

QOYLLUR RIT'I, AN INCA FIESTA OF THE PLEIADES: REFLECTIONS ON TIME & SPACE IN THE ANDEAN WORLD

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Abstract

The fiesta of Qoyllur Rit'i, held every year at Corpus Christi in an isolated valley near Cusco, is still dominated by indigenous beliefs. In this paper it is suggested that the fiesta is actually pre-Columbian in origin and that it was originally intended as a celebration of the transition from one year to the next, from the past world to the present. This concept of transition is then placed within the context of both Inca and present-day Andean ideas of time and space.

Resumen

La fiesta de Qoyllur Rit'i, que se presenta todos los años para el tiempo de Corpus Cristi en un valle aislado cerca del Cusco, es todavía dominada por creencias indígenas. En este trabajo se intenta demostrar que la fiesta es de origen precolombino y que originalmente se celebraba el tránsito de un año al próximo, del mundo pasado al presente. Este concepto de tránsito es luego examinado en el contexto de las ideas del espacio y tiempo, tanto de los Incas como de la actualidad andina.

Introduction

Rising straight out of the jungle, the snowpeaked Colquepunku mountains are brilliant white massifs which float above the clouded rainforest. The interior of this range cradles an isolated valley that is, for most of the year, home only to herds of

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llama and alpaca which graze at 4500 metres beneath three glistening glaciers. During the week before Corpus Christi, however, more than 10,000 people, mostly Indians and *campesinos*,¹ make a pilgrimage to the Sinakara Valley: music echoes off the valley walls and dancers in feathered costumes prance through the smoke of hundreds of cookfires. This is the legendary religious fiesta of Qoyllur Rit'i ("The Star of the Snow"), probably the most impressive and dazzling spectacle in the Andes.

In 1979, 1980 and 1981 I had the good fortune to be able to walk to this fiesta with the people of Moyomarca, a small community outside of Paucartambo. Each year the community sends a contingent of dancers and musicians to Qoyllur Rit'i. They leave their village at 3 o'clock in the afternoon and walk the entire moonlit night following the Mapocho River to arrive in Ocongate at sunrise. They then take a truck to Mahuayani and walk up to the sanctuary. At 2 o'clock in the morning hundreds of *ukuku* (Q: bear) dancers, each representing a different village, climb up onto the glaciers which loom above the sanctuary. Braving the bitterest cold I have ever experienced I have twice gone with them.

The next morning the Moyomarqueños, along with more than 1000 other people, begin the walk to Tayankani. Again walking by moonlight they arrive at a hill above the village shortly before sunrise. With the light of the sun large groups of dancers in various costumes wind their way down in a well-choreographed and spectacular dance to a ridge above the town.²

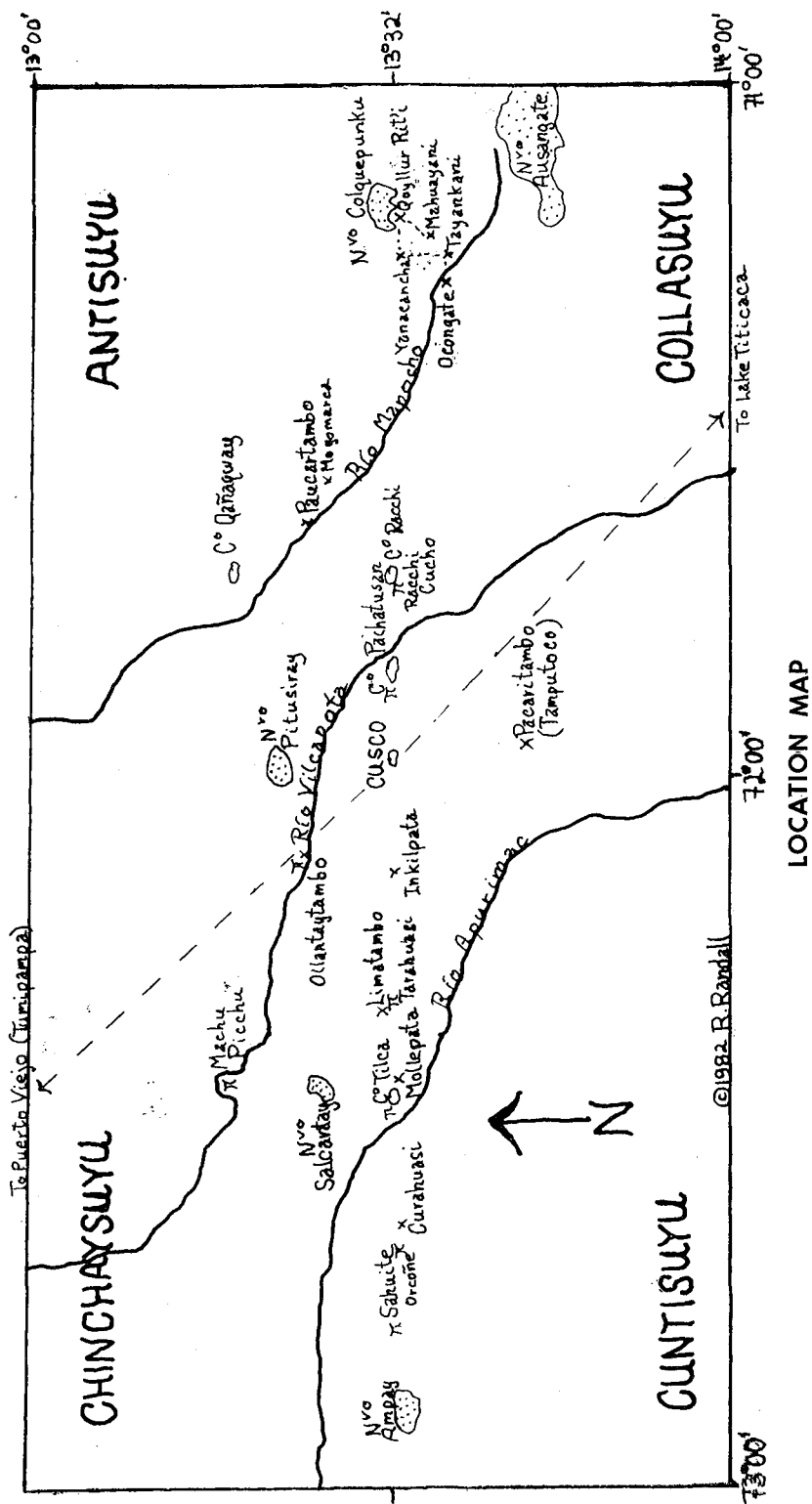
What impressed me most about Qoyllur Rit'i was its almost totally pagan atmosphere in spite of its sponsorship by the Catholic Church. The rituals were impossible to explain in Christian terms, and I set out to discover something about the origins and meanings of the pilgrimage. This became for me another kind of pilgrimage, leading through the labyrinths of Andean mythology and Inca history. What follows is the preliminary distillation of data accumulated on that journey. It is divided into four parts: in the first section I take the individual elements of the fiesta and relate them to their pre-Columbian origins; in the second I try to place the ritual within the Inca (and Andean) framework of time and space; in the third I compare it to another pre-Columbian fiesta, and in the fourth I attempt to demonstrate the continuity of Andean thought from the Conquest through the present and place Qoyllur Rit'i within this context.

Throughout I have followed Marzal's suggestions as to methods of investigation and analysis:

Las preguntas... en las entrevistas iluminan algo, pero realmente no despejan las grandes incógnitas. Ni creo además que los métodos de investigación más sociológicos sirvan realmente para algo en este caso. Habrá que recurrir a otros métodos más indirectos (análisis de mitos, por ejemplo), porque quizás lo que

(1) The fiesta appears to have been undergoing a transformation in the past few years as more and more *mestizos* (as well as anthropologists, photographers and assorted tourists) have begun to attend. In Nishiyama's 1974 film of Qoyllur Rit'i very few *mestizos* are evident (and no brass bands), and Nishiyama, who has been attending for over 20 years, affirms that the fiesta used to consist almost entirely of "gente indígena" (pers. comm.). A dance contingent from Puno first arrived in 1979 and continues to arrive. Traditionally, the *ukukus* from Paucartambo (*ch'unchos*) climb the lefthand glacier while those from Quispicanchis (*collas*) climb the right one. In 1979 a splinter group from Acomayo claimed the middle one (they identified themselves by incorporating the red and white stripes of the Peruvian flag into their costumes).

(2) Detailed descriptions of the fiesta can be found in Ramírez; Marzal, and Gow (1974 & 1976).



ocurre en Qoyllur Rit'i debe explicarse por el difícil análisis del inconsciente colectivo o de la cultura encubierta. Aunque gran parte de los peregrinos no sepan por qué... bailan..., puede ser que realmente esos bailes sean para ellos un camino hacia lo sagrado. También hay que investigar en la historia la vinculación de este culto con viejos cultos prehispánicos... (243).

Contemporary Andean mythology and "pre-Hispanic cults" reveal an emphatic continuity in both thought patterns and contents. They demonstrate that 450 years of foreign rule have not changed the conceptual structure of the Andean mind; and in this paper I have not hesitated to take advantage of this.

PART I: The Pre-Columbian Origins of the Pilgrimage

Speaking of the fiesta Cruz-Velacuy Osvaldo Urbano says:

Hablar de sincretismo es inadecuado porque un símbolo no tiene sentido sino en relación con el sistema al que alude; y, a decir verdad, los gestos y símbolos de las fiestas de la cruz evocan principios inspirados en lógicas que son otras que la lógica cristiana (46).

This statement is excellent and can be applied to Qoyllur Rit'i as well. Here too syncretism is an inadequate term since, as will be demonstrated in this section, the components of the fiesta, including the Christian ones, are best related to a pre-Columbian logic.

I.1. *Mariano Mayta, Archbishop Moscoso & Tupac Amaru II*

Attending in 1980 I was struck by the bicentennial sign ("Qoyllur Rit'i 1780-1980") which was located above the sanctuary on what appeared to be Inca or pre-Inca terraces.³ These terraces were the only ones to be found in the region, and their presence in such an isolated valley seemed to claim an antiquity for the fiesta which belied the sign.

1780 is the official Catholic date for the origin of the pilgrimage. In the Church version of the legend, a young Indian boy named Mariano Mayta was sent to the Sinakara Valley to watch over the family herd of llamas. The boy suffered from cold, loneliness and hunger until there appeared one day another young boy, a *misti* (*mestizo*). He and Mariano soon became fast friends, playing together every day. The young *misti* provided Mariano with food, and the llamas multiplied. When Mariano's father came to visit he was amazed and rewarded his son with new clothing. The boy asked if he could also buy clothes for his friend, and his father agreed. Mariano took a scrap of his friend's *poncho* to Cusco in order to find the same material.

In Cusco he was told that only the Archbishop had cloth that fine and, accordingly, he went to the home of Archbishop Moscoso. Moscoso immediately asked about the origins of the cloth and upon hearing Mariano's story, he sent out a commission of Church and lay officials to investigate. When the delegation came upon the young *misti* they were blinded by his radiance. One of them reached out to grab the boy and

(3) "La presencia de ruinas en la misma zona hace pensar que el Señor apareció en un antiquísimo lugar religioso" (Gow & Condori: 83). "Dónde está el Señor Milagroso allí vivían los incas. Sus casas existen todavía..." (ibid: 95).

found himself holding a wooden crucifix. Mariano, thinking that the visitors, had killed his friend, fell over dead and was buried under a rock next to the spot where the *misti* had been standing.⁴

This story is very similar to the legend behind a fiesta I attend every year in the small village of Marcacocha above Ollantaytambo — far from Qoyllur Rit'i. David Gow (1976) records the existence of five more of these stories in the department of Cusco and goes on to say that Morote Best has found the same story throughout Peru from the northern coast to the jungle. Accepting that the sanctuary of Qoyllur Rit'i "was very probably a sacred place long before the miracle occurred in 1780," Gow interprets the events as "a successful attempt by the peasants to legitimize one of their sacred places in the eyes of the Catholic Church" (245).

It seems more likely, however, that the Church was responsible for the fabrication of the legend and used it throughout Peru in the attempt to coopt indigenous fiestas. 1780 was a logical date for the miracle of Qoyllur Rit'i since it was also the year of the rebellion of Tupac Amaru II. It was a time of revival of interest in Inca culture and religion, and Tupac Amaru, who claimed direct descendancy from the last Inca, was very much inspired by reading Garcilaso de la Vega's glorified version of the Inca past. This led to the Spanish Crown's repression of Indian customs, including a ban on the reading of Garcilaso.

Archbishop Moscoso was a friend of Túpac Amaru, but he turned around to lead the battle against him (which terminated in the rebel's gruesome execution in the main plaza of Cusco).⁵ Since Qoyllur Rit'i took place in the heart of Túpac Amaru's territory, it seems plausible that Moscoso seized the opportunity to try to replace a pre-Conquest rite with a Catholic one. Substitution was, after all, one of the tactics of the Catholic Church in its attempt to convert the Indians.⁶

I.2. *Corpus Christi & The Pleiades*

The official version, however, does not explain why the fiesta should be held at the time of Corpus Christi nor why it should be called Qoyllur Rit'i, "The Star of the Snow". If the fiesta is of pre-Columbian origin, then an answer to these questions should lie in the early Spanish chronicles and documents.

In the 16th and 17th centuries the Spanish Catholic Church carried on and intensive campaign to stamp out Andean religion, fortunately leaving extensive records of the forms of 'idolatry' to be exterminated. In 1621 Father Pablo José de Arriaga wrote *Extirpación de la Idolatría en el Perú* in which he mentions that Corpus Christi was also celebrated under the Incas as the fiesta of *Oncoymita* which honored the Pleiades and had as its aim the preservation of the cornfields. The Pleiades, he said, were known as *Oncoy* and were one of the main focuses of native adoration (c.f. Gow, 1974:59; Marzal:403).

(4) For more details, cf. Ramúrez, Marzal; and Gow (1974 & 1976).

(5) Lewin offers conclusive evidence of Moscoso's enmity with Túpac Amaru II. Since both shared the same political views (being opposed to the Spanish regime), Moscoso's reaction can only be understood on religious grounds. The rebellion of Túpac Amaru was essentially cultural and religious, not political; and it was for this reason that it gained so much support among the Andean peasants. Túpac Amaru's religious views were a tremendous threat to the Church's influence in the Andes, and it was this that was unacceptable to Moscoso. Thus the suppression or co-optation of fiestas such as Qoyllur Rit'i was extremely important to both the Church and the political regime (whether Spanish or Peruvian).

(6) Marzal complains that in the sixteenth century Lima Council "se insiste en el método de sustitución, lo que va a tener el peligro del sincretismo religioso" (389, emphasis Marzal's).

There are numerous accounts of the importance of the Pleiades in the pre-Columbian world. Anthony Aveni has suggested, for example, that the entire pre-Aztec complex of Teotihuacán in Mexico was constructed to line up with the setting point of the Pleiades. And we know from the Spanish chronicler Bernardo de Sahagún that the Aztecs measured their 52 year cycles from the moment that the Pleiades transited the zenith at midnight (Aveni: 178-185).

In the southern hemisphere the Pleiades have a more special significance since they disappear from sight around the end of April not to return until mid-June (around solstice time).⁷ Thus the Sherente of Brazil still use the Pleiades to mark the seasons. Another 17th century Spanish chronicler, Father Antonio de la Calancha, recorded that the Chimú in northern Peru measured their year by the first appearance of the Seven Sisters over the eastern horizon. And his contemporary, Francisco de Avila, stated that the Indians of Huarochirí in the mountains above Lima determined how well their crops would do by the first appearance of the Pleiades — if they rose large and bright it was a good sign while a small or obscure rising meant a poor harvest (Avila:123). Interestingly enough, this type of divination is still used by the people of the area around Qoyllur Rit'i. By watching the Pleiades throughout the month of August they are able to tell what the weather will be like in the coming year (Gow & Condori:15; Cuba de Nordt:45-46).

That the Pleiades were important to the Incas has been recently confirmed by the archaeoastronomical studies of Anthony Aveni and Tom Zuidema in Cusco. After having measured the astronomical alignments of the Coricancha, Zuidema concluded that, although it "was called by the Spaniards the Temple of the Sun, it is more a temple of stars measuring the changing aspects of sun and moon;" and he determined that "the Pleiades express this purpose best" (1981a:7-8). In Cusco, the Pleiades have their heliacal set (time of disappearance) on or about April 24 and their heliacal rise on or about June 9. Their return "announces" the June solstice and the beginning of another year, and it seems reasonable that Qoyllur Rit'i originally took place at this time. Corpus Christi, a movable holiday which occurs between May 20 and June 23, was the logical Catholic substitution: "En el Cusco se fijó la celebración de la reaparición de las Pléyades en Corpus..." (Zuidema, 1981b:3).

I.3. *Sickness & Regeneration; Ukukus & Condenados*

We are now left with another question: why should the fiesta be held in an isolated valley at the base of the snowpeak Colquepunku? A clue to this is to be found in the name that Arriaga assigned the Pleiades — *Oncoy* ('sickness'). *Oncoymita* means the "time of sickness" and probably refers to the period of the Pleiades' invisibility.

Zuidema says that "el 24 de abril... anunciaba la desaparición de las Pléyades, las madres de las demás estrellas, y además anunciaba el período cuando el sol ya no tiene fuerza y cuando las lluvias y el calor terminan. Es el tiempo de la cosecha, cuando la tierra, *Pachamama*, va a ser estéril" (1981b:4). The *Oncoymita*, then, is a period of sickness, death and sterility.⁸

(7) Maria Reiche, after 30 years studying the Nasca lines in the Peruvian desert, has concluded that a large number of them point toward rising and setting points of the Pleiades. Gerald Hawkins' computer check on the lines confirmed that the so-called "Great Rectangle" was oriented toward the rising point of the Pleiades in or about 610 A.D. (Reiche, pers. comm.).

(8) David Gow, who spent two years living in a village in the Qoyllur Rit'i area, states that the Indians there believe that the earth dies during Holy Week to be resurrected on Easter Sunday. Since Holy Week often occurs at the time of the Pleiades disappearance it appears likely that this belief was originally related to the *Oncoymita*: the earth is resurrected at the time of the stars' return.

It thus becomes clear why Qoyllur Rit'i is held beneath Colquepunku. Juan Nuñez del Prado Béjar has written that there are three major *apus* within the region dominated by the snowpeak Apu Ausangate: Apu Huanacauri, Apu Qañagway and Apu Colquepunku. The function of this last one is to watch over the health of people: "Su ocupación especializada es la de tutelar la salud de las gentes, vela por ella y es profundo conocedor de la etiología de las enfermedades. A él se recurre en demanda de salud" (78). It is appropriate that a fiesta celebrating the end of the *Oncoymita* would be held at the site of this *apu*.⁹

When the *ukukus* go up to the glaciers of Colquepunku to pray, then, they are praying for the health of their people; and when they return to their camps with large chunks of ice strapped to their backs they are returning with medicinal waters from Apu Colquepunku.¹⁰ The people of Moyamarca melt the ice brought by their *ukuku* in order to make a sweet barley drink which is served to all. They also return to their village with a bottle of the water which is used in healing ceremonies throughout the year.¹¹

The *ukuku* (bear) is, in Quechua mythology, a being of supernatural powers. There are many stories about an *ukuku* who is the offspring of a peasant woman and a bear. This man-bear (usually named Juan Oso) is an amoral figure who, because of his tremendous force and lack of civilization, is feared by everybody: playing with other children he kills one with a friendly slap on the back; attempting to ride a horse he splits it in two; etc. His grandparents try to rid themselves of him by sending him out on dangerous missions, but he always returns successfully. Finally he is sent to a town that is terrorized by a *condeviado* (the soul of a person who has committed a mortal sin such as incest or murder). The man-bear defeats the *condenado* and is

(9) In the Inca calendar the major purification ceremony, *sitwa*, took place in September before the first rains (which brought diseases). That there were also, however, pre-Columbian curing ceremonies held around the end of *Oncoymita* is suggested by a document transcribed by Pierre Duviols (1976) entitled *Ritos y creencias de la Costa de Chancay (1613)*:

Segialos gran chusma del pueblo y en medio yba uno con un bulto de samea o totora en figura de hombre que llamaban Aupi o pruinat que quiere dezir enfermedades, y este arrojaban en las primeras tierras que topaban del pueblo mas vezino con que dezían avian desterrado de suyo la enfermedad y echándola a sus vezinos... Y porque los curas no reparassen en tanta publicidad hacían estas fiestas en las del Corpus a título de celebrar la del S.S. Sacramento (51).

This last sentence would seem to support Gow's thesis that the peasants of the Ocongate region were the ones to legitimize Qoyllur Rit'i in "the eyes of the Church". However, the fact that the Mariano Mayta myth is so widespread would indicate that a central organization with national connections such as the Church was responsible for its propagation.

(10) The healing nature of the *ukukus'* climb is made clear by one of Gow & Condori's informants: the *ukukus* "suben al cerro para traer *huamanlipa*, *sasahui* y *phuna* (tres plantas medicinales). También sube para traer nieve. La nieve del Señor sirve para curarse de las enfermedades. La llevan a sus casas en botellas, en latas y porongos" (90). In addition, the *ukuku* carries around his neck a small bottle which he blows across to make a whistling sound. According to Xavier Bel-lenger (pers. comm.) the Indians of Chipaya (Bolivia) blow across small bottles to ward off sicknesses; and we can assume a similar function for the *ukuku's* bottle at Qoyllur Rit'i.

(11) *Ukukus* arrive in Cusco on Corpus with chunks of ice which they bring in trucks from Qoyllur Rit'i. It is possible that there was a similar event during the Inca Empire, it not being inconceivable that ice would arrive without melting entirely by means of a night *chasqui* system.

rewarded with the *condenado's* house, lands and daughter. He becomes an example of honesty and hard work.¹²

It is believed that contact with a *condenado* can cause one's death, and they are therefore greatly feared. The area of the sanctuary of Qoyllur Rit'i is said to be inhabited by many of these beings who, in Sisiphsian punishment, are condemned to climb Colquepunku carrying a huge chunk of ice. At the top is a silver cross, and the *condenado* who reaches it will gain entrance into heaven (this could possibly explain the name Colquepunku — "Gate of Silver"). Juvenal Casaverde relates that many visitors to Qoyllur Rit'i have seen these beings with the lower halves of their legs mutilated by their constant striving to get to the top of the mountain only to slide back down before arriving (206). They are supposed to try to enter the sanctuary to seek salvation, but El Señor sends them back to their punishment. Thus they have to be content to listen to the mass from the perpetual snows.¹³

According to Gow & Condori the *condenado's* only hope for salvation is "una muerte violenta, habitualmente en las garras de un oso" (39). It is thus appropriate that the *ukukus* would be the only ones strong enough to brave these demons and ascend the glaciers for the healing waters.

Seen from this perspective, the pilgrimage to Qoyllur Rit'i is a ritual not only of regeneration (both for *Pachamama* and for her people), but also the celebration of a victory over the evil forces of the spirit world.

I.4. *The Virgin & The Mama; The Christ & The Apu*

Thus far everything about the fiesta can be explained in non-Catholic Andean terms. The only purely Catholic elements left are the Virgin of Fátima and the Christ of Qoyllur Rit'i himself. Both of these, however, are represented by rocks; and rocks, as has often been pointed out, accounted for a huge percentage of the *huacas*, or sacred spots, of the Inca Empire¹⁴ (Cf. Gow, 1976:218-220). The most sacred of all these was Huanacauri (the same *apu* cited by Nuñez del Prado as continuing to be significant today). On top of this mountain there used to be a large rock which the Incas believed to be petrefaction of Ayar Uchu, one of the four founding brothers of Cusco.

Huacas found on the tops of mountains (or *apus*) had a strict relation with that *apu*. Such was the case with the *huaca* on Huanacauri, and the same would seem to be true at Qoyllur Rit'i. The rock in which is located the niche of the Virgin of Fátima is worshipped by Indian women because they say it is the Virgin who taught them how to spin and weave: "Las mujeres depositan sus tejidos a medio terminar... pidiéndole a la Virgen les enseñar a ser buenas hilanderas o tejedoras" (Marzal:237). Since this is not an orthodox Catholic function of the Virgin Mary, we might view the rock of the Virgin as a pre-Catholic *huaca*. Concerning this Catherine Wagner has reported:

Las *Mamachas* ("madrecitas," manifestaciones de la Virgen María) son, como la Pachamama, patronas de las actividades femeninas. Una vez oí llamarlas por

(12) This particular Juan Oso story is taken from Martínez y Martínez (109-112) who gathered it from Indian residents in Tastayoc (above Ollantaytambo).

(13) The *condenados* seem to be an obvious example of syncretism in Andean religion, and it is difficult to extract their pre-Columbian origins. They are most similar to beings called *soq-amachu* who are the evil spirits of the *ñaupa machu*. The *soq'a* are also said to cause diseases and death and have their greatest powers at dawn, dusk and the full moon (all periods of transition).

(14) *Huacas* are, of course, more than just sacred spots, they are minor gods with supernatural powers.

una tejedora en un punkuy: —“*Mama Concebida, Mama Rosario, Mama Sinakara, Makiykiwan tukusag*” “Con tus manos terminaré” (mi tejido). Sinakara es el nombre dado a veces a una de las montañas de la cadena de Qoyllur Rit'i. Sin embargo, esta mujer decía que *Mama Sinakara* era una Virgen (también llamada la Virgen de Fátima) cuyo santuario está cerca del Señor de Qoyllur Rit'i (218n).

There is then a definite unity between the *huaca* and the mountain Sinakara,¹⁵ and I believe the same kind of unity to exist between the rock of the Christ of Qoyllur Rit'i and the Apu Colquepunku. Both, for example, are attributed with the same healing powers. Thus Marzal states: “En los otros pueblos se repite que ‘van a pedir la salud.’ Un informante dice sencillamente: ‘El Señor de Qoyllur Rit'i es médico’” (235). When I went up to the glaciers with the *ukukus*, I asked one of them why they went up so high into the snow. He replied that El Señor lives in the snow and not in the sanctuary. The glaciers, he said, used to extend all the way to the rock but have since receded.¹⁶

El Señor de Qoyllur Rit'i and La Virgen de Fátima are thus identified with the pre-Conquest deities Apu Colquepunku and Mama Sinakara, both of which are represented by rocks. The Mariano Mayta legends were attempts to substitute the cross for the rock: the *misti* (who, being light-skinned, represents Jesus)¹⁷ is standing next to a rock when he is transformed into a cross while Mariano is buried under the same rock. The Church, in erecting the sanctuary, was following one of the main precepts of the First Lima Council (1551-52): “Que las huacas sean derribadas, y en el mismo lugar, si fuere decente, se hagan iglesias o al menos se ponga una cruz” (in Marzal:382). The success of this substitution, however, seems to have been tenuous, and Ramírez states that: “los indígenas siempre iban a prender sus velas al pié de la roca; finalmente para evitar cualquier error de los creyentes se intentó hacer grabar la imagen de Cristo Crucificado en la roca, para que así sigan con sus actos religiosos” (67-68). Thus, although most of the Indians enter the sanctuary to visit El Señor, very few of them pay any attention to the masses (even when said in Quechua) — this is an almost wholly *mestizo* preoccupation.

I.5. *The Naupa Machu & The Ch'unchos*

The *wayri ch'uncho* dancers¹⁸ are the most obvious pagan element of the fiesta. Their costumes include feathered headdresses and *chonta* palm spears, and they represent the jungle Indians from the rainforests below Colquepunku. That they are pre-Columbian in origin is evident from Guaman Poma's depiction of them as fiesta

(15) Sinakara is a smaller peak and therefore not as powerful as Colquepunku. Many such smaller mountains are identified with feminine deities.

(16) I was told by one of the Moyomarqueños that after everyone leaves the site of Qoyllur Rit'i the Indians, from Q'ero come down for two days of festivity in the sanctuary. He said that they wait until the priest leave because “ellos no creen en el Señor de la Iglesia — solo creen en el Señor de la Nieve”.

(17) In Marcacocha the racism is even more pronounced: the *misti* has blond hair and blue eyes.

(18) I have come across no good explanation for the name *wayri*. An informant in Gow & Condori says that in the battle between *ch'uncho* and *colla* (see below, p. 19), “el chuncho gritaba, Huayri! Huayri, huay! disparando sus flechas” (93); and Perroud & Chouvene's dictionary gives *wairu* as an “exclamación del que gana la partida” (185). Bertonio (1612) defined *hayri* as “conjunción de la Luna”, and there could very conceivably be a connection here. Also, *Ayra* was another name for Taqi Oncoy (see below, IV.2.).

dancers from Antisuyu (drawn in 1613) and also from the following statement from a campesino in the Qoyllur Rit'i region: "En Parcocalla escarbaron un despacho. Todas las ropas de los incas han hecho aparecer, lo mismo estaba la ropa que utilizaban los bailarines de chuncho" (Gow & Condori:29). Although there are many other costumed dancers at Qoyllur Rit'i, I would estimate that a full 70% are *wayri ch'unchos*. Why would jungle Indians dance in the snows of Colquepunku?

Gow says that "the *campesinos* of this region consider the *ch'unchos* to be their ancestors" (1976:227). One legend, widespread in the Paucartambo-Ocongate area, records that the 'old ones,' the *ñaua machu*, populated the highlands in the epoch before this one. There was at the time no sun, and the *ñaua* lived by moonlight. Extremely powerful, they were able to order rocks to move and level mountains with their slings. One day, Rowal, chief of the *apus*, asked them if they wished some of the power of the *apus*. Full of pride, the *ñaua* refused saying that they had enough power of their own.

Rowal therefore created the sun which, when it rose over the horizon, turned the *ñaua* into stones. Some, however, escaped into the jungle where the sun couldn't penetrate (c.f. O. Nuñez del Prado: 7; Gow & Condori: 23). "Their lives and flight," says Gow, "are remembered and symbolically re-enacted each year in the ritual of the *wayri ch'uncho* dance" (1976:151). With the destruction of the *ñaua* the Incas were created.

There is an interesting parallel between this legend and the story of the *ukuku*. Both the *ukuku* and the *ñaua* are powerful, amoral forces who refuse to be controlled by their authorities, living outside the laws of society or of the *apus*. The *ukuku*, in defeating the *condenado*, becomes civilized and law-abiding. The *ñaua*, in their destruction, make way for the civilized, law-abiding Incas.¹⁹ It would seem that it is this civilizing process which is celebrated in the *ch'uncho* dances of Qoyllur Rit'i.

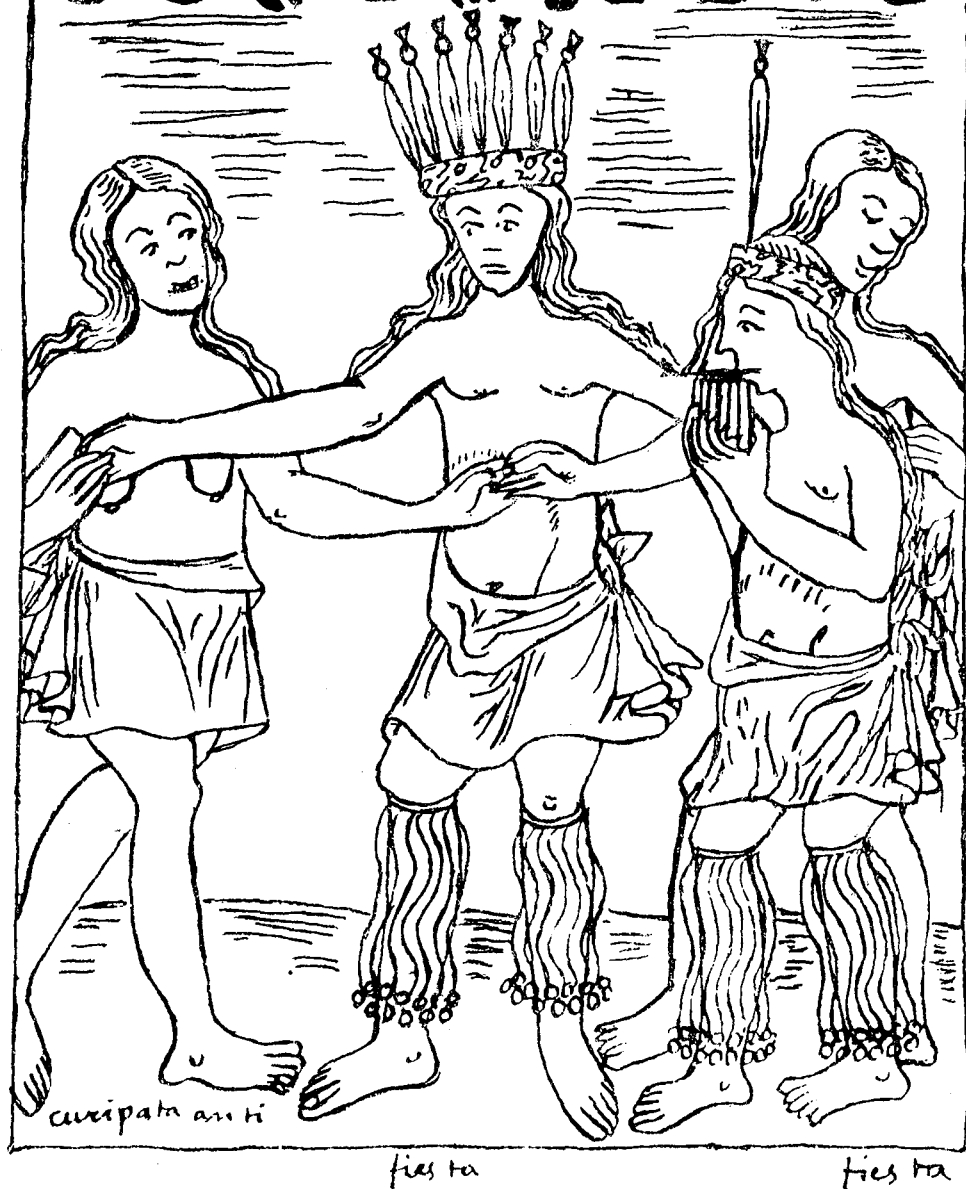
When I went to the fiesta with the people of Moyamarca we walked all night by the light of the moon to Ocongate and then went to sleep at sunrise. During the day we took a truck to Mahuayani and then waited until the afternoon to walk up to the sanctuary, arriving at a hill above it. There, the *ch'uncho* dancers put on their costumes and feathers and waited until sunset to dance down to the church. They then danced all night. The next morning we waited until after mass to start the walk to Tayankani.¹⁹ At the town of Yanacancha we slept until about midnight when the moon rose and then continued until we reached a hill above the town. There, the dancers waited for sunrise to begin their famous and spectacular serpentine dance down to the village.

Corpus Christi is a movable holiday based on the moon, and there is therefore moonlight every year for the fiesta. It would seem, then, that the *ch'unchos* do indeed represent the *ñaua machu* who lived by moonlight. That the final dance at sunrise is so joyful indicates a great celebration of the civilization process, of the transition from the last world to this one, of the regeneration and resurrection of Pachamama, of the curing of the sick, and of the beginning of another year (marked by the return of the Pleiades).

(19) Mama Sinakara (the Virgin of Fatima) is also, as a teacher of weaving, a civilizing force; and Gow (1976) points out a civilizing process in the other dancers at Qoyllur Rit'i: "If we take the *soq'a machula*, the *machula* dancer, and the *paulucha* (*ukuku*) dancer together, it is possible to demonstrate some evolution in their behavior—a process of civilization" (235).

(19) The trail that descends from "El Calvario" (where there is a shrine and a cross) appears to be almost straight with no switchbacks despite a steep drop of around 800 meters. It is walked in the moonlight in single file. Duviols (1976) has

FIESTAS DE LOS ANDISVIVOS CAACUAVARMANCA



Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno (codex péruvien illustré), Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, Institut d'Ethnologie, Université de Paris, 1936.

PART II

GEOGRAPHY & HISTORY; SPACE & TIME

Having established that Qoyllur Rit'i is pre-Colombian in origin, it should then be possible to place the fiesta within the context of Inca concepts of time and space. This entails not only an understanding of the Inca view of history but also of the importance of geography within these precepts. It is the purpose of this section to give a model of Andean history and then to demonstrate its inextricable relationship with Andean space. I will then argue that Qoyllur Rit'i unifies, clarifies and ritualizes certain of these relationships since it occupies an intermediary position both in time and in space.

II.1. *History: World Cycles in Andean Mythology*


The Andean mind, as has often been demonstrated, views history as a series of cycles. The annual agricultural progression, from dry season to rainy season and from sowing to harvest, is a continuous cycle in which linear time has little meaning. This cycle is only interrupted by natural disasters (earthquakes, floods, droughts, etc.) while in the larger cycles of Andean history, interruptions are caused by larger crises or disasters which bring on a new era:

Es preciso indicar que en el área andina funcionó una visión cíclica con cuatro edades del mundo, que son llamadas de diferente manera, según los lugares en los que los cronistas recogieron sus informaciones. Entre estas edades funcionaron períodos de *caos*, que pueden ser asimilados a los diferentes destrucciones que las divinidades realizaron... (Pease, 1973:18).

These periods of chaos are called in Quechua *pachacutis*, or "overturnings of the world." Thus, for example, Rowal's creation of the sun was a *pachacuti* which signified the end of one world cycle and the beginning of another. In Inca history the invasion of Cusco by the Chancas in or about 1436 was another period of chaos, and the Inca who finally defeated them became known as Pachacuti. The civil war between Atahualpa and Huascar was yet another *pachacuti*¹.

pointed out that in the Inca human sacrificial ceremony, **Capac hucha**, representatives from all over the empire walked single file in straight lines toward Cusco.

Whether human sacrifice was a part of the **Oncoymita** is not known, but there is contemporary evidence to suggest that this might have been so. It is said that **ukukus** often fall into crevasses in the glaciers, not to return; and Gow & Condori state that there are "muchas que piensan que [El Señor] también desea un sacrificio humano. Se estima que la fiesta ha sido un fracaso si nadie muere mientras celebra" (53). If there were no human sacrifice there was almost certainly sacrifice of llamas (practically **de rigueur** for Inca fiestas), and it is interesting to note that sacrificial llamas in the province of Lucanas are still called "**qoyllur** (estrella, así denominan a la llama que ha de ser sacrificada)" (Arguedas & Ortiz R.: 229).

(1)* It is not in the province of this paper to enter into a discussion of the various meanings of the word **pachacuti**. Most sources give **pacha** as "time and space" as well as the "Earth". **Cuti** is anything which comes back on itself; **cutiy** is to return. The Andean digging stick is called a **cuti** because of the hook shape at one end. Thus the Indians of Chinchero use the term **pachacuti** daily when working the fields: it means, simply, "the turning of the soil." (Ed. Franquemont, pers comm.) Cuti is also a common Andean weaving motif . If looked at three-dimensionally it becomes a kind of spiral which is perhaps the best model for Andean world cycles.

*El asterisco indica una nueva numeración de notas a cada capítulo.

This concept of world cycles continues to be the vision of contemporary Andean indigenous peoples. Thus, in discussing the historical sense of the people of Pinchimuro (a village very close to the site of Qoyllur Rit'i), Gow & Condori state:

Según ellos, cada etapa tiene algo en común con la anterior y la posterior. El pasado está siempre vivo y una parte del presente y del futuro existe ahora y existió siempre. Luego la visión de la historia es a la vez cíclica, en cuanto que una catástrofe clausura un ciclo e inaugura otro, y acumulativa, en cuanto que el ciclo anterior no ha sido destruido sino enterrado y sigue ejerciendo una influencia poderosa mediante sus afloramientos frecuentes en la vida actual y mediante los mitos y el ritual (20).

It has already been seen that Qoyllur Rit'i is one of those rituals which demonstrate the 'afloramientos' of one cycle into another, and more will be said about this later. First, however, it is necessary to understand these time cycles in relation to Andean concepts of space.

Gow & Condori's use of the word '*enterrado*' (buried) is not metaphorical — the past world exists underground and can, at certain times (usually during the full and new moon and at dawn and dusk), exert an influence (usually negative) on the present. We can understand this better through a cursory analysis of the Inca concepts of *hanan* (upper) and *hurin* (lower).

The Incas (and also the pre-Incas) divided the world and all of its parts (including peoples) into these two moieties. Garcilaso tells us that:

Hanan-Cuzco was founded by our king and Hurin-Cuzco by our queen... without the inhabitants of one possessing any superiority over those of the other... the inhabitants of Upper-Cuzco were to be considered the elder, and those of Lower-Cuzco as the younger brothers. Indeed, it was as it is in the case of a living body, in which there always exists a difference between the right and the left hands, for the reason that those from above had been brought together by the male, and those from below by the female element. All the cities and all the villages in our Empire were subsequently divided in this way into upper and lower lineages, as well as into upper and lower districts (45).

We thus see that *hanan* is not only upper but also associated with the elder brother (first born), male qualities, the right hand, and anything that comes from above; while *hurin* is lower, younger, female, left hand and all that is below. By extension, *hanan*, being above, is also light, and *hurin*, underground, is dark. There is, of course, nothing that does not fit into these categories, and creation is the interplay between the two — *hanan* fertilizes *hurin*². It should also be noted that the divisions are always relative within themselves: a hill is *hanan* to the valley below but *hurin* to the mountain above. Within this scheme, however, there can be no room for change — the valley is *always* *hurin* to the mountain — unless a disaster occurs, such as an earthquake which levels the mountain and begins a new world cycle.

(2) The concepts *hanan* and *hurin* can be compared to the oriental *yang* and *yin*. Both *hanan* and *yang* refer to light, masculine and upper while *hurin* and *yin* are dark, female and lower. The Andean world, however, is much more vertical, and it is upper and lower which dominate the concept; whereas in China it is light and dark.

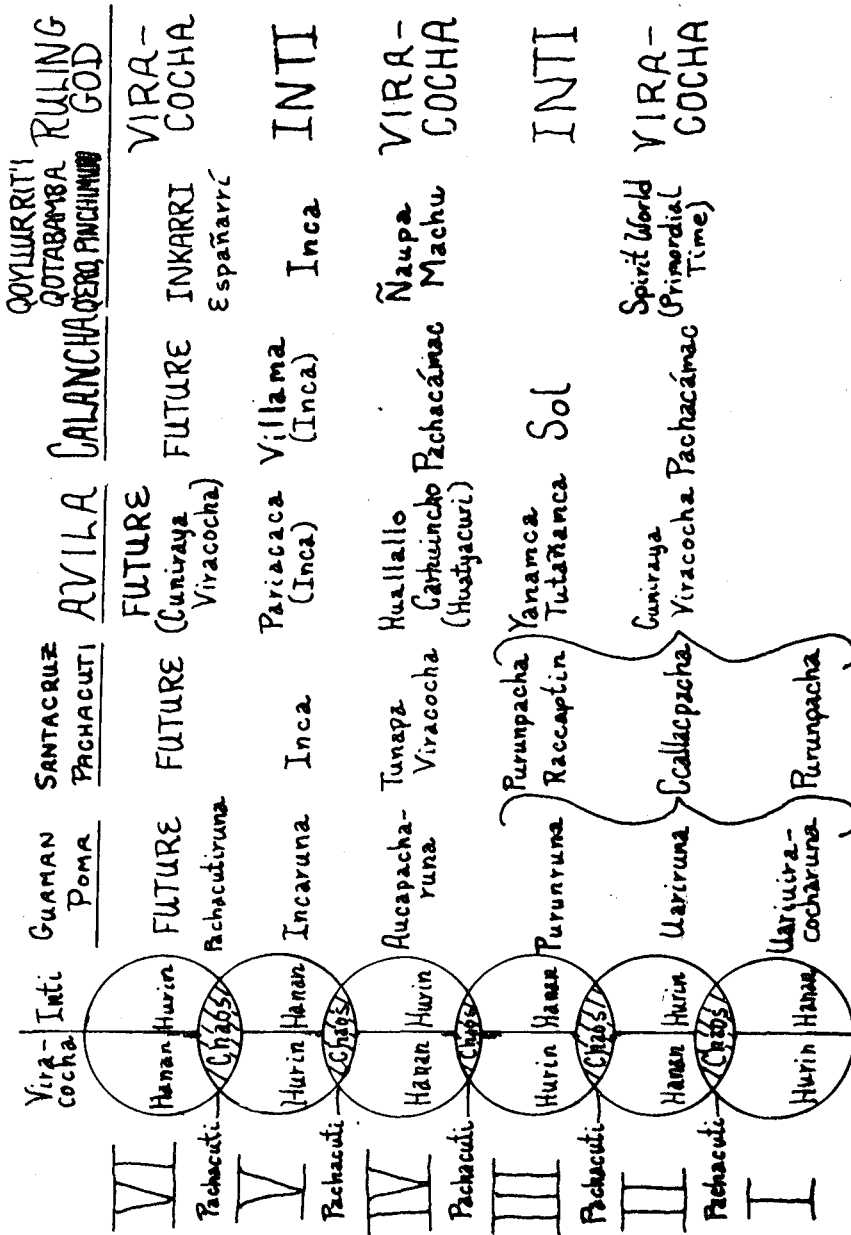


Figure 1. World Cycles

Note to Figure 1.:

The binary system applied here (**hanan-hurin**; Inti-Viracocha) is adequate for the purposes of the present thesis. In a future paper I will attempt an analysis of the various world cycle myths in terms. Of a more extensive categorization which adds a trinary system (**collana, payan, cayao**).

For purposes of comparison I have included, without discussing them, myths from Guamán Poma, Santacruz Pachacuti and Calancha. I identify Calancha's Villama (also called Vichama) with the Incas because he is the "son of the sun," and because there may be a semantic connection between the name Villama and Villaoma, the Inca high priest of the sun. As to Guamán Poma's future world being **hurin**, I refer to his drawing of the ideal new world order (which he asks Philip III to implement) in which the Inca Empire assumes the position occupied by Collasuyu (**hurin**) in the old World order.

I associate Pariacaca, god of thunder, with Inti because he is a celestial god whereas Huallallo (Carhuincho is from below. In the battle between the two Huallallo Carhuincho fights as a two-headed serpent (**amaru**) and also a jungle parrot (both **hurin**), while his wife lives in the lower part of the Lurin (read **Hurin** Valley which is the site of Pachacámac (connected with Viracocha. After losing, Huallallo Carhuincho is relegated to the coast (**yungas**) and jungle. Pariacaca continues as the area's most powerful god, even after the Inca conquest.

Cuniraya Viracocha appears both as god of the first world and as god of the future world because this confusion exists in Avila's text: "Pero no sabemos bien si Cuniraya fue antes o después de Pariacaca, os si ese Cuniraya existió al mismo tiempo of junto con Viracocha..." (25). If we assume an identity with Viracocha, then this makes sense in terms of his role as the god who once ruled and will again. Thus it is Cuniraya Viracocha, who wars the Inca Huayna Capac of the coming of the Spaniards and takes him to Lake Titicaca to escape (Titicaca is symbolic of the past and future worlds).

Each time cycle is also divided into *hanan* and *hurin*. Looking, for example, at Rowal's creation of the sun and destruction of the *ñaua machu*, it can be seen that in the new epoch the moon and the *ñaua* (which had been in a *hanan* position) become *hurin* to both the sun and the next race of men (the Incas). The *ñaua* continue to exist, but underground, or lower down in the jungle (both *hurin*). The transition between two world cycles is a period of chaos caused by the confusion of *hanan* and *hurin* during the destruction of the old world. The *hanan* of the old cycle has not yet been forced into its *hurin* position in the new one (in Inca history this is accomplished through the force of a powerful leader such as Manco Capac or Pachacuti). In addition, the present epoch is always *hanan* to both the past and future.

Figure 1. is a model of the series of world cycles followed by the names of the different ages as given by various sources (the significance of Inti and Viracocha in relation to these cycles will be discussed below):

It can thus be seen that, for the Andean mind, there can be no division between space and time. Time cycles are defined by spacial events (earthquakes, floods, etc.) while the past exists underground.³ This unity is underscored by the Quechua

(3) This is not to suggest that time is static within each cycle. There are smaller cycles within the larger ones which, I suspect, obey the same laws. The yearly cycle, for example, moves through periods of **hanan** (dry season) and **hurin** (rains) with a kind of **pachacuti** (transition, chaos) at the end symbolized by the Pleiades' disappearance. Although further research is needed, it would seem that the death of each Inca would be a minor **pachacuti** (c.f. Urbano on the alternation of water and fire symbolism in the reign of each Inca; also Cieza de León: "...one Inca had to be one of these lineages [**hanan** or **hurin**] and the next of the other" (196)).

word *pacha* which for the Incas meant the earth but also signified both time and space. It is further emphasized by the recent astronomical investigations of Tom Zuidema. Taking information from the chronicles concerning the Inca *ceque* system (41 straight lines which radiated outward from the Coricancha in Cusco) and the 328 *huacas* located along those lines, Zuidema has devised a method of reading the geographical layout as a calendrical *quipu*.⁴ In this *ceque-quipu* each *huaca* represents one day while the 37 without *huacas* are the days when the Pleiades are invisible.⁵ thus the count begins on June 9, the day of the Pleiades' reappearance.

Speaking of the 37-day period, Zuidema says: "Calendaricamente esto fue un tiempo de caos, de reorganización y de un recálculo de la correlación entre Pléyades, Sol y Luna..." (1981b:4) The yearly cycle, then, ends with a period of chaos, just as the longer historical cycles do. The fiesta of Qoyllur Rit'i should be seen as a ritualization of this entire period — the actual fiesta begins on the Day of Assumption and ends two days after Corpus Christi, a total of 24 days. It thus seems probable that the ritual under the Incas could have lasted for the entire 37 days of "chaos".

The fiesta itself is certainly chaotic, and Ramirez says that one of the processions "se tuvo que prohibir... por el desorden que hacían..." (71). The transition from disorder to order (from chaos to cosmos) is dramatized by the dancers and music. Throughout the fiesta, dancing is continual and the noise ceaseless. Although each dance group has its own dance steps, the groups seemingly dance where and when they wish without regard to any other group while music is played without consideration of the dissonance created by rival bands. The final sunrise dance, however, is perfectly ordered and synchronized, all musicians playing the same tune at the same time.

II.2 Geography: The Meeting of Puna & Selva

Having noted the essential unity of time and space in Andean thought, we should determine if there is any significance to Qoyllur Rit'i's location. The most obvious point to be observed on the map is that it is *exactly* east of Cusco (lat. 13°30' c.f. location map p.39) Knowing of the Incas' ability to extend straight lines (*ceques*) over extremely long distances (c.f. below III.1.), this would seem to be more than just coincidence. Since the fiesta is a ritual of regeneration and rebirth its easterly location is logical: "El este y el oeste se relacionan respectivamente con nacimiento y crecimiento y con decrecimiento y muerte" (Zuidema, 1981b:2). Thus, although not the exact direction of the Pleiades' rise, due east has a symbolic significance⁶.

(4) The **quipu** was an Inca mnemonic device used for keeping numerical and, possibly, historical records. It consisted of a circular string in the center with straight strings radiating outward from it. Numbers were recorded by series of different knots on the strings.

(5) Zuidema (1981a,b) does not explain, however, the discrepancy between the 45 days that the Pleiades are actually invisible (9-VI to 24-IV) and the 37 days given on the calendar.

(6) The due east line also passes through the peak of the mountain Pachatusan ("The Pillars of the World"). Santacruz Pachacuti Yamque tells of 300 Antis (**ch'unchos**) who were carrying gold from the jungle to Cusco. In the middle of the journey a hailstorm broke out which destroyed all of the crops. Therefore Tupac Inca Yupanqui "por concejo de los viejos, manda que todos trezcientos yndios lo llevase sus cargas de oro a Pachatusan... y allí entierra a todos con sus oros cargados, matándoles... Dizen que para este efecto había cabado muy hondo a la otra parte que como mira hazia el sol" (301). Deborah Poole (1978) speculates

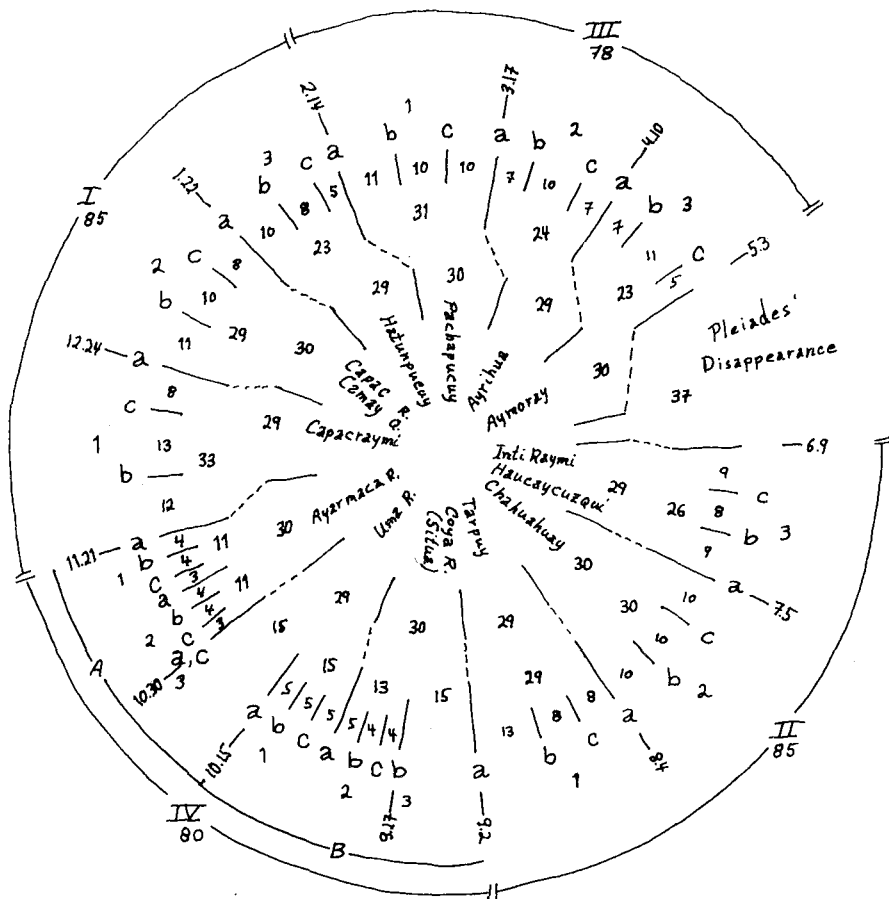


Figure 2. Ceque-Quipu

Note to figure 2:

- Outer (1st) circle:** 4 suyus with numbers of huacas in each.
2nd Circle: Dates in Gregorian calendar, counted from heliacal rise of Pleiades as seen in Coricancha.
3rd Circle: Number of groups of 3 ceques each.
4th Circle: Letters of individual ceques.
5th Circle: Numbers of huacas on each ceque; each huaca is given space of 1° on circle; counting of huacas from date 11.21 in both directions.
6th Circle: Numbers of huacas on groups of 3 ceques and of the period (37) af-heliacal set of Pleiades when ceque calendar is not used.
7th Circle: Monthlong periods, counted from heliacal rise of Pleiades.
8th Circle: Corresponding movable Inca months; first full moon correlated to June solstice (June 21).

(Zuidema, 1981a: Notes)

that these Antis might have been travelling in a straight line from the jungle through Qoyllur Rit'i to Cusco in which case they would have had to walk over Pachatusan. The Incas observed equinox over Pachatusan, and we can speculate on a connection between gold and the sun (both of which come from the east) and the fertility of crops.

East is also the direction of the jungle and therefore of the past world where the *ñauya machu* (*ch'unchos*) still live. Qoyllur Rit'i is thus in an intermediate position between the past world and the "present" one of the Incas of Cusco. In this respect, not only the horizontal, but also the vertical, position of the fiesta is important. The snowpeak Colquepunku rises straight up out of the jungle. Qoyllur Rit'i is located in an intermediary position in the *puna* above the jungle and below the snows of the *apu*. It is in the central position of an *axis mundi*, connecting vertically the under-world (*ukhupacha* or *hurinpacha*) with the heavens (*hanaqpacha*). In the same way it is the connecting point between the *apu* (*hanan*, masculine) and the fertile jungle (*hurin*, feminine) and is therefore a natural place for a fiesta of rebirth and regeneration.⁷

Communities in the Paucartambo-Ocongate region generally send their *paqos* (shamans in charge both of the fertility of the agricultural fields and the curing of the sick) to study for one year in the jungle in order to bring that fertility back up to the sierra (Deborah Poole, pers. comm.)⁸. Since health depends upon fertility, Colquepunku, with its roots in the abundant jungle growth, is the *apu* of health.

The jungle is also a place of darkness, chaos and disorder where, hidden from the sun, plants grow wildly, twining about each other in a riot of confusion. In this way it represents, in Inca mythology, the benighted, disparate, and uncivilized tribes of the preceding era before the sunlit conquest by the civilized Incas who brought order to the world. Inca *q'eros* (painted wooden beakers), for example, generally depict all Inca enemies as jungle savages (*ch'unchos*) (Zuidema, pers. comm.).

Qoyllur Rit'i is thus the boundary (both the connecting and dividing point) between all of these elements; and its location is the ideal site for a *tinkuy*, the meeting of two opposed worlds:

II.3 *Ch'unchos & Collas; Quechuas & Aymaras*

The Inca Empire was divided into four quarters (*suyus*) with Cusco at the center. The ideal dividing lines ran on north-south and east-west axes, although the actual political and geographical boundaries differed from these. Qoyllur Rit'i's exact eastern location represents a symbolic division between the north-eastern quarter, Antisuyu, and the southeastern Collasuyu⁹. As such it is a *ritual* meeting place for the Antis and Collas who are represented by the two largest dance groups at the fiesta: the *wayri ch'unchos* and the *capac collas* (who are also the only ones with *ukukus*).

The *ch'unchos*, being the ancestors of the Quechua-speaking tribes of the *sierra*, represent the Quechuas (and, by extension, the Inca). The Quechuas and the Aymara-speaking Collas have been rivals for centuries. The Inca, although he several times conquered the Collas, was always subject to their rebellions. The Collas, living on the southern altiplano, were (and are) subject to famines which, traditionally, have

(7) Peter Getzels, who has spent many months in the Q'ero region, says that the people of Q'ero send half their contingent up to Qoyllur Rit'i and the other half down to a sacred spring in the jungle (pers. comm.) — emphasizing the fertilizing connection between *hanan* and *hurin*.

(8) Apu Colquepunku "tiene singular importancia en los procesos de curación de las enfermedades y el diagnóstico practicado por los Paqo mediante el proceso del *qollpasqa*, práctica en la cual el especialista hace hervir *qollpa* (carbonato de potasio) con la orina del paciente y diagnostica el mal" (Núñez del Prado: 78).

(9) On the *ceque-quipu*, which shows ideal (rather than actual) *ceques*, the beginning of the year, represented by the Pleiades' reappearance on June 9, is given a due east direction.

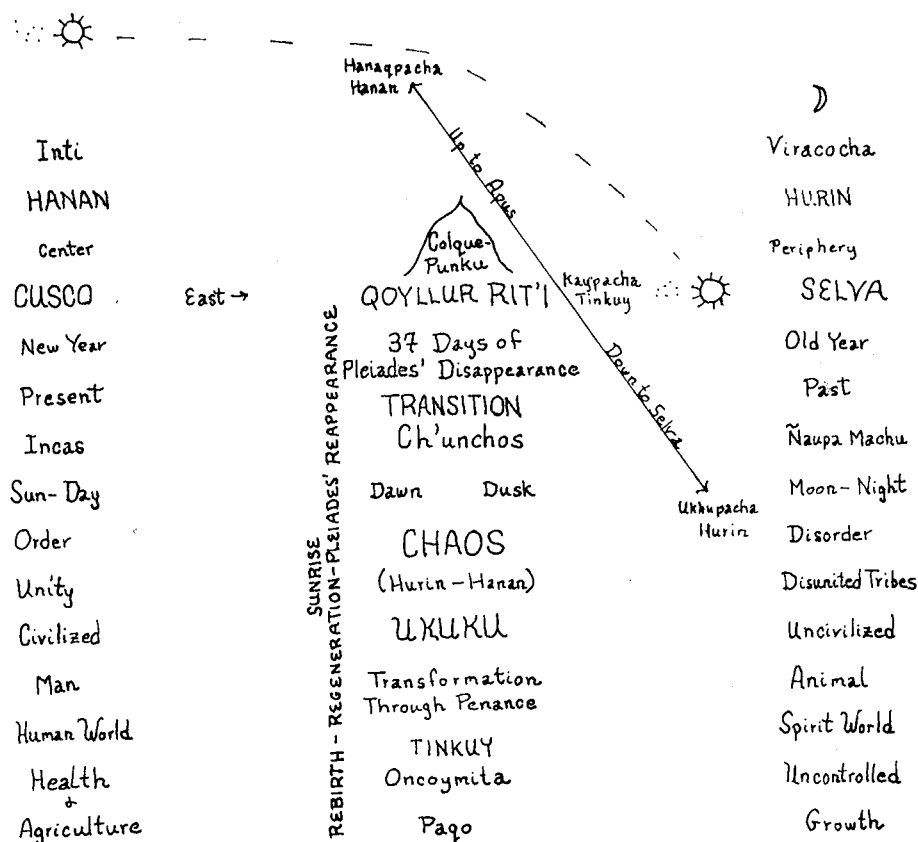


Figure 3. Qoyllur Rit'i

driven them north to search for better land. They have clashed and fought many times with the Quechuas. But although the Quechuas have fertile lands, the Aymaras have one advantage over them: they are better merchants and traders (it is for this reason that the *colla* dancers are called *capac* — 'rich'). The Quechuas depend upon them for trade, and the attendance of the *colla* at Qoyllur Rit'i strengthens this economic tie. There used to be in the plaza of Ocongate on Corpus Christi a ritual battle between the *ch'unchos* and the *collas* which the *ch'unchos* always won. The battle served, certainly, to maintain an equilibrium between the two groups and assure the Inca's superior (*hanan*) position to Collao.

When the *ukukus* climb the glaciers, those from the north (Paucartambo — *ch'unchos*) go up the left hand one and those from the south (Quispicanchis — *collas*) climb the right¹⁰. Quechua and Aymara symbolically meet on Colquepunku, and

(10) This is right and left looking up toward the mountain, but from Colquepunku looking down the *ch'unchos* climb the righthand glacier. Since *hanan* is right (and since, according to Guaman Poma, Antisuyu was *hanan* to Collasuyu),

both take back sacred waters (ice) to their people. Once again, the bond between the two is strengthened (all drink from a common, and sacred, font), but at the same time the two remain unequivocally separate:¹¹

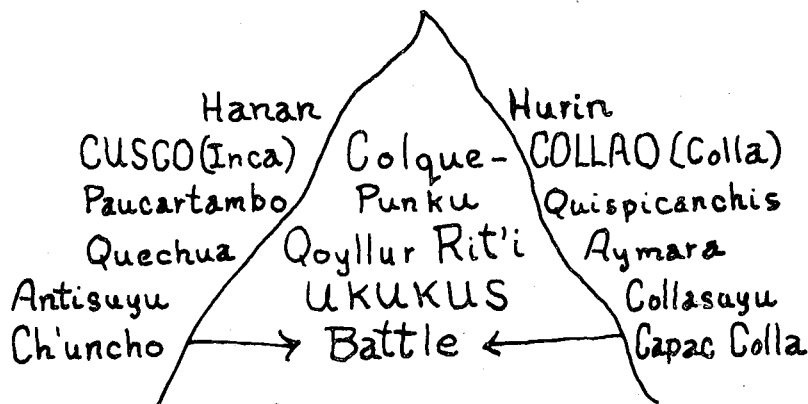


Figure 4.

II.4. *The Ukuku: Archetypal Intermediary*

The central figure at the fiesta of Qoyllur Rit'i is the *ukuku*. If Qoyllur Rit'i is a place of mediation by virtue of its geographical location, the *ukuku* is the living incarnation of mediation. The only bear in South America is the spectacled bear (*Ursus Ornatus*) which generally lives in the montaña — or *ceja de la selva* — the high jungle located just below the *puna* and above the selva. According to the people who live near them, the bears come out only at dawn or dusk (times, as we have seen, of transition) to steal crops. The bear is, therefore, an ecological mediator, in that it unites the *selva* with the *puna*, and also, by its habits, an intermediary between night and day. In addition, the bear lives in caves and thus connects this world (*kaypacha*) with the underworld (*ukhupacha*) and spirit world.

The bear, like the monkey¹², can walk upright, giving it an almost human appearance; and the *ukuku* dancer is a man-bear, linking the animal with the human world, the uncivilized with the civilized. One of the *ukuku's* functions at Qoyllur Rit'i is to keep order, but at the same time he is a constant jokester, adding to the chaos of the fiesta (he is a kind of Lord of Misrule). He is therefore the mediator between disorder and order — it is the *ukuku* who directs and orders the *ch'uncho* and *colla* dancers. He is also the one who brings the healing waters down from the *apu* and is thus central in the transformation from sickness to health.

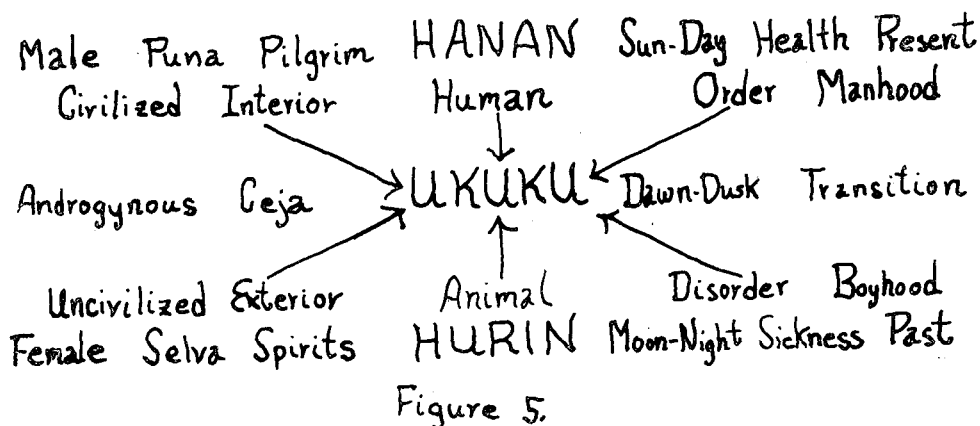
the *ch'unchos* maintain a *hanan* position to the *collas* — even though, geographically, the *collas* from the altiplano are in a *hanan* position. These reversals are further discussed in Part III.

(11) The emphasis on both unity and separation is one of the basic tenets of the Inca political and social organization — best symbolized in the concepts of *hanan* and *hurin*, which are dependent upon one another but must remain separate.

(12) The *capac ch'unchos* at the fiesta of the Virgin of Carmen in Paucartambo are accompanied by a dancer dressed as a monkey (*k'usillo*) who fulfills a similar role to that of the *ukuku* at Qoyllur Rit'i.

Traditionally, the *ukuku* is a young boy on the verge of manhood. His position is the first in the local *cargo* system, and his climb of the glacier can be seen as an initiation, or rite of passage, from boyhood to manhood (or from outsider to insider)¹³. The *ukuku* also speaks in a falsetto voice, uniting male and female elements¹⁴. Finally, we can see him as the intermediary between the past world and the present: as well as being connected to the *selva* and the underworld, he also intercedes for the *ch'unchos* (past mankind) in their dealings with the crowd (present mankind).

The *ukuku*, then, is androgynous, walking both in darkness and light, by the moon and by the sun. In this mediating role he is very important at Qoyllur Rit'i since it is a place that is fraught with danger. There, especially at dawn and dusk and during moonlit nights, *hanan* and *hurin* meet. Members of the spirit world, which should be *hurin*, can come to Qoyllur Rit'i (as a place of transition where *hanan* and *hurin* are confused) to regain powers they once had when they were *hanan*. This is true all year long, but it is even more so during the fiesta, the *Oncoymita*: *soq'a machu* (evil ancestors) wander about, sucking blood from babies and cohabiting with women in the guise of their husbands; *condenados*, as seen above, are likely to attack; the *ñak'aq* can cut open one's body to take out the grease to sell to the *mestizos*; etc.¹⁵ The *ukuku*, however, can intercede in all of these encounters to protect the peasant. It is for this reason that every community sends at least one *ukuku* to the fiesta:



(13) "Generalmente son adolescentes que bailan como *ukukus*, y por eso constituye un tipo de iniciación a los cargos más altos dentro de la jerarquía religiosa. Su rol de *iniciandi* se ve también en el *yawar mayu* donde dirigen la canción al *pauluchu* amonestándole a no llorar y a aprender. En este baile son los *ukuku* que azotan con más violencia; haciendo en muchos casos sangrear a su adversario, que siempre también es *ukuku* (Poole, 1981: 10n). The *paulucha* is a doll which represents the *ukuku* himself. Thus this initiation is also a civilizing process.

(14) Zuidema (1978) has studied the case of a young girl who was sacrificed in the *capac hucha* and then buried on a mountaintop in her native village. She came to be consulted as an oracle, prophesying through the mouths of her younger brothers (and their descendents) who would speak in a falsetto voice. Zuidema (pers. comm.) suggests that the falsetto is the voice *ultra tumba* — this is one more connection with the underworld (past). (Cf. Part. III on the connection between prophesy and all things *hurin*.) Since *hurin* is female and *hanan* male, the mediator between the two must be androgynous.

(15) For detailed information on the Andean spirit world, Cf. Nuñez del Prado (1969); Nuñez del Prado Béjar (1970); Casaverde Rojas (1970) and Marzal (1971).

Finally, the *ukuku* is the mediator between the people of the community and the *apus*. When they climb the glaciers the *ukukus* arrive at an altitude of 4800 meters at 3:30 in the morning. They then sit down and talk, pray and sing for two hours in unimaginably bitter cold. Why? I asked (as I stomped my feet). "Es una forma de penitencia, de sacrificio," I was told. For whom? "Para nosotros; para la comunidad"¹⁶. The *ukuku*, then, is the purifying force in the community. Through him the entire village is regenerated, receiving the healing waters. Only he, as mediator between two worlds, is able to accomplish the task:



Figure 6.

Mythologically, however, the *ukuku*, precisely because of his position between two worlds, is a condemned being since he belongs to neither world, just as is the *condenado* who is neither dead nor alive. Both are caught in a period of transition (chaos), having within themselves a confusion of *hanan* and *hurin*. In the story of the *ukuku* and *condenado* recounted above, the *ukuku*, because of his animal force and lack of civilization, is unable to live in human society. When he defeats the *condenado*, however, he not only saves himself but also the *condenado* (c.f. Arguedas & Ortiz, 230: "El *condenado* se salvará cuando alguien, mediante... fuerza sobrenatural como el hijo del oso, le dé la verdadera muerte"). The two transform each other, allowing the *ukuku* to become human and the *condenado* to find salvation¹⁷.

This relationship is emphasized by the *ukuku's* climb of the glacier. By carrying the block of ice back down he is reversing the action of the *condenado* who must carry ice up to the top of the snowpeak. By bringing the healing ice down to his community the *ukuku* is performing a penance which establishes his social relationship with the human world. Similarly, the *condenado* does penance by bringing the ice up to the *apu* and gains entrance into *Hanaqpacha*.

(16) The *ukuku* dances "porque quiere absolverse de sus pecados" (Gow & Condori: 89).

(17) This relationship between *ukuku* and *condenado* was first indicated to me by Deborah Poole (pers. comm.).

If we return to the Juan Oso-*ukuku* story, this mutual transformation can be seen to be connected to the return of the Pleiades. In it the *condenado*, after his defeat, tells Juan Oso to open the seven doors of adjoining rooms in his house in order to find his daughter and marry her. The *condenado's* house is described as "sin habitantes, pero con abundante alimentación" (Martínez y Martínez: 111). It is very much like a storehouse, and thus the seven rooms could be related to the Pleiades since *colca* (storehouse) was one of the names the Inca gave the Pleiades¹⁸. The time of the Pleiades' disappearance (chaos) is also the time that the corn is stored away. The return of the Pleiades (opening of the storehouses) signals the transition to the new year, a time of regeneration. In the Juan Oso story, therefore, the opening of the seven rooms means the transformation of both the *ukuku* and the *condenado*. Juan Oso becomes civilized (a prosperous, hardworking example for the community), while the *condenado* becomes a white dove and flies to heaven.

PART III

VIRACOCHA, PARIACACA & THE FUTURE

Qoyllur Rit'i as place and the *ukuku* as being are mediators between the past world of the *ñauca* and the "present" world of the Inca. However, we have seen that Gow & Condori stated that there are 'afloramientos' not only of the past but also of the future world in the present one. It is the purpose of this section to analyse the Inca concept of the future as it relates not only to past and present but also to geography and the god Viracocha. This argument is made in order to analyze another pre-Columbian fiesta, Auquisma, which is similar to Qoyllur Rit'i but which deals with the transition from the present world cycle to the next one.

III.1. *Viracocha, Inti and the Spacial Control of Time*

The Indian chronicler Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala tells us "como Topa Ynga Yupanqui hablaba con las uacas y piedras y demonios y sabía por suerte de ellos lo pasado y lo venidero de ellos y de todo el mundo y de como abían de venir españoles a gobernar y así por ello el ynga se llamó Huiracocha ynga..."

This statement should be carefully examined in terms of Inca mythology and history. Viracocha, the name that Tupac Yupanqui took when speaking to the *huacas*, was the name of the Inca creator god who arose out of Lake Titicaca and traveled north through Cusco spreading civilization throughout the Andes. Arriving at the coast (either Pachacámac or Puerto Viejo, Ecuador, according to the varying myths), he stepped out onto the ocean and walked across the waves. Viracocha (literally "the foam of the sea") was also the god of the ocean, and Zuidema (1964) argues that he was related to water, the coast and the jungle. He was thus connected with all things *burin* as opposed to Inti (the sun) who was *hanan* and associated with fire, the heavens and mountains.¹

Franklin Pease (1969, 1973), among others, has argued that the Inca sun religion developed late in Inca history and that Pachacuti's victory over the Chancas,² in which the sun turned the stones into soldiers, signalled the triumph of Inti over Viracocha. In this *pachacuti*, the solar world of Cusco became *hanan* and the past world of the earth-creator Viracocha *burin*.

(18) Zuidema & Urton quote T.S. Barthel ("Viracochas Prunkewand," *Tribus*, N° 20, Nov.) as suggesting that the name *qolqa* refers to the fact that the harvest is put away in granaries during the time that the Pleiades are invisible (102).

(1)* I rely here on Zuidema (1964) and Urbano.

(2) In Inca mythic history this victory signalled the beginning of the expansion from the center (under the dominion of Inti).

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Both Zuidema and Urbano have demonstrated that Viracocha was linked with all things "exterior" (also *hurin*) while *Inti* was associated with everything "interior" (*hanan*). Thus Urbano says that "La periferia cae bajo el señorío absoluto de Viracocha y la expansión del centro choca contra la fuerza de la periferia" (31). There emerges, then, a picture in which Cusco and the conquered empire was *hanan* as opposed to everything outside the empire (including the jungle and the ocean) which was *hurin*. Therefore we can say that every thing *known* (i.e., the controlled empire, the present world) was *hanan* and under the control of *Inti*, while everything *unknown* (i.e., outside the empire, the past and future worlds) was *hurin* and associated with Viracocha.

Viracocha was the god of past and future — he emerged from Lake Titicaca (the past) and walked out into the ocean (the future). It is for this reason that Túpac Yupanqui called himself Viracocha when talking to the *huacas* about the past and future. Zuidema says of him: "It was the spacial distance of existing *huacas* invisible but affecting his own existence, that allowed him to know things distant in time" (1978a:15). This suggests a basic reason for the expansion of the Inca Empire: control of space was also control of time³. East, as we have seen, was the direction of the past, while west (to the ocean) was the future. But southeast was also related to the past since there, in Lake Titicaca, Viracocha had his origins; and northwest was the future since Viracocha disappeared in that direction.

The *ceques*, as they extended out of sight in straight lines, were therefore extremely important since they related to control not only of space but also of time. Zuidema (1981a) has demonstrated that the *ceque* which went southeast from Cusco to Lake Titicaca, an aerial distance of some 300 km, was surveyed to be almost perfectly straight by using horizon points and the *huacas* located along the *ceque*. On June solstice, Inca priests walked this straight line as far as Vilcanota, ritualizing, in doing so, a 'control' over the past. As Zuidema says: "...long distance *ceques* are probably not the only possible means for an imperial government to organize the input of data on political organization [but]... In this way the Incas intended to control not only the unknown outside but also the unknown past and future" (1978a: 22-23)⁴.

(3) As mentioned above (Part II. 2) Inca *q'eros* depict the enemy as jungle savages (*ch'unchos*) since they are symbolic of all that is *hurin*, the unconquered lands. Thus in the Quechua drama *Ollantay*, General Ollanta's rebellion against Pachacuti is a rebellion of the Antis (*ch'unchos*). Pachacuti is identified with the sun, while Ollanta and Cusi Qoyllur are linked to the moon, stars, night and jungle (*hurin*).

(4) We can give some credence to Garcilaso's statement that "los Reyes Incas... ivan experimentando que, cuanto más se acercaban a la línea equinoccial, tanto menos sombra hasta la columna al medio día, por lo cual fueron estimando más y más las columnas que estaban mas cerca de la ciudad de Quito..." Concerning this Zuidema asserts that the Incas were looking for "el Axis Mundi que conecta la tierra con otros niveles cósmicos" (1978b: 322-23). This does not explain, however, why Huayna Cápac should have established his northern capital in Tumipampa rather than further north on the Equator. Another explanation might be extrapolated from the information of both Cabello Valboa and Sarmiento that Viracocha ended his mythological travels "donde es ahora Puerto Viejo y Manta" (Sarmiento: 13-14). This spot is considerably south of the equator, but a straight line drawn from Cusco through Mantas runs through Tumipampa and is very close to being the northeast extension of the southeast *ceque* from Lake Titicaca to Cusco. This one line, therefore, connects the past with the future as expressed by Viracocha's travels.

This identity between temporal and spacial distance is demonstrated in a contemporary Andean myth which affirms the future return of the Inca (Inkarri) because the "montañas lo han visto. Son las más altas, por eso ven más lejos y saben todo" (Ortiz R.: 132).

III.2 Huaylla Huisa, Pariacaca & Inca Prophecy

Hints of the manner in which the Inca dealt with the future can be found in the Quechua dance drama *La Tragedia de la Muerte de Atahualpa* which, according to Wachtel (1973a:70), dates back to the 16th century. In it the Inca Atahualpa's seer-prophet and high priest, Huaylla Huisa, "está constantemente acompañado de un actor revestido con una piel de oso" (41). Huaylla Huisa has a dream in which he foresees the coming of the Spaniards, and Wachtel says of him:

...el adivino desempeña un rol de mediación: entre los indios y los españoles (en su misión de Embajador), entre el presente y el porvenir (en tanto que es intérprete de los sueños), entre los dioses y los hombres (puesto que es igualmente sacerdote) (44-45).

It is therefore not surprising that he should be accompanied by a manbear, or *ukuku*, the archetypal Andean intermediary. Here we should emphasize the fact that Huaylla Huisa (and, by extension, the *ukuku*) are mediators "between the present and the future." Huaylla Huisa, after announcing that bearded men will arrive in iron boats, is sent out with the *ukuku* to a cliff overlooking the ocean to watch for the ships. There he has another dream of the Spanish arrival. The scene is certainly reminiscent of Qoyllur Rit'i.

Just as Qoyllur Rit'i is located on a high spot looking eastward over the *selva* (to the past world of the *ñauca machu*), so is Huaylla Huisa's site a high spot looking westward over the *mar* (to the future world of the Spanish Conquest). And in both cases the role of the *ukuku* as mediator is emphasized. Furthermore, in the play the connection is again made between Viracocha, the sea and the future. While Huaylla Huisa sleeps, Atahualpa evokes "...Viracocha, quien fue el primero en anunciar la venida de los hombres barbudos" (Wachtel:42)⁵.

If, then, Qoyllur Rit'i located due east of Cusco, were a fiesta celebrating the reappearance of the Pleiades and the transition from the past world to the present, could we not assume that there was a similar fiesta which marked the disappearance of the Pleiades and the transition from the present world to the future? If there were one, we would expect it to be located due west of Cusco (the direction of "decrecimiento y muerte"), and, since the Pleiades disappear around April 24, we would also expect it to occur near this date. Thus Zuidema believes that the fiesta of El Señor de los Temblores held now in Cusco on Holy Monday (a date which often falls near April 24) is probably the presentday continuation of that fiesta (pers. comm.) This is reinforced by Poole's statement that local *campesinos* believe that El Señor de Mollepata and El Señor de Inkilpata are brothers of El Señor de los Temblores (1978:7): both Mollepata and Inkilpata are almost due west of Cusco⁶.

(5) This is a reference to Viracocha Inca who, according to many chronicles, first dreamed of the Spanish arrival. It was the god Viracocha who gave him this dream, and this emphasizes Viracocha's connection with prophecy and the future.

(6) The eastern line runs through Pachatusan (see II.2n6.), site of the fiesta of Huanca. El Señor de Huanca is said to be brother to El Señor de Qoyllur Rit'i (c.f. Condori Mamani: 71).

The due western line runs through several important Inca sites, including Tilca (located on a high mountain overlooking the Apurimac River). During Sitwa, according to Molina, the Chinchaysuyu group threw the diseases into the Apurimac from this spot. Further on the line are the ruins at Curahuasi and Sahuite, site on the famous carved rocks, (one interpretation of the name Sahuite, or Saywayta, is "place of orientation": the rock looks out toward Tilea and

Unfortunately, data on the pre-Columbian origins of Temblores is scant. We can, however, still look elsewhere for another example, since we know from sources such as Molina that other Inca fiestas were simultaneously held "en todas las cabezas de provincias" (c.f. Urbano:20). And we also have the following statement from Albornoz:

Hay entre estas *guacas*... muy muchas que reedificaron los incas, dándoles muchos *mitimaes* servicios que para este fin los mudaban de unas provincias a otras. Dióles [el inga] muchos ganados y bases de oro y plata como fué en toda la cordillera que mira a el mar, en todo lo que conquistó en especial a cerros de nieve y bolcanes que miran a el mar... (in Zuidema, 1981b:10).

This once again implies that the Incas, in expanding the empire, were shifting space in order to conform it to their own religious and time-space patterns.: It also suggests, in light of the scene in which Huaylla Huisa looks out over the ocean, that there might have been Qoyllur Rit'i-type fiestas concerned with the disappearance of the Pleiades (and the transition to the future) which took place on or near snowpeaks with vistas to the sea.

And, indeed, Avila, in *Dioses y Hombres de Huarochirí*, informs us of just such a fiesta held near the snowpeak Pariacaca which overlooks the ocean.⁷ Zuidema argues that this fiesta, Auquisma, took place at the disappearance of the Pleiades (1981a:5-7). What is more, it was a fiesta related to death ("todos los que habían tenido muertos durante el año... se reunían". Avila:58) as opposed to Qoyllur Rit'i as a fiesta of rebirth. The similarities between the two rituals are numerous. The fiesta of Auquisma appears to have also been a night pilgrimage to the snow (in this case they carried their mummies with them): "...todos los hombres de todas partes iban hasta el mismo Pariacaca" (Avila:60). It was also a fiesta of fertility: "...todos... cumplen con las ceremonias porque si falten, dicen que se tornan estériles..." (61). The dancers, the *huacasa*,⁸ were young boys who represented their families, just as the *ukukus* are young boys who represent their villages, and both take on the role as a form of initiation rite. The *huacasa* danced in representation of the lives of the *yungas* who once lived in the *sierra* but were thrown down to the coast after a battle in which Pariacaca defeated Huallallo Carhuincho (the destruction of the past world). The *ch'unchos* dance in representation of the *ñaupa machu* who fled down to the jungle after Rowal created the sun (also the destruction of a past world).

Before the battle between Pariacaca and Huallallo Carhuincho, the *sierra* was tropical and under the control of the *yungas*; and before Rowal created the sun, the *ñaupa* lived in the *sierra* and had as much power as the *apus*. Both of these myths refer to *pachacutis* in which the world order was inverted, changing *hanan* to *hurin*.

and thus determines the exact direction of Cusco). The line then goes through the snowpeak Ampay, the ruins of Huaytará and Tambo Colorado and ends at the pre-Inca site of Tambo de Mora on the coast.

(7) That the Incas became involved in the fiesta is affirmed by Avila: "Cuando aparecieron los incas, también ellos asentaron a los huacasas y vivieron muy venerados" (82-83).

(8) Arguedas gives the word as *huacasa* while Lara uses *wajsa*. In contemporary Quechua *huacsa* is the eyetooth (fang) of an animal, and there might here be a relation to the *ukuku* (bear) or puma (which is a nocturnal animal and important in Andean mythology).

There is a similar myth related by Betanzos about the Incas. He says that the Huayllas were one of the original tribes which inhabited the Cusco valley. They cultivated chili peppers and coca (both tropical products) but were expelled to what are now tropical valleys by Manco Capac, principally through the witchcraft of his sister, Mama Huaco. Zuidema (1981b:8) interprets this story to mean that Cusco was tropical before the Inca arrival: The expulsion of the Huayllas was therefore another *pachacuti* which transformed *hanan* and *hurin*. Thus the *huayllas*, the *yungas* and the *ñaupa* all used to be *hanan* but now live in the lowlands (*hurin*); and all are associated with the past world (also *hurin* — the world before the Inca arrival). That they are also connected to Viracocha and the future world can be demonstrated through an indirect analysis of the nature of prophesy in the Inca priest class and its relation to some of the elements of Auquisma.

Guamán Poma says that when Túpac Yupanqui called himself Viracocha and spoke to the *huacas* about the past and future, he did so through the priests Huaylla Huisa and Cunti Huisa: "...y así de ellos [the *huacas*] sabían todo lo que pasaba en Chile y en Quito y de preguntar a estos supayconas [*huacas*-devils] tenía(n) oficio los hechiceros pontífices llamados contiuisa uallauisa" (F. 262)⁹. Associating the name Huaylla Huisa with the Huayllas,¹⁰ we see a connection between the priest and the past world (and also with all things *hurin*). The name Cunti Huisa (which Guaman Poma elsewhere refers to as "condehuisa" (F.183) also implies the same connection, since the name is associated with the southwestern quarter of the empire, Cuntisuyu (Condesuyu). Guamán Poma also tells us that Chinchaysuyu and Antisuyu were *hanan* to Collasuyu and Cuntisuyu; and that, within these, Antisuyu and Cuntisuyu were *hurin* to Chinchaysuyu and Collasuyu respectively. Thus, of the four *suyus*, only *Cuntisuyu* had no *hanan* status — it was unequivocally *hurin*.¹¹ Zuidema says that the "ideological-cosmological role of Cuntisuyu vis-a-vis the other

(9) The reference to Chile and Quito is, in the Inca space-time continuum, also a reference to past and future respectively.

(10) **Huaylla**, in contemporary Quechua, is a green grass similar to **ichu** but which grows in tropical regions near springs and rivers.

In Avila the word **huisa** seems to have something of the significance of a "soul". In Chapter 24 it is related that Chutacara Omapacha was a god who, "habiendo sido hombre, se enfrió y se convirtió en piedra y su 'huisa' tomó la forma de un pájaro" (110) Arguedas does not translate the word, but one wonders if it doesn't have some connection with the Inca's "**idolo-guoqui**" or the **ukuku's paulucha** (see below, IV.1.n2). Whatever, the term would certainly seem to pertain in some way to the spirit world and emphasizes the priest's connection with it.

In the modern Quechua of Ayacucho **huisa** means "twin". Avila gives the information that the birth of twins was considered a sign that a sin (**hucha**) had been committed, and the parents were forced to do penance. Since twins were sent by Pariacaca as a message ("a cambio de la muerte"), they were intermediaries between the gods and humans. This, of course, was also the role of the priest, and it should be noted that one of his major tasks was involved with purification and freeing the empire of its 'sins'.

(11) Zuidema (1977), in analysing the Inca binary system (**hanan-hurin**) and their tripartite divisions (**collana-payan-cayao**), presents a four-part model:

Hanan—Hanan=Collana
 Hanan—Hurin=Payan
 Hurin—Hanan=Cayao
 Hurin—Hurin=Caru

Thus Cuntisuyu is **caru** which is Quechua for "far away, distant" and applies to outsiders. This, of course, is the realm of Viracocha who "en términos de espacio pertenece al afuera, a las áreas inhabitadas" (Zuidema 1977:25).

three *suyus* can be understood in terms of the Andean pattern of a 3 to 1 opposition; an opposition corresponding closely to a relationship, respectively, of male and female characteristics" (1981a:18). Elsewhere he states that the nobles of Cuntisuyu "fueron como iniciandi permanente" and that "Cuntisuyu, como el último de los cuatro *suyus*, tenía un estatus a yanaconas o iniciandi," defining *yanaconas* as "sacerdotes-sirvientes en el templo del Sol" (1981b:12). Cuntisuyu, then, is related to the priest class, and also, since it is *hurin* and feminine, to the *huacas* ("divinidades siempre ctónicas, del subsuelo... que no sólo proveen de los elementos vitales y protegen la vida en todas sus formas, sino que sirven de intermediarias con las divinidades 'superiores'" (Pease, 1972:51)). That the Inca had seers known as Huaylla Huisa and Cunti Huisa emphasizes their role as mediators between *hanan* and *hurin*, between the present and both the past and future: both are from the *hurin* class but function within the *hanan* class, speaking to the *huacas* (*hurin*) about the past and future; and both are therefore identified with Viracocha.

The connection with the future in the fiesta of Pariacaca is established in several ways. Avila says that in the village of Surco, the *yungas* were represented by Huayllas (who were foreigners from the lowlands also known as the *yungas*, and, presumably, related in some way to the Huayllas of Cusco). Huayllas who married local women could maintain land and status in the community if they danced as *huacasa*. The Huayllas, like the priests from Cuntisuyu (and like Huaylla Huisa and Cunti Huisa), were thus identified with the lowlands (*yungas*, *hurin*, the past world) while maintaining a *hanan* status. Like the *huacasa*, they were *iniciandi*—intermediaries between *hurin* and *hanan*.

In the same manner the priest who instructed the *huacasa* was called *yañca* and was from the "ayllu de Cacasica, el último de sus seis ayllus y, como gente Yunga, el más pobre" (Zuidema 1981b:8). Zuidema, based on the dictionaries of Santo Tomás and Gonzales Holguin, translates *yañca* as a person of the lowest class, without value. He then quotes Gerald Taylor who makes the connection between *yañca* and the Quechua root word *yana* which means 'servant' and also 'black' or 'dark'. This relates back to the *yanacona* as servants of the sun. Taylor also mentions the anonymous Jesuit who speaks of the Cusco priest *yanavillca*, to which we should add Molina's "Indivianan (Intip yanan) que quiere decir siervo o esclavo del sol" (76). I would suggest, therefore, that the priest class, in as much as they were seers of the future, would necessarily have to have had a relation with the world of *hurin* (low, exterior, dark, female, past, future). They were thus people of the lowest class (*yañca* or *yana*, *huaylla* or *cunti*—all *hurin*) whose *hanan* status made them, like the *ukuku* and *ch'uncho*¹², mediators between the two worlds with access to knowledge of past and future.

(12) My argument here is based on Zuidema's research and his suggestion "que estudiemos el problema de Yañca— y así de Yunga y Huacsa— integrándole al problema más general de *yana*, como 'criado, ayudante,' de la clase *yanacona*, y del valor simbólico de la palabra *yana* como 'color negro u oscuro'" (1981b:12). The priest class, it seems, was *hurin* (lower, dark, feminine, hidden) to the military *hanan*, *sōlar*, masculine), but the priest as prophet was intermediary between the two.

Avila states that the Inca Tupac Yupanqui himself, in return for a favor on the part of Pariacaca's son Maqa Huisa, agreed to dance as *huacasa* in Jauja (105). I would here suggest that Maqa Huisa (like Huaylla Huisa and Cunti Huisa) is also in an intermediary position— between the Inca and Pariacaca. In this situation the Inca's status is *hurin* vis-a-vis Pariacaca, but in dancing as *huacasa* he is allowed a *hanan* position and is thus able to negotiate favors from the gods. Thus the Inca, too, is a kind of *iniciandi* and mediator.

We should thus understand why Pachacamac sent his son Llujllywakupa to protect the *yañca* (Avila, 1973:104). Pachacamac was the god from below—a *hurin* deity associated with the *yungas*, the sea and, inasmuch as he was the most respected oracle in the empire, the future. The Incas proclaimed, says Avila, that "...en el llamado Pachacámac, allí termina la tierra. Ya no debe haber, más allá, ningún pueblo, tampoco debe haber ningún resplandor" (99).

The "más allá," the end of the known world, the future —this is the realm of Viracocha who is therefore identified with Pachacámac. Pachacámac is Quechua for "Creator of the Earth"; and Pease (1973) states that "Rafael Karsten había llegado a la conclusión de que ambas palabras (Wiraqocha y Pachacámac) podrían significar dos nombres diferentes de la misma divinidad" (34). That the snowpeak Pariacaca looks westward not only toward the sea but down to Pachacámac reinforces the idea that the fiesta Auquisma, related as it was to death and the disappearance of the Pleiades, was also related to the transition from the present world cycle to the future. Thus Guamán Poma gives us the information that when Huayna Cápac burned "todas las uacas menores salváronse las mayores dicen que Pariacaca respondió que ya no había lugar de hablar ni gobernar porque los hombres que llaman uiracocha habían de gobernar..."¹³ (F. 262).

We can therefore venture to place Auquisma in our previous schemata (C. f. figure 7).

Note to figure 7

The above model presupposes a conceptual unity between past and future. They are both *hurin*, and both are governed by similar laws. Thus, in contemporary Andean mythology, the *ñauya machu* (past) are believed to be awaiting their time of return to control of the world (future); and they have most power at dawn and dusk (times of transition—chaos—when *hanan* and *hurin* are confused: c.f. Núñez del Prado B.: 83 and Casaverde R.: 155). However, the cyclical nature of the change from one world cycle to another means not that the next world will be a return to the old but that there will be similarities in structure between the two.

(13) It appears that, in the mythology of Huarochirí, Cuniraya Viracocha was to be the god of the world to follow that of Pariacaca (as well as the god of the first world). In Chapter 14 of Avila, Cuniraya warns the Inca of the coming of the Spaniards (*viracochas*).

Cuniraya is definitely connected to the god Viracocha: he walked through the world ("anduvo, vagó") creating by word ("Con solo hablar conseguía hacer concluir andenes"). He is also a fertility god (impregnating the huaca Cavillaca) and is associated with the sea (entering the ocean "la hizo hinchar, aumentar").

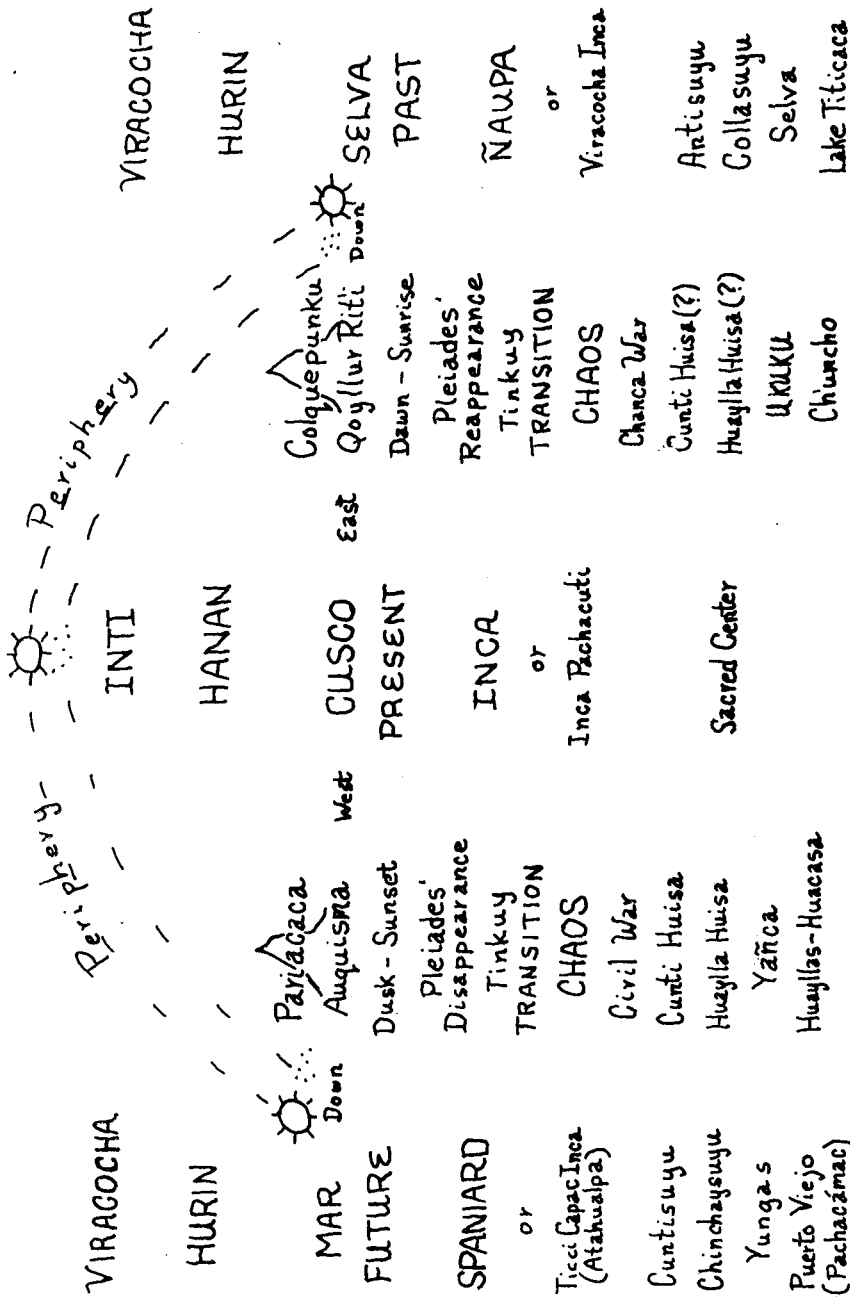


Figure 7. Pariacaca - Qoyllur Riti

PART IV:

ATAHUALPA, VIRACocha & INKARRI

In this section it is suggested that Atahualpa's war with Huascar was a period of transition from a world dominated by Inti to a new one under the dominion of Viracocha. This transition was interrupted by the Spanish conquest and never completed. The numerous Andean messianic movements of the past 450 years have been based on the belief that this period of chaos would come to an end and a new world order established under Viracocha (in the Taqui Oncoy movement this was symbolized as a return of the Pleiades). Thus we will see that, in contemporary Andean mythology, Inkarrí, the once and future king of the Andes, is a fusion of the Inca and Viracocha; and we will look at the possibility that Qoyllur Rit'i is a ritualization of the Inkarrí mythology.

IV. 1. *The Chaotic Transition: Atahualpa as "Renovador del Mundo".*

Although the past world of the *ñaua machu* is said, in relation to the Inca world, to be uncivilized, it cannot be considered to be disorderly chaos (any more than can any of the past worlds). The world of the *ñaua* maintained its own kind of ordered structure under the light of the moon. The *ñaua's* defiance of Rowal, however, brought on a period of chaos before the new order, revolving around the Inca, was established. Similarly, the period of transition from the time that the brothers Ayar came out of Tampusotoco through Manco Capac's war with the Huayllas was a time of chaos until Manco established his people in Cusco. And the war with the Chancas was another period of chaos (during which Viracocha Inca fled from Cusco and his title was disputed by his sons) until Pachacuti won the victory and set about re-ordering Cusco and the empire according to the logic of the sun-god Inti. In the same manner the 37 days of the Pleiades' disappearance in the Inca calendar was a period of chaos until the new year's newly ordered astronomical calculations could be put into effect.¹

Ossio, in his analysis of Guamán Poma, defines the chaotic nature of the transition; "...la imagen que Guamán Poma tiene del desorden de su mundo es dada principalmente por la fusión de los principios de 'Hanan' y 'Hurin.' El orden solo se restauraría manteniendo a ambos principios separados" (1973b: 187). As has been pointed out the Inca was attempting to control the Andean world cycles (which are as natural to Andean thought as linear time is to the Western mind) through the conquest and

(1)* In contemporary Andean mythology, times of transition are also chaotic. Thus in daily life the transitions from light to dark (dawn and dusk) are particularly dangerous times when spirits of the past world have the most power. These spirits are also very much in evidence during Qoyllur Rit'i which ritualizes the transition from night to day (from one year to the next; from one world to the next). Perhaps one reason people stay up all night dancing and singing is to ward off these spirits; and it should be noted that the *ukukus* (who are protection against these forces) never sleep at night.

transformation of space. The nature of these cycles, however, allows for only one major control point: the transition, when *hanan* and *burin* are confused and the new order is not yet solidified. Whoever can take power at this moment will be able to define and direct the coming world cycle (which is exactly what Pachacuti did). However, control can only be had within the structural laws of the new epoch, and whoever is to rule must do so in accordance with these laws. It is because the transitions are seminal that fiestas such as Qoyllur Rit'i and Auquisma, which ritualize the control of these periods, are so important.

The war between Atahualpa and Huascar was another time of chaos, a *pachacuti* which would have led to a new world order for the Inca (Cf. Guamán Poma who calls this the time of *pachacutiruna* and says that it is "TIEMPO DE CONTRADICCION entre dos hermanos" (F. 389)). An analysis of this era should therefore provide insights into the means by which the Inca attempted to control the world order.

In *Los Ultimos Incas del Cusco*, Franklin Pease argues that Huayna Capac's prolonged absence from Cusco and his establishment of another capital in Tumipampa (Ecuador) caused a schism between the religious and military leaders of the two centers. The civil war which followed Huayna Capac's death was therefore inevitable—the worst disaster for the empire since the Chanca invasion. Pease asserts, however, that this war was more ritual than actual and cites a myth related by the Jesuit chronicler Juan Anello Oliva in which Atahualpa escaped from his prison in Tumipampa:

"De esta fuga inventaron los indios aquella fábula que se quente entre ellos, que como este Atahualpa descendiese por línea recta de aquel famoso Ynca Amaro se encomendó a él, y convirtiéndole en culebra le sacó por un agujero pequeño de la pared y que luego buuelto en su forma y figura natural se auía ydo a Quito" (in Pease, 1972:60).

From this Pease argues that Atahualpa thus became a "solar" hero since Amaru Túpac Inca "había tenido que ver con la implantación del culto solar, según las crónicas y que, de todas maneras, está íntimamente ligado al arquetipo solar Pachacuti" (102). He concludes that Atahualpa's transformation predetermined his victory over Huascar.

Pease's reasoning is tenuous at best since *amaru* means snake (*culebra*), and Pease himself states that "*el amaru es una divinidad del subsuelo*" (59, Pease's emphasis). This fact would link Amaru Túpac Inca to Viracocha, and not Inti, as Urbano makes clear:

Durante el reino de Túpac Inca Yupanqui, que se apoderó del trono destinado a Amaru Túpac Inca, hubo una hambruna de 7 años. Túpac Inca estaba ausente y Amaru Túpac, que no deseó el poder sino "se aplicaba a las chacaras y a sus edificios, distribuía los alimentos que producían sus tierras de Callacacha y Lucricchullo. Dicen, que de su chacara jamás se apartaban nubes, llubiendoles siempre en anocheciendo, y así dizen que no cayeran yelos; milagro de nunca creer. Y desto que la gente los querrian adorar, y el dicho Amaru Ttopaynga no los consiente a que hiziesen el tal negocio contra el Hazedor, que antes los humillaba a los pobres, dándoles de comer en los dichos siete años de hambre..." (Santacruz Pachacuti, 1968:301). Está clara la relación que existe entre el nombre Amaru y la agricultura; también está relacionado con Viracocha, dado que Amaru Túpac se niega a ocupar el sitio del que cree ser "el Hazedor". Otro indicio de que amaru es el símbolo terrestre de Viracocha, lo encontramos en el hecho de que... *amaru*

(es) *el idolo-guaogui* ² de Viracocha. It would seem, then, that Atahualpa, far from being a representative of Inca (39).

Inti, was actually associated with Viracocha. It is therefore tempting to look at the war between Atahualpa and Huascar as a battle between Viracocha (Tumipampa-exterior-*hurin*) and Inti (Cusco-interior-*hanan*). There is evidence, however, to suggest that the collapse of the solar center was viewed as inevitable by both sides and that both Atahualpa and Huáscar looked to Viracocha for support.³

As seen above, Guamán Poma stated that Túpac Inca Yupanqui had already been informed by the *huacas* of the coming of the Spaniards — the *viracochas*. If there is any historical truth to this, it probably meant that the ruling class was by then already aware of (or planning) the coming of a new world cycle under the dominion of Viracocha ⁴. Thus Huayna Capac (whose given name was Inti Cusi Huallpa) would have been the last solar ruler — which Pease (1972), Urbano and Zuidema (1977) all consider him to have been — and the priest class (prophets) would already have advised of the coming world order, with both factions identifying with Viracocha. A story related by Pedro Pizarro tends to corroborate this view point. He says that when Huayna Capac was sick, messengers were sent to “Pachacama a preguntar que harían para la salud de Guaina Capa; y los hechizeros que hablaban con el demonio le preguntaron a su ydolo, y el demonio habló en su ydolo y les dixo que le sacasen al sol, y luego sanaría. Pues haziéndolo así fue a la contra: que en poniéndolo al sol murió este Guaina Capa” (49). Given the aforementioned identification of Pachacamac with Viracocha, this story is an allegory of the end of the solar world cycle and the beginning of a new one related to Viracocha.

Sarmiento tells us that Huascar also identified himself with Viracocha. He was responsible, for example, for the building of Amarucancha (54). He also killed those Incas of *Hanan* Cusco who went to Tumipampa upon Huayna Capac's death and returned without Atahualpa: “Publicamente dijo Huascar que el... se apartaba de la parentela... de los Hanancuzco, porque de ellos era Atahualpa...” (54). This suggests that Huascar, who had most assuredly been a member of Hanan Cusco, purposefully dissociated himself from it (“se apartaba de la parentela”) in order to identify himself with Hurin Cusco and, by extension, Viracocha (Atahualpa was doing the same by referring to himself as a direct descendent of Tupac Amaru Inca, also of *hurin* lineage). Huascar emphasized this by having a priest of Viracocha Inca's descendency place the royal fringe: “...era Sacerdote mayor de sus Ydolos en aquella sazón Chalcuyupanqui de el linage y decendencia de Viracocha Ynga, y este le puso la borla al Huascar...” (Cabello Valboa: 395). Thus, when Huascar was captured by Atahualpa he directed his orations to Viracocha and not to Inti: “*Viracocha*, tu que por tan poco tiempo me favoreciste y me honrarte y diste ser...” (Sarmiento: 60). ⁵

(2) According to Cobo every Inca had an **idolo-guaogui**, or brother-idol, which received a house and food and was consulted during wars. There would seem to be some relation between the Inca's **idolo-guaogui** and the **ukuku's paulucha**.

(3) Thus the war between them, in which hundreds of thousands were killed, would be more than the ritualized violence that Pease suggests.

(4) It seems unlikely to me that the Incas were unaware of the arrival of the Europeans. By the time of Pizarro's conquest the Spaniards had already been around for 40 years and had explored the entire eastern coast of Central and South America; and one Portuguese, Aleixo Garcia, had even done battle with the Incas in Bolivia.

(5) Cabello Valboa has Huascar say almost the same words: “Apoc, Pachayachachiz, Viracocha, Ticci, o hazedor, y sabidor de todas las cosas, tu que me diste el ser, para ser tan poco...” (463).

Atahualpa and Huascar both purposefully associated themselves with Viracocha. Victory for either side would therefore have meant a *pachacuti* in which Inti was replaced by Viracocha, and Atahualpa was certainly aware of his role in the new world order. According to the *Relación de la Descendencia, Gobierno y Conquista de los Incas* (which was a transcription of interviews with Inca *quipucamayocs*), when Atahualpa's generals Quisquis and Chalcuchima arrived in Cusco they "mataron todos los quipucamayos que pudieron haber a las manos y les quemaron los 'quipus', diciendo que *de nuevo habian de comenzar (nuevo mundo)* de Ticcicapac Inga" (20, my emphasis).

As was Pachacuti, Atahualpa was the bringer of a new order to the world. His new title, Ticci Capac Inca, was certainly a reference to Ticci Viracocha. According to Cabello Valboa, the name means "señor de los últimos fines de la tierra" (460), and we can relate this to Viracocha as god of all things exterior, the periphery. The title also referred to Atahualpa's new role as founder of a new world: according to Pierre Duviols "ticci" means "origen," as in "fundación, o fundador, de linaje" as well as "la realidad... concreta, espacial o temporal, de extremidad o cabo" (59).

That Atahualpa's victory over Huascar signaled a new world order to replace the sun-centered world organized by Pachacuti is made clear by the actions of his victorious general Quizquiz in Cusco. According to Cabello Valboa (who identified Tupac Yupanqui as Pachacuti,⁶) Quizquiz "hizo sacar el cuerpo de el buen Topa Ynga yupanqui [Pachacuti], arrastrando por las calles; fue llevado con yncreyble vituperio, a Rocromoca, y allí lo mando quemar" (464). Quizquiz then called all of the Incas of Pachacuti's lineage to Sacsayhuaman to explain the burning: "y por no poder hazer otra cosa, acudieron todos a el lugar diputado, y juntos allí, los hizo contar, y hallaronse casi mill personas, de el estirpe, y linage de el afrentado Topa Ynga [Pachacuti], y otros más de mill entre los criados y servidores, que auian sido de sus nietos, y hijos, y a todos los mando matar..." (ibid:464).

Atahualpa, in order to found a new lineage under Viracocha, had to destroy Pachacuti's solar lineage. He had to set about ordering the chaos that was the result of the civil war, the transition from the old world to the new. As the new Inca he was the 'Principio Unificador' (Ossio's phrase, 1973:200), just as Ticci Viracocha was the "Gran Ordenador" (Duviols, 1977:58); and, as was Pachacuti, he was also the new "Renovador del Mundo."

Although we don't know what would have happened had not the Spanish arrived, we can speculate that Tumipampa (or perhaps Quito), being in the North and close to the place from which Viracocha disappeared and was expected to return, would have become *hanan* to the *burin* of Cusco (c.f. Cieza: Atahualpa went to the Cañari to tell them that he wanted "them all as friends and kinsmen and to make of Quito another Cuzco" (82)). And Viracocha would have become, of course, *hanan* to Inti. The immediate chaos of the transition was due to the confusion of *hanan* and *burin* during this period. Thus, Atahualpa's first act in eliminating the confusion was to destroy Pachacuti's mummy (which was a solar idol) and all of his lineage — all of those who would have continued to think of themselves as *hanan*. Atahualpa's "cruelty" in killing all of Huascar's wives and children must also be seen in this light. The new Inca of the new world had to set about ordering the chaos as quickly (and as expediently) as possible.

(6) "Este Topa Yngayupangui... renovo la tierra, y la redujo a nueva manera de bivar, y ansi... fue llamado Pachacuti (que quiere decir buelta de el Mundo) y algunos escriptores nuestros... an añedido otro de este nombre... [pero] lo verdad y lo cierto es lo dicho que Topa Ynga Yupangui, y Pachacuti es todo uno..." (Cabello Valboa: 339).

The task before him was tremendous since it meant completely restructuring an Inca world which had existed for 100 years. He had to re-create the cosmos created by Pachacuti. Thus, after burning Pachacuti's mummy, he killed the *quipucamayocs* and burned their *quipus*, destroying all record of the solar world. Presumably, he would have had to begin "rewriting" history for the new world under Viracocha (and, presumably, Pachacuti had done the same when he came into power).⁷ The world was to be turned upside down, and *hanan* and *hurin* to be re-identified.⁸

The Spaniards, however, stepped into the middle of this transitional chaos. They had the amazing fortune to arrive from the Ecuadorian sea (establishing their first city in Puerto Viejo (Cabello Valboa:443) — the spot from which Viracocha walked out into the ocean); and Atahualpa "se conforto, con dezir y hazerse creer, que aquellos forasteros deuian ser mensajeros de el Viracocha y en este lugar y paso fue adonde a los Espanoles se les puso el nombre de Viracocha" (Cabello Valboa:466). There is little reason to disbelieve this since it is mentioned in so many of the chronicles. Thus Sarmiento tells us that Viracocha, before stepping out to sea at Puerto Viejo, told the people he had created that he "en los tiempos venideros les enviaría sus mensajeros, para que los amparasen y enseñasen" (14). Since Atahualpa was reordering the world under Viracocha, he probably wasn't unduly surprised that Viracocha's *mensajeros* came back at that time. He thus allowed them passage to Cajamarca and received them unarmed.⁹

IV. 2. *Taqi Oncoy & the Return of the Pleiades*

It is common to refer to the Conquest as a *pachacuti* which thrust the ordered world of the Inca underground and left the disordered chaos of the Spanish reign in a *hanan* position. As we have seen, however, it is more accurate to say that the Conquest interrupted Atahualpa's attempt to reorder the world and left

(7) The chronicles tell us that Pachacuti instituted the *quipucamayoc* system for keeping historical records and also had paintings made of historical events. We can assume that Pachacuti also "rewrote" history: the records that are left us cannot, therefore, be taken factually, but only symbolically in terms of Pachacuti's solar world view.

(8) Sarmiento relates how Atahualpa destroyed the oracle of Huamachuco: "Salió un viejo de más de cien años, vestido hasta el pie, muy velludo y lleno de conchas de la mar, que era el sacerdote... Y... Atahualpa... alzó la alabarda y dióle un golpe, de que le cortó la cabeza. Entró en la casa del ídolo, al cual también derribó la cabeza a golpes, aunque era de piedra. Luego hizo quemar al viejo, ídolo y casa suya. Hízolo todo polvos y mándolos volar por el aire. Y allanó el cerro, aunque era muy grande, donde estaba aquel oráculo e ídolo, o *huaca*, del diablo" (55).

Given that the oracle was a sanctuary, as were most oracles, of Viracocha (the priest in charge dressed in seashells, and the *huaca* was located in "Viracochapampa" (Cieza: 101)), this incident would seem to put Atahualpa on the side of *Inti*. However, if we analyze the story we see the opposite. The cutting off of heads and the leveling of mountains are allegories for the change from *hurin* to *hanan* which Atahualpa was instituting. Thus this temple of Viracocha is also transformed from *hurin* to *hanan*: it is a water and earth sanctuary that is burned (transformed to fire) and made to fly through the air.

(9) We can speculate that the baths of Cajamarca were dedicated to Viracocha (as the god associated with water) and that this was the reason that Atahualpa chose to meet the Spaniards there. Cf. Sarmiento: "Y Atahualpa, cuando supo que estaban cerca los *viracochas*, salió de Cajamarca y fuese a unos baños que estaban a media legua de allí..." (6).

it in a state of transition (a chaos "dada principalmente por la fusión de los principios de 'Hanan' y 'Hurin'"). The Indians expected the Spanish to rectify this situation — especially as they were believed to be "mensageros de Viracocha."¹⁰ However, the Spanish attitude toward Andean customs and their own civil wars proved that they were not fulfilling their role. The chaos thus demanded a new "Principio Unificador" (Guamán Poma directed his *Nueva Corónica* to the Spanish king Philip III, asking him, as heir to the Inca's power, to take over this position (c.f. Ossio, 1973b: 187-207)). In other words, the world, since Huayna Capac's death had been, and remains, in a period of transition (a time of chaos) — the new order has never come into being. Stefano Varese, in speaking of the present-day Campas in the jungle, makes this clear: "Los blancos son el caos pre-cosmogónico y el caos del final de cada ciclo cósmico" (135).

We should therefore look at post-Conquest rebellions in light of the continuation of Atahualpa's attempt to establish a new world order under the influence of the creator-god Viracocha. Thus it makes symbolic sense that Manco Inca set up his rebellious state in the jungles of Vilcabamba (*hurin*) and that the last Inca was named Túpac Amaru.¹¹ And thus Juan Santos took Atahualpa's name and based his rebellion against the Spanish in the jungle among the Campas. It is also not insignificant, as Ossio has pointed out, that José Gabriel Condorcanqui took the name Túpac Amaru II, nor that Bolivia's rebel leader called himself Topa Khatari (the Aymara equivalent of Túpac Amaru) (1973a:XXVI). "Los *amaru*," says Urbano, "...son el símbolo de la rebelión y del cuestionamiento del poder central" (41).¹²

In terms of the fiesta of Qoyllur Rit'i the period of chaos since the civil war between Huascar and Atahualpa is the *Oncoymita*, time of sickness, and, symbolically, the time of the disappearance of the Pleiades. After the Spanish arrival, the "time of sickness" became very real with widespread epidemics of smallpox, measles and other European diseases which decimated the previously unexposed Indian population but did not seriously affect the Spaniards. One Indian response to these plagues

(10) The confusion as to whether or not the Spaniards were actually *viracochas* was probably the principal reason for the success of the Conquest. This would explain some of the senseless tactical errors of Atahualpa's generals and also why Huascar's forces allowed the Spaniards to enter the Coricancha and desecrate it (a right which Viracocha certainly had under the new world order). C.f. Cieza: "As these Spaniards reached Cuzco at the time that Huascar's followers were suffering the aforementioned calamity, when they learned of Atahualpa's capture, they rejoiced, as can be imagined, and then, with earnest entreaty, they implored the help of the Spaniards against Atahualpa, their enemy, saying they had been sent by the hand of their mighty god, Tici-Viracocha, and that they were his sons, and for this reason they called and gave them the name of Viracocha. And they gave orders to the high priest and all the other ministrants of the temple that the sacred women were to remain in it, and Quizquiz turned over to them all the gold and silver" (30).

Titu Cusi, son of Manco Inca II, insists that his father believed the Spaniards to be sons of Viracocha: "Creía que eran benefactores, enviados por aquel que ellos decían ser Tesci Viracochan..." Once he became disabused of this notion he led a rebellion during which the Indians actually won most of the battles, finally being defeated due to massive reinforcements on the Spanish side.

(11) Sarmiento, at the end of his chronicle, says that Túpac Amaru was *uti-impotent*. There is no evidence that he was weak or effeminate as had been asserted. It is probably more accurate to make a connection between these adjectives and the overall philosophical concept of *hurin*.

(12) On the Inca walls in Cusco carved snakes are common on those constructed after the Conquest, but practically nonexistent on those built before. Surely these snakes stand as a symbol of the coming of a new world under the Inca and Viracocha.

was the movement called Taqi Oncoy which took place from 1565 to 1570. Taqi Oncoy is the Dance of Sickness, but it also means the Dance of the Pleiades (c.f. Wachtel: "Conservamos la ortografía de los textos del siglo XVI, la expresión significa, literalmente, 'canto' o 'Danza de las Pléyades' (1973b:136).¹³

The adherents of the movement had to fast (avoiding salt, chili peppers and sexual intercourse) and take purifying baths. They had to renounce all things Catholic or else they would be struck by illness. Converts to Taqi Oncoy became possessed by *huacas* and danced in a frenzy until they themselves became gods, breaking with their previous lives. They said that the *huacas* were once again taking control of the world and that they would send floods, plagues and illnesses to destroy the Spaniards. In the end there would be a unification of the *huacas* Titicaca and Pachacamac, and the world would return to the "time of the Incas."

The abstinence and purification rites, the relationship between health and illness, the dancing and the change from the old world to the next all recall Qoyllur Rit'i. So does the fact that the rites of Taqi Oncoy were held on the tops of mountains on full moon nights: one of the leaders of the movement "una noche de luna llena, condujo a más de dos mil indios sobre la cima de una montaña sagrada y allí para demostrar los inmensos poderes de los cuales se hallaba investido, hizo llover, nevar y temblar la tierra según su mandato" (Curatola:70).

Taqi Oncoy, the Dance of the Pleiades, announced an end to the chaos (the *Oncoymita*) in which "el Dios cristiano termina su *mita*, su turno de mando" (Wachtel:220). Both Qoyllur Rit'i and Taqi Oncoy involve dances to bring back the Pleiades (their *mita*) — meaning a return to health and the establishment of a new order to the world.

Pease (1972) notes that the leaders of Taqi Oncoy emphasized the *huacas* while making no mention of Inti, and he concludes that this is proof that the Inca sun religion was not very deeprooted. However, if the new world were to be organized under Viracocha, it is logical that the important gods would be the *huacas* and not Inti. There was a stringent relationship between the *huacas* and Viracocha: a seen above (cf. III.2), Tupac Yupanqui took the name of Viracocha when speaking to the *huacas*; and the leaders of Taqi Oncoy asserted that the *huacas* "habían hecho a los indios, y a este tierra" (Molina in Curatola:82). The concept of the unification

(13) Speaking of Andean messianic movements, Espinoza Soriano states: "Es muy interesante la periodicidad cronológica con que sucedieron estos movimientos en el siglo XVI y también en el XVII... Cada treinta años más o menos, se caves of Tamputoco (a hurin ochonic origin), they symbolically came with the Inca names for the Pleiades was *colca*, or storehouse (see above, II.4), we can vinieron repitiendo hasta 1656-1660..." (145). Huayna Capac's death is given variously as 1524 to 1526, after which there were several years of peace until the civil war broke out. Thus the beginning of the period of chaos was somewhere around 1528. Taqi Oncoy began in 1565 — 37 years later. Is there, then, a relation between these 37 years of chaos and the 37 days of chaos on the Inca calendar?

Zuidema (1964) states:

"Según nos informa Montesinos, cada uno de los mundos anteriores habían tenido una duración de mil años. Cada período, llamado Capac Huatan o Intip Huatan, fue dividido por los Inca en períodos de cien años cada uno, y estos a su vez en períodos de diez años cada uno" (12).

The date for Pachacuti's coronation is generally given as 1438, but the war with the Chancas could have taken place several years earlier, leaving a gap of almost 100 years between Pachacuti and Atahualpa.

The Spanish garroted Atahualpa on the 26th of July, 1533, and Manco Inca began his rebellion on the 26th of April, 1536 — exactly 1000 days later. This seems less coincidental when we remember that Manco's co-conspirator was the high priest Villaoma.

of the *huacas* Titicaca and Pachacamac is conceivably a specific reference to Viracocha who came out of Lake Titicaca and, according to the local myths of Huarochiri, walked out to sea from Pachacamac (as noted above, III. 2.), Viracocha was identified with Pachacamac). The union of these two *huacas* would therefore symbolize the union of past and future — both worlds organized under Viracocha.

Thus, in Taqi Oncoy, Inti is eclipsed by the new world dominion of Viracocha. It is a world, however, which is still linked to "the time of the Incas" and which has nothing to do with the Spaniards or Christianity — a world heralded by the Pleiades' symbolic reappearance.

IV. 3. *Inkarri as Viracocha*

Every world order has its king, or Unifying Force, and its divinity: "...cada humanidad está ligada a un dios distinto, opuesto pero unido por filiación a la deidad de otra humanidad" (Ossio, 1973b:243). During the transition, however, "el mundo está al revés, porque ya no hay ni dios ni rey" (Guaman Poma:F.289). This is chaos, when no one is in control, when *hanan* and *hurin* are confused, when no new world order has been established. During the war between Atahualpa and Huascar, there was no ruling god and no ruling Inca. The Spaniards were first welcomed as messengers of Viracocha, but instead they brought a different God, one who was impotent to organize the new world. So the Indians expected a day when both the Inca and Viracocha would return. And many still do expect it. In contemporary Andean mythology, the god that is expected (Viracocha) and the king (the Inca) are fused into one: Inkarrí.

The myth of Inkarrí is widespread and with enough variations to make an analysis difficult (compounded by the confusion of Inca, Andean and Catholic elements), but there is enough consistency to draw some conclusions.¹⁴ Although Inkarrí is often said to be the son of the sun, he is not a solar hero. The fact, mentioned so many times in the legends, that he was able to tie down the sun and stop it in the sky shows him to be a more powerful deity than Inti. He is therefore associated with Viracocha who "al sol mando que anduviese por el curso que anda" (Betanzos in Ortiz R.:80). Inkarrí, in other myths, "creó todo lo que existe" (Arguedas y Roel P.:223). Viracocha called men forth from springs, caves, lakes and the insides of mountains; when Inkarrí came from Cusco, "Ibamos surgiendo, de pueblo en pueblo" (Ortiz R.:138). Like Viracocha, Inkarrí walked through the Andes, fertilizing the soil: "Tenía sus piecitos ensangrentados de tanto caminar. Los pueblos, los hombres mezclando su sangre con la tierra, aprendimos a cultivar..." Inkarrí's wife also spread culture: "En los pueblos donde llegaban, ella cocinaba, hilaba, hacía chicha. Nadie sabía nada, fue la esposa del gran Inka la que nos enseñó primero" (Ortiz R.:138-39). In Inca mythology it was Viracocha who was responsible for teaching the art of weaving throughout the Andes.¹⁵

But Inkarrí's head was cut off by Españarrí (or Pizarro or El Presidente or Sucristus) at which time "la Luna y el Sol se juntaron, el toro y el Amaru. El mundo avanzó. La Tierra tembló y la cabeza de Inkarrí la escondió su hermano [Españarrí]" (Ortiz R.:139). Here again there is a *pachacuti* (la Tierra tembló) and

(14) For this discussion I use the various Inkarrí myths transcribed in Gow & Condori, Ortiz Rescaniere, Ossio (1973a), and Pease (1972).

(15) There seems to be a parallel here between Inkarrí and his wife and El Señor de Qoyllur Rit'i (Apu Colquepunku) and La Virgen de Fátima (Mama Sinakara). Inkarrí, el Señor and Colquepunku are all healers; Inkarrí's wife, La Virgen and Sinakara are all teachers of weaving. Viracocha, who is an androgynous god (c.f. Pease, 1973), is both a healer and teacher of weaving.

a confusion of *hanan* and *burin* (the chaos at the end of a world cycle): day (*sol-hanan*) and night (*luna-burin*), as well as the bull (*hanan*) and the snake (*burin*), exist together. Inkarrí's head, as affirmed by the majority of the myths, is buried underground whereas it should be extending toward the heavens.¹⁶ Inkarrí is forced underground (*burin*) to become, like Viracocha, the once and future king — god of the past and future. And, like Viracocha, he is related to the *huacas* (the *wamani* of today):¹⁷ "Los wamanis . . . fueron puestos (creados) . . . por Inkarrí" (Arguedas y Roal P:223). He is also, of course, associated with all things *burin*:

La sangre de Inkarrí está viva en el fondo de nuestra Madre Tierra. Se afirma que llegará el día en que su cabeza, su sangre, su cuerpo habrán de juntarse. Ese día amanecerá en el anochecer, los reptiles volarán. . . el hermoso y gran pueblo que nuestro Inkarrí no pudo concluir será de nuevo visible (Ortiz R.:139).

Neither Viracocha's nor Inkarrí's work in the world was ever finished. Both are supposed to return some day — from the sea (*burin*) or from underground (*burin*). The Spanish Conquest interrupted the Andean world in its transition from one time cycle to another so that the new order, linked to the god Viracocha and under the rule of the Inca Atahualpa, never came about. The "time of the Inca," spoken about in movements such as Taki Oncoy and in rebellions such as that of Juan Santos Atahualpa, certainly must therefore be seen in the light of dynamic change and not just a return to a "lost Eden." Inkarrí, when he returns, will continue the process begun by Atahualpa and turn the world upside down, bringing *burin* into a position of *hanan* ("los reptiles volarán"). But it will be a new world order and not the repetition of a past one.

CONCLUSION: SPECULATIONS ON THE CONTEMPORARY SIGNIFICANCE OF QOYLLUR RIT'I

In Qoyllur Rit'i there is a mixture of Inca, contemporary Andean, and Catholic rituals. It has been the purpose of this paper to strip the fiesta of its Catholic trappings in order to place it within the framework of Andean thought. In so doing I have assumed a basic continuity between Inca and contemporary indigenous religious and cultural ideas. It is not known, for instance, whether there was in Inca society, a belief in the *ñaupa machu per se*,¹⁸ but there is a very evident parallel between the concepts of the past world within both Inca and contemporary Andean society. And we have seen similar concepts expressed through the myths of Inkarrí.

We have thus been able to determine the continuity of beliefs which run through significant historical events: the Inca war with the Chancas; the civil war between Atahualpa and Huascar; the Conquest; Taki Oncoy; the rebellions of Juan Santos Atahualpa and Tupac Amaru II; etc. Based on the arguments of the first part of this paper, we can make the assumption that throughout most of these events, Andean peoples have been

(16) As mentioned above (IV.1.n8.), the cutting off of heads symbolizes a reversal of the world order. It is for this reason that there persists in the Andes the legend that Atahualpa was beheaded and not garroted (c.f. Pease, 1972).

(17) "Las huacas de un tiempo son los *wamani* (o *apu*) de hoy, cuyo culto se ha perpetuado no obstante las violentas campañas de extirpaciones de idolatrias" (Curatola: 82).

(18) There is, however, a definite similarity between the 20th century *ñaupa* and the 16th century *mallki* mentioned by Avila.

yearly making the pilgrimage to Qoyllur Rit'i. We can now venture some speculations as to why.

We have asserted that there is a connection between the period of chaos in the Inca calendar, represented by the disappearance of the Pleiades, and the chaos of the time of transition from a past world order to a new one. Qoyllur Rit'i is a ritualization of this transition and a celebration of the triumph of the new world as symbolized by the reappearance of the Pleiades. In accordance with these concepts, we have seen that the entire period from the war between Atahualpa and Huascar through the Conquest to the present can also be seen as a transition, a time of chaos which continues due to the Spanish interruption of the normal Andean historical process. Thus Andean mythology affirms that Inkarrí will one day again surface to expel the Spanish in order to continue those historical cycles, completing the transition from the world under the dominion of Inti to the new one under Viracocha.

If, then, the fiesta of Qoyllur Rit'i maintains any contemporary significance as a ritualization of the transitional period of chaos (the *Oncoymita* which has lasted since the Conquest), it should be possible to analyze it in terms of the Inkarrí myth. We have argued above (1.5.) that the *ch'unchos* represent the *ñaupa machu*. In the contemporary mythology, however, the *ñaupa* have been replaced (or joined) by Inkarrí. Thus, according to many of the Inkarrí myths, the Incas, after the Conquest, fled to the jungle where they continue to live ¹⁹: "Cuando los españoles hicieron su ingreso a este mundo, todos los ñaupa machus, al igual que los Inkas, escaparon de la ciudad del Cuzco, internándose en la selva..." (León Cáparo:475). In the Q'ero myth, Inkarrí "se internó en la selva" (O. Nuñez del Prado:8).

We have also seen that the rebellions of Manco Inca and Juan Santos Atahualpa took place in or near the jungle; and it should be noted that the most successful revolutionary leader of the 20th century, Hugo Blanco, based his rebellion in the same region as did Manco Inca. ²⁰ Gregorio Condori Mamani, a *campesino* from an area for from Blanco's operations, says of Blanco (who was at the time hiding near Manco Inca's temple complex of Vitcos):

Los días que se hablaba de Hugo Blanco en el valle, los soldados y guardias eran como hormigas para buscar a Hugo Blanco. Pero el estaba oculto como *gentil machu*, en el hueco de una peña. Aquí, dice, sus amigos le llevaban comida solo de noche. Desde ese hueco miraba durante el día... (84).

Gentil machu is another name for *ñaupa machu*, and here Blanco is identified with night and the underworld (*burin*). It is therefore not surprising that he was looked upon as the returning Inca: "...los campesinos del Cusco estaban empezando a identificar a [Blanco] con el Inka" (Earls:411).

These identifications delineate a definite pattern in the thought structure of the Andean mind; the forces of rebellion against the central power structure (*banan*) are associated with those things which are *burin* (night, underground, jungle, snakes, etc.). There is therefore a natural and fluid connection between the *ñaupa machu*, Inkarrí and the *ch'uncho* — so that it is now Inkarrí (in place of the *ñaupa*) who

(19) In other myths the Incas fled to Lake Titicaca. This indicates, of course, an identification with Viracocha and the past world — which is also the future.

(20) Hugo Blanco led his rebellion in the valley of La Convención, a tropical area (*hurin*) which includes Manco Inca's jungle refuge, Vilcabamba. He was captured less than two kilometers from Rosaspata, the Inca temple complex where Manco was killed.

waits, during times of transition, for the opportunity to return to take control and regain his *banan* position. Such a connection is not conscious — but it is so inherent in the structure of the indigenous mind that a *campesino* such as Condori Mamani naturally associates the rebel Blanco with *burin* concepts.

In the fiesta of Qoyllur Rit'i it would therefore seem reasonable to suggest that the *ch'uncho* represents (or is at least unconsciously associated with) Inkarrí. Thus the fiesta could be seen as the ritual equivalent of the Inkarrí myth, celebrating the end of the *Oncoymita*, the period of sickness which has lasted for 450 years, and the beginning of the new world order under the reign of Inkarrí — symbolized by the return of the Pleiades.²¹ This becomes clearer if we look at the battle between the *ch'unchos* and the *collas*.

Of all the dance groups which now attend Qoyllur Rit'i, only the *ch'unchos* and *collas* seem to be traditional. Originally, says Ramirez, "...solo bailaba el Qolla y los Ch'unchos" (13); and only these two groups are accompanied by *ukukus*. The *collas* today, however, are represented by *mestizos* while the *ch'unchos* are always danced by Indians and *campesinos*. The *ch'uncho* can thus be said to represent not only Inkarrí but also the Indian. He symbolizes a pre-Conquest Andean way of life (living traditionally through agriculture and maintaining religious customs), whereas the *colla* lives through trade within the Spanish monetary system. The *ch'uncho* victory over the *colla* can therefore also be seen as a symbolic victory of Indian over Spanish and mestizo (*burin* over *banan*) which signifies the return of Inkarrí.

This is not to say, of course, that the present-day participants at Qoyllur Rit'i would be consciously aware of its significance (nor, indeed, that the theories I have purported herein are unassailable). I have attempted what Marzal called "el difícil análisis del inconsciente colectivo o de la cultura encubierta" in order to demonstrate the continuity in the structural patterns of Andean thought from the Inca reign through the present. Thus the analysis of contemporary mythology can throw light on Inca thought, while an examination of the Inca social structure can

(21) Franklin Pease suggests that the original seven *panaqa* (family lineages) of Cusco had their origins in the seven brothers and sisters of Manco Capac, and goes on to relate "el número de siete grupos con la persistencia de un mito de creación celeste, en el culto a la constelación de las 'siete cabrillas'" (the Pleiades) (1972:60). We should note that on clear Andean nights 10 or more "cabrillas" can be seen. Neither do we have data on whether the Incas counted the Pleiades.

However, it is still possible to infer, from the connection between the Pleiades and the rise of the Inca Empire, that when the brothers Ayar emerged from the caves of Tampusoto (a *hurin* ethonic origin), they symbolically came with the Pleiades. The Inkarrí mythology says that with the Conquest the Inca went back underground: "...el Inka del Cuzco con sus siete hijos y el Inka Qolla con sus tres hijos comenzaron a trabajar sobre Saqsaywamán haciendo chinkanas, dándole corazón a la inmensidad, abrieron el socavón hacia Lima y el otro con sus siete calles al centro del Cusco" (Pease, 1972:76).

Since the number seven has become inextricably identified with the Pleiades in the post-Conquest world (and since this myth is contemporary), there is some reason to connect the Inka's seven sons with the Pleiades. Thus, the Pleiades are symbolically underground during this period of chaos and will re-emerge with Inkarrí.

In another version, Inkarrí, before he is killed, says to his people: "Ocultaos, en los siete estados, oro y plata" (in Ossio:223). Remembering that one of the Inca names for the Pleiades was *colca*, or storehouse (see above, II.4), we can relate the "siete estados" (communities) to the *siete cabrillas* and assume that Inkarrí is announcing a period of chaos, the time of storage. Just as the harvest is stored during this period, so has Inca culture had to go underground to be "stored."

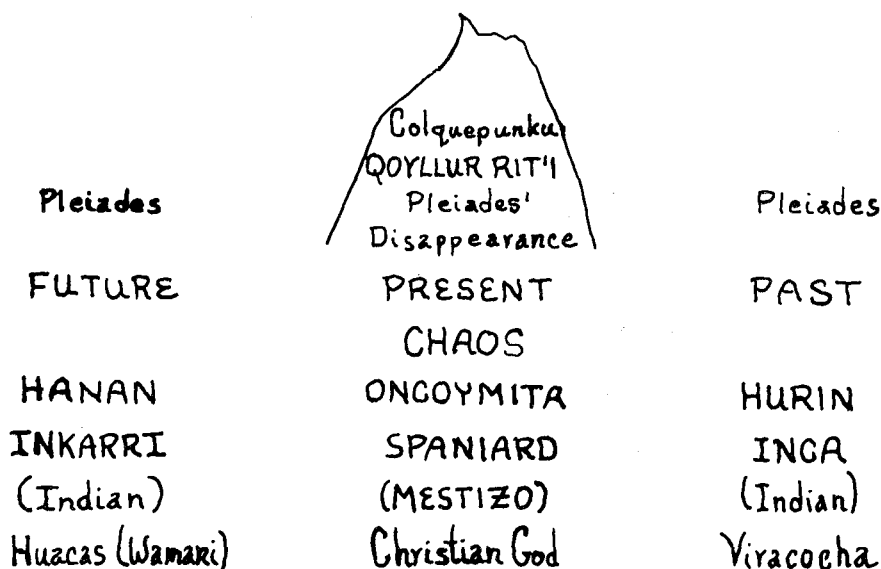


Figure 8.

illuminate present-day Andean rituals. In this regard, it is hoped that the present thesis has indicated some useful directions for further study, since the very existence of fiestas such as Qoyllur Rit'i which preserve so many pre-Columbian religious elements despite 450 years of suppression certainly signifies an implicit rejection of the dominant culture.

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