

ing a llama; and it was just the same as in Huauya Cancha, where the mountain man Quita Pariasca had observed the augury.

233 When Casa Lliuya Tama Lliuya's children had already perished and he himself was about to die, he spoke and said, "That's how things were when I arrived here." For he had said on arriving, "The world really is very good. There won't ever be temptation<sup>450</sup> or disease<sup>451</sup> anymore."<sup>452</sup>

234 It was from that time onward that they upheld Maca Uisa in this village, and all the Checa served him, *ayllu* by *ayllu*, according to the full and waning cycles of the moon.<sup>453</sup>

On a certain night, all of them, men and women alike, would keep vigil together till dawn.

At daybreak, we know,<sup>454</sup> they offered guinea pigs and other things from each person individually, saying,

"Please help us and this village;  
You are the one who guards it.

450. *huaticay* 'temptation': González Holguín ([1608] 1952: 187–188) gives many variants of this term, most of them Christian-influenced and emphasizing diabolical temptation. In this passage it may refer to sorcery, or perhaps to the temptations of conversion against which the saving of Maca Uisa was a bulwark.

451. *oncoypas* 'disease': in the wake of the epidemics that lashed postconquest Indian societies, the teller(s) appear deeply preoccupied with health and illness. See section 234 below.

452. *pachaca ancha allinmi mana ñam ymapas huaticay oncoypas cancacho* 'The world really is very good. There won't ever be temptation or disease anymore': this prophecy answers Quita Pariasca's earlier prophecy saying the world was no longer good (chap. 18, sec. 221) and his discouraged fellow-worshippers' assent to it (chap. 18, sec. 226). 'Really' is added to convey the combined force of *ancha* and eyewitness validator *-mi*. The idea seems to be that on dying he sees in the well-being of his neighbors the vindication of the prophecy he had made on arriving. But the meanings of this and the preceding section are far from certain.

453. See chapter 18 (sec. 220) and note 423.

454. 'We know' supplied to indicate witness validation of this sentence.

From each and every illness  
You are the one who heals us."

235 After that,<sup>455</sup> dwelling in the village of Limca, Maca Uisa<sup>456</sup> enjoyed ample service. A whole thousand<sup>457</sup> of Quinti people reportedly<sup>458</sup> cultivated the fields of Yamlaca in order to provide Maca Uisa's drinks.

And the people who lived there got very rich<sup>459</sup> indeed, with all kinds of possessions in any quantity.

The Checa envied them<sup>460</sup> all this, and so it was that the late Don Juan Puypu Tacma dispatched some people to Casa Lliuya, who was a member of his *ayllu*, saying, "Let him bring Maca Uisa here. Why should he keep such a fine *huaca* in those people's<sup>461</sup> village?"

From that time onward, he lived here.

This is as much as we know about Maca Uisa.<sup>462</sup>

455. *chaymantam* 'after that': carries witness validation, but the main clause has *-si* reportive. This anomaly is fairly common and makes validation of some sentences less than clear.

456. 'Maca Uisa' supplied.

457. *tucoy huc huaranca* 'a whole thousand': 'thousand' is an Inca bureaucratic term signaling a major demographic unit; such decimal terms remained in use in colonial Huarochiri (Spalding 1984: 54). Its use in this colonial (i.e., post-Inca) reorganization of Andean religion suggests (as do the events of chap. 20) that Inca manipulation had a substantial effect on local cultic organization.

458. 'Reportedly' supplied to indicate return to reportive validation.

459. *rico* 'rich', using the Spanish expression as in chapter 5 (secs. 37, 46, 60).

460. A resurgence of a pervasive theme, the Checa rivalry with the more senior Quinti (see, for example, chap. 17, secs. 214ff.). This is apparently the same incident mentioned in section 231.

461. *ymapacmi runap llantanpi* presents two translation problems. First, *runap* 'of people' does not specify what group is concerned; to minimize supplied elements, 'those' is furnished. Taylor (1987b: 291) speculates that it is a pejorative colonial usage of *runa*, which, like modern *indio*, implies baseness. Second, *llantan* is taken as a variant for *llactan*; see chapter 18 (sec. 227). Hernández Príncipe ([1613] 1919: 184) notes that villages and *ayllus* regularly stole each other's *huacas*.

462. This sentence has witness validation.

## CHAPTER 20

### Here Begins the Life of Llocllay Huancupa. In What Follows, We Shall Also Write about Its End

236

They say<sup>463</sup> the *huaca* named Llocllay Huancupa<sup>464</sup> was Pacha Camac's child.

A woman named Lanti Chumpi, from Alay Satpa *ayllu*, found this *huaca*'s visible form<sup>465</sup> while she was cultivating a field.

As she dug it out the first time, she wondered, "What could this be?" and just threw it right back down on the ground.<sup>466</sup>

237 But, while she was digging another time,<sup>467</sup> she found once again the same thing she'd found before. "This might be some kind of *huaca*!"<sup>468</sup> she

463. 'They say' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the first sentence of section 240.

464. *Llocllay huancupa ñiscanchic* means 'Llocllay Huancupa, whom we mentioned above'. But in fact this is the first mention of Llocllay. Perhaps there were other testimonies that have not been included.

465. *ricurimuscantas . . . tarircan* 'she found [Llocllay's] visible form': this could mean a likeness, perhaps a precolumbian artifact (such objects were and still are sometimes taken as signs of the superhuman), but it might also mean some nonfigurative object.

466. *pachallampitac*: since *pacha* means both a location and a moment, could also mean 'immediately'.

467. *huc pachacta* 'another time': again, since *pacha* signifies both time and space, this might also mean 'at another place'. If so, its sense might be that Lanti Chumpi recognized the find's importance by its ability to move underground. Whether one reads two times or two places, the point seems to be that the *huaca* insists on being found by Lanti Chumpi.

468. A *huaca* that belonged to an extinct *ayllu* and had been lost among "roads and crossroads and wildernesses" was called a *purun huaca*, meaning a 'wild' or 'desolate' one. "When they found these . . . they considered themselves lucky and blessed, and they began to en-

thought. And so, thinking, "I'll show it to my elders and the other people of my *ayllu*," she brought it back.

238 At that time there existed in the village named Llacsa Tampo another *huaca*, called Cati Quillay,<sup>469</sup> an emissary of the Inca.<sup>470</sup>

Cati Quillay was a *yanca*,<sup>471</sup> one who could force any *huaca* that wouldn't talk to speak.

Saying, "Who are you?"

"What is your name?"

"What have you come for?"

he started to make the *huaca* called Llocllay Huancupa talk.

Llocllay Huancupa answered, saying, "I am a child of Pacha Camac Pacha Cuyuchic, World Maker and World Shaker.

"My name is Llocllay Huancupa."<sup>472</sup>

noble their lineages and their descent" (Hernández Príncipe [1613] 1919: 184). Hence Lanti Chumpi's excitement. All of chapter 20 through section 243 is the biography of a rediscovered *purun huaca* and the story of its cultic "ennoblement" up to and including cooptation by the Inca state.

469. Possibly identifiable with Catequilla or Catachilay, the Southern Cross (González Holguín [1608] 1952: 51) as interpreted by Gary Urton (1981: 130–131).

470. *yngap cachan* 'an emissary of the Inca' employs the Inca term for a plenipotentiary and not a mere messenger.

471. Seems to suggest that one *huaca* (presumably via its priest) could act as *yanca* of another. Taylor (1987b: 295) gives "effortlessly," reading *yanca* as the homonymous adverb.

472. Llocllay Huancupa's name signals his association with rain: González Holguín ([1608] 1952: 215) tells us *llocclla* meant "river in spate, flood." The Jesuit *carta annua* of 1609 (Taylor 1987a: 85–96) tells that *huancupa*,

"It was my father who sent me here, saying, 'Go and protect that Checa village!'"<sup>473</sup>

239 The people rejoiced exuberantly, exclaiming, "Good news! Let him live in this village and watch over us." And since the enclosed courtyard<sup>474</sup> at the house of the woman who'd discovered the *huaca* was a small one, they enlarged it, and all the Checa, along with the Chauti and Huanri people, adorned her house and courtyard with great reverence.

240 They made arrangements among themselves, saying, "We'll enter in to do his service according to the full and waning moon,<sup>475</sup> *ayllu* by *ayllu*, with the Allauca taking the lead"; and they gave him some of their llamas.

(At the full moon they in fact<sup>476</sup> say, "It's time for his arrival,"

they say,

"It's he who's arriving!")

At the Arrival festival, in the old times, people used to dance wearing the *chumprucu*<sup>477</sup> and the *huaychao* weavings,<sup>478</sup> just the same way as they

whose meaning in this context is unclear, formed part of the name of a specific rain *huaca* Tamiahuancupa in Checa. Llocllay Huancupa is there said to be a child of Pacha Camac, the greatest maritime *huaca*, and to be a nephew of Paria Caca, the great embodiment of the stormy heights. Rivers in spate are the connections from the latter to the former. Thus Llocllay's appearance appears a promise that these violent waters would flow to the Checa's benefit and perhaps refrain from creating the washouts and mudslides that often damage villages like the Checa's.

473. Considering that this oracle was mediated by an Inca-sponsored *huaca*, and that Pacha Camac was also a heavily Inca-subsidized cult, the message suggests state cooptation of the newly discovered Llocllay Huancupa. Perhaps, from the Inca point of view, the adoption of such *purum huacas* afforded a safer course than fostering *huacas* of autochthony like Maca Uisa, who, as chapter 19 shows, retained his value as a symbol of resistance.

474. *cancha* 'courtyard': for description of the enclosed Andean residential compound, see Gasparini and Margolies (1980: 181–193).

475. See note 423.

476. This whole parenthesis has witness validation and differs from the surrounding material in tense; it appears to place a contemporary custom in the remembered context of the narrative.

477. Taylor (1987b: 297) suggests a plausible derivation from words meaning 'belt' and 'headdress', hence 'turban'. Turbans are abundantly visible in coastal ceramic portrait vases and are found in prehistoric burials.

478. *huaychao ahua* 'huaychao weavings' is an un-

wore the *chumprucu* and the *huaychao* weavings during Paria Caca's festival season.

241 They served him for many years in the way we have described.

At one time, maybe because people didn't take good care of him, Llocllay Huancupa went back to his father Pacha Camac and disappeared.

When the people saw this happen, they grieved deeply and searched for him, adorning the place where Lanti Chumpi had first discovered him, and building him a step-pyramid.<sup>479</sup>

242 But when they still couldn't find him, all the elders readied their llamas, guinea pigs, and all kinds of clothing, and went to Pacha Camac.

So by worshiping his father again, they got Llocllay Huancupa to return.

People served him even more, with renewed fervor, endowing him with llama herders.<sup>480</sup>

They pastured these llamas in the place called Sucya Villca,<sup>481</sup> declaring, "These are llamas of Pacha Camac." The Inca also ratified this practice.<sup>482</sup>

243 They arrived to worship one *ayllu* after another,<sup>483</sup> and in this fashion they served the *huaca*

certain translation because the expected form would be *ahuasca*.

479. *husnocta pircaspa*: literally, 'walling an *usnu*'; the term *usnu* could mean a stone-faced step-pyramid, perhaps like the one still visible at Vilcashuamán. But in R. T. Zuidema's explication (1980) the concept expands to signify any *axis mundi*-like vertical conduit. The early "extirpator" Cristóbal de Albornoz ([1583?] 1984: 202) describes *usnu*-type shrines as 'towers' built around an axis or shaft at which worship was celebrated. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala also mentions *usnus* ([1615] 1980: 1: 236, 239, 2: 357, 413).

480. That is, like many other superhumans, he was assigned an endowment of capital goods whose products would support his cult and be distributed at his feasts.

481. Identified by Rostworowski (1978: 43) as a plateau above San Bartolomé.

482. That is, when they felt forced to increase the endowment of this Inca-endorsed *huaca*, they arranged for the Inca state to bear part of the additional cost by contributing use of Inca herding facilities at Sucya Villca.

This was appropriate because Llocllay's cult was an extension of the Inca-sponsored Pacha Camac cult, and Pacha Camac's animals were herded at Sucya Villca (chap. 22, sec. 277).

483. Taylor (1987b: 299) interprets *ayllo ayllo ñiscampi chayarcán* to mean that each *ayllu* celebrated the "Arrival" rite in turn.

for a great many years. If diseases of any kind came upon them, they would tell him and implore him for well-being. Whenever any affliction or sorrow befell, or when enemies came, or there was an earthquake, people would fear him greatly and say, "His father<sup>484</sup> is angry!" As for maize offerings, they gave him maize belonging to the Inca from the common granaries,<sup>485</sup> to provide for his drinks.

244 Later on, at the time when a certain Father Cristóbal de Castilla was in this *reducción* and when Don Gerónimo Cancho Huaman was the *curaca*,<sup>486</sup> people stopped worshiping, because both of them hated such practices.

But when the first great plague of measles<sup>487</sup> came, people began to worship him again in all sorts of ways. As if he were thinking, "Llocllay's sending the plague," the *curaca* ceased scolding those people any longer when they drank in the ruined buildings of Purum Huasi.

484. I.e., Pacha Camac.

485. *yngap çaranta sapçicunamantas* 'maize belonging to the Inca from the common granaries': again emphasizes that Llocllay's cult was Inca-subsidized. The suggestion would be that, where maize is concerned, the Inca enabled them to toast Llocllay at Inca, not local, expense.

486. A 1588–1590 lawsuit over the major *cacicazgo* of the Rimac valley contains testimony by Don Gerónimo Cancho Huaman, *curaca* of the Checa. From it we learn that he was four or five years old when the Spanish invaded Peru; he was forty years old when Jesuits taught literacy at Huarochirí missions and never learned to write. From childhood onward he attended meetings of chiefs that the Ninavilca (Huarochirí village) lords convoked at Mama and elsewhere (Murra 1980: xviii–xix). His position as a member of the generation that first managed the transition to colonial religious and political forms helps one to understand his ambivalence toward Christianity (see sec. 247; Archivo General de la Nación, Buenos Aires, ms. 9-45-5-15, ff. 105v–112r; Espinoza Soriano 1983–1984).

487. Cook (1981: 60) says the first measles epidemic was perhaps in 1531–1532, with a question mark, and notes another without a question mark for 1558–1559. It seems likely that the teller means the 1558–1559 epidemic. Perhaps the resurgence of Llocllay's cult following it is a phenomenon resembling the Taki Onqoy nativist movement that arose at that time in the south-central highlands. In order to credit this interpretation one must assume that Gerónimo Cancho Huaman's rule lasted thirty-odd years.

If the date is not 1558 but later, the reference might be to the Moro Onqoy period described by Curatola (1978).

At that same time, the *huaca*'s house caught fire all by itself,<sup>488</sup> because that was God's will.

245 Now it's a fact that<sup>489</sup> after Don Gerónimo died, Don Juan Sacca Lliuya succeeded to the office of *curaca*,<sup>490</sup> and, since this chief was at the same time a *huacsa* himself, everybody began to live as they'd lived in earlier times; they'd visit both Llocllay Huancupa and Maca Uisa, and they kept vigil the whole night there drinking until dawn.

246 Nowadays, due to the preachings of Doctor Avila, some people have converted back to God and forbidden all these practices. But if it hadn't been for a certain man who converted to God with a sincere heart and denounced the *huacas* as demons, people might well have kept on living that way for a long time.<sup>491</sup>

We'll let you hear this story in what follows.

247 There was a man named Don Cristóbal Choque Casa, whose father was the late Don Gerónimo Cancho Huaman whom we mentioned before. This man lived a good life from his childhood onward,

because his father bitterly scorned all these *huacas*. But when he was about to die, Don Gerónimo was deceived by these evil spirits and fell into this same sin. Beguiled by many ancient evil spirits,<sup>492</sup>

488. *paicama* 'all by itself' could also mean 'according to him' (the chief?). Either reading suggests that the fire was taken as the Spanish deity's attack on the native *huaca*.

489. 'Now it's a fact that' supplied to indicate witness validation, which continues through the end of section 247.

490. Since Don Gerónimo was still *curaca* in 1590 according to the source mentioned in note 486, the events that follow can be dated 1590–1608.

491. A nakedly political passage setting up the witness, Cristóbal Choque Casa, as a hero. Choque Casa was Avila's close political ally. Missionary Quechua predominates in the rhetoric of the pure heart and the verbal renunciation of *huacas* as *supay* ('demons', in missionary lexicon). 'The *huacas*' supplied. Original has *caycunacta* 'these'.

492. The passage may have a double meaning, reflecting the double Andean and missionary senses of the word *supay*. An Andean person faced with death could well be concerned with ancient spirits, not in the European understanding of false deities, but in the autochthonous sense of deified ancestors or *huacas* worshiped by ancestors, whose mobile parts (*supay*) could contact the living. The speaker would not have specified *mana alli* unless he supposed that a *supay* could also be good.



he confessed himself just before dying.<sup>493</sup>

As for that fellow, God only knows where he is now!<sup>494</sup>

248 The deceased man's son, that is, the same Don Cristóbal we spoke of, is still alive.

It was he who once saw the demon Llocllay Huancupa with his own eyes, when he was also deceived by the same ancient evil spirits because of his father's death.

The story is like this.

To tell it Don Cristóbal first swore an oath by saying, "This is the cross."<sup>495</sup>

249 Don Cristóbal said that one night<sup>496</sup> he went to Llocllay Huancupa's house while his lover<sup>497</sup> was

493. *ahcca mana alli supai machucunap llullaycuscan ña huañoypacri confesacorcanmi* 'Beguiled by many ancient evil spirits he confessed himself just before dying': an ambiguous sentence. It could mean, as we indicate, that although Don Gerónimo relapsed into *huaca* worship in old age, his conscience at the last impelled him to confess in Catholic fashion. Or it could mean that he made his last confession to a *huaca* priest. The latter reading presupposes that the Spanish-derived verb *confesacoy* could denominate a non-Christian rite (much as *saçerdote* could mean *huaca* priest).

494. *chaytaca dios aponchictaccha yachan maypi cascantapas* 'As for that fellow, God only knows where he is now!': perhaps with a shade of satirical intent, or perhaps said in pity; since the old man was so indecisive in religious matters, who can say whether he is now in Hell or Heaven?

495. Cristóbal's testimony begins with not one but two narrative formulas: first, *cay simire cay ynam* 'the story is like this', a common one throughout the manuscript and perhaps an Andean phrase; then, *cayta rimaypacca ñaupacracmi don christobal juramentocta mu-charcan caymi + ñispa* 'to tell it Don Cristóbal first swore an oath by saying, "This is the cross,"' an emphatic touch of mission culture.

496. *huc tutas don x(christob)al* 'Don Cristóbal said that one night': more literally, taking reportive validation into account, 'One night Don Cristóbal, it's said'. But the fact that we know it was Don Cristóbal himself who swore before telling the story that begins here justifies 'Don Cristóbal said that'. Since Don Cristóbal would presumably have talked in first person, the passage shows that *-si* reportive passages are likely to be paraphrases of testimony, not transcripts, and therefore unreliable as to exact properties of discourse including, for example, verification. (An alternative hypothesis would be that Don Cristóbal himself wrote the passage, trumping up the oath and third person diction.)

there. Cristóbal had abandoned the worship of this *huaca*, and hardly thought of him anymore.

When he arrived at the dwelling he went into a little shed in the corral<sup>498</sup> to urinate.

250 From inside that place<sup>500</sup> the spot where they've put a cross, that demon appeared before his eyes like a silver plate that, mirroring<sup>499</sup> the light of the midday sun, dazzles a man's eyesight.

When he saw this he almost fell to the ground.

Reciting the Our Father and the Hail Mary, he fled toward the little lodging, the woman's dwelling.

251 When he'd walked halfway there, the demon flashed three times again. When he arrived at the room it flashed<sup>500</sup> another three times, and the first time it had flashed<sup>501</sup> three times also.

So, all in all, it flashed nine times.

Seeing that demon flash so many times, and becoming thoroughly terrified, Don Cristóbal reached the place where the woman slept and woke her up abruptly.

252 Two children were also asleep there.

He was panting<sup>502</sup> so hard, the children got scared and said, "It's our father who's doing that!"

(These children and the young woman, too, were the offspring of the demon's priest.)<sup>503</sup>

497. *sipasnin* 'his lover': the referent of the third person possessive marker *-n* is ambiguous (Cristóbal's lover or Llocllay's?) and the translation reflects this. The former, however, seems likelier; why, otherwise, would Cristóbal, a Christian, go to Llocllay's house? And why at night?

498. *racay huasillaman* 'into a little shed in the corral': Taylor (1987b: 305) has "into a little house in ruins (which had been the *huaca*'s sanctuary[?])." The discrepancy arises from readings of *racay*, which can mean either 'corral' or (in the form *racay racay*) 'depopulated town' (González Holguín [1608] 1952: 311).

499. *tincochisca* 'mirroring': more literally, 'caused to match' (i.e., angled so as to reflect) the mid-day sun. The phrase *runap ñauinta tutayachic* reads more literally 'as what benights a man's eyes' and alludes to the darkening of vision caused by gazing at a too-bright light.

500. 'It flashed' supplied.

501. 'It had flashed' supplied.

502. *siuyaptinsi* 'he was panting': original is ambiguous as to whether Llocllay or (more probably) Don Cristóbal is the subject of this verb.

503. I.e., of Astu Huaman, who appears in chapter 21 (secs. 265, 267).

Then, just as a man entering a doorway at dusk darkens the room even more,<sup>504</sup> so it was also that night as the demon went in and out. The demon wanted to overpower Don Cristóbal, making his ears ring with a "Chuy!" sound, as if he were about to demolish the house, too.

253 Cristóbal invoked God, shouting out at the top of his voice all the prayers he knew, <crossed out: > [knowing] saying the *doctrina*<sup>505</sup> from beginning to end over and over again.

As midnight passed, the demon was overpowering him. He thought that nothing could save him, the demon was making him sweat so. Then he invoked our mother Saint Mary, saying:

254 "Oh mother, you are my only mother.  
Shall this evil demon overpower me?

You, who are my mother, please help me  
Even though I am a great sinner,

I myself served this very demon,  
Now I recognize that he was a demon all along,

That he is not God,  
That he could never do anything good.

255 You, my only queen,<sup>506</sup>  
You alone will rescue me from this danger!

Please intercede on my behalf with your son Jesus.  
Let him rescue me right now

From this sin of mine,  
And from the hand of this wicked demon."

Thus weeping and sweating<sup>507</sup> he invoked our mother the Virgin, our one and only queen.

504. The simile likens the alternating glare and gloom of Llocllay's presence to the interior of an Andean house—normally windowless—that is thrown into darkness when a person enters its doorway and brightens when he steps out.

505. *doctrina*: the elementary religious lessons that Indian neophytes were required to learn.

506. *coyallaytacmi*, 'my only queen', using the word for an Inca queen, that is, a sister-wife of the Inca.

507. When Jesuits campaigned in Huarochiri in 1571, they encouraged people to "pour out tears and sobs" while renouncing the *huacas*, and intentionally "drew the business out so that (converts) would feel greater anguish." The 1571 campaign produced behavior something

256 After finishing this, he prayed saying the *Salve Regina Mater Misericordiae* in Latin.

While he was reciting it, just as he was in the middle of reciting it, that shameless wicked demon shook the house and, calling "Chus!" in a very deep voice, went out of it in the form of a barn owl.<sup>508</sup>

At that exact moment, the place became like dawn.<sup>509</sup> There were no longer any terrors, nothing like a man entering and leaving a room.

257 From then on, Cristóbal worshiped God and Mary the Holy Virgin even more, so that they might help him always.

In the morning he addressed all the people:

"Brothers and fathers, that Llocllay Huancupa whom we feared has turned out to be a demonic barn owl.

258 "Last night, with the help of the Virgin Saint Mary our mother, I conquered him for good. From now on, none of you are to enter that house. If I ever see anybody enter or approach the house, I'll tell the *padre*. Consider carefully<sup>510</sup> what I've said and receive it into your hearts completely!" Thus he admonished all the people.

259 Some people probably assented, while others stood mute for fear of that demon.

like Cristóbal's: the missionaries proudly reported that one convert "passed three hours weeping bitterly and conversing with Our Lord" before turning himself in to become a servitor of Catholic priests (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 241–244). These precedents suggest that chapters 20 and 21 render the subjective content of what had perhaps become by 1600 a fairly standardized cultural performance.

508. *chusic* 'barn owl': this bird's appearance echoes the image of the flashing disk. "*Barn owl, Tyto alba contempta* (*Lechuza de los campanarios*). A large owl, buffy-white below speckled with black, pearl gray to buff above, finely spotted. The feathers about the eyes form a white disk in the shape of a heart. Recognized by its light color and characteristic hoarse screech. Nocturnal, withdrawing during the day into caves, holes in trees, towers of churches, etc. In nearly all parts of our region, but never common; also in Lima. A species of world-wide distribution" (Koeppke 1970: 76). The barn owl, a nocturnal predator, seems an appropriate likeness of the nocturnal *huaca* Llocllay (his rites are celebrated at night).

509. *pachaca pacaric yna carcan*: could be read in a grander sense as meaning 'the world was as if dawning'.

510. *alli yachacoy* 'consider carefully': might also be read 'good thought'. Taylor (1987b: 311) detects a possible calque to *evangelio*, which (via a Greek etymology) means 'good news'.

From that time forward, they definitely did refrain from going there.<sup>511</sup>

511. *chayaita samarcancu* might also mean "they desisted from performing the Arrival ritual" (Taylor 1987b: 313).

But that night, while Don Cristóbal was asleep in his house, Llocllay Huancupa appeared to him again in a dream.

Next we'll write about this.<sup>512</sup>

512. This sentence has witness validation.

## Although a Dream Is Not Valid,<sup>513</sup> We Shall Speak about That Demon's Frightful Deeds and Also about the Way in Which Don Cristóbal Defeated Him

We've already heard that Llocllay Huancupa was an evil demon and that Don Cristóbal defeated him.<sup>514</sup>

But Don Cristóbal said<sup>515</sup> the evil demon also wanted to overpower him in a dream.

And so on the night of the very next day, the demon summoned Don Cristóbal from his house by

513. *mana muscoy yupai captinpas* 'Although a Dream Is Not Valid': the original reads 'although a dream is not *yupai*'. A root sense of *yupay* is 'account'. Derivatives include 'to give account of something received, or to enumerate, to evaluate, to esteem, or to assign a price'; "*yupay* honor or esteem" and "*mana yupay* what is null or invalid or worthless or commanding no price" are further derivatives (González Holguín [1608] 1952: 371–372).

Why does the writer of the title feel a need to disclaim the value or validity of dreams? Mannheim (1987: 137) points out that the Third Council of Lima, laying down the doctrine that Avila enforced, had explicitly attacked the idea that dreams are *yupai*. Mannheim translates the council's strictures from Quechua:

Don't be keeping [*Ama . . . yupaychanquichicchu*]  
dreams  
"I dreamt this or that,  
why did I dream it?"  
Don't ask:  
dreams are just worthless and  
not to be kept [*mana yupaychaypacchu*].

"Extirpaters" energetically attacked belief in dreams and dream interpreters (Arriaga [1621] 1968: 35; Hernández Príncipe [1613] 1919: 192, [1622] 1923: 25–49).

514. End of an introductory passage with witness validation.

515. 'Don Cristóbal said' supplied to indicated reportive validation, which continues through the second sentence of section 272. Don Cristóbal may be taken as the speaker because in section 248 he is named as the source.

sending a man. He didn't tell him, "I'm going to Llocllay Huancupa."<sup>516</sup> Only when they were about to enter his house did Don Cristóbal catch on.<sup>517</sup>

261 He got scared and approached an old lady, a Yunca woman,<sup>518</sup> who lived there in that same patio.

This old lady was a Yunca woman.

"Son," she said to him, "Why is it that you don't honor Llocllay Huancupa, child of Pacha Cuyuchic the Earth Shaker? It's to find out about this that he's summoned you now."<sup>519</sup>

516. *manas paiman rine nircancho* 'He didn't tell him, "I'm going to Llocllay Huancupa"': Llocllay's name supplied as referent of *pai*. Taylor (1987b: 315) reads this differently: "He didn't say to him if he meant to go or not." The discrepancy arises from two points: first, whether one takes the messenger or Don Cristóbal to be the speaker; Taylor seems to accept the latter. Second, whether one understands the quotation to begin before or after *paiman* 'to him'; Taylor accepts the latter.

517. *ña huasinman yaicusparacsi musyacorcan* 'Only when they were about to enter his house did Don Cristóbal catch on': Don Cristóbal, supplied subject. Taylor (1987b: 315) has: "At the moment when he was about to enter his house, [Don Cristóbal] had a presentiment [of something unlucky]." This reading is justified with an explication of *musyay* suggesting it means 'enter into a trance', with connotations of precognition. Our translation is influenced by another usage of *musyasca* to mean 'in the know, aware'.

518. *huc yunga huarmi chacuas* 'an old lady, a Yunca woman': *chacuas* is a modern Quechua I word meaning 'old lady'. The alternative translation would be to take this as her personal name.

519. Presumably the old lady's speech is a reply to Don Cristóbal's invective against Llocllay on the previous day.




262 When she said that, he replied, "Ma'am, he's an evil demon. Why should I honor him?"

Don Cristóbal was gripping a silver coin of four *reales*<sup>520</sup> in his hand.

He dropped it<sup>521</sup> on the ground.

While he was searching for it, Francisco Trompetero called him from outside: "Hey, what're you doing in there?<sup>522</sup> Your father's really angry! He's calling you and he says, 'He'd better come in a hurry!'"

263 As soon as he said this, Cristóbal replied, "Wait a moment, brother, I'm coming right away" and rummaged for his silver coin in frantic haste.

At the moment when he found it, when he was about to leave, the  non, just as he'd scared Cristóbal before with a silvery flash<sup>523</sup> against his face,

520. A four-*real* coin is half a *peso de ocho*, very commonly circulated c. 1600. The coin Don Cristóbal held was almost certainly of a design showing the quartered arms of Castile and León on one side and the arms of the Hapsburgs (probably the version obtaining during the reigns of Felipe II [1556–1598] or Felipe III [1598–1621]) on the other. The arms of Castile and León are contained within the upper left quadrant of the Hapsburg arms. The quartered space—reminiscent of Peruvian ideas of the Inca world as a 'fourfold domain'—may have figured in Don Cristóbal's dream thinking (Dasi 1950: 60, 66; Grünthal and Sellschopp 1978: 49, 60; Rodríguez Lorente 1965: 129, 153).

521. *ormachircan* 'he dropped it': ambiguous as to whether he dropped it by accident or let it fall on purpose, but the former seems more plausible since he at once tries to recover it.

522. Francisco Trompetero's surname or nickname means 'trumpeter' in Spanish and suggests a military or church musician. His question sounds rhetorical; he would have known very well why an Andean person carries a coin when visiting a *huaca*: "In some places silver is offered up in the form of *reales*. In Libia Cancharco fifteen silver *duros* [i.e., whole pesos] were found, together with some small pieces of ordinary silver. In the town of Recuay Dr. Ramírez found two hundred *duros* in a *huaca*. They generally hammer the coins or chew them in such a way that you can hardly see the royal arms. Coins are also found around *huacas*, looking as if stained with blood or *chicha* [i.e., maize beer]. On other occasions, the priests of the *huacas* keep the silver that is collected as offerings to be spent for their festivals" (Arriaga [1621] 1968: 43; Keating's translation).

523. *collqui ñiscanchichuan* 'with a silvery flash': Taylor (1987b: 317–318) thinks the silvery object might be a silver disk hung in Llocllay Huancupa's shrine and thinks it unlikely to be the silver coin just mentioned, which he considers "a superfluous detail." In dream imagery however, the two might be conflated.

flashed out once again from inside the place where the cross was put.

264 Realizing that he couldn't save himself now, Cristóbal suddenly got frightened. Someone called him from inside the room, saying, "It's our father<sup>524</sup> who calls you!"

Saying, "All right," but deeply angry in his heart, he went inside. On entering he sat down close by the door.

265 Right then, Astu Huaman was offering drinks and feeding the *huaca*, saying,

"Father Llocllay Huancupa, you are Pacha Cuyuchic's child,  
It is you who gave force and form to people."

As he spoke he fed him with deep veneration.

The demon, unable to speak, repeated "Hu, hu"<sup>525</sup> over and over again.

And when Astu Huaman offered him some coca, the demon made it crackle "Chac, chac" just as a coca-chewer does.

266 While he was doing that, a long time, Don Cristóbal saw from inside the house something that looked like a painting encircling it completely in two patterned bands. It looked as a Roman-style mural painting might if it went on two levels.<sup>526</sup>


524. *yayanichic* 'our father': inclusive first person plural, conveying the speaker's assumption that the 'father' in question is also the father of the person he addresses, namely Cristóbal.

525. *chaysi chay supaica mana rimacoytaca husachispa hu hu ñicacharcán*: if one takes *hu hu ñicacharcán* to derive from *huñiy* 'to agree' then the sense is that Llocllay here expresses his approval of the offering. But, since Llocllay appears an inarticulate *huaca*, it seems likelier that *hu hu* represents his inarticulate speech. Or perhaps *hu hu* represents an owl's cry, since Llocllay took an owl's form in chapter 20 (sec. 256).

526. *don christobalca chay huasin hucomanta tucoy yscay pachapi muyoc pintasca ynacta ricorcan ymanam rromano pintasca yscay patarapi rinman chay hynacta*: more literally, 'Don Cristóbal saw from inside that house all on two places [levels, bands, or sides] something like a surrounding [rotating?] painted [object? pattern?], the way a Roman painted [object? pattern?] would go on two bands, like that'.

Translators differ in their efforts to visualize this difficult passage.

The wide divergences all turn on the meaning of the Spanish word *rromano*. Trimborn (1939: 114) and Urioste

On one band of the painting was a  demon, very black, his eyes just like silver,<sup>527</sup> who gripped in his hand a wooden stick with a hook. On top of him was a llama head. Above that was again the little demon and above that again the llama head.

In this way it encircled the whole house in a twofold pattern.

267 It really scared Don Cristóbal that he kept seeing all these things, and he tried to recall just what he'd meant to say.

Meanwhile, since the demon had finished eating, Astu Huaman made the fire blaze up again to burn all the things he'd offered.

268 After this was done, and when everything was quiet, Don Cristóbal began to speak:<sup>528</sup>

"Listen, Llocllay Huancupa! They address you<sup>529</sup> as the animator of humanity and as the World Shaker. People say 'He is the very one who makes everything!' and all mankind fears you. So why have you summoned me now?<sup>530</sup> For my part, I say,

'Is not Jesus Christ the son of God?<sup>531</sup>  
Shall I not revere this one, the true God?  
Shall I not revere his word forever?'<sup>532</sup>

(1983: 169) rendered it as concerning a Roman painting, and Taylor earlier accepted a related gloss, seeing it as a retable or mural in the style of a Roman church, but folded double (*yscay patarapi*). Arguedas and Duviols (1966: 123) judged that *rromano* refers to a scale called *romana*, that is, a steelyard scale, which could be said to 'move on two levels', and Taylor later (1987b: 319) accepted this view (see Hartmann and Holm 1985). Teresa Gisbert, the leading specialist in Andean visual arts for this period, endorses 'Roman-style painting' (personal communication). Ferrell (n.d.) considers relevant to a "banded" appearance the 1737 *Diccionario de autoridades* gloss of *romano* as 'a gray and black striped cat' (1976: 3:635).

527. Taylor (1987b: 321) has *monedas de plata* 'silver coins', which apparently echoes the coin theme starting in section 262.

528. Cristóbal now answers Llocllay's summons in section 261 by explaining why he does not respect him.

529. *ñispa ñisonqui* 'they address you': subject unspecified. The implied subject could be people in general, or Llocllay's priest Astu Huaman.

530. The point apparently being, if Llocllay really has these powers and privileges, why should Don Cristóbal's irreverence bother him?

531. Contrasting Jesus' claim to being the son of *dios* with Llocllay's claim of being the son of Pacha Camac.

532. These sentences repeat the suffix sequence *-tac-*


This is what I say.

269 "Or am I mistaken? Then tell me now! Say,

'He is not the true God,  
I am the maker of everything!'

so that from that moment on I may worship you."

So Cristóbal spoke, but the demon stayed mute. He didn't say anything at all.

270 At that moment Don Cristóbal defied him, crying good and loud: 

"Look!  
Are you not a demon?  
Could you defeat my Lord Jesus Christ,  
In whom I believe?"

Look!  
This house of yours!  
Yes, you dwell surrounded by demons<sup>533</sup>—  
Should I believe in you?"

271 At that moment somebody threw what we call<sup>534</sup> a *llaullaya*<sup>535</sup> at him.

Regarding this thing, Don Cristóbal didn't know whether that demon threw it or whether it was from God's side. For, defending himself with the *llaullaya* alone, he fled from that house all the way to the corner of the count's house,<sup>536</sup> always moving sideways and protecting himself with it.

Then he woke up.

*cha*, which in turn derives from two others that bespeak, respectively, forceful contrast (*-tac*) and a conjectural tone (*-cha*); the overall import is something like, but not quite like, a rhetorical question (Urioste 1973: 40–42, 51).

533. *supaipac yntupayascanmi ari tianqui* 'you dwell surrounded by demons': refers to the apparition of the checkered frieze or mural all around Llocllay's dwelling, covered with images Don Cristóbal thought demonic (sec. 266).

534. *ñiycum* 'what we call': exclusive first person plural form, implying that 'we' tellers, as opposed to the person addressed, call the object *llaullaya*. The source senses a cultural or linguistic difference between himself and the addressee.

535. Untranslated; may be an agricultural implement or a garment.

536. *condep huasincama* 'all the way to . . . the count's house': *conde* could mean a person from the *Kunti* quarter of the empire (*Kuntisuyu* in Inca terms), or a person called count (*conde*) in Spanish.

272 From that exact time on, right up to the present, he defeated various *huacas* in his dreams the same way. Any number of times he defeated both Paria Caca and Chaupi Ñamca, telling the people all about it over and over again, saying, "They're demons!"

This is all we know about this evil demon's existence and about Don Cristóbal's victory.<sup>537</sup>

273 On this matter: it's said that<sup>538</sup> in performing Llocllay's Arrival festival in the old days, the people who celebrated used to dance first until sundown.<sup>539</sup>

Toward dusk, the *huaca's* priest would say, "Now our father is drunk; Let him dance!" And he would perform a dance "as if in his stead," as they used to say.

Saying, "It's our father who invites you!" he'd bring maize beer in one small wooden beaker, and put another one inside the shrine in a pot, saying, "It's he who drinks this."<sup>540</sup>

537. This sentence has witness validation.

538. 'It's said that' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the end of section 273.

539. *hura pachacama* 'until sundown': see chapter 8 (sec. 103), where the same locution occurs. Other possible readings are 'at the lowlands' and 'Pacha Camac'. The latter is problematic; if Pacha Camac were intended, one would expect final *c* and a locative suffix.

540. This is a description of drinking with paired vessels, one for the deity and one for the worshiper, a gesture of religious reciprocity pictured by Felipe Guaman Poma ([1615] 1980: 1:80).

274 Regarding this drinking: the priest, we know,<sup>541</sup> would offer drinks starting from the elders, all the way down to the end of the assembly.<sup>542</sup>

<A marginal addition in Quechua begins here:>

When they finished the round of drinking, they say,<sup>543</sup> the priest<sup>544</sup> would bring the gourd from which the demon had drunk outside, to where the guests were, so they could worship that gourd.

<Marginal addition ends.>

The following day he'd have them carry the leftovers and edible remains to Sucya Villca.

275 In the old days, the people who'd come to celebrate Llocllay Huancupa's Arrival reportedly<sup>545</sup> brought the food to Sucya Villca himself.

However, we know that<sup>546</sup> later on,<sup>547</sup> after finishing Llocllay Huancupa's feeding, people also fed Sucya Villca right at that spot.

In what follows, we'll write about these food offerings to Sucya Villca, and why they fed him, and also about who Pacha Camac was.

541. 'We know' supplied to indicate that this passage, to the end of the chapter, has witness validation. The marginal note has reportive *-si*.

542. 'Of the assembly' supplied.

543. 'They say' supplied to indicate that the marginal note has reportive validation.

544. 'The priest' supplied.

545. 'Reportedly' supplied to indicate reportive validation of this sentence.

546. 'We know that' supplied to indicate that this sentence and the remainder of the chapter have witness validation.

547. Possibly meaning after the Spanish conquest.

## CHAPTER 22

276

We don't in fact<sup>548</sup> know much about the Incas' great reverence for Pacha Camac.<sup>549</sup>

But we do know a few things. In the highlands, they say,<sup>550</sup> the Incas worshiped the sun as the object of their adoration from Titi Caca, saying,

"It is he who made us Inca!"

From the lowlands, they worshiped Pacha Camac, saying,

"It is he who made us Inca!"<sup>551</sup>

548. 'In fact' supplied to indicate witness validation, which predominates through the end of section 279. Some of the exceptions are conjectural *-cha* validations, translated with 'probably', 'it looks like', 'possibly', and 'no doubt'. It appears as though the source of these comments is giving his/her own understanding of Inca thought rather than relaying an informant's.

549. *yingacunap pacha camacta ancha yupaychascantaca manam allichu yachanchic*: Taylor (1987b: 329) has: "We do not know very well whether the Incas held Pachacamac in high esteem." But this seems the less likely of two possible readings, since the next few sections show that the speaker clearly knows the Incas did esteem him highly; in fact that is the point the chapter seeks to explain.

550. 'They say' supplied to indicate reportive validation of this sentence; however, the next sentence, which complements it, has witness validation.

551. *hanac ticsipi muchanantas ynticta titi caca-manta mucharcan caymi yngacta camahuarca ñispa hura ticsimantam canan pacha camac ñiscacta caymi yngacta camahuarca ñispatac mucharcan* 'In the highlands, they say, the Incas worshiped the sun as the object of their adoration from Titi Caca, saying, "It is he who made us Inca!" From the lowlands, they worshiped Pacha Camac, saying, "It is he who made us Inca!"': this passage opposes Titi Caca to Pacha Camac as respectively the world's 'upper' and 'lower foundations' (*hanac/hura ticsi*). While its specific sense is uncertain, it appears to

277 The Incas worshiped these two *huacas* most, far beyond all others, exalting them supremely and adorning them with their silver and gold, putting many hundreds of retainers at their service, and placing llama herds for their endowments in all the villages.

The llamas of Pacha Camac sent from the Checa people stayed at Sucya Villca.<sup>552</sup>

278 Here's how we interpret this.

The Inca probably thought, "The world ends somewhere in the waters of Ura Cocha that are below Titi Caca, and somewhere past the place they call Pacha Camac."<sup>553</sup> It looks like there is no village

report an imperial vision of place-shrines on the highest scale, namely, place-shrines categorizing the whole world as one place. The ritual duality expresses the wholeness of the world in the image of centrifugal imperial expansion: from the world's highland center to its maritime edge.

552. Sucya Villca was a lake; see chapter 21 (secs. 274, 275) and chapter 22 (secs. 281–282, 284). From chapter 21 (sec. 275) we see that in the teller's mind Sucya Villca and Pacha Camac are closely linked. María Rostworowski (1978: 43) says Sucya Villca was a plateau above San Bartolomé, 40 km northwest of Huarochirí, and that Sucya Cancha was there, too.

The complex of Sucya Villca and Sucya Cancha figures in the manuscript as the *coca* place par excellence. In chapter 8 (sec. 109), Sucya Cancha is a place of coca fields; in chapter 9 (sec. 124), it is the place where people went to 'trade' (*rantiy*) coca.

553. *cay ñiscanchic titi caca hura cochañicpiri pacha camac ñiscancunallapich pacha puchocan* 'The world ends somewhere in the waters of Ura Cocha that are below Titi Caca, and somewhere past the place they call Pacha Camac': a difficult passage. The teller perhaps thinks the Inca is reconciling two images of the edge of the