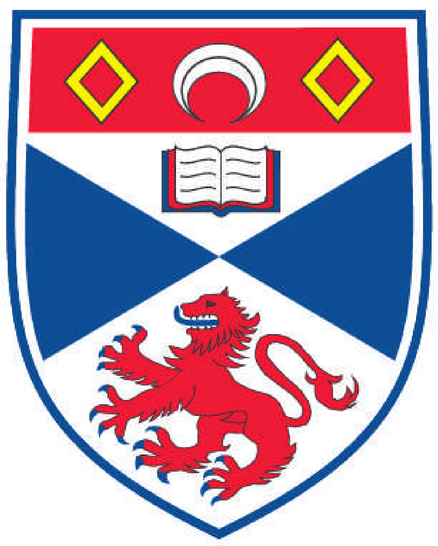
QUECHUA RELIGIOUS TERMS IN THE DEPARTMENTS OF APURIMAC AND SAN MARTIN, PERU

G. Stewart McIntosh

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St. Andrews



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QUECHUA RELIGIOUS TERMS
IN THE DEPARTMENTS OF
APURIMAC AND SAN MARTIN, PERU

A dissertation presented in application for
the Degree of Ph.D.
in the
University of St. Andrews

by

G. Stewart McIntosh

March 1976

Centre for Latin American Studies,
University of St. Andrews

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ABSTRACT OF THESIS

My thesis "Quechua Religious Terms in the Departments of Apurimac and San Martín, Peru" deals with the problem of changing meaning-loads of Quechua religious terms. I chose the departments (counties) of Apurimac and San Martín as representative of a montaña (jungle) and sierra (mountain) Quechua culture respectively. The purpose of the thesis is to show though the analysis from a corpus of one hundred and thirty-two terms that Quechua religious terms still carry much of the meaning-load they had before the Spanish conquest despite more than four hundred years of religious and other cultural pressures. This study also highlights the difficulties and unresearched areas in the fields of dialectology and folklore of the Quechua culture, a culture that is still very much the life of some ten million people in Latin America today.

G. Stewart McIntosh.

Certificate

I hereby certify that G. Stewart McIntosh has spent nine terms engaged in research work under my direction and that he has fulfilled the conditions of the General Ordinance No. 12 (Resolution of the University Court No. 1, 1967), and that he is qualified to submit the accompanying thesis for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

(sgd.) .....M. R. C. Leslie.....

Supervisor

Declaration

I hereby declare that the following thesis is based on work carried out by me, that the thesis is my own composition, and that no part of it has been previously presented for a higher degree.

(sgd.) .[redacted]

Candidate

[illegible] conducted in Peru, and the Centre of Latin American Linguistic Studies, University of St. Andrews, under the direction of Miss M. R. Leslie.

CORRIGENDA

p.26 '... The Ayaviri region of Cuzco' read 'the Ayaviri region of Puno'.

p.40 'Apu Cunarana...' should read "Apu Cunurana, taytakuna, [illegible];... Señor Cunurana, mi padre, [illegible]" (Dalle 1968 p.72)...'. The footnote should now read 'Cunurana appears to be one of the <u>nevados</u> in the nudo de Vilcanota near Santa Rosa, SE Peru.'

p.44 I chose the term 'witch-doctor' for the use in a generic sense for the role of intermediary between Quechua man and the spirit world without reference to relationships.

p.46 '... a Quechua message-tape from Huanta'. The 'message-tape' is a cassette recording of Christian teaching produced by Florencio Segura of Radio Huanta, Ayacucho.

p. 76 '... otro lado ch'ullinas hacen mesa /say Mass/.' Although this was the interpretation suggested by the informant, IBM has suggested that <u>hacen mesa</u> might be <u>mesachakuy</u>, see Dalle 1968 (pp. 27-29).

p. p.166 '<u>CONOPA</u>:...' This also appears in error again on p. 170 under <u>KHONOPAS</u>. The latter is the Cochabamba district plural form of the term in Bolivia. Paredes, is, of course a Bolivian.

p.185 'IBI Katarislan Mamani... Caylloma, Puno' should read 'Caylloma, Arequipa'.

. . . . . .

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I should like to acknowledge the encouragement and consideration of Mr. D.J. Gifford and Miss Ruth Leslie of the Centre of Latin American Linguistic Studies. I am grateful for the help of Professor E.K. Walton of the Geology Department for the analysis of the chirapa and ihuayllu stones. I am indebted to my many friends who have worked among Quechua people in Ecuador, Bolivia and Peru, whose love for and insights into the Quechua culture have been a stimulus and challenge to me. Above all a sincere gracias (thank you) to the Quechua themselves who have made our lives and work among them as a Christian family so rich and rewarding.

G.S.McI.

ABBREVIATIONS

approx.	....	approximately
bk.	....	book(s)
cent. ..	....	century
ch.	....	chapter(s)
cms.	....	centimetres
dept. ..	....	department, *departamento*
EIP	....	*Extirpación de la Idolatría del Pirú*
f.	....	following
hr.	....	hour
ILV	....	Instituto Linguístico de Verano
kms.	....	kilometres
lit.	....	literally
n.d.	....	no date
m.	....	metre(s)
n.p.r.	....	no page reference
neol. ..	....	neologism
p.	....	page(s)
pl.	....	plural
Prof. ..	....	Professor
prov. ..	....	province, *provincia*
q.v.	....	*quod vide* (which see)
r.	....	river, *río*
soln. ..	....	solution
tom.	....	tomo
Vol.	....	volume(s)

An explanation of abbreviations of informants' names (e.g. IA, IB, IAB, IAC, etc.) is to be found on pages 5-6 and a complete list of these abbreviations together with informants' names, ages, nationalities, occupations and areas of domicile is to be found in Appendix A on pages 184-5.

C H A P T E R O N E

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Purpose of the thesis

In this thesis I have attempted a critical analysis of certain religious terms in the Quechua culture of the departments of Apurimac and San Martín, Peru.[1] I have done this with a view to showing, where possible, their usage in 1621, in the Extirpación de la Idolatría del Pirú, with current usage, in order to assess whether or not Quechua religious concepts have been lost or modified over the intervening years.[2]

Scope

I have purposely limited the critical analysis to thirteen religious terms which appear in Quechua culture. The terms selected are

(1) terms which occur in the EIP:

apachita	apu
brujo	gentil
puquio	Wiracocha

(2) terms which appear to be similar to terms in the EIP and/or literature contemporaneous with the EIP (I shall explain the similarities during the analysis):

chirapa	chulla chaqui
hanaq pacha	ihuayllu
tunchi	

---

1. For a detailed description of these departments see the series Documental del Perú, Vols. 3 and 22 respectively. For maps see pp. 180-3.
2. Pablo José de Arriaga, "Extirpación de la Idolatría del Pirú," pp. 193-227 in Crónicas Peruanas de Interés Indígena, Vol. 209 of the series Biblioteca de Autores Españoles (Madrid 1968). Hereinafter I shall refer to it as the EIP. For the full bibliography see pp. 198ff.

(3) terms which occur in the EIP but do not appear to figure in either present-day Apurimac or San Martín Quechua culture:

sol oncoy

I have selected these terms from a collected list of one hundred and thirty-two terms which are given alphabetically in Chapter III. This study is also limited, in its analysis, to terms collected in Apurimac and San Martín, as Apurimac and San Martín, I believe, are good examples of less-studied areas of sierra and montaña Quechua culture respectively. Also, what is today part of the department of Apurimac is mentioned in the EIP, and San Martín has interesting if tenuous links with Apurimac through the exploits of General Ancohuallo of the Chancas.[1]

The full collected list, however, contains terms from the departments of Amazonas, Apurimac, Arequipa, Ayacucho, Cuzco, Huancavelica, Huánuco, Junín, Pasco, Puno and San Martín, together with terms from the cantons of Cochabamba, Chuquisaca, La Paz, Oruro and Potosí in Bolivia, as I visited these areas in the period 1970-73.

Approach

The critical study I have approached by

(1) analysing the usage of the term as it appears in (a) the EIP and other contemporary literature in the period 1551-1680, (b) present-day literature including novels, dictionaries and scientific publications, and (c) present-day culture in the life of 73 informants from Apurimac and San Martín areas;

(2) attempting on the basis of (1) to show how Quechua religious terms have been lost or modified over the intervening years. My

---

1. [illegible] Andahuaylas (Andahuaylas), [illegible] and [illegible] area [illegible] in the [illegible] 16. F[illegible] dy of the [illegible] of Ang[illegible] and [illegible] in se[illegible] p. 107. [illegible] pp. 27-29, Intosh [illegible] 24.

intention was to provide helpful material for those engaged in translation programmes from Spanish/English to Quechua, and to encourage further research into these and other religious terms whose meaning loads may not be fully understood by those seeking to work with the Quechua religious culture.[1]

Materials

My basic materials consist of the one hundred and thirty-two terms gathered during the period September 1970-February 1974. These came from informants in Peru and Bolivia and through reading in the libraries of the University of St. Andrews, the Biblioteca Nacional, Lima, the Biblioteca San Antonio Abad, Cuzco, the Biblioteca Alfonso Ugarte, Lima, and the Bibliotecas Municipales of Abancay, Andahuaylas, Lamas, Tarapoto and Yurimaguas.

Synopsis

In Chapter I I give a general historico-cultural background of the areas of Apurimac and San Martín. I then examine the approach of the EIP to its usage and explanation of religious terms. This is intended to set the terms in their proper context and thus aid the analysis.

In Chapter II I undertake the analysis of the thirteen selected terms. I begin with a discussion of the dictionary definitions of the selected terms, with a view to showing the purpose and worth of dictionaries in the analysis of Quechua religious terms. Then, for each of the selected terms I have constructed a framework which seeks to include all the elements of meaning gathered from the dictionaries consulted, the EIP, the literature contemporaneous with the EIP, present-day

---

1. Tr[illegible] grou[illegible] Centro de [illegible] Lima [illegible] U[illegible] I[illegible] Vers[illegible] de E[illegible] Bolivia; L[illegible] Públicas, Lima; etc.

inserted footnote

present day. From the analysis of these thirteen selected terms we can then draw several general conclusi[illegible] about the loss and modification of Quechua religious terms over the [illegible].

For each term I shall give, [illegible] available, (i) an introduction to the term, (ii) the framework for the term, (iii) the fr[illegible]k applied to the dictionary definitions, (iv) the framework [illegible]lied to the EIP, (v) the framework applied to literature con[illegible]us with the EIP, (vi) the framework applied to present-day literature, (vii) the fr[illegible] applied to informant material, and (viii) conclusions.

In Chapter III I give the full list of the collected terms in alphabetical order.[1] I then give, under each term, any informant material that I have collected together with a reference or references to what I believe to be a helpful explanation of the term. Chapter IV consists of a general conclusion about the loss and modification of Quechua religious terms from the times of the EIP to present-day Apurimac and San Martín Quechua culture.

There are four Appendices:

A. List of Informants in Alphabetical Order

B. Maps

C. Plates

D. Orthographies

followed, finally, by a full Bibliography.

Method

In order to help the reader interpret the compressed nature of [illegible] of the material, I shall now give an explanation of certain procedures and abbreviations in the analysis (a full list of abbreviations

---

1. Collected terms. In their [illegible] with Quechua [illegible], there are many dialect[illegible] [illegible] variations in the language. The [illegible] in the study may therefore [illegible]r in different dialects and orthographies. Appendix D gives a list of the main orthographies.

is to be found on page ii above).

(a) Bibliography

In order to facilitate the use of the bibliography, I have divided it into four sections: (i) dictionaries, (ii) selected sources contemporaneous with the EIP, (iii) selected present-day sources, and (iv) other sources quoted. This composite bibliography is to be found on pages 198ff. In referring to these works in the corpus of my study, I shall use the (first) name given in capitals in the bibliography plus the page reference, e.g. FRIDMAN p. 23, LIRA p. 123, etc. Should the author have more than one work cited in the bibliography, I shall distinguish between them by including the date of publication: e.g. Lira 1944 p. 123, Lira 1973 p. 123. In the case of a work having several volumes (tomos) I shall indicate the relevant volume thus: Vega I p. 123, Vega II p. 123, etc.; if the date of publication is significant in the context I shall also include it.

(b) Usage of certain terms

In the thesis certain words have a particular usage: "dictionaries", for example, include word-lists found in grammars, vocabularios, etc.; "religious" in this study is used in the context of "response to the world" — in this instance the world of the Quechua in the departments of Apurimac and San Martín, both in the sixteenth century and today; "present-day" is used exclusively for the twentieth century, whereas "now" may refer to the time of a certain author.[1]

(c) Informants

The list of informants is appendix A of the thesis (pp. 184f.). In the actual text I refer to them by the code letters IA, IB, IC ... IBV:

---

1. For a more detailed study of the meaning of "response to the world" see Wilson pp. 18-30.

I[illegible], for example, refers to the [illegible]t Felicitas Rojas, 34 years of age, a mestiza, whose occupation is su casa ([illegible] wife), [illegible] resident at the time of eliciting the material in Chalhuanca, Apurimac. I [illegible] the term mestizo(-a) for a person whose everyday usage of language was Spanish although he (she) [illegible] fluent in Quechua. The term Quechua is used of informants whose tendency was to express themselves in their day-to-day living in that language. The material which they produced for the corpus was not generally elicited by direct questioning but [illegible] th[illegible] everyday conversation over a period. It r[illegible]ed, in some areas (e.g. the tunchi stories), a complete confidence but [illegible] the informant an[illegible] in order to speak openly of such things. This is one of the great problems in [illegible]ch int[illegible] religious Quec[illegible]a culture, and explains why much that has bee[illegible] writte[illegible] [illegible]ublished t[illegible] to be superficial.

A historico-cul[illegible] the Apurimac area

The department of Ap[illegible] was co[illegible]ally f[illegible]n 28th April 1873. It came into bei[illegible]g as a [illegible] of administr[illegible]ive difficul-ties aff[illegible] the then very extensiv[illegible]ts of Cuzco and Ayacucho. To cut [illegible] their extension, Ayacucho ceded its province of Andahuaylas whilst Cuzco ceded the a[illegible], Aymaraes, A[illegible]a, C[illegible] and Grau, to form the new department. Even at its formation there was internal strife between the diputados ([illegible]ties) of the province of Andahuaylas and the rest, over the naming of the department.[1] This [illegible]ity continues today [illegible] th[illegible]linos and those [illegible] Pach[illegible] in the [illegible]es of [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible], appears not merely to be political, but rather cultural in

1. See "Sesión de la c[illegible] de Di[illegible]," 17 de abril de 1873, Lima.

its roots.

The river Pachachaca, which divides the province of [illegible]las from the rest, was the traditional border between the Quechua and the Chanca peoples.[1] The Quechua and the Chancas had been feuding since pre-Inca times: "... Debajo deste apellido Chanca se encierran muchas [illegible] naciones ... estrecharon a los indios Quechuas en sus provincias ... sujetáronles a que les diesen tributo; tratábanles con tiranía ..." (Vega II p. 33).[2] The Quechua of that area were therefore glad to submit to Inca rule [illegible] have Inca Roca as their first protector. Wars, however, were to continue between the Chancas and the Incas, and the Quechua of the Abancay and Apurimac valleys were to be caught up in them. The Quechua fought with the Incas against the Chancas in the reign of Inca Viracocha — "lo hicieron por su propio interés, los Quechuas por el odio y enimistad antigua que siempre hubo entre Chancas y Quechuas ... y por no volver a las tiranías de los Chancas ..." (Vega II p. 36). So Apurimac draws from both Quechua and Chanca culture.[3]

A historico-cultural [illegible] and to the San Martín area

The department of San Martín was constitutionally formed in 19[illegible]. It was influenced culturally in the early seventeenth century by the Jesuit [illegible] in the area: e.g. [illegible], Y[illegible] (Santa María de las Nieves), Campanilla, San Miguel del Mayo.[4] At that time the area was part of the province of [illegible], with its capital Quito. It is

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1. See map on p. 186, and footnote 3 below.

2. See Quintana [illegible] history of the archaeology and culture of the province of [illegible]las. See also Plates VIII-X, pp. 194-5 below.

3. The Chancas - see, for example, Acosta pp. 200-01, León p. 211, Vega II pp. 33, 48.

4. Reducciones:- for details of how the Jesuits formed their reducciones (compounds) see Handbook of South American Indians, Vol. 7 (in [illegible]), (Washington 1959), p. 132.

something of an ethnic puzzle how Quechua [illegible] t be spoken in the area of San Martín. Metraux on page 598 points out that there were many different languages spoken in the area at first, and hints that Quechua may have been brought in to solve the language communication problem of the differing tribes in the <u>reducciones</u>. Anco[hu]allo, the Chanca general who rebelled and escaped from the Incas, may have brought a Quechua dialect into the region as well, though the Chroniclers give no details of his final location in the jungle of the north east.[1] However the truth may have been, there is now a group of San Martín Quechua dialect speakers numbering some five thousand in the region.[2]

<u>The approach of the EIP in its use and explanation of religious terms</u>

José Arriaga, the author of the <u>EIP</u>, was born in Vergara, Spain, in 1564. He became a Jesuit novice at the age of fifteen, and at the age of twenty he sailed for Peru. He was to become the rector of the Colegio San Martín in Lima and later of the Colegio in Arequipa. He was fifty-seven when he wrote the <u>EIP</u>, and he died the following year on board ship off the coast of Cuba on the second voyage of his life to Spain.

Arriaga's purpose in writing the <u>EIP</u> was to investigate three questions: "La primera, qué ídolos y huacas tienen los indios, qué sacrificios y fiestas les hacen, qué ministros y sacerdotes, abusos y supersticiones tienen de su gentilidad, e idolatría, el día de hoy. La segunda, las causas de no haberse desarraigado entre los indios, pues son cristianos, e hijos, y aun nietos de padres cristianos, y los remedios para extirpar las raíces de este mal. La tercera, la práctica

---

1. For some suggestions on the source of the Quechua language in the San Martín area see McIntosh p. 12.

2. For an analysis of the San Martín Quechua dialect see Howkins, and also Park.

y en particular, de cómo se ha de hacer la visita para la extirpación de estas idolatrías" (EIP p. 194). So he is quite careful to state in relative detail the custom and practice of "Christians" (cristianos) in order that "... los curas estén advertidos ... los confesores cómo han de confesar ... los predicadores las verdades que han de enseñar ... y los visitadores cómo han de cumplir con su obligación" (EIP p. 194).[1] This detailed explanation is in sharp contrast to some of the other Chroniclers — Pachacuti Yamqui, for example, who merely writes off all former religious customs and practices as "... del tiempo de la gentilidad enventados de los enimigos antiguos del genero humano, que son los demonios y diablos, en la lengua general se llaman hapiñuñu, achacalla" (Yamqui p. 281),[2] or Acosta who takes a much more gentle and syncretistic approach to religion: "A muchos ha parecido forma expedita para curar esta dolencia tomar por la fuerza los ídolos, templos y demás monumentos de la superstición ... y destruirlos a sangre y fuego ... obligarlos con azotes a que los declaren ... Porque muchas veces se ha dicho y conviene repetirlo que la fe no es sino de los que quieren, y ninguno debe hacerse cristiano por la fuerza; por lo cual Agustín reprende este hecho diciendo que antes que quitar los ídolos del corazón de los paganos que de los altares ..." (Acosta p. 561). Accordingly I have chosen the EIP as a basis for study of the usage of religious terms in the time of the Chroniclers because Arriaga wishes to enquire into the details of Quechua religious customs without, on the one hand, attributing all religious practices which deviate from Spanish Catholicism to the devil or, on the other hand, embracing them within the sphere of Christian religion.

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1. For cristiano, see p. 166-7 below.
2. For hapiñuñu, see p. 170 (Jap'iñuñu); for achacalla, p. 161 (Achacha).

C H A P T E R T W O

CHAPTER II

ANALYSIS OF THE SELECTED TERMS

1. Preliminary Discussion of Dictionary Definitions

As dictionary definitions form part of the groundwork for the analysis of the selected terms, it is necessary to evaluate the principle and the worth of the dictionaries as a whole. I selected twenty-three dictionaries for this comparative study, bearing in mind that other Quechua dictionaries do exist (e.g. Middendorf 1890 and subsequent works by the Instituto Lingüístico de Verano in Peru, Bolivia and Ecuador).[1] The twenty-three, however, are good examples of dictionaries from three main sources, viz: (i) those normally found in centres of academic study (e.g. Cerrón-Palomino, Mora, Tovar); (ii) those readily found in Peruvian and Bolivian bookstores, or hawked about by ambulantes in the streets of Lima (e.g. Duran, Guardia Mayorga, Lira 1973); (iii) those that have been produced by missionary bodies, both Evangelical Protestant and Roman Catholic (e.g. Holguín, Lambert, Shedd).

Quechua dictionaries have been written and published in three main periods. Several appeared within eighty years of the conquest by the Spaniards (e.g. Santo Thomás and Torres Rubio), but the majority of the rest have been written, published or re-published within the last decade (e.g. Lambert 1973, Lara 1971, Lira 1973). There is, of course, one

1. Ernst W. Middendorf, Die einheimischen Sprachen Perus, 6 vols. (Leipzig 1890-92). For the bibliography of the dictionaries used see below, pp. 1 ff.

notable exception, and this is Lira 1944, "... el magnífico tomo del Padre Lira, cuyo propósito es académico y cuyo uso, por ende, resulta poco fácil."[1]

The appearance of such a relatively large number of Quechua dictionaries within the last decade appears to have two causes. The first of these is a resurgence of interest in the Quechua culture as a whole — after all, there are some ten million people who speak one or another dialect of Quechua.[2] This interest has been fomented, in Peru at least, by the policies of the present revolutionary government under its President, General Juan Velasco Alverado. When, in the coup of October 8th, 1968, a vigorous policy of agrarian reform was launched ("tierra para quién trabaja"), it became necessary to communicate the politics and the policies to the rural Quechua population. This had to be done in Quechua through the government organization SINAMOS. Image (dignidad), in the figures of earlier Quechua revolutionaries such as Tupac Amaru and Micaela Bastides, also lent prestige to the Quechua language.[3] Quechua, then, became a language to be learned or at least studied in many universities and normales (teacher-training institutes). Grammars and dictionaries began to be published as more and more courses were offered in the language. And so, "Aprender el quechua es deber ... El diccionario Guardia Mayorga no debe faltar entre los libros que un peruano culto tiene como libros de consulta ... parte de la obligación de integrar la nacionalidad como una sola ..." (Guardia Mayorga pp. 5-7).

The second cause for the appearance of a relatively large percentage of the dictionaries in the last decade appears to be that which

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1. Sebastián Salazar Bondy, "El Comercio" (July 30th, 1969).
2. An estimate based on figures from Pohl (pp. 291-306).
3. Tupac Amaru:- see Valcárcel 1973. Micaela Bastides:- see Cortazar III pp. 111-14.

motivated Antonio Ricardo to publish Vocabulario y Phrasis en la Lengua General de los Indios del Perú, llamada Quichua, in 1586: "... será muy útil para todo género de gentes, assi Curas y yndios, como otras personas eclesiasticas y seglares que vuiren [sic] de tratar con los yndios en poblado, y yendo de camino: ... para los que oyen confessiones ... a los que hacen pláticas y sermones a los yndios: para hablar y componer con liberalidad lo que quisieren ..." (Ricardo p. 8). Authors of this type are Landerman, Orr, Park 1969, etc. These are all now, or were at one stage, members of the Instituto Linguístico de Verano (Summer School of Linguistics). The ILV is also more commonly known outside of linguistic circles as the Wycliffe Bible Translators, an interdenominational, international, evangelical, protestant missionary body, whose main goal is to translate the Scriptures so that all may hear, "each in his own tongue" (Acts 2:6). Their dictionaries published in the Serie Linguística Peruana, Serie de Vocabularios Indígenas, Mariano Silva y Aceves, etc., might therefore be described as useful by-products of the main-line translation process.

Dictionaries, then, appear to have been produced for various ends — academic, political, religious. Whether the ends have affected the definitions in the dictionaries themselves is a point that must be considered during the study of each individual term.

2. Analysis of the Thirteen Terms

Group I: Terms which occur in the EIP

APACHITA

Introduction

In the analysis of the term apachita, I shall follow the general outline as set out in the Synopsis (p. 4 above). I have developed a

framework which includes all the elements of meaning gathered from the dictionaries consulted, the EIP, the literature contemporaneous with the EIP, present-day literature, my own observation and informant material. From the framework we can then arrive at an understanding of the meaning load of apachita at the time of the EIP and at the present day.

** The framework for apachita

Worship: (a) of a man-made object
(b) of a natural object
(c) of a god

Purpose of worship: (a) to give strength for the way
(b) to give protection from evil forces
(c) to give thanks
(d) to heal

Method of worship: (a) placing objects
(b) spitting
(c) aspersion
(d) praying
(e) whistling

Before applying the framework to the dictionaries, etc., it should be mentioned that there is one use of the word apachita that does not appear to fit the framework. This is the definition in Lira 1944: "APACHITA y no APACHETA. m. Hincamiento de piedras sobre sepulcros provisionales que se hacían para los fallecidos en los viajes. Tumba rústica. Neo. Campo Santo" (Lira 1944 p. 52). He alone then states that apachita is used as a neologism for a campo santo (burial ground). I was unable to find this use in informant material or conversation in the departments of Apurimac and San Martín. I did, however, find support for its use as a neologism in the Revista Universitaria del Cuzco, 1954: "[illegible] lo[illegible]les del [illegible]al de

Arequipa. La apachita dista tres millas de la población ..." (p. 235).[1] It is interesting to note that Lira left out the word apachita in his Breve Diccionario Kkechua-Español, which may imply that he was unsure of the extent of the use of his definition, though he does point out that this later dictionary is "... extractado de mi obra ya vastamente conocida, ... nos hemos concretado solo a los términos gramaticalmente indispensable para el aprendizaje del quechua ..." (Lira 1973 prólogo iv).

In connection with this usage, it is worth noting the San Martín custom, that if a Quechua in San Martín died on a journey his body would be carried to the nearest graveyard and the site marked with an evergreen plant. If decomposition of the corpse set in, then only would he be buried by the trail and his grave marked with an evergreen plant.

** The framework applied to the dictionary definitions

The word apachita appears in eight of the dictionaries consulted.[2]

Worship: (a) of a man-made object

(i) piles of stones: "montones de piedras" (Perroud p. 10, Ricardo p. 16, Guardia Mayorga p. 40)

(ii) —[3]

(b) of a natural object

(i)-(iv) —

(c) of a god

(i)-(iii) —

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1. Revista Universitaria del Cuzco, Año XLIII, no. 106 (Cuzco 1954).
2. If there is no significant difference in definitions then I shall quote only one example.
3. Spaces in the framework indicate that certain elements which are absent at this stage of the analysis will occur later.

Purpose of worship: (a) to give strength for the [illegible] "[illegible] que le dé fuerzas ..." (Guardia Mayorga p. 40)

(b) to give protection from evil forces: "para que ... no les haga daño" (Guardia Mayorga p. 40)

(c) —

(d) —

Method of worship: (a) placing of objects

(i) stones: "piedras que colocan supersticiosamente" (Perroud p. 10, Guardia Mayorga p. 40, Mora p. 90)[1]

(b) spitting

(i) masticated coca: "arrojaban ... coca acullida" (Guardia Mayorga p. 40)

(c), (d), (e) —

Conclusions: (1) Dictionary definitions cover only a small part of the framework of this term.

(2) The dictionaries that deal with Quechua dialects from the eastern montaña and selva (jungle) of Peru and Ecuador do not mention apachita.[2] They do give other words with the same root apar- 'bring' ([illegible] rtín): e.g. "apachina — hacer llevar" (Orr p. 51), "aparina — cargar" (Landerman p. 12).

(3) There is apparent confusion as to whether worship continues at these sites.

⁂ The framework applied to the EIP

Having separated the elements of meaning of the term apachita in the dictionary definitions, I now go on to look at its use in the EIP

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1. Perroud uses the word supersticiosamente to describe the actions of persons at an apachita. Perhaps this is a good example of a writer's background affecting his definition. See my comments below, p. 21.

2. Montaña:- this term refers to upland jungle on the E. Andes mountains.

itself and apply the framework to it.

There is only one specific mention of the word in the EIP: "... cuando suban algunas cuestas o cerros se cansan en el camino, llegando a alguna piedra grande que tienen ya señalada para este efecto, escupir sobre ella, ... coca o maíz mascado; otras veces dejan allí las ujutas o calzado viejo, o la huaraca o unas soguillas o manojilla de hicho o paja, o ponen otras piedras pequeñas encima, y con esto dicen que se quita el cansancio. A estos montoncillos de piedras suelen llamar, corrumpiendo el vocábulo, Apachitas, y dicen algunos que los adoran, y no son sino las piedras que han ido amontonando ..." (EIP p. 216).

It is also mentioned indirectly in the "Edicto Contra la Idolatría" (EIP pp. 273-75), where the context and content make it clear that they are referring to apachita: "7. Item si saben que alguna o algunas personas, cuando van camino, echan en las cumbres altas donde llegan, o en algunas piedras grandes hendidas, coca mascado u otras cosas escupiendo y le piden que se les quiten el cansancio del camino" (EIP p. 274).[1]

I note yet another possible reference to an apachita in the EIP. It is the story of Inca Mancocapac's visit to the area of Huancaraime (now Huancarama in the province of Andahuaylas), and the consequent erection of crosses on the surrounding hills: "Y es tradición entre ellos que pasando por este pueblo Mancocapac, le fue hacer un sacrificio, y ella le dijo que no quería recibillo porque no era Inga legítimo. De lo cual, enojado Mancocapac, hizo arrojarla por el cerro abajo. Cuando fueron a menear la piedra salió de allá un papagayo muy pintado,y fue por el cerro volando ... llegando a una gran piedra,

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1. This edict was published so that "... cada un año, cada cual fuese obligado a hacer una general inquisición ..." (EIP p. 273).

se abrió y le encerró en sí ... y estas ... piedras de donde salió y entró el papagayo son muy temidas. Quiso algunos años ha un indio muy virtuoso de este pueblo ... poner cruces en estos cerros donde están estas piedras ... Tuvo gran pavor ... pero con todo, repitiendo e invocando el nombre de Jesús, concluyó con su devoción" (EIP p. 226).

Worship: (a) of a man-made object

(i) piles of stones: "A estos montoncillos ... dicen algunos que los adoran" (p. 218)

(ii) crosses: "un indio muy virtuoso de este pueblo ... poner cruces donde están estas piedras" (p. 226)

(b) of a natural object

(i) a large stone: "alguna piedra grande que tienen ya señalada" (p. 218)

(ii) high passes: "las cumbres altas" (p. 274)

(iii) clefts and cliffs: "piedras grandes hendidas" (p. 274)

(c) of a god

(i) Jesus: "invocando el nombre de Jesús" (p. 226)

Purpose of worship:

(a) placing of objects

(i) stones: "piedras que han ido amontonando" (p. 218)

(ii) footwear: "las ujutas o calzado viejo" (p. 218)

(iii) grass, etc.: "... soguillas o manojillas de hicho o paja" (p. 218)

(iv) weapons: "la h̆ʌaraca" (sling) (p. 218)

(b) spitting

(i) coca: "coca mascado ... escupiendo" (pp. 218, 274)

(ii) maize: "[illegible] mascado" (p. 218)

(c), (d), (e) —

The EIP suggests that some believed that this worship of apachitas was still practised: "dicen algunos que los adoran" (p. 218); and certainly the edict was promulgated to counter, amongst many other practices, such worship.

*** The framework applied to literature contemporaneous with the EIP

In order to ensure that the meaning given by Arriaga in the EIP is not far removed from the usage generally in the post-conquest period, it is necessary to study the usage and meaning of the terms in the light of other writers of the period. For the purpose of this study I have chosen the following writers from the period 1550-1630: Acosta, Anónima, Ayala, Betanzos, Cobo, León, Molina el Almagrista, Santillán, Solórzano y Pereira, Vega and Yamqui.[1] I now give the longer extracts from those that shed light on the meaning of the term apachita, before applying the framework to their contents:

> Topa Inga Yupanqui, ordenó que los indios de las tierras bajas ... adorasen a Dios Pachacamac en lugares llamados Apachita.
>
> (Ayala p. 187)

> Adoraban también las fuentes, manantiales, ríos y lagos; los cerros se distinguían en alto de los otros de sus vecinos o en la hechura o en la substancia; l... [sic] la cordillera nevada, y cualquiera otra siempre que fuese alto que tuviese nieve; las peñas o piedras grandes, los riscos y quebradas hondas, los altos y las cumbres de los cerros y collados, que llamaban apachitas; adoraban estos lugares, diciendo cuando acababan de subir la cuesta arriba y llegaban a lo alto, descansaban allí de la subida. Tenían hechos grandes montes de piedras, así en las dichas apachitas como en las llanadas y encrucijadas de caminos, a los cuales también hacían reverencia y ofrendaban.
>
> (Cobo II p. 166)

> ... y las cuestas tan grandes que se hallan por los caminos, que las hay de tres, cuatro, cinco y seis leguas de alto, casi tan derechos como una pared, a las cuales los españoles, corrumpiendo el nombre, dicen Apachitas, y que los indios las adoraban y les ofrecían ofrendas. ... declarando el nombre Apachitas que los españoles dan a las cumbres de las cuestas muy altas y las hacen dioses de los indios, es de saber que se ha de decir Apachecta;

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1. See Bibliography, pp. 199f. below.

es dativo, y el genitivo es Apachecpa; de este participio de presente Apachec, que es el nominativo, con el sílabo ta se hace dativo, quiere decir al que hace llevar, sin decir quién es ni declarar qué es lo que hace llevar ... quiere decir damos gracias y ofrezcamos algo al que hace llevar estas cargas, dándonos fuerzas y vigor para subir por cuestas tan ásperas, y nunca lo decían sino cuando estaban ya en lo alto de la cuesta, y por esto dicen los historiadores españoles que llamaban Apachitas a las cumbres de las cuestas, entendiendo que hablaban con ellos, porque allí le oían decir esta palabra, Apachecta, ... que se debían de dar gracias y hacer alguna ofrenda al Pachacamac, Dios no conocido que ellos llamaban mentalmente por haberles ayudado en aquel trabajo. Y así, luego que habían subido la cuesta se descargaban, y alzando los ojos al cielo, y bajándolos al suelo y haciendo las mismas ostentaciones que atrás dijimos para nombrar al Pachacamac, repetían dos, tres veces el dativo Apachecta, y en ofrenda tiraban las cejas y, que arrancasen algún pelo o no, lo soplaban hacia el cielo e echaban la hierba llamada cuca que llevaban en la boca, ... a más no poder ni tener cosa mejor, ofrecían algún palillo o algunas pajuelas, si les hallaban por allí cerca y no las hallando ofrecían un guijarro y, donde no los había, echaban puñado de tierra ... No miraban al sol sino a Pachacamac ... Ahora, en estos tiempos, por la misericordia de Dios, en lo alto de aquellas cuestas tienen puestas cruces, que adoran en hacimiento de habérseles comunicado con Cristo Nuestro Señor.

(Vega I pp. 79-80)

... las cumbres de los montes que ellos llaman apachitas, y lo tienen por cosa de gran devoción; ... Otra ofrenda menos donosa usan, que es tirarse las pestañas o cejas, y ofrecerlas al sol, o a los cerros y apachitas, a los vientos o las cosas que temen.

(Acosta pp. 144-45)

Worship: (a) of a man-made object

(i) —

(ii) crosses: "cruces, que adoran" (Vega I p. 80)

(b) of a natural object

(i) a large stone: "piedras grandes " (Cobo II p. 166)

(ii) high passes: "los altos cumbres de los cerros" (Cobo II p. 166), "las cumbres de los montes" (Acosta p. 144)

(iii) clefts and cliffs: "las peñas" (Cobo II, p. 166)

(iv) gullies: "riscos y quebradas hondas" (Vega I p. 80)

(c) of a god

(i) Jesus: "habérseles comunicado con Cristo Señor Nuestro" (Vega I p. 80)

(ii) Pachacamac: "adorasen a Dios Pachacamac" (Ayala p. 187), "no miraban al sol sino a Pachacamac" (Vega I p. 80).

(iii) "Ille Tecce Viracocha" (Anónima p. 157)

Purpose of worship:

(a) to give strength for the way: "cobraban fuerzas con esto" (Cobo II p. 203), "dándonos fuerzas y vigor" (Vega I p. 79)

(b) to give protection from malignant forces: "Las dichas guacas los dejasen pasar" (Cobo II p. 203)

(c) to offer thanksgiving: "dar gracias al Pachacamac" (Vega I p. 80), "ha de decir Apachecta ... quiere decir al que hace llevar ... quiere decir damos gracias y ofrezcamos algo al que hace llevar estas cargas" (Vega I p. 79)

(d) —

Method of worship: (a) placing of objects

(i) stone: "ofrecía un guijarro" (Vega I p. 80), "una piedra" (Cobo II p. 203), "montes de piedros" (Cobo II p. 166)

(ii) footwear: "arrojaban calzado viejo" (Cobo II p. 203)

(iii) grass, etc.: "ofrecían algun palillo o algunas pajuelas" (Vega I p. 80)

(iv) —

(v) facial hair: "tiraban las cejas" (Vega I p. 80), "tirarse las pestañas o cejas" (Acosta p. 145), "daban ... las pestañas o cejas" (Cobo II p. 203)

(vi) old cloth: "arrojaban ... un trapo" (Cobo II p. 203)

(vii) feathers: "arrojaban ... plumas de varios colores" (Cobo II p. 203

(viii) handful of earth: "echaban puñado de tierra" (Vega I p. 80)

(b) spitting

(i) coca: "por ofrenda coca mascada" (Cobo II p. 203), "echaban

... cuca que llevaban en la boca" (Vega I p. 80)

(ii) —

(c) aspersion: "asperjaban con los dedos la chicha del vaso que tenían para beber" (Cobo II p. 204)

(d) praying

(i) in an upright position: "alzando los ojos al cielo, y bajándolos al suelo, ... lo soplaban hacia el cielo" (Vega I p. 80)

(ii) —

(e) —

Vega is under the impression that worship of Pachacamac or other gods has been supers[illegible] at these sites by the worship of Jesus Christ our Lord. The Anónima suggests that minor gods have now occupied these sites, deposing, presumably, Viracocha: "los modernos añadieron que los dioses menores, ... reposaban en tales lugares." Amongst the Chroniclers, then, there are those who believe that the old type of apachita worship is a thing of the past while others, like the Anónima and Arriaga, believe it to be very much alive.

⁂ The framework applied to present-day literature

Because of the wide range of sources available for present-day comparisons of the terms studied, I have selected three types of modern source for this study. I shall confine myself to listing these types here, but for a detailed list one should consult the sections in the Bibliography headed "Selected Present-day Sources" and "Other Sources". The types are: (1) university and scientific publications (e.g. Folklore Americano, Perú Indígena, Revista Museo Nacional, Lima, Allpanchis Phuturinqa),[1] (2) authors and publishers who were born or who

1. The university and scientific publications are to be found listed under "Other Sources". It should be noted that authors in the present-day sources (e.g. Rowe, Metraux, Dalle, Garr, etc.) make use of the Chroniclers for material, but I have endeavoured to use them when they are stating something about present-day Quechua culture.

published within the departments of Apurimac and/or San Martín (e.g. Quintana, Ríos); (3) two Peruvian novelists, Ciro Alegría and José María Arguedas, because the former in his novel La Serpiente de Oro captures so well the ambiente of the ceja de montaña culture, which is akin to that of San Martín, while the latter in his two novels Todas las Sangres (2 vols.) and Yawar Fiesta captures the idiom of Apurimac, his birthplace.

W o r s h i p: (a) of a man-made object

(i) pile of stones: "Another special type of huaca, ... a pile of stones ... travellers stopped to make small offerings and to pray for strength" (Rowe p. 297)

(ii) —

(b) of a natural object

(i) a large stone: "enterraban el dinero al pie de alguna piedra grande que tenía encanto, ..." (Arguedas 1968 p. 30), "que construye un altar exigido a la piedra del lugar" (Paredes p. 146)

(ii) high places: "alguna piedra grande que tenía encanto, o en las cimas de las montañas" (Arguedas 1968 p. 30), "This custom is still general throughout the Andes on trails where the Indians travel on foot ... (Cobo 1890-95, bk. 13, ch. 11)" (Rowe p. 297)

(iii), (iv) —

(c) —

P u r p o s e o f w o r s h i p:

(a) to give strength for the way: "... pray for strength before continuing" (Rowe p. 297), "para que me des fuerzas" (Paredes p. 147), "to pray ... for strength" (Alden Mason p. 210)

(b) to give protection from malignant forces: "to pray

for safety" (Alden Mason p. 210), "para que ... me evites de infor-
tunios" (Paredes p. 147)

(c), (d) —

Method of worship:

(a) placing of objects

(i) stone: "... a stone to the pile" (Alden Mason p. 210),
"a [illegible]r stone added to the pile" ([illegible] p. 297)

(ii) foot[illegible]ar: "the offering might c[illegible]ist of worn-out sandals"
([illegible] p. 297), "una s[illegible]" ([illegible]des p. 146)

(iii) grass, etc.: "even a handful of straw" (Alden Mason p. 210),
"... straw" (Rowe p. 297)

(iv) —

(v) facial hair: "... pestañas o cejas" (Paredes p. 297)

(vi) old cloth: "a piece of [illegible] out clothing" (Alde[illegible] p. 210)

(vii) feathers: "... pluma de ave" (Paredes p. 146)

(viii) —

(ix) toasted maize: "... maíz tostado" (Paredes p. 146)

(x) money: "enterraban el dinero al pie de alguna piedra g[illegible]
(Arguedas 1968 p. 30)

(b) spitting

(i) coca: "a coca quid" (Rowe p. 297), "a quid of coca" (Alden
Mason p. 210), "coca mascada" (Paredes p. 146)

(ii) —

(c) —

(d) praying

(i) —

(ii) bowing or kneeling: "e inclinándose respetuoso ..." (Pare-
des p. 146), "Apachitapas k'onk'orichkanman mayuy seerená,
... en el santuario de la cumbres ¿no estaría de rodillas,

sirena mía del río?" (Arguedas I p. 69)[1]

(e) —

** The framework applied to informant material

In this section I shall go through the framework with the material already in the framework. In this way I hope to show clearly the relation between the meaning of the term [illegible]lita in the EIP and at the present day.

Worships

The framework clearly shows that there was and is a division of opinion as to the object of worship. Is it the man-made object, the stones or the cross, or is it the natural object, the large unusual stone, the high pass, the cleft and the cliff, etc., or is it really a feeling of the importance of the being that is the real nucleus of worship? Rowe brings out this problem when he states: "It is not entirely clear whether the Indians believed that the supernatural beings had a separate existence from the object in which they reside (animism), or whether the object was the supernatural being (animatism), although the latter appears to have been the case" (Rowe p. 296). Whether Rowe's theory can be upheld is doubtful in the light of statements by Tiga, Cobo and the Anónima about the worship of Viracocha and Pachacamac at these sites. Perhaps animism degenerates into animatism. From my observations of worship at the apachitas of El Abra, Tumpita, Lliullita, Socllacocha, Cruzcocasa and Saraccocha, it is certainly not the pile of stones that is worshipped.[2] The situation appears to be either (i) that the place is feared because of an evil spirit ("es un sitio horrible, da miedo, se tiene que [illegible]

1. Arguedas has an unusual Quechua orthography, he uses H' to denote the post-velar Kk of the Lira orthography.

2. See the map on p. 24, and Plates III, IV and V (pp. 191-3).

rápido, [illegible] nos puede matar con la granizada" — IA), or (ii) the animism has degenerated into the worship of, not the stones, but the cross. For example, the cross at Tunapita and Cruzccasa appear to have new garlands of flowers placed on them regularly, and not merely at the annual fiesta of the Santa Cruz, in May of each year; and the two crosses at Tunapita appear to have devotees who light little night-lights and place them in the stones at the foot of each.

Purpose of worship:

In the framework, four main purposes of worship are seen to be present in apachita. These are: to give strength for the way, to give protection from malignant forces, to offer thanksgiving, and to heal.[1]

The EIP and its contemporaries agreed that it was to give strength for the way. This appears to hold true today. On returning from Yanaca to Chalhuanca by the apachita Tunapita, I passed two men resting some five hundred feet below the pass. They asked me for cigarettes or coca, "para no podemos voltear". At first I assumed it was to [illegible] or chew them, but later realized that they were to use them in offering at the apachita for having the strength to voltear (pass): "El cerro ha quitado nuestro ánimo," IB later explained. It is not surprising that [illegible] feel the effect of altitude and resultant lack of [illegible].[2]

Cobo and others mention that it was to give protection from malignant forces. I have [illegible] quoted IA on this, and in the [illegible] of the term apu I shall endeavour to show that many yet believe that the [illegible] and the high hills are the home of dangerous and powerful

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1. Healing has not been mentioned by others, but appears to be part of present-day apachita worship.

2. See diagram of vertical section of the apachita Tunapita and its approaches, p. 30 below.

spirits.[1]

Vega [illegible] quite clear the original meaning of the word apachita. It appears that [illegible]y still do give th[illegible]s to some god on passing these apachitas. For some, animism is real. It may depend now [illegible] position in life. IV mentions that when she passed an apachita the arriero (muleteer) stopped and "hizo su t'inka a los cuatro apus". One of the members of the party, a Peruvian teacher, scoffed at the arriero saying, "Estas son costumbres ignorantes." The man continued, however, "haciendo t'inka".[2] At Tunapita I observed an arriero let his mules [illegible]r on while he stopped, r[illegible] his hat, placed it against his breast, looked up to heaven and whispered a prayer, but he hurriedly went o[illegible] [illegible]e watching him.

There is another aspect of apachita, which I have already pointed out, that has not been mentioned by [illegible]. It is the healing [illegible]ct of apachita and appears not only to be limited to Apu[illegible], since I shall cite instances from the Ayaviri region of Cuzco [illegible] from Bolivia. "En Andahuaylas [Apurinac] se llaman apachita, huishchupa ... ofrecen coca, flores, trapos, velas, ... si alguien tiene enfermedad se va a quemar su [illegible] allí" (ID). [illegible] the Ayaviri region: "... enfermos hacen Qolpachacuy, es decir se lava todo el cuerpo con este salitre y después llevan la qolpa (salitre) al apachita. [illegible] nadie puede entrar al cuarto por [illegible]as, si no traen de nuevo la enfermedad" (IE); "iskay chunqa p'unchaw caman" (IF).[3] In 1969, on a journey from Cochabamba, Bolivia, to the neighbouring town of Independencia, while crossing a ridge of the Mazo Cruz, we came across a pile of animal skins, food in pots, flags, money and candles.

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1. Apu:- see p. 33.
2. T'inka:- see p. 176 below.
3. His wife broke in saying that it was not two days but twenty days.

On asking what it was I was informed that it was placed there on the apachita so that the illness that had affected the animals in the valley below might be stopped by this offering to the spirits of the pass, and that whoever took the money or the food would also receive the sickness. In the apachita of Tunapita I have seen pieces of old clothes, and horsehair twisted to form a small plait (it appeared to have a left-hand twist).[1]

This brings me now to objects placed at an apachita. Stones are still being placed at the apachitas El Abra, Tunapita, etc. I have also found stones, old cloth, handfuls of earth at all the apachitas listed. Only at Tunapita have I discovered money: soles, 25 centavos, cinco reales. The money was hidden under several stones on the pile. I have found lit candles at Cruzccasa and Tunapita. I have also found evidence of spitting coca and maize at several apachitas, though I have not seen anyone doing it.

In the framework I mentioned whistling as a form of worship at an apachita. In San Martín, as I have already shown, apachitas as such do not appear.[2] Yet cargueros (porters), men of the Quechua culture usually from the province of Lamas, when carrying their cargoes of up to 100 kilos over the rough jungle trails whistle a little refrain or play on their pan-pipes than "volteando un cerro". IAC mentioned doing this in his younger days as a carrier from Yurimaguas to San José de Sisa, a journey of about four days.

*** Conclusions

It would appear from present-day evidence that the worship at apachitas or of apachitas is very much alive at least in the area of Apurimac,

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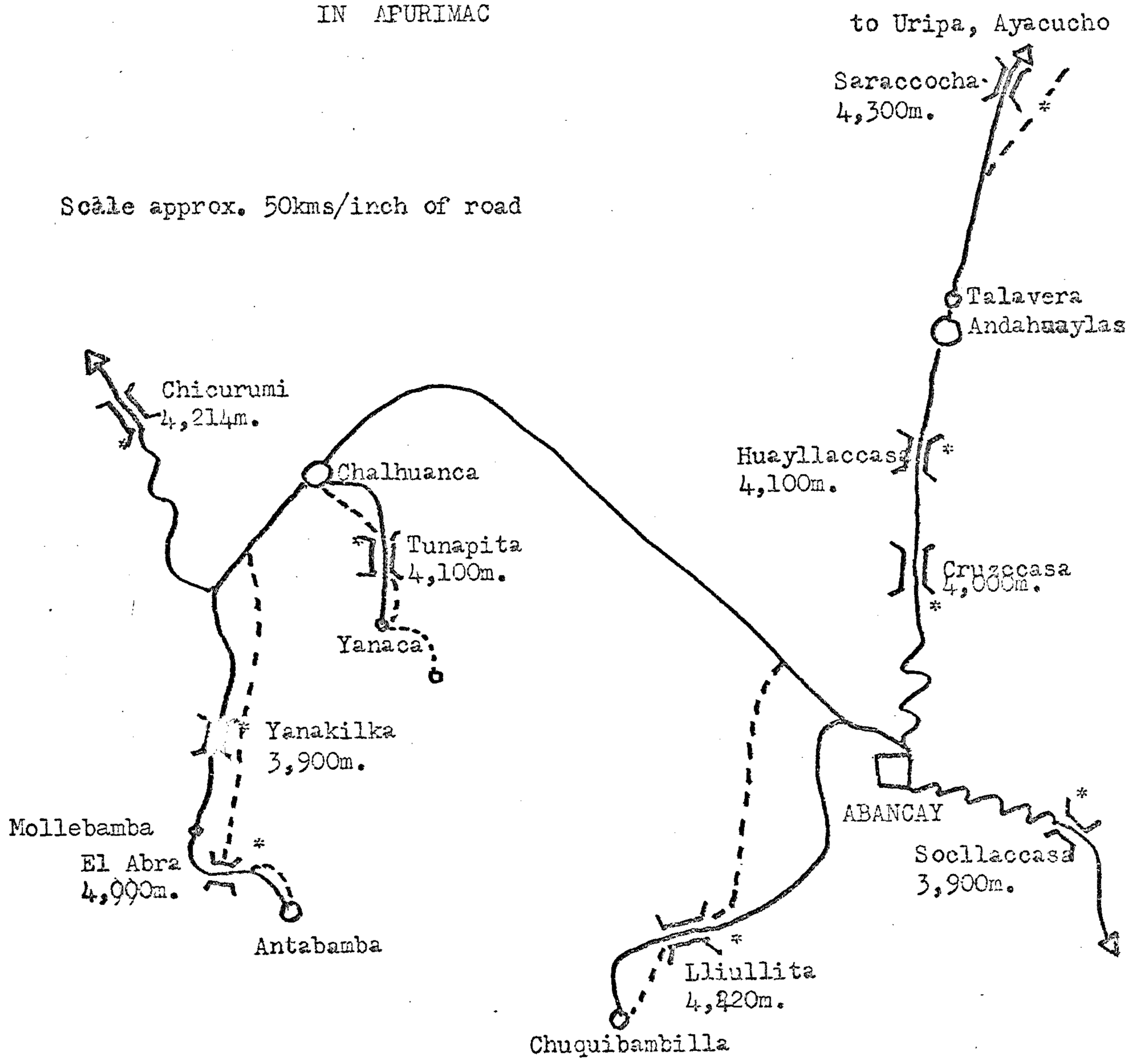
1. Left-hand twist:- see lloq'e, p. 171 below.
2. See comments on pp. 13, 14 and 15 above.

although the cross, as in the story of Mancocapac at Huancaraime, may have taken over from the worship of other spirits or of stones and other natural phenomena.

In my observations of the sites known as apachitas, I note that there are different types of piles of stones. These I have called type A, type B and type C. Type A comprises small piles of stones at either side of the path just below the ridge. Type B is the large pile of stones on the ridge itself, sometimes with a cross or crosses. Type C is one where the path passes through a gully between two banks of stone on the ridge itself. These three types must not be confused with small piles of two or three finely balanced stones that appear near villages: these appear to have another use — "When a Quechua leaves his woman to go on a journey he makes a pile of stones near house, balancing one on top of the other ... If the stones are in place when he returns then he knows that she has been faithful. If they have fallen, he will know that she has been unfaithful and she will warrant a severe beating" (IG). There are many other crosses and stone piles on trails as well; on pages 30-32 I show the differing types on such trails, mentioning briefly the purpose of each.

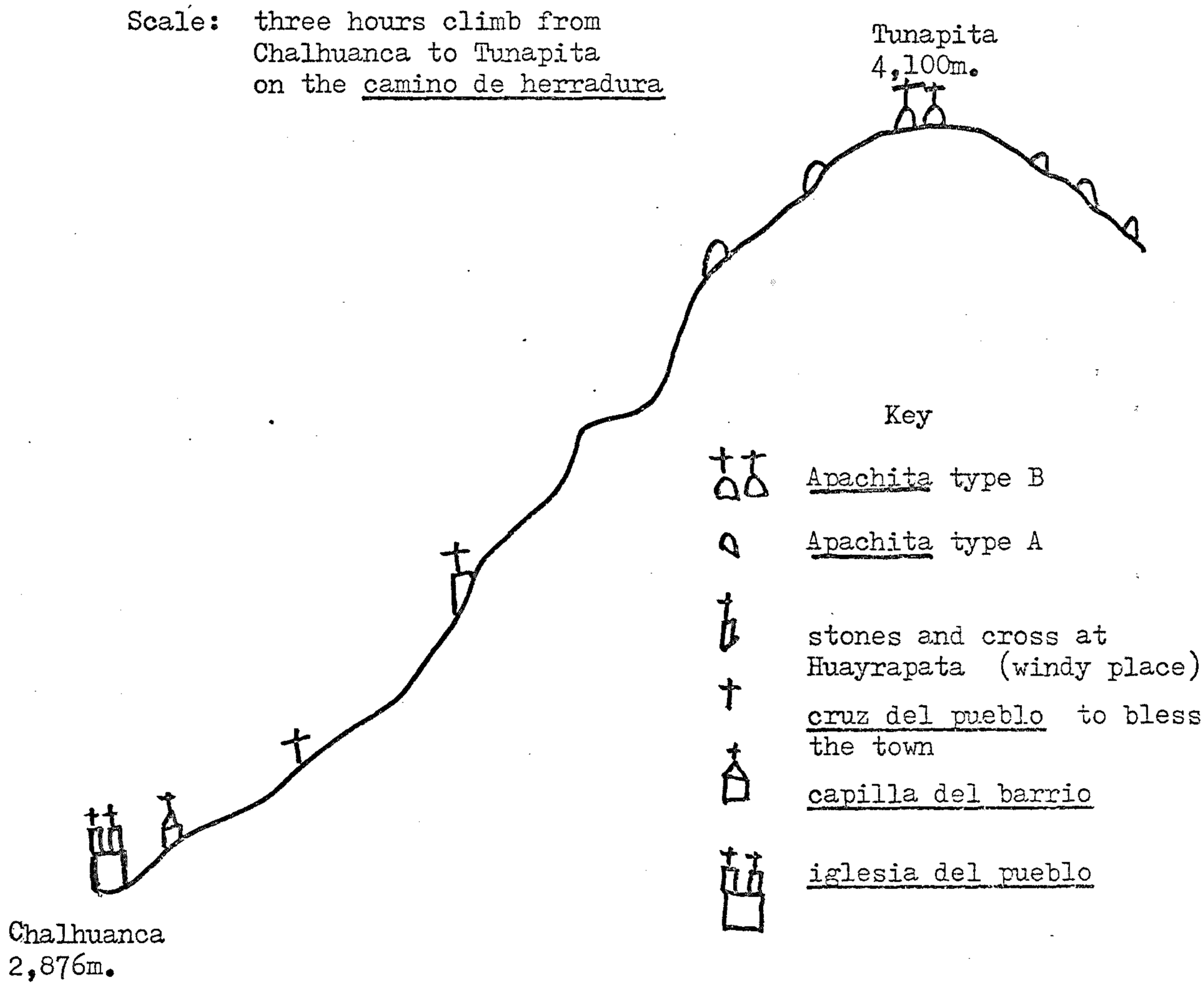
DIAGRAM OF THE APACHITAS VISITED
IN APURIMAC

Scale approx. 50kms/inch of road

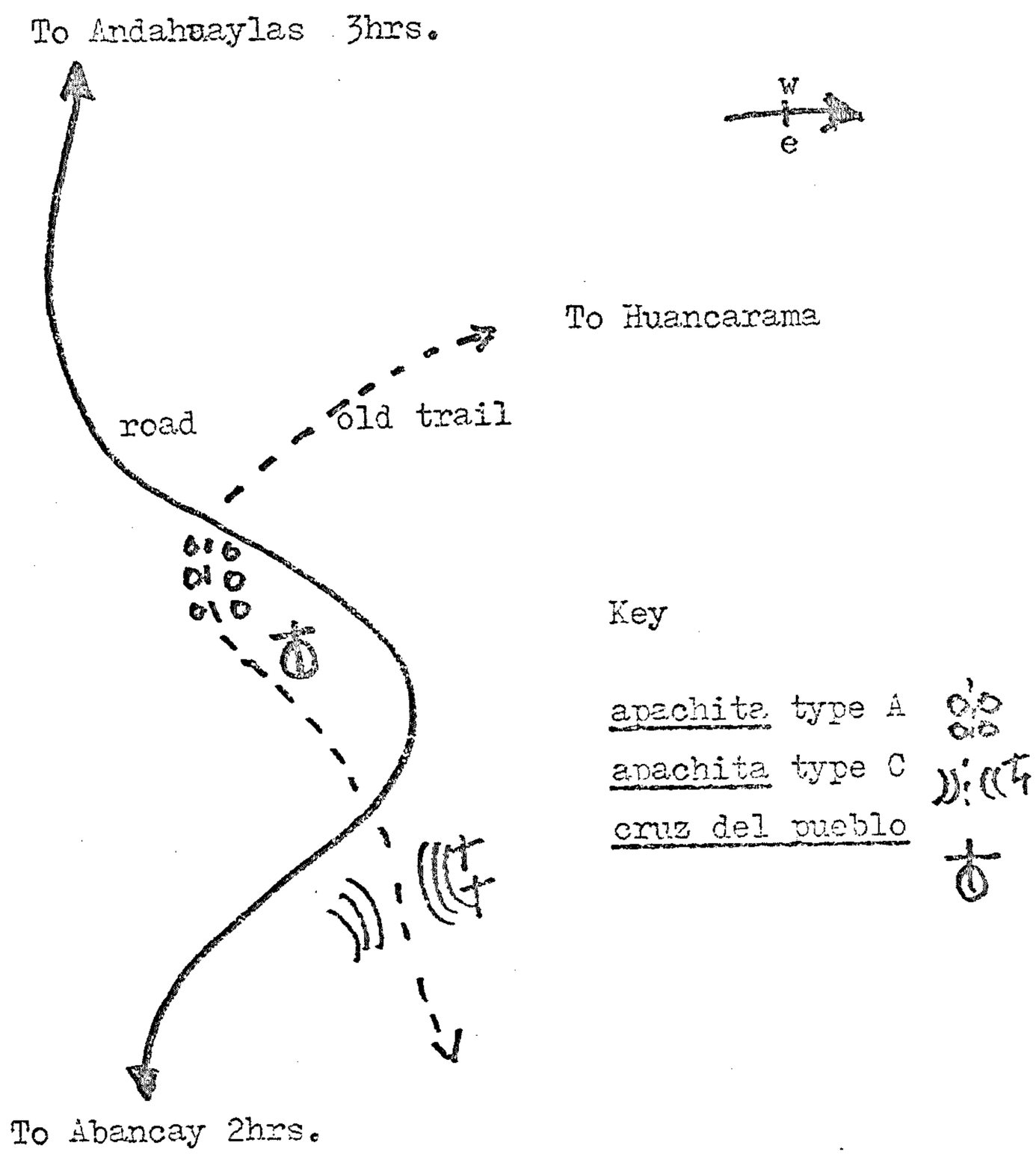


VERTICAL SECTION OF THE APACHITA TUNAPITA AND ITS APPROACHES

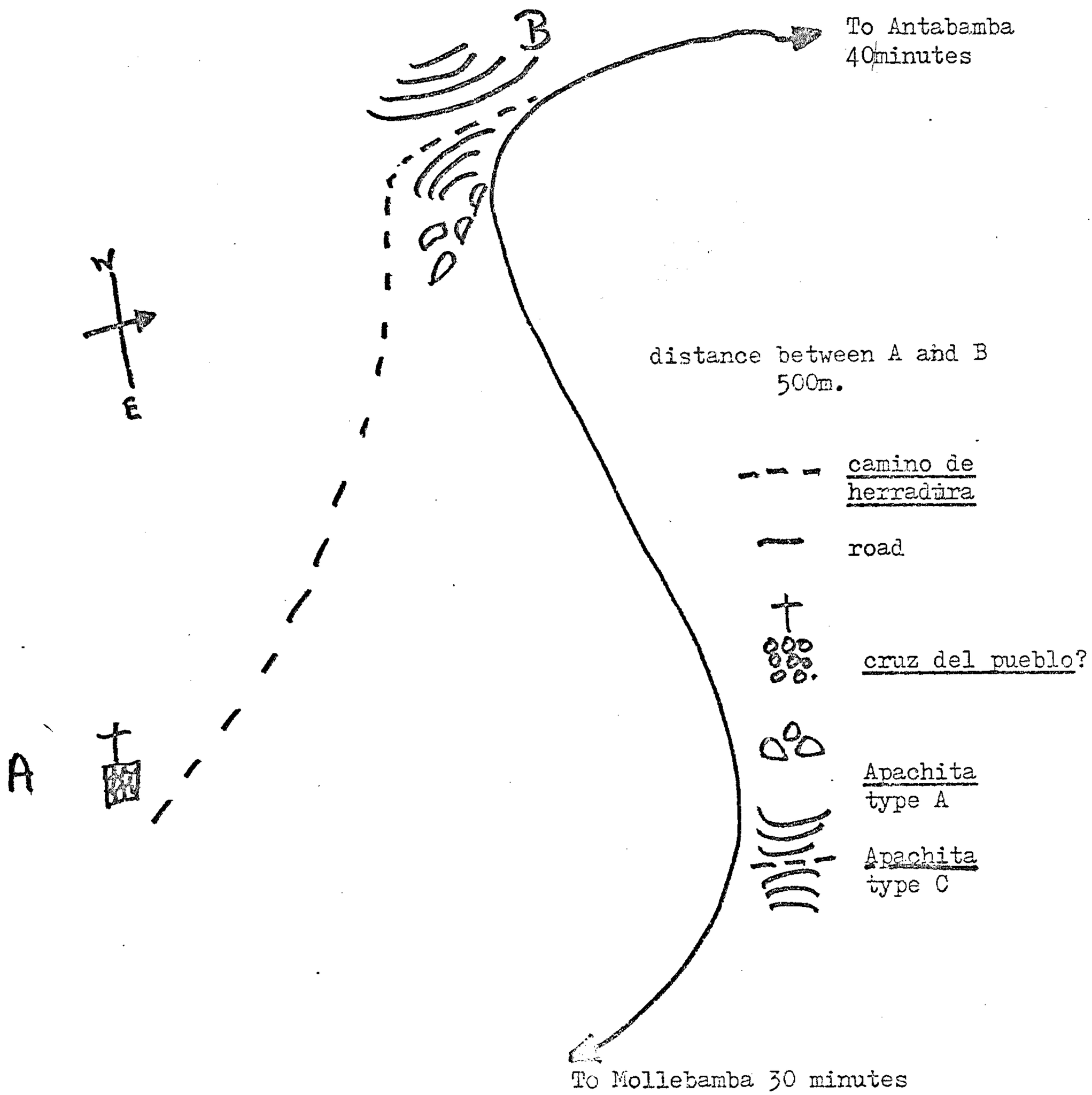
Scale: three hours climb from Chalhuanca to Tunapita on the camino de herradura



LOCATION OF THE APACHITA SYSTEM IN THE AREA OF CRUZCCASA, BETWEEN ABANCAY AND ANDAHUAYLAS



LOCATION OF THE APACHITA SYSTEM IN THE AREA OF EL ABRA,
BETWEEN MOLLEBAMBA AND ANTABAMBA



APU

* Introduction

In the analysis of the term apu I continue to follow the general outline as set out in the Synopsis. Here too I have developed a framework to include all the elements of meaning gathered from the different materials consulted. From that framework we can arrive at an understanding of the term apu both in the time of the EIP and at the present day.

* The framework for apu

Possible early meaning: culture hero

Meaning from the time of the EIP to the present day:

(a) a descriptive appellative applied to persons

(b) a descriptive appellative applied to objects

I have purposely made the headings for this framework of a general nature as this facilitates dealing with the problem of animism and animatism in areas where apu is used in connection with mountains. The sub-points occur later under each section.

* The framework applied to the dictionary definitions

The word apu occurs significantly in nineteen of the dictionaries consulted. It does appear in Landerman's dictionary for the Pastaza region, a jungle Quechua spoken along the banks of the river Pastaza in the department of Loreto, Peru, but does not appear in montaña Quichua (Ecuador), nor in San Martín Quechua (Peru).

Possible early meaning:

(a) culture hero: "Apu. sust.ant. Rey ... Orígen: Cakchiquel. Nota.- El título ajpop ere propio de los reyes de Guatemala. En el antiguo reyno quiché de Guatemala uno de sus principales dioses o heroés divinizados tenía el nombre de Hun-Ahpú; hun, en Quiché,

es uno" (Mora I p. 91)

Meaning from time of EIP to the present day:

(a) a descriptive appellative applied to persons

(i) great lord: "Gran señor" (Guardia Mayorga p. 40), "Gran Señor" (Perroud p. 11), "señor grande" (Paez p. 143), cf. "apu ant, señor" (Albo II no page no.), "Señor" (Lira 1973 p. 18)

(ii) judge: "... juez" (Landerman p. 13), cf. "juez superior" (Guardia Mayorga p. 40), "juez superior" (Holguín p. 31), "juez superior" (Perroud p. 11), "n. Jefe" (Cordero p. 5, Albo II n.p.r.)

(iii) rich: "... y rico" (Paez p. 143), "Rico" (Perroud p. 11), "... rico" (Ricardo p. 17)

(iv) king: "... Rey" (Holguín p. 31), "... ant. Rey" (Mora I p. 91)

(v) master: "amo" (Middendorf p. 63), "Amo" (Durán p. 72)

(vi) chieftain: "... curaca principal" (Perroud p. 11), "Curaca principal" (Holguín p. 31)

(vii) teacher: "... maestro (obsolete)" (Shedd p. 188)

(viii) creator: "... dios apponchicman fongoyquichicguan chayanguichic ... a dios nuestro creador con nuestro coraçon os llegud" (Santo Thomás p. 205)

(ix) other terms (I have grouped these together as they each appear in only one of the dictionaries and do not appear to be important elements in the meaning of the term apu): "dominador" (Middendorf p. 63), "poderoso" (Paez p. 143), "mandatario" (Cordero p. 6), "eminente, excelso" (Lira 1973 p. 18)

(b) a descriptive appellative applied to objects

(i) to snow peaks: "... este título a los grandes nevados

de la cordillera como el Sallcantay" (Guardia Mayorga p. 40), "Se aplica a los grandes nevados: Apu Salkantay" (Perroud p. 11)

⁂ The framework applied to the EIP

The word apu appears thrice in the EIP. Perhaps it is significant that it does not appear in the "Edicto contra la Idolatría."

Possible early meaning:

(a) —

Meaning from time of EIP to the present day:

(a) a descriptive appellative applied to persons

(i) —

(b) a descriptive appellative applied to objects

(i) —

(ii) huaca: "... una huaca que estaba en la superficie de la tierra, que dicen era Huaina Yurac, hijo de Apu Yurac, que dijeron al dicho visitador que había [illegible] Fray Francisco, ... mandé cavar, y a un estado halló ... un halcón de piedra sobre[1] una planchilla de plata, rodeado de muchas co[illegible] que tenía la h[illegible] cuidados" (EIP [illegible] 231), "En la población anti[illegible] fortaleza de cantería, cavando más de estado y medio, se halló, en medio de una casita hecha de cantería la huaca Apu Yurac, que era de piedra, de figura de indio, de tres cuartos de alto, sobre unas planchillas de plata, rodeada de muchas conopas ..." (EIP p. 232), "La huaca del ayllo de Sopan ... ll[illegible]ase Apu Xillin" (EIP p. 233)

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1. Huaca:- see Rowe pp. 295-97.

** The first [illegible] applied to literary contexts with the EIP

As the EIP provides little information about the use of the term apu, I shall continue to give applications from other literature in the time of the EIP.

Possible early meaning:

(a) culture hero

I [illegible] dealing with this possibility in its entirety at this stage in the framework rather than waiting until my conclusions on page 46 as it is less confusing to deal with all the material at once in this case.

Looking again at Mora's definition (above, p. 33), he suggests that the principal gods or heroes with divine attributes in the Quiché kingdom were called Hun-Ahpú. Arriola in El Libro de las Geonimias de Guatemala explains that Hunahpu, "... el vigésimo día del calendario quiché, ... corresponde al vigésimo día del calendario mexicano, Xochitl, que también significa flor" (Arriola p. 278). He also defines Hun-[illegible] "cerbantero" (blow-gun hunter) (p. 278). Miles in his article, "Summary of Preconquest Ethnology of the Guatemala-Chiapas Highland and Pacific Slopes," confirms that "Hunahpu, one blow-gun hunter, in Quiché myth[illegible] and the 20th day for mid-highland peoples was also an ancient hero" (Miles p. 285). If Mora is correct in suggesting that apu is a derivation from Ahpu, then it [illegible] that there is a connection in meaning for apu as an ancient culture hero. What is [illegible] more interesting is that in [illegible]'s classic work on [illegible] Hieroglyphic Writing the god, "He of the blow gun", also was called "Ahua ... Sun God" (Thomson p. 89). [illegible] (p. 68) has shown in his "Day Names in Various Languages" that day twenty was represented in Ixil, Quiché (1722), Quiché (Goubaud), and Pokomchi as Hunahpu, [illegible]u, Hunahpu and Ahpu respectively, but in Yucatec it was Ahua. There [illegible]rs therefore to be a link, albeit tenuous, between the

Quechua apu and that ancient culture hero, the sun god of the Maya! Another aspect linking apu to Mayan culture is that the [illegible] sun god [illegible] his night journey beneath the earth ... becomes the Jaguar God, of fearsome aspect, often pictured on classic [illegible] monuments" (Coe p. 177). Perhaps it is not without significance that early Peruvian cultures, such as Chavín and Nazca, also feature the cat god. Nimuendajú (p. 241) mentions also the apu-sipayá (Jaguar of Heaven) of the Shipaya tribe and Wagley (p. 178) the A[illegible], "... hero descended from heaven", of the Tapirapé tribe, both in the [illegible] basin are... At this point it is worth noting Pachacuti Yamqui's account in his Antiguedades Deste Reyno Del Perú of a mythological figure called T[illegible], Thonapa or Tunapa (he gives all three variations — pp. 282-84). In his new-found Christian (?) zeal he equates this mythological figure with [illegible], the disciple and apostle of the Lord Jesus Christ Pachacuti Y[illegible] was [illegible] the last person to associate this mythological figure with [illegible] The ancient chronicle also referred to a small village to the south [illegible] Santo T[illegible] [Department of Amazonas, Peru, on the road from Chachapoyas to Balsas] ... a long time ago a very holy [illegible] [illegible] in these parts in the first century of the Christian era. He taught among the tribes of Calinipos de Quillay. After this he sailed away across the ocean. During the colonial epoch, around 1597, St. Toribio Alonso de Mogrovejo awakened the spirit of these teachings in the people. He found a huge rock with the foot and knee prints of Didimo in the old city of Quillay and brought it into the present church of Santo Thomás ..." (Savoy p. 158). Savoy then goes on to point out that the sculptures in the adjacent ruins of Cuelap have a link with Mayan-Aztec culture, "which suggests some association with the Chachapoyas god pictured on their ancient temples, who for the moment must go unnamed, though we can assume that he was a forerunner of the Inca Virachocha [God Viracocha?] and may

have been called Dídimo." Surely though Savoy must have realized that Dídimo was the Spanish name for Didimus (twin), Thomas's other biblical name! If then there was an early Aztec/Mayan deity worshipped in the Chachapoyas ceja de montaña culture it is more probable that its original name was Tonapa etc. rather than Dídimo. It is interesting to note that the Chayahuitas, the jungle tribe most closely linked to the area, who were taught by Jesuits in the sixteenth century, have also the words dídimo and apu in their language. Both terms refer to culture heroes: "... both these are unknown words, but seem to refer to culture heroes" (IAU). So it would be interesting for a philologist, while dealing with apu as 'culture hero', to study the possibility that Tonapa, Thonapa, Tunapa is linked to the Mayan Hunahpu, Hunahpu ... Ahpu, etc. This would provide more confirmation of apu being a culture hero name from early times. It would also help those engaged in research from an archaeological point of view in locating the Chachapoyas ceja de montaña culture within the north-south or east-west development of Peruvian culture.

Returning to the framework for literature contemporaneous with the EIP, apu is also

(a) a descriptive appellative applied to persons

(i) great lord: "Ancha atunapo indichiri campa campalla apatucu ... Muy grand e poderoso Señor, hijo del Sol, tu solo eres Señor" (Sarmiento in Prescott p. 437)[1]

(ii) judge: "... jueces o consejeros, llamados Apucunas" (Cobo II p. 114)[2]

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1. Although many authors quote the term apu, there are few explanations of its use. For example Cobo (II pp. 88-92) gives the names Apu-Ichichi, Apu-Cinchi-Roca, Apu-Cavac-Cavana, Apu-Cumti-Ulla, Apu-Ichi of persons without an explanation of their meanings.

2. Apucunas = Apu-cuna (Quechua pl.) -s (Spanish pl.).

(iii) —

(iv) king: "Apu Capac Inca aucaccata atipulla ch[illegible] iccanqui hina (?) punchaupi ... Vamos solo rey y venceremos a tus enemigos, que hoy en este día ternás [sic] contigo prisioneros" (Betanzos p. 21)[1]

(v)-(viii) —

(ix) general: "Seas bienvenido, Apu Inca (que es general)" (Vega I p. 160)

(b) a descriptive appellative applied to objects

(i)-(ii) —

(iii) sun: "y así le llamaban Apu-Inti, que quiere decir, el señor sol: pintábanlo en su imaginación como fuera hombre ..." (Cobo II p. 157), "Como desto, Apu-Inti, en reconocimiento que somos tus hijos" (Cobo II p. 202)

(iv) river: "los indios le llaman Apurimac; quiere decir el principal, o el capitán que habla, que el nombre apu tiene ambas significaciones, que comprenden los principales de la paz y de la guerra" (Vega III p. 127)

** The framework applied to present-day literature

Possible early meaning:

(a) culture hero (I have dealt with this in the foregoing section, pp. 36-38)

Present-day meaning:

(a) a descriptive appellative applied to persons

(i) lord: "Quiquin Apunchej Jesucristotaj ..." (Sociedades

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1. It appears that the editors have incorrectly tackled the setting out of the original text of Sarmiento. The original text reads: "Acucapa yuga aucaguita atixullac xayamocran quihenia punchaopi." If "Vamos solo rey" is correct then the text could be set out thus: "Acu capa yuga ...", i.e. "Acu sapa Inca". Of course, if then this is the correct way of setting out the original the word apu does not appear at all!

Bíblicas en America Latina, Bogotá 1970 p. 113), "Jerusalem kayllampi tiyacorka Ayllachej Jesucristo" (Club de Escritores 1968 p. 29),[1] "Dios se llama unicamente Dios y no tiene referente tradicional. En castellano se llama Dios o nuestro Dios o Señor Dios o Dios Padre. Los equivalentes en quechua son iguales: Dius Taytanchis o Dios Yayanchis (nuestro Padre Dios) o Apu Dios (Señor Dios)" (Garr p. 93).

(ii)-(viii) —

(ix) important dignitary: "Apu — Señor, alto dignitario" (Lara 1960 p. 149)

(x) a venerable man: "hombre de mayor edad ... apu, venerable" (Dalle 1971 p. 62)

(b) a descriptive appellative applied to objects

(i) snow peaks: "El Ausangate y el Salkantai ... apus se saludan y conversan" (Revista Universitaria del Cuzco XXXVII p. 200), "Apu Cunarana, taytakuna, jamuy ... Señor Cunarana, Taytakuna, ven" (Dalle 1971 p. 32)[2]

(ii) huaca: "Dentro de la circumscripción del Ausangate, esta categoría está formada por tres grandes apus: Apu Wanakauri, Apu Qañaqwáy, y Apu Qolquepunku ... su veneración data de los tiempos de incanato. Hallamos que Pino dice: La más importante waka, fuera de los templos de los dioses del firmamento, fué Wanakauri ..." (Prado pp. 76-77)

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1. It has been the practice of the Club de Escritores, Sociedades Bíblicas in their translations of the Bolivian, Ayacucho and Ecuador Quechua to use apu for Lord, with reference to the Lord Jesus Christ. Whether such a usage is wise will be adjudged in the conclusions on apu. In order to save repetition I have given only one example from each source. For a larger list of publications of both groups see Bibliography. See also p. 122.

2. Cunarana appears to be one of the Nevados de Pomasi, SE Peru.

(iii)-(iv) —

(v) any hill that is worshipped: Here the border between animism and animatism becomes blurred. It appears that apu, the object, is so closely related to and identified with the spirit that at times no clear distinction can be made. As this is the crux of the study and use of the word apu, I shall now proceed to amplify this section of the study bringing in informant material to the analysis as well. An example of this blurring can be seen when Garr (p. 137) states: "Los apus son los espíritus que viven en los cerros"; also Prado (p. 72): "Los apus viven en los cerros."

In Allpanchis Phuturinqa 2, Prado attempts to distinguish the use of the terms auki, roal and apu. He maintains that there is "estrecha relación entre la elevación de las montañas y la jerarquía de los espíritus que la habitan ... es así que las más altas de cada area están reservadas al Roal, las que siguen en altitud a los Apus de mayor categoría y así sucesivamente siguiendo la escala descendente" (Prado p. 71). He cites Rowe (p. 296) as confirmation of the importance of height in worship, though Rowe does not mention the words roal, apu or auki. Prado admits later, "Hay comunidades, en las cuales la palabra Roal se ha confundido con la de Apu y se usan ambas indestintamente" (p. 72).

*** The framework applied to informant material

It appears that in Apurimac the word roal to describe a spirit or cerro (hill) has completely disappeared, if in fact it was ever so used in the first place, for the highest peaks are known as apus and

not roal. "Suparaura y Sarasara son las más grandes señores ... son los [illegible] puertados de todos, y aún Suparaura no parece muy alto, pero es ... no se van la gente por allí ... tres padres habían ido pero tenían que volver, tenían miedo, dice" (IJ).[1] Also as can be seen in the sketch on page 47, the lower hills were all classified by IJ as apus.

The distinction between apu and auki is one that is partly misunderstood in the Apurimac area. Murúa explains the difference in these terms: "Parece que en el imperio de los Incas los apus y los aukis eran los [illegible] principales y los de segunda categoría respetivamente. Por eso en el mundo físico están los cerros mayores y menores ..." (p. 287).

Amongst all the informants consulted, IK was the only one able to explain the difference. He took may have been able to do this from boyhood memories outside of the Apurimac area from the villages of Pitumarca and Mollepata in the department of Cuzco: "El altomesayoj es alguien que ha recibido algún susto de auki, como rayo o otra cosa, así tiene poder ... Sí, auki es apu, pero apu es más poderoso como Salkantay, Ausangate etcetera." Others maintained, "Todos son [illegible] por acá todos los cerros de todas partes se llaman [illegible]" (IM); "Todos los cerros alrededor de este pueblo son su [illegible]" (IN). It would appear therefore that the most [illegible] term in the Apurimac area at least is apu rather than roal or auki when referring to any hill in the area.[2]

It is also clear from [illegible] that each settlement, whether a large town of [illegible] 26,000 inhabitants like Abancay, or a small village

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1. Suparaura 5211 m., Sarasara 5522 m.

2. Auki:- see Arguedas' use of auki (EIP p. 205) and puquió (p. 101); also Arguedas II pp. 177, 179.

of some two hundred inhabitants like Sarayca, has its apus surrounding it. Here are some of the apus of various settl[illegible] in the Apurimac region: Abancay — "[illegible] uno, [illegible]auri es otro apu de [illegible]cay" (IO); San Juan de Chacña — "El pueblo de Chacña está reodeado por seis apus. El jefe es San Antonio por ser más santo ..." (IP); Caraybamba — "No sé de todos ... sé que Pisti es uno" (IO); Antabamba — "Sus apus son, Utupara, Supayqo, Allpaq Marca" (IN); Vischingay, provincia de Andahuaylas — Apu Landa is the cerro that guards the sun and moon for the pueblo as both sun and moon set behind this apu. [illegible] Tillka is the other apu of the village on which are Inca (?) ruins. It appears that beyond Apurimac there are settlements that also have their own apus: Mollepata, provincia de Anta, Cuzco — "Apu Tillka es el apu de Mollepata ... adoren también a Salkantay ... puede ser su nombre viene de sallja que quiere decir 'retirado' ... cuando se acerca a Sallkantay manda piedras en nuestro encima ..." (IK).

Nuñez del Prado gives several examples in the Cuzco area (pp. 7[illegible]-[illegible]). From my own observations in Bolivia, the following cerros are regarded as apus: Illimani, Qo[illegible], [illegible]a Potosí, Mollepuncu, Tayaqolqe, Tunari. IR's father used to worship at twenty-seven of them on his journeys as an arriero on the trails from La Paz, Cochabamba, San Pedro de Buenavista, Chuquisaca to Potosí.

Having attempted to show that in Apurimac the term apu may be used in connection with almost any cerro, I shall now give examples of the power and worship of these spirits of the cerros (apus). Cerros are considered to be dangerous places: "Peligroso es dormir en el cerro ... hay dos viejos aquí en Abancay que tienen una sola bola ... durmiendo en el cerro se hinchó ... el espíritu del cerro la había quitado" (IO); "La gente tienen miedo de dormir en el cerro, el apu

puede matarle ..." (IX speaking about Apu Orqo, one of the apus of Chincheros, provincia de Andahuaylas); "No se puede llegar en la punta de cerro ... manda piedras ... es como imán, nos tiene por paralizado ..." (IJ); "Apu Suparaura es peligroso ... y se va retirando, uno no puede alcanzarle ..." (IL).[1] The apus have special knowledge that can be used by a witch-doctor in effecting cures, etc. Since it is beyond the scope of this thesis to deal with pongo, paqo, layqa, huatoj, apuhuacyacocc, carisiri, yatiri, altomesayoj, pampamesayoj, camaj, etc., terms dealing with differing types of witch-doctor, I shall give examples of the relation of apus and witch-doctors without giving clear definitions of these various terms.

"El pongo llama al Apu para que le diga donde está una cosa perdida ... animal, una persona, dinero ... o para que el Apu trae el ánimo de una persona ... Son bien bonitos ... los ánimos brillan, hacen perjuicio, como bulto. El pongo también se llama camaj o huatoj el que adivina ... Mariano Huilca era un gran pongo ... se fueron donde él, guardias, hasta jueces a consultar" (IO); "Cada apu viene con ruido de animales por el aire ... tienen voces distintas ... algunos con voces gruesos, de lejos se les oye [indicating a distance of 10-15 kms.], vienen de noche ... viendo al enfermo, dice que el soq'a huayra ha llevado el espíritu del enfermo.[2] Entonces el altomesayoj pide a los apus que le traiga al soq'a huayra. Salen ... haciendo bulla ... de lejos traen con cadenas y sogas. El altomesayoj le pone en una huacra [horn] amarrándole con caytu [plant leaf] e hilo t[illegible]le con cebo.

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1. While apus are unknown in San Martín, there is one cerro that has both the magnetic and disappearing kind of quality. It is called Huamanhuasi, and on observing it one may see (they say) a golden door. If one keeps one's eyes fixed on it in one's attempt to reach it, the mountain appears to retreat and one is caught following it, never to return. It is supposed to contain Inca gold.

2. Soq'a huayra:- for a definition see p. 175.

El soq'a huayra grita y habla lisuras diciendo que no ha hecho, qué cosa hacerle así, por acá por allá habla ... entonce los apus le azotan con látigo ... Largo rato el soq'a huayra le solta al espíritu del enfermo. Sale muy débil ... —Aaah, laa, lau— diciendo y entra al hombre —Pssss ... A veces se sana. Después sueltan al soq'a huayra ... Cuando se busca en la huacra se encuentra un huesito de los antiguos y cuando se chanca el hueso, sale así, sangre ..." (IK); "Me fuí una vez a consultar uno de estos pongo ... Me dijo en primer lugar que él no sabía nada ... Entónce le dí su buen trago [cane alcohol] y después él sacó una bolita de cristál y le pusó en la mitad de su trago. Después me dijo va venir dos grupos más a su casa. Le pedí que me diga en donde he perdido mi caballo, y él me dijo que no puede pero voy a llamar a mi apu para que él me diga. Entonces comenzó a hablar en voz delgada y oigo algo en el techo como ave grande. Bueno yo maliciando [guessing] algo tenía conmigo una linternaza, entonces paaaac le enfoco y allí arriba en el techo está su ayudante con dos alas grandes moviendo y gritando en voz gruesa. Bueno estos otros dos grupos habían sidos sus ayudantes y comenzaron amenazarme, pero yo había tenido una pistola, pero uno de estas buenas, con seis cámeras, y siendo zurdo le saco y de repente, se dispara. Entonces dijo —Tengo los cinco todavía y balas más para consumir a todos Vds., y sobran todavía.— Entonces el viejo me dice que no diga nada a nadies [sic] y él me dará seis ovejas machos, cinquenta piezas de moneda vieja, y un caballo ... Este ha sido él que vivía al otro lado en Condebamba [Abancay] y se ha finado hace poco no más" (IT). Also in Huancavelica department "se hace consultas con los cerros" (IU). The apus themselves can be worshipped on the mountain: "This morning, don Nemecio Flores and other went off at dawn to sacrifice a llama

to the Apu U[illegible] ..." (IV), " Cuando se molesta el apu ... le pagan con despacho"[1] (IW), "También llevan su despacho al cerro para enterar para enfermedades ... llevan flores, animales, ..." (IX).

⁂ Conclusions

It appears that the term apu has changed from being directed to a person, as in the times of the EIP, to being connected with an object, viz, a cerro and the spirit that lives in it. This is especially true in the department of Apurimac. To give one other example, when IY [illegible] listening to a Quechua message-tape from Huanta, Ayacucho, his comment on this portion was as follows: "Este apocuna, ¿quiere decir los ángeles que viven en los cerros?" He had heard "caycunán piensan ll[illegible]ana allinqa apocuna ..." ("these now think, every one of the no-good señores ..."). I have never heard apo(u) being used in connection with a person in Apurimac. It does not appear to be used in the sense of "rich", as one might find in Huancavelica: "apu quiere decir rico" (IU). It would seem misleading therefore to be using apu in Apu Jesucristo in translations that were to be used in the Apurimac area. There is one interesting connection between the times of the EIP and present-day Apurimac use of apu that on further research might show that apu also carried the sense of worshipping the spirits of the hills in the time of the EIP. In Historia General de la Compañía de Jesús en la Provincia del Perú, one of the visitadores states, "Este yndio hizo pregonar en el pueblo de Huaquirqa que s[illegible] la cabeza de toda esta provincia, que todos lo[illegible] y mujeres se [illegible]tasen a subir un cerro a adorar y sacrificar a [illegible]a huaca [illegible] Bisi ... que algunos en ella h[illegible] con el diablo, y t[illegible] alguna necesidad para sus ganados ..." (II pp. 108, 113). Huaquirca is now a

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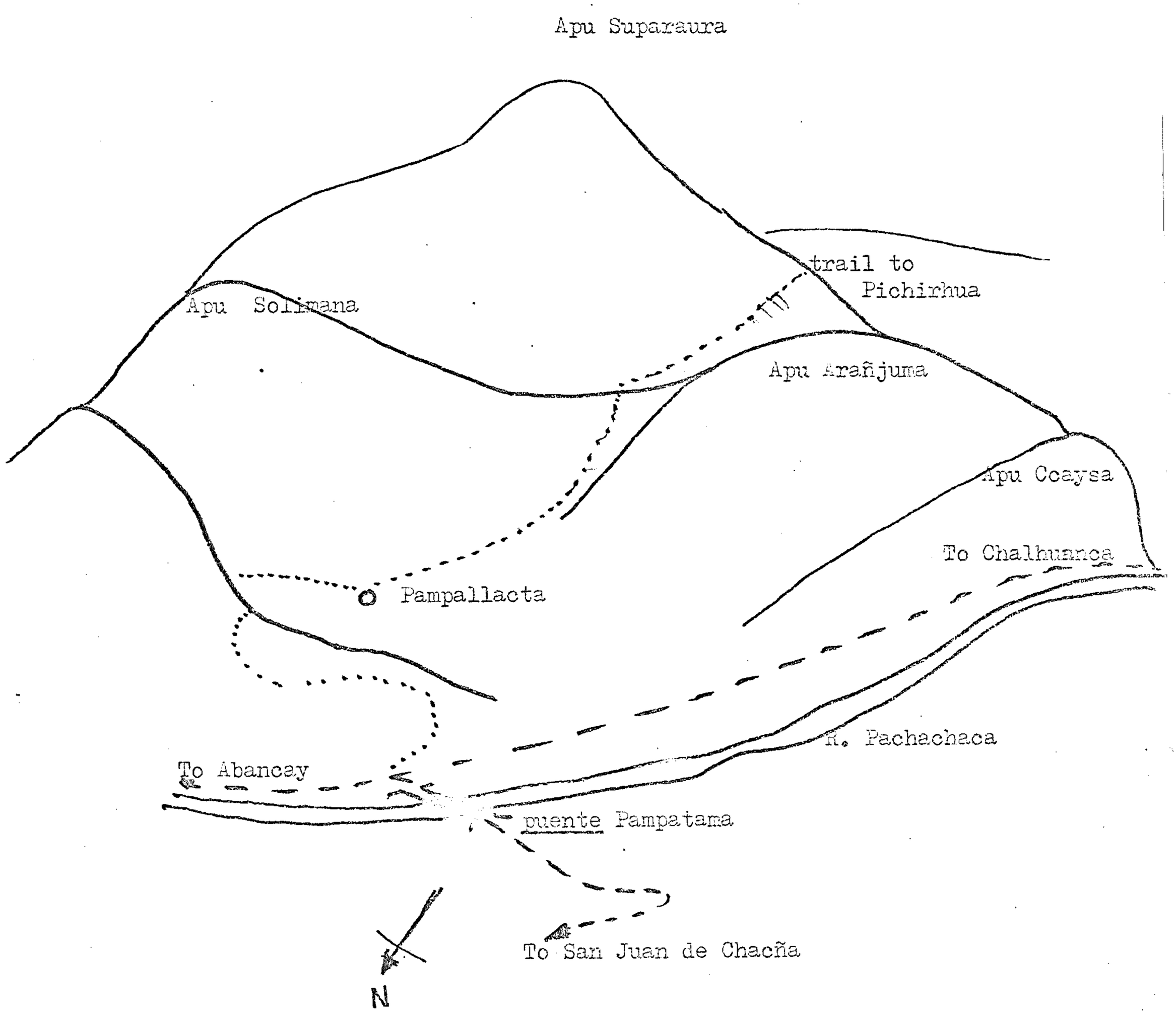
1. [illegible]- For a [illegible] explanation of [illegible] see Efraín [illegible]rote B[illegible] article "La [illegible]ta" in Arc[illegible] [illegible]anos [illegible] Folklore, Año 1, No. 1 (Cuzco, 1951).

THE APUS OF PAMPALLACTA, APURIMAC

"... todos son señores de mi pueblo" IJ



[illegible] pueblo [illegible] thirty minutes below Antabamba which is now the capital of the province. Pisi is not known [illegible] Pisti is still adored in Huaquirca today.

BRUJO

* Introduction

In the analysis of the term brujo, while following the general outline as set down in the Synopsis (p. 4), I shall concentrate on the usage of the word in the San Martín area rather than dealing with it in its wider context in Apurimac or the south of Peru, Bolivia, etc. I do this for two reasons: first, because quite a lot of research and material is available on brujos of the highland areas of Peru, Bolivia and Ecuador (see for example Religión y Magia en [illegible] Yauyos, [illegible] Curaciones por las Fuerzas del Espíritu en la Medicina Incaica, Cristianismo y la Religión Quechua, Medicina Indígena y Popular, Contemporary Quechua, The Aymará, etc.);[1] and, second, because little has been written down of Quechua text and the practices of brujos in the montaña.

In the translation of Quechua material into Spanish or English I have purposely been fairly literatic. All my Spanish/Quechua material is informal. It will therefore differ from such texts as Pumashi Apostarcan Tamyahuan or Rinchi Puricuc.[1] Although these texts are folk stories from San Martín, they have been worked on considerably to produce an easily-read Quechua for a bi-lingual education system. Where Rinchi Puricuc (p. 17) has, for example, "Chayllapi chunlla tucunsapa ..." my material would probably have a shortened form: "Chayllá chunlla tucunsá" (it is now just all quiet in there). On

1. For full Bibliography see pp. 198ff. below.

the other hand, where I would have, for example, "Ñucash huau", they would write it fully, "Ñucapish huauqui" (I also, brother).

** The framework for brujo

(a) one who undergoes special training

(b) one who has special powers

** The framework applied to the dictionary definitions

Because of the rather specialist terms used in the sierra for brujo (e.g. paqo, layqa, huatoj, hampeq, etc.) I shall work with the jungle dictionary and Corominas definitions.

(a) —

(b) one who has special powers

(i) connected with the devil: "brujo — buruju, supay ..." (Landerman p. 68)[1]

(ii) connected with special knowledge: "brujo yachaj, bancu, sagra, tsalmanga" (Orr p. 7), "brujo ... yachac" (Landerman p. 68)

(iii) connected with the elements: "... supone que bruja designó primeramente un fenómeno atmosférico, borroscoso, ..." (C[illegible]iras I p. 530)

** The framework applied to the EIP

I shall give firstly the portions of text where the word brujo appears, and then apply the framework. It appears that Arriaga does not use the word brujo as a generic term, but specifically. His generic term

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1. Referring to Spain, Covarrubias (1611) states, "... bruxo, cierto género de gente perdida y endiablada, que, ... ofrecen sus cuerpos y sus almas al Demonio a trueco de vna libertad viciosa ... causando en ellos vn profundíssimo sueno, les representa en la imaginación ir a partes ciertas ... y el Demonio se les aparece en diversas figures a quien dan la obedencia ..." (I p. 378).

is hechicero:

> Estos que comúnamente llamamos hechiceros, aunque son raros los que matan con hechizos, con nombre general se llaman Unu y Laicca, y en algunas partes, Chacha, y Auqui, o Auquilla ...
>
> (EIP p. 205)

He distinguishes these two terms in this portion:

> Pero haré una breve suma y diré como testigo de vista las huacas, hechiceros, conopas y otras cosas de idolatría que se han hallado ... cuarenta y cinco mamazaras, y otras tantas compas, ciento y ochenta y nueve huancas (estos son diferentes de las huacas), seiscientos y diecisiete malquis, y los brujos que se castigaron en los llanos, sesenta y tres. (EIP p. 200)

> Son estos Cauchus, o Runapmicuc, como ellos llaman que quiere decir el que come hombres, un género de brujos, ... y se averiguaron cosas extraordinarias y muy lastimosas. En suma es que en diferentes ayllus y parcialidades hay diferentes maestros, que ellos llaman ahora con nuestro nombre español Capitán, y cada uno tiene diferentes discípulos y soldados.
>
> Este les avisa y previene cuando le parece tal noche (que siempre son a este tiempo sus juntas), y en tal lugar se han de juntar ... acompañado de uno o dos de sus discípulos; ... así llega a la persona que quiere matar ... le chupa ... y así llaman también a estos tales brujos en su lengua chupadores ... Es común frase y modo decir cuando hacen estas juntas. Esta noche hemos de comer el alma de tal o tal persona. En estas juntas se les aparece el demonio, unas veces en figura de león, otras veces en figura de tigre, y poniéndose asentado, y estribando sobre los brazos muy furioso, le adoran ... descubrío treinta brujos, y se les averiguaron cosas muy extraordinarias y singulares, al modo de las de los llanos y costa de la mar. (EIP pp. 208-9)

> Para examinar el hechicero en su oficio se le ha de preguntar si es Villac o Huacamantimac, que es lo mismo ... o es Hum[illegible] ... o [illegible], o Stoyac, Moscoc, o Pachachuc, o Azuac, o Yanapac, o Brujo, y si habla con el demonio y en qué figura se le aparece.
>
> (EIP p. 249)

> Item si saben que haya en este pueblo alguno o algunos indios que sean brujos maléficos o tengan algún pacto con el demonio.
>
> (EIP p. 274)

(a) one who undergoes special training

(i) as a discípulo: "cada uno tiene diferentes discípulos ..." (EIP p. 208)

(ii) making a bargain with the devil: "o tengan algún pacto con el diablo" (EIP p. 274)

(b) one who has special powers

(i) connected with the devil: —

(ii) connected with special knowledge: —

(iii) —

(iv) as a chupador: "le chupa ... llaman ... en su lengua chupadores" (EIP p. 208)

(v) to kill: "Esta noche [illegible] le comer el al[illegible] [illegible]e tal ..." (EIP p. 209)

(vi) to see the devil as an animal or animals: "... le aparece el demonio, ... figuras de león, ... figura de tigre" (EIP p. 209)

** The framework applied to literature contemporaneous with the EIP

The word brujo is not commonly used of the above type of person in the literature contemporaneous with the EIP. It is again the word hechicero that is found. For example, "Hubo también hechiceros y hechiceras ... muchos lo ejercitaban solamente para tratar con el demonio en particular ..." (Vega I p. 44); Pachacuti Yamqui: "Así con santa fe católica ... los perçiguieron a los hechiceros ..." (p. 281); "Capitulo XXXV. De los hechiceros y las s[illegible]tiiones que usaban en curar" (Cobo II pp. 227-28); "hechiceros comunes ... que todavía existe hasta [illegible] (P[illegible] Ayala p. 195); "porque ya los viejos que las hacían y hechiceros son cási muertos ..." (Cristobal de Molina p. 76). I shall not therefore apply these [illegible]ons to the framework as it would be eisegesis rather than exegesis, the word quoted being hechicero and not brujo.

** The framework applied to present-day literature

Little has been published in present-day literature on brujos of the area of San Martín. My main source in this section is El Indio

de Lamas.[1]

(a) one who undergoes special training

(i) as a discípulo: cf. custom among the Jívaros (the Jívaros used to get their ampi (curare) poison for their blowguns from the Lamas region: Stirling p. 84): "A bargain was reached whereby Ustacho agreed to train Tendetsa. It was necessary for Tendetsa to pay a high price for this course of training. He gave Ustacho many things, including gifts of food, ornaments, articles of clothing, and other articles of considerable value. The period of training lasted for one month, beginning and ending with the full moon" (Stirling p. 117)[2]

(ii) making a bargain with the devil: —

(b) one who has special powers

(i) connected with the devil: "Brujos hechiceros o Pusangueros ... Por ejemplo, para dominar el carácter del marido frente a la responsabilidad de su hogar ... proceden de la siguiente manera: en una olla grande, que contiene agua y corteza de algarrobo [Phitecolobium Mathewsii] ... calzoncillo de marido con el calzón de su mujer ... se cocinan [illegible] horas en un lugar solitario ... el brujo [illegible] dice mentalmente así: — Por Lúcifer, con [illegible] calzoncillo y calzón de marido y mujer.

---

1. Guillermo Izquierdo Rios, El Indio [illegible] (Tarapoto 1960). However, Howkins has several phonetic texts in his work, pp. 283-94, 293-94 and 297-99.

2. Metraux and Kiss admit, "Data on native religion are lacking ... In the [illegible] some peculiar features. The neophyte sorcerer dieted on thick tobacco juice, cigars, ayahuasca and, uniquely, Brunfelsia [illegible]flora ... To cause illness he implanted a splinter with his power and cast it at his victim. To cure it, a shaman sucked out the splinter. Anthropomorphic bush demons might also cause sickness." These are all their notes on religion and shamanism for the tribes of the middle Huallaga river (p. 605).

Y por el algorrobo, convierte la sangre en puro amor. — El marido se vuelve dócil al extremo, sonso, que su mujer abusa de él" (Ríos p. 108)

(ii) connected with special knowledge: "Brujos [illegible] o Adivinos ... Estos para descubrir o adivinar robos, beben una infusión de ayahuasca ... O estos brujos hacen beber la infusión de ayahuasca a la persona ... Un mestizo de Lamas ... ingirió este brebaje bajo la administración de un brujo mago indígena con el objecto de descubrir el paradero de una de sus vacas ... En su borrachera vió a la persona que robó su vaca ..."[1] (Rios p. 109)

(iii)-(iv) —

(v) to kill: "Son aquellos que se creen capaces de influir en el destino de sus semejantes ... mediante el empleo de brebajes ... producen efectos desastrosos en el organismo ... Asimismo usan la lupuna (árbol de gran tamaño) /Ceiba pentandra/ ... a quién le quieren hacer daño; recogen estos restos /de comida/ y abren un hueco en el tronco de la lupuna ... La persona insensiblemente se engorda a igual que la lupuna, hasta reventarse ..." (Rios p. 108)

(vi) —

(vii) to call the spirits by singing: "El indio que da el brebaje lo hace masticando un pedazo de tabaco, al mismo tiempo canta la siguiente canción con aire triste:

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1. Ayahuasca:- "Nombre de unas lianas de la familia botánica de la malphighiáceas. Se conocen varias especies en el Oriente del Perú, entre ellas la Banisteria Coapi y la Banisteria quitensis ... Altamente afrodisíaca ... ante la vista del narcótizada, como pasa una película de cine, puede hablar, puede quejarse ... Es decir no pierde completamente el sentido ..." (Tovar pp. 40-41).

Quechua	Castellano
Ihuanunda mariri,	Nunca a nadie temerás,
ayahuasca ampishunga	ayahuasca, te ha de curar
ayahuasca ampishunga.	ayahuasca, te ha de curar.
Serenapi manchashunga,	La sirena también te ha de tener miedo,
ayahuasca ampishunga	ayahuasca, te ha de curar
ayahuasca ampishunga.	ayahuasca, te ha de curar.
Ñuca runa manchashunga,	El hombre del agua te ha de tener miedo,
ayahuasca ampishunga	ayahuasca, te ha de curar
ayahuasca ampishunga.	ayahuasca, te ha de curar.
Ihuanunda mariri	Nunca a nadie temerás
mariri, mariri	temerás, temerás
mariri, mariri.	temerás, temerás. [1]

(Ríos p. 106)

** <u>The fr[illegible] applied to informant material</u>

I shall set out two transcriptions from my San Martín Quechua t[illegible] before attempting to place the material in the framework.

<u>Text 1</u>

Cashnanllán patronán Mercedés yachachimuarcan versutác.	It was in this way then our <u>patrón</u> Mercedes taught me to compose (spirit songs).
— Agostotúc, sh[illegible] caymán. —	"Friend Agusto, come over here."
— Eh ... [illegible] ñuca quillcacuniñán sham versocuycín. —	"Oh ... I can't even write let alone come and compose."
— Shamuyña, acuá, deverá lapó cúyq, — nihuarcán.	"Come right now, let's go, really I'll give you a wallop," he said to me.
— Eh, bueno pues, suc verso cushichshpa Mershicu, ñucán. —	"Oh, all right then, [illegible] verse to make me happy, friend Mercedes."
... — Cunan c[illegible] ima versatím yachachimuhuangui,— nircanín.	"... Now, c[illegible] out, what verse will you teach me again?" I said.
— Bueno entonces, ñuca, tat Mershíc munanín Tinguna mariri[illegible]ca. —	"Well now, I, father Mercedes would like now <u>Tinguna mariri</u>."
— Bueno, entónce, v[illegible] pues:-	"O.K. then, let's go:-
—Tin[illegible]uay mariri	<u>Encuéntrame mariri</u>
Tin[illegible] mariri	" "
Tingun[illegible]uay mariri	" "
Tingunahuay mariri	" "
Tingunahuay mariri	" "
Tingun[illegible]uay mariri	" "
Tingur[illegible] mariri	" "
Tingunahu[illegible] mariri	" "
Tingunahuay mariri	" "
Tingunahuay mariri.—	" " "

1. There are several difficulties with Rios's translation of the Quechua of/....

— Chaypilla allán ... —
— Allininbín ... chashna versocún.—
— Ahora shá pantachipungui cashcan churáp. —

— Tingunahuay mariri,
Tingunahuay mariri
Tingunahuay mariri
Tingunahuay mariri
Tingunahuay mariri
Tingunahuay mariri
Tingunahuay mariri
Tingunahuay mariri
Tingunahuay mariri
Tingunahuay mariri
Tingunahuay mariri
Tingunahuay mariri
Tingunahuay mariri
Tingunahuay mariríná y. —

— Chandá chayllap cashcan. A ver, Huanchulitác churapuy, Huanchulít mariríc. —
— Buen pues, ...

Huanchulit y mariri
Huanchulit y mariri
Huanchulit mariri
Huanchulit mariri
Mariri nay runaynu
Mariri na runaynan
Mariri na runaynan
Mariri na runaynan
Mariri na runaynan
Mariri na runaynannáy
Huanchulitá mariri rá
Huanchulitá mariri rá
Huanchulitá mariri rá

[illegible] bueno mana [illegible]ún. —
— [illegible] pues tat Mershicu [illegible]. —
— [illegible] versucuy [illegible] versúm. —
— [illegible] pues, esí Curi-curi cadenita tat Mershicu. —
— [illegible], Curi-curi c[illegible]ta chumpíy. —
— [illegible], Me ...

Curi-curi c[illegible]illuyni
Curi-curi c[illegible]illúy
Curi-curi c[illegible]illúy
"
"
"
"
"
"
"
"
"
"
"

Curi-curi cadenillú[illegible] —

— Aa-[illegible] curi-curi c[illegible]ña conlu[illegible]pishcanguí[illegible]ahua-ray[illegible]hua Agó Pashúc. —

— Ií, mánch llullash cangui. —
— Y, cunan pues ési, a ver, c[illegible] versucuy chay-[illegible] versút. —
— [illegible] versocuy cun[illegible]ñit Aya runaca. —

— Bueno pues, tat Mershicu, Aya runaca:

Aya [illegible]riríray ...
/re[illegible] 12 times in all/
Ricsi[illegible] mariríá
"
"
"
"
"
"
"
"
"
"
"

Ricsilluyni [illegible]riríri. —

— Aa-ja ch[illegible] lóm [illegible]ócún ... [illegible]ún, Agó Pashúc, [illegible] llacuna mana caynách versocúsh ... —

sin [illegible], because you couldn't [illegible].
"[illegible] then, come on and teach me, father Mercedes."
"[illegible] it, it's [illegible] of time [illegible] verses, because you [illegible]."
"O.K. [illegible], this Curi-curi c[illegible] one, father Mercedes."
"All right, then, try out the Curi-curi c[illegible]na one."
"Good, Me[illegible] ...

My precious golden chain,
My [illegible] golden chain,
My ....

... precious golden c[illegible]."
"Ah-hah, my! you've really [illegible] a grip of Curi-curi cadena, [illegible]'ll want to sing me now, [illegible] to [illegible] Mastá.
"[illegible], never tell lies."
"[illegible] now then, let me se[illegible], sing [illegible] right now, with [illegible] to [illegible] it these compositions."
"All right [illegible], I'll sing right n[illegible], the wh[illegible]-do-you-call-it, the Aya runa."
"Right then, father Mercedes, the Aya runa:

/For translation see discussion on pp. 65f. below./

"Ah-hah, [illegible] w in tha[illegible] c[illegible] really, [illegible] to P[illegible]ose! Oh God, [illegible], you ca[illegible] beautif[illegible]! I'm [illegible] you Agosto F[illegible]asta, some discípulos don't kn[illegible] to compose like this."

— De [illegible] Mesh ... —
— [illegible], allinán [illegible]
mana ni [illegible] versos [illegible]
[illegible] que allininbín. [illegible],
[illegible], huarmi a[illegible]
[illegible] huac yachangui [illegible]. —

— [illegible], ni acepta Me ... —

— [illegible] versu[illegible] i[illegible]
manta. —
— [illegible] Acu ca[illegible] [illegible]-
pilla [illegible]. —
— [illegible] [illegible]illa Totora-
[illegible]. —

[illegible] pilla Totorillan
[illegible]illa Totorillan
"
" "
"

[illegible]illa Totorillay
[illegible]illa Totorillay
[illegible]illa Totorillan
[illegible]illa Totorillan
[illegible]illa Totorillay

Ci[illegible]inta umillambi
Ca[illegible]shi [illegible]n payta
Ci[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
Ci[illegible]illa
Hana may[illegible]ya
Sayari[illegible]
e ... [illegible] [1]

(IAC)

"[illegible] time, father [illegible]."
"[illegible], you'[illegible]
great, th[illegible]nothing i[illegible]
passing th[illegible] that you ha[illegible] to
[illegible] well, carajo, would
[illegible] ringing back a
[illegible]
"[illegible], I [illegible]'t even foll[illegible]u,
Mercedes ..."
"[illegible]ll right, [illegible] for me once
[illegible]."
[illegible], the [illegible]'s call one back
fr[illegible] Totora."
"Right, th[illegible] illa Tot[illegible]
one."

[illegible] is discussed on
[illegible]. 66f. below.]

Text 2

— [illegible], [illegible]rita, vegetalista
c[illegible] [illegible]ucac deveras allita
[illegible] i enfermtác. Allít.
Huil[illegible]pa bien grave cactin
... [illegible] nunactiyqui upiyachi-
yqui vegetalta, este
ayahuasca chashna cuscayamungui,
nín ...

"I, Mise[illegible] [illegible]talista.[2]
Truly I e[illegible] sick person
well. Really well.
We say, when he is very sick,
... well, when would you like
to drink a herbal potion, this
ayahuasca,[3] in that way dreams
will come to you, we say ...

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1. On another occasion in [illegible]ui, I noted that people were more frightened by the gibbe[illegible] singing of a brujo than by comprehensible word songs.

2. See discussion of this term on p. 61.

3. Ayahuasca:- a hallucinatory drug from a vine.

Chéch huillani, yanacu ni
enfermo chuca, día sabado
upiyansapa, día domingoman
mách-macha pacarinsapa.
Bueno de modo apiyansapa,
alma curinsapana, y cabin-
[illegible]
Y chay [illegible] huillanisapa,
cashcan shungui upiya-
nayashcu [illegible] ita mana manchashu-
ptinga. Bueno upiyanín.
... Y chay [illegible] cashcan
ñucapica, ishcay día, quimsa
díata huasinipica, huasinica
chunlla, chunlla liquidu.
Chay [illegible] quimsan día chaypina
enfermo [illegible] ... Y chaylla,
los demás arí, ñacadu.
Entónce voluntario ñuca
capán tragota ... ganash ñucán.
... Bueno examinán, bueno cay
piña ñacád hóm ... ñacád hóm
... Cay sanoyan, ishcay chupa,
quimsa chupadahuan ... Y de
veras sanoyan, ñacád cashpa.
Mana ñuca [illegible] urcunichu cashpa
sunita ... beroteta ...
chuscun día despachanisapán,
sanút, sanután. Esí cay chiri
malo cactami purgatac upiya-
chísh ... De veras cayca mana

That's what I say, and I black
myself for them, but they
they drink it so that on Sunday
they awake half drunk.
So in this way they drink it,
to cure their alma [spirit?], and
they return to their house.
And after that we say, ...
you ought to come again when you
want to drink, it won't scare you.
So, we drink now as well.
... And after that, I as well,
two, three days I'm in my house,
my house is silent, absolutely
silent.
And then by the third day, in
three now, sick folk ... And, yes,
those others are there, ñacadu.[1]
So, willingly I open the trago.[2]
I shall earn it, I shall!
... Well, I examine him, well this
is piña ñacadu, man ... bewitched,
man ...[3] This is cured by two or
three chupadas ... And true enough,
he is cured, when he was bewitched.
I didn't draw it out being long ...
the dart.[4] I sent him home on his
fourth day, cured, cured now.
Ah yes, for this cold sickness
when you get it, I give a purge
to drink ... Truly this doesn't

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1. Ñacadu is translated as embrujado in San Martín. Cf. for example "Ñakachiy, v.a. Hacer maldecir" (Lira 1944 p. 696).

2. Trago is aguardiente made locally in San José de Sisa, [illegible] and Tarapoto. The verb capa- from the Spanish capar 'to castrate': idiomatic, possibly as the large glass vessel is corked by a round glass stopper. Trago is brought as a gift to the brujo. He will also use it in fractions (see also Jara).

3. Piña ñacadu is in San Martín Spanish mal de la rabia. Cf. "piñana hablar con enojo" (Orr p. 71). It is brought on by another brujo bewitching them. A more general name for these illnesses brought on through one's enemies via the brujo is mal de la gente.

4. The dart, berote: cf. "Virote. — Es un dardo que hacen los indios utilizando los nervios de ciertas hojas de palmera (la shapaja); le dan forma de [illegible] como seis pulgadas de largo" (Tovar p. 205). These darts were used in every hunter's home until the introduction over the last two decades of escopetas and retros, two types of firearm. It is believed that the brujo causes a magic dart with the illness to enter the body. It has then to be removed by another brujo chupado (sucking). This is done by the brujo, after drinking trago, and smoking either a large quantity of cigarettes or his cashimbo (tobacco pipe), placing his face close to the affected part of his patient who is recumbent on the floor. He then coughs violently and coughs up a large quantity of phlegm/....

llullachun. Chayca seriamente, chashnán señorita ... — (IAJ)

fool about with it. All that w[illegible] quite serious, so that's it, [illegible] ..."

Returning, therefore, to the framework for brujo from informant material and personal observation we have:

(a) one who undergoes special training

(i) as a discípulo: "Yo he sido un discípulo de mi padre ... Una de las pruebas que yo tenía que hacer era pasar siete cerros y esper al diablo allí ..." (IAH). Cf. also an example from the Huánuco area of Peru: "Cuando yo estaba enfermo, mi mamá se fué onde el brujo ... mi tío era uno ... Cuando él preguntó —¿Quiéres aprender? — ella contestó, —¿Cuánto me va a costar? — —Te va a costar un tor[illegible] no [illegible]. —"(IAB). And: "En [illegible], Lima, también hay [illegible] que podía llamar al espíritu de cualquiera persona. Me dijé que para llegar a ser [illegible]ro uno tenía que pasar por una serie de pruebas. U[illegible] tenía caminar lejos y en una casa silenciosa esperar a la medianoche, todo su ser entre[illegible]lo ..." (IAC). Fasting appears to be part of the ritual as well: "... no tenía que comer sal ni aj[illegible] ..." (IAH).

(ii) making a bargain with the devil: "Bueno yo he leído el San Ciprián, pero teníamos que ir hacer pacto con el diablo mismo ..." (IAH); "viene una serie de animales feroces en un círculo, y uno no tiene que tener miedo, después t[illegible] viene el diablo para hacer pacto con uno ..." (IAC). Cf. also from Abancay area, Apurimac, "Abajo en la parte de

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phlegm and a dart. IZ's father, who was a renowned brujo in Agua Blanca, lid it by swallowing the dart beforehand, and later the tobacco smoke which made him sick it up!

Pachachaca hay un hueco donde viven los diablos y a donde se va la gente hacer pacto con el diablo ... hasta hoy ... Se llama Asnaj Tocco.[1] Dice que s[illegible] los arpistas y los violinistas allá, después, cará, se t[illegible]n una maravilla. Había un dueño de la hacienda de Litona abajo y sie[illegible] estaba derrumbándose su acequia ... Se fué a ver su caña.[2] Allá se encontró con un señor a caballo ... El señor dijo, —Yo te puedo traer buen agua acá si despué[illegible] te vas conmigo. [illegible] hacer contrato. — El siguiente dí[illegible] apareció una linda [illegible]tial en esta parte, bastante agua limpia ... Después se fué el hombre a ver su cañal y se encontró con el señor. —Vamos conmigo ahora, —dijo el señor. El otro dijo, por acá, por allá, —Me va[illegible] a dar plazo todavía. — Pero, des-[illegible] [illegible]pareció el [illegible], sus peones busca busca ... no le encontraron. [illegible] todavía, uno [illegible] cuidando sus toros, y siete toros, bu[illegible]os, gordos, desaparecieron. La dueñ[illegible] quis[illegible] [illegible]ciarle por robo pero el peon dijo, —Nó. [illegible] tiempo. Voy a buscar. — [illegible] encuentra huellas en la boca de este [illegible] Tocco. [illegible] e lleva siete velas ... se va ade[illegible] las velas entrando el cerro. De repente a[illegible] virgen.[3] Le cuenta que los diablos les han l[illegible] par[illegible] fiesta, puedes seguir no más, pero no tienes que aceptar ni una bocadita de comida ni aguita, si

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1. Asnaj tocco (lit. "the stinking hole") is a cave. "Es así porque tiene muchos murciélagos" (IX).

2. C[illegible] - sugar cane is grown in sever[illegible] in the valley of Pachachaca, below Abancay. They all depe[illegible] on irrigation systems for bringing [illegible]te water to the fields.

3. This would be the [illegible] worshipped in his chapel on the hacienda. The chapel at the hacienda Yllanlla in the same area drew devotees from as far away as Lima and Bolivia in the nineteenth century.

nó, nunca vas a salir. Se fué un poco más y había un pueblo y los toros jugando con los diablos en la plaza ... Volviendo el peon dijo a la dueña que es cierto que había visto a su esposo adentro"[1] (IL).

(b) one who has special powers

(i) connected with the devil: As shown in the material, on becoming an apprentice there is always involved a pact with the devil himself. Some brujos I have talked to in the San Martín area deny this. It appears, however, that there is a distinction between brujo, curandero and vegetalista. A vegetalista is one who uses herbs to aid recovery from diseases and from sprains, wounds, rheumatism, etc. When IAJ said, "I, Miss, am a vegetalista ...," he was endeavouring to cover up his true profession, for later he talked about people coming to him ñacadu (bewitched) and taking out, or attempting to take out, berotes. A brujo, or curandero, "son los que hacen pacto con el diablo" (IAD). IAF is in fact a well-known brujo in San José de Sisa. When IAF gave up witchcraft on becoming a Christian in 1966, he became extremely ill afterwards, which fact he attributed to the "espíritus del diablo que no me salen todavía ..." He had, of course, some twenty years before made a pacto con el diablo.

(ii) connected with special knowledge: This practice of going to a brujo for lost articles does not figure in San Martín to my knowledge.[2] Cows, for example, are for ever

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1. "... Había un cantor que cantaba por televisión ... hasta cantar en el Coliseo. Había tenido su poder de allí. Una noche desapareció, hasta ahora ... Habrá sido su tiempo completado" (IL).

2. Cf. "Cuando, más antes vivimos en Santa Toribia (Lima) siempre acudimos donde los paqos, si perdíamos una cosa ..." (IAF).

straying and being lost in the dense undergrowth which surrounds most pastures. Searches may last for days, even weeks, but I have never heard of a brujo being consulted on this matter.[1] In fact the c[illegible] phrase is: "Yo he maliciado ..." (I guessed where such and such was ...). The brujos in San Martín are not known as being able to fly from one place to another; but in the Huánuco area, "[illegible] c[illegible] ido a ver como practica el brujo ... Hemos ido a dormir en su casa ... Hemos hecho ruido de dormir, después hemos sacado nuestros zapatos y hemos ido a ver por la ventana. Hemos esperado muchas horas. Hemos oído el brujo chacchando.[2] He dicho a mi amigo, —Será engaño.— —Espera,— me dice. De repente, como a las doce de la noche apareció en el era para [illegible] maíz y sacaba toda su ropa y paaak ... voló como gavilán. —Vamos quitar sus ropas— dijo yo. Hemos corrido, pero en este momento ha vuelto otra vez" (IBD). Cf. also: "... a su novia había dicho que no venga martes en la noche ... se fué ella, y mirando por la ventana, vío a su novio con otros más ... poco rato después salió él volando ... brujo había sido" (IC).

(iii) —

(iv) as a chupador: See IAJ above, pp. 58-9, together with footnote 4 on page 59. Sucking out the cause of the sickness appears to be a trait of montaña brujería and not practised in the sierra. For some of the sierra methods

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1. Cf. p. 45 above.

2. Chacchar here means to masticate coca noisily. Cf. "Chaqchay ... andar en el agua haciéndola salpicar" (Guardia Mayorga p. 45).

see Mishkin pp. 469-70. I have not come across a case of chupando in Apurimac or other sierra areas, but IR did say that when his father was ill with papera (mumps) in Challapata, Bolivia, they called an uyusiri as they believed his father to be embrujado.[1] After he was healed there came out of his throat a small wooden cross, whose two sticks were bound together with dog's hair. The uyusiri did not apparently suck the swelling.

(v) to kill: Los brujos in San Martín claim the power to kill. IAD's life was threatened by brujo Pedro S[illegible]ya. Pedro gave him 24 hours to live. IAD was visibly shaken and the community waited to see the outcome of this test between los evangélicos and los demonios. IAD did not die and Pedro's house burned down early next morning, when he was chamuscando (singeing) a dead pig. This had a profound effect in the culture, and was to be a part of culture change there. Cf. "¿A quién quieres dañar, matando?— dijo el brujo. —Mis vecinos.— ... Mi mama regresó tarde con cinco cajas de cigarillos, dos kilos de coca, y cinco botellas de aguardiente ... Comenzó el hombre a tomar hasta que se emborracha, y después se fué con ella a una cueva en el cerro. Allí le mostraba como un horno y adentro había dividido entre tres partes — la carcel, la sentencia, y la muerte.[2] En medio de la muerte había una calavera de los gentiles y en la entrada

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1. Uyusiri:- See Dornfield p. 5.

2. The oven is the common bee-hive shape with a small hole at the front. The figure here is of three stages in a law-suit: first imprisonment, then under sentence of death, then execution. The ánimos of this couple were at first placed only in the cárcel.

había dos piedras grandes como a[illegible] ... Echó tres cigarillos al suelo y c[illegible] c[illegible] d[illegible] dijo —Bueno.[1] Después comenzó a orar y rezar a los cinco cerros.[2] Después de orar cinco veces llegó una mariposa grande y el hombre casi vuelve loco gritando. Era el ánimo del vecino, y amarrándolo con su hilo le hizo soltar para traer al otro. Le suelta, le suelta y de poco de poco le hala rápido y viene tr[illegible] un Gorigaman.[3] Entonces le [illegible] con hilo [illegible] y le traspasa con espinas de [illegible], le pone semilla de ají en s[illegible] para que [illegible] dores fuertas y le ponen en la cárcel. Dice a mi [illegible] —Ya ves en cuatro días va a enfermar.— Viene cuatro, [illegible], pero en seis días se oye de que están en c[illegible] n[illegible] están gritando ... —V[illegible] hacerles pasar a la muerte— dijo el brujo ... Entonces mi papá se va a destruir todo con un amigo ... Se desmaya el amigo al entrar la cueva. Entonces mi papá le soba con aguardiente y le da dos p[illegible]s ... Después recogen todo de la cárcel, la sentencia y la muerte en un costal grande, y le [illegible] con un pellejo [skin] para que no le toque su cuerpo. Lo llevó al río ... Después le hizo quemar el pellejo y casi todos sanaron" (IAB).

(vi) to see the devil as an animal or as animals: IAD told me that this was one of the tests to become a good brujo. The devil would a[illegible] as a circle of fierce animals,

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1. May mean the manner in which they were thrown down, or, more likely, that [illegible] ing three at once, the ash stayed on until the end.

2. See above, [illegible], pp. 33ff.

3. Gorigaman - a type of flying beetle.

including the otorongo.[1] If [illegible] showed fear, the animals would attack. Indeed, many did not return and had been found co[illegible]y animals. Then it was necessary to embrace the otorongo who would change into the devil and a pact could be made. Cf. "Viene una serie de animales feroces en un círculo, y uno no tiene que mostrar miedo. Después todavía viene el diablo mismo para hacer pacto con uno ..." (IAC). Cf. also this story from the Huánuco area of the devil appearing as a cat: "Cuando mi papá era joven todavía había estado en un velorio de un brujo ... había un gatito que apareció debajo de la mesa ... Los demás estaban durmiendo todos borracho no más... Comenzó a crecer y paaak ... se botó a la mesa. Mi papá estaba con miedo, ojos cerrados, con su sombrero así, cuando vió al gato poner su cola en la naríz del muerto, después en la oreja, después en la boca, y ... se sentó el muerto ya vivo. Entonces mi papá con honda [sling] dió kwañ ... al gato y se fué corriendo, y se cayó el muerto al piso. Habrá sido el diablo" (IAB).

(vii) to call the spirits by singing: In Text 1 and Rios's example (above, pp. 54-55 and p. 54 respectively) the word mariri occurs. Although Rios translates this as some form of temer this does not seem possible as has been [illegible] in footnote 1, p. 54(-5). Mariri is the name of a spirit: cf. "Mariri, this is the name of the devil" (IAG). I can find no reference to this name in the index of the

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1. Otorongo:- "Variedad de tigre. Animal nocivo. Ataca al hombre. Habita en los valles y quebradas. Su piel se utiliza como adorno" (Rios p. 18).

[illegible] of South American Indians so its etym[illegible] remain uncertain.[1] There is a possible solution through (a) mari 'thing ...', Cocama (Faust p. 84), or (b) María, Spanish (see old beliefs of Chayahuitas concerning María (Mary), Sirag p. 2 and Steward pp. 605-8).

In closing this section I give suggestions for the translation of Text 1 (pp. 54-57 above).

Huanchulitáy mariri: IAG suggests it is "Huantunitáy mariri — Hombréame" which appears equally difficult. I would suggest Huán cholitáy mariri being a short form for Huañuchiy cholitáy mariri 'Kill, my cholita, Mariri'. Cf. "huanchina matar" (Orr p. 54).

Marinina [illegible]an could be translated, "Ahora Mariri a mi [illegible]."

Curi-curi cadenilluyni can be translated as 'my precious golden chain'.

Aya runaymanda maririráy: The Aya runa is the tunchi of a person.[2] This could be translated, 'Because of my tunchi, Mariri mine ...'

Ricsilluyni maririri: 'I know no más ...'

Sangapilla Totoramanda: Both Sangapilla and Totora are caserios in the province of Lamas, San Martín. Sa[illegible]illa is also a flower, "Cyclanthus bipartitus ..." (Tovar p. 180), so Sangapilla totoram[illegible]a could mean 'from the stem of the Sangapilla' or 'Sa[illegible]illa flower, from the caserio of Totora'.

Cinta cinta umillarbi might mean 'in her head ribbons no más'. It is customary for Quech[illegible]n to wear long ribbons in their hair and flowers as well.

Cahuanchi [illegible]ayta: This translates 'We can't see it.'

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1. There was however a Pai-marire cult among the Maori of New Zealand: see [illegible]n pp. 247-52.

2. For the explanation of tunchi see below, pp. 138 ff.

Cintanta [illegible]hi mana man je je: '... her ribbon along with her he[illegible] us, [illegible] ever je je ...'

Chucchillaya [illegible]: 'from the crown of the hair ...'

Naya cayanucu[illegible] could not be easily translated as particle naya does not stand on its own: it might rea[illegible]ca ya mucuypa which translates 'now that I might almost bite it now'.

Cinta cinta clavenilla: '... the ribbons of clavenilla'.

Clavenilla: "... especia vegetal ni[illegible]nácea ... Mirabilis jalapa" (Tovar p. 65)

Mana maya paytacayá: 'It is not his yet.'

Sayarimu punchina e: If this is all one word it could be translated, '[illegible] shall stand up again for our own benefit now ...'

This part of the text would then read as a whole:

"Right, the [illegible]illa Totoramanda one:-

[illegible]illa Totorillan ... [illegible]illa flower from Totora

In the ribbons of her head, [illegible] can't see it.

Not with her ribbon and her head above us,

From the tip of her hair, I could almost bite it now.

The rib[illegible] of clavenilla, it's not his yet.

We shall therefore stand up again for our own benefit ..."

Conclusions

The term brujo still basically carries the seme elements as it did in the time of the EIP. Brujos still have disciples who u[illegible] special training and still make a pact with the devil. I have talked with three such disciples, two in San Martí[illegible] one in Apurimac. One of them had full secondary education while the other two were [illegible] Quechua speakers with only three years of primary education. They were between the ages of eighteen and twenty-seven. The range of [illegible] of the brujos still [illegible] to be th[illegible] and it is interesti[illegible]

[illegible] note the manifestation of the devil as a fierce animal, or a [illegible] of fierce animals, is still c[illegible] [illegible] Corominas's [illegible] tion of the root [illegible] of brujo ha[illegible] [illegible] ction with [illegible] of brujo in present-day Quechua cult[illegible], it i[illegible] [illegible] ing to [illegible] that the little dust whirlwind, the muyuhuayra, is th[illegible] to contain an evil spirit both in San Martín [illegible] in Apurimac.

GENTIL

⁂ Introduction

The term gentil is another that occurs in the EIP and whose meaning load, both then and now, is well worth studying as a pointer to the great difference in Quechua and Mestizo religious culture at the present day.

⁂ The framework for gentil

(a) an adjective meaning gracious

(b) a non-Christian

(c) the dead

⁂ The framework applied to the dictionary definitions

The word gentil occurs significantly in five of the dictionaries consulted. As the word is of Spanish origin, not Quechua, it does not figure in the vocabularios, with the exception of Holguín, and as it appears to figure only in San Martín culture under (a) of the framework, it does not appear in San Martín or jungle Quechua dictionaries either.

(a) an adjective meaning gracious: "GENTIL. 1. Gracioso, amable ..." (Perroud p. 49), "Gentil Hombre: K'afcho K'ajchi qhari, sumaj' qhari" (Paez p. 108)

(b) a non-Christian: "... Pagano, no cristiano ..." (Perroud p. 49), "Gentil (por pagano), adj. Auca" (Cordero p. 176), "... Gentil (en la ac. 'pagano' en Las Glosas Silense, 2ª mitad del s. X;) ... pertenece a una nación, especialmente si es extranjera, no judío, pagano" (Corominas II p. 723). Cf. "Gentilidad, huacamuchaccuna, manasutiasca runa" (Ricardo p. 532)[1]

(c) the dead: Cf. "Sepulturas de gentiles. Atribuyen de ellas el enfermarse de manera que se encojan, se pudran y salgan los huesos; enfermedad larga, que se sana con Joé o Cobaya" (Perroud p. 49)

*** The framework applied to the EIP

Before analysing the passages I shall cite them here:

> Y lo que hacen con sus cuerpos de sus progenitores gentiles que guardan en sus cuevas y entierros antiguos ... (EIP p. 225)

> Un gran hechicero descendiente de estos gentiles y que tenía cuenta con hacelles sacrificios, que dicen que era brujo, y se tornaba en lechuza, ... moría en su gentilidad y en la ley de sus antepasados y deudos, que le enterrasen en sus machays, como lo hicieron, desenterrándole de la iglesia. (EIP p. 232)

> ... el gobernador don Diego Vaca a las provincias de los indios Mainas, Jíbaros y Cocamas, que viene a caer en las riberas del río Marañón ... Y por ser tierra rica de oro tiene buena puerta abierta la conversión de esta gentilidad. Porque acá pocos hay que quieren entrar a los gentiles si no es por puerta de oro o plata. (EIP p. 265)

And in the "Edicto Contra la Idolatría": "... por ceremonia de su gentilidad ... con ceremonias gentílicas y supersticiones" (pp. 274-75); these phrases occur several times.

The framework for the EIP is as follows:

(a) —

(b) a non-Christian: It appears that the EIP uses gentil,

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1. Cf. also Diccionario General Ilustrado de la Lengua Española: "Gentil ... adj. Idólatra o pagano ..." (p. 841).

gentilidad, gentílica in this sense alone

(c) —

** The framework applied to literature contemporaneous with the EIP

The word gentil occurs in many of the authors' works selected. For example in Vega I the term antigua gentilidad occurs on pages 56, 82, 94 and 182, where it seems to signify an epoch before the Incas: "En aquella primera edad y antigua gentilidad antes del Imperio de los Reyes Incas, ... confesaban sus pecados como los cristianos" (Vega I p. 82). It was not a term used only of Peru, for Vega states that "... así también en (el) Nuevo Mundo los gentiles se ofreciesen a la muerte por el malvado demonio" (Vega I p. 84). It is interesting that some authors prefer the word natural rather than gentil. Molina uses natural: "... aunque la doctrina sagrada de nuestro Dios no ha abundado hasta agora en estos reinos, muchas cosas destas se han quitado a esos naturales ..." (Molina p. 76). Santillan also uses natural: "... el uso de las cargas a los naturales de aquel reino ..." (Santillan p. 141 et al.), while the Jesuita anónimo uses both terms: "Tres maneras ha habido en el Pirú para cristianar a los naturales. ... las que poco antes fueron mancebas gentiles, el mismo día mancebas baptizadas y cristianas" (Jesuita anónimo pp. 182-83). Pachacuti Yamqui uses gentil: "... como gentiles, metidos en las hirronias y esclabonías ..." (Pachacuti Yamqui p. 282). In Cieza de León the word gentil also occurs on pp. 105 and 252: "... y engañados del demonio, adoraban en árboles y en piedras, como los gentiles," and "... por lo cual ignoraban el mal que cometían, como otras muchas naciones, mayormente los pasados gentiles ... faltos de lumbra de nuestra santa fe". The term Gentiles appears in the "Indice de las Cosas Notables" of Solórzano y Pereyra, Vol. V. It is used in the sense of non-Christian: "Gentiles, quando [sic] se convierten se

les toleran algunas costumbres, lib. 2. c. 25. n. 13" (p. 139). Cobo also uses the word to indicate a pagan attitude: "... que no fueron en esta parte de mejor condición que los gentiles del mundo viejo ... Pero no he querido poner en esta relación ... cosa que pudiese ofender las orejas castas del cristiano lector" (Cobo II p. 234). So gentil is used in a more specific sense than natural. The framework, then, for literature contemporaneous with the EIP is

(a) —

(b) a non-Christian: (Jesuita anónimo pp. 182-3, Pachacuti Yamqui p. 282, Cieza de León pp. 105 and 252, Solórzano y Pereyra p. 139, Cobo II p. 234); cf. Vega (II p. 11): "... Incas, en su gentilidad"

(c) the dead

(i) those who lived before the Incas: "en aquella y antigua gentilidad antes del Imperio de los Reyes Incas" (Vega I p. 82 et al.)

** The framework in present-day literature

Although this framework has to do with twentieth-century authors it is worth noting that the word appears on an eighteenth-century map showing the "Plan del Curso d' los Ríos Huallaga y Ucayali, y de la Pampa del Sacramento". It shows "Naciones Gentiles — Capanaguas, Manahuas, Isunaguas, Diabus, Sinabus, Yunubu, Caseas, Runubu, Puynahuas, Aguanaguas, Viabus". It also shows the Pampa de Sarmento as being "habitadas de gentiles" while at the same time giving the location of "fieles conversiones". It would appear, in this particular example, that gentil signified non-Christian.[1]

It is necessary, at this point, to mention two significant articles which, though bearing primarily on the duende figure, also speak of

1. See Bibliography under Sobreviela.

gentil. The articles are Amaut's "El viejo o 'Machu'" and Best's "Estudio Sobre el Duende."[1] (These articles will be studied more closely under the section on chulla chaqui, pp. 107ff. below, as this may prove to be the name of the San Martín duende.) Amaut's article seeks to give the characteristics of a figure "... el Machu o Viejo, usando una sola palabra para denominar a cierto personaje que, fuera del apuntado como título, tienen diversos nombres, de acuerdo a las regiones de su vigencia" (Amaut p. 56). He then gives what he terms equivalents from differing areas in the Cuzco region: "Los nombres que se le dan ... Machu ... Gentil-Machu, Viejo-Gentil; Gentil; Ñawpa-Runa ..." (p. 57). What he fails to do however is prove from his informants that the list of names he quotes refer to the same type of figure at all! Indeed Best in his conclusions on duende does not mention one example from an informant where the duende appears from a "cueva de los gentiles". In fact, from the informants' figures, 18 per cent said that the duende came from some type of house.[2] I feel therefore that it is wrong to suppose that gentil is a type of duende and I hope that the evidence in this section will bear this out. Amaut was not the only one to be confused about gentil. In 1946 Rycroft could write in his glossary of terms: "Gentil — evil spirit which lives in huacas. Doubtless the word is borrowed from the Spanish word for gentile."[3]

The framework therefore looks like this:

(a) —

(b) a non-Christian: "Entre el camino de Rioja y Moyobamba ... grandes masas de piedra ... Los moyobambinos le llaman el ídolo de

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1. See Bibliography under Amaut and Best respectively.
2. "Lugares donde aparece: (o dónde mora)" (Best p. 67).
3. See Bibliography under Rycroft.

los gentiles porque los Mayorunas adoraban dicho ídolo" (Herrera p. 189), "¿Te has olvidado, pobrecito, que a los muertos respetan hasta los gentiles? — le contestó don Bruno" (Arguedas I p. 36)

(c) the dead

(i) those who lived before the Incas: —

(ii) those who lived before the Spaniards: "Los restos momificados de los hombres pre-hispánicos ..." (Losack p. 63), "La Fiesta de Qoyllur Rit'i ... hay machukuna, que representan a los hombres viejos o gentiles" (Garr p. 236), "... con la médula del hueso de un gentil (hombre de las cavernas cuyos restos subsisten a veces) ..." (Revista Universitaria del Cuzco nu. XXXVII p. 203)

** The framework applied to informant material

All of my informant material falls into category (c). This indicates that categories (a) and (b) of the term gentil are not easily understood in Apurimac. This may even be true for a wider area of Peru, for when IAI first went to Lima from Orcotuna he explained, "Yo me sentí extraño cuando oí en una predicación, primera vez yendo a Lima, que nosotros somos gentiles. Pensaba siempre que los gentiles eran ellos que vivían en una parte llamada barreta afuera de mi pueblo donde todos tenían miedo de andar de noche porque allí se veía luces coloradas y allí también dice que había oro."

The framework given by informants is as follows:

(a) —

(b) —

(c) the dead

(i) those who lived before the Incas: "Estos con los otros en las cuevas son los restos de los gentiles. Ellos sabiendo que iba a ser un gran diluvio, dejaron sus

pueblos y se escondieron en estas. Aquí así murieron ahogándose ..."(IAK); "son de los antiguos que murieron en el gran juicio ..." (IAL)

(ii) those who lived before the Spaniards: "... son precolombianos ... tienen huesos de gentiles" (IAM)

(iii) who come to life at certain times: "... en estas cuevas en luna nueva y luna llena es la más peligrosa ... allí suben los huesos [at this particular site on the ledge there were several caskets open and bones partially showing on the surface. IAN explained that these rise to the surface at the special times. He, in fact, would not climb up onto the ledge itself.] se juntan, están cantando con violín y harpas ... hacen fiesta ... otro lado en ruinas hacen mesa [say Mass] ... allí comen toda clase" (IAN); "Dice que salen sangre de los ojos de estas calaveras. [This was in a small cave made by a projecting rock where there were several skulls visible at the rear, together with fragments of cloth and what appeared to be a despacho. IAK admitted that this particular cave was used by a layca.][1] En la cueva arriba ya no hay" (IAK); "... sí, bajando por el camino en noche de luna escuché clarito música de fiesta ... de los gentiles" (IAO)

(iv) who can cause infirmity: It is beyond the scope of this thesis to deal with all aspects of illness caused by gentiles. See notes on Soq'a huayra, sullu huayra in Marzal (pp. 266-8), Christinat (pp. 79-80), Garr (pp. 132, 140, 153-5), Tschopik (p. 568), etc.;[2] "... sí, hay

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1. For brief notes on despacho and layca see pp. 167 and 170 respectively.
2. For bibliography see pp. 198ff. below.

mal viento de los huesos ... muy peligroso ... salen en todo nuestro cuerpo, bolitos, después se va sangrando y sale huesito de gentil ... puede morir uno" (IP); "... hay restos algunos con pelo y ropa ... no nos hacen daño pero otros piensen de veras traen enfermedades" (IAL)

(v) who are guardians of buried treasure: "se veía luces coloradas y allí también dice que había oro" (IAI); "... otro lado en ruinas hacen mesa ... allí comen toda clase ... si se puede agarrar el sitio donde hay luz, allí hay plata" (IAN); "Dice que es el antimonio en la plata que lo hace ... hay que tener ropa especial ..." (IAO). IAI agreed: "Lo mismo en Orcotuna ..." IAO told of a man who found the light below his house in the hacienda. He returned to tell others but died on the way: "hay que cavar sin esperar" (IAO). Several finds of this kind have been made and one can see the excavations in the barrio artesanal in Abancay and at various points along the camino de herradura from Pampatama to Chacña. On the night of February 9th 1974, IAI, IAO and myself all saw a low steady glow coming from across the valley where no trail is. It lasted for about two minutes in the rain and dark at 8.16 p.m. local time.

** Conclusions

From the present-day material one can see that the meaning load of the term gentil has changed since the time of the EIP and there is some doubt as to whether it would be a good word to use in Apurimac Quechua culture for a non-Christian. Conversely the word gentiles in Scripture ought to be altered for a Quechua translation: e.g. in 1 Timothy 3:16 "... ha sido visto de los ángeles; ha sido predicado a los gentiles ..."

From my own archaeological finds at Sarayca, San Juan de Chacña and Antabamba, sites connected with gentiles in the minds of informants, the archaeological evidence points to the word gentil meaning burials from pre-Inca to post-conquest times. I base this on skeletal and pottery remains at sites near three villages. In the caves above Chacña, the general site area appeared to be the oldest of the three. There I observed a cave painting of grazing vicuñas done in red dye on yellow sandstone. Following the quebrada blanca up to its source I came on rumi llacta, the ruins of a stone village I had been told about. Burials in the caves themselves however were of a mass nature (cf. Rowe on Inca burial, pp. 286-87). At Yahuarqo there was also a rumi llacta and below it in the cliffs the necropolis.[1] Time did not permit me to do much digging, but it was evident that many people had been individually buried in baskets of maguey in a squatting position.[2] All the cloth I found was too damaged to assess, but I did find a wooden qero as a surface find. In that area there were many broken mortars for grinding.[3] It was, however, in Antabamba that I noted that on the skeleton recovered from above the town there was definite evidence of reburial after death. The body had been carefully laid out and several stones shaped to hold the bones in place (see Plate VI, p. 193). Perhaps this was evidence of Incaic times or even the times of the EIP where "Item si saben que alguna o algunas personas hayan desenterrado los cuerpos de difuntos cristianos de las iglesias, hurtándolos de ellas y llevándolos a los sepulcros que llaman Sachay, donde están sus Malquis" (EIP p. 274).

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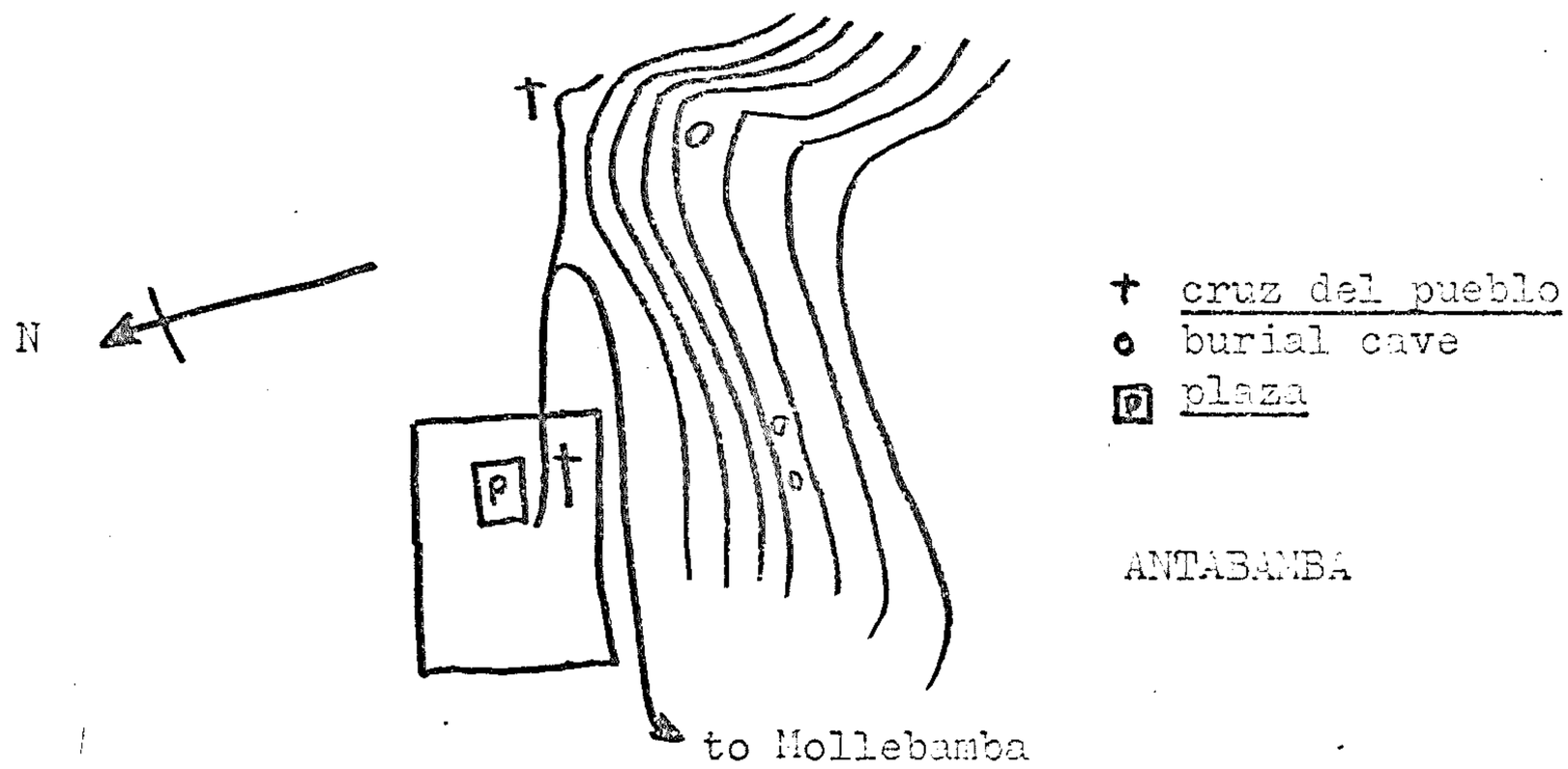
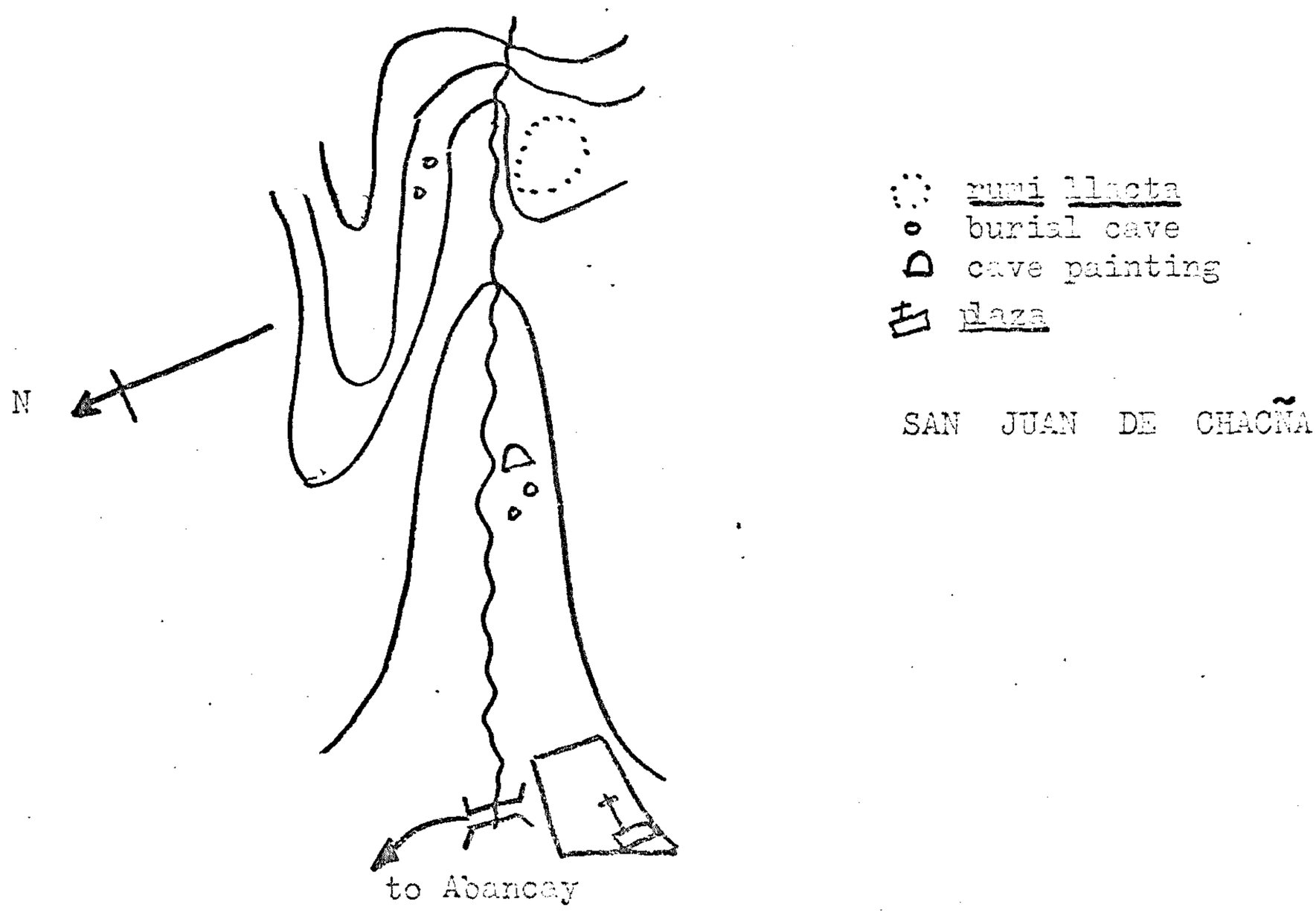
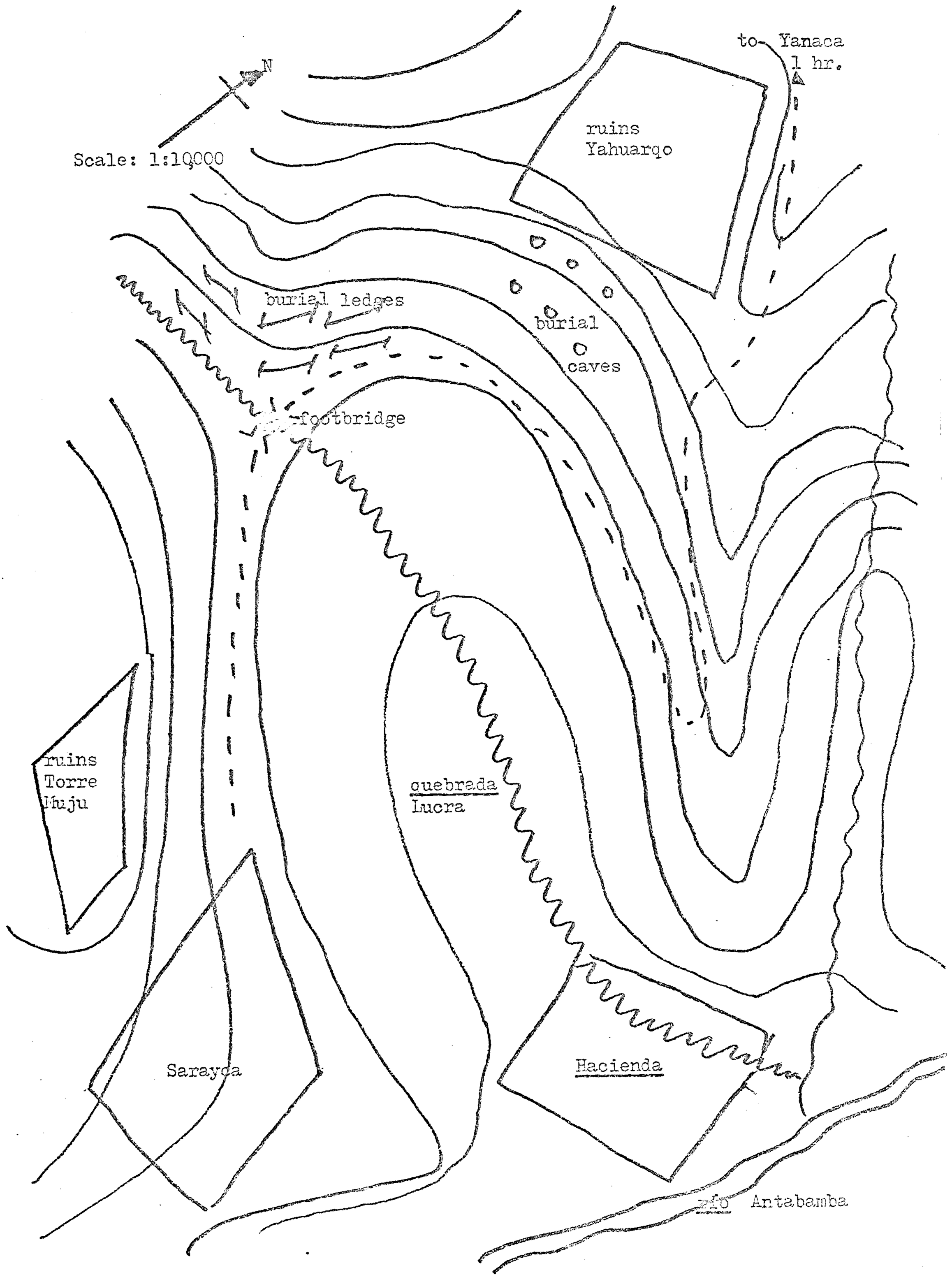
1. See sketch, p. 78.
2. Maguey:- The plant itself is called cabuya in Apurimac. There are three main varieties: ogo paccpa, vaca paccpa and chuchau paccpa. There are several references to the plant in the Chroniclers (e.g. Zárate p. 47, Vega II pp. 31, 62 and Vega III pp. 105-07). See Plates XI and XII, p. 196.
3. Mortars:- See Plate VII, p. 194.

SKETCH OF PRE-INCA SITES AT ANTABAMBA AND CHACÑA





SKETCH OF PRE - INCA SITE, YAHUARQO NEAR SARAYCA



PUQUIO

⁂ Introduction

Puquio is another Quechua term that figures in the EIP and also in present-day Quechua culture not only in Apurimac, but also in San Martín. I continue with the framework system to show the segments of meaning in each of the stages from the times of the EIP to the present day.

⁂ The framework for puquio

(a) a spring

(b) a place-name

⁂ The framework applied to the dictionary definitions

The word puquio appears usefully in fourteen of the dictionaries. Here then is the framework:

(a) a spring

(i) a location: "pujyu, fuente, manantial" (Albo II no page), "Pugyu, n. Fuente; surtidor; pozo ..." (Cordero p. 74), "Manantial — Puq'io" (Duran p. 44), "PUKIU (A), PUJUI (C). Manantial, fuente, vertiente" (Guardia Mayorga p. 112), "Pukyu. Fuente o manantial ..." (Holguín p. 294), "PUHYU (Puquio) f. Fontana, fuente, manantial, manante, ojo de agua ..." (Lira 1944 p. 764, also in Lira p. 278), "PUJYU. s. Manantial, ojo de agua ..." (Lara p. 199), "Pujyumanta 'horkoska unu chirin. Es fría el agua extraída de la fuente" (Middendorf p. 222), "PUKYU. sust. Fuente, manantial ... Sign.: Agua que hierve ..." (Mora I p. 256), "pujyu la fuente" (Orr p. 72), "Pujyu: Fuente, manantial de agua ..." (Paez p. 169), "PUKIU. Manantial, fuente, vertiente, por extensión: Pozo ..." (Perroud p. 140), "Pucyu,

fuente, manantial de agua ..." (Ricardo p. 72), "fountain n. juturi, pujyu" (Shedd p. 278)

(ii) —

(iii) that is dangerous: cf. "Wari pukiu: Manantial dañino, que hace brotar sangre o solamente pukiu. Dicen que da una enfermedad, llamada también pukiu, que se hincha la barriga, da mucha comezón; se sana con aceite. Espantan el wari y el pukiu echando sal o enterrando un perro ..." (Perroud p. 140), "... Fam. Eczema, enfermedad cutánea caracterizada por secreciones ..." (Lira 1944 p. 764)

(iv)-(v) —

(b) a place-name: "PUHYU (Puquio) Cap. de la prov. de Anta, Kkóskko" (Lira 1944 p. 764; but it does not appear in Lira 1973)

*** The framework applied to the EIP

I was only able to find one reference to puquio in the EIP. It occurs on page 201: "A los Puquios, que son los manantiales y fuentes, hemos hallado que adoran de la misma manera, especialmente donde tienen falta de agua, pidiéndoles que no se sequen." Therefore the framework is as follows:

(a) a spring

(i) a location: "... son los manantiales y fuentes ..."

(ii) to be worshipped: "... que adoran ..."

(iii)-(v) —

(b) a place-name: —

*** The framework applied to literature contemporaneous with the EIP

Information on puquio in the Chroniclers appears to be equally scanty. I find no direct reference in Vega, Cieza de León or Pachacuti Yamqui, Acosta, Santillán, Juan de Betanzos, etc. Cobo and the Jesuita

anónimo were two who had specific references to puquio. The former speaks of puquio thus: "por la mucha agua que recibe del cielo, está por todas partes brotando fuentes y puquios, y en ella tiene su nacimiento todos los ríos ..." (Cobo I p. 37), and again, "Durante el tiempo de Lomas nacen en muchas partes puquios* y manantiales de buen agua ..." (p. 88; the asterisk refers to a footnote, "*Púcyu, fuente pozo, manantial, venero en quichua"). The Jesuita anónimo states: "... pues no hablaban con el monte, fuente o río, o cueva, sino con el gran Illa Tecce Viracocha que decían estar en el cielo y en aquel lugar invisiblemente ... Y estos lugares naturales se llamaron en su lengua dellos diferentemente, como las cumbreras apachitas, las cuevas huaca, los montes orco, las fuentes pucyu, los cielos huahua pacha ... Y no reverenciaban todos los montes y cerros, todas las fuentes y ríos, sino sólo aquellos en que había alguna singularidad digna ... teniéndolos por lugares sagrados" (p. 157).

So, the framework for puquio with this material is:

(a) a spring

(i) a location: (Cobo I p. 37)

(ii) to be worshipped: "... teniéndolos por lugares sagrados" even though it was Illa Tecce Viracocha who was worshipped

(iii)-(v) —

(b) a place-name: It does not appear in Acosta's, Cobo's or Espada's indices.

* The framework applied to present-day literature

My main sources for material for this part of the framework of puquio are Nuñez del Prado's article "El Mundo Sobrenatural de los Quechuas del Sur a través de la Comunidad de Ocobamba" Lessak's "Pacaraos:

Mundo Religioso de Urcos. Full details of all these are in the Bibliography. Applying material from these sources, and other material, to the framework it appears thus:

(a) a spring

(i) a location: As has been shown, the majority of present-day dictionaries make no suggestion that puquio has any other connotation than spring

(ii) to be worshipped: A despacho may be offered to a puquio that has caused daño:[1] "Al despacho entero se le aumenta yanale, semilla parecida a la de coca, achiote khuchi untusincial, sebo de porcino, en vez del untu de pacocha, khawa, ghechincha, ollín del techo para que castre al soq'a, khuchi tullu, hueso de puerco, lloq'e seda, chiuchi piñi negro, estrella kuti, saqsa kuti, viudo wayruro ... se quema en lugares aldeaños al manante, orígen del mal ..." (Rojas p. 235)

(iii) that is dangerous: "El puquial es bien susto ... El Awkillo es pues, esos espíritus que salen de adentro de la tierra ... por los puquiales ... Antiguos son. Pero viven ahí ..." (Losack p. 100), "Soq'apujiu (manantial maligno). Se denomina de esta manera a los espíritus malignos que habitan algunas manantiales y también a los manantiales habitados por estos espíritus. El origen de éstos se remonta a las postrimerías de la era mítica de los ñaupa en que algunos de estos seres se refugiaron en las fuentes al caer la lluvia del fuego ... Sus víctimas preferidas son los niños ... Los malestares atribuídos al

hasta graves afecciones bronco-pulmonares e hinchazones de vientre persistentes. Estos males se producen al poner a los niños en contacto con las aguas ... El pujiu puede atacar a ... las mujeres ... el espíritu de la fuente toma forma de serpiente y se les introduce por la vagina produciendo abultamientos ... de los varones actua el pujiu cuando éstos han sufrido caídas en lugares próximos a él manifestándose el mal con tumefacciones ..." (Nuñez del Prado p. 157), "Puyyuq Hap'isqan ... La causa de esta enfermedad de tipo mágico es pisar un manante ... Los síntomas de esta enfermedad son: erupciones en todo el cuerpo ... hinchazón del cuerpo, bocio (q'oto) ..." (Marzal pp. 271-2), "Se ha dicho que los Machus para escapar del diluvio de fuego se introdujeron en los manantes ... Los habitantes que son agarrados por el pujyu o manante, están poseídos por el Soq'a Machu ... puede causarles la muerte ..." (Rojas p. 161), "Wankar K'uychi. — O arco iris pequeño, que también habita algunos manantes ... toma una aparencia humana y lo ataca ... produce efectos parecidos, pero más mortíferos que el k'uychi" (Rojas p. 171)

(iv) —

(v) source of information

(b) a place-name: "Puquio es pueblo nuevo para los mistis /mestizos/. Quizá hace tres cientos años ... llegaron a Puquio los mistis de otros pueblos donde negociaban minas. Antes, Puquio era pueblo indio. En los cuatro ayllus puros indios no más vivían ..." (Arguedas 1968 p. 21), "Puquio" (Times Atlas V p. 42)

*** The framework applied to informant material

(a) a spring

(i) a location: In San Martín, most water for domestic use is drawn from the many rivers and streams which have their headwaters in the Cordillera Azul of that area. The town of Lamas is an exception where all the water supply comes from pucyus in the huaycos (ravines). During my stay there from July 1970 to December 1971 I did not hear of any Quechuas being frightened or affected by the pucyus. Indeed these places are rather centres for community life where bathing, washing of clothes, and water collecting go on all day with a small group of women always engaged in conversation

(ii) to be worshipped: This does not appear to be a practice in the San Martín area, though despachos may be offered to puquios in the Apurimac area

(iii) that is dangerous: "Mi hijo está enfermo. Tiene bolitos en su cuello ... pensaba que era la mosca, pero, más luego le he visto junto con el arco en la pampa abajo ... el arco sale de un puquio y entra en otro ..." (IF); "el arco iris, chirapa, es mal aire se va de puquio en puquio, entonces los puquios son mal sitios ... no sabemos que tipo de agua hay adentro de la tierra ... ¿no es que a veces sale así caliente y a veces hediondo? ..." (IP); "... ¡Claro! todos conocen de dónde viene el arco iris. Viene del puquio, el agua se pone rojo y turbio ... nos sigue también, nos quema ..." (IAP); "Una persona con

that sirenas (sirens) sang and counselled at both wells and waterfalls. "... las sirenas nos hablan en distintos lugares ... lado de muyunas /whirlpools/, posos, chorros también ..." (IAR). IBV said that she was once mistaken for a sirena when she first visited Barranquita in the nineteen-forties and someone saw her sitting beside a chorro (waterfall). They had never seen a person with fair hair and blue eyes. In Arguedas (I p. 43) there is an example of a chorro talking: "He ido a escuchar la cascada de agua que sabe. No me ha contado nada. He cerrado los ojos; he detenido el corazón para oír. Está cantando con voz común. En su vena blanca el Padre "Pukasira" danza, contento. ¡No habrá rabia!"[1] Sirenas are known to cause drowning or wreckage of balsa rafts on the malpasos (rapids) of the Huallaga and Huayabamba rivers in San Martín. IAH told me the men used to drink trago, stuff their ears with algodón (cotton) and shout, "Aj Tata Dios! Aj Tata Dios!" ("Oh Father God! Oh Father God!") going through the malpaso Ojococha above Shemacachi on the river Huayabamba. It appears doubtful, on the strength of one informant, and bearing in mind the other aspects shown in sub-section (iii) above, that a pucyu is a source of information. There is no other evidence to suggest this either from the sierra (Apurimac)

(v) that can be grown: "No hemos tenido agua en la chacra /cultivated area/ por lado de Leticia ... Había sido monte alto /virgin jungle/ lindo, pero seco no más. Entonces

a la medianoche hemos ido a Pishuaya /a stream/ y hemos llenado un huingu /gourd/ con agua ... De allí hemos ido hasta la chacra ... sí, de noche porque habido luna ... y allí hemos enterrado el huingu con todo su agua ... Vuélt, dentro de poco habido pozo"[1] (IAR)

(b) a place-name: Puquio is on the trunk road from Nazca to Abancay in Peru. It would appear to have got its name from the natural wells in the area, some of which have been allowed to form small ponds for round-the-year watering of cattle, sheep and goats. Cf. also Wankarpuquío in prov. of Cotabambas, Apurimac.

Conclusions

The Jesuita anónimo appears to have known of some form of worship at puquios, though he, and the other Chroniclers studied, seems to have been unaware of the stories of the ancient ones (machus) entering and escaping from a primaeval destruction. It appears that this belief is still strong in the Apurimac area but does not seem to exist in San Martín. There is quite a considerable amount of goitre (bocio, q'oto) in the San Martín area due, I believe, to iodine deficiency in the body. This is locally held to be due, not to the pucyu itself, but to the frogs who live in or nearby it. The cure is to catch a large frog, rub it against the lump on one's neck and spit down the frog's throat. This process is repeated for a period until the lump goes down and the corresponding lump returns (dice que) to the frogs' throats. I have seen IZ's wife do this.

. . .

WIRACOCHA

⁂ Introduction

The term Wiracocha has been the subject of study ever since the time of the Chroniclers and even they, in that period, were unable to come to an agreement about its use and meaning. Horkheimer comments on this fact: "La literatura sobre la etimología de ese nombre es muy extensa. La interpretación de algunos cronistas de que Wirakocha significa manteca o espuma del mar, fué desacreditada ya por Garcilaso de la Vega ... Betanzos, Cristóbal Molina, ... Fernando de Santillan ..." (p. 83). As this thesis does not purport to be a critical analysis of the term for its own sake, but rather to show the change in usage of the term, I shall confine myself to giving such material as highlights this "change" aspect of Wiracocha. Indeed, perhaps the most significant change in Wiracocha is that the "god-aspect" of the word has disappeared in present-day Quechua culture, and in the conclusion on page 100 I shall endeavour to show why this is so. The framework, then, for Wiracocha highlights the "god-aspect" and "man-aspect" of the term.

⁂ The framework for Wiracocha

(a) a god

(b) an Inca ruler

(c) a man

⁂ The framework applied to the dictionary definitions

The word wiracocha occurs significantly in eleven of the dictionaries consulted.

(a) a god

adorauan los indios, y de ay por cosa divina a los Españoles viracocha, como hijos de aquel Dios ..." (Ricardo p. 87), "Wiraqocha: Dios que adoran los indios" (Paez p. 190), "Wirakocha. 1. El Dios Pachacamac. El Dios que lo sacó todo del mar de espuma ..." (Perroud p. 194)

(ii) of Inca mythology: "Wira Qocha, s. Uno de los dioses principales de la mitología incaica. Algunos lo consideran como un dios abstracto, al estilo de Jehová, superior a todos los dioses del Olimpo incaico. Mossi considera este nombre como epíteto del Sol, ..." (Guardia Mayorga p. 139), "Wiraqöcha. s. Segundo nombre de Kuniraya, dios supremo del Waruchiri preinkaico" (Lara p. 324), "Wirakkocha, ... Una de las mayores divinidades inkásikas, que con Pachakútekk y Kkón, vienen a constituir una trinidad en la teogonía y religión inkaykas. Se le dedicó un magnífico templo que hasta hoy lleva su nombre en Rakkchi o San Pedro de Káchan, de la prov. de Kkánchis ..." (Lira 1944 p. 1160)[1]

(b) an Inca ruler: "Wirakkocha, Octavo emperador del Tawantinsuyu, bajo cuyo nombre se desenvolvió la octava dinastía inkayka. Su propio nombre es: Inca Ripakk Yupanki" (Lira 1944 p. 1159), "... Octavo Emperador del Cuzco" (Perroud p. 194), "... Octavo soberano ..." (Lara p. 324)

(c) a man

(i) who came from outside Peru: "... por creerlos el Dios Wirakocha vuelto a su tierra" (Perroud p. 194)

(ii) a Spaniard: "Wiraqocha, s. Nombre que los indígenas dieron a los españoles por creerles descendientes de su dios Wira Qocha" (Guardia Mayorga p. 139), "2. Españoles que vinieron al Perú a quienes dieron este nombre, por creerles el Dios Wirakocha vuelto a su tierra" (Perroud p. 194)

(iii) to be respected: "Caballero, hombre blanco. Título de estima" (Perroud p. 194), "Huiracucha, (Huiracocha, por corrup.), n. Hombre blanco; persona noble" (Cordero p. 39), "Wirakucha. sust. Caballero, noble ..." (Mora I p. 159), "Wiraq'ocha Señor" (Durán p. 121), "... En la selva como en muchos puntos de la región interandina, es el hombre blanco o mestizo, que viste bien, a la europea, y que es o aparenta a un señor" (Tovar p. 204), "Wirakkócha ... Caballero, señor, don ..." (Lira 1944 p. 1160), "huiracucha B. persona de raza blanca" (Ross p. 56), "viracucha —blanco (hombre de raza blanca)" (Landerman p. 57)

⁂ The framework applied to the EIP

I am able to locate only one section which uses the word Viracocha in the EIP. This is on page 224. It is, however, a significant passage for it demonstrates that by Arriaga's time the word was in common use as a man rather than a god, nor does it occur to Arriaga, a man intensely interested in religion, to explain any other use of the word. Indeed it appears that the word has already reached its final stage of transition for Arriaga makes a difference between Viracocha = español and Viracocha = a man to be respected. Here is the portion:

dicen así, que todo lo que los Padres predican es verdad, y que el Dios de los españoles es buen Dios, pero todo aquello que dicen y enseñan los Padres es para los Viracochas y españoles, y que para ellos son sus huacas, y sus malquis, y sus fiestas, y todas las demás cosas que le han enseñado sus antepasados y enseñan sus viejos y hechiceros; ... y así dicen que las huacas de los Viracochas son las imágines, y como ellos tienen las suyas tenemos nosotros las nuestras, y este engaño y error es muy perjudicial.

(p. 224)

** The framework applied to literature contemporaneous with the EIP

(a) a god

(i) the Creator: "... sientan y confesan un supremo ser y hacedor de todo, al cual los del Perú llamaban Viracocha, y le ponían nombre de gran excelencia, como Pachacamac o Pachayachachic, que es criador del cielo y la tierra ..." (Acosta p. 141), "... que diesen la honra y obediencia debida al Viracocha como a criador del mundo, ..." (Cobo II p. 146),[1] and Capítulo IV: "Del dios Viracocha, que era tenido de los indios por supremo señor y hacedor de todo" (Cobo II pp. 155-56), "CAPITULO PRIMERO. Que trata del Con Tici Viracocha ... que ellos tienen que fue el Hacedor, e de como hizo el cielo e tierra e las gentes indios destas provincias del Perú" (Betanzos p. 9), "... Ticeviracocha, a quien llaman hacedor"[2] (León p. 223)

(ii) of Inca mythology: "....dicen los indios que con aquel su diluvio se ahogaron todos los hombres y cuentan, que de la gran laguna Titicaca salió un Viracocha, el cual

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1. There appears to be some confusion in the "Indices" in Cobo II (p. 509). It should read, "Viracocha, dios supremo: II, 74, 75, etc.," not "... supremo: I, 74, 75, ..."

2. It is necessary to note Vega's strong disagreement with this

hizo asiento en Tiaguanaco ... y así tornó a multiplicarse el género humano" (Acosta p. 38), "Las otras fábulas que acerca deste particular tienen, comienzan el origen de los hombres por el diluvio, del cual tuvieron estos indios muy gran noticia, salvo que no dan razón de más de que fué aquella la voluntad del Viracocha" (Cobo II p. 150), "... Ellos tuvieron una fábula de que el Viracocha envió antiguamente tres criados suyos, que llamaron Viracochas, y dicen que tenían barbas como españoles; y que el uno se convirtió en piedra, al segundo quitaron la vida, por lo cual vino una gran pestilencia, y el tercero, que se dice Ticciviracocha, se fué por la mar al cabo del mundo" (Cobo II p. 99), "Los modernos añadieron otro nombre, ques Viracocha, que significa Dios inmenso de Pirua, esto es, a quien Pirua, el primer poblador destas provincias, adoró ..." (Jesuita anónomo p. 153), "Y passado algunos años después de aberlos ydo y echado a los demonios happiñuños y achacallas desta tierra,[1] an llegado entonces a estas provincias y reynos de Tabantinsuyo vn hombre barbudo mediano de cuerpo y con cabellos largos, y con camissas algo largas, y dicen que era ya hombre passado mas que moço, que trayeya las canas, hera flaco, el cual andaua con su bordon, y era que enseñaba a los naturales con gran amor ... y le nombrauan Tonapa o Tarapaca Viracochanpachayachicachan o Pacchacan y Bicchhaycamayoc Cunacuycamayoc ... pues no será este hombre el glorioso apostol sancto Thomas?" (Yamqui p. 283), "Del nombre Viracocha, ...

Diéronle /Inca Viracocha/ el nombre de la fantasma que se le apareció, la cual dijo llamarse así. Y porque el Príncipe dijo que tenía barbas en la cara, ... traía el vestido hasta los pies, diferente hábito del que los indios traen ..." (Vega II p. 96)

(b) an Inca ruler: "1° — Mango Capac (Manco Capac). 2° — Chincheroca (Sinchi Roca), su hijo. 3° — Lloque Yupanque ..., su hijo. 4° — Capac Yupanque ..., su hijo. 5° — Mayta Capac, su hijo. 6° — Yngaroca Inga ..., su hijo. 7° — Yaguar Guacac Inga Yupanque ..., hijo mayor. 8° — Viracocha Inga ..., su hijo..." (Betanzos p. 5), "Los señores que parece haber sido destos ingas, segund la memoria que hay, son estos: Pachacoch, (1) Viracochay, Yupangi o Capac yupangui ..." (Santillan p. 104), "... sucedió un hijo suyo, Viracócha Inga: este fué muy rico ..." (Acosta p. 200), "Viendo Yahuar-Huacac que su hijo mayor era áspero y altivo ... lo apartó de sí como desterrado ... Durante el destierro del príncipe, se rebelaron los indios Chancas ... luego que llegó a oídos del príncipe desterrado, se resolvió en salir a esta demanda ... a fin de creditarse con los suyos ... Contó a los suyos ... se le apareció entre sueños el dios Viracocha en figura y traje de hombre blanco, barbudo y con vestiduras largas hasta los pies ... con su favor y ayuda los vencería y los haría señor de la tierra; porque al tiempo de darles la batalla, le enviaría socorros de gente, que sin ser vista de nadie le ayudase ... Alcanzada esta victoria, sin mucha contradición se apoderó del reino ..." (Cobo II pp. 74-75), cf. Vega II (pp. 89-91) in which Vega quotes Acosta's account verbatim from "Libro sesto, capítulo veintiuno" of the appearance of the god Viracocha to the elder son of Yahuar Huacac, who then

los suyos el origen del prognóstico que los Reyes del Perú tuvieron, que después que hubiese reinado cierto número dellos había de ir a aquella tierra gente nunca jamás vista y les había de quitar la idolatría y el Imperio ... hijos del dios fantástico Viracocha, enviados por él (como atrás dijimos) para remedio de los Incas y castigo del tirano" (Vega II p. 113), "... y cuando los Incas del Cuzco fueron informados de nuestro traje y figura, entendieron que, mediante su sacrificio [of Huascar] aquel se ausentó volvía con gente a favorecer a Huascar-Inca" (Cobo II p. 99, also Yamque p. 283)

(ii) a Spaniard: Although Acosta (p. 202), Betanzos (p. 49), Vega II (p. 113), Yamqui (p. 318), etc., give the reasons why the Spaniards were so named on arrival in Peru, it is Cobo who explains the three main issues: firstly, that Huascar Inca had sacrificed to Viracocha and was looking for a fulfilment of Viracocha Inca's prophecy or, at least, a miracle like that seen at the battle of Yahuar Pampa; secondly, that the Spaniards came from across the sea and fulfilled the idea of returning Ticciviracocha; and thirdly, that they looked, and dressed, as the prophecy said — "(... dicen que el mismo Huascar lo envió a pedir desde la prisión) de hacer un solemne sacrificio al dios Viracocha, suplicándole que, ... enviar socorro y gente que lo sacase ... Estando los indios muy confiados en el valor de este sacrificio, llegó al Cuzco nueva cómo cierta gente extraña venida por la mar había en Cajamaraca desbaratado

españoles ... y principalmente por haber sucedido poco después que ofrecieron su sacrificio, llamaron viracochas a los españoles (nombre que les dura todavía), porque creyeron que era gente enviada por su dios Viracocha ... Otra razón también destos dan también los indios ..." (Cobo II 98, 99)

(iii) to be respected: While I do not find viracocha used in this way, Cobo does explain, "... porque a todo hombre blanco comprehenden con este nombre viracocha; y conforme a esto, ... que nos preguntan si es viracocha o runa, entendiendo por este nombre runa a solo los indios, no embargante que era entre ellos antiguamente general para significar el hombre" (Cobo II p. 10)

*** The framework applied to present-day literature

The material in this section is of two types, that which discusses the term from a historic point of view and the other from present-day usage. The former gives various aspects of the term, while the latter gives only its usage in (c)(ii) or (c)(iii).

(a) a god

(i) the Creator: "Standing on the high terrace at Rosas Pata, I shifted my vision east ... Dropping down an overgrown trail past stone terraces, canals, fountains, we arrived at a place known as Ñusta Hispana ... We came to a huge white boulder perched in the centre of a marshy plain. Smaller stones were cast about including a large intihuatana.[1] The rock appeared to answer the description of

the historical temple at Chuquipalca which contained the great white rock called Yuracrumi [white stone] ... The supreme creator of the Incas, Kon Tiki Viracocha, was believed to have made the first man from stone" (Savoy p. 88), "En su obra Fabulas y ritos de los Incas, Cristobal de Molina, El Cuzqueño, nos ofrece una información muy documentada ... El primer jailli [hymn of triumph], que Molina intitula 'Oración primera al Hacedor' —

Tijsi Wiraqocha	Raíz de ser, Viracocha
Qaylla Wiraqocha	Dios siempre cercano
T'ukapu ajnupullissqa	Señor de vestidura
Wiraqocha	Deslumbradora,
K'amaj, ch'uraj	Dios que gobierna y preserva,
Qhari kachun	Que crea con solo decir,
Warmi kachun	Sea hombre,
Nispa ruraj	Sea mujer.

Los demás himnos, exceptuando el sexto y el décimo, se dirigen también a Wiraqocha ... Al revés de los dioses católicos, Wiraqocha se recomienda por su munificiencia y por su mansedumbre ... En este punto es necesario referirse a una equivocación que existe entre los escritores respeto del nombre a quien los Incas tenían por Creador. El nombre propio del dios es Wiraqocha. Los quechuas le llamaban a veces Illa Tijsi Wiraqocha y a veces Kuniraya Wiraqocha. De donde resulta que Pachakámaj (gobierno del mundo),Pachayachachij (maestro del mundo), Pachawallpaj (creador del mundo), etc., son simples atributos ... es preciso notar Pachakámaj era ante todo el nombre del dios del terremoto, dios también llamado Pachakuychi. A su vez la palabra Wiracocha no era compuesta ni quiere decir "espuma del mar" o "manteca del mar" como pretenden Polo

el jesuita anónimo, Juan de Betanzos y otros ..."[1] (Lara 1960 p. 33), "The Peruvians ... acknowledged a Supreme Being, the Creator and Ruler of the Universe, whom they adored under the different names of Pachacamac and Viracocha ..." (Prescott 1961 p. 86), "The god who was regarded as the creator and ruler of the universe in the megalithic age was, as we have seen, Ille Tici Uira-cocha" (Markham p. 59), "Salcamayhua tells us that the supreme creator, Uira-cocha, was represented in the sun temple by an oval slab of gold, having a higher place than the images of the sun and moon" (Markham p. 59), "Viracocha, the Creator, was the theoretical source of all divine power ..." (Rowe p. 294)

(ii) of Inca mythology: "He was also a culture hero, as it was believed that after the creation He had journeyed through the country teaching people how to live and performing miracles. He finally reached Manta (in Ecuador), and set off across the Pacific ocean walking on the water" (Rowe p. 294), "Cieza de León was told that (Tiahuanacu) was made by white and bearded men like the Spaniards themselves. The white men had finally abandoned their statues and gone with their leader, Con-Ticci Viracocha, first to Cuzco, and then down to the Pacific ..."[2] (Heyerdahl 1960 pp. 339-40), "The list of kings, assuming Blas Valera to have been the compiler, was derived from the ancient 'quipu' ... The list commences with the names of the deity Ille Tici Uira-Cocha

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1. The best refutation of Wirakocha = espuma del mar etc. is given by Vega (see Vega II p. 97)

... It may well be that the Tiahuanacu carving was an effort to give expression to this idea of deity"[1] (Markham p. 30), "No temple was raised to this invisible being, save one in the valley that took its name from the deity itself ...[2] This temple had existed there before the Incas, which suggests that the worship of this great spirit, though countenanced, perhaps, by their accommodating policy, did not originate with the Peruvian Princes" (Prescott 1961 p. 86), "Pedro de Sarmiento Gamboa ... says: 'After the deluge had passed, and when the land was drying, the Viracocha determined to people it a second time ... And, in order to do this, he went with his servants to a great lagune that lies in Collao, and in which there is an island called Titicaca ...'" (Bandelier p. 315), "One of our informants, an old wizard, told us that ... 'In very ancient times ... the Island was inhabited by gentlemen (caballeros) similar to the viracochas ... They had intercourse with the women of the people, and the children were deposited in caves, where they were kept alive by water dripping from the rock of the ceiling ... These children became the Inga-ré (Incas) ...'" (Bandelier p. 294)

(b) an Inca ruler: For a study of Inca lineage including the eighth Inca, Viracocha, see Rowe's chapter entitled "History of the Andean Area to 1532" (pp. 201-209 in Rowe)

(c) a man

(i) who came from outside Peru: Cf. Savoy in "Apu" (p. 47);

he also states, "The legends purport that an ancient teacher going back to the first century ... was bearded and fair-haired and had much in common with the legendary figure known as Viracocha ..." (Savoy p. 158)

(ii) a Spaniard: See Rowe's footnote on p. 294 where he states, "The title of Wiraqocha was applied to the Spaniards ..."

(iii) to be respected: The examples here are taken from current Peruvian and Bolivian novels: "E iban los comuneros de la puna a saludar al 'ductur' Juez, al taita Cura, al 'Gobiernos' de la provincia y a los werak'ochas vecinos principales de Puquio" (Arguedas 1968 p. 27), "—Padrecito mandón, don Nemecio ...— —Háblame— le gritó el patrón —Tienes liciencia.— —Hijo de Dios, werak'ocha patrón. Yo respondo ..." (Arguedas I p. 47, also pp. 64, 65, 108), "¡Maldición de Werak'ochas!* ¡Ahí está don Bruno! Más lagrimas había en su cuerpo que sangre ..." (Arguedas II p. 211 with footnote"*Antiguo dios incaico nombre que se da a los señores de la clase alta cualquiera que sea su raza", also pp. 30, 281), "Sabasta se puso a temblar ... delante de su patrón ... Pero de defenderse: —Wiracocháy, solo uno de los burritos ..." (Lara 1958 p. 37), "(Sullka Churi iskay amigigocunapiwan mesapi tayakuspa, musicantkuna; huk cantinapi.) Sullka Churi: ... Dadosta apamuy cantinero, pukllasaqku. Cantinero: (Utqayllaman haywaspan) Kayqa wiraqucha ..." ("Munaysapa Churi" p. 2), "Wiracocha—Caballero" (Turner p. 214)

historical meaning of Wiracocha as a god, none of them knew of its use in that way in present-day usage. The framework from informant material looks like this:

(a) a god: None appeared to use it as an appellative of God

(b) an Inca ruler: IE, IT, IAL were aware of the Inca Wiracocha of history; the list of Inca rulers is now taught in Colegios (secondary schools) throughout Peru

(c) a man

(i) who came from outside Peru: "Los mormones dicen que Viracocha era el Señor Jesucristo, que venía antes a estas partes, que era rubio ..." (IAW)[1]

(ii) —

(iii) to be respected: "Allinllachu, wiraqocha" was the greeting of a campesino addressing don Estanislau Ramirez, comerciante, and one-time sub-prefecto of Chalhuanca, Apurimac. (Don Estanislau is far from being fair-skinned and is a fluent Quechua as well as Spanish speaker.) When IAI entered a home in Sarayca with me, we were introduced as "dos wiraqochas han venido, Mamá ..."; however when we visited the grandmother of ID, in Andahuaylas, she addressed me as wiraqocháy and IAI as imanóy (hermanóy), perhaps thinking that I was too respectable to use the more familiar term of "brother". "Estos wiraqochas vienen de Lima para decirnos qué cosa vamos hacer con nuestros terrenos" (IAX referring to the government agronomists from the Ministerio de Agricultura). I, personally,

have never been addressed in the montaña as wiracocha. Usually it has been caballero, gringo, huauqui, hermano and even mantequero.[1] However, it appears that it is used: see Landerman and Orr. Cf. also the following: "... in my very poor Machiguenga-Spanish, they seemed to find it very amusing and said, 'No. You're like us. Not like them, the (V)iracochas.' They aspirate the V. The use of the word is obviously interesting, in any context, above all in this one, and I hope I'm not misleading anyone by having misheard it. It was repeated, accompanied by suitably hearty laughter all round, especially as you can imagine from me, when finally I met the killers ..." (Sekino p.14).[2]

*** Conclusions

From the evidence cited it appears that the early usage of Wiracocha = creator and/or a god has disappeared in present-day usage. It has done so, firstly because the Spaniards themselves fulfilled many of the roles that Wiracocha had played, and secondly because Wiracocha became the Christian God the Father and Creator. This came about almost naturally for, as Acosta tells us, "Viracocha fuese tenido por señor universal ... y desde aquel tiempo [the victory at Yahuar Pampa of Viracocha Inca] se puso la estatua del Viracocha más alta que la del sol y del trueno ... no señaló cosa alguna al Viracocha, dando por razón que, siendo señor universal y criador, no lo había menester" (Acosta p. 201). And thirdly, many of the Inca nation adored not Wiracocha god, as such, but the mummified remains of Wiracocha Inca

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1. For an explanation of mantequero see below, p. 171.
2. Yoshiharo Sekino is a Japanese reporter and explorer who was commis-

which were destroyed eventually by the Spaniards: "... y Viracocha, Inga Yupangui y Guainacapa y a sus demás progenitores ... los veneraban ..." (Acosta p. 560). Although his mummified remains were not immediately destroyed they were taken out of the temple and kept apart and may have been taken from Cuzco, where Vega saw them, in 1560, to Lima where Acosta saw them twenty years later (Vega II pp. 114-16). Apart from the Mormon missionaries from the United States of America attempting to re-use the Wiracocha myth for one coming from beyond the seas, the meaning load now of Wiracocha appears therefore to be that of a person to be respected.

. . .

Group II: Terms which appear to be similar to terms in the EIP and/or literature contemporaneous with the EIP

Since the EIP does not purport to be a complete examination of all the "idolatría" of the Quechua people at the time of the Spanish conquest, some of the terms which this thesis attempts to analyse do not, as such, appear in the EIP. And only in the case of hanaj pacha is there direct reference to these selected terms in the literature contemporaneous with the EIP.[1] I shall attempt to show a real link in meaning between the present-day terms analysed and certain other terms appearing in the EIP and/or contemporaneous material. I shall, as in former cases, use a framework to set out the main areas of meaning of each term analysed, but in these cases I shall also give at the beginning of the framework the "link-word" or "link-words" that appear to relate the analysed terms to the EIP and contemporaneous material. For example, the present-day term hanaj pacha has the term hanacpacha in Cobo I p. 31, but I shall also

pacha will then attempt to show the relationship of the present-day hanaj pacha to the EIP concept of Upaimarca and other hanaj pacha uses of that time.

The terms to be analysed in this group are:

chirapa	chulla chaqui
hanaj pacha	ihuayllu
tunchi	

CHIRAPA

⁂ Introduction

The link-word cuychu is used by Vega to describe chirapa, arco-iris (rainbow). The word chirapa is also used in San Martín and Apurimac for rainbow; at times the word kuichi is used as well in Apurimac.[1]

⁂ The framework, and link-word cuychu, for chirapa

The rainbow:

(a) an object of worship

(b) a malevolent object: (i) capable of harming people
(ii) capable of harming objects

(c) whose source is: (i) a stone
(ii) a well or spring
(iii) sunshine and rain

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1. Some dictionaries (e.g. Lira 1944, Guardia Mayorga, Lara) make the distinction between chirapa = lluvia con sol and k'uychi = el arco-iris. This distinction is unknown in San Martín where chirapa refers to the arco-iris and a term such as huarmi tamiya (lit., 'a woman's rain') would refer to the light sunny rainfall.

*** The framework applied to the dictionary definitions

I shall also quote the dictionaries' definition of the link-word(s) where relevant.

The rainbow:

(a) an object of worship: —

(b) a malevolent object: —

(c) whose source is

(i) a stone: —

(ii) a well or spring: "Arco iris; dicen que sale de las cuevas de Wari y de Pukiu ..." (Perroud p. 35)

(iii) sunshine and rain: Cf. "2. Lluvia con sol ..." (Perroud p. 35 et al.)

*** The framework applied to the EIP

This is an example where the link-word does not figure in the EIP but does appear as a link-word in Cobo and Vega.

*** The framework applied to material contemporaneous with the EIP

The rainbow:

(a) an object of worship: "... otro aposento (que era el cuarto) dedicaron al arco del cielo, porque alcanzaron que procedía del Sol, y por ende los tomaron los Reyes Incas por divisa y blasón, porque se jactaban descendir del Sol. Este aposento está todo guarnecido de oro. Era un lienzo dél, sobre las planchas de oro, también pintado, el arco del cielo, tan grande, que tomaba una pared a otra con todos sus colores al vivo. Llamaron el arco cuychu ..." (Vega I pp. 182-83), "Reverenciábanlo mucho y no lo osaban mirar, o ya que lo miraban, no lo osaban apuntar con el dedo ..." (Cobo II p. 223)

aire cerraban la boca y ponían la mano delante, porque decían que si le descubrían los dientes los gastaba y empobrecía ..." (Vega I p. 183), "También tenían por mal agüero y que era para morir o para algún otro daño grave, cuando vían el arco del cielo ... y aquella parte donde les parecía que caía el pie del arco, la tenía por lugar horrendo y temeroso, entendiendo que había allí alguna huaca o otra cosa digna de temor y reverencia" (Cobo II p. 223)

(ii) —

(c) whose source is

(i)-(ii) —

(iii) sunshine and rain: "... porque alcanzaron que procedía del Sol ..." (Vega I p. 182)

** The framework applied to present-day literature

The rainbow:

(a) an object of worship: —

(b) a malevolent object

(i) capable of harming people: "Each company had its particular banner, and the imperial standard, high above all, displayed the glittering device of the rainbow, the armorial design of the Incas, intimating their claims as children of the skies ... Gomara, Crónica, ubi supra. — Sarmiento, Relación, MS., cap XX. — Velasco, Hist. de Quito, tom. i, pp. 176-179 ..." (Prescott p. 31); "K'UYCHIQ HAP'ISQAN Es otra enfermedad de tipo mágico y que se debe a 'que el arco iris agarra'. Las principales

del arco iris, o mirarlo, o señalarlo con el dedo, c. Dañar los manantiales de alguna manera ... Entre los síntomas de esta enfermedad ... crecimiento del estomago con fuertes dolores. También se habla de las caries dentales ... Para prevenir la enfermedad, no hay que pasar por debajo del arco iris, ni mirarlo con boca abierta ..." (Marzal pp. 270-71)

(ii) capable of harming objects: —

(c) whose source is

(i) a stone: —

(ii) a well or spring: "... los manantes, que es de donde sale el arco iris" (Marzal p. 270)

** The framework applied to informant material

The rainbow:

(a) an object of worship: —

(b) a malevolent object

(i) capable of harming people: "Si te miras a un arco iris sonriendo, el arco hace pudrir sus dientes" (IAY); "Hay que tapar la boca con su mano así y no mirar al arco, te puede hacerte daño ..." (IAA); "El arco nos puede quemar ... da comezón ... uno sale con postemas grandes, lo que dicen chupos ..." (IAH); "... peligroso es salir cuando hay lluvia y arco. La lluvia en nuestro encima nos da comezón ... salen bolitos iden postema /boil/" (IZ); "no se burla del arco ..." (IK)

(ii) capable of harming objects: In both Lamas and San José de Sisa our empleada (maid) rushed out to rescue clothes

the rain would burn holes in old clothes, or rot the fibres of new ones.

(c) whose source is

(i) a stone: In the descent from Yawarqo to Sarayca I found a round stone in the path which I thought might be the pestle for the type of mortars I had found in the ruins of Yawarqo.[1] On showing the stone to IAO he said it was a chirapa rumi —"de la piedra sale el arco". IAN agreed with him. He also mentioned that there were lots of them but this one was "más grande que las demás" (its size was 5.4 cms. diameter). The informants in Abancay and Antabamba had not seen one before nor heard of rainbows coming from stones. The Geology Department of St. Andrews University gave this analysis of the stone: "Septarian nodule. The larger ellipsoidal specimen is a nodule of ironstone. It is almost certainly natural and all its features could be due to its mode of formation. They are very common in clay-rich rocks (mudstones or shales) and can be found in great number in our local rocks around the coast of Fife. The term 'septaria' refers to the pale ... mineralized cracks ..."

(ii) a well or spring: See under puquio, p. 79 above.

(iii) sunshine and rain: Of the informants questioned about the origin of the rainbow ID, IK, IAD, IAN and IAW were able to explain the physical reason for the appearance of the rainbow.

* Conclusions

rainbow has continued in some areas since the time of the Incas, and that it is still prevalent in the minds of school children in Abancay. There appears to be no equivalent belief in rainbow-stones in other areas of Latin America — at least, the Index of the Handbook of South American Indians gives no examples. There is, however, the belief that the rainbow is malignant to humans (see, for example, Alba p. 944 and Murra pp. 277f.).

. . .

CHULLA CHAQUI

* Introduction

The term chulla chaqui is one found in the San Martín department of Peru. Although its regular etymological meaning cojo (see next section, p. 108) is found in Apurimac and other areas in Peru, Bolivia and Ecuador it is its other meaning that I shall study here. Chulla chaqui like chirapa has no direct usage in the EIP, yet I shall show that its meaning load has still some pre-conquest meaning and significance. The link-word for chulla chaqui is duende. A very careful study on the duende has already been published by Best which was based on the analysis of 100 informants from the region of Cuzco.[1] In the analysis he also collated stories from the regions of Amazonas, Piura, Huánuco, Cajamarca, Ayacucho, Puno, Arequipa and Ancash, as well as from farther afield in the Argentine, Honduras, Bolivia, Colombia, Mexico, the Philippines, Chile, etc. As a result, he was able to classify the characteristics of the Cuzco duende. In structuring a framework of meaning for chulla chaqui I shall therefore include Best's structure and attempt, through the literature and informant material,

to see how the term has been changed and modified, or not, over the years, as well as give some of the characteristics of the San Martín duende — a study which, to my knowledge, has not been written up heretofore.

** The framework, and link-word duende, for chulla chaqui

(a) a person with a foot deformity

(b) a duende: "A. Figura

1. Chiquito
2. Hermoso
3. Con boca grande
4. Con dientes grandes
5. Con barbas
6. Ser teratológico[1]
8. Con cabeza grande
9. Rubio
10. Coloradito
12. Con cola
13. Con mucha fuerza
14. Viejecito
15. Bulto
16. Con brazo de hierro
17. Con cara de viejo
18. Con cara borrosa
19. Con solo cuatro dedos
20. Tiene la cinta amarrada
21. Es muy malo
22. Tiene brazos de lana
23. Pequeñuela
25. Ser "sobrenatural"
26. Con nariz muy grande
27. Con cuernos
28. Con banderitas rojas
29. Con cabella larga
30. Con cuatro dientes
31. Con uñas largas
32. Con una bolsa
33. Con su vara
34. Parecido a una cabrita
35. Con pies de hierro
36. Con cabellos rojizos
38. Toritos de color ceniza
40. Muy alegre
41. No habla
42. Muy bueno
43. Gatito
45. Cholito

B. Atuendo

1. Traje rojo
2. Traje azul
3. Traje multicolor
4. Gorra en punta
6. Traje negro
7. De colores vivos
9. Lleva honda
10. Desnudo
12. Tiene cascabel
13. Pantalones rojo o verde
14. Tiene soguita
15. Capa negra
16. Capa verde o roja
17. Gorro negro
18. Saco
19. Sombrero enorme
21. Traje blanco
22. Toda clase de vestidos
23. Ropitas viejas
24. Capa
25. Gorra de plumas
26. Muy remendado
27. Guantes rojas
30. Con ropa ancha
31. Con zapatos en punta

C. Tiempo en que parece

1. De noche
2. De día
6. En luna llena
7. De vez en cuando
8. Cuando lloran los niños
9. En carnavales
10. A avanzadas horas de la noche
11. A la una de la mañana
12. A las tres de la tarde
13. A la medianoche
14. A las diez de la mañana

D. Actividad

1. Tira piedras o terrones
2. Come niños
3. Asusta
4. Engaña o roba a niños
5. Juega con las criaturas
6. Pega a los niños
7. Persigue
8. Molesta (a los que duermen)
9. Aparece a personas no bautizados
10. Se lleva a los niños no bautizados
11. Se transforma en animales
14. Desaparece después de presentarse
15. Aparece a los borrachos
16. Lleva a lugares lejanos
17. Convierta en duendes a los niños
20. Baila y canta
21. Derrumba cerros
24. Corrompe
25. Mata
26. Roba (objetos ...)
27. Lleva farol
30. Quita los juguetes de los niños
32. Lleva a los niños dentro de su capa
34. Es amiguero y charlatán
35. Aparece y desaparece misteriosamente
36. Aparece a niños inocentes
37. Aparece a mujeres abrazadas
38. Enferma
39. Es diestro en el juego
40. Sale a solearse
41. Ayuda a llevar agua
42. Da vueltas a los niños
43. Aparece a los niños
44. Aparece a los niños, cuando están solos ...
45. Narra cuentos
46. Se lleva a los niños
47. Anda en grupos
48. Se lleva a los niños del cuello ...
49. Nunca juegan con los niños
50. Aparece por las rendijas de las puertas ...
51. Carga
52. Hace dormir a niños que tienen juguetes
53. Quita u oculta los cántaros de las chiquillas ...
54. Enseña a los niños a ser malos y llorones
55. Aparece a los caminantes
56. Come la gente
57. Camina muy velozmente
58. Intercepta a los transeuntes
59. Pelea con otros duendes
60. Rompe la cabeza con una pajita
61. Anda en las tempestades
62. Regala juguetes
63. Quita las chiotas ni dogs

67. Se presenta a los ovejeritos pastores
68. Amenaza
69. Sube y baja de los árboles
70. Persigue a los niños malos
71. Aparece solo

E. Lugares donde aparece: (o donde mora)

1. En sitios solitarios
2. En casas viejas
3. En los cerros
7. En habitaciones sucias y desordenadas
8. En los ríos
9. En los agujeros de los árboles ...
11. En casas abandonadas ...
12. En casas sin bendicir
13. Vive en el purgatorio
14. Vive en palacios, debajo de la tierra
15. En las esquinas de las casas
16. En lugares oscuros
17. Aparece en hacinamientos de piedras
18. En todas partes
19. En el techo o cielo raso
20. En las casas ocupadas por los jesuitas
21. Bajo las bóvedas de los molinos de agua
22. En los socavones
23. En galpones

G. Origen del Duende

2. Es el feto que botan al campo
3. Es el feto abandonado en charcos (ríos)
4. "Wawa" (criatura) no bautizada, que llega a morir
7. Es el diablo (diablillo)
8. Espíritu maligno
9. Niño muerto por su madre

I. Manera de combatir al Duende

2. Se pone objetos a la cabecera de las criaturas: cuchillos, tijeras, látigo
3. Se hace curar con los brujos
4. Con el humo del cigarro
5. Se hace bendecir con los sacerdotes (los sitios donde aparece)
6. Se le echa cruces"

*** <u>The framework applied to the dictionary definitions</u>

The word <u>chulla</u>, <u>chaqui</u> or <u>chulla chaqui</u> occurs significantly in four-

quote him in full and then break his observations into sections from the framework of Best.

(a) a person with a foot deformity: "Chulla-chaqui. — Etimológicamente significaría pie desigual en quechua, pues chaqui es pie y chulla equivale a impar ..." (Tovar p. 83); "Chaki. 1. Pie. chulla chaki: cojo ..." (Perroud p. 26); cf. "Chullañaui, tuerto" (Ricardo p. 38); "Chulla ñaui. El de vn ojo no mas, o el tuerto" (Holguín p. 119); "Ch'ulla ñawi: Tuerto" (Paez p. 148); "Ch'ulla ñawi Tuerto" (Durán p. 77); "chulla — desigual" (Landerman p. 24); "Chulla, adj. Impar, una cosa sin compañera igual, como un zapato ... (Guardia Mayorga p. 56); "Ch'ulla. adj. Impar, sin pareja" (Lara p. 98); "chulla desigual" (Orr p. 52); "Chulla. adj. Impar" (Mora I p. 362); "Ch'ulla. — Imparidad, carácter de impar ..." (Lira p. 60); "Chaki. s. pie" (Lara p. 76); also "Chullachaqui, adj. Que tiene un solo pie; cojo" (Cordero p. 27)

(b) a type of mischievous gnome:

> Es un ser mitológico, con un pie grande y otro diminutivo y faz horrenda, que, según creencia de los indígenas, recorre la selva y atrae a los incautos a fin de hacer que se extravíen en los bosques, sufran horrorosamente y llegue el momento en que los mate. Consideran que este demonio se aparece a las gentes de mal vivir en las noches. Por las huellas que ambos pies desiguales dejan en el suelo, reconocen los aborígenes el paso de este ente mitológico. También admitan que vive en lo más impenetrable de los bosques, en donde duerme en hamaca hecha de piel de lagarto, pendiente de cuerdas tejidas, hechas de piel de culebra.
>
> (Tovar p. 83)

From Best's analysis, then, Tovar gives A6, A18, D16, D25, D55, D58 as aspects of an oriente peruano duende. He also includes the following aspects that Best does not appear to mention (continuing to use Best's framework):

A: 46. unequal feet ("... con un pie grande y otro diminutivo ...")

⁂ The framework applied to the EIP

There is, as already stated, no direct usage of chulla chaqui in the EIP. The word duende, however, does occur once: "... habían ido desde estos reinos del Pirú dos personas, que pusieron en gran expectación a toda España con arbitrio que le pusiese estanco en la sal: ... que le pusiese en cada ciudad una casa de juego y se arrendase como el estanco de naipes. Todos estos arbitrios y otros tres o cuatro ... fueron oídos y todos se deshicieron y acabaron, como tesoro de duendes, como sal en el agua, como cosa de juego. Mi arbitrio es cómo se rescatarán tantas almas que están en dura esclavitud del demonio ..." (EIP p. 193). His use of duende appears to be idiomatic. For the origin of the term duende see Corominas II pp. 201-02. The phrase "tesoro de duendes" is explained by Covarrubias (1611): "... es algún espíritu de los que cayeron con Lucifer ... Estos suelen dentro de las casas, y en las montañas y en las cueuas, espantar con algunas aparencias, tomando cuerpos fantásticos ... 'Tesoro de duende', dezimos la hazienda que toda se consume y se deshaze sin saber en qué se ha gastado ... Ay opinión que estos duendes ... tienen a su cuenta el guardar los tesoros escondidos; ... quando los que buscan tesoros dan en los lugares donde están, o se les buelven en carbones, se persuaden en cierta manera ser verdad lo que hemos dicho ..."(I p. 839).

⁂ The framework applied to literature contemporaneous with the EIP

I was unable to find the term chulla chaqui or duende in reading through Vega, Cieza de León, Acosta, Cobo, Juan de Betanzos, Molina, Santillan, Anónimo and Pachacuti Yamqui. I did, however, find duende mentioned in Rama de Ayala: "En la época de los Incas ordeñaban cuidadosamente

y los de Collasuya y Condesuyos en Caracinga en Puquinas ... además andaban sueltos todos las almas de los muertos padeciendo hambre, sed, calor, frío y fuego" (Ayala p. 199). This passage, although it does not tell us much about the nature of duende or chulla chaqui, is similar in thought to a passage in Pachacuti Yamqui: "... porque en tiempo de purunpacha, dizen que los hapiñuños andauan bissiblemente en toda esta tierra, que no habían seguridad de andar en anocheziendo, porque a los hombres y mugeres y muchachos y criaturas los llebauan arrebatandoles, como tiranos infernales y enemigos capitales del género humano, ..." (Pachacuti Yamqui p. 283). Was then hapiñuñu the duende of pre-conquest times in the sierra? Paredes seems to think so: "Los Jappiñuñus, cuya denominación proviene de las que habían adoptado la figura de mujeres bellas, ... volaban por los aires en las noches diáfanas y horas silenciosas, cogiendo a su paso y oprimiéndolas con sus pechos a gentes disprevenidas que las encontraban y se las llevaban ... Otra leyenda hace derivar de las palabras Hapi, preñada y ñuña, tete, y relata que eran siempre duendes, dizfrazados de jóvenes hermosas ..." (Paredes p. 72). So, then, if we accept that duende and jappiñuñu (hapiñuñu) are related, the framework for duende in the literature contemporaneous with the EIP is as follows:

(a) —

(b) a type of mischievous gnome: A21, C12, D47, D55, D58. This, of course does not include Paredes.

* The framework applied to present-day literature

As I have already quoted Paredes, I shall give first some other quotations on duende of the sierra, before looking at some written examples

niño, como los ñawpaj runa, se hace chulpa o tuente (duende) y anda con el viento (wayra) y molesta a sus padres durante toda su vida" (Garr p. 110). Rojas, too, says, "... el alma de los niños que mueren antes de bautizo, donde se encarna el saqra convirtiéndole en duende ... son aquellos niños (los duendes) quienes mueren o son destruidos antes del bautizo ..." (Rojas pp. 176-79). According to Marzal, "Duendes son las almas de los niños que murieron sin bautizar" (p. 130); also in the region of Arequipa "creen en los duendes, ... espíritus de los abortos ... no bautizados" (Ministerio de Fomento p. 37). The following are written examples about chulla chaqui:

> De aquí, unos seres extraordinarios masculinos, llamados, Chulla-Chaqui (que significa pie desigual) que tiene la mitad del cuerpo del hombre y la otra mitad del venado, y recorren en todas direcciones los interiores de los bosques dejando apenas en el piso el restro misterioso de tránsito ... la parte superior de su cuerpo en extremos superior de la cabeza con cornucopia, macho cabrío o venado, de pies desiguales ... espantoso y ... temible ... haciendo nuevas chacras se encuentra ... cerca las aguas hay otro tipo que se llama yacu runa ..." (Herrera p. 79) [1]

> El Chullachaqui. — (Fantasma — pies desiguales). Creen en la existencia de seres fantasmales, diabólicos que aparecen en lugares solitarios ya como una persona, como una piedra, como un animal, etc. Si el indio se encuentra en los caminos con una persona que le inspira desconfianza, lo primero que hace es mirar el pie izquierda de esta persona. Si no tiene los pies iguales, es un fantasma, un diablo. El Chullachaqui tiene el pie izquierdo más pequeño que el derecho, y siempre oculta este pie para no dejarse ver. Si el indio encuentra en los caminos o en la montaña un animal cualquiera, le llama de su nombre; por ejemplo 'picuro, picuro /aguti/ ven', le dice. Si el picuro se acerca a él, es porque es chullachaqui.
>
> (Rios pp. 100-01)

> Chulla-chaqui — hombre de pie chico o una bola de carne ... se hace como miembro de la familia para que robe a los pequeñitos ...
>
> (Ramirez p. 80)

For present-day literature, then, we have two frameworks, one for the sierra and one for the montaña duende or chulla chaqui. The sierra

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one expressed in Best's framework is as follows (this includes Paredes): A2, C1, C15, D4, D8, D55, D57, D61, G2, G4; and one further attribute, additional to the two noted on page 111 above, must be added to Best's category "A. Figura", thus:

48. Appears as a beautiful woman

("... habían adoptado la figura de mujeres bellas" — Paredes p. 72). However, it is with the montaña one that we are concerned here, so the framework for chulla-chaqui is:

A25 "... seres extraordinarios masculinos"; A27 "... con cornucopia, macho cabrío o venado ..."; A46 "de pies desiguales ...", "el pie izquierdo más pequeño que el derecho ...", "pie chico o una bola de carne ..."; A47 "el rastro misterioso de tránsito ..."; D4 "... para que robe los pequeñitos ..."; D11 "... aparecen ... como un animal"; D58 "... el indio se encuentra en los caminos ..."; E1 "... haciendo nuevas chacras";[1] E8 "... cerca las aguas hay otro tipo que se llama yacu runa"; E24 "... los interiores de bosques"; G7 "... un diablo"; G8 "... un fantasma ..." It is necessary to add the following segments of meaning to Best's original list (further to the additions already noted above on page 111 and the present page):

Under category "A. Figura":- 49. His body half man, half animal (... tiene la mitad del cuerpo del hombre y la otra mitad del venado");

Under category "D. Actividad":- 72. Appears as a rock ("... aparecen ... como una piedra") and

73. Appears as a member of the family ("... se hace como miembro de la familia");

Under category "I. Manera de combatir al Duende":-

7. To recognize him by looking at his feet ("... lo primero que hace es mirar el pie izquierdo de esta persona ..."), and

8. To call the suspected animal ("... le llama de su nombre ... Si ... se acerca a él, es porque es Chullachaqui").

⁂ The framework applied to informant material

I shall use Best's framework plus the additions on pages 111 and 115-16 above to set out the informant material:

A. Figura

Al "... no es muy grande, tamaño de un metro más o menos" (IAH); A15 (see collected notes on bulto, p. 163 below); A46 "... tiene un pie iden de venado, cuando uno se le encuentra en camino siempre está medio escondido con su pie de venado en la hierba, para que no se nota uno ..." (IAZ; this segment of meaning was also confirmed by IZ, IAC, IAD, IAE, IAJ, IAR, IAT and IBA); A47 "... se ve su rastro ... parece como de cabra por una parte" (IAC); A49 "... debajo de su cinta iden /like a/ lluychu /venado/" (IBB).

B. Atuendo

When chulla chaqui was discussed in my presence I never heard any mention of his mode of dress, which suggests that he was probably seen as naked when he appeared as half man, half deer, part hidden in the undergrowth, but when he appeared to steal children he appeared in the clothes that would be recognised as those of the family.

C. Tiempo en que parece

mamá le había dejado solito en la casa en la chacra ..." (around 8 a.m.) (IAZ), "Cuando estaba yo lejos yendo a la chacra ... le oigo" (around 10 a.m.) (IAZ), "... paac, le encuentro al hombre en el camino ..." (around 4 p.m.) (IBB).

D. Actividad

D3 "... y al ver, así medio escondido, duro me ha asustado ..." (IBB); D4 "Mi mamá me dijo que el chulla chaqui había llevado a mi hermano don Delfín cuando era pequeño ..." (IAZ); D10 (although IAZ did not make the inference) his brother Delfín Flores had, in point of fact, not been baptised, being an evangélico; D14 "... después cuando está extraviado el niño, el chulla chaqui desaparece dejando al niño llorando en el monte" (IAZ); D55 "... había siempre chulla chaqui en camino a San Antonio de Cumbaza ..." (IAZ); D73 "¿Cómo le seguía? Bueno, siempre parece como pariente" (IAZ). To this category must be added

74. Makes a noise in the deep forest

("Chulla chaqui golpea palos en el silencio en monte alto, tac, tac, taaaac, suenan ..." — IAZ).[1]

E. Lugares donde aparece

E1 "... vive en monte alto ..." (IBB); "en silencio, en monte alto ..." (IAZ). The yacu runa, however, appears to live "en los pozos y muyunas grandes del río"[2] (IAE).

G. Origen del Duende

I was unable to question informants on G2, G3, G4 and G9. IBB remarked, "... había sido diablo."

I. Manera de combatir al Duende

Cf. "... cuando uno se da cuenta de su pie, desaparece o corre" (IZ);

"... cuando él está así escondido, uno tiene que llamarle para que salga, si no quiere salir es porque es chulla chaqui ... Cuando uno le avisa, corre ..." (IAZ).

⁂ Conclusions

The belief in duendes appears then to be as strong in present-day Quechua culture as it was in pre-conquest times. Certainly in the area of San Martín Quechua culture, the chulla chaqui is still a force to be reckoned with. While I was unable to verify the nature of the duende in Apurimac, IA and IBC had both heard of hapiñuñu and believed that they were to be found in the region of Chalhuanca. The duende figure is, as has already been pointed out, a world-wide one.

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HANAJ PACHA

⁂ Introduction

As I have already stated (p. 101), the term hanaj pacha does not appear in the EIP as such. However, some of the ideas about hanaj pacha are implicit in the EIP and I propose to use the term Upaimarca as a link-word to show the relationship of hanaj pacha at the time of the conquest to present-day usage.

⁂ The framework, and link-word Upaimarca, for hanaj pacha

(a) as an equivalent of the Christian concept of heaven

(b) the firmament

(c) a region above of the dead

⁂ The framework applied to the dictionary definitions

(a) as an equivalent of the Christian concept of heaven: "Janaq Pacha, s. Mundo de arriba, cielo. Los cronistas lo tradujeron por cielo en el sentido que da la religión católica ..." (Guardia Mayorga p. 73); "Hanaj'pacha ... El cielo" (Paez p. 150); "Hanaqpacha Cielo" (Durán p. 79); "Hanacpacha, o nan pacha. El cielo" (Holguin p. 148); "Hanacpacha, Hananpacha, el Cielo" (Ricardo p. 41); "janajpacha, cielo ..." (Albo II Index); "cielo silu; B., L. Jahua pacha, T. ahua pacha" (Orr p. 9); "Janajpacha cielo, el mundo más allá" (Shedd p. 212)

(b) the firmament: "... Hánakk pácha: Empíreo, la región del aire, lo muy alto, el mundo superior ..." (Lira p. 70, also Lira 1944 p. 214); "Jawa Pacha. — sust. ecua. Cielo. Nota. — Este sintagma que significa región de arriba o cielo es formado por los misioneros" (Mora II p. 37); "Janaqpacha. Cielo, firmamento, mundo de arriba ..." (Perroud p. 60)

(c) a region of the dead

(i) entered by a road: —

(ii) containing the settlements of Hurapuna, Upaimarca and Alqo Llacta: Guardia Mayorga comments, "Janaq Pacha ... Pero el significado que tiene Janaq Pacha entre los indios es completamente diferente. Para ellos el cielo es un verdadero mundo material, con ríos, animales y dioses que se hallan en comunicación directa con este mundo (Kay pacha)" (Guardia Mayorga p. 73)

(iii)-(iv) —

*** The framework applied to the EIP

As I have already stated, the word hanaj pacha does not appear to

que todas las almas de los que mueren van a una tierra que llaman Ypamarca, que podemos explicar a la tierra muda o de los mudos, como dice la frase poética latina Regio silentum; dicen que antes de llegar hay un grande río, que han de pasar por una puente de cabellos muy estrecha; otros dicen que los han de pasar unos perros negros, y en algunas partes los criaban y tenían de propósito con esta supersticiosa aprehensión y se mataron todos" (EIP p. 220); and "15. Item si saben que alguna o algunas personas digan que las almas de los difuntos vayan a Huarochaca o Upaimarca y no al Cielo, Infierno o Purgatorio, ..." (EIP p. 274). When applying the framework to informant material (pp. 125 f. below) I shall show that Upaimarca is believed in as a place in Hanaj pacha today, and that the belief about Huarochaca (cited below, though not mentioned here) and the dogs is also alive today.

The framework for the EIP material would look like this:

(a) —

(b) —

(c) a region of the dead

(i) —

(ii) containing the settlements of Upaimarca and where there are dogs

(iii) with a river and with a bridge called Huarochaca

(iv) —

*** The framework applied to literature contemporaneous with the EIP

Guardia Mayorga's statement that "los cronistas lo tradujeron porcielo en el sentido que da la religión católica ..." (p. 73) is not quite correct. Vega, for example, does so on one occasion, "... el primer

mundos: llaman al cielo Hanan Pacha, que quiere decir mundo alto, donde decían que iban los buenos a ser premiados de sus virtudes; llamaban Hurin Pacha a este mundo de la generación y corrupción, que quiere decir mundo bajo;[1] llamaban Ucu Pacha al centro de la tierra, que quiere decir mundo inferior de allá abajo, donde decían iban a para los malos, y para declararlo más le daban otro nombre, que es Supaipa Huacin, que quiere decir Casa del Demonio. No entendían que la otra vida era espiritual, sino corporal, como esta misma ..." (Vega I p. 86). Cobo too uses the term to signify part of the universe (firmament): "... ni aún tenían nombre que significase el universo ... En la lengua general deste reino del Perú llamaban el cielo hanacpacha, que quiere decir lugar alto ..." (Cobo I p. 31).

So the framework appears like this:

(a) as an equivalent of the Christian concept of heaven: "... al Cielo" (Vega I p. 37)

(b) the firmament: Vega (I p. 37); Cobo (I p. 31); and "... pronunciado llanamente, como suenan las letras españoles, quiere decir mundo universo, y también significa el cielo y la tierra y el infierno y cualquiera suelo" (Vega I p. 81)

(c) the region of the dead

(i)-(iii) —

(iv) beyond the river: where one may be accepted to remain in hanaj pacha or go into Ucupacha[2] ("... llamaban Ucu Pacha ..." — Vega I p. 86), or return to the world as a condenado.

The framework applied to present-day literature

Before setting out the framework in this section I shall give a list

of eight translations of Scripture or religious booklets that have taken over hanaj pacha as an equivalent of the Christian concept of heaven. These eight are a selection from some twenty modern translations by both Protestant and Roman Catholic linguists.

El Club de Escritores, ¿Pitaj Janaj Pachata Cay Pachatawan Ruwarka? (Cochabamba 1969). A Bolivian dialect translation.

Padres Agostinos, Hanaq Pacha Puncu (Cuzco 1973). A Cuzco dialect translation.

Sociedades Bíblicas, Evangelioj Sumaj Willanasnin Marcospaj Kelkaskanman Jina (Bogotá 1970). A Bolivian dialect translation.

Sociedades Bíblicas, Señorninchik Jesocristopa Musuq Testamenton (New York 1970). An Ecuadorian dialect translation.

Sociedades Bíblicas, Mosoj Testamento (New York 1971). An Ayacucho dialect translation.

Enrique K. Spenst, Diosninchejpa Jatun Ruwaskasnin (Cochabamba 1970). A Bolivian dialect translation.

Instituto Linguístico de Verano, Cay Allpapi Jesucristo Causashcan (Pucallpa 1973). A San Martín dialect translation.

Instituto Linguístico de Verano, San Lucaspa Kelkaskanta Jesucristomanta (Riberalta 1969). A Bolivian dialect translation.

These eight, together with other sources, form the first part of the framework:

(a) as an equivalent of the Christian concept of heaven: "¿Pitaj Janaj Pachata ... Historias del Antiguo Testamento en Quechua y Castellano," "Hanaq Pacha Puncu [the door to heaven]," "Dios Tatataj, janajpachamanta nimorka ..." (Soc. Bíbl. Bogotá p. 2); "... rikururqa hanaq pachapa rakiku‿chkasqan‿ta" (Soc. Bíbl. New York p. 97);

"Tata Dios anac cielopi causac ..." (Verano 1973 p. 114); "Santo Espiritutaj paloma Janaj pachamanta ..." (Verano 1969 p. 39); " — 'Yayayku, hanak'pochapi kak' ... Padre nuestro que estás en los cielos ..." (Arguedas I p. 50); "Imagen de Cielo y Del Infierno ... La Mayoría de los informantes utiliza las imágenes de la catequesis cristiana tradicional. El cielo o 'Hanaq pacha' (lugar alto) es el sitio donde está Dios, con los ángeles, la Virgen y los santos; allí van las personas buenas ... Pedro es quien tiene en su poder las llaves del Hanaq pacha ..." (Marzal pp. 85-86); "Cristo resucitó y ascendió al Janaqpacha junto a su Padre" (Prado p. 65)

(b) the firmament: "Cielo o Hanaq Pacha. — Los pobladores de Kuyo Grande imaginan que el espacio azul visto desde la tierra es un piso consistente, donde son destinadas las almas de todos los que murieron en gracia de Dios ..." (Rojas p. 209); "La cosmología de los Incas dividió el universo en tres secciones: janaj pacha: el mundo de arriba; kay pacha: el mundo de la tierra; y ukhu pacha: el mundo de adentro o debajo de la tierra ..." (Garr p. 178)

(c) a region of the dead

(i) entered by a road: "Viaje Del Alma al Más Allá ... El alma debe avanzar por un camino angosta, lleno de espinas ... El alma de la persona que muere emprende el camino al cielo. Toma un sendero tortuoso y lleno de peligros ..." (Marzal pp. 84-85). But see "el rayo ... contacto" (Garr p. 178)

(ii) containing the settlements of Hurapuna, Upaimarca and Alqo Llacta: "Además creen que las almas de los perros viven en un pueblo, que, en su mayoría, los informantes

anoqara is Aymará for perro, and in Quechua Alqo);[1] "... el perro se queda en un pueblo llamado Alqollacta (pueblo de los perros) ... El río se llama Qoropuna ..." (Rev. Univ. del Cuzco 1948 pp. 92-93)

(iii) the river called either Yawar mayo, Jordán mayo, or Lázaro mayo: "Todas las almas tienen que pasar por el río Jordán. Los que hacen pasar son perros negros; los perros blancos no quieren pasarlos porque se ensucian ..." (Marzal p. 84); "No hay que pegar a los perros porque ellos son los que después de que morimos nos traen agua en las orejas cuando nos estamos achicharrando en los infiernos ... a veces el perro se llama, San Lazaro ... El perro nos ayuda pasar el río después de la muerte llamado Lázaro Mayu" (Rev. Univ. del Cuzco 1948 p. 92); "Cerca al cielo hay un río llamado Lázaro Mayu" (Rev. Univ. del Cuzco 1948 p. 92); "Camina lejos, ... se encuentra con un río llamado Yawar Mayu (Río de Sangre) ..." (ibid. p. 93)

(iv) beyond which river one may be accepted to remain in hanaj pacha or go to Ucupacha or return to this world as a condenado: "Hay que cruzar el río Jordán ... El alma va sola, pero ya cerca de Dios, Cristo la espera en la puerta, con los libros donde se anota lo que hacen los hombres. A los buenos se los lleva al cielo, a los malos los bota al infierno ..." (Marzal p. 84); "El alma, de la persona que haya cometido pecados graves, se presenta ante Dios y es imediatamente devuelta a la tierra para vagar en

lugares desolados. Lo primero que hace el alma es encarnarse nuevamente en el cuerpo ... Notan esto los pobladores, cuando hay depresión de tierra sobre la sepultura causada por la salida del condenado ..."[1] (ibid., pp. 204-05)

* The framework applied to informant material

(a) as an equivalent of the Christian concept of heaven: Any "Christian" Quechua praying in Quechua would use the term janaq pacha to refer to el Cielo or los cielos. I shall therefore give only one example from Apurimac and one from San Martín: "Diosniyku Taytay janaq pachapi kausaq ..." (IO); "Tata Dios, anac cielopi causac, shamushcanisapa canman cactiqui can uyaric oracionnicuna ..." (IAD)

(b) the firmament: —

(c) a region of the dead

(i) entered by a road: "Hay un camino a Hanajpacha en el Misti, que se ve clarito en la nieve ..." (IC); "... dice que caminos por Ausangate y Salkantay a hanaj pacha, pero por este lado las almas van por el camino de Cora-Cora" (IAX)[2]

(ii) containing the settlements of Hurapuna, Upaimarca and Alqo Llacta. I shall deal with Hurapuna first: "... la gente mala se van por un pueblo llamado Hurapuna, donde se van edificando casas de piedra que siempre van cayéndose

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1. For gathered notes on condenado see below, pp. 165-6.

2. El Misti is a semi-active volcano in the department of Arequipa. When the snow lies on its peak there appear gaps in it due to venting hot gases and due to ash deposits. This can give the appearance of a path in the snow. Cf. also Morel (p. 85): "

... Dice que este pueblo es por Sara-Sara en Arequipa ... Hacen trabajo que nunca termina ... Dice que se murió una señora dejando a su esposo y a sus hijos llorando. Lloraba, lloraba y una noche el esposo tenía un sueño, y llegó a este pueblo. Allí su mujer había tenido otro hombre ... Ha visto que ellos comen allá piedras en vez de papas y ceniza en vez de agua ... La mujer le dió un saco de ceniza y de piedras diciendo que no abre hasta que llegue a la casa ... El hombre vuelve más rápido, pero cerca a la casa más despacio, porque pesaba la carga ... En la casa abriendo el saco se encuentra oro y plata en vez de piedra y ceniza"[1] (IP). Upaimarca: "... dice que en allá nadie nos habla todo es puro silencio ..." (IAX). This would support the translation of the term that the EIP gave. Alqo Llacta: "... es un pueblo lado del río, que tiene perros no más ... todos los perros muriendo se van a Alqo Llacta ..." (IO); "El pueblo de perros está en el camino ... si uno ha sido bueno a los perros en esta vida le van a ayudar pasar el Yahuar mayo, jalando ... El río esta muy sucio por eso no van a dentrar [sic] ningún perro blanco ... dice que por eso crían perros medio oscuros ... ayudan siempre" (IAX). Having run over several dogs in the villages of the province of Ayʼmaraes, Apurimac, I included in my explanation to irate owners that I was helping to populate the pueblo of Alqo Llacta and that the dogs would receive their owners there

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1. Hurapuna is probably the mountain Nudo Ocrapuna, 6613 m., in the

cheerfully! In the villages Sirco and Mollebamba the owners obviously believed the story, for they retaliated by saying that when I went to Hanaj pacha these dogs would turn on me and prevent me from passing the Yahuar mayu.

(iii) the river called Yahuar mayu, Jordán mayu, or Lázaro mayu: The three names were known to IAX, IL, IAO, IJ and IO. IAX explained that " ... tiene el nombre de Yahuar mayu porque es su color ... es muy mapa."[1] The name Lázaro mayu appears to have come from the biblical connection of Lazarus, the Beggar, being cared for by dogs, that licked his sores.[2] Jordán mayu also has a biblical connection, in that as it was necessary for Israel in the time of Joshua to cross the river Jordan into the "promised land", so in popular theology the "promised land" of heaven was reached by crossing that same river:[3] "... el río se llama Jordán mayu ... allí también bautizó ... chay na ... Juan Bautista ... Entónce si uno no es bautizado en católica no puede así muriendo pasar Jordán mayu río ..." (IAY). I was unable to find from my informants the belief in a bridge over the Yahuar mayu called Huarochaca. It is not surprising, however, to find this term Huarochaca, as it is probably from "WARU ... Cesta o plataforma que corre por la tarabita para pasar los ríos ... Wáru chaka: Puente de tarabita" (Lira 1944 p. 1113). As Vega I pp. 149-51 mentions, the bridge was a vital invention in the

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1. Mapa: "... sucio, manchado ..." (Perroud p. 106). In the rainy season, December-April, all the rivers of the Apurimac area are reddish in colour due to heavy deposits of soil and rock washed down by the floods.

Quechua culture, and therefore would also be considered as a natural accompaniment of a river difficult to cross.

(iv) beyond which river one may be accepted to remain in hanaj pacha or go to Ucupacha or return to the world as a condenado: "... pasando el río se encuentra las puertas de Zíon ..." (IAI); "... San Pedro tiene las llavas, depende lo que dice él ..." (IAL); "... claro, si uno es buen católica, sí pasa ..." (IAY); "... dice que la gente mala, los borrachos, los asesinos, se van a Ucupacha" (IW). I have listed all my informant material together with some other useful notes on condenado in Chapter III (p. 165), as condenado also has connections with other terms analysed.

* Conclusions

From the evidence of present-day beliefs in the Apurimac region, together with material from other present-day sources, it appears to be doubtful whether the use of hanaj pacha in modern translations of the Scripture for "heaven" is a valid one. There appear to exist in the minds of many Quechua speakers today many of the pre-Christian concepts of hanaj pacha, and these would inevitably associate themselves with the concept "heaven" on reading the term hanaj pacha as a translation of it. From the evidence, then, hanaj pacha appears to be another term that has lost little of its pre-conquest meaning load.

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IHUAYLLU

* Introduction

appear, as such, in any Quechua dictionary. Secondly, there is the extreme reluctance displayed on the part of informants to disclose information or to show examples of ihuayllu stones for analysis. This, I believe, helps to illustrate the deep-seated nature of some pre-conquest Quechua religious beliefs, which continue to run parallel to, but hidden from, present-day casual observation and analysis of Quechua culture. A plate of an ihuayllu is to be found on page 190. This example was given to me by IW. He did so only after some persuasion, and he gave it up only "porque yo ya siendo evangélico, no voy a seguir con estas cosas ..." His sister, IBL, promised to show me hers but never did, always finding an excuse — that she had forgotten them, or that they were in the other house in the chacra, etc. Their father, IBF, also had some, I was informed, but he was annoyed that his family had even told the gringo. IY confessed to using ihuayllu but was unwilling to go into details or show me any examples. The word appeared to be a local one, for it was known in Abancay, especially in the barrios (wards) of Tamborco and Condebamba, and I first heard the term and had an explanation of it in Antabamba; but my informants in Chalhuanca did not recognise the word. I shall endeavour to show that ihuayllu is connected with pre-conquest Quechua culture through its link-word caullama, which occurs twice in the EIP (pp. 204 and 273). It will also be necessary to show the distinction between ihuayllu and illa and how the word illa has become a wider term for special stones than it was at the time of the conquest.

** The framework, and link-word caullama, for ihuayllu

(a) a discussion of the term illa

(b) the nature of ihuayllu (caullama)

** The framework applied to dictionary definitions

Neither ihuayllu nor caullama appears in the dictionaries studied. As the dictionaries span the time from the conquest to the present day, I shall use them to discuss and show how the term illa has changed from having a specific meaning at the time of the conquest to having a more general meaning in present-day Quechua. Illa in Holguín (1608) meant "... La piedra vezar grande, o notable como vn huevo, o mayor, que la trayan consigo por abusión para ser ricos y venturosos" (p. 366). (Cobo devotes a whole chapter — pp. 128-30 — to explaining the nature and use of the piedra bezar.) Later dictionaries show the word illa with a wider meaning denoting any type of stone which has certain magical effects: "... 3. Figura de animal hecha de piedra ... tomada como talismán. 4. Brujería, amuleto, talismán que guardan como muy precioso, creyendo que los preservan de desgracias y les traen prosperidades; a veces son piedras bezoar ... Las conservan para tener muchas vacas y carneros ..." (Perroud p. 52); or "... Piedra en la que cayó el rayo considerada como sagrada ..." (Lira p. 89). Many modern dictionaries do not mention the word illa at all (e.g. Guardia Mayorga, Durán, Albo). Shedd mentions illa as being "moneda antigua con que las mujeres adornan sus bolsas" (p. 210), whereas Lara, also from Bolivia (Cochabamba area), does not mention this and gives four other definitions: "... Relámpago. — Roca, árbol u otro objeto herido por el rayo y considerado como sagrado ... uno de los nombres de Wiraqöcha en el Inkario ... Varón gemelo ..." and "... Cosa muy antigua y valiosa que se conserva ..." (p. 102). Perhaps the meaning of illa came to be linked more with illapa (rayo) than the piedra bezar, as lightning was a more common phenomenon and more to be

⁂ The framework applied to the EIP

The two passages that refer to caullama are, "Hay también conopas más particulares, unas para el maíz, que llaman zarap conopa; otras para las papas, parap conopa; otras para el aumento del ganado, que llaman caullama, que algunas veces son de figuras de carneros" (EIP p. 204), and "Item. si saben que alguna o algunas personas tengan en sus casas huacas, dioses penates, que llaman conopas, zaramamas, para el aumento de maíz, o caullamas para el aumento de ganado, o las piedras bezares, que llaman Ylla, y las adoran para dicho efecto, y con ellas tenga mullu, paria, lacsa, asto, sangu y otras ofrendas que les ofrezcan ..." (EIP p. 273).

The framework would therefore look like this:

(a) It would appear that the EIP distinguishes between caullama and Ylla (illa) in nature if not in function.

(b) the nature of ihuayllu (caullama)

(i) natural stone: —

(ii) carved stone: —

(iii) another substance: Certainly it was not bezoar.

(c) the purpose of ihuayllu (caullama)

(i) fertility rites for cattle: "... para aumento del ganado ..." (pp. 204 and 273)

(ii) fertility rites for other animals: "algunas veces son de figuras de carneros" (p. 204)

(iii) fertility rites for crops: It appears not, as they had other huacas, the sarap conopa for maize and parap conopa for potatoes (p. 204)

*. The framework applied to literature contemporaneous with the EIP

Santillan, Pachacuti Yamqui, el Anónimo, etc. The term illa is mentioned (e.g. Cobo I pp. 128-30), and also the term mullu. I shall introduce the term mullu at this stage, for it is another present-day term that is used in connection with fertility and procreation of animals. I shall attempt to show that mullu is not equivalent to illa or caullama or ihuayllu, nor should it be confused with muqllu or khuya.

Mullu is another term used by the Chroniclers with reference to (1) shells from the sea and (2) pebbles like coral: "... también sacrificaban u ofrecían conchas de la mar, que llaman mollo, y ofrecíanles a las fuentes y manantiales ... Usan de estas conchas en casi todas las maneras de sacrificios ..." (Acosta pp. 160-61); and "... un género de piedra que parece pedernal, tan coloroda como un coral, a la cual llaman mullu y hacen de ellas sartas de cuentas ..." (Cobo I p. 120); "... o granos hechos destas conchas, llamadas mollo ..." (Anónimo p. 155). Mullu appears then to have referred to stones and shells, whereas illa referred to the bezar. I shall deal with muqllu and khuya in the contexts of present-day literature (page 134 below). and informant material (page 135) respectively. Confusion was and is inevitable both in the times of the Chroniclers and at the present day, for this is at the very heart of Quechua religion and something then, as now, jealously guarded. Vega suggests that this worship of stones was something outside true Inca religion: "El Inca pasó adelante en su conquista; ... a los confines de la gran provincia llamada Huamachucu ... es verdad que aquella nación ... adoraban piedras, las que hallaban por los ríos o arroyos de diversas colores como el jaspe, que les parecía que no podían juntarse diferentes

** The framework applied to present-day literature

I have not been able to find the words ihuayllu or caullama in present-day literature. Arguedas does use the word illa (II p. 218), and explains his use of it. Again there seems to be confusion as to its precise meaning (cf. Arguedas loc. cit. and Vargas p. 196). Marzal points out the difficulty: "Muy alto también es el número de los que hacen t'inka al ganado ... otros hacen además despachos y colocan enqaychus. Parece que Arriaga los llama gonopas e illa ... De todo esto se desprende la importancia de los ritos agrícolas y ganaderos para descubrir la magia andina, pero la material recogido en la investigación no permite muchas generalizaciones ..." (p. 287). Valcárcel in the Handbook of South American Indians (p. 482) deals with illa in a few lines, stating vaguely, "They buy a large number of magic little figures of men and animals made of lead and of 'berenguela' stone, principally the celebrated 'illas', and use them as offerings for the development and multiplication of livestock ... These 'illas' have come to replace the old Inca conopas." More recent works by Pineda and Béjar respectively have helped illustrate more clearly the differences and problems of defining sepjas, mullus and illas.

The framework, then, appears as follows:

(a) a discussion of the term illa: "... Illas son en formas de seres humanos y de animales ... se consideran entre los illas las piedras preciosas, las monedas antiguas, fragmentos de aerolitos, etc. ..." (Pineda p. 90); "Las illas ... han sido tipicadas como una variedad de encaychu ... Son figuritas de piedra o arcilla cocida en forma de animales que son colocados por los indígenas en los

(b) the nature of ihuayllu (caullama) (illa)

(i) natural stone: "piedras preciosas ... fragmentos de aerolitos ..." (Pineda p. 90); "Amuleto de piedra blanca" (Arguedas II p. 218)

(ii) carved stone: "formas de seres humanos y otros animales" (Pineda p. 90); "... introduciéndole en la caridad superior que la conopa posee ..." (Béjar p. 150)

(iii) another substance: "monedas antiguas ..." (Pineda p. 90); "... arcilla cocida ..." (Béjar p. 150); "... en la panza de las vacas se encuentra unas piedras negras (illa) ..." (Vargas p. 196)

(c) the purpose of ihuayllu (caullama) (illa)

(i) in fertility rites for cattle: "... para que se multipliquen ..." (Pineda p. 90); "El dato concreto de la zona de Apurimac es ésta fecundación del ganado por la illa que se transforma en toro ...y está condicionada al K'intusqa (ofrenda de coca, y sebo, mallqo, 'pepita de coca', y otras cosas) que el dueño del rebaño haya ofrecido a la illa, introduciéndolo en la cavidad superior que la conopa posee ..." (Béjar p. 150)

(ii) for other animals: "... se multipliquen ganados y otros animales ..." (Pineda p. 90)

(iii) for crops: Here Pineda makes the distinction between illa and mullu (muqllu): "Sepjas o Mullos son amuletos de formas geométricas ... para obtener buenas cosechas" (p. 90). According to Dalle (1968 p. 31), "Muqllu: es un cuadrado de piedra blanquecina que lleva esculpidas las

que da la Pachamama. Por lo tanto es objeto venerado (cf. la bandera, y más que la bandera). El mullu debe permanecer siempre guardado en lugar secreto; no debe aparecer a los ojos extraños. Parece ser, a la vez, un recordatorio de cuanto da la Pachamama un homenaje a ésta, un secreto de la familia." Cf. also, "El propietario del ganado lleva el costal, que la noche antes, sirvió de mesa ... En el señal q'epe están: el mullu-mesa, objeto de uska (marmolina) que representa el caserío, con su ganado alrededor, ..." (Aragón p. 190). Because Aragón shows the mullu being part of the Señalakuy rites, it appears that mullu can be used in different rites, and what really distinguishes it from illa is therefore its shape, substance and significance.[1]

*** The framework applied to informant material

(a) a discussion of the term illa: On showing my ihuayllu stone to IP, his comment was, "... es lo que nosotros decimos illa. Mis padres tienen en Chacña ... te voy a mostrar ..." (but he never did!). IBL, who is a monolingual woman from Condebamba, Abancay, in reply to the question "Illachuchá" ('Perhaps it's an illa?'), told me, "Manami ihuayllu sutin" ('No, it's called ihuayllu'). It appears therefore that ihuayllu is a local name for illa, that is known in the Abancay region, Antabamba region, but not used in Chacña, Chalhuanca, Andahuaylas, or further afield in the departments of Cuzco, Ayacucho and Huancavelica. IE commented, after listening to the description of my ihuayllu, "... no conozco la palabra, aquí dicen khuya ..." Lira (1944) states, "KHUYA, Una piedra o mineral de propiedades mágicas,

of a square or rectangle. This meaning of khuya is mentioned only by Lira, in the dictionaries, and again demonstrates that it is a local word and/or is not commonly known or understood.

(b) the nature of ihuayllu: The analysis of the sample was performed by the Geology Department of the University of St. Andrews: "? Limestone. The smaller 'carved' sample would be easily worked because it is a limestone made up of small crystals of calcium carbonate (calcite). Presumably it occurs as a local bed rock and if it is of some importance we could try and locate it in the rock sequence of the district ..." In the framework, then:

(i) natural stone: confirmed in this sample

(ii) carved stone: confirmed in this sample. I did question the Department of Geology about this point as two informants had stressed the "naturalness" of the stones: "... En esta chacra hemos hallado una piedra semejante a un perro ... sí es ihuayllu ..." (IY), "... son piedras en la forma de animales ... que uno se encuentra ..." (IBN). Also IW stated that he had found the ihuayllu as it was while digging a ditch near Curahuasi. It would appear that the hole in the stone is carved, though, as there are scratch marks at the bottom of it (see Plate II, p. 190 below). Presumably it is in this hole that the K'intusqa is placed.[1] Perhaps the people who use the ihuayllu wish to feel that this is something natural and so reject the idea of any carving of the samples.

(iii) —

(c) the purpose of ihuayllu

lo que hacen t'inka arriba en la puna, los que tienen ganados ..." (IBN)[1]

(ii) for other animals: "... es ihuayllu ... para que dan más crías para los animales ... sí, también para perros, ganados y ovejas" (IY); "Los curanderos entierran estas piedras en donde están los animales pasteando ..." (IW); "Utilizan estas piedras en tiempo de Señalakuy ..." (IBN); "... en el patio aquí está enterrado ihuayllu de perro para que dan más perros ..." (IY)

(iii) —

*** Conclusions

It appears that there is still a direct link between the EIP's caullama, Ylla and present-day ihuayllu, illa, khuya. It also appears that, then as now, this aspect of Quechua religious culture is the most closed to research by outsiders. However, this study has shown that there is a difference between the terms mullu (muqllu) and ihuayllu, illa, khuya, and that they have local significance.

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TUNCHI

*** Introduction

The term tunchi is one peculiar to montaña Quechua culture and is not found in Apurimac, Cuzco or Ayacucho to my knowledge. I shall endeavour to show that this term is closely linked with the term difunto, but also that it has areas of meaning that are distinct from the Spanish use of that term. As much of my material is from informants, I shall begin by setting out the Quechua/English texts before

"... chashna huillahuaycaptiña uyaríc suc tunchít cay tambo ladullapím, fin, fin, fin, fi-i-i-n.

So when he said that to me we heard a tunchi just by the side of the hut, fin, fin, fin, fi-i-i-n.

Piñata huanúsh mash.

Who's died now, brother-in-law?

No sé, mash. Mash tunchiñami huacan cayllapín.

I don't know, brother-in-law. Brother-in-law look out, the tunchi is crying right in here.

Entonces, caramba, chayta uyarishpalla hermano Rufino sucaman turbashcán. Acuna mash.

So, caramba, on hearing that, brother Rufino was highly upset. Let's go, brother-in-law.

Entonces shamurcanisapán, cuando Chumbaquihuíp chayarcansá suc Señora doña Orfelina huillahuarcansá, y chayrách compadre.

And so we came back, and when we arrived at Chumbaquihui a Señora doña Orfelina spoke to us: Back again, Compadre?

Chayrách, shamuycanisapa, comadre. Cay suc yungururu enfadaynip.

Back again, we're coming back, comadre. Here there was a yungururu chattering angrily.[1]

Alao, compadretuyni, sham upiyayra.

Oh dear, my dear compadre, come in and drink first.

Mana pipish huañun, comadre.

Hasn't anyone died, comadre?

Ay, compadretuyni, ña huañushcana don Manuel Vicenteca, cayna huashan shamushcanisapa velacuymanta.

Ah, my dear compadre, don Manuel Vicente died just now, the day before yesterday we came from the funeral.

Asús María, comadre, paypa tunchín cash chaynapica Porotongopi sucaman manchachihuashcansapa, chayraycuna shamushcanisapa ..."

Jesús María, comadre, his tunchi was there in Porotongo, it scared us no end, and because of that we now came back ...[2]

(IBO)

"Bueno, cunan huauqui Mac parlachiyqui cay ayapa ejemplunda.

Well, now brother Mac, I shall tell you this example about an aya.

Bueno, cunan yachayta munán cay ayapa ejemplunda, cunan deveras huillayqui canda.

Well, since you now want to know about this example of an aya, then I'll really tell you about it right now.

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1. Yungururu:- "Variedad de perdíz. Comestible" (Rios p. 20). The yungururu is also considered as a bird particularly susceptible to the presence of spirits. A noisy yungururu would suggest the presence of a tunchi or other spirit.

Cay aya /f/orma de cristián.[1]	This aya is in the form of a human being.
Supay cristián laya.	Like a devil-possessed person.
Chay manchachihuanchi sucaman.	One that terrifies us exceedingly.
Chayta ñucaycuna rimanisapa, a veces chacraman rishpa, maymanmi rísh, raslla mañayba cuerpúnch tucun.	We talk about that sometimes when we're going to the chacra (field), or wherever we might be going, when suddenly our bodies completely stiffen.
Mán ima puriyta atipanchiñachu, sucaman dormicidu quiparínch. Quiquinchí sucaman manchacúnch.	We can't even walk then, we remain completely paralysed. Completely terrified in ourselves.
Sucám corazonninchi huactanacun chaymanda ric(chic layatana uyaricúnch, fácil cayacunchiman.	Because our hearts are thumping so much, anybody who is listening would easily think we were calling out!
Chaymanda iden cahuacshina imaginacúnch, pero mana cahuacshina.	And so we imagine it's like seeing something, but we don't see anything at all really.
Iden airellapish shaya'cunch.[2] Chaymanda mana rimacuyta atipánch manchacuyhuan."	It's like staying just in the air. So, because of that, we are unable to speak for fear.
(IBB)	
"Cashnas horas, hermano Mac, parlachinayayqui ñaupac tiempo sosedeshcaynita, huambra cashcaynî cunan tiempo.	At this time, brother Mac, I want to talk to you about what happened to me a long time ago, when I was in my early childhood.
Papayni saquihuarcansapa bayliman.	My father left us to go to the dance.
Ñu ... pura huambra purata.	We, we were all just young ones.
Y huañudo carca tata Danielpa huamin, prescullara.	And father Daniel's wife had died, just very recently.
Chayna tutayarcan mana cutiyta atiparcanchu papaynica, mamayni mashashpán.	Then it was getting dark and my father was unable to return, because my mother was drunk.
Y chanmanda tutayacpín mana alto tutayacpín sucaman ruidocurca cuartitu ucupi.	And now as it was getting dark though not fully dark, it suddenly got very noisy inside the room.

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1. Cristián:- see below, p. 166. For explanation of the difficulty of pronunciation of /f/, see Howkins.

2. Shaya'cunch:- The glottal /'/ in this word gives the sense of an

Chaypi rimacurca, mana entiendercanisapachu rimacucpinga.	In there it was speaking, but we couldn't understand what it was saying.
Chaymanda luzta apichircanisapa, pata luzta manchanman, nishpa.	And so we lit the light; perhaps it might be scared of the light, we said.
Mana nima luzta mancharcanchu, chay ruido ucúp.	But it wasn't even scared of the light, that noise inside.
Almá, ninacún ñucaycuna.	It's an alma, we said.
Sucamana manchachihuarcansáp.	Now it really scared us.
Lude más, y panini Cleta, y ... chaypi carcan panini Cruzita carcan suc ... Gustavo y que liquidu huacacurcan sucaman y mana niman manchaychu, chay almá.	Lude as well as my sister Cleta, in there too was my sister little Cruz, and there was ... Gustavo was crying out loudly, but it didn't scare that alma one bit!
Chayna chaupi tutapí tanto sucaman ruido ucupi, hasta yacu armachihuacsapa altumanda.	Then in the middle of the night a tremendous noise inside, even now it was spraying us with water from up above!
Suc ratú, altupi cac, suc ratú allpapi cac, suc unaypilluc ñata terradota, ri-ri, ri-ri, ri-ri, ri-ri, unaypí yacuhuan armachihuacsá.	For a while, it was up, then for a while it was on the floor, for a long time it was in the terrado (ceiling of bamboo and mud) ri-ri, ri-ri, ri-ri, ri-ri, and for a long time it went on spraying us with water.
Casi ñuyu purillan carcán, tanto armachihuactinguna yacutana.	Almost soaked through, we were, so much had it sprayed us with water.
Hasta puñuyna cuyquiyunda huishchu'cun ...	Why he even threw out the chamber pot'water! ...
Y chaymanda huillarcan panini Cleta, mejor acuchi tata Luchupa huasinman, abuelonchicunáp huasinman.	And then my sister Cleta said, Come on, better let's go to father Lucho's house or our grandfather's house.
Y nihuán, mejor chayman.	And they said to me, better the latter.
Acuychi rishpa. Aparinacushpa huambracunataca rishpa.	Come on, let's go. Shouldering the children, we went.
Pacarishcaynicuna manllayba manchacuyhuan ñucaycunahuan rircaniśáp.	When we got up, with our tremendous fear still, we set off.
Cutimurcaniśáp cashcan huasicunaman.	We returned again to the houses.
Chaymanda tarircanisapa papaynî,	So we found my father and my

Y chaymanda papayni piñacurca. May shamuchun, may shamuchun ... ñú cunán así.	So after that my father got mad. Just let it come then, let it come ... I, right, like this ...
Chaymanda mana diapi nimay ruidu tiyarcanñachu.	And after that there never was any noise any more.
Chaymán cashcan cayandin cusanda yacuchac chay tiyan Oliviapa alman.	But again the day after, that Olivia's alma sprayed her husband.
Chaymanda cashcan tiempopi chashnanan causac persigue tatanda, Danielitopa huarmin almanga yacuchashpa hasta puñungaman, hasta sabanan quichic, pero mana cahuacchu.	Now again on another occasion this live one follows after, her father. Little Daniel's wife's alma goes on wetting him right up to his bed time, even messing on his sheet, but unseen.
Chanán causár."	That's the way it was then.

(IAH)

"Suc ullcu masísh rircan aparicuc suc lugarmanda.	They say a friend of ours went to carry cargo from a place.
Chaypi tutayarcan, chaupi sachapi tiyarcan suc tambo, chaypi samarcan.	It got dark there, and in the middle of the jungle there was a hut, so he rested in there.
Tucuyní ricshi almán riman chaypi tantanacun nísh.	All kinds of almas might go in here or gather here, he said to himself.
Chaymanda ullcu masi terrado-pi puñurcan, manllayba machetísh apashpan, preparanacushpa.	So the friend slept in the terrado, also taking a big machete in order to be prepared.
Chánda ... uyarircan ullcu masí chaupi tutapi, fin, fin, fin, fin, fin, fin-fin.	Then ... the friend heard, in the middle of the night, fin, fin, fin, fin, fin-fin.
Carupish, pero nina raurarcan chay ullcu masipa	Far away, also, but the fire was roaring for that friend.
Ünaypi cashcan uyarin, fin, fin, fin, fin, fin-fin.	After a while he heard it again, fin, fin, fin, fin, fin-fin.
Ayatán.	He was hearing an aya (tunchi) now.
Cunan shamun cayta deveras, chayanishpa macheteta alistarcán, capacurcán, terradúp pungunpish matacurcán.	Now it will come here, that's certain, it's getting nearer. He prepared a machete ready, and held it out at arm's length in the trap-door of the terrado in order to kill it.
Ünaycillupish uyarín ranchóp ladunllapím, fin, fin, fin, fin, fin-fin.	Once again he heard it just at the edge of the clearing, fin, fin, fin, fin, fin-fin.
Manllayba machetísh	He was the wild, frightened

suc caspicillút orconcillút huasicillu ucúp.	small branch or post inside the little house.
Mán shamun curcán.	It didn't come, when he bent down in the hole.
Unaypilla uyaricun suctañña, uraymanda shamun, fin, fin, fin, fin, fin-fin.	A little later he heard it once again, it came down from above, fin, fin, fin, fin, fin-fin.
A, tata Dios, sucnina shamun, nirca, shungun ucupíll, ullcu masí.	Ah, father God, one of them has come, he said, but just in his heart he said it, our friend.
Chaymanda unaypilla cashcan uyarín, fin, fin, fin, fin, fin, fin-fin.	Then again, after a moment or two, he heard it, fin, fin, fin, fin, fin, fin-fin.
Cercanacuycansá ... uya'ricun huasicillu ucupi, chaymanda cásh cerquitañña, fin, fin, fin, fin, fin-fin.	They were getting near each other now ... Suddenly he heard it in the little house, then again very near now, fin, fin, fin, fin, fin-fin.
Huarminayn.	My wife!
A, tarinacún, ay turini caypích cangui nin.	Ah, when they met she said, oh, my brother, are you here?
Ah, panín, caypím canín, masha' — cún panini nucán, nísh.	Ah, sister, here I am, I'm drunk sister, that's what I am, he said.
Ñuca turi, shu,altuta llucash.	Listen, I'm going to climb up to the attic, brother.
Ullcu masi preparanacúsh terradopi ...	So the friend got himself ready in the <u>terrado</u> ...
Cayandá cuchumurcan cahuac rishpa, chañ ...	Then he slashed seeing her going up, chang! ...
Fiiiiin ... ninnallán.	Fiiiiin ... she cried out then.
Chaymanda, pati cuchushushca ... Acu ñañña pushac masanchita, nircán.	After that he said, who was it then that wounded you? ... Come on then, sister, so that I can take you to our brother-in-law.[1]
... Ullcu masi terraduman llucshin ishango locó yaycurcan.	When the friend came down out of the <u>terrado</u>, he entered right into some <u>ishango loco</u> plants.[2]
... Rinayarcansapa, chunllayacpínga ... Unaypilla, mo'ntonnayásh carcan.	He and his friends tried to return, when everything was completely quiet ... After a little, there was everything all heaped up.

1. He uses the word <u>ñañña</u> for sister here instead of <u>pani</u>, as he was speaking to the <u>tunchi</u>, in a woman's voice, taunting it. <u>Ñañña</u> is used to refer to sisters between women, whereas <u>pani</u> is used of sisters, by men speakers.

... Ayác deveras.	Truly, an aya.
Techon huasíp, techitonda, ... mascashcan.	He searched in the roof of the house, even the small roof.
Acá, mash, ventishillu carcan ayac cunan chay shunguyacpin.	Here, look, here was the ventishu[1] when the aya cheered himself up with it.
Vamos, rircán, famacucna ..."	Let's go, and so they went to let everyone know then.

(IAH)

"... Cashcan palachinayayqui ayapa ejemplunda, huauqui, sosedeshcaynite chacrayni ucupi.	Once again, I would like to talk to you about an example of an aya, something that happened, brother, in my chacra (field).
Ñuca rircani su día chacrayni pichacuc, chayna medio día almorzacna shamunaynip planta-noynitán cuchunaynip samacurcán ranchitunaynip.	I went one day to cultivate my chacra and then at mid-day when I came to eat my lunch, I cut off some cooking bananas for my main course, and I had a rest.
Gusto, gusto siri'curcani, chayna yuyamuni suc primayni huañuduta.	Happily, happily I was lying down, and then I remembered about one of my cousins that had died.
Chaymanda shamun sa'ac ... cuerpoyni manllayra ucúp tucurcan.	Then it came, sa'ac ... my body inside stiffened up, worse than ever.
Ñuca cushucurcan, mmmmmm ...	I flexed myself, mmmmmm ...
Ñuca, pasachinayarcán chashna ... chaymanta, mana aguantash-pa, ... major rishán.	I tried to make it pass like that ... but after, when I couldn't stand it, ... I'd be better to go.
Vám óm, shamurcani mana ni cargayucna.	Let's go, man, and I came back, not even as a carrier of anything now.
Chaymanda shamuycani bajadita iden cahuacshina imaginacúc manllera manchacuc manana puriyta atipaninachu ...	And as I was coming to the dip it was just as if I saw it, in my great terror, I was not able now to walk ...
A penas shamúr ticramurcani chay filuta, chaymanda cayacurcani puntapi, chaya-mushpa cashcan, jau, jau ...	I was hardly able to come and to cross the ridge, again I called out at the top, but it arrived again, jau, jau ... (it said).
Chaymanda suc lomitatan llucán huaúq, iden huashani-manda isachuacacshina imaginacurcán.	After that it climbed a hillock, brother, and I imagined that it was just calling out from just behind me.

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1. Ventishu:- "... Es el huarapo ... el primer producto de la caña dulce,

Chaymanda huauqui, cahuarcanín suc partepi, este tacsha caspicillu ucunát, pangacunát sucán cuyuchicpina ... sucá mancha' ...	Then, brother, I saw them in one place towards the centre of this small tree, its leaves being waved about violently ... Oh, I was so scared ...
Cunan así mana chayanichu huasinipi, nircani huaúq.	That's it then, I won't be arriving at my house now, I said, brother.
Chayna, huauquicitu, ... shamuni hermanayquitán, ... aya huanuchihuán jau, shatingu-huay óm, nircán ...	Then, brother, ... I came to your brother's place, ... It said, I'm an aya, you ought to kill me, transfix me then, man.
Ñuca, huauqui, huishchucurcani macheteta, vamo papayniman famata ruracna ...	I, brother, I threw down my machete and off I went to my father's place to tell him the news ...
Chaymanda, huauquini, mana ni huasiniman rinayarcaninachu, manchacúsh, yaca ya quimsa quillata.	After that, brother, I didn't even want to go back to my house because of my fear, not even for nearly three months.
Compañahuacpinguna rircán, mana ni sapallaymi rircanayanichu chacraman manchacúsh ... alma manchchihuashcanraycu."	So they accompanied me when I went, I didn't even want to go alone to the chacra because I was scared ... because the alma had frightened me.

(IAH)

"... Rircanisapa sachamanna puricucna. huaquini Alejandro-huan, hermano Luishuan, hermano Artemiohuan, ñuca ... Chuscumanda rircanisapa.	We went off to the jungle then to hunt, brother Alejandro, brother Luis, brother Artemio and I. We went between four of us.
Cuchuna tiempo, huauqui, carcan.	It was tree-felling time, brother.
Chaupipi puñuc, chay fondóp shutin Pucararca.	We went to sleep deep in the forest, in that ranch named Pucararca.
Chaymanda puricurcanisapa animalta chapaypi, chapaypi animalta huañuchinanchipa ...	Then we started to hunt to catch animals, cornering them to kill them.
... Chayna uyarini quejacpín ...	Then I heard something when it groaned.
... Chanda uyarín, ay, ay, ay, ay ... manllera caspi siquimbi.	... Then again I heard it, ay, ay, ay, ay ... underneath a great log.
... animalchá icha ungudúñ, nishpa ninín ...	... perhaps it's an animal, and perhaps it's ill, I said to myself.
Chaymanda rasña, sac ...	Then, all of a sudden, sac!
Vaya, cará, tapiacushcanín, nircanín huaúq.	Look at that, carajo, I've been bewitched, I said, brother.[1]

Con és ōm, mana cutiyta atapani-nachu ...	With this then, man, I won't be able even to go back ...
... Tataymi Eliseo finaduca tapiachihuarcansá.	... it was my dead father Eliseo that bewitched us.
Chaytana huillashcayqui ejemplo tunchipa."	So I shall tell you that as an example of a tunchi.

(IBB)

** The framework, and its link-word difunto, for tunchi

I shall in the framework endeavour to show that tunchi is the San Martín montaña Quechua equivalent for difunto. By difunto I mean not merely "... respetuosamente de la persona muerta. — 2 m. Cadáver" (Gaya 1970 p. 618), but rather difunto in terms of the spirit of a person who has recently died. In the period immediately after death there appears to be a belief both in the sierra and the montaña that the spirit of a dead person roams around for three to eight days: "... Según la creencia universal el alma del difunto tiene que andar ocho días sobre la tierra antes de que se libre de su mortalidad, y solamente entonces va delante de Dios para ser juzgado" (Garr p. 114); "... cuando el cadáver ha sido introducido en la fosa, recién emprende el camino del más allá" (Rojas p. 199); "Yo creo que el alma de una persona que muere está ocho días en la casa ..." (Marzal p. 80). It is this period, and the actions of the difunto's spirit in this period, that I wish to set out in the framework for tunchi. I shall also endeavour to show that the actions of a tunchi or difunto are not as malevolent as those of a condenado.[1] Here then is the framework:

(a) a bird that presages death

(b) difunto

(c) a spirit less malevolent than a condenado

** The framework applied to the dictionary definitions

Only Tovar mentions the word tunchi. The more common word in other regions for the Spanish difunto is aya. So the framework appears thus:

(a) a bird that presages death: "... Ave de prolongada silbido lúgubre, que es considerado mala agorera; se le conoce también como pedro-pablo; los indios escuchan con terror en las noches el grito de este animal, y creen que encarna alguna ánima o espíritu humano que se encarga de predecir grandes desgracias con su silbido" (Tovar p.198)

(b) a difunto

(i) the spirit of a recently dead person: Although Albo, Cordero, Holguín, Landerman, Lara, Lira, Mora, Orr, Perroud, Ricardo and others mention difunto and aya none gives any comment on meanings covered by sections (b) (i-vii) of the framework, or by section (c).

*** The framework applied to the EIP

While the EIP does not mention the term tunchi, it does describe some of the actions of the spirit of a recently dead person. So the framework is:

(a) —

(b) a difunto

(i) the spirit of a recently dead person: "En la muerte y entierros de sus difuntos también hay grandes abusos y supersticiones; ... esperan cantando y bebiendo toda la noche siguiente al ánimo del difunto, que dicen que ha de venir a comer y beber ..." (p. 216)

que ya el ánimo está en Zamayhuaci [Rest-house] ... y que no volverá más" (p. 216)

(iii) that communicates: "... poco después de muerto, chispea el fuego o algún buho o lechuza canta sobre la casa del difunto, dicen que tiene hambre y frío ..." (p. 226)

(iv) —

(v) that is invisible: "Esparcen en algunas partes harina de maíz o de quina [quinhua?] por la casa para ver, como ellos dicen, si vuelve el difunto por las pisadas que ha de dejar señaladas en la harina" (p. 216)

(vi)-(vii) —

(c) —

⁂ The framework applied to literature contemporaneous with the EIP

Acosta has two chapters on the subject of los difuntos (pp. 146-148), but tends to be vague in his description of actual practices. He mentions making "un retrato del difunto, ... a honrar y adorar como Dios ... que las ánimas vivían después de esta vida ... sacrificar hombres al difunto ... de poner comida y bebida a los difuntos sobre sus sepulturas y cuevas ..." Cobo also has a chapter on "la idolatría que tenían con sus difuntos" (II pp. 163-65), but he describes attitudes to the worship of the mummified bodies rather than what happens to their spirits. Vega does not have a chapter devoted to difuntos, as such, but he does have one called "Cómo enterraban los Reyes. Duraban las obsequias un año" (II pp. 127-28). It does not deal with details of the spirit of the difunto either. In Volume I (p. 57) he does note that spirits return to be reborn into new babies: "Esta nación Cauiña se preciaba, en su vana creencia, que sus primeros

los cuerpos de los que nacían." Betanzos, Molina, Santillan, the Jesuita anónimo and Pachacuto Yamqui do not deal with difuntos as such, nor could I find any reference in Cieza de León or Poma de Ayala. So the material contemporaneous with the EIP does not, from the authors examined, shed any further light on the aspects of tunchi or difunto considered in the framework.

*** The framework applied to present-day literature

(a) a bird that presages death: "Poroto tunchi ... Ave pequeño de color negro. Su canto es como silbido del difunto" (Rios p. 21). Rios is here therefore making the distinction between the whistle of a bird and a whistle made by a difunto (tunchi).

(b) a difunto

(i) the spirit of a recently dead person: "Cuando el espíritu es de una persona que acababa [sic] de morir o se halla próxima a ese estado de separación ... recibe el nombre especial de Tunschi ..." (Herrera p. 224); "Tunche — espíritu maligno" (Ramirez, appendix)

(ii) —

(iii) that communicates: "... se manifiesta a los vivientes por medio de un silbado agudo ... que llena de pavor" (Herrera p. 244)

(iv)-(v) —

(vi) that creates havoc in houses: "... salió una especie de bulto que le jaló a mi esposo de los pies" (Marzal p. 80)

(vii) that causes paralysis: "... asustan a las personas que transitan por los caminos. Y así, si un hombre se asusta de un momento a otro sin saber porqué, es que se ha encon-

(c) a spirit less malevolent than the condenado: Rojas has a section on the condenado (pp. 204-07) in which he shows that a condenado is a spirit that has returned from being judged and has now claimed its body back from the grave, or is looking for a body to possess.

** The framework applied to informant material

(a) a bird that presages death: The sound fin-fin is the sound made by the tunchi bird. This appears to be different from the whistle of the poroto tunchi and from other sounds made by owls (lechuza) in San Martín Quechua: "Una noche hemos escuchado un tunchi silbando en la casa ... buscando con linterna en las vigas [beams] ... habrá sido ave quizás" (IBP). In the texts, however, the informants all thought it was made directly by the difunto, aya or tunchi, rather than by a bird.

(b) a difunto

(i) the spirit of a recently dead person: "Manuel Vicente", "father Daniel's wife", "my wife", "one of my cousins", "dead father Eliseo" in the texts. Some also had just recently died, and therefore would not have gone off towards heaven.

(ii) that wanders freely: In the texts several of the tunchis were heard or seen some three to four days' walk away from the villages.

(iii) that communicates: In the text, the tunchi speaks with a gruff voice (e.g. "jaa ...") if it is a man, and with a falsetto voice if it is a lady.

(iv) that bewitches: The verb used in the text is tapiacu, which does not occur in Lira, but Ricardo (p. 82) translates "Tapiacun, dar mal agüero".

see the tunchi (not even in the case of IAH's wife: though he slashed at her, it was the movement of the ladder and not her visible presence). In one case the leaves moved violently. The habit of putting down flour to see the arrival of a difunto, mentioned in the EIP, is still practised today both in San Martín and in Apurimac. In San Martín I have seen the floor of a house in San Miguel del Mayo spread with ground maize to record the footprints of a difunto that was returning, dice que, to look for his hidden money; and in Apurimac, where the threshold of the door of a house in the barrio artesanal of Abancay was spread with flour to discourage a difunto from returning to hacer perjuicios in the house. Difuntos, however, may at times be seen in the form of bultos.[1]

(vi) that creates havoc in houses: This was the case in two of the texts, and is not peculiar to San Martín. IBJ informed me that when a difunto wishes something for his journey and he thinks that his family will not place it in his coffin then he often returns for it the night after the velorio (wake): "Acompañaba en la muerte de mi cuñada abajo en la carretera ... murió él aplastado de la arena abajo en la quebrada ... Su difunto vuelve todas las noches ... No nos deja tranquilo ... mueve las ropas ... busca sus herramientas ... grita también ... quiere llevar a mi hermana ... Mi papá está enfermo, se ha hinchado todo su cuerpo. Cuando estaba durmiendo él en la casa, el difunto había sentado aquí, en su pecho, aplastándole

... de allí se ha enfermado ... Será susto ... aún con cuatro calvarios y muchas oraciones no quiere dejarnos ..." (IF)

(vii) that causes paralysis: The texts give clear evidence of this phenomenon. IBB also explained to me that on one occasion after hearing a difunto he was paralysed for several minutes, and then was only able to drag himself along the ground for several hundred feet, until power returned to his legs.

(c) a spirit less malevolent than a condenado: "El condenado es más supremo que el tunchi ... suena más también" (IBQ); "el condenado se llama también pishtacu ... el tunchi agarra a los que tienen miedo" (IAZ).[1] From general studies of the condenado (e.g. Rojas pp. 204-207) it is evident that the condenado is a special type of difunto who returns for his body and wanders around as a spirit and body. In the texts as the difunto (tunchi) was unseen, even in the case of the woman approaching the loft (terrado), they were not condenados. IF mentioned a case where he had seen a condenado coming out of a house where, in life, the now dead man had lived: "Sí, yo le he visto como de aquí a la casa [15 metres?] a un hombre saliendo, no se cómo, y se fue tras de un árbol como para cagar ... he visto bajar sus pantalones ... pero cuando me [sic] ido a ver no estaba nadie ..."

* Conclusions

Tunchi, then, appears to be the equivalent of the term difunto (aya). Difunto appears to be used now in a wider sense than merely a dead body, but includes the actions of the spirit of a recently dead person. There seems to be a difference between difunto and condenado.

in that in the Quechua culture the spirit after death remains wandering around for a period of time before starting on its journey to heaven and during this time it is normally a difunto; but if condemned to a life of wandering because of some special "sin" such as witchcraft, incest, being an evangelical, etc., the spirit returns for its body (or the body of another) and becomes a condenado — to continue wandering, but visible as a human being. Several elements of the actions of a difunto have been carried through since the times of the EIP, together with the methods of dealing with difuntos (e.g. the flour on the threshold). This then is further evidence that Quechua religious culture has continued to survive until the present day.

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Group III: Terms which occur in the EIP but do not appear to figure in either present-day Apurimac or San Martín Quechua culture

The term sol and the term oncoy are the only two out of the thirteen religious terms selected which, while occurring in the EIP, are not found in either Apurimac or San Martín Quechua culture at the present day. I shall endeavour to show that the reason for the disappearance of these terms from present-day Quechua culture is due to the fact, not that they were ousted by Spanish Catholic culture, but that they were never part of the general religion of the common people but rather connected with the person and worship of the Incas. Thus, when the Incas were superseded sol and oncoy were superseded with them, although the general common religious beliefs in apu, pachamama, difunto, chirapa, etc., continued.

SOL

⁂ Introduction

In my observation of montaña and sierra culture in the San Martín and Apurimac areas respectively, I have not observed any worship, feasts or prayers directed to the sun. I shall therefore attempt to show that (a) the worship of the sun was more closely connected with the Aymará culture than with the general Quechua culture, and (b) it was closely connected with the Incas themselves. I shall pass immediately to the study of the EIP and its contemporary literature, as the dictionaries consulted do not shed any light on the problem.

⁂ The framework for sol

(a) a god worshipped by the Aymará

(b) a god intimately connected with the Inca hierarchy

⁂ The framework applied to the EIP

The EIP mentions sol on three occasions. The writer does not mention the nature of the worship, though it appears to have continued after the deposition of the Incas, and in 1582 he writes: "En muchas partes (especialmente de la sierra) adoran al Sol, con su nombre Punchao, que significa el día, y también debajo de su propio nombre Inti" (EIP p. 201). There is a passing reference on page 214, and in the Edicto it merely states, "... si saben que alguna o algunas personas hayan adorado al Sol, ..." (EIP p. 273). There seems then to be, by 1582, some fifty years after the destruction of Cuzco by Pizarro, some surviving worship of the sun, but this may have been connected with Aymará ("... de la sierra"?) or other such local ayllu

authors contemporary with Arriaga. Arriaga, then, does not add much to the framework.

* The framework applied to material contemporaneous with the EIP

Of all the material available, Vega is the one who comments most on sol (Inti). Indeed, early on in his work he apologises by saying, "Adviértase, porque no enfade el repetir tantas veces estas palabras 'Nuestro Padre el Sol', que era lenguaje de los Incas y manera de veneración y acatamiento decirlas siempre que nombraban al Sol, porque se preciaban descendir dél, y al que no era Inca no le era lícito tomarlas en la boca, que fuera blasfemia y lo apedriaran" (I p. 47). This portion, however, at the same time indicates that the worship of the sun was therefore something practised and spoken of by the Inca rulers and not by the people. It was Manco Capac Inca who forced the worship of the sun on the indios: "Y que particularmente debían adoración y servicio al Sol ... por haberles enviado dos hijos suyos, que, sacándolos de la vida ferina que hasta entonces habían tenido, los hubiesen reducido a la humana que al presente tenían" (ibid. pp. 58-9). As a result the indios "creyeron todo lo que el Inca les dijo, principalmente el decirles que era hijo del Sol ..." (ibid. p. 59). So the Incas and the sun were bound up together: "... llamaban Intip churin, que es hijo del Sol, y este apellido se lo daban a todos los varones de la sangre real ..." (ibid. p. 67). The Incas and their people conquered in the name of the sun, forcing yet more areas under the domination of the son of the sun: "Redúcese Hatunpacassa y conquistan a Cacyauri ... El Inca envió los requerimientos acostumbrados y que en particular le dijesen que no iba a quitarles sus vidas ni haciendas, sino a hacerles los beneficios que el Sol mandaba que

The worship of the sun was centred on Cuzco and was more in evidence at the feast of Inti Raymi in the month of June, the winter solstice. It was the Inca himself who acted as high priest. Vega describes it thoroughly in Chapters XX-XXIII (Vega II pp. 157-166), but it must be noted that the common people had no active part in the religious side of the fiesta, but merely participated at a local level in eating and drinking in their own part of the city of Cuzco or throughout the kingdom.

Neither Acosta, Cobo, the Jesuita anónimo, Pachacuti Yanqui, Ayala nor Molina explains more about the worship of the sun. Acosta merely gives some examples of how to change people's views on sun worship (pp. 145-46). Betanzos does not mention the sun in connection with Manco Capac, but does tell how Inca Yupanqui built the casa del sol in Cuzco (pp. 31-33). Santillan also makes the point that the Incas conquered in the name of hijos del Sol: "... Y esto hacían y persuadían debajo de un género de religión y de poner la fuerza ..." (p. 104).

Returning then to the framework, sol appears from the writers contemporary with the EIP as

(a) a god worshipped by the Aymará: It seems that sun-worship began with Manco Capac who was intimately connected with the Lake Titicaca region.[1]

(b) a god intimately connected with the Inca hierarchy: There appears to be good evidence that when the Inca rulers with their families and many of the curacas and priests were destroyed, and when the Inti Raymi fiesta stopped and the casa del Sol was taken over as a Dominican monastery and those who were concerned with the worship of

the sun were discredited as mighty conquerors, then the pressure to worship the sun, as god, was no longer exerted and sun worship among the common folk gradually disappeared.

* The framework applied to present-day literature

A great deal has been written about the Tiahuanacu culture and its archaeology.[1] It would appear then that the Incas got their worship of the sun from Tiahuanacu culture: "... the Tiahuanacan cultural conquest penetrated most of the remotest corners of Peru. Many of the contemporary cultures, even the early Inca, adopted the symbol of the Sun-God" (Von Hagen 1957 p. 34). Alden Mason makes the point that "the sun and the rain, together controlling the crops, tend to be the primary interest of every agricultural people" (p. 204). However, perhaps it was the sun that was the most important of all in the fight for survival in the barren windswept punas (plains) of the altiplano round the Lake Titicaca area, the home of the Aymará. Tschopik does not mention the worship of the sun in his general article on the Aymará.[2] However, later and perhaps more intensive studies show that sun worship is still practised in the area of Carangas, Bolivia. Kornfield states, "Es la opinión de este investigador que aún el verdadero culto al sol no se originó con los Incas sino con los de Tiahuanaco. Los descendientes de Tiahuanaco, los Aymará, muestran hoy en día mucha más inclinación a la adoración del Sol que los Quechuistas. En los lugares más aislados en el altiplano entre La Paz y Oruro, y hasta la frontera con Chile, todavía los Aymarás hacen su oblación al levantar el Sol. No parece mera coincidencia que las casas de Carangas dan con el Oriente, igual que los Chullpawasis

(casas de sepultura), edificadas siglos antes. Asimismo los panteones de los Aymarás también vuelven hacia el Este. No se ve semejante cosa entre los Quechistas en el area Andina" (pp. 1-2). There does seem therefore to be evidence that the sun is still a god worshipped by some Aymará people today.

⁂ The framework applied to informant material

None of the informants knew of any worship of the sun in Apurimac or San Martín.

⁂ Conclusions

Although it is not possible to be dogmatic, it does appear that sun worship disappeared from the Quechua culture because it was part only of the hierarchy destroyed at the conquest, and that the sun god was seen to be discredited. This was not so of the apus, pachamama, and the other spirits of the air, wells, rivers, etc. Just as the Spanish religion was forced on the Quechua at a later date and has been shown not to have been totally imbibed, so the sun religion without the pressure of custom and feast died out. This, however, did not happen among groups where sun worship was already part of the way of life, and where the sun played a role in the survival of that group's very life, as in the case of the Aymará.[1]

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ONCOY

⁂ Introduction

The term oncoy for the Siete Cabrillas (Seven Sisters, Pleiades) to my

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knowledge occurs only in the EIP. In both San Martín and Apurimac my Quechua informants were unable to name any of the major constellations, nor had they any specific names for the Seven Sisters when I pointed out the group to them. The Quechua term for a star in San Martín is luznero and in Apurimac qollur. I also asked IM whether the word oncoy was known in connection with stars in the Sicuani, Cuzco, area. He asked around but no-one seemed to know of that use. The word onqoy, unguy (illness) in Apurimac and San Martín Quechua respectively are well known.[1] Perhaps there was a connection between the moon and illness and the term has carried over from cause to effect. There is no direct evidence for this however.

*** The framework for oncoy

(a) the Seven Sisters

*** The framework applied to the EIP

(a) the Seven Sisters: "... ya algunas estrellas especialmente a Oncoy (que son las siete cabrillas)" (p. 201); "... y a las estrellas que llaman Oncoy, que son las siete cabrillas, y a las estrellas que llaman chacra, que son las tres Marías, y al Lucero, que llaman Pachahuarac o Coyahuarac" (p. 273)

*** The framework applied to literature contemporaneous with the EIP

(a) the Seven Sisters: "Miraron en las Siete Cabrillas por verlas tan juntas y por la diferencia que hay dellas a las otras estrellas ... y no miraron en más estrellas porque, no teniendo necesidad forzosa, no sabían a que propósito mirar en ellas, ni tuvieron más nombres de estrellas en particular, que los dos [Venus and the Seven Sisters] que hemos dicho" (Vega I p. 117);[2] "A las Siete Cabrillas respetaban por

1. Onqoy:- e.g. "ONKKOY, f. Enfermedad ..." (Lira 1944 p. 717).
2. Venus:- see comment by Vega in I (p. 121).

la extrañeza de su postura y conformidad de su tamaño" (Vega I p. 182). He also mentions that the Siete Cabrillas were worshipped in the temple of the Sun in Cuzco, "... otro aposento de aquéllos, el más cercano a la Luna estaba dedicado al lucero Venus y a las Siete Cabrillas y a todas las demás estrellas en común ..." (ibid. p. 182).

⁂ The framework applied to present-day literature

(a) the Seven Sisters: Alden Mason states, "Inca star lore was extensive, and, although there seems to have been no true zodiac, many of the stars and constellations were given names and apparently were considered as deities that watched over terrestrial beings and certain activities" (p. 205). This general statement seems a little at variance with the Chroniclers, who seem to consider star lore and worship as limited. Perhaps Alden Mason is basing his evidence on earlier cultures such as the Ingenio markings.[1]

⁂ Conclusions

On such scanty evidence it is not easy to draw any conclusions as to why the worship of oncoy disappeared from Quechua culture. Perhaps a clue lies in the fact that the stars were understood and worshipped by the Inca and the others who were destroyed by the Spaniards. As the temple of the Sun was damaged and looted and then built on as a Dominican monastery, the worship of the stars in their rightful place could not, along with that of the Sun, be continued. Indeed, it is only within the last two years that the intact structure of the rooms of worship of the moon and the stars have been discovered in their pristine beauty of carved stone behind the plaster and crude adobe of the later Spanish accretion. These ruins are at present being

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1. Ingenio:- See Alden Mason pp. 83, 84. See also comments by Rojas (p. 168) on stars for Cuzco area.

studied by the University of Cuzco. What can be stated however is that oncoy is, now, not a part of San Martín or Apurimac Quechua religious culture.

C H A P T E R T H R E E

CHAPTER III

THE COLLECTED TERMS

In this chapter I list the terms that I collected from July 1971 to December 1973. I shall give them in alphabetical order, together with any informant material and/or a reference to what I believe to be a helpful explanation of each term. Because of the limits imposed by a thesis, I shall not quote all my sources as I did in the case of the terms analysed in Chapter II; those sources that <u>are</u> given are the most up-to-date that I can find. This gathered list, then, I hope will prove useful as a point of departure for further analytical research into other religious terms.

It would be well to state again at this point that Quechua is a language of many dialects[1] and even more orthographies. The reader should be aware that each term may have various spellings and pronunciations depending on the orthography and dialect respectively. A list of orthographies is given in Appendix D (p. 197 below).

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<u>ACHACHA</u>: It appears in Pachacuti Yamqui (pp. 281, 283): "... que son los demonios y diablos, en la lengua general se llaman <u>hapiñuñu</u>, <u>achacalla</u>." The term <u>acha callau</u> is still used as an expression for pain in Apurimac. Cf. "Achachallau ... ¡Qué acontecerá!" (Lira 1944 p. 25).

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1. The Wycliffe Bible Translators, for example, list Pastaza, Cajamarca, Chachapoyas, Ferren/Aje, Ica, Lowland Napo, Yanyos, Ancash, Ayacucho, Cerro de Pasco, Cuzco, Huancayo, Huanuco, Junin and San Martin as separate Peruvian dialects (Verano 1975 p. 54).

ACHACHILA: "O sea de considerar a las montañas, cerros, cuevas, ríos y peñas como antepasados que originaron las vidas..." (Paredes p. 41). See also Paredes pp. 45 and 146, and Encinas p. 46.

AIRE: It is responsible for many illnesses: "No debes levantarte y salir de frente afuera, el aire te va hacer daño" (IAP); "No debes salir de noche sin ser bien cobijado, el aire te va hacer daño" (IA); "At the birth of a child a mixture of coca, sugar and hierbas are burnt in the room to protect mother and child from the aire ... Many mothers die after about three or four weeks after the birth: 'El aire le ha agarrado, ha sufrido la recaída'" (IV).

ALLPA JAPISQA (lit. 'grabbed by the ground'): A disease. When I scratched my finger and allowed a few drops of blood to fall to the ground, I was advised to rub in some earth of that place for I had "ofendido la tierra" (Chalhuanca, Apurimac).

ALMA: See notes on tunchi, pp. 137-151 above.

ALTOMESAYOJ: See apu, pp. 33ff. above, and PAQO, p. 173 below.

ANCHANCHU: A type of duende. See Paredes pp. 68-69.

ANGEL DEL CERRO: There is a widespread belief in Apurimac that after the fight in Heaven Lucifer and his angels fell to earth and inhabited the mountains: "... siete mil ángeles malos cayeron en los cerros" (IO).

ÁNIMO: In the San Martín area there is a belief that it is dangerous to wake anyone who is asleep lest his ánimo be unable to return from its nightly walking and the man therefore "amanecer muerto"! Cf. Garr p. 157.

ANOQARA: A mountain; see above, p. 124.

APACHITA: See above, pp. 12-32.

APU: See above, pp. 33-47.

APUHUACYACOCC: One who calls on the apu's help. "Este indio Mauro había sido apuhuacyacocc ... en todas partes de la chacra había estas quemadas ... había sido huatocc también. He encontrado a esa Señora bramando adentro ... —¿Qué tienes?— le dije. —Me han sobado con gasolina, kerosene, creso y otra más no recuerdo— ... La pobre estaba quemada, entonces preparé un lienzo de barro ... lo mandé al hospital ... Este Mauro, desgraciado, estaba consultando a toda hora en mi chacra para toda cosa, quebraduras, torcidos, sustos ..." (IT).

AUKI: See above, p. 42 and n. 2.

AYA HUAYRA: See Lira 1945 p. 9.

AYAC: See tunchi, pp. 137ff. above.

AYUNA: See brujo, pp. 48ff. above; also Acosta p. 159, EIP p. 276.

BENDICIÓN: This is the name given in San Martín to the beating of a dying man for the remission of his sins.

BULTO: "Doña Ana, Doña Ana,
Doña Ana no está aquí.
Se fue al jardín a coger las flores de mayo y abril.
¿Quién es ese bulto que pasa por aquí?
De día y de noche no nos deja de dormir
Daremos media vuelta para el perejil
Al ver al munano si puede revivir" (IAS);

"Yo he visto un bulto de un ahogado del río andando en la noche. Era así redondo, andando en el aire y su color era medio plomo" (IAT); "Mi padre le ha visto en el camino de Santa Rosa a mi pueblo Pampallacta ... La noche fue oscura y el bulto estaba bajando ... fue como un redondo blanco en el aire ... Mi papá corrió hacia abajo casi cayendo y entró en la puerta de una casa. Le seguió. Vuélt ... mi padre corrió más abajo todavía ... De allí todavía se escapó ..." (IJ). See also above, p. 116.

CABEZA VOLANTE: "Yo he visto cabeza volante en Urubamba ... Estaba sentado entre dos filos de duraznos en una calle, sentada así en una pared ... —¿No has ido a agarrarlo?— ¡Asú, yo he corrido!" (IJ); "Sí, hay cabezas que vuelan, grandes, y quieren pasar por debajo de uno, es decir por sus piernas ... No le ha de consentir ... consintiendo dice se muere uno ..." (IF); "... there is a cabeza volante in the Chayahuitas but it takes the form of a luminous skull ..." (IAU); "... hay brujos que salen como cabeza volante ... se llaman kantara ... Se puede agarrar con palo de kantar por que tiene mucha espina ... golpeado le hace confesar quién es ..." (IQ). See also Rojas p. 179.

CAER LA SUERTE: See LLANTA TIPINA, pp. 176ff. below.

CALAVERA: IO told me that some people keep skulls in their houses in Abancay as a form of burglar alarm. The skulls "conversan entre ellas" when the house is empty and the thief thinks that someone is at home.

CARNAVAL: Carnaval is held over three weeks in Abancay. In 1973 the most important dates were the 11th, 18th and 24th of February. Here are three songs sung by the dancers on those dates:

"Yau, yau, puca pullerachin	(Hoi, hoi, little red one in the pollera /skirt/
Imata ruhuanqui sara ucupi	What are you doing inside my maize field?
Mamayquihuan huillamusaj	I'll go off and tell your mother,
Sara ucupillata pujllasqayquita	about your playing around in the maize.
Tatayquihuan huillamusaj	I'll go off and tell your father,
Sara ucupillata pujllasqayquita."	about your playing about in the maize.)

(IAV)

"Verde ponchochata ruhuachipusqayqui	(I shall make just for you a little green poncho
Decentementilla purinayquipaj.	So that you can walk out decently.
Puca pollerachata ruhuachipusqayqui	I shall make just for you a little red poncho
Decentementilla purinayquipaj.	So that you can walk out decently.
Chayrajmi chayrajmi chayacumushani ..."	Not yet, not yet, I am just arriving here ...)

(IAV)

"A cinta, cintay
Tengo un sentimiento
De haberte querido
Sin conocimiento
Pi manaraj huillayman
Cay sin^tementoyta
Mamayman huillayman
Asipallahuanman
Tatayman mamayhuan
Cusipayahuanman
Asuaysi huillayman
Mayuman jajaman
Mayuca apanman
Muyumuyurispa ..."
(IAV)

(Ah womb, my womb ...
I have a feeling
Of having loved you
Without knowing it.
Who might I not be able to tell yet
About this feeling of mine?
If I speak to my mother,
She might make fun of me.
If I speak to my father and mother,
They might scorn me.
I might tell my chicha (maize beer),
The river or the big rock, /they say,
The river might bear it,
Whirling it away.)

CH'ALLA: See, for example, Lira 1945 p. 86. As a libation to the apus, etc. (Dalle 1968 p. 28). Carnaval is called la ch'alla in Huancané, cantón Oruro, Bolivia.

CAY PACHA: See hanaj pacha, p. 121 and fn. above; also Prado pp. 109-10.

CHACPA: See Lira 1945, "... Dícese los que nacen de pies ..." (p. 93).

The word is also used in San Martín Quechua to denote dried grass or withered banana leaves that are used in a mud mixture for smearing on wattle. See also EIP p. 215.

CHIRAPA: See above, pp. 102-6.

CHIRAPA RUMI: See above, p. 106.

CHUCHUS: See Lira 1944, "Semillas redondas y negras sacadas de un árbol sapindaceo de los valles, y que los niños usan como bolos ..." (p. 185). The Quechua term for these in San Martín is tingana.

CHULLA CHAQUI: See above, pp. 107-118.

CÍRCULO ENCANTADO: See Plate I on p. 189 below.

COCA: See Dalle (pp.28-30) on the Coca Hallpay. Although coca chewing was once common in San Martín according to IAD, I have never seen any in the area. Tobacco chewing (chacchando) is only practised amongst the older Apurimac Quechua men.

CONDENADO: "Yo y mi papá hemos visto pasando por el camino como bulto ... venía gritando y en una loma hemos encontrado. Mi papá había

sabido y mi dijo —Agarra bien a la mula— Había sonado como toro ... pero yo he visto bien. Había sido grande, como bulto, pero con piernas delgaditas ..." (IBD); "... su mamá le enseñaba a no abrir la puerta en la noche a cualquiera que tocaba ... dice que los condenados vinieron a golpear en la puerta ... cuando ella regresó de noche, a veces ella escuchó una bulla, y escondiéndose en el maizal vió a los condenados pasando como ruido de caballos, pero no había señales después. También siempre hallaron animales muertos llevados a las afueras del pueblo" (IAP); "El condenado siempre había sido brujo, o había matado a alguien ..." (IAO); "... dice que el hombre que se ahogó en el río en marzo 1974 está andando como condenado ... ¿qué cosa habrá hecho?" (IAQ); "... salen de sus cajones /coffins/, vuelven a golpear las paredes de la casa" (IAY). See also Vargas p. 202, Shereda pp. 59-61, Arguedas I pp. 19, 24, 147, 199, 217, 279, Rojas p. 204 and Arguedas II pp. 49, 258.

CÓNDOR: "Había un catedrático del Cuzco que tenía un cóndor, pero así manso ... Se trasladó él, dejando su cóndor en el Cuzco, a Buenos Aires. Más tarde, un día, le ve algo en el aire, encima de su casa en Buenos Aires, algo. Había sido el cóndor ..." (IT); "El cóndor no tiene vista muy buena, caza por el olor de la carne podrida ..." (IAO). For the use of condors in fiestas see Cortazar 1972, pp. 56f. See also Vega II pp. 65, 101.

CONOPA: See Paredes pp. 76-78, also EIP p. 203.

CORACOCHA: This appears to be a type of flying beetle that presages death when it blunders into one's lighted room, at night, in the montaña.

CRISTIANO: In the montaña the term is used in its older sense of "human being": "El anuje come como cristiano ..." (IAH), meaning that the añuje (agouti) eats like a human being; "... Hasta su medio cuando

está tragando le halla su compañero hasta su medio tragado. Después la boa mata. Después saca de la boa al cristiano ..." (in Park, Lección 19, p. 3); "Y chayraycu maycan cristiano más educado huillahuacpin ..." ('and because of that, whoever the person more educated than I says to me ...') (IBE). See Vega II p. 68.

CURAMBA: Archaeological site in Andahuaylas; see Quintana p. 24. It may also be mentioned in Cieza de León's reference on pp. 211f.

CURANDERO: See under brujo, pp. 48ff. above.

CUTISARA: See EIP pp. 204-05. The term appears to be unknown in San Martín. IO and IAO had not heard of it in their region of Apurimac. IE knew of it in Ayaviri. "... maíz crecido al revés ..." (Lira 1944 p. 342).

DESPACHO: "... la gente al otro lado pagan al cerro por pastear sus animales allá ... le hacen con despacho" (IW); "... no hacen aquí pago a la tierra ... hacen despacho para sulla huayra envuelto en hojas de maíz" (IAO). Cf. also Dalle p. 139, Lira 1945 p. 44, Best p. 173, Rojas pp. 225-36.

DÍA DE LOS DIFUNTOS: See DIFUNTO. This falls on November 1st. (Park 1965, Lección 19, p.3).

DÍDIMO: See [illegible]cocha, pp. 87ff. above, and apu, pp. 33ff. above.

DIFUNTO: See tunchi, pp. 137-151 above.

DILUVIO: See gentil, pp. 68ff. above. The flood story is also known in San Martín Quechua culture (IBG); cf. León p. 226.

DUENDE: See gentil, pp. 68ff. above; also Amaut pp. 57-68.

EKHAKHO: See Paredes p. 56; cf. "Ekkekko ... duende, diablillo familiar, espíritu doméstico ..." (Lira 1944 p. 201).

FIN-FIN: See tunchi, pp. 137-151 above.

FUNCIA: A San Martín term for a wedding feast. The funcia is an integral part of matrimonio, which begins with el robo, followed by

the haciéndole aparecer and pidiendo la mano. Cf. Rios pp. 33-42. See extended notes on pp. 178f. below.

GENTIL: See above, pp. 68-77.

HACER PACTO: See brujo, pp. 48ff. above.

HANAJ PACHA: see above, pp. 118-128.

HUACA: See Encinas pp. 34-59.

HUASA MALLCU: "... gigante vestido de blanco" (Paredes p. 65).

HUAYLLACCASA: An abra at km. 85, Abancay-Andahuaylas, at 4,100m. It appears to have no apachita.

HUAYRA TATA: See Paredes p. 78. A type of whirlwind.

HUAYRAJ CHURINTA: "... eso dice de mujeres no casadas que dicen que no habían tenido contacto con el hombre, sin embargo se encuentran en estado" (IK); see Elliot p. 96, Arguedas II pp. 32, 96.

HUNU: "How Tiahuanacu, the city of mystery, became a ruin and why the Altiplano is such a barren region ... On the sacred mountain of Illimani lived two gods in the eternal snows: Pachacamac, the god of the earth and all good things and his enemy Hunu. Mancocapac had created and nurtured that great city of Tiahuanacu with its massive stone buildings etc., but now the people were all lazy and good-for-nothing. Hunu challenged Pachacamac about this and Pachacamac promised to change them or quit his position and authority. To do this, he dressed as a man and visited the city. The people paid no attention to his exhortations but continued in their revelry. He decided to perform some miracles to shake them, but this had little effect, even when he had turned their wine into stone! He then, at a wedding of twenty-four of the civic leaders, caused the sun to be extinguished at noon, but this merely annoyed the people more. At last, he caused one of the great monoliths to walk down from its place in the temple and trample on hundreds in

the process. This angered the people more and they decided that the stranger was to blame, so they grabbed him and beat him up. They then cast him adrift in a little balsa boat on Lake Titicaca. The wind and waves drove him helpless towards the southern shore against the cliffs. But the cliffs miraculously parted and he was conveyed for three hundred kilometres down a river of water to Lake Popo where he decided to stay. Hunu was now the victor and being a spiteful person took vengeance on the work of Pachacamac. He caused the winds to blow and lightning to fall in Tiahuanacu, splitting with one bolt the great Gate of the Sun and smashing other buildings too. He caused Titicaca to rise and drown all the people who were left. As the cold winds blew and blew, all the vegetation died. After the waters and the winds subsided, there was left the land as it is today, with the mysterious ruins, the river Aguadero and the bleak altiplano dominated by Illimani's snow-capped peak" (free translation of a story by IBH).

HURAPUNA: See p. 125, and p. 126 with fn., above.

IHUAYLLU: See pp. 128-137 above, and Plate II, p. 190 below.

ILLA: See pp. 130-134 above.

ILLAPA: "... sus dioses, el rayo, trueno y relámpago ... A todos tres juntos llaman Illapa, y por semejanza tan propia dieron este nombre al arcabuz" (Vega I p. 71); see also ibid. pp. 82, 121, 130.

INTI: See pp. 153-7 above.

JAMPIRI: "... es lo que decimos nosotros en nuestro idioma de Aymará, por lo que dicen la gente aquí en Antabamba pago ..." (IBR); see Paredes pp. 78, 79. Tschopik does not mention this term.

JANPEQ: "Adivinación por la orina ... cuando es blanca ... enfermedades frías, amarilla ... calientes. El que adivina es janpeq ... se cura solamente con hierbas y se ve la enfermedad en la espuma

..." (IBI); cf. "... Ampeq — curer, herbalist or curandero ..." (Stein p. 356).

JAP'IÑUÑU: See above, pp. 91 and 113, and Paredes p. 72.

JORDÁN MAYO: See above, pp. 120-28.

JUPAY MULA: "... this is a devil that goes by night and captures the concubine of a cura (priest). He takes her to his place and then returns her in the early morning. The devil (diablo) turns the girl into a mule for the journey. They are recognisable as they are only about three feet high (así chiquitito, no más)" (as reported by IBD).

'KENKHO: Archaeological site near Cuzco. See Lira 1944 p. 406.

KHARISIRI: "... es decir degollador, y cuenta de él que desde mediados de julio hasta mediados de agosto ... sale de su convento y recorre las estancias y ranchos de su campo en busca de grasa humana para confeccionar la crisma de los bautismos ..." (Paredes pp. 30-31).

KHATEKHATE: See CABEZA VOLANTE, p. 164 above; also Paredes p. 70.

KHONOPAS: See Paredes pp. 49, 74.

KU-KU: "... hay uno que anda de noche que le llama el ku-ku que agarra a niños ... es lo mismo que el pistacu /q.v./. Este se llama también el ñak'aj runa ... siempre decía a mis niños cuando me molestaban de noche — Cuidado, te va a agarrar el ku-ku — " (IBJ). Cf. kukuchi (Lira 1944 p. 327).

LAVAR ROPAS: See Marzal pp. 91-92, and cf. EIP p. 216.

LAYQA: See brujo, pp. 48ff. above. "El otro día no más murió tres vacas en arriba. La gente dijo que ha sido por brujería ... el layqa trabaja en el taller de Chalhuanca, don José su nombre es ... A lo mejor le habrá envenenado con pelo de viscacha /chinchilla?/" (IA); "... es uno que hace daño" (IAq); "el layqa en acá llama a los aukis ..." (IU); "... Laycaconas ... eran los sacerdotes que tenían

el Inca ... respetados como tal ... preguntaron y consultaron con los demonios " (Ayala p. 199). See also Marzal pp. 262-64, Arguedas I p. 13, Garr pp. 19, 169, 207, and Prado p. 105.

LLANTA TIPINA: See extended notes on pp. 176 f. below.

LÁZARO MAYO: See hanaj pacha, pp. 120-128 above.

LLOQ'E: "Contra Hechizo y Contra Veneno. — Es la extracción de los raices de la hierba llamada lirio. Estas raices son de dos clases, macho y hembra ... por eso le titulan el nombre de 'contras' o 'llok'es' ... (Lira 1945 p. 26); "... a lloq'e is worn on the wrist to protect you from aire" (from IAW). In San Martín the majority of Quechua women wear a woven string, woven left-handed, on their wrist to prevent the spirits haciendo daño. IBK told me the Shipibo tribe have such a device on their ankle as a means of warding off snake-bites. (These they are now weaving for sale for tourists!) See Dalle p. 35, Medina pp. 103-04.

LUCES: See gentil, pp. 68 ff. above.

MAL DE LA GENTE: This is the most common phrase in San Martín for having been made ill through the power of a brujo who has been paid by someone else to nacar (hacerle daño a uno).

MAL VIENTO: "... no se acerca la gente a las ruinas de Jarpa /Sarayca/ por el mal viento ... sí, el géntil viento" (IAO); see gentil, pp. 68ff. above.

MALLQUI: "... el primer antepasado humano de la tribu por la Huaca, no la diedad, ni el divino creador del Ayllu ..." (Encinas p. 43).

MAMACOCHA: Horkheimer p. 83, Vega I pp. 37, 57, Cobo II p. 161, Acosta p. 143.

MANTEQUERO: San Martín equivalent of nak'aq (degollador). On my entering Shatoja, San Martín, for the first time a boy (about 6) screamed, "¡No me entregas al mantequero!" when he and his elder brother saw me.

MESAPATA: A site above San Juan de Chacña that appears pre-Inca.

MICSASARA: "... es un tipo de maíz que tienen dos colores mesclados" (IE). See EIP p. 205.

MOLLE PUNCU: A "powerful" site at the entrance to Potosí (Bolivia) — lit. 'the molle tree gate'. See EIP p. 198.

MULLU: See ihuayllu, pp. 128-137 above.

MUSCUC: Lit. 'one who dreams'. In the San Martín Quechua culture dreams play an important part in day-to-day experience. I have arrived at villages without any advance notice, yet found that I was expected as several had seen me coming in their dreams. Before he became literate, explained IAH, "Tata Jesucristo yachachimuhuashca muscucuypi ..." ('the Lord Jesus Christ taught me in my dreaming') ..." Cf. musiac: "... el que habla por medio de sueños" (IU). Cf. EIP p. 206.

MUYUJ HUAYRA: "... torbellino ... dice que tiene el demonio" (IE). When walking with a group of Quechua people on a trail from Molle-Molle to Tarabuco (Bolivia), I observed that they watched intently the little dust-swirls caused by heat and puffs of breeze. If one approached, they would leave the path and take to the grass. See also p. 68 above.

ÑACACHU: "... uno que nos hace embrujar" (IBA).

NAK'AJ RUNA: See Rojas pp. 180-181; also "Colección de Textos. Laria. Colca, Huancayo" in Revista del Museo Nacional, tomo XVII, p. 134.

PACHACAMAC: See Vega I pp. 69, 72, 77, 79, 80, 131, Cieza de León p. 179, Horkheimer p. 28. -"... One day when he was sitting meditating a great white condor perched opposite him. It was Pachacamac, the creator of the earth, in disguise. The condor told the boy to plant the seeds from the top of the mountain ... soon the valley was full of green leaves and purple flowers. The condor returned

and said, "Let the Kharis eat the flowers and the leaves ...' They did so and died ... and the boy was free" (IBH).

PACHAMAMA: "... ponen flores en la semilla como ofrenda a Pachamama" (IAY). See Rycroft p. 325, Garr pp. 15, 23, 84, 91, 92, 93, 133-37, 145, Dalle pp. 62-64, Arjona pp. 17-24, Armelia p. 150, Paredes pp. 153, 165, Lara 1960 p. 162, Lira 1945 p. 86. "... no hacen ofrenda a la Pachamama en Sarayca ... se amontonan la semilla y una porción se mezcla en bosta de vaca y ramas ... después cada una coge una parte ... Cuentan las semillas, si salen par la siembra será buena ..." (IAQ).

PACARICUC: See EIP pp. 216, 274; cf. Marzal, pp. 86-87.

PAMPAMESAYOJ: See Rojas p. 217, Garr pp. 169-70, Prado p. 105; & PAQO, below.

PAPEL SAN LORENZO: A coloured paper on sale in markets: "... se utiliza en despacho para enfermo" (IBR).

PAQO: "Hay dos tipos de paqo. El más grande es el altomesayoj y el otro es pampamesayoj. El pampamesayoj adivina por la coca. El altomesayoj es alguien que ha recibido algun susto de auki como rayo o otra cosa ... así tiene un poder" (IK); "... paqo, decimos pongo ..." (IAQ); "Casos de llamar al Pakko ..." (Lira 1945 p. 28). See also Garr pp. 19, 142, 148, 161, 207, Dalle p. 36.

PISHTACU: "Había siempre pishtacu en el camino de San José de Sisa a Santa Marta ... ya no se oye de él" (IAD): "Mi Señora pensaba que Vds. misioneros eran pishtacus cuando los vió en la entrada, pero los pishtacus no andan con criaturas ..." (IBS). Cf. Quijada p. 99. Cf. KU-KU, p. 170 above.

PONGO: See above, brujo (pp. 48-67) and PAQO (this page).

PUQUIO: See above, pp. 79-86.

QOLPACHACUY: See above, p. 26.

QUILLA: See Vega I pp. 51, 71, 117, 120, 182, EIP pp. 201, 273. "The water

and the moon are seen as two opposing forces in San Martín Quechua mythology" (IAG).

RAPIAC: See EIP p. 206. Not known by informants in Apurimac or San Martín.

ROAL: See apu, pp. 33-47 above.

SAN CIPRIANO: "... utilizamos al libro de San Cipriano cuando estamos estudiando como discipulo ... se puede comprar en todo el Perú ... es la magía buena y sana ..." (IAC).

SAN JUAN: The fiesta of San Juan is celebrated in San Martín on the 21st of June. Usually family groups will make "Juanes", a round ball of cooked rice, chicken and flavourings, boiled in special leaves. These will be eaten at the side of a river or stream. They say the Juane is representative of the head of John the Baptist. The fiesta is not a religious one, but rather a holiday. In many villages in Bolivia bonfires are lit on the eve of San Juan to remind him that he has to bring the sun back. Cf. Nordt p. 175, Flores pp. 172-74.

SANTA CRUZ: The fiesta was held in San Juan de Chacña on the 3rd of May in 1973. It actually began on the visperas (evening before), when two groups of crosses were carried into the plaza. They stopped at the cantina (pub) to hacer t'inka (see below, p. 176, T'INKA). The crosses were velado (watched) all the night through with dancing, drinking and singing. Cf. EIP p. 277.

SANTA PRESENCIA: Lit. 'holy presence'. "... hemos entrado en tu santa presencia" (a prayer by IAI).

SANTA ROSA: This is the major fiesta of the Quechua of Lamas, San Martín (21st August). See Savoy 1967 pp. 4-6.

SANTIAGO: "... la gente aquí creen más en Santa Barbara y tayta Santiago, que en Cristo y el Evangelio" (IBT); "... tiene su fiesta, él

también es patrón de los caballos" (IAY). Cf. Ybarra p. 141, EIP pp. 215, 275, Garr p. 93.

SARAMAMA: See EIP pp. 204-05, 273. Many houses have corn-cobs hanging above the door in Apurimac.

SAYAQ'UIN: "... el altomesayoj viene ... para consultar su sayaq'uin ... es el poder que le entra endonde le cogió el rayó" (IK).

SEÑALAKUY: A fiesta of Señalakuy was held in San Juan de Chacña on 16th March 1973. See Aragón pp. 185-197.

SHIPICO: See PISHTACU, p. 173 above. "Shipico es otra nombre de pishtacu" (IAZ).

SIRENA: "... mi hermana ha visto sirena en la roca en la quebrada" (IO); cf. p. 85 above, and Rojas p. 175.

SOQ'A HUAYRA: See gentil, pp. 68-77 above, and cf. Garr pp. 132, 140, 157, and Prado p. 88.

SOQLLACCASA: A pass on the road from Abancay to Curahuasi and Cuzco at 3,900 metres. This has an apachita.

TANGA-TANGA: See Acosta pp. 174, 596, Paredes p. 73, Vega I p. 82. IAQ said it was a complete rainbow in a mountain mist.

T'ANTA WAWA: The t'anta wawa is a loaf shaped like a baby, usually with a painted edible face. It is made at Carnaval in Abancay. I have seen it at día de los difuntos in Chalhuanca, and in Cochabamba, Bolivia.

TATA DIOS: Quechua name for God the Father in San Martín.

TENER MADRE: This is an expression used in the montaña to indicate a plant or an animal that has a protector: e.g. "... el palo que se llama tangarana /Tovar p. 192/ tiene su madre. Son un tipo de hormigas que viven en él" (IAD). When I was stung by a huayranga (black wasp) when picking a tangerine fruit it was because "había tenido su madre".

THALIRI: See Paredes p. 23.

THUNAPA: See Wiracocha, pp. 87-100 above.

T'INKA: See Vega I p. 88; Allpanchis Phuturinga III (1971), p. 24.

TONIJÓN: On the día de los difuntos in San José de Sisa, the children were chased by men dressed up as ghosts shouting this word. No-one appeared to know its meaning.

TUNCHI: See above, pp. 137-151.

TUTUKA: "... es otra palabra para el jap'iñuñu" (IAX). Cf. "Tutu ... Teta, máma ..." (Lira 1944, p. 990).

UPAMARCA: See hanaj pacha, pp. 118-128 above.

VERSOCUY: See pp. 54-67 above.

WIRACOCHA: See pp. 87-100 above.

YA[illegible]: "... son fierras, no son espíritus malos ... iden palo con cuernos, grosura de un palo ... come a los animales, hasta la sacha vaca puede comer ... cuando se corta echa resina" (IBU). Cf. Herrera p. 162, Tovar pp. 208-9.

YATIRI: See Paredes p. 21.

YUNSA: This is a tree erected in squares and gardens during the fiesta of Carnaval in Apurimac. It has presents on it which are given by the cargayocc (one in charge). The one who cuts or knocks it down is cargayocc for the following year.

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Extended Notes on Two Terms:-

1. LLANTA TIPINA

I have recorded here a ceremony of llanta tipina which I attended in Chumbaquihui, in the district of San José de Sisa, San Martín, in March 1967.

The ceremony took place in the house of don Luís Tuanama Fasabi, known locally as Lucho Chumpita. He is Quechua, an agricultor, of about forty years of age. The purpose of the ceremony was to festejar

his daughter's fourth birthday, and to "... reconocer que ya es gente". Magnolia, at the age of four, had never had her hair cut.

Several people were invited to be padrinos. There were four principal ones: myself, Magnolia Mora, partera, don Manasés and the Sra Redolinda Tuanama.

The preparations had begun the day before with the grinding and making of the corn chicha. On the morning of the feast the men went leñando (firewood cutting), while Lucho killed a pig for the fiesta. After stabbing it with a pointed machete he placed a green cooking banana in its mouth "para no caer la suerte". Asked for further explanation of his action he merely replied, "Para no perder la (f)ortuna."

Lunch was served around mid-day and the padrinos, close men relations and boys were served first, then the women. The men sat at the tables, the women on the floor.

After lunch a small table was placed in the centre of the room. The guests, about forty in number, sat around the walls of the room. A bowl and a pair of scissors were placed on the table. Lucho then led his girl in (she had been kept hidden all morning). Her straggly hair had been tied up into many little bunches with ribbon. The madrina of the fiesta, Magnolia, was asked to cut off the first lock. She placed the lock and a sum of money in the bowl. Only paper money was acceptable (i.e. at least five soles). The other padrinos followed and then relations and friends until all the locks had been cut off. It was considered "buena suerte" to participate. About five hundred soles were collected. After the ceremony chicha and biscuits of yuca flour were passed around. After further drinks, the young men went out to play football while the older ones sat chatting.

The ceremony appears to be dying out, at least in Chumbaquihui. Some considered Lucho to be "old-fashioned". Certainly in my two years

in the area I did not hear of a similar fiesta. In San José de Sisa I attended a llanta tipina in 1968. On that occasion the child was a boy, one year old. The main purpose, said his mother, was to "echarle nombre". On enquiring why he had not been named earlier I was told, "Muchas criaturas han nacido para morir no más, no vale la pena echarle nombre cuando es así, ashishillo todavía." I have heard of the llanta tipina still being performed in the Quechua barrios of Lamas in 1973.

In Abancay, Apurimac, IAV had heard of the ceremony, but there it was known as corte pichate.

This also appears to be a ceremony that has lived on from pre-Inca times: "... si saben que alguna o algunas personas trasquilen los cabellos de sus hijos, que llaman huarca o pacto, haciendo ciertas ceremonias, convidando a los cuñados, que llaman masa, o a los tíos, que llaman caca, bebiendo, cantando, bailando, poniendo nuevos nombres de lo que pusieron en el baptismo ..." (EIP p. 274). Cf. also Cieza de León pp. 165, 167.

2. FUNCIA

Preparations for the funcia start some days before. Several days beforehand chicha will be made. The day before the wedding tortas (maize sweet-cakes) will be made and baked in a communal oven. A band will accompany these days of work. The bridegroom will have bought a length of cloth, usually khaki or navy blue in colour, to have a pair of pantalones made. He may also buy a shirt, or have one made out of flour sacks. It does not appear to be the custom for the padrino to pay for these as is the case in Apurimac.

The civil ceremony takes place first, the most preferred hours being around 11 a.m. or at night. They would have to pay the consejo extra at night, ranging from about eight hundred soles to two thousand,

depending on the size of the town. The padrinos and the jóven will go and sacar la novia from her house. After drinks all round, the novia will leave her house on the arm of her padrino while the jóven follows on the arm of the madrina. They will dance all the way to the consejo office and back to the house of the padrinos or to the house of the husband's family.

The newly-weds are then placed at the head of a table and served with chicha, tortas and queques. Then follows a meal, and the parents of the bride and bridegroom present to the padrinos su porción, which is a large pot full of cooked meats, plátanos, yuca, etc. This the padrino places on one side to be taken home and eaten later. After the meal, dancing, drinking and games follow into the night and they may amanecer (carry right on through until dawn) or may all sleep on esteros (woven mats of palm) in the same room with the newly-weds.

In the early morning (5 a.m.) all unite for the consejo (here it means 'advice'). Each padrino, parent and close relation has the right to give consejo to the newly-weds as they kneel separately before them. On some occasions one or other may be beaten also by the father as the last opportunity to beat them before they form their own household. It is not uncommon to ask the padrino how many lashes are to be given. The novio then kneels bent forward, his arms crossed and his shirt pulled up to his neck while he is beaten with a short rope made of tamshi or the like.[1] It is the custom to beat, on the same occasion, all the sons, as corporate sin is an idea common in the jungle Quechua culture. It is also considered a sign of femininity to cry or make a sound as the lash falls. Ten or twelve lashes would be considered a severe penalty as one stroke produces a weal that lasts for several days.

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1. Tamshi:- "... la planta Heteropsis Jenmanii; es una liana muy resistente y fuerte ..." (Tovar p. 191).

I give now an example of consejo given by the Sra Rosa Amasefuen to her son, jóven Hildebrando Amasefuen, on his marriage to her daughter-in-law Rosilla. In many cases it appears that the consejo given is ritualistic, and is accompanied by crying and shouting on the part of the women. I give this example in Quechua as I recorded it in April 1968.

Chashnashinam huahuita huambraynitaca tas tas obedecingui. Ama huaquinshina. Herdiblando, huahuaynitaca cahuapayanguichi mana obedecshuptinga cangui sucninta. Huanquinga manashi uyarihuanayachinachu ni imanchinachu. Tas tas uyaringui cusayquitaca mana obedientetache cashcangui. Sacra imashtí cashcangui mana alliniquipi cushuptin chay layaca causangui. Amán cahuapayapanguichu imanguichu imashtiptinga huahuitu sumacninta cangui. Mana ni huaquin huamica uyaricunchichu imatapish mandahuaptinchi. Rematadashi canchi ninsapán huahuitu. Mana allininchipi cuhuaptinchi huahua. Chashná doña Rosilla. Cay cusayquitaca siquiero asuayqui tiyaptin maycan familiayqui paseashuptinga manán ni imashtichu cangui huahuita manadallan tiyan mashayquicuna cuñadayquicuna huahuitu. Amán sapallan puringuichu. Chayta canni yachapushcayquillami.

Hildebrando, chashnán cay huahuaynitaca cay paniquita huahuitu mañacushpa maymanga ringui. Ama munanguichu sapallayqui riytaca imanguichi siquiero paniquita hushuitu mañacushpa cachangui mayman cachanayashpayquica cay huahuaynitaca. Manán ladoynipichu causan por Disoninchiraycu cay huahuaynitaca imashtingui. Cay papitayqui tiyan siquiere suc cusashcan rupaduta caranguichu. Amán huaquin ullcushina celospi yacunguichu umanguichu huaquinga casarashpaca mananashi ni paningunata nimata imashti carananda munanchi-nachu.

Chashna Rosilla cay mashayquicuna tiyan siguiero tacshayta yuyangui. Amán quiquillapataca tacshaytaca munanguichu Huaquinga quiquinchillapatashi tacshanchi imanchi siquiero unguptin cay suedro masinitaca cacungui imangui. Amami hauquinshina cacunguichu. Yachapushcayquimi causash-cayqui causanayquitaca ima layatán causangui nishpaca. Tiyan tatayquicuna tiyami imashticuna chaycunta huahuita, rishcanga horaca paseashuc imay horas tatayqui Eliopish rinmi sachamanga chayta casungui ama amanaca casunguichu.

Huahuay Hildebrando siquiero suc asuacushpayqui asuachicushpayqui upiyachipangui siquiero rishcan horasca cay mashaynita sachaman. Paypish chaypinanshi labranashi imashtinda chay hushuitu ama manaca casupanguichichu siquiero riptinga. Siquiero chaytán huahuitu.

(So, my child, first time you have to obey my son. Not like others, Hildebrando, you have to see to it that she doesn't live just how she likes. You have to beat her. Others don't want to obey us not any way at all. First time you have to obey your husband and not be disobedient. She's got a bad

streak in her, and if you don't give it to her good, she'll go on living like that. So, don Hildebrando, that's the way you have to treat my daughter. You oughtn't just to stand by and watch, son, you ought to beat her well. Some women don't know how to obey when their husband commands them. Some are very rebellious, so they say, my son. And because he is looking on only, he doesn't give it to her good. That's the way it is, doña Rosilla. Now when someone calls to visit, daughter, and when you have chicha in the house, you oughtn't to be niggardly, you ought to offer to your sisters-in-law because there are lots of them. You oughtn't to go about alone. I will get to know about these things all right.

Hildebrando, you have lots of brothers. From them, asking room,you ought to go off and fam. Because of them, you have brothers whom you can ask to look after her, if you want to send off my daughter to visit somewhere. For God's sake, don't live near me. Please take care of my daughter. Here you ought to feed your father even if it's only a fried banana with the skin on. Some men when they get married, they say, become forgetful of parents.

So, Rosita, since you have sisters-in-law you ought to think about washing their clothes. Don't just wish to wash your own clothes only. Some just want to wash their own things. Now for him, my relation who is your father-in-law, when he is sick you will have to massage him. I am letting you know what your life will be like and how you will live. For Eliador you will have to go and keep a lookout for him. He is always going off hunting.

My son, Hildebrando, when you have chicha, you ought to make sure they give some to your uncle. He also wants, so they say, to go and live over there, and when he goes you ought to pay attention to him. Well, let it go at that, my son.)

After the consejo hot chocolate, queques and tortas may be served, then a full breakfast of soup, meat, plátanos, etc., after which dancing may go on all day or people may start to make their way home. The married couple will probably take up residence in the house of the bridegroom's parents until such time as he can afford to construct his own house.

C H A P T E R F O U R

CHAPTER IV

GENERAL CONCLUSION

From the evidence gathered and analysed in Chapter II and from the further evidence cited in Chapter III, it is clear that Quechua religious terms still carry much of the meaning load that they had in the times of the EIP and earlier. Only in the case of religious terms specifically connected with worship by the ruling class (i.e. the Incas) has there been a loss of meaning or a gross change in meaning. It is therefore necessary in any studies in Quechua dialectology, cultural anthropology, translation, teaching or social reform undertaken in Quechua-speaking areas in Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia to be aware of this factor and to take it into account.

The study has also attempted to state what was expressed as a cry of frustration by Padre Juan (IBT):

"... hemos estado aquí más de cuatrocientos años ... hemos edificado esta tremenda casa de piedra con la sangre de los indios ... pero siguen creyendo en Tayta Santiago y Santa Barbara como los dioses más poderosos y no conocen al Dios verdadero."

Because of the limits imposed by a thesis and the purpose of it, this study has sought merely to expose the "tip of the iceberg". There is, however, one difficulty that researchers from outside the Quechua culture must in some way overcome. Alegría in his novel, The Golden Serpent, highlights it in the words of the Lima-born, Peruvian engineer don Osvaldo, who asks:-

"'Why don't the people of Bambamarca [a village in the

ceja de montaña] want to talk?' The Indian from the ranch kept the secret of the community Indian and his own as well. He knows that they talk long and merrily, but not with white people. ... Only the family groups that gather by the doors of their huts, or the community when it comes together about the threshing floor or the fields, hear ... Then the talk is of the sorrow of the plants withering in the drought, or how the lake turns red in memory of the death in the olden days of many warriors ... Or what the sun says when the clouds pass across it ... St. Isodore, the patron Saint of farmers, who, mounted on a fiery, iron-shod steed, gallops across the sky ordering the good rain. Or, for instance, that marvellous tale of a certain Tungurbao who appeared near Chuquitén and nobody knew where he came from nor where he went to. But he stayed around there a long time, playing his flute of gold on a night when the moon was full ... Perhaps Tungurbao disappeared because his pact with the Devil had come to an end ...

... It was a little thin voice which floated on the air:

'Because if you steal it
You will be the first to die.
You will be first to die.'

A feeling of sadness crept over don Osvaldo ... The throbbing sorrow of these songs was contagious. They voiced the tribulation that welled from the deepest springs of a long-suffering, patient race, victim alike of a pitiless serfdom of the savage heartless mountains. These songs were the offspring of hunger and lash, of crag and wild beast, of snow and fog, of loneliness and wind ... 'Mountains, jungle and river are cruel things, sir.' And eternal."

(Alegría pp. 61-67)

A P P E N D I C E S

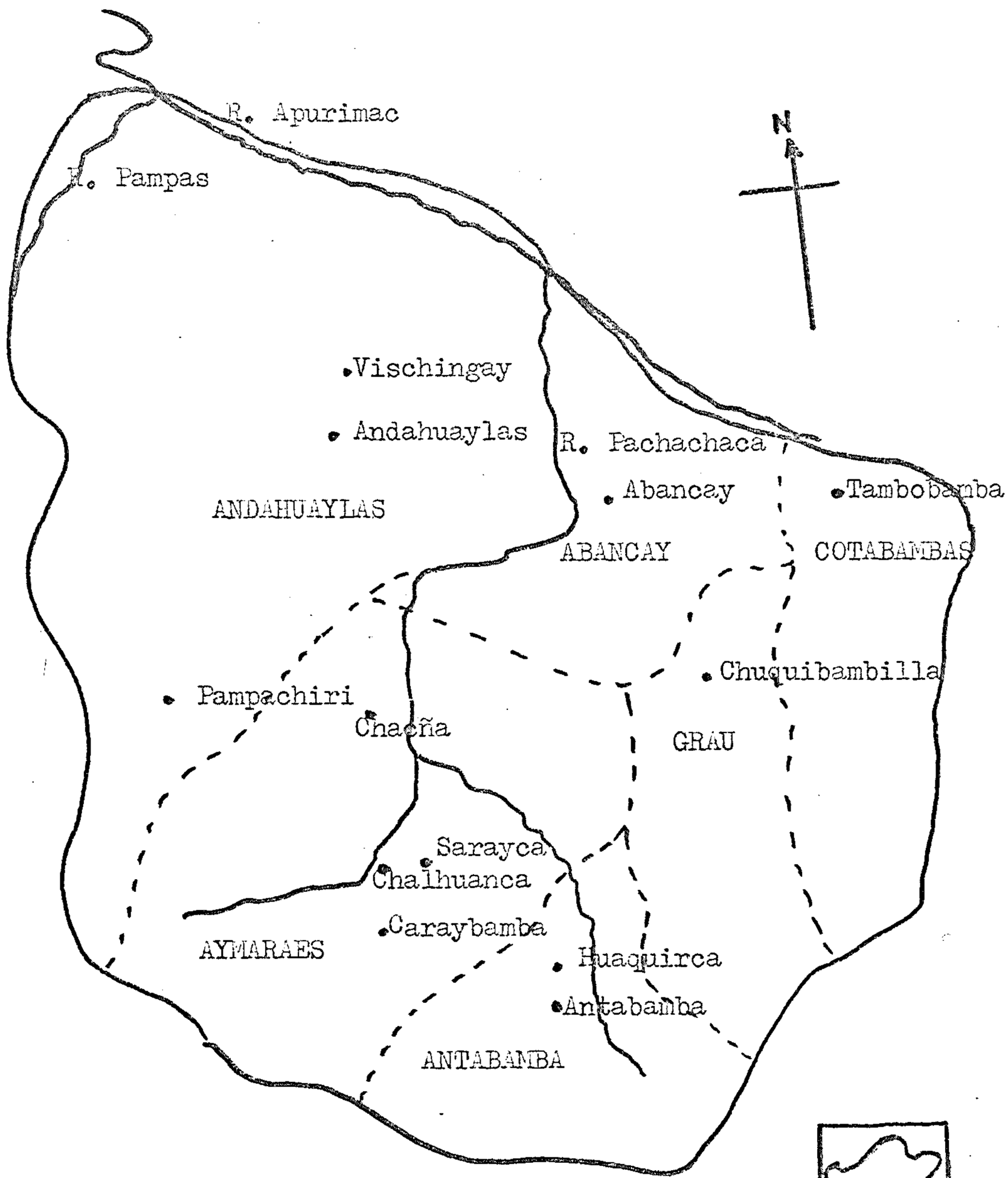
APPENDIX A: List of Informants

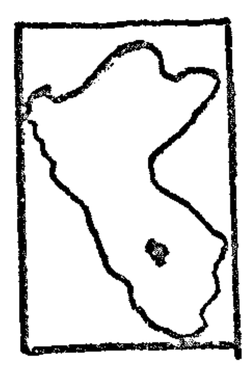
IA Felicitas Rojas, 34, mestiza, housewife, Chalhuanca, Apurimac
IB Tomás Vivanco, 30? Quechua, agricultor, Yanaca, Apurimac
IC Gregorio Mamani, 45? Quechua, minero, Yanaquilca, Apurimac
ID Sergio Vera, 28, mestizo, pastor, Andahuaylas, Apurimac
IE Alejandro Mamani, 60, Quechua, pastor, Ayaviri, Cuzco
IF Gilberto Manrique, 35? Quechua, agricultor, Pucapuca, Apurimac
IG Jackie How, 27, English, missionary, Antabamba, Apurimac
IH Cipriano Serrano, 24? Quechua, agricultor, Pampallacta, Apurimac
IJ Julio Serrano, 24, Quechua, mechanic, Abancay, Apurimac
IK Juan Bautista, 35? Quechua, missionary, Chuquibambilla, Apurimac
IL Alejandro Billegas, 19, Quechua, agricultor, Abancay, Apurimac
IM Saturnino Valeriano, 56, Quechua, teacher, Sicuani, Cuzco
IN Nemecio Flores, 65? mestizo, patrón, Antabamba, Apurimac
IO Hernán Billegas, 45? Quechua, agricultor, Condebamba, Apurimac
IP Simón Vivanco, 27, Quechua, agricultor, San Juan de Chacña, Apurimac
IQ Pablo Vera, 35? Quechua, agricultor, Vishchingay, Apurimac
IR José Choque, 36, Aymará, teacher, Sucre, Bolivia
IT Efraín Salas, 60? mestizo, restauranteur, Abancay, Apurimac
IU Alejandro Vargas, 40? Quechua, agricultor, Lircay, Huancavelica
IV Cherry Noble, 32, English, missionary, Antabamba, Apurimac
IW Fortunato Billegas, 31, Quechua, agricultor, Condebamba, Apurimac
IX Sargento ?, 55?, mestizo, Guardia Civil, Chincheros, Apurimac
IY Isaías Billegas, 22, Quechua, agricultor, Tamborco, Apurimac
IZ José Sangama, 42? Quechua, agricultor, San Pablo, San Martín
IAA Julia Melendez, 14, Quechua, estudiante, Abancay, Apurimac
IAB Miguel ?, 24, Quechua, hunter, Acomayo, Huánuco
IAC Agosto Pashanasta, 55? Quechua, agricultor, San José de Sisa, San Martín
IAD Victor Cenepo, 50, Quechua, pastor, San José de Sisa, San Martín
IAE Rufino Tuanama, 61, Quechua, agricultor, Chumbaquihui, San Martín
IAF Rosa Melendez, 55? mestiza, housewife, Chalhuanca, Apurimac
IAG Grace Forgrave, 50, American, missionary, San José de Sisa, San Martín
IAH Alejandro Tuanama, 30, Quechua, agricultor, Chumbaquihui, San Martín
IAI Rubén Zárate, 27, mestizo, missionary, Orcotuna, Junín
IAJ Alfonso Tuanama, 45? Quechua, brujo, San José de Sisa, San Martín
IAK Daniel Martinez, 18, mestizo, estudiante, San Juan de Chacña, Apurimac
IAL José Santos, 18, mestizo, estudiante, Antabamba, Apurimac
IAM Victor Apasa, 35? Quechua, tractorista, Urco, Cuzco
IAN Sergio Fuentes, 13, Quechua, escolar, Sarayca, Apurimac
IAO Gaspar Sierra, 28, Quechua, mechanic, Sarayca, Apurimac
IAP Anna Zárate, 31, Quechua, housewife, Orcotuna, Junín
IAQ Miguel Salas, 30? mestizo, estudiante, Andahuaylas, Apurimac
IAR Iladio Tuanama, 55? Quechua, agricultor, San José de Sisa, San Martín
IAS Alison McIntosh, 10, English, schoolgirl, Tarapoto, San Martín

IAT Hernán Sangama, 26? Quechua, sanitario, Chazuta, San Martín
IAU Mark Sirag, 36, American, missionary, Yurimaguas, Loreto
IAV María Billegas, 24? Quechua, empleada, Abancay, Apurimac
IAW Manuel Campos, 45? mestizo, baker, Nazca, Nazca
IAX Julio Vargas, 45? Quechua, agricultor, Abancay, Apurimac
IAY Aparicia Serrano, 24? Quechua, vendedora, Chalhuanca, Apurimac
IAZ Gricerio Flores, 44? mestizo, constructor, Morales, San Martín
IBA Delfín Flores, 46? mestizo, misionero, Huambo, Amazonas
IBB Filemón Tuanama, 28, Quechua, agricultor, Chumbaquihui, San Martín
IBC Incarnación Villafuerte, 40? mestiza, maestra, Chalhuanca, Apurimac
IBD Manuel Cueva, 26, Quechua, cazador, Huánuco, Huánuco
IBE Marcelino Tuanama, 45? Quechua, agricultor, Huapinalla, San Martín
IBF Pedro Billegas, 70? Quechua, agricultor, Condebamba, Apurimac
IBG Marinell Park, 49, American, translator, Yarinacocha, Loreto
IBH René Pardo, 40? mestizo, profesor, Cochabamba, Bolivia
IBI Estanislau Mamani, 24? Quechua, llamero, Cayllloma, Puno
IBJ Aparicia de Segura, 55? Quechua, su casa, Talavera, Apurimac
IBK Hari Freidler, 40? Swiss, missionary, Pucallpa, Loreto
IBL Eduarda Billegas, 25? Quechua, pastora, Condebamba, Apurimac
IBM Leslie Hoggarth, 60? British, senior demonstrator, St. Andrews, Scotland
IBN Natividad ?, 35? Quechua, maestra, Antabamba, Apurimac
IBO Lucho Tuanama, 55? Quechua, agricultor, Santa Cruz, San Martín
IBP Magnolia Mora, 30, mestiza, enfermera, San José de Sisa, San Martín
IBQ Carlos Tuesta, 24, mestizo, estudiante, Barranquita de Cainerachi, San Martín
IBR Bernardo Quaquira, 39, Aymará, negociante, Antabamba, Apurimac
IBS Julio Fuentes, 45? mestizo, profesor, Pampachiri, Apurimac
IBT Padre Juan, 45? Sicilian, Catholic priest, Antabamba, Apurimac
IBU Gíber Paima, 38, Quechua, agricultor, San Antonio de Cumbaza, San Martín
IBV Ellen Buckle, 60, British, missionary, Lamas, San Martín

APPENDIX B: Maps

MAP OF THE DEPARTMENT OF APURIMAC



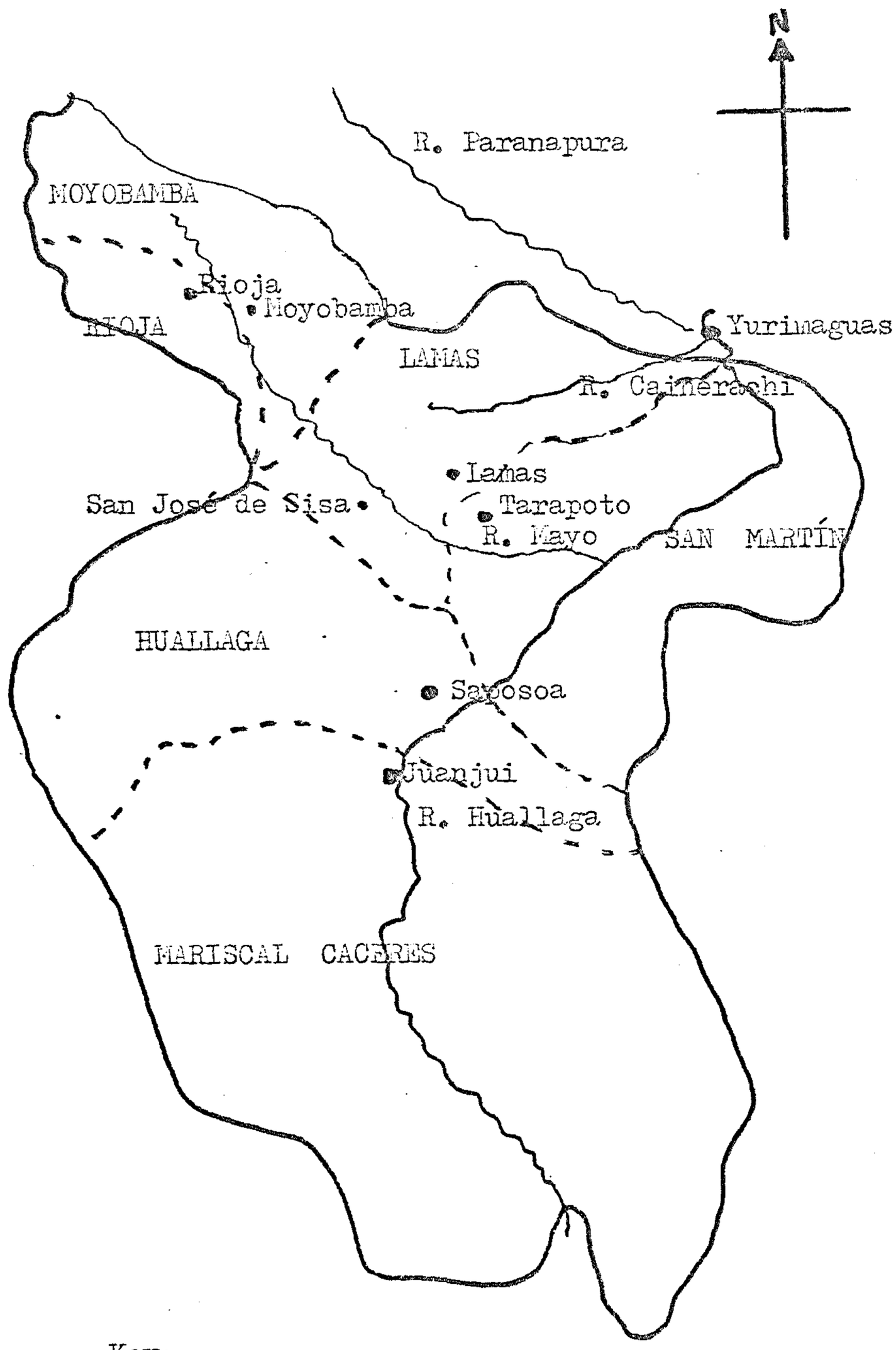


Key:

Provinces ABANCAY
Places Chalhuanca
Rivers R. Apurimac Apurimac in Peru
Province boundaries ----

Scale approx. 1:1,000,000

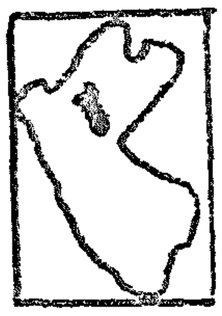
MAP OF THE DEPARTMENT OF SAN MARTÍN



Key:

Provinces RIOJA
Places Lamas
Rivers R. Huallaga
Province boundaries - - - -

Scale approx. 1:1,000,000



San Martín in Peru

MAP OF THE DEPARTMENTS OF PERU

APPENDIX C: Plates

Plate I: Circulo encantado. This example was some 2.50m in diameter. It was on a ridge overlooking from the east the town of Pocoata, Bolivia.

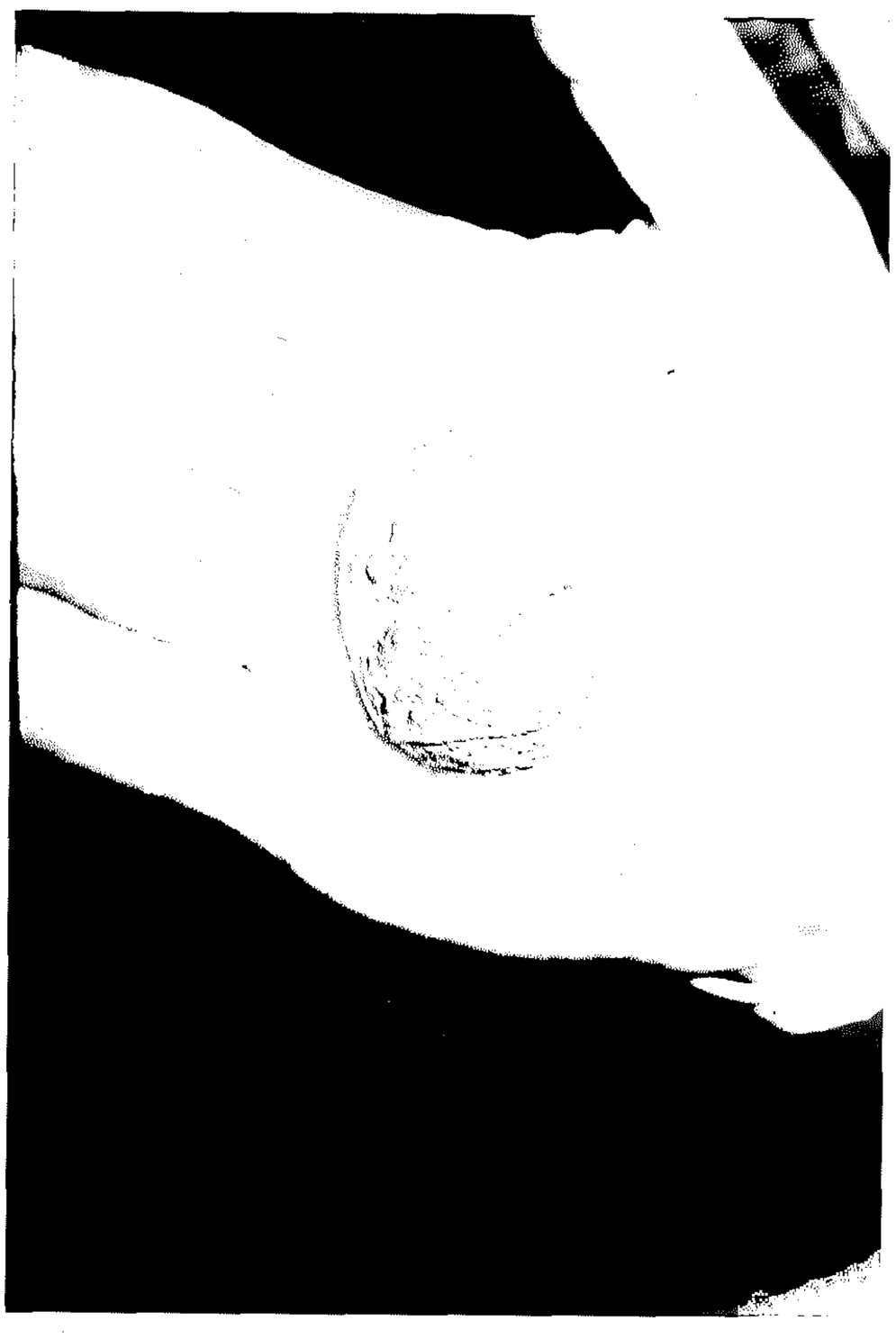


Plate II: Ihuayllu. The ihuayllu stone presented by IW. The scratches in the hollow are clearly marked.

Plate III: The apachita at Tunapita, Aymaraes, on the trail from Chalhuanca to Yanaca and Sarayca.

Plate IV: Personal apachitas at the approach to the apachita at El Abra, Antabamba, on the trail from Mollebamba to Antabamba.

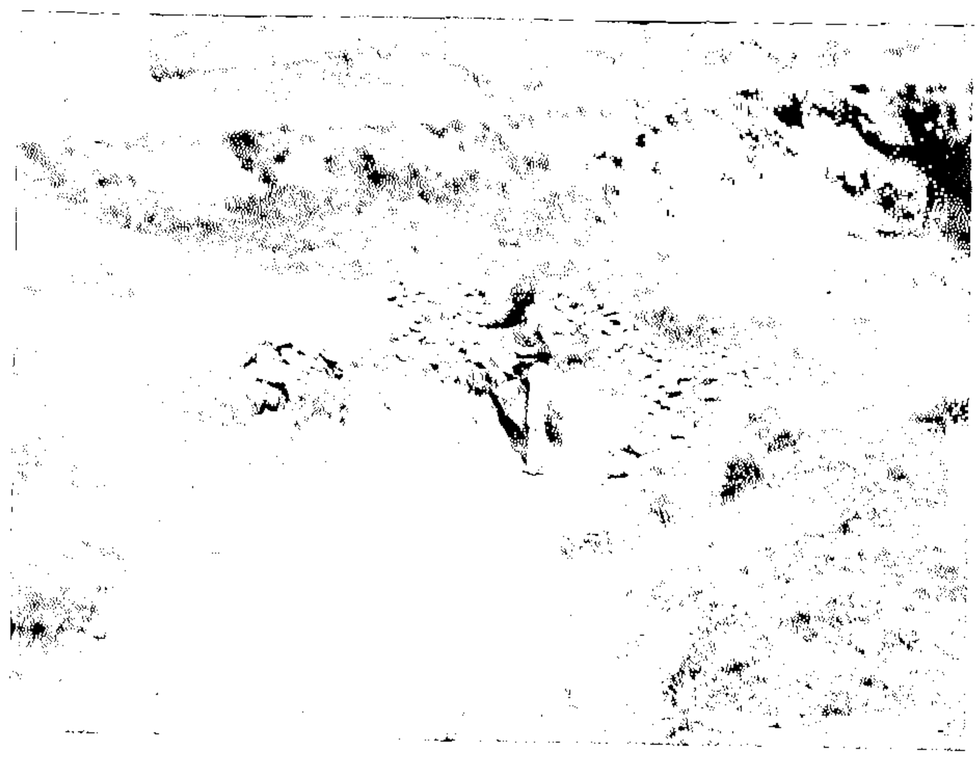


Plate V: The *apachita* type A at Cruzccasa, looking towards Huancarama.

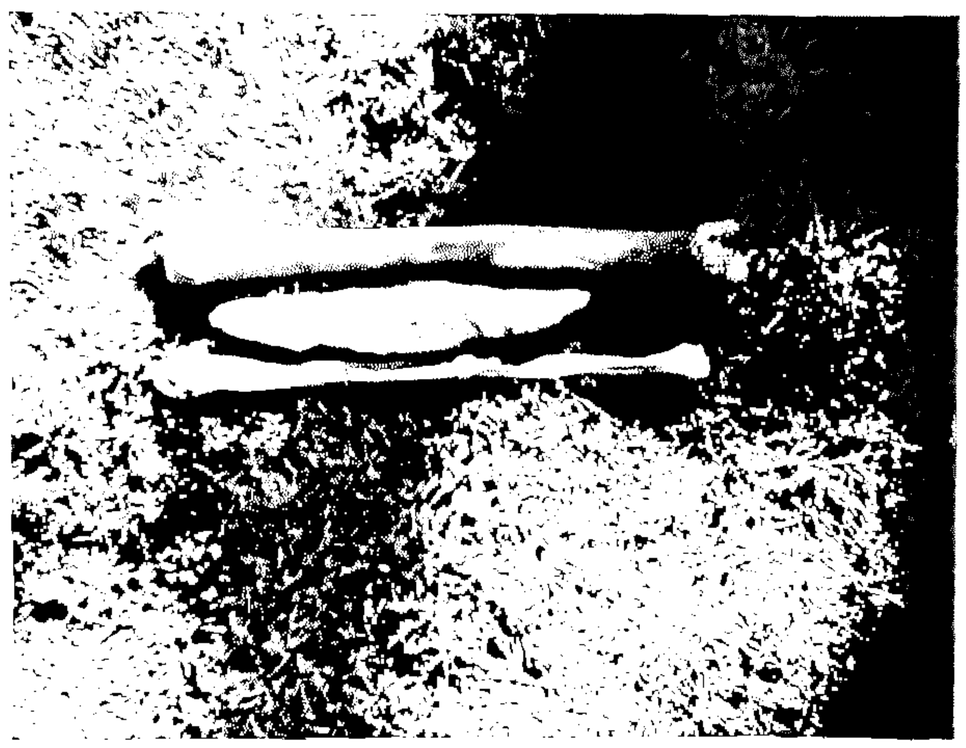


Plate VI: *Fibula* and *tibia* (?) bones found separated by a shaped stone. Taken from a cave burial (Antabamba) and perhaps showing evidence of reburial after death.

Plate VII: Two broken mortars from the Yahuarqo site. (The coin, for comparison, is a Peruvian sol.)

Plate VIII: Pottery fragments from a site near Pampachiri, showing facial markings and stone weapons (?). These are held by the Colegio in Pampachiri.

Plate IX: Fragments of grave-cloth from the Pampachiri site. There is a striking similarity to Paracas design.

Plate X: Two complete bowls from the Pampachiri site. The skull is elongated after the style of the orejones.

Plate XI: The bridge (chaca) at km. 32 Abancay-Chalhuanca, with steel main cables but supports of cabuya.

Plate XII: The supports of cabuya badly frayed. They were replaced and a branch floor added instead of cabuya leaf.

APPENDIX D: Orthographies

The following table is taken from Albo II (n.p.r.), and gives some of the orthographies and dialect differences in Quechua literature.

ALFABETOS COMPARADOS (QUECHUA BOLIVIANO Y PERUANO)

(sólo las letras que ofrecen alguna dificultad)

Escritura utilizada por	EL QUECHUA A SU ALCANCE	III Congr. Indig. Interam.	Comisión alfabética Lima, 1935-7	J.M.B. Farfán	Rowe-Alencastre	Sociedad Bíblica (public. en Boliv. desde 1952)	Gramática Urioste - Herrero	L. Ducet	L. A. Lira	Middendorf	Tschudi	J.D. Berrión (P. Beltrán, con alguna peq. variante)	Mercado	Cohen - Arze	Diccionario Poliglota Incaico	H. Galante	T. Meneses
Principales variaciones (el guión indica que se utiliza la misma letra que en la columna anterior)	ch			-	c	ch	-	-	-	-	ts	ch	-	-	-	-	-
	chh	-	-	-	ch	chh	tch	chh	sch	ch	s	ch	chj	ch'	cch	chch	chh
	ch'	-	cch	-	c'	ch'	-	-	-	-	ts	ch	chch	ch"	chh	chch	cch
		j	h-	h-	h-				h-	'h	h		j-			h-	
	j			-k	-k	j	-	-	-h	j	h'	j	-j	j	h	-c	j
		-q	-j	-q	-q				-kk				-c			-cc	
	k					c, qu	k	-	-	c, qu	k	-	c, qu	k	c, qu	-	q
	kh	-	-	-	-	qh	kj	kh	-	'k	omite	k'	cj, qj	k'	cj, qqj	cc, qqu	qh
	k'		kk	-	k'	c', qu'	k"	-	k'	-	k	k"	cc, qqu	k"	k', kqu	cc, qqu	qq
	ph	-	-	-	-	-	pf	ph	-	'p	omite	p	f, pf	p'	ph	'pp	ph
	p'	-	pp	-	p'	-	-	-	-	-	p	p	pp	p"	pp	-	-
	q	-	-	-	-	k	kh	q	kk	k	-	k	kh	q	cc, qqu	cc, qqu	j
	qh	-	-	-	-	kh	kj'	q	kkh	'k	omite	k	kj	g'	cc, qqu	cc, qqu	jh
	q'	-	qq	-	q'	k'	-	-	'k	k'	k	k	kk	q"	kc, kqu	cc, qqu	jj
	sh	-	sh, ch	sh	-	-	-	-	sch	'ch	s	s	-	sh	ch, cch	s, 's, ch	
	th	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	't	omite	t	tj	t'	th	'tt	th
	t'	-	tt	-	t'	-	-	-	-	-	t	t	tt	t"	tt	tt	-
	w-,	w	-	-	-	w-, -u	w	-	w-, -u	hu-, -u	w	hu-, -u	-	w	hu-, -u	-	-
	y	-	-	-	-		-	-		-	-	y-, -i	-	y	-	-	-
Otras peculiaridades		(inicial).			sólo vocales a i u: nombres castellanos con grafías quechuas	Cf. n 649 sobre otros alfabetos protestantes cf. L 98			acentúa todas las palabras; nombres castellanos con grafías quechuas			nombres castellanos con grafías quechuas		nombres castellanos con grafías quechuas acento p. destruir diptong. rr inicial.			distingue 3 tipos de imprenta especiales para las 3 variedades fonéticas de j en dialecto ayacuchano

ALFABETOS COMPARADOS (QUECHUA BOLIVIANO Y PERUANO)

(sólo las letras que ofrecen alguna dificultad)

Escritura utilizada por	Middendorf	Tschudi	J.D. Berrión (P. Beltrán, con alguna peq. variante)	Mercado	Cohen - Arze	Diccionario Poliglota Incaico	H. Galante	T. Meneses	P. Raurich	J. Lara (últimas publicaciones).	Letras adoptadas por otros escritores, no consignados en columnas anteriores. EC = escritores coloniales (Gonzáles Holguín, Domingo de Sto. Tomás, Diego de Torres, Francisco de Avila, Ollantay, etc).
Principales variaciones (el guión indica que se utiliza la misma letra que en la columna anterior)	-	ts	ch	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	ch	s	ch	chj	ch'	cch	chch	chh	chj	sh'	
	-	ts	ch	chch	ch"	chh	chch	cch	chh	ch'	
	'h	h		j-			h-		j-		
	j	h'	j	-j	j	h	-c	j	irregul.	j	Todas las combinaciones posibles de las letras precedentes y de "q", con o sin diacríticos adicionales. Los EC suelen ser constantes en el uso de "h-, -c, -cc" (-j) y de "c, qu", a lo mas repetidas para k, kh, k'
				-c			-cc				
	c, qu	k	-	c, qu	k	c, qu	-	q	c, qu	k	
	'k	omite	k'	cj, qj	k'	cj, qqj	cc, qqu	qh	cj, qj	kh	
	-	k	k"	cc, qqu	k"	k', kqu	cc, qqu	qq	kc, kqu	k'	
	'p	omite	p	f, pf	p'	ph	'pp	ph	ph, pf	ph	pj, f EC: "p p "pp"
		p	p	pp	p"	pp	-	-	-	p'	
	k	-	k	kh	q	cc, qqu	cc, qqu	j	cc, qqu	q	Todas las combinaciones posibles de las letras precedentes con o sin diacríticos adicionales. Los EC suelen usar "cc", "qqu"
	'k	omite	k	kj	g'	cc, qqu	cc, qqu	jh	ccj, qqj	qh	
	k'	k	k	kk	q"	kc, kqu	cc, qqu	jj	cck, qqk	q'	
	'ch	s	s	-	sh	ch, cch	s, 's, ch		ch	sh	sl, sy - Los EC suelen distinguir entre s, ss, z, q, x
	't	omite	t	tj	t'	th	'tt	th	tj	th	tz EC = "t" o "tt"
	-	t	t	tt	t"	tt	tt	-	-	t'	
	hu-, -u	w	hu-, -u	-	w	hu-, -u	-	-	-	w-, -u	u-, gu-. EC: hu-, v-, -u
	-	-	y-, -i	-	y	-	-	-	y-, -g, -i	y	i-, ii
Otras peculiaridades			nombres castellanos con grafías quechuas		nombres castellanos con grafías quechuas acento p. destruir diptong. rr inicial.			distingue 3 tipos de imprenta especiales para las 3 variedades fonéticas de j en dialecto ayacuchano		sigue las reglas de acentuación del castellano	La mayoría de escrituras carecen de un criterio constante. Así, por ejemplo, Fernández Nodal en el Perú, H. Mossi o P. Miranda en Bolivia, etc. Algunos, como Astete Chocano (Cuzco), hay tipos de imprenta especiales para el quechua. En vocales existe gran variedad.

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ADDENDUM

It must be noted that the Chroniclers cited from the period 1551-1680 came to their recording and interpretation of Quechua culture with certain levels of understanding and particular points-of-view. In the three streams of writing, the secular (Betanzos, Santillan, et al.), the religious (Acosta, Arriaga, et al.), and indian/mestizo (Ayala, Vega and Yamqui), the writers' understanding of Quechua religious terms are limited for the following reasons:

1. By no means all the writers had knowledge or linguistic ability in the Quechua and Aymara languages. Betanzos was unusual in the fact that he alone appears to have had a good grasp of Quechua. "... el continuo uso del Quechua en la vida familiar debió favorecer considerablemente la perfecta posesión por Betanzos de aquel idioma." (EIP p. xiv). Molina, the Almagrista, had none (EIP p.xix).
2. None of the writers attempted to set down in Quechua itself, the ceremonies or the interpretations by Quechua. Yamqui, perhaps, is nearest to it in the interfacing of Quechua and Spanish in his narrative, e.g. pediendo, bestidos, deziendo (EIP p. 312), cf. p. 39 footnote.
3. Writers had limited contact with the Quechua culture because of the following factors:
   a. The time factor. Cobo, for example, was only certain in Cuzco for four years (1609-13), while Cieza de Leon was continually on the move.

b. The social factor. Both Vega and Betanzos married into the top levels of Inca society, the latter marrying the daughter of Inca Huaina Capac (EIP p. xiv). While this, no doubt, gave them valuable insights into the central core of Quechua religious culture, this was the area that suffered most from change. See notes on pp. 155-56. It also prevented them from mixing at all levels of Quechua society.

c. the ex eventu factor. Santillan and others were to write their works at a much later date and outwith the culture, in Spain. Vega, for example, was not to finish his 'Comentarios' until some forty years after leaving Peru! (Vega I p.63)

So then, we must recognise the chroniclers' understanding of Quechua religious terms was limited.

Not only was their understanding limited, but they arrived at their interpretation of Quechua religious culture through certain predispositions. I have attempted to show on pp. 8-9 that some came to Quechua religious culture recognising their own predispositions in a desire to understand the culture for its own sake. However, there were three attitudes common to the writers that affected their interpretation of Quechua culture:

1. The predicating of Iberian medieval religious terminology on Quechua customs that appeared at first sight to have similar elements to equivalent Iberian customs. For example, the use of brujo, gentil, bulto, etc. The assumption also was made that customs were similar even in small detailed elements, see pp. 37-38, and with the idea of '... acercando a su religión en cuanto ha podido una interpretación casi pre-cristiana

o los más parecida posible al cristianismo" (EIP p. L).

2. The attribution of everything outside of the ecclesia universalis to the devil. "... atribución de las confusiones religiosas al espíritu diabólico, explicación en que coinciden los cronistas en general." (EIP p. xviii).

3. The necessity of maintaining the concept of cuius regio eius religio, and thus bringing about change or 'Christian' interpretation of Quechua religious culture, so that even Arriaga has to define terms not to show their intrinsic value and meaning but for confession, repentance and destruction. "... qué causas y raíces tienen ellas, que están por una parte tan encubiertas y por otra parte brotan tanto... el principio y fundamento de todo esto edificio es que... se cobre el conocimiento de la enfermedad que pide su gravedad, ... se aplicará la medicina que pide la enfermedad." (EIP pp 256-57).

Thus, we can see, that the Chroniclers, in general fail to give us a clear and unbiased content of the elements of Quechua religious culture as existed in that post-conquest period. Therefore the original content of Quechua religion must remain blurred. What the evidence of the analysis does show however, is that many non-hispanic elements have survived the Roman Catholic domination of religious culture,(apu, hanaj pacha etc.), despite social, political and cultural pressure. In the San Martín area, because of the intensive pressure of the Jesuit reducción system, the survival of religious elements from tribal cultures have not been so clear as in the Apurimac area. Terms like brujo now carry significant Iberian elements (pp. 49, 59-62).

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