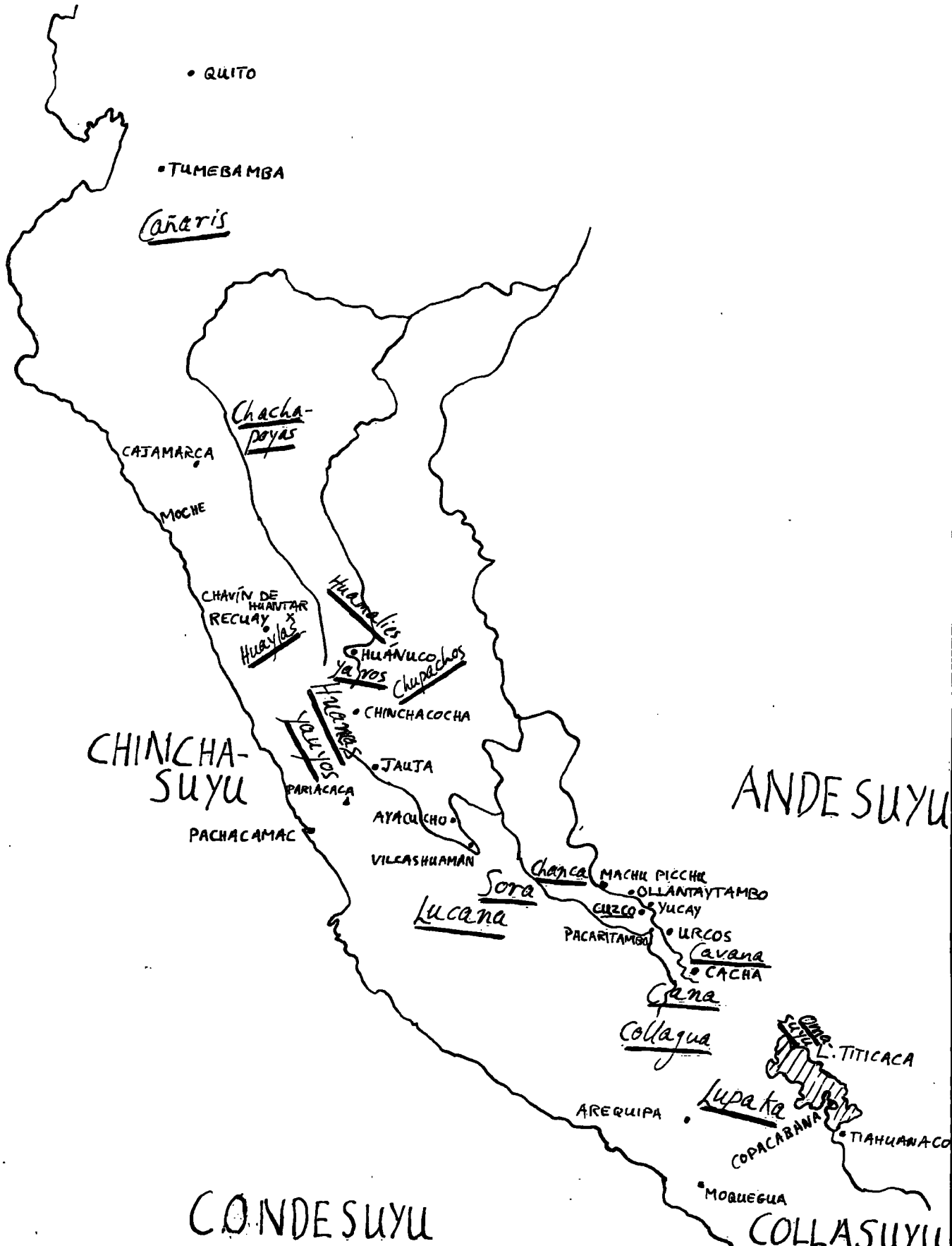
AYLEU	social group sharing a common identity vis-a-vis the outside world; may apply to either a residential or a kin grouping. (pp.31-33)
CANCHA	enclosure, corral
CAPACOCCHA	sacrifice of children for the Inca and the empire (pp.70-71)
CEQUE	literally an irrigation channel. Imaginary lines radiating from the centre of Cuzco along which were arranged numbers of holy sites (p.30)
CHARQUI	dried, 'jerked' meat
CHICHA	maize beer
CURACA	local leader, lord
HANAN	high, above (pp.56-57)
HURIN	low, below (pp.56-57)
HUACA	idol, holy object, holy site (p.11)
HUARI	original inhabitant of a place; a god of force (pp. 120-123)
HUAUQUE	literally brother. Replica, spirit, guardian
LLACHUAZ	newcomer, stranger, outsider. (pl - LLACHUASES) (pp.11-25)
LLACTA	native of a place (pp. 11-25)
MALLQUI	mummy of an ancestor
MITIMA	Inca colonist, permanently removed from his homeland (pp. 44-55)
PACARINA, PACARISCA	holy site from which the first ancestors of a group were believed to have emerged (pp. 19-21)
PACHACA	theoretically a political unit of 100 families
PANACA	kin group, royal (Inca) AYLLU (?)
QUIPU	record composed of coloured strings with 'decimal' knots
RUNA	man
SANCU	ritual, or sacrificial, bread made with animal or human blood

SITUA	religious festival held in September at the time of the equinox (pp.73-74)
SUYU	region, quarter division
TAHUANTINSUYU	the four regions, the Inca 'empire'
USNO	building in the form of a pyramid, an Inca throne, from the top of which offerings might be made to the Sun. (pp.66-67)
YANACONA	servile retainer, theoretically in the service of the Inca, but held also by local leaders
YAURI	stave, sceptre

Map of the Tahuantinsuyu

Place names in block letters.

Tribal names in longhand and underlined.



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