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LITERATURE, HISTORY OF IDEAS, AND RELIGION

Huarochirí Manuscript

A text analysis of the Huarochirí Manuscript

with focus on afterlife and worship

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Abstract

Based on the Huarochirí Manuscript, this thesis seeks to elaborate a picture of religious aspects in the culture of the Andean region of Huarochirí in late 16th and early 17th century. I decided to elaborate on two themes which are in the center of this research. My focus lies at first on afterlife concepts as they often have influence in religious thoughts and hence practices. Myth and ritual descriptions are scrutinized in order to obtain significant information about this theme. The second research part is concentrated on worship practices and to what extent people were obligated to perform rituals, and what freedoms in this context they had. Combined, these two themes present aspects of people's life with regard to religion in the transition period from pre-Spanish to colonial Andean society. The results show a continuation of Andean afterlife concepts but a change in related rituals. The same was recognized for general worship, as people were hiding their belief in pre-Spanish religious concepts under the pressure raised by Christian officials. Freedoms and obligations shifted from Andean to Catholic religion, while the economic pressure often increased, also, due to greedy catholic priests. With the help of previous research and the work of Jürgen Osterhammel on colonialism, my thesis is inspired and oriented on renowned scholarly inquiries. I worked with a qualitative content analysis and narrative analysis as described by Dag Ingvor Jacobsen, Göran Bergström and Kristina Boréus to obtain data from the text.

Keywords: Afterlife, Andean culture, Colonial theory, Conquistadors, Huaca, Huarochirí Manuscript, myth, narrative analysis, Peru, qualitative content analysis, ritual, worship.

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Chay simiri kaymi ...

(And the story is like this...)¹

1 Introduction

Blood, corpses and body parts were themes to the picture of forced cultural change in the Andes. They were also the precondition for the Huarochirí Manuscript and hence, for this thesis. During the process of this investigation, this thought never left my mind and made it sometimes difficult to prevent polemic or sarcasm of entering the following pages. However, this thesis is not about human atrocities and terror; it is about the change in religious behavior due to invasion and occupation.

It was the desire for gold and wealth which motivated the Conquistadores to slaughter² their way through an unknown land; it was also involved when the priest Francisco de Avila with the beginning of the 17th century started his campaign against what was then called idolatry. With the impressive title Extirpador de Idolatrías and the approval of the Catholic Church, he and his companions raided the country in search for treasures, leaving tortured and devastated people behind. Avila possessed intelligence in form of a manuscript which described local myths and rituals in the region of Huarochirí. It also provided information about places and huacas, and the priest just followed the descriptions which led him in many cases to the desired treasures.³

In the twentieth century the manuscript was rediscovered in Madrid and was henceforth known under the title Huarochirí Manuscript. Its origin and intentions may be accompanied by the dark side of human experience, but its existence today sheds light on this distant past

¹ The three main parts of this thesis are introduced by Quechua sentences from the original manuscript. This has an aesthetic purpose but also provides an opportunity for the reader to get an idea of the Quechua language; even if just very limited.

² I borrowed this term from Kim MacQuarrie as he used it to describe the Spanish behavior during the struggle for occupation. Kim MacQuarrie, *The last days of the Incas*, (London: Portrait, 2007), 84.

³ In the spirit of an interest-waking introduction, it is slightly poetical. For an extensive description of Avila's actions see: Frank Salomon and George L. Urioste, *The Huarochirí Manuscript* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991), 27; and Antonio Acosta, "Estudio biográfico sobre Francisco de Avila de Antonio," in *Ritos y tradiciones de Huarochirí: manuscrito quechua de comienzos del siglo XVII*, 1. ed. Antonio Acosta and Gerald Taylor (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1987), 551-616.

and on a people between two cultures. It provides a chance to discover cultural features or characteristics and some of them will be the focus in this thesis.

What defines a culture? There are probably many aspects which can be highlighted and the selection is surely related to the academic discipline or field oneself is involved with. The focus could lie on economics, art, language, or politics. However, since I am involved with the study of religion, this thesis is concentrated on religious aspects. Here too, further differentiation is needed in order to formulate a sufficient question which fits the parameter of this academic task. Thinking about religion and the consequences for the people involved, a major aspect of most religions are the religious rules. In case of the Abrahamic religions as well as for Hindu religions, Buddhism and many others, these rules are often sustained by ideas about the afterlife. There are other reasons why people follow religious rules, e.g. the love to a god or belief, but e.g. it is the idea of heaven and hell, in a Christian context, without which this religion would lose significance for many people. Without the promise of a good reincarnation or the threat of a bad one and the final promise to unite with him, a Krishna devotee would probably reevaluate his or her religious behavior. My point is, depending on convictions about the afterlife, believers shape their lives accordingly. Thus, afterlife conceptions can tell us a lot about cultural expressions because they are one of the reasons for religious rules, rituals and behaviors. Therefore one part of my thesis is dedicated to afterlife conceptions and related rituals revealed in the manuscript.

The second part of the thesis is occupied with discovering worship obligations and freedoms of the people, who lived in late 16th and early 17th century Huarochirí. The focus lies here on ritual descriptions in the text which are also connected to myth descriptions.

Combined, these two themes (of afterlife and worship) should provide enough material to describe religious characteristics in the culture of Huarochirí in late 16th and early 17th century and thereby create a picture which is both, worth to be shared and useful for further research.

1.1 Background

Time and Space

The topic of this thesis is very specific and at the same time, neither popular nor often highlighted by scholars. Previous research, which is briefly described further down, is often concerned with Inca society or Spanish colonization of the Andes. These topics however, are

not in my main focus, as it soon becomes clear. But they do provide valuable information which is incorporated in this thesis in order to reach accurate results. However, it is useful to implement a description of time and space in the beginning of my text to facilitate the understanding by providing an orientation. This part should be recognized as a brief overview and all mentioned information is discussed in detail during the thesis. Furthermore, there are some Quechua terms which are mentioned in the thesis. Their meaning is explained in the appendix.

I describe a period between the Spanish invasion and fully colonization of the region of Huarochirí (in what is now called Peru). It is a time of change, a clash of cultures, which is accompanied by conflicts, but also agreements. People during this period were influenced by the Spanish culture and thereby with Catholic religion and bureaucracy. Yet, the Spanish couldn't control the vast area completely and the Andean people kept part of their beliefs and traditions during this period.

The Manuscript describes the Andean region of Huarochirí which lies in the vicinity, east of Lima. The people in this area are **not Incas** by blood, but after the invasion of the Incas, their territory was dominated and ruled by them. Although the Incas dominated much of the Andes at their zenith, already before them, the different Andean cultures had common features. E.g. the Andean society knew a system of reciprocity, which I described explicit further down. It meant to give something in order to get something. A man helped his neighbor to build a new house and the neighbor returned the favor with the appropriate value. A lord needed support during a war campaign and the support was granted by another lord, under the condition of an expected repayment. This system was not tied to a particular people, but in usage throughout much of the Andean area. In the same way, the veneration of superhuman beings, even if they had different names and origins, had similar expressions in different groups. Offerings for example were essential to religious behavior.

Although there were hundreds of disparate languages and dialects, the most widespread were the Quechuan and Aymaran languages. Quechua was mainly spoken in the north part of the Andes, while Aymara was mainly the language of the south part. People in Huarochirí spoke Quechua and it is also the language of the manuscript. It is a valid point since most scriptures from this time are written in European languages, mostly Latin and the related Castilian. But what does the manuscript describe? The next part elucidates about the content of the manuscript.

The Manuscript

As it will become clear in the later presentation of the manuscript and its creation, there is an apparent Christian influence on the text. Since the manuscript was created to establish knowledge about Andean “idolatry”, a reader is not confronted with a continuous narrative. It is a collection of myth and descriptions of traditions and rituals (plus enumerations of names and dates), often complemented with comments about native contemporary behavior related to them. (Late 16th and early 17th century – contemporary to the author of the manuscript.) The first chapters contain mostly myth descriptions and the author commented on them as well. His comments are e.g.: “Regarding this story, we Christians believe it refers to the time of the flood. But they believe it was Villca Coto mountain that saved them.”⁴ or “Nevertheless, we don’t know the origins of the people of those days, nor where it was they emerged from.”⁵ or “Here’s what we Christian think about it: We think these stories tell of the darkness following the death of our Lord Jesus Christ. Maybe that’s what it was.”⁶ The last comment refers to a story about the disappearance of the sun. This story consists just of eight sentences and they constitute the whole chapter four. Other chapters are much more extensive and contain not just one myth or ritual description, but many which often relate to each other. Overall, we can read e.g. about humans who turn into stones, about mighty supernatural entities which fight each other, about Inca organized worship, the travel of gods, and 16th/ 17th century worship festivals. All the information in the script is related to the region of Huarochirí and worship places are described as well as directions to find them. Because of the comments, a reader is often reminded of the author’s Christian point of view and the purpose of the manuscript. One term which is continuously utilized in the text and in my thesis is the term *huaca*, and is therefore now explained.

Huaca

The term is interpreted by Salomon as superhuman being and also used in connection with religion, as in *huaca religion*. A *huaca* could be anything, from a stone to a mountain, from a mummy to a golden object or even a river. People believed that they were living supernatural beings with forces which could interfere in their lives. Offerings were necessary if believer wanted help from *huacas*. But to maintain live as it was, annual worship festivals were conducted in honor of the supreme *huacas* in the region. *Huacas* were responsible for rain,

⁴ Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 52.

⁵ Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 54.

⁶ Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 53.

fertility, or protection from enemies, hence, people had to take care of them. This short introduction was intended to provide an overview, an orientation, but all the information is described in detail in the respective chapters in this thesis.

1.2 Aim

This essay has the purpose to reveal religious elements and their influences on native people in the Andean region of Huarochirí, in the transition period from pre-colonial to colonial society, around 1600. My focus lies on themes about life - afterlife relations and worship. To elaborate a conclusive picture, two questions are formulated:

1. What does the myth and ritual descriptions reveal about afterlife ideas and what are the consequences for the believer, recognizable in the manuscript?
2. What does the manuscript reveal about worship responsibilities and freedoms?

Through answering these questions I hope to elaborate a conclusive picture about cultural circumstances with focus on religious aspects in the described time period and place. I further hope to contribute to the understanding of this distant society.

1.2.1 Restrictions

I'm conscious about that a dedicated scholar could fill monographs by elaborating answers to each one of my questions; unfortunately, I had to narrow my focus in order to fit the size of this academic educational task. By putting the manuscript in the center of this research, my results are based on what the manuscript reveals with regard to my questions. With more time and resources I would have collected as much appropriate documents as possible and worked with a comparative content analysis to elaborate a picture of the culture in Huarochirí. However, as many of them are previously scrutinized by other scholars, I use their interpretations to some extent. An interpretation of the manuscript without knowledge about the circumstances of its creation and the social political frame in which it was composed, would lead to arbitrary speculations. Therefore, literature concerning these topics is also included in this research.

The period in question can be seen as starting with the first Spanish influence in the region, which must have been after the invasion of the Spanish in 1532 and ends with the year 1608

when the manuscript first appeared in an ecclesiastical lawsuit. Although it is tempting to speculate about pre-Columbian belief and life, especially with regard to the myth descriptions, I cannot make inferences about the antecedents of myth or ritual characteristics and origins in pre Spanish times. It is certainly possible⁷ to find connections to sources about pre-Columbian religion and hence combine them with the descriptions given in the manuscript. However, limited time and access to resources restricted my research to the described period, and the Huarochirí region. In the manuscript itself one encounters different myths, gods and rituals, depending on which ayllu or village is described. This is also noticed in the manuscript when the author noted the difference of stories concerning religion: "...in each village, and even ayllu by ayllu, people give different versions, and different names, too."⁸ Therefore it is impossible to make conclusions about other places in the Andes, since I have to assume that they also have different myths, gods and rituals. Another aspect in early 17th century life in Huarochirí was Christianity and its growing influence. As the manuscript contains evidence and indications of Christian behavior, native Christian people as part of this society cannot just be ignored. However, a thorough investigation with regard to Christian themes based on the manuscript would have to be complemented with other sources (e.g. lawsuit papers and other 17th century documents) and pointing besides Christian ideology also and probably even more so at social political implications. Yet, without basic information about this topic, the findings in the manuscript would be unclear and distorted. Therefore I used secondary literature which is presented in the following chapter.

Another aspect has to be emphasized, which is that the author writes about different time periods. The oldest period can be called mythical or ancient or pre-Inca period, the following pre-Spanish or Inca period, and finally the transition period in the 16th and 17th century. By reading the manuscript, it is more often than not clear to which period the author refers. But because the myth and ritual descriptions were collected in the transition period, it follows that people still knew these stories and were telling them; therefore the knowledge about them was imbedded in the Huarochirí culture. In this context it is possible to use these stories in an inquiry about the transition period, even when they describe the "old times" or "Inca times".

⁷ E.g. done by Karen Spalding and Maria Rostworowski de Diez Canseco mentioned in chapter 1.2.4 Previous Research.

⁸ Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 87. Ayllu is a group or society in which the members are related by blood linages or connected by shared believes, behaviors and practices. The term is explicit explained in chapter: 1.3.6 Terms.

Given the landscape in Huarochirí, with deep valleys, plateaus, and high mountains and the distribution of settlements plus available communication at the time, it strongly indicates that people were differently influenced by the Spanish invaders. Therefore, in creating a picture of this society, one has to keep in mind that there were natives already fully converted to Christianity and those almost untouched by it and everything in between. Thus, by looking at e.g. described afterlife ideas in the manuscript, I can make only limited statements about what was known (probably to most natives) and what was still believed (by many). This differentiation is part of the picture I try to develop.

1.3 Material

As said above, my thesis is based on the Huarochirí Manuscript. It is written in Quechua language which I cannot read. There are translations available which vary in their quality and purposes. After analyzing evaluations and literature regarding these translations, I decided to work with Frank Salomon and George L. Urioste's translation and complement it with the PhD thesis from Sabine Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz. All three scholars are Quechua experts with excellent knowledge about the manuscript. After a short presentation of their work I continue to list and briefly describe other previous researches. Thereafter follows a paragraph dedicated to research and information on the authorship of the manuscript and a summary about utilized terms in this essay. In order to give the reader of my thesis a context to facilitate the understanding, I will start with an introduction of the Huarochirí Manuscript.

1.3.1 Huarochiri Manuscript - A Short Introduction

In 1933, Julián Paz produced for the first time a catalog of American manuscripts in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid. The catalog listed an item with the number 3169.⁹ The Huarochiri Manuscript is the fourth in a collection of six manuscripts which are bound together and belonged to Francisco de Avila in the beginning of the 17th century.¹⁰ The Huarochiri Manuscript provides no information about title, author or date of creation,

⁹ Sabine Dedenbach-Salazar Saenz, "Die Stimmen von Huarochirí, Indianische Quechua-Überlieferungen aus der Kolonialzeit zwischen Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit eine Analyse ihres Diskurses" (PhD diss. Universität Bonn, 2003), 148.

¹⁰ Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 24.

therefore, when listed the first words of the text are used as a title. “*Runa yn.° niscap Machoncuna*”¹¹ (The ancestors of the Indian)

The manuscript is mainly written in Quechua language with an alphabet, introduced in Andean society by Spanish colonialists. It contains 31 Chapters and two supplements. There are two different types of descriptions, one of which is telling myths and stories, while the second one describes rituals. The myths describe huacas, men, and animals which interact with each other, and consist of stories from three different periods. One period is the mythological,¹² pre Inca time, another one is the Inca period and the last one is the early 17th century time, contemporary to the author of the script. The second type of description explains rituals and connected events, which are also placed in the previously described three periods. Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz differentiates these two types according to myth and ritual descriptions without regard to the different periods.¹³

Around seventy years after the conquistadors occupied this territory, people in Huarochiri were already used to the Spanish presence, to Christianity and European administration. Nevertheless, they were still living in a time of transition and adaptation.¹⁴ Ambitious Christian missionaries were determined to create new pious Christians and to destroy what they called idolatry and misbeliefs.¹⁵ At the same time, they brought the Latin alphabet to the Andes and thereby a possibility to preserve myth and tradition for later generations. Although, scripture provided a tool to do so, it was seldom used in this way and commonly utilized to administrate the colony or for church organization purposes. The Huarochiri Manuscript is therefore valuable to scholars, since it presents a window to a lost culture, a documentation of folk myth, and traditions and practices during the transition period.

The Huarichiri Manuscript was written in or in the near of what is still today the Huarochiri region which is situated in the vicinity east of Lima. The exact year of the manuscript's creation is unknown, however, in 1608, Father Francisco de Avila wrote a text which is partly based on the Huarochiri Manuscript and probably used as intelligence to attack and wipe out

¹¹ Dedenbach-Salazar Saènz, “Die Stimmen von Huarochirí,” 148.

¹² We call it the mythological period, the natives talk about times when gods were born or the world was created.

¹³ Dedenbach-Salazar Saènz, “Die Stimmen von Huarochirí,” 119.

¹⁴ Dedenbach-Salazar Saènz, “Die Stimmen von Huarochirí,” 456.

¹⁵ Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 25-27; Hanns J. Prem, *Geschichte Altamerikas*, 2.ed. (München: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 2008), 99-101.

still existing precolonial beliefs. We do not know if Avila authorized the manuscript, or edited, or even wrote parts of it. Although it is possible that he was creating or partook in its creation, his own text, *Tratado y relación de los errores*, contains parts of the Huarochiri Manuscript and therefore proves his knowledge about it and its existence in 1608.¹⁶ The content of the manuscript reveals a distance but also a proximity to Andean precolonial beliefs, which is an indication of different authors and a final editing stage.¹⁷ One can encounter comments which ask in Spanish after a certain place or remind the supposed reader to search for a named place or huaca. Sometimes the huaca, especially in the later chapters are called demons, a clear hint for the Christian surroundings of the manuscript creation and intended usage.¹⁸ On several places in the manuscript Avila is named and his “positive” role in the community emphasized or implied.¹⁹ On the other hand, the opening lines of the script suggest a positive attitude towards the indigenous culture.

If the ancestors of the people called Indians had known
writing in earlier times, then the lives they lived
would not have faded from view until now.

As the mighty past of the Spanish Vira Cochas is
visible until now, so, too, would their's be.

But since things are as they are, and since nothing has
been written until now,

I set forth here the lives of the ancestors of the Huaro
Cheri people, who all descend from one forefather;

What faith they held, how they live until now, those
things and more.

Village by village it will all be written down: how they
lived from their dawning age onward.²⁰

The positive attitude is clearly visible in these lines, and in later chapters, the narrator uses the phrase: “We speak of them as the Purum Runa, ‘people of the desolation’.” indicating his own

¹⁶ *Tratado y relación de los errores* belongs to the six manuscripts of item nr. 3169 in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid. Frank Salomon on page 24 and Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz on page 5 and 148 describing the *Tratado*. Both recognize the connection to the Huarochirí Manuscript as Avila commenting on its first 7 Chapters.

¹⁷ Dedenbach-Salazar Saènz, “Die Stimmen von Huarochirí,” 4,5; Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 24.

¹⁸ Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 107.

¹⁹ Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, e.g. 74, 103, 120.

²⁰ Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 1,2.

native ancestry.²¹ Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz suggested an early native effort to document the pre-conquest Andean culture. “Ich vermute allerdings, daß das Manuskript nicht erst zu jener Zeit und nicht in diesem Rahmen entstand, sondern früher und zunächst auf eine Initiative Einheimischer hin.”²² With regard to the opening lines, it is not unlikely.

1.3.2 Frank Salomon & George L. Urioste – The Huarochiri Manuscript

My main material and source for this thesis is the translation of the Huarochiri Manuscript by Frank Salomon and George L. Urioste.²³ Their book, *The Huarochirí Manuscript: A Testament of Ancient and Colonial Andean Religion*, 1991, consists of an introductory essay by Salomon, the translation by both authors and a transcription by Urioste. The essay by Salomon was very helpful to establish an overview about the manuscript itself and its possible origins. Combined with Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz’s thesis (who also commented on Salomon’s work) it is the basis for my work.

I decided to work with the translation by Salomon and Urioste after an examination of available book reviews and responses by other Scholars. In his 1993 published book review on *The Huarochirí Manuscript: A Testament of Ancient and Colonial Andean Religion*, Gery Urton (Dumbarton Oaks Professor of Pre-Columbian Studies at Harvard University; Department of Anthropology) called it “...the first reliable translation into English.” and wrote further: “The Huarochiri Manuscript is obviously the result of years of thoughtful and intelligent collaboration between Salomon and Urioste.”²⁴ Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz mentioned Salomon’s essay and translation on several occasions in her thesis, either agreeing with him or utilizing his statements in her argumentation.²⁵ Joanne Rappaport (Professor at Georgetown University, Department of Anthropology) emphasized in her review that, the translation from Salomon and Urioste “... evokes the essentially oral nature of this written

²¹ Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 54.

²² Dedenbach-Salazar Saènz, “Die Stimmen von Huarochirí,” 5. (My transl.: I suspect, however, that the manuscript was not created at that time and not in this context, but earlier and initially due to a local initiative.)

²³ Frank Salomon is a Professor of Anthropology and at the University of Wisconsin- Madison since 1982. George L. Urioste is professor at the University of Nevada in Las Vegas.

²⁴ Gary Urton, “The Huarochirí Manuscript: A Testament of Ancient and Colonial Andean Religion by Frank Salomon; George L. Urioste,” *American Anthropologist New Series*, Vol. 95, March 1993; Accessed March 20, 2014, <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.bib.hh.se/stable/pdfplus/681259.pdf?acceptTC=true&acceptTC=true&jpdConfirm=true>.

²⁵ Dedenbach-Salazar Saènz, “Die Stimmen von Huarochirí,” e.g. 73, 107, 129, 220 and 274.

document.” She continued to describe the positive work of the translators and finished with: “... it allows the indigenous voice in all its complexity to become linguistically and conceptually accessible to English readers.”²⁶ Similar to Rappaport, Maria A. Benavides (Professor at Ohio University, Sociedad Geografica de Lima, and The Latin American Association for Afro-Asian ALADAA) mentioned the advantage of this translation because of its ability to transmit the original oral nature of the texts. However, she especially emphasizes the introduction by Salomon for its factual accuracy and the comprehensible structure and articulation of the text. “The major ethno historical contribution in this volume may well be Salomon's brilliant introductory essay (38 pages).”²⁷

Overall, since it was important to find an accurate translation of the Quechua text into a language I could read, Salomon's and Urioste's book appeared to be the best choice. Other translations are into a language which I don't speak (e.g. into French) or they possess, in the case of the German translation, equal quality but are older and therefore just second choice.

1.3.3 Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz – Die Stimmen von Huarochirí

Sabine Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz²⁸ wrote a PhD thesis in 2003 based on her research on the Huarochiri Manuscript. Her aim was to widen our understanding of the Quechua text by emphasizing the transformation from oral to writing traditions and furthermore, to introduce a new method, connected to postmodern approaches, which utilized discourse analyzes and interdisciplinary work, combining ethnohistory, linguistic and literary science. As an expert on Quechua language, she translated parts of the Huarochiri Manuscript for her thesis and utilized linguistic and literary science to reveal patterns and differences in the text which were helpful in elaborating a picture of the transformation process from oral to writing tradition. By complementing her findings with information from the discipline of ethnohistory, e.g. about social and political life in the 17th century Andean society, she obtains knowledge which

²⁶ Joanne Rappaport, "Frank Salomon and George L. Urioste, trans.: The Huarochiri Manuscript: A Testament of Ancient and Colonial Andean Religion (Book Review)." *Ethnohistory*, January 1, 1993; accessed March 20, 2014, <http://web.a.ebscohost.com.ezproxy.bib.hh.se/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?sid=b3b09989-38a2-4723-bcee-8a59013de141%40sessionmgr4001&vid=2&hid=4209>.

²⁷ María A. Benavides, "The Huarochirí Manuscript: A Testament of Ancient and Colonial Andean Religion by Frank Salomon; George L. Urioste Review," *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. 74, August 1994; accessed March 20, 2014, <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.bib.hh.se/stable/pdfplus/2517916.pdf?acceptTC=true&acceptTC=true&jpdConfirm=true>.

²⁸ Sabine Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz is currently lecturer in Latin American Studies at the University of Stirling, United Kingdom.

enables the reader of her thesis to understand the circumstances of the manuscript's creation and how to approach and to work with the content of the text itself.²⁹

I use her thesis for exactly those reasons, to understand the time of the manuscript's creation and for a better understanding of the text types and their differences. Furthermore, her thesis provided valuable clues and evaluations on previous works on the manuscript which were very helpful in finding a translation most suitable for my own project.

1.3.4 Previous Research

This chapter focuses on research regarding the Huarochirí Manuscript. It will not consider text, myth or ritual research made on other documents. Although they could be useful for my research, the time and resource limitations for this essay permit neither a closer nor an exhausting overview about these themes. However, with regard to my methodical and theoretical approach, some major works and researches are mentioned in the chapter 1.3 Method.

The most common research on the manuscript was done in connection with translation efforts. The manuscript was published in Dutch, English, French, German, Latin, Polish, and Spanish language³⁰, whereas the following are worth mentioning. José Maria Arguedas *Dioses y Hombres de Huarochirí* (1966) was the first complete Spanish translation and contained an elaboration on the origins of the text with focus on Francisco de Avila.³¹ Gerald Taylor's translation into Spanish, *Ritos y Tradiciones de Huarochirí* (1987)³² contains a chapter by Antonio Acosta, *Estudio biográfico sobre Francisco de Avila*, which deals with the origin and Francisco de Avila's role in its creation.³³ Jorge Lagos and Luis Galdames focus in their research on philosophical aspects. In "Entimemas y principios andinos en los Mitos de

²⁹ Dedenbach-Salazar Saènz, "Die Stimmen von Huarochirí,"

³⁰ Dedenbach-Salazar Saènz, "Die Stimmen von Huarochirí," 6.

³¹ José Maria Arguedas and Pierre Duviols, *Dioses y hombres de Huarochirí. Narración quechua recogida por Francisco de Avila 1598*, (Lima: Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos/Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1966).

³² Gerald Taylor and Antonio Acosta, *Ritos y tradiciones de Huarochirí: manuscrito quechua de comienzos del siglo XVII*, 1. ed. (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1987).

³³ Acosta, "Estudio biográfico,".

Huarochirí” (2007)³⁴, published in *Estudios Filológicos*, the scholars show a connection between a myth from the Huarochirí Manuscript and the structure of enthymemes which are informally stated syllogisms.³⁵ Karen Spalding elaborated a picture of precolonial society in the Andes in *Huarochirí: an Andean society under Inca and Spanish rule*, (1984), by using besides other sources the Huarochirí Manuscript.³⁶ Maria Rostworowski de Diez Canseco used the manuscript in the same way in her publication of *Historia del Tahuantinsuyu* (1988).³⁷ She focused her work on political structures and connections between the different parts, especially between the mountain and coastal areas, of the Inca Empire. She also published a study about the connection between religious ideology and politics, including a gender analysis of the huacas under the title: *Estructuras andinas del poder: ideología religiosa y política*, in which she also made use of the huaca descriptions in the Huarochirí Manuscript³⁸. Another research with focus on the authorship of the manuscript was done by Alan Durston and published in *Colonial Latin American Review* in 2007 under the title *Notes on the Authorship of the Huarochirí’ Manuscript*.³⁹ As I described their efforts already above, I left out the works of Frank Salomon and Sabine Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz.

I will not conclude that there is no research made which attempts to answer the same questions as I try to do, however, my investigation points at this possibility. The chosen topic is not as popular as e.g. Islam research and e.g. internet search machines produced much less appropriate hits than in the case of the given example. I understand that research on the Huarochirí Manuscript has often focused on the authorship or to obtain clues to Inca and precolonial society. The research of Spalding and Rostworowski is the most relevant for my project with respect to life circumstances around 16th and 17th century, and therefore utilized in this essay.

³⁴ Jorge Lagos and Luis Galdames, “Entimemas y principios andinos en los Mitos de Huarochirí,” *Estudios Filológicos*, Vol 42, September 2007; accessed May 16, 2014, http://www.scielo.cl/scielo.php?script=sci_pdf&pid=S0071-17132007000100006&lng=es&nrm=iso&tlng=es.

³⁵ Syllogisms are a form of logical arguments. This research is mentioned in order to give an adequate research overview.

³⁶ Karen Spalding, *Huarochirí: an Andean society under Inca and Spanish rule* (Stanford: Stanford U.P., 1984).

³⁷ Maria Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, *Historia del Tahuantinsuyu*, 1a ed. (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1988).

³⁸ Maria Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, *Estructuras andinas del poder: ideología religiosa y política*, 1. ed. (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1983).

³⁹ Alan Durston, “Notes on the Authorship of the Huarochirí,” *Colonial Latin American Review*, Vol. 16, December 2007; accessed March 20, 2014, <http://web.a.ebscohost.com.ezproxy.bib.hh.se/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?sid=fc92cbe4-6b88-46b1-9e07-f6c737ff72ef%40sessionmgr4004&vid=2&hid=4112>.

1.3.5 Authorship of the Huarochirí Manuscript

As already described above, the author of the manuscript is unknown, which is true if one considers the uncertainty of information about an event, taken place 400 years ago. However, it is important to get as close as possible to a conceivable writer and origins. Naturally, Salomon and Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz dedicated parts of their research efforts to this topic.

For Salomon, Francisco de Avila (1573?-1647), was not directly involved in the writing of the manuscript.⁴⁰ But he most probably used it first to defend himself in an ecclesiastical lawsuit and later its intelligence to conduct massive anti huaca campaigns in 1612 and 1613. Antonio Acosta wrote about the connection between manuscript and Avila's way through the region of Huarochirí:

En estos dos años Avila declaró haber visitado 35,000 indios, convirtiéndose así en un experto extirpador gracias a su fuente secreta. Siguiendo su itinerario geográfico, pues, resulta bastante claro que la narración mitológica se convirtió en una inapreciable ayuda para Avila, sirviéndole de guía en sus visitas.⁴¹

Avila destroyed countless sacred places and mummies, caused great sufferings amongst the natives and secured him and his Christian and Spanish allies an income, since they had the right to keep treasures which they found on native sacred places.⁴² Salomon relies mainly, but not exclusively on Antonio Acosta's work, a source which is also used by Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz. Acosta describes the surroundings of the manuscript's origins as sinister. There is Avila, a priest who is accused with a list of serious allegations, beside others, claiming that he had sex with native women, some even married.

Pero Avila daba lugar también a otras quejas de los indios que no eran simplemente de carácter económico. Se trataba, sobre todo, de acusaciones sobre relaciones sexuales con varias mujeres de la comunidad.⁴³

There were also other reasons for this lawsuit as Salomon wrote:

Like many other curates, he was said to collect huge amounts of native crops and sell them for private profit.

⁴⁰ Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 24.

⁴¹ Acosta, "*Estudio biográfico*," 597. (My transl.: In these two years Avila declared to have visited 35,000 Indians, thus becoming an expert extirpador thanks to his secret source. Following his geographical journey, then it is quite clear that the mythological narrative became an invaluable aid to Avila, serving as a guide for his visits.)

⁴² Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 27.

⁴³ Acosta, "*Estudio biográfico*," 574. (My transl.: But Avila also gave rise to other complaints of the Indians who were not simply economic. It was, above all, allegations of sex with several women in the community.)

But Avila may have gone too far in helping himself to his parishioners' labor, which he used to support his partly illegal business enterprises in gunpowder, charcoal, and textile manufacture and to build himself a house in Lima using beams he made his parishioners remove from the roofs of their pre-resettlement village.⁴⁴

According to Salomon, the final push into the lawsuit was the plan of the priest Avila to build a textile fabric. Salomon describes the origin of the manuscript by quoting Acosta saying that the manuscript was ordered by Avila as a reaction to the acquisitions, as a kind of revenge and a career enhancing measure. Avila wanted to underline his honest intentions and that the acquisitions against him were forged because of his struggle against idolatry. Salomon mentions also the involvement of a man called Cristobal Choque Casa, an intimate of Avila and of native origins. For Salomon this character played a key role in and around Avila's lawsuit and the creation of the manuscript. Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz, does not specify his involvement as much as Salomon does, but renders him a possible role in editing the manuscript.⁴⁵

In his article, "Notes on the Authorship of the Huarochiri' Manuscript" (2007)⁴⁶, Alan Durston (associate professor at York University, Department for History) elaborates on a possible authorship and identifies Cristobal Choquecasa⁴⁷ as the writer and editor of the manuscript. According to him, Cristóbal Choquecasa had the means, knowledge and motivation to write it. Durston parallels the statements of Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz and Salomon with respect to a possible order of the manuscript given by Avila, or at least a close connection between him and the author. However, what is stated by all three scholars is the utility of the manuscript. Its information was successfully used in an effort to expel Andean precolonial beliefs by the Extirpators of Idolatries, amongst them Francisco de Avila.⁴⁸ That would have been impossible if the manuscript contained false information. Thus, the Huarochiri Manuscript contains information about Andean beliefs and traditions which were written down in an effort to obtain intelligence about these beliefs and traditions and therefore, seen in this context are reliable. However, Salomon warns the reader: "The papers

⁴⁴ Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochiri' Manuscript*, 25.

⁴⁵ Dedenbach-Salazar Saènz, "Die Stimmen von Huarochiri," 83, 85.

⁴⁶ Durston, "Notes on the Authorship."

⁴⁷ The three sources contain different spellings of the same name: Durston: Cristóbal Choquecasa; Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz: Cristóbal Choquecaxas; Salomon: Cristobal Choque Casa.

⁴⁸ Dedenbach-Salazar Saènz, "Die Stimmen von Huarochiri," 5; Durston, "Notes on the Authorship,"; Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochiri' Manuscript*, 28.

born of this effort offer ethnographic evidence, but because of their heavy ideological freight must be read with caution.”⁴⁹

1.3.6 Ritual and Myth

Since I have focused on ritual and myth descriptions a short explanation is in order. There is much debate on what defines a ritual. I don't want to join this debate, but have no attentions to simply ignore what other scholars have to say about it. I choose to combine statements of Robert A. Segal, Catherine M. Bell and Roy A. Rappaport to justify my elected ritual examples from the manuscript.

Robert A. Segal begins his chapter about ritual with the following sentence: “Whatever else ritual means, it means action.”⁵⁰ Yet, everything people do is action and Segal continues to give an overview about theoretical thoughts on ritual for further differentiation. However, action is a good starting point for a ritual definition. How do I define an action as ritual? According to Catherine M. Bell, one can search for six characteristic which reveal a possible ritual nature of an action. These characteristic are formalism, traditionalism, invariance, rule-governance, sacral symbolism and performance.⁵¹ Most of these characteristics are found in the ritual descriptions in the manuscript. Bell further states that a ritual has to be understood in the social context in which it is performed, and that it depends on concepts of belief.⁵² All ritual descriptions in the manuscript are connected to the belief in the huacas and placed in the social context of the Andean natives in Huarochirí.

Even Rappaport listed a number of characteristics which could reveal a ritual. The foremost one for him is formalism; although it does not necessarily means that an action is ritualized because it contains formalized performance. Other characteristics are, the legitimation through others, invariance, and performance.⁵³ Similar to Bell's characteristics, even Rappaport's list can be successfully applied to the descriptions in the Huarochirí Manuscript.

⁴⁹ Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 28.

⁵⁰ Robert A. Segal, “Myth and Ritual,” in *The Routledge companion to the study of religion*, 2. ed., ed. John R. Hinnells (London: Routledge, 2010), 387.

⁵¹ Catherine M. Bell, *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 139-164.

⁵² Catherine M. Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 19.

⁵³ Roy A. Rappaport, *Ritual and Religion in the Making of Humanity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 32-46.

The manuscript, especially in the beginning, describes myth from the region of Huarochirí. They present mostly theogonies, but contain also stories which have characteristics of eschatologies and cosmogonies. These stories are not incomprehensibly abstract; moreover, their characters resemble other Native American figures, e.g. the trickster figure⁵⁴ which is also known in European folk literature, in the Märchen der Gebrüder Grimm.⁵⁵ These stories are called myth by Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz⁵⁶ and Salomon⁵⁷, but what defines them as myth?

In his book⁵⁸ Robert A. Segal gives a definition of myth which is grounded in his expert knowledge about the works of e.g. E.B.Tylor (1832-1917), J.G. Frazer (1854-1941), Bronislaw Malinowski (1884-1942), Lucien Lévy-Bruhl (1857-1939), Claude Lévi-Strauss (1908-2009), and Mircea Eliade (1907-1986).⁵⁹ For Segal, a myth (interesting for a scholar of religion) is a story containing contents about a god or similar concepts. A myth can also be about humans and animals which are involved in something significant in the past or present. The story must be significant for the reader and also present a conviction.⁶⁰ In the Huarochirí stories, the reader encounters gods, humans and animals, which are involved in the creating of the world as it was for the people in Huarochirí four hundred years ago. There are explanations for huaca and worship, the origins of lakes and mountains and also the social structures of the culture.⁶¹

1.4 Method

The following lines reveal the methods I choose and the justifications for their selection. Further down I describe the application of the chosen methods, and additionally I outline the overall process of my investigation.

⁵⁴ Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 46, 54; and in Eva M. Thury and Margaret Klopfle Devinney, *Introduction to mythology: contemporary approaches to classical and world myths*, 2. ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 295.

⁵⁵ Wilhelm Solms, *Die Moral von Grimms Märchen* (Darmstadt: Primus-Verlag, 1999).

⁵⁶ Dedenbach-Salazar Saènz, "Die Stimmen von Huarochirí,".

⁵⁷ Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*.

⁵⁸ Robert A. Segal, *Myth: a very short introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 4-6.

⁵⁹ Segal, "Myth and Ritual," 372-387; and Segal, *Myth: a very* 14ff.

⁶⁰ Segal, *Myth: a very*, 4-6.

⁶¹ Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 5-7.

1.4.1 Method presentation

There are surely questions to a scripture which could justify a quantitative approach in a utilized content analysis. However, since I don't want to provide statistics about how many llamas were butchered due to ritual processes described in the Huarochirí Manuscript, or make statements about certain ceremonies based on measurable units in connection with them, I chose to work with a qualitative content analysis.⁶² This gave me the opportunity and ability not just to collect data, but also to interpret text statements and to set different elements in relation with each other in order to reach conclusive and meaningful results. In this way, implicit information became visible and hence could be utilized. To facilitate such a work, it is necessary to implement methodic tools; in my case selection criteria, which are based on the essay's purpose.⁶³ Afterlife and death was one criterion and bound to the first question. For the second question the criteria were the ritual descriptions which make reliable statements about the actual human involvement in religion and religious practices. Any attempt to condensate such information from the myth texts would, according to my estimation, only lead to highly speculative conclusions which in order to fill them with reliability, had to be scrutinized with other methods and complemented with other text sources. However, the chosen selection criteria produce information which can then be analyzed.⁶⁴

Because of the complex cultural circumstances and motivations for the creation of the manuscript which are mentioned above, another important aspect had to be considered. This is how the text is presented to us; which formulation are used and for which purpose. Such an analysis is called narrative analysis.⁶⁵ I use this method to detect eventual existing influences on the text, especially through Christian involvement, which could distort the outcome of the content analysis.⁶⁶

⁶² Dag Ingvar Jacobsen, *Vad, hur och varför: om metodval i företagsekonomi och andra samhällsvetenskapliga ämnen* (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2002), 142.

⁶³ Göran Bergström and Kristina Boréus, *Textens mening och makt: metodbok i samhällsvetenskaplig text- och diskursanalys*, 3.ed. (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2012), 54.

⁶⁴ Bergström and Boréus, *Textens mening*, 50.

⁶⁵ Bergström and Boréus, *Textens mening*, 25.

⁶⁶ Bergström and Boréus, *Textens mening*, 260.

1.4.2 Process and Method Application

The first decision was made by choosing the Huarochirí Manuscript as the basic source for my research. To my understanding, previous research focused mainly on its history, form and language and content regarding historical events. In order to decide a particular topic which could be matched with the manuscript, I read it to establish a first understanding and to obtain possible research themes. It became clear that the myth and ritual descriptions permitted a closer look at religious expressions and behaviors. My personal interest and the information available in the manuscript shaped the two questions formulated in my aim-paragraph.

The next step was to find the right or most applicable and promising method to scrutinize the text. This resulted in the decision for the qualitative content analysis and qualitative narrative analysis as described above. I then proceeded by structuring the text according to the themes of the questions. As already mentioned these left me with different categories. For the first theme (afterlife) I selected the chapters 1, 5, 6, 9, 14, 24, 25, 27, 28, and 30. They all contained information about death or afterlife. I also separated myth descriptions (chapter 1, 5, 6, 14, 25, 27, and 30) from ritual descriptions (chapter 9, 24, and 28). Both types were then compared and with regard to similarities and differences, a picture of death and afterlife ideas was elaborated.

For the second question, I concentrated on the ritual descriptions. I classified them into three categories; whereas the first two contain descriptions which were selected after the character of the rituals (voluntary or obligated). When a story described a person who went to a huaca in order to ask for a personal favor, the story was situated in the category freedom of worship. When a story described persons or a group which partook e.g. in a ritual in order to ask for rain, or participated in rituals with pure worship reasons (e.g. for the greatness of a god), the worship was assessed as obligated. The third category contains descriptions of worship reality in the times of the manuscript's creation. I recognized that the author of the manuscript told two versions of most rituals. Often, the (for the author) original behavior was described first, followed by the version of the contemporary practiced ritual. This is an advantage for my research, since not only the change of ritual behavior is described, but often also the motivation behind rituals becomes evident. E.g.: The ritual descriptions about food deposits on churches and graveyards do not tell much about obligation and freedom. If we know the pre-Spanish tradition to take care of the dead, to dress and feed them in order to provide for them, but also to avoid the wrath of disappointed ancestors, then it is possible to create a

comprehensive explanation. To purely describe worship behavior (in 17th century) without the original ritual behavior would result in an incomplete picture of this culture. With additional descriptions of life circumstances in the Andes, based on secondary literature, I further believe to raise the reliability of my results.

During the analyzing process, I included information about the Christian involvement and life circumstances without which my results would miss a foundation. As all changes in religious behavior were generated by the Spanish occupation, my research needed to be grounded on such information. In a final effort I summarized my results in order to convey an understandable picture of religious thoughts and behavior in the culture of Huarochirí during the transition period.

1.5 Colonialism Theory

The Huarochirí Manuscript as already described, was written in a Spanish colony. The purpose was to collect information about Andean indigenous culture with focus on religious phenomena and expressions. The presented descriptions alone however, were not sufficient to produce a picture of the Huarochirí culture in this thesis, as explained above. I had to combine the information from the manuscript with information drawn from secondary literature about the circumstances of the manuscripts creation and the political, social and economic circumstances at the time. A suitable theory needed to be broad enough to cover all relevant data. Such a broad and also comprehensive theory was presented by Jürgen Osterhammel.⁶⁷

His theory illuminates the connections between the colonialists and the colonized, with regard to areas of economy, occupation, resistance, society, indigenous culture and religion. Some of these areas are of minor importance for this thesis and of course, Osterhammel's statements about religious developments within colonies present a greater relevance. With the following few paragraphs I briefly describe his theory with emphasis on, for my thesis relevant components.

Colonialism theory a brief overview

Osterhammel's approach to colonialism begins with a historical overview and a differentiation between a variety of expansions in history. He mentioned:

⁶⁷ His book, *Colonialism*, was first published in German 1995, later translated into English and since then several times republished. The latest publication by C.H.Beck Verlag appeared in 2012.

1. Total migration of entire populations and societies.
2. Mass individual migration.
3. Border colonization.
4. Overseas settlement colonization.
5. Empire building wars of conquest.
6. Construction of naval networks⁶⁸

The Spanish expansion into South America is classified under the title *Empire building wars of conquest*. A further classification brought forward by Osterhammel describes the different types of colonies.

1. Exploitation colonies.
2. Maritime enclaves.
3. Settlement colonies.⁶⁹

The Spanish South American colonies are classified under the first category, *exploitation colonies*. Characteristics for such colonies are:

- They are often a consequence of conquest with military means, after a period of contact without land claims.
- Their purpose is to exploit the conquered area, with help of tribute, taxation, and the use of natural resources. They should also enhance the national prestige and securing imperial politics.
- Generally, they have a low number of colonists, which after serving as soldiers, bureaucrats or businessmen returning to their home country.
- They often are controlled by the mother country with a governor system.⁷⁰

Although, many theoretical features described in the book can be recognized in the writings concerned with Latin American history⁷¹, Osterhammel gives the Iberian South American colonies a somewhat special status. While the segregation between Europeans and natives was maintained in most colonies; in the Latin American case, the European minority began to mix

⁶⁸ Osterhammel, Colonialism, 4-9.

⁶⁹ Osterhammel, Colonialism, 10,11,12

⁷⁰ Osterhammel, Colonialism, 10,11.

⁷¹ I mentioned them in chapter 1.3.4.

with the natives and the group of creole or mestizo became later the political dominant social group in South America.⁷²

Having established an overview about the different types of expansions and colonies and their characteristics, Osterhammel elaborated on a definition of colonialism with the following result:

Colonialism is a relationship of domination between an indigenous (or forcible imported) majority and a minority of foreign invaders. The fundamental decisions affecting the lives of the colonized people are made and implemented by the colonial rulers in pursuit of interests that are often defined in a distant metropolis. Rejecting cultural compromises with the colonized population, colonizers are convinced of their own superiority and of their ordained mandate to rule.⁷³

In the case of Huarochirí, as part of the Latin American colonies, the sentence: “Rejecting cultural compromises with the colonized population,…” has to be seen critical, because of the rise of the mestizo population and the inevitable mix of cultural expressions. Nonetheless, Osterhammel emphasizes the unique character of every single colony, due to differences in politics, native culture, colonial purposes and not at least the local climate and geographical peculiarities.⁷⁴ Therefore, I believe that his definition is sufficient enough to account for the South American and also for the Huarochirí colonial situation.

Osterhammel continues to describe the characteristics of colonial empires. Thereby he mentions also the downfall of the Spanish Empire, due to the independence of the Latin American States and the Spanish–American War in 1898.⁷⁵ With the examples of Belgium, Netherlands and the United States he named colonial powers which could not be called Empires, simply because of their limited geographical spreading and number of colonies. He then briefly but comprehensively describes the differences of colonialism and imperialism. According to Osterhammel, one of colonialism’s main characteristic is the idea to be superior and that one has a responsibility to care for the colonial subjects.⁷⁶ With regard to the Spanish colonies in Latin America, the belief of spreading the righteous religion, Christianity, was one of the official motivations and justifications for the Spanish colonial efforts.

On the other hand, imperialism seeks to control and manipulate as many foreign nations and countries as possible with the intention to secure national prosperity, safety and other

⁷² Osterhammel, *Colonialism*, 9.

⁷³ Osterhammel, *Colonialism*, 16,17.

⁷⁴ Osterhammel, *Colonialism*, 4, 51.

⁷⁵ Osterhammel, *Colonialism*, 18.

⁷⁶ Osterhammel, *Colonialism*, 22.

interests. “Imperialism presupposes the will and the ability of an imperial center to *define* as imperial its own national interests and enforce them worldwide in the anarchy of the international system.”⁷⁷

The next part in Osterhammel’s theory is more interesting for this thesis. Here he elaborates on the question, why the colonial powers were usually successful in their campaigns. According to him, the technical advantages were most certainly one reason, but as there are examples for campaign failures, (by e.g. French, English and Italian troops) it was not the only one. Other reasons for colonial success were the better organized colonialists and the lack of unity between the indigenous people. Yet another point and an important one for this thesis, is the manipulation of native symbols by the conquistadores,⁷⁸ which is recognizable in the manuscript as shown further down in the analysis. Osterhammel mentioned here the example Cortés, who brought down an Empire with just a couple of hundred soldiers.⁷⁹ The Aztecs were expecting “white gods” to come and Cortés and the Spanish exploited this expectation. He also emphasizes that very few other people were as badly prepared for the Europeans as the Americans were. However, the manipulation of symbols was a crucial point, especially in the Spanish colonies. With regard to religion Osterhammel states:

“... it was unique to have the church fully subordinated to secular power for the purposes of colonial politics. The clergy apparently became the most effective instrument of Spanish penetration of America.”⁸⁰

Karen Spalding also recognized this in her book, *Huarochiri: an Andean society under Inca and Spanish rule*.⁸¹ She (from me previously) briefly described actions of Francisco de Avila showing how much power church officials in the Spanish colonies could have. Yet, while the manipulation of symbols and the power of church officials are recognizable in the manuscript, there are no clues which could confirm Osterhammel’s statements of a to secular powers subordinated church. For the purpose of this thesis, this fact is of minor importance. Of greater relevance is that Osterhammel recognizes the power of the church in the Spanish colonies, which is detectable in the manuscript and specified further down.

During the campaigns as well as during the following colonial period, in most cases, without the help of indigenous people, any colonial success would have needed a larger

⁷⁷ Osterhammel, *Colonialism*, 21.

⁷⁸ Osterhammel, *Colonialism*, 45.

⁷⁹ Osterhammel, *Colonialism*, 45.

⁸⁰ Osterhammel, *Colonialism*, 55.

⁸¹ Spalding, *Huarochiri: an Andean society*, 245.

amount of soldiers and civil servants. To administrate India (a land with approximately 340 million residents at the time), England had 12000 civil servants on the ground; a ratio of 1: 28000. In French West Africa it was 1:27000 and in Nigeria 1: 54000.⁸² Hence, Osterhammel put forward indigenous collaboration as one of five factors that supported colonial ruling; these are:

1) the threat and employment of force by colonial security forces; 2) the adoption of traditional roles and symbols by the highest representatives of the colonial state; 3) “communication imperialism”: the systematic collection, processing, and dissemination of information about the colonized society by centralized institutions; 4) a calculated strategy of “divide and conquer”; and 5) an aspiration for the continued existence of the colonial system on the part of influential segments of the colonial society. This interest was nurtured by the colonial power, and constituted a prerequisite for “collaboration.”⁸³

Collaboration was an important factor in colonial efforts but it seldom resulted in a cultural cocktail. South America is the exception to the rule. In Africa and Asia, colonial societies were separated into the European ruler societies and the colonized indigenous societies.⁸⁴ Osterhammel sees the reason for this segregation partly in Christian moral education but also in practical considerations of power preservation. As a result, with decolonization the “white men” could just vanish, leaving only architecture behind. There are of course differences. In colonies with farming settlers, decolonization was often violent; because their prime value was something they couldn’t take home, land.⁸⁵

However, even in colonies where European culture was mixed with native cultures, according to Osterhammel, “...hardly ever did Europeans convert to non-Christian religions of their own accord.”⁸⁶

When it comes to change of cultural expressions and behaviors (as e.g. values, traditions and religion) within native societies, the colonial state influenced these societies to a great deal but this influence “seldom led to a complete collapse of pre-colonial cosmologies and ways of life, but always to its “destructuring” into fragments or at least to a challenging of cultural values previously taken for granted.”⁸⁷ Osterhammel mentioned here also the importance of colonialism as part of the phenomenon westernization. However, colonial interference into indigenous societies varied in degrees of intensity. As the least influential

⁸² Osterhammel, *Colonialism*, 63.

⁸³ Osterhammel, *Colonialism*, 64.

⁸⁴ Osterhammel, *Colonialism*, 84,85.

⁸⁵ Osterhammel, *Colonialism*, 85.

⁸⁶ Osterhammel, *Colonialism*, 86.

⁸⁷ Osterhammel, *Colonialism*, 95.

colonial power, the Dutch are named and their behavior in Indonesia. "...the Dutch went about their business without mingling in their cultural environment."⁸⁸ The Spanish example stands for the opposite, for "an energetic politics of westernization as far back as the sixteenth century."⁸⁹ In much the same way religion, as an important part of most cultures, was also but not always targeted with different intensity by the colonialists. Thereby the Church organizations were sometimes used to support colonial efforts and sometimes they were excluded from the official colonial politics. While the English East India Company pursued a strict non-intervention politics with regard to religion until 1813, the Spanish used the Catholic Church as "a powerful instrument of cultural penetration."⁹⁰ For the Dutch on the other hand, it was more important to preserve and secure the faith of the colonists.

One important statement of Osterhammel stressed that "Never did imported "modernity" and local "tradition" merely clash or co-exist. Instead, new blends evolved."⁹¹ Osterhammel mentioned four possible reactions or results to colonial efforts targeting indigenous religious traditions. Syncretism was one possible outcome, as for example in Mexico or the Philippines. Second, in some African examples, the Christian missionary efforts led to the rise of African churches, which were independent of the missionaries and an important "inspiration of decolonization."⁹² A third result could have been a "Stimulation of non-Christian countermovements."⁹³ In these cases, native religious tradition was used to confront Christian and colonial efforts. During the process, original traditions could change and adapted to the new political situations. A prominent example is the term Hinduism and what it symbolizes. It was unknown to pre-colonial India and a result of colonization.

The last result or reaction named by Osterhammel is the "Assertion or strengthening of the existing order."⁹⁴ He used the Islam as a prime example. He argues that Islam differed from other religions, because of its history of the struggle with Christianity, its large propagation, and its apparent immunity towards Christianization efforts. This statement by Osterhammel presents a critical aspect. It contradicts his previous statement: "Never did imported "modernity" and local "tradition" merely clash or co-exist. Instead, new blends evolved."⁹⁵

⁸⁸ Osterhammel, *Colonialism*, 95.

⁸⁹ Osterhammel, *Colonialism*, 95.

⁹⁰ Osterhammel, *Colonialism*, 96.

⁹¹ Osterhammel, *Colonialism*, 97.

⁹² Osterhammel, *Colonialism*, 98.

⁹³ Osterhammel, *Colonialism*, 98.

⁹⁴ Osterhammel, *Colonialism*, 99.

⁹⁵ Osterhammel, *Colonialism*, 97.

Not to mention the fact that there is not just one Islamic religion, but many. Still, his arguments are logical and comprehensible. Islam, even though it didn't "blend", was surely influenced by colonialism, as Osterhammel recognized. Its resistance led to a strengthening of this religion in many places.⁹⁶

The "blend" argument should maybe transform into an "influence" argument. Where two cultures meet, they influence each other. However, the huge field of colonialism, which Osterhammel seeks to theoretically describe, appears to be elusive when it comes to details. But he understood that and made it clear in the beginning of his book.

Colonial reality was multifaceted and often failed to conform to arrogant imperial strategies. It was shaped by particular local features overseas, by the intentions and opportunities of the individual colonial powers, and by broader tendencies in the international system. ... Even if we simplify the matter by following the conventional equation of colonialism and (European) colonial politics ... the multiformity of colonial situations continues to confound efforts to define colonialism.⁹⁷

Yet to my understanding, Osterhammel created a theoretical structure of colonialism which has the ability to enrich my own research efforts. It provides valuable features that help to understand the situation of the indigenous people in Huarochirí in 17th century and their colonial masters. Combined, Osterhammel's theory, the secondary literature and the information from the manuscript, should produce research results which can be placed in the broader picture of colonialism and at the same time, create new knowledge about the particular situation in Huarochirí.

⁹⁶ Osterhammel, *Colonialism*, 99.

⁹⁷ Osterhammel, *Colonialism*, 4.

Canami rimason huarocheripi chay

Chay quitipi rurascancunacta

(Now we want to tell, what (Pariacaca) in the region of Huarochirí did...)

2 Analysis

The following analysis begins with the search for information about afterlife conceptions in the manuscript and possible connections to described behavior or rituals. At first I scrutinize the myth texts and later the ritual descriptions in search for any statements, explicit or implicit, relevant for this topic. In the second part, I elaborate with help of the ritual texts a picture of religious obligations and freedoms for the people in the Huarochirí society. With regard to this Christian influence, the following part deals with the Christian behavior in Huarochirí in 16th and 17th century. Hence this behavior affected most religious expressions of the period in question; it has significance for my analysis and for the concluding chapter.

2.1 The Christian Case

Karen Spalding describes in her book *Huarochirí, An Andean Society Under Inca and Spanish Rule*⁹⁸, how the Catholic Church systematically pursued the extinction of Andean belief. Beginning shortly after the Spanish invasion, which was according to history writing already accompanied by Christian priests,⁹⁹ she gives an overview about organization and structure of this attack on religious beliefs and social life in Huarochirí.

When the Inca Atahualpa received the Spanish and Pizarro, the first thing he had to listen to was the speech of the Dominican Vicente de Valverde.¹⁰⁰ He demanded the recognition of the Christian faith and his submission to the Pope and the King of Spain. It is not clear which exact words he used and if he held a bible or another book or paper in his hand, whatever the case and whatever the reaction was, the day ended with hundreds of native corpses and with

⁹⁸ Spalding, *Huarochirí: an Andean society*.

⁹⁹ For an exhaustive description see: Kim MacQuarrie, *The last days of the Incas*, (London: Portrait, 2007), 78-85.

¹⁰⁰ Garcilaso de la Vega, *Royal commentaries of the Incas and general history of Peru*. Abridged, (Indianapolis: Hackett Pub. Co. 2006), 99

the imprisonment of the Inca Atahualpa and marked the beginning of Catholic Christian rule in the Andes.¹⁰¹

Spalding wrote that the Archbishop in Lima, Gerónimo de Loayza in the 1540s “issued the first *Istrucción* to guide the priests assigned to Andean communities in the conversion of the Inians to Catholicism.”¹⁰² They should involve the natives in destructing the huacas in order to convert them to the Christian faith. In 1551 the first Conciliar Council of Lima took place which ended with nothing less than the declaration of war against the native belief and rituals regarding their ancestors. The natives should be convinced that the huacas in reality were evil forces and any ancestral power came from a pact with the devil. During this “war”, the church burned mummies and huacas alike. The priests tried to convince the Indians that their ancestors burn in hell for all eternity, for their alliance with the devil.¹⁰³

An example for reinterpretation can be found in the Huarochirí Manuscript. It is a story of a man called Don Christóbal Choque Casa. Chapter 20 and 21 describe how he encountered the huaca Llocllay Huancupa and with the help of his Christian belief defeated him. The concept of the huaca is reinterpreted and understood as an evil spirit, a demon and the “good Christian” Don Christóbal proved (so the reader of the manuscript is told) the strength of the Christian religion.¹⁰⁴ The story ends with a warning in form of a quotation:

“Last night, with the help of the Virgin Saint Mary our mother, I conquered him¹⁰⁵ for good. From now on, none of you are to enter that house.¹⁰⁶ If I ever see anybody enter or approach the house, I’ll tell the padre. Consider carefully what I’ve said and receive it into your hearts completely!” Thus he admonished all the people.¹⁰⁷

Interesting here is that this story is not from a distant past, the author of the manuscript wrote “The deceased man’s son, that is, the same Don Christóbal we spoke of, is still alive.”¹⁰⁸ The purpose of the story is clear, to convince the natives that the huacas are evil demons and that the Christian faith has the power to defeat them. The narrative analysis reveals the linguistic which manipulates the readers’ opinion. There are the terms “Virgin Saint Mary” and “our mother” which can be seen as positive agents while the opposite site is portrayed with negative agents:

¹⁰¹ Vega, *Royal commentaries*, 99

¹⁰² Spalding, *Huarochirí: an Andean society*, 245.

¹⁰³ Spalding, *Huarochirí: an Andean society*, 245.

¹⁰⁴ Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 103-109.

¹⁰⁵ Llocllay Huancupa.

¹⁰⁶ The place of the huaca worship.

¹⁰⁷ Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 105.

¹⁰⁸ Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 104.

...the 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. /.../ There were no longer any terrors, nothing like a man entering and leaving the room.¹⁰⁹

Osterhammel’s described the manipulation of religious symbols in his book.¹¹⁰ By changing the indigenous understanding of huacas and mummies, the Spanish created a religious vacuum which had to be filled. They promised the natives the almighty Christian god which could have helped them to overcome misery and misfortune. But the key to the Christian faith and thus to the Christian god was in the hand of the Spanish. Hence, through manipulation of religious symbols, the Spanish for themselves created power over the natives.

During the 1560s, when the conquistadores still raided and plundered the land, a resistance against the church promoted belief was formed. A movement called Taki Onqoy spread across the Andes and revitalized old huaca belief. Since it presented a danger for the Spanish occupiers and an end of their way of life, the church received full support from the secular Spanish forces in the Andes and by 1572 the movement was destroyed. Not by the means of convincing speeches and letters, but with violence against possible members of the leadership.¹¹¹ The notion of the creation of a countermovement, (in this case against the implemented Christian faith and thereby the Spanish occupation) is also an element in Osterhammel’s theory. Countermovements were based on pre-colonial religious traditions; they often transformed or adapted to the new situation and intended to overcome the colonial rule and the extinction of traditional beliefs and values.¹¹²

Another tactic conducted by the Spanish was to denigrate and malign the Inca realm. Through investigations information was gathered and then reorganized and bended. The result was a picture of the Inca rule as tyranny which enslaved its people; whereby Inca accomplishments in architecture, e.g. bridges and roads, were presented as evidence for massive slave labor. Another evidence for the tyranny was the Inca rejection of the catholic faith, which also justified the invasion and destruction of the Inca state by the Spanish.¹¹³

The most important role in the process of colonizing the Andes had the priests. Their task was to watch over their parish, to ensure the full conversion to Christianity and also the acceptance of the new social system, in which the natives were exploited and the Spanish

¹⁰⁹ Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 105.

¹¹⁰ Described above in chapter Colonialism Theory, 22-28.

¹¹¹ Spalding, *Huarochirí: an Andean society*, 248.

¹¹² Described above in chapter Colonialism Theory, 22-28.

¹¹³ Spalding, *Huarochirí: an Andean society*, 249.

were the profiteers. The priests conducted questionings with the focus on The Ten Commandments. They were used to prevent people from revolting. “Thou shalt not steal” e.g. was actually saying: don’t take from the one who has more (the Spanish), while the Spanish had the right to take what they wanted, because it was in the name of the lord.¹¹⁴

And again, Spalding’s descriptions echo in the statements of Osterhammel. With regard to the Spanish Latin American colonies, he called the Catholic Church “a powerful instrument of cultural penetration”¹¹⁵.

This minor overview should provide a better understanding for the later descriptions in this thesis of native people, who hid their traditional belief and rituals.

2.2 Life and Afterlife

Within Abrahamic religious thought, a person’s behavior during his or her lifetime is rewarded or punished in the afterlife, and in most Indic religions behavior and actions determine the quality of the next life and its circumstances. For any believer, these are strong motivations to follow given religious moral rules. How did the people in Huarochirí thought about life after death? What does the manuscript tell us about thoughts of reward and punishment after death; about the life-death connection? At first I concentrate on the myth descriptions which include stories about an ancient mythological time, when supreme huacas were creating the Andean world as it was then, during 16th and 17th century; they further include myth stories about the Inca Empire and also comments on contemporary behavior and belief in 16th and 17th century. Possible Christian comments about heaven and hell conceptions and their like are ignored in this section. However, Christian priests influenced religious behavior of the people which is detectable in the manuscript and such information is naturally included in this research.

¹¹⁴ Spalding, *Huarochirí: an Andean society*, 250, 251.

¹¹⁵ Described above in the chapter Colonialism Theory, 22-28.

2.2.1 Myth Texts

Chapter 1

In the first chapter a myth is told about “very ancient times”¹¹⁶ when two huacas named, Yana Ñamca and Tuta Ñamca, were defeated by a huaca called Huallallo Caruincho. The word Ñamca is interpreted by Salomon and Urioste as a certain type of huaca and the words Yana and Tuta translated as Black and Night. Therefore, this myth points at the time before the present world, or the present world in 1600 when the myth was told. With the appearance of Huallallo Caruincho, people would come back to life after exactly five days after their death. Because of their return, the region was overpopulated and life was very hard due to food shortages. The story continues with “Later, at the time when another *huaca* named Paria Caca appeared...”¹¹⁷ this misery stopped. In chapter 27, we find a description of why people would stop coming back; I will describe it further down. But this first chapter reveals the idea that a certain aspect of a person continues to act after death and the question is now, what aspect is it and where is it going?

Chapter 5,6

In chapter five we encounter a surely not common way of dying and the following afterlife. The son of Paria Caca a man called Huatya Curi punished a woman by turning her upside down and into stone. All passing people should see her vagina.¹¹⁸ Now, the woman is clearly deprived of her human life but the intention of Huatya Curi was to punish her not just with death. Some aspect of her survived and as we are told later in the text, people offered coca to her when they were about to undertake something difficult. This suggests that people could turn into superhuman beings; here due to the influence of another superhuman being. But in chapter six, a woman called Chuqui Suso turned herself into stone after she had sex with Paria Caca.¹¹⁹ In the next chapter we learn that people worshiped Chuqui Suso still at the time of the manuscript’s creation.¹²⁰

The described examples have similar outcomes as both women turned into stone and were still worshiped in 17th century. We can assume that not everyone died in this way or was

¹¹⁶ Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 43.

¹¹⁷ Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 44.

¹¹⁸ Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 59.

¹¹⁹ Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 62.

¹²⁰ Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 65.

worshiped afterwards. However, even in these myths the afterlife existence is implied. Another interesting point is that, these women didn't ask for being turned into stone, nor had they any intentions to become villcas and therefore preparing themselves with rituals or traditions during their lifetime. To compare it with a Christian saint who lived according to the Christian god's rule, a pure life, or acted in certain ways that earned him the saint status; there is no indication in the text that the women acted in special ways and one of them was even punished.

Chapter 14

Chapter 14 gives another clue about life and afterlife thoughts of the Andean people. It is a description of an event taking place in the last days of the Inca Empire and involves the Inca Huayna Capac and the god Cuni Raya Vira Cocha. The god ordered the Inca to send someone "to Ura Ticsi, the world's lower foundations."¹²¹ The translation, lower foundations, is discussed by Salomon and could mean the underside of the world or lowlands. Also not clear is another part of this story. When the Inca had ordered Shamans to come, the next paragraph starts with: "He instructed them, "Go to the world's lower foundations. Then tell my father, 'Your son sent me here. Send me back bearing one of his sisters.'""¹²² The Inca could send for one of his sisters and so could the god Cuni Raya Vira Cocha. Salomon connects a later paragraph to this statement and concludes, not with absolute certainty, that the god Cuni Raya is probably the one who sends for his sister. On the other hand, the Inca's father, Tupac Yupanqui, was not alive when the son was ruling and it could also be him, who the Shamans should ask for the sister.¹²³ Whether or not the Inca or the god sent someone into the lowlands or underside of the world, this chapter gives proof to the concept of another world behind, beyond or under the world of the humans. The Incas were worshiped and presented as gods too¹²⁴, it is therefore not possible to conclude that "normal" human beings had access to these places and possibly were looking forward to come there after death. However, the concept of such a place was known to the Huarochirí people as they told the story.

¹²¹ Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 88.

¹²² Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 89.

¹²³ Prem, *Geschichte*, 74.

¹²⁴ Prem, *Geschichte*, 76.

Chapter 25, 30

Another human turned into stone in chapter 25. This time it's a man who after serving a god, who was dressed as a beggar, beer and coca, was frozen to stone.¹²⁵ Like the women above, after turning into stone he too was then worshiped by the people as a huaca. He or the huaca-stone was destroyed later by the priest Avila. However, until this destruction, people expected him to influence their life positively in return for their offerings. And so they did in the next example in chapter 30. After discussing the water distribution of a spring the man Anchi Cara and the woman Huayllama fell in love and decided to stay forever together and then turned into stone. They too were worshiped until the times of the manuscripts creation.¹²⁶ There are more such stone-turning examples in the text. This seems to be a very common notion or idea in Andean religion. As all of them were worshiped as villcas or huacas I will discuss them further down as a phenomenon or expression of Andean belief, separate from the preconceptions about "normal" human afterlife.

Chapter 27

In chapter 1, we are told about people, who would come back after five days of death and that with the appearance of Paria Caca, this stopped. Chapter 27 describes the reason, why people stopped coming back. I believe that it provides key elements which can help us to understand parts of the afterlife concepts of the described Andean culture. At the same time, the text shows influences of Spanish terms which calls for special attention and careful analysis. In order to facilitate the understanding for the reader, I cite here a large part of the myth.

In very ancient times, they say, when a person died, people laid the body out until five days had gone by.

The dead person's spirit, which is the size of a fly, would fly away, saying, "Sio!"

When it flew away, people said, "Now he's going away to see Paria Caca, our maker and our sustainer."¹²⁷

After a short paragraph which discusses whether the dead would go to Paria Caca or Yauri Llanca, the story continues with:

The dead used to come back after five days. When they were about to return, people waited for them with prepared food and drinks.

¹²⁵ Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 125.

¹²⁶ Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 134.

¹²⁷ Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 129.

When the dead arrived, they'd just say, "I'm back!" and rejoiced immensely in the company of their elders and their brothers.

They'd say, "Now I'll never die again forever!"¹²⁸

The next two paragraphs tell about the misery people were living in, due to overpopulation, and that one man didn't come back in time. His family got angry with him when he arrived first on the sixth day. The following paragraph describes the action of his wife and the consequences.

In her spite the dead man's wife hurled a maize cob at his arriving spirit.

The moment she threw it, he made a "Sio!" noise and went back where he'd come from.

Since that time, not a single dead person has ever come back.¹²⁹

The term for spirit in the original text is *animanri* which is derived from the Spanish word *anima*. Therefore, even though as Europeans we have an understanding of what a spirit could be, I cannot interpret the word in the same way, as I would do when it appears in a Western European context. However, there is a description of this concept. It has the size of a fly and makes "Sio!" when flying away. Salomon takes the possibility into account that it could refer to the Quechua term *upani*, which describes a "light, dry, volatile being that contains the vital essence of a person."¹³⁰ That would certainly match the description of this spirit in the myth. It flew away to Paria Caca or in other stories to Yauri Llanca. Unfortunately, there is no description of what happen at Paria Caca or Yauri Llanca's place. With the thrown maize cob, the time of the returning dead stops and the spirits or the human essence would stay at a god's place.

These are the myths telling stories related to death and afterlife. To summarize the main notions:

- People would come back after five days, in the old days.
- They would go to Paria Caca or Yauri Llanca and then return.
- The concept of the human essence is seen as a fly like object in size and makes a "Sio!" noise.
- After one spirit went back to the god, due to his angry wife, the dead stopped coming back forever.
- For gods or Incas or both, there is a concept of an underworld.

¹²⁸ Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 129.

¹²⁹ Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 129.

¹³⁰ Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 129.

- People turned into stone, for different reasons and were worshiped afterwards.

2.2.2 Ritual Texts

Chapter 9

The first ritual dealing with the afterlife is described in chapter 9. In connection with an annually Paria Caca worship, people who had lost a member of their family during the year would stay up in the night before the worship and wail and say: “Tomorrow we’ll go and see our dead by Paria Caca’s side!”¹³¹ They also said: “Tomorrow is the day when we’ll deliver them there.”¹³² They offered food to the deceased in that night and prepared their ingredients for the rituals. Then they said: “Now I deliver them to Paria Caca forever. They will never come back any more.”¹³³ The following ritual is the sacrifice of a small llama or coca bags. The yancas would then examine the innards of the llama.

If the signs were favorable, the yanca would prophecy, “Everything is well.” If not, he’d say, “It’s bad. You’ve incurred a fault. Your dead relative has angered Paria Caca. Ask forgiveness for this transgression, lest that fault be charged to you as well.”¹³⁴

This description reveals two major aspects of the life afterlife connection. One is the already mentioned notion in the myth description, that there is an aspect that survives the death of a person and goes somewhere and even has the possibility to come back.¹³⁵ We know now that people thought that the deceased is going to Paria Caca. The rituals could be understood as necessary to deliver him or her to the god. People also seem to fear that the deceased would come back which made the rituals even more important, it also presents a certain power of the living over the afterlife. The second aspect is the legacy of the dead. When he had committed any kinds of faults and angered the gods, this would not only affect the deceased somehow, but also the living relatives, who had to expiate and apologize for this transgression. “...lest that fault be charged to you as well.”¹³⁶

¹³¹ Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 73.

¹³² Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 73.

¹³³ Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 73.

¹³⁴ Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 74.

¹³⁵ This last thought is possible related to the information in the first chapter.

¹³⁶ Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 74.

Chapter 24

Another concept is described in chapter 24. When people captured a warrior, according to the myth, they would flay his face and make a mask, a so called huayo, out of his skin and bones. The huayo was then used in a dance and hang up the following day together with offerings. People said about this: “The huayos will return to the place where they were born, the place called Uma Pacha, carrying these things along with them.”¹³⁷ A prisoner of war was aware of these things and would say:

Brother, soon you'll kill me. I was a really powerful man, and now you're about to make a huayo out of me. So before I go out onto the plaza, you should feed me well and serve me drinks first.¹³⁸

Again, as for the women who turned into stone and became villcas, or as described in the ritual above connected to the Paria Caca ritual, it is believed that some aspects of a human move on after life. But this time the death is caused by humans and through ritual action the afterlife of the warrior is influenced. Furthermore, the huayo should go where it was born, a “place called Uma Pacha”¹³⁹. This part is puzzling since two paragraphs later a man is described who was known as Uma Pacha who turned into stone. Salomon has two different interpretations for this name. The first understands Uma Pacha as a huaca, but the second interpretation associates the name with high mountain lakes, “... seemingly imagined as sources at which biological vitality is renewed.”¹⁴⁰ It is tempting to interpret the second alternative as some kind of heaven to which the soul returns. However, this would be a very Christian conception, and so far I have not found a single hint about any heaven conceptions in the manuscript. It does say that something is going back to where it was born, which is the important clue in this description together with the information about people's ability to influence the afterlife of a human.

Chapter 28

Chapter 28 describes a ritual which also contains a good example for the transition period. It describes how a woman after the death of a family member would wait until the first maggots would leave the corps, pick them up and bring them home. They were seen as the dead spirit or soul of the deceased. The people would feed them, wailing and dancing and afterwards

¹³⁷ Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 120.

¹³⁸ Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 121.

¹³⁹ Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 121.

¹⁴⁰ Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 121.

bring the maggots "... out into the street, saying, "You go back now. It's not time for us to die yet.""¹⁴¹ Salomon describes the pre-Columbian Andean tradition of keeping the dead conserved in houses or caves. They were fed and dressed as if they would be alive.¹⁴² This is also mentioned in chapter 11, by the author of the manuscript.¹⁴³ When the priest ordered Christian burial, people thought that the dead were starving, because they could not be fed anymore. The manuscript continues to describe the present (early 17th century) tradition to lay cooked food and drinks alongside the churches on All Saints' Day. This shows that the idea of the dead eating and drinking was still present during Avila's days. For Salomon the ritual described in chapter 28, was probably to "... mitigate anguish about burial."¹⁴⁴ It also confirms Osterhammel who stated that colonialism "seldom led to a complete collapse of pre-colonial cosmologies and ways of life ..."¹⁴⁵ Instead, as one of four possible reactions to colonialism; he describes the notion of syncretism. Syncretism in the broadest sense is a blending of religious ideas, which is clearly recognizable in this part of the manuscript.

But it creates also another question. When the dead were served as if they would be alive long after they had died what about the spirit concept and the ritual in connection to the Paria Caca ritual? I will discuss it further down.

These are the descriptions of rituals connected to afterlife conceptions. The most significant notions are:

- During Paria Caca worship, people would conduct rituals to send their dead to Paria Caca.
- If the signs revealed faults of the deceased produced during his or her lifetime, they had to be corrected by the living through other rituals.
- These faults could also influence the life of the relatives negatively.
- People could turn other people into objects with supernatural attributes, the huayo-mask.
- These "spirits" were thought to go back to where they were born, Uma Pacha.
- A later ritual describes how women collected maggots and how they were fed as if they would be the deceased.

¹⁴¹ Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 130.

¹⁴² Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 130.

¹⁴³ Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 79.

¹⁴⁴ Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 130.

¹⁴⁵ Osterhammel, *Colonialism*, 95.

2.2.3 Summary

What does the myth and ritual descriptions reveal about afterlife ideas and what can be assumed effects for the lives of the people in Huarochiri?

To phrase this question in a simple way: what is the connection between life and afterlife? Obvious connections of afterlife ideas and life are the described rituals. But what more can be revealed with help of the manuscript? In the following lines I combined the obtained information about rituals and myths in order to answer the questions.

Stone Huacas - Based in the myth texts I would separate the stories about the human who turned into stone from the other stories. Although they reflect the belief that human aspects could survive a transformation into stone and furthermore obtain superhuman abilities, it does present the exception to the rule in many ways. These are descriptions of huacas or villcas, superhuman entities which we might call gods or spirits. As such, even though they have human origins in these stories, they rather constitute characteristics of these huacas and villcas, and not of humans. I will not ignore or exclude the overarching idea of a life after death in these myths; it will have a place in the later discussion. However, all other aspects of these stories are rather placed within a research about superhuman beings in Andean religion.

The Spirit - The story about deceased humans who came back after five days and thus overpopulated the region provides a much more significant clue to afterlife conceptions. Despite differences in these stories, whether the dead would go to Paria Caca or to another deity, an aspect of the deceased went away to a huaca. With the story about the angry wife, who threw a maize cob at her returning husband, the dead stopped coming back. It also tells us that the “spirit” is a fly like object which makes a “Sio!” noise. This conception is also part of a ritual description. We can recognize it in the ritual conducted by a female relative to a deceased. She would pick up small maggots and bring them home as if it would be the spirit of the deceased.

During the Paria Caca ritual season, people would also bring food and drinks for their dead. They thought that the dead would go to Paria Caca and that they had to send him or her off by conducting rituals. This ritual story has similarities to the myth about the returning dead. Here too, the dead is thought to go to a deity. The story also implies a certain fear that the dead would come back; a reminder of the myth about the old days. The ritual description about the huayo-mask contains also the belief that the spirit or some aspect of a warrior is going

somewhere. Here too, the deceased or in this case the killed man is fed. The significant differences are that, the (by ritual action) killed man is transformed into an object with supernatural powers and his spirit would go back to Uma Pacha, a place where he was born, according to the description. This Uma Pacha could be a place or a huaca.

Conserved Dead - It seems that there are two main conceptions which seemingly contradict each other. One is the fly like object (maybe the human essence or spirit) which is going to a deity or place where it was born; the other one is that the physical remains of the dead still contain some form of life, which has to be fed and dressed. Myth and ritual descriptions support both conceptions. We can presuppose that there were variation between the ideas, due to distances of settlements and ayllus to which people belonged. However, Salomon tells us that it was Andean tradition to feed the dead and to keep them in caves or special houses, which is also mentioned by the author of the manuscript. Hence, this behavior applies for the majority and not just for some ayllus. Another uniting factor was the annual Paria Caca festival or worship, in which the majority of the Huarochirí people participated. Hence the conception of the human essence, going to the deity was also widely known. Another indicator for this is the myth about the old days, when the dead would disappear for five days and then came back. It was an old myth which shows similarities to the other myths and rituals. Even when the exact place (e.g. Paria Caca, Uma Pacha, and Yauri Llanca) is debated, some aspect of the human is going somewhere. Furthermore, the differences can be explained by the different ayllus, which are described in the chapters 8, 9, 24 and 31.¹⁴⁶ These ayllus have different founders in their creation myths and it is probably therefore that the dead are going to different huacas or places.

Christian Influence - There is no clue in the manuscript which could illuminate this contradiction between conserved dead and spirit like conceptions. We have to work with both ideas in creating a picture of Huarochirí society. One of these conceptions was clearly compatible with Christian notions of the soul; which is going somewhere after the physical death. The other one clearly presents a problem for the native people. As they were forced to bury their dead for the first time, they could no longer be fed and people feared they would starve and had a miserable afterlife or even got angry. Feeding the dead was an important aspect as they also fed them during the Paria Caca worship. The consequence was a ritual which, according to Salomon and I agree with him, was conducted in order to relieve the

¹⁴⁶ Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 117, 136.

living from their anxieties. In time, people considered the churches and connected burial places as sufficient enough, to leave food and drinks for the dead. I assume that this was done at first shortly after the burial of a relative, and later, with growing Christian power, on the All Saints' Day, to hide their non-Christian beliefs. It also confirms parts of Osterhammel's theory, in which he describes the notion of syncretism due to colonialism.

Chapter nine describes a ritual in which the priests detected faults of the deceased, which could be harmful for the dead and the living relatives. The concept of the Christian sin could be explained to the natives by referring to the theoretical aspect of the ritual. However, important is the idea, that one could attract punishment in the afterlife by breaking certain rules in the lifetime. This is often a good motivation to follow religious rules, when the religion contains the idea of an afterlife plus included punishment for transgressions.

Summarized, life in Huarochirí was influenced by three major concepts related to death:

1. Conducting the correct rituals to send one aspect of the dead to a supposed final destination;
2. taking care of the physical aspect of the dead by feeding and conserving them;
3. living according to the religious rules to omit punishment for oneself in the afterlife and for the relatives.

The first two points required resources. As described, people had to offer certain things, according to their abilities. Especially the second point meant making a repeated effort at certain times in a year. The physical aspects of the dead were regularly presented in the society and had to be taken care of. The third point is similar to other religions. Behave in this life, so you won't get in trouble in the next. Unfortunately, there is no description of transgressions which counted as serious faults, something that would have consequences after death.

A last element in this inquiry has to be mentioned. The Christian influence had already changed religious behavior of the natives to a great extent; it will be closer discussed in the next part. Yet, with the knowledge about these stories and rituals, people in Huarochirí were still conscious about the described aspects of afterlife ideas. The continuous preparation of food for the dead is an evidence for ongoing belief in these ideas. That these prepared offerings were now placed on churches supports the theory of Osterhammel. Syncretism was

one of four possible reactions to colonialism and cultural encounters.¹⁴⁷ I assume that afterlife concepts are amongst the last religious aspects that change due to certain circumstances, since they are very essential to most religions. As it will be pointed out and discussed in greater detail further down, people in Huarochirí were not simultaneously converting to the new belief nor were they simultaneously refusing it. Most people lived in between both religions. Given the importance of the afterlife concepts, they were amongst the last that changed and therefore were still prominent to most in this transition society.

2.3 Worship Freedom and Obligation

Some obligations are already discussed in the previous chapter, now I will search for further obligations and also freedoms recognizable in the text. In order to do so I need another criterion within this content analysis; this is the purpose and schedule of a ritual. Whenever a ritual was conducted in order to pursue a certain private goal, the act is classified by me as a sign of personal freedom when it also was outside of any possible religious schedules; i.e. when a person decided to do it on her own. To understand what sustained an obligation in worship it is necessary to explain the term itself and what an obligation could be in the Andean context.¹⁴⁸

2.3.1 Obligation

At this point I want to explain, what I mean with obligations in the essay's context. The Oxford Dictionary gives a definition of the term obligation which mirrors my understanding and therefore is here repeated:

1. An act or course of action to which a person is morally or legally bound; a duty or commitment”
2. “The condition of being morally or legally bound to do something”
3. “A debt of gratitude for a service or favour”
4. “A binding agreement committing a person to a payment or other action”¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁷ Described above in the chapter Colonialism Theory, 22-28.

¹⁴⁸ As some descriptions reveal information about men or women involvements during rituals and others don't, I will not try to evaluate the general gender relationship in Huarochirí. For ritual descriptions with specific information about gender roles, I will make some statements but won't use them for a generalized picture of this religious culture.

¹⁴⁹ www.oxforddictionaries.com. Accessed April 28, 2014.
<http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/obligation>.

Two aspects in this definition are important to highlight. The first one is the expression “morally or legally bound”. Transgressions of moral rules and laws are followed by consequences, if they are detected. There might be minor consequences as e.g. a disappointed, sad relative, but they can also be major ones, as e.g. severe punishment up till death penalty. Therefore, obligations imply consequences, when disregarded. The second aspect is “A debt of gratitude for a service or favor”. This is the attribute of the Andean and Inca society par excellence, reciprocity, and therefore has to be explained in more detail.

2.3.1.1 Reciprocity

Maria Rostworowski de Diez Canseco¹⁵⁰ described in her book the system of reciprocity in the Inca and Andean cultures. She feels obligated not to use the word empire in connection with the word Inca, because in many ways the realm of the Incas is utterly different from our Western European understanding of the term empire. One reason for this is the system of reciprocity. The Inca (ruler) had no absolute power and was bound to give his fellow allies gifts and presents which represented roughly the same value as the requests of the Inca. He asked the other Andean lords e.g. for soldiers, which he needed to defend his realm and to occupy the next lordship or area. He also needed worker for mining, agricultural activities and the building of state roads, which are amongst the few similarities to the classical empires, like the Roman or the Mongol Empire. For all these requests he had to pay with gifts, and the alliances were renewed annually; which was in the end, due to the expanding empire and the constant rising of costs for organizing and ruling, a factor for the decline of this power in the Andean world.¹⁵¹

Yet, the system of reciprocity was not a characteristic bound only to the Inca ruler and upper classes in Andean society. Even between and in the ayllos, reciprocity was reality.¹⁵² A favor for a favor, even between families and this system did not end there. Religious sacrifice described throughout the manuscript shows this pattern of reciprocity. People offered and expected something in return.¹⁵³

¹⁵⁰ Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, *History of the Inca*.

¹⁵¹ Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, *History of the Inca*, 36-47.

¹⁵² Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, *History of the Inca*, 36-47.

¹⁵³ Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, e.g. 71, 116, 135.

2.3.1.2 Obligation and Consequences

When ignored, obligations promise consequences. In the Huarochirí manuscript, I found several examples for what believing people expected by transgressions or unfulfilled religious obligations. In chapter 13 the worshiper would ask the huacas, when someone of his kinship got sick:

Oh llacsa Huato, Mira Huato, it is you who make people;
It is you indeed who know my sin, better even than Chaupi Ñamca.
Tell me, I beg: what have I done to make them ill?
For what fault of mine do I live in suffering?¹⁵⁴

These lines clearly reveal the thoughts of the believer; because of his sin, a beloved family member got ill. I will come back to this example further down, because the same chapter provides evidence for personal freedom in worship.

I also mentioned another clue in the chapter above (afterlife). On Paria Caca worship festival, people would feed their deceased relatives and offered a llama to the priests, who would scrutinize the innards of the animal in search for any signs of sins. Identified sins or faults would have to be corrected by the family by conducting special rituals. In chapter 20¹⁵⁵ of the manuscript I found a description of how people first stopped to worship their huacas due to Spanish Christian pressure and later started again after a great plague of measles swept the area. People associated the disease with the anger of the huaca Llocllay Huancupa; a punishment for denied worship obligations. In the same chapter, the author described how the people even before the Spanish invasion thought that Llocllay Huancupa was angry and disappeared because of insufficient worship. People reacted with even stronger worship efforts and the huaca returned. The descriptions in chapter 20 match the characteristics of the Taki Onqoy movement which I described above. The author of the manuscript doesn't mention this name but there is a striking resemblance between his story and the Taki Onqoy descriptions by Spalding.¹⁵⁶

In chapter 19¹⁵⁷ there is an example which also reveals the mindset of the people in Huarochirí. The child of Paria Caca Maca Uisa, which served the Inca and defeated his

¹⁵⁴ Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 85.

¹⁵⁵ Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 101-106.

¹⁵⁶ Spalding, *Huarochirí: an Andean society*, 246,247.

¹⁵⁷ Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 99.

enemies, was taken to Limca and worshiped there after the Spanish occupation. People in Limca became wealthy, up to the point that other people got envious of Limca and the curaca of another place Don Juan Puypu Tacma ordered the priest of Maca Uisa to bring him to Llacsa Tambo. People obviously connected the wealth with the huaca Maca Uisa.

These are examples which describe how people in Huarochirí connected wealth or despair with their worship of the huacas. It was the constant offering to the huacas and the returned favors which constituted the religious reciprocity, which resulted in non-negotiable obligations. A break of this circle of give and take was a serious matter and this is the first clue for answering the second question of the essay's aim.

2.3.2 Obligated worship

According to the manuscript, there were three great worship festivals in every given year; the already mentioned Paria Caca worship festival called Auquisna¹⁵⁸, the Chaupi Namca worship festival called Chaycasna¹⁵⁹, and the Tutay Quiri worship festival called Chanco¹⁶⁰. These festivals were mainly dedicated to the huacas but had also additional purposes, e.g. in connection with Chanco they also ask for rain¹⁶¹ and during the worship of Chaupi Namca they danced for a new fertile season¹⁶², and aside from Auquisna they took care of their dead, as described above. Even if I evaluate the participation in these worship festivals as obligated, the manuscript offers no hint as to what happen if people wouldn't participate. Of course, the religious mind could understand an absence from important annual rituals as dangerous, since this worship was about protection, rain, fertility and other life-sustaining elements. However, I cannot make a statement to any punishments, which would be another proof for a force behind worship obligations. Belief in divine punishment might be the only plausible explanation in this context, but it is also a very sufficient one.

As for the great festival worships, people were not just offering to a huaca, they were also wishing things for themselves. During Auquisna, they held a race to the worship place and the first who would arrive with his llama received special blessings and good predictions for the

¹⁵⁸ Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 72.

¹⁵⁹ Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 72.

¹⁶⁰ Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 78.

¹⁶¹ Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 80.

¹⁶² Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 78.

near future. “The bearer of this llama is very fortunate. Paria Caca loves him.”¹⁶³ During another festival, called Machua, people were throwing spears on two effigies which presented a male and a female. Hitting the target on a certain spot, the thrower was permitted to give a llama to the yanca and said: “With this offering, speak on my behalf to Uma Pacha.”¹⁶⁴ I mentioned Uma Pacha in the afterlife chapter. To this place or huaca a prisoner of war was supposed go back, after he was made into a mask. During the Machua festival, this Uma Pacha was clearly a huaca, since people worshiped him. More importantly is the aspect of the competition in Machua and Auquisna. People would compete by racing each other or by spear throwing, to enhance their chances of getting their wishes fulfilled or higher blessings. This is a personal aspect during the worship of the great huacas, but it is an addition to the whole obligated festival and not the main focus.

The content of the manuscript indicates that, people in Huarochirí were forced by their culture of reciprocity to participate in worship and thereby rituals. To refrain oneself from rituals could mean personal despair in the future, as the huacas would punish or refuse to give necessary favors (e.g. rain, fertility or protection).

2.3.3 Freedom in Worship

There are examples for worships, which people conducted according to their own will. One such example is described in chapter 10.

There was a certain male on the mountain that overlooks Mama, a huaca named Rucana Coto.²⁹¹ Men who had small cocks would implore Rucana Coto, thinking to themselves, “It’ll get big.”¹⁶⁵

I count that as a freedom in worship. I assume that the initial motivation came from the man, if I restrict myself from the idea that his wife had sent him there. Even in this case I would count it as a personal choice to invoke the huaca, although the choice would be made by the wife. As this example further implies, particular problems were not covered by the official huaca worship during the festivals. Or at least the believer evaluated them as insufficient and could therefore implore minor huacas and ask them for help.

¹⁶³ Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 72.

¹⁶⁴ Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 123.

¹⁶⁵ Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 78.

I already mentioned chapter 13 above, and the worship held because of sins and resulting illnesses. It is a description of two huacas, which according to the author were sisters to Chaupi Ñamca. Their names were Llacsá Huato and Mira Huato. The manuscript tells us that people would not implore them according to an annual schedule, but visited them when they had personal reasons to do so, or just "... to have their presence noticed, saying, "I'll go" or "I'd rather not" according to their whim."¹⁶⁶ Another already mentioned example is the making of the mask, the so called huayo, described in chapter 24. It appears to be a freedom to transform a war prisoner into a sacred mask. But the text is not clear on this point. It could have been a cultural tradition which was not based on personal desires. Rather the community was involved in motivating the sacrifice, because the group was at war and needed every kind of support on their side. This ritual can be seen as standing between freedom and obligation. What at first glance looked as a simple example for personal freedom turns out to be much more complex. I included this example here in the interest of the picture I try to create, which should be as exhaustive and accurate as possible.

There are many more illustrations of obligations with regard to rituals in the text than there are freedoms. This in itself is already a statement for a society with little personal freedom in worship. But I will give one last example of freedom, described right in the beginning of the manuscript. It is a description of the old days and the author intended to demonstrate the similarity in character between two huacas (Vira Cocha and Cuni Raya), which are named in the chapter. One can read what the ancients did:

And so, long ago, when beginning anything difficult, the ancients, even though they couldn't see Vira Cocha, used to throw coca leaves on the ground, talk to him, and worship him before all others, saying,

Help me remember how,

Help me work it out,

Cuni Raya Vira Cocha!¹⁶⁷

"Even though they couldn't see him", could mean that this ritual was performed away from the huaca. A small offer of coca leaves and a prayer to the huaca constituted a personal ritual which was intended to help the performer. The idea of invoking a huaca for personal reasons is noticeably as in the former examples. But since it was the only example in the whole

¹⁶⁶ Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 86.

¹⁶⁷ Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 45.

manuscript describing such a behavior (worship away from the huaca), which is also explicitly connected to the “ancients”, it have to be used with care in the later conclusions.

In the framework of the religion described in the Huarochirí Manuscript, people were bound to scheduled worship festivals which they couldn't omit. However, certain huacas were available for personal rituals, conducted at times which seemed appropriate for the believer.

2.3.4 Worship Reality in early 16th century

Most traditions and worships described above, relate to a time when the people in Huarochirí were still used to perform them without the shadow of a Spanish presence. The author wrote often at first about the old times and would then add information about the contemporary situation. The old time could have been, pre-Inca or pre-Spanish but also as e.g. in the chapters 9, 20, and 24 the time before and after Avila's appearance and work in the region; hence old time from the author's point of view could mean twenty years ago.

Previously, information from the manuscript was used in research to create a picture of Inca society and even pre-Inca society; as I mentioned above. Yet, one should not forget that these ritual descriptions are collected in 16th / 17th century and therefore people in Huarochirí knew about them. What is even more interesting, based on the information from the sources they continued to perform rituals according to their tradition and more importantly so, according to their belief system. A good example (already described above) is described in the chapters 19¹⁶⁸ and 23¹⁶⁹; a myth is told about the origins and veneration of a huaca Maca Uisa, the son of Paria Caca. His story begins in the Inca times. The Inca Tupay Ynga Yupanqui requested support from his huacas in a war campaign, and Maca Uisa agreed to help him. After the Spanish invasion, this huaca was transferred to the town Limca, and later from there to Llacsá Tambo, where people would offer to him. The author started his story with the origins of a huaca in past times and ended with statements about his contemporary times. Both, the history of the worship itself and the statements about the actual worship situation constitute a significant element which contributes to the understanding of this culture. What follows is a complementation of the examples given above in this chapter with the commentaries of the author of the manuscript who describes, if, how, and when people would perform these rituals.

¹⁶⁸ Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 99,100.

¹⁶⁹ Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 114.

The manuscript tells us that the great worship festivals were rescheduled to coincide with Christian worship occasions. Auquisna, the Paria Caca festival, was celebrated after the invasion at or around Corpus Christi.

Nowadays the Auquisna season ... comes in the month of June or close to it. It either occurs close to ... [Corpus Christi] the great pasch or actually coincides with it. All huacas, who might be ten or even twenty, dance on this occasion.¹⁷⁰

Similarly, Chaycasna, the festival of Chaupi Ñamca, was also scheduled around Corpus Christi. The huacas had to perform dances during these and other festivals and the author in describing and thereby proving the continuous existence of traditional Andean worship in early 17th century, tells us about further festival periods.

We know people schedule Chaupi Ñamca's rites during the month of June, in such a way that they almost coincide with Corpus Christi.¹⁷¹

Finally, in the month of November, just about coinciding with the festival of San Andrés, they'd perform still another dance called Chanco.¹⁷²

In connection with an annual canal cleaning a ritual was performed by the Cupara people in the village of San Lorenzo, which ended with the participation of all communities around the village. It shows that some people still perform the ritual and others don't. According to Salomon, the "good padre" named in the quote is most probably Avila as the author expected him to read the text.

In fact today people who are in the know about these practices still do the same thing and perform the same rites when they clean the canals. Even now, no matter how people behave, neither the *alcalde* nor anybody else would ever try to stop them by asking, "Why do you do these things?"

On the contrary, they dance and drink right along with them until they get drunk. And as for the Catholic priest, they would fool him, saying, "Padre, I'm back from cleaning the canal, so I'm going to dance, I'm going to drink."

As far as that goes, all the people do the same thing.

True, some don't do it anymore because they have a good padre.

But others go on living like this in secret up to the present.¹⁷³

In connection with another ritual, regarding a huaca called Anchi Cara and his children, people would offer some coca leaves and then perform a more complex ritual involving a

¹⁷⁰ Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 72.

¹⁷¹ Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 78.

¹⁷² Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 78.

¹⁷³ Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 65.

llama sacrifice. The author tells us that they still perform these rites today, even if modified. “In the old days they performed worship with a llama, but now that they don’t have llamas anymore, they worship with just a guinea pig, some *ticti*, or whatever else they have.”¹⁷⁴

Describing a divine command, the author tells us about a ritual which involves coca producer. In the following quote, the author repeats the speech of the huaca Paria Caca to his son Chupui Huampo, who because of a fight with another huaca had a broken foot and volunteered to stay on a certain place in order to keep watch.

He gave his command; “All the inhabitants of these two valleys must give coca to you first, before any of them may chew it. Only after you have chewed it shall the people chew coca from their harvest. Also, the people are to slaughter a llama in your honor, one that is still childless, one that has never given birth. And you shall always eat its eartips and other such things first, before the rest may be eaten.” ... They carry on the customs secretly to this day.¹⁷⁵

Another example describes how some people, although Christian on the surface would still invoke the old gods.

Some people, although they’ve become Christians, have done so only out of fear. “I’m afraid the priest or somebody else might find out how bad I’ve been,” they think.

Although they say the Rosary, they still carry some pretty illa amulet everywhere; although they themselves might not worship these native divinities, they contract some old people to worship in their stead. Lots of people live this way.¹⁷⁶

A similar example expresses how people adjusted to the new times.

Remembering those meals for the dead, people who hadn’t yet sincerely converted to Christianity are known to have said, “The Spaniards also give food to their dead, to their bones, on All Saints’ Day, they do feed them. So let’s go to church. Let’s feed our own dead.”¹⁷⁷

In Huarochiri and also in Quinti, people say on All Saints’ Day, “Let’s leave some nice warm food for the dead alongside the church” and they cook up some warm potatoes and pieces of jerky well seasoned with red pepper, and also toasted maize [...]¹⁷⁸

The last two examples describe a change in rituals which I will discuss further down in the next chapter. For now, their purpose is to finish the inquiry about actual worship performances during Avila’s times and to show that some Andean worship traditions, even if

¹⁷⁴ Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochiri Manuscript*, 135.

¹⁷⁵ Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochiri Manuscript*, 69

¹⁷⁶ Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochiri Manuscript*, 74.

¹⁷⁷ Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochiri Manuscript*, 130.

¹⁷⁸ Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochiri Manuscript*, 131.

changed, were continued in some ways. I believe I could show that there is sufficient proof for the continued worship during the transformation times in Peru.

The examples above confirm Osterhammel. We recognize syncretism but also the powerful influence of the Catholic Church and the priests, as people hid their belief and disguised it. There is however, no information about employed force or violence by the church. This is explained by the purpose of the manuscript and its creation circumstances.¹⁷⁹ Osterhammel stated that the Catholic Church in Spanish colonies was “a powerful instrument of cultural penetration”¹⁸⁰ which I described above in the chapters 1.3.5 (Authorship of the Huarochirí Manuscript) and 2.1 (The Christian Case).

To make a sincere statement about worship freedoms and obligations of natives during the transition period in Huarochirí required elucidating several aspects. These are the force behind obligations, examples of rituals which are obligated and those which were performed due to one's own will, the “original” performance of the rituals, and the actual (late 16th and early 17th century) performance. The Christian influence is recognizable in many examples given above. Festivals were rescheduled and their dates matched with the celebration of official Christian events. People would hide their belief in huacas by performing Andean rituals secretly or even paying old people to perform rituals for them. Another aspect worth consideration is the geography of Huarochirí.¹⁸¹ The invaders couldn't cover the vast area of the Andes at once, even seventy years later this was not possible. Remote and isolated locations complicated the missionary work of the priests. Therefore, the Spanish concentrated groups of people in new founded towns in easily accessible places.¹⁸² They also punished groups of people which disobeyed the Christian rules and resettled and concentrated them in new settlements. “In extremen Fällen kam es in Peru zur Umsiedlung, oder auch, je nach den Gegebenheiten, Konzentration der Bevölkerungsgruppen, die sich schuldig gemacht hatten.”¹⁸³ Yet, as shown in the manuscript, people continued with different intensity to perform Andean rituals.

¹⁷⁹ As described above in chapter 1.3.

¹⁸⁰ Osterhammel, *Colonialism*, 96.

¹⁸¹ Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 11,12.

¹⁸² Prem, *Geschichte*, 98.

¹⁸³ Prem, *Geschichte*, 100.

2.3.5 Summary

With the beginning of my research efforts, I predicted an answer which could be produced by simply adding information extracted from the text. However, the analysis revealed a very complex nature of the culture during the transition period. People had just lost parts of their ancestor traditions but hadn't been fully Christianized yet. In other words, people still performed original Andean rituals, while they also started to practice Christian rituals. Moreover, the word "some" should be included, because some people still performed Andean rituals, some already performed only Christian rituals, and some did both. Furthermore, with regard to the question about freedoms and obligations, some people, had to respond to the huacsa and yanka orders in accordance with their old tradition and the system of reciprocity, while others were forced by church officials to partake in their rituals, and again and I believe based on the results of the analysis, a majority were tied up in both religions.

These results left me with the conclusion of the impossibility of a statement about freedoms and obligations of an individual in a narrow sense. However, it is possible to describe and thereby understand in which situation people during the transition period were. The ancient system of reciprocity which constituted the ritual obligations to a high degree was still a custom for many. With the examples above, I described how people still performed rituals, how they changed some rituals and even paid others to satisfy their ancient obligations at least to some extent. Many annual customs as e.g. the Paria Caca festival were disguised as Christian events, in order to keep their tradition alive. Overall, obligation came from both sides, from the Christian and the Andean original religion. I assume that the obligation to conduct Andean rituals was partly broken when the local huacas and yankas were imprisoned or worse. It meant also that people were left to deal with their convictions by themselves. In that case, the original priestly guidance was gone and the natives would precede or stay away from Andean ritual, depending on the intensity of their belief. It was strong, as some examples show us, but with ongoing Christian education and passing time, the intensity faded more and more. On the other hand, disappearing Andean worship obligations were replaced by Christian obligations. The same could be said about worship freedoms in this period. There are described rituals which were performed according to one's own will, needs and desires; but with increasing Christian pressure, they were less and less conducted. And of course, Christianity offered its own way of dealing with personal crises and wishes, you simply just had to pray. Plus, there were also Christian rituals, which promised to liberate from sins.

chaymi ciclla

ahaylle

(This is the blossom! Victory!)

3 Conclusions

In the previous parts I scrutinized religious elements in the culture in Huarochirí in the late 16th and early 17th century, as they are described in the Huarochirí manuscript. The results of these inquiries are now forged into a picture which should describe characteristics of indigenous Andean religion. The first characteristic was the concept of the afterlife and resulting consequences for the living. I revealed two basic notions within afterlife thoughts. People believed in a fly like object that contained the essence or soul of the deceased. They also believed that this object would return to the place or huaca from which it came. This also implies that people might have thought of this object as coming from this huaca or place when a human was born. But there is no statement about such thoughts in the text. The second important aspect of the afterlife concept was the preparation of the dead. The physical part of the dead would be dressed and fed regularly and lived (from a native believer point of view) in caves or special dead houses. The contrast between the fly like object and the physical remains is obvious. One can speculate if the fly like object is the life force of the humans which returns to the deities with the death of a person; and the body is left without physical powers but still contains a transcendent aspect which consists of the person's characteristics and supernatural powers. But the manuscript doesn't give further information which leaves this speculation without any support. But another thought is well described. People had rules which, when broken, could lead to misery and bad fortune. What these rules looked like is unclear and not discussed in the scripture. But accurately performed rituals as well as ancestral care belonged surely to a possible list of rules with prohibitions and commandments. While this has to be *concluded* based on the information in the text, *there are* descriptions for people, fearing the consequences of committed sins, regardless if they or the deceased inflicted them. It followed that rituals were performed in order to redeem oneself and the

deceased. Finally, I have to emphasize again that in late 16th century the society was not unanimous in keeping the Andean faith. Some natives were already committed to Christian belief, while some people still performed rituals of their ancestors, and as I wrote above, some did both.

Freedoms and obligations in worship were the theme for the next part of my analysis. I concluded that people in Huarochirí during the transition period were affected by the changing religious system and that obligations and freedoms shifted from huaca to Christian religion. As the Catholic Church forcefully demanded worship for the Christian god, the huacsa and yanca influence was diminished and believers were to some extent prevented from worshipping the Andean deities in the old fashion way. As shown above, the manuscript contains a number of examples which proves the continuation of huaca worship, and Andean religious traditions existed parallel with the Christian supremacy. Originally, this Andean worship was sustained by the system of reciprocity. It was imprinted in the culture and everyone was part of it; from the king to the beggar, from the human to the god. Life sustaining deeds from the huacas had to be paid with offerings and worship.

As the performance of these rituals became more and more dangerous, people responded with hiding their belief and religious performances. Major worship festivals were rescheduled, to disguise traditional worship with Christian celebrations. Other rituals were disguised as a festival for the completed cleaning of a water canal, or the dead were fed on All Saint's Day by storing food and drinks on the churches and graveyards. I also presented some cases of voluntary rituals, performed in order to be helped, blessed or guided. The wish for a penis enlargement is surely a personal desire. With growing pressure of Christianity, these rituals surely had to be hidden or disguised as well. However, in the same way as the obligations were shifting from huaca to the Christian god worship, freedoms were shifting too. Natives could now pray to God and ask him for protection or other things, whenever they desired it. Overall, worship freedoms and obligations existed in pre-Spanish times as well as thereafter. But worship obligations in connection with the huaca religion had a greater economic impact, as people had to prepare food, drinks and other offers. With regard to this aspect, Christian worship meant theoretically an improvement. Practically, based on the example of Avila, it was often the opposite. The Christian priests expected payment from the locals and support for their personal income and church related projects. The greed of some priests had nothing to do with religion, but in order to satisfy it, they used religion and their position as religious leaders within society. In the end, it seems to me that to sacrifice a llama or two in a year, or

whatever was economically possible, was not at all as costly as the greed of some Catholic Priests. Combined with the beginning colonialism and general exploitation of the natives, worship obligations probably doubled at first for those who practiced both religions. But with growing Christian pressure huaca worship decreased further and became a lesser aspect in people's lives.

Osterhammel barely mentioned the colonial efforts of the Spanish in South America and when writing about the Spanish chose the example of Central and North America. But his theoretical frame for colonialism can be applied for the Andean case. Osterhammel wrote that colonial influence “seldom led to a complete collapse of pre-colonial cosmologies and ways of life, but always to its “destructuring” into fragments or at least to a challenging of cultural values...”¹⁸⁴ This statement is validated by the examples above, ritual behavior in Huarochirí didn't just vanish, it changed, was syncretized with the new belief; it simply adapted to the new life circumstances.

The existence of the manuscript and how it was used by the church is one proof to Osterhammel's statement that the Spanish interfered in indigenous culture to a high degree, which is one possible colonial behavior, according to Osterhammel.

Osterhammel further described the notion to manipulate native symbols to facilitate conquests of unknown lands. It becomes clear in the manuscript that this manipulation was also practiced after the conquest in order to convert the indigenous people to Christianity. I gave the example of Don Christóbal, who fought an evil demon, which was previously venerated by the natives as the huaca Llocllay Huancupa.

To my understanding the Huarochirí Manuscript, with its contained information as well as its creation circumstances and purposes, is a valuable source for knowledge about Andean life in the transition period in 16th and 17th century. With help of Osterhammel's theory I was able to place my work in a wider theoretical frame which supported the validity of my results.

3.1 Discussion

Overall, based on the Huarochirí Manuscript it is possible to elaborate a picture of religious cultural aspects in this Andean region. Yet, although the stories present accurate descriptions

¹⁸⁴ Osterhammel, *Colonialism*, 95.

of religious myth and rituals, this information alone is insufficient with regard to a complete understanding. Therefore it is necessary to complement the information given in the manuscript with previous research to understand the context of the manuscript's creation and native life circumstances at the time. In previous research, scholars included examinations of other sources from this period. These sources are almost all written from a Spanish or Christian point of view and a tendency within is obvious. But since the motivations behind such tendencies are clear in many cases, these texts can be examined too.

There are uncertainties in this research, which cannot be eliminated. The translation into English, although done with utmost care, contains still doubts about some words or formulations. The Quechua from today is also not the same as in the manuscript and hence presents another obstacle for scholars. Still, I find the translations valid for my very purpose. Some of the stories, whether collected by friendly asking or torturing could be purposely falsified in order to protect a huaca or place of worship. With a qualitative content analysis I did hope to compensate such faults. This, however, gives always room for misinterpretation. To minimize this effect, I incorporated other research. As other research was often conducted over years and complemented with a large number of sources, it was very helpful to establish validity, at least to some degree.

The transition period with regard to religion in Huarochirí ended probably for the most people with the missionary efforts of Avila shortly after 1608 and his lawsuit. Documents reveal his way through the Andes and his trail of destroyed huacas and tortured people. Nonetheless, with regard to traditional worship, people were differently influenced and what ended shortly after the Spanish invasion for some, might have lasted much longer for others. Furthermore, the different expressions for catholic belief recognizable in today's Andes are proof of surviving aspects of pre-Columbian traditions. It would be interesting to reconstruct Avila's way through Huarochirí and to follow this trail to find out if some of the old traditions, described in the manuscript, survived the last 400 years. Are there huacas transformed into lucky charms, or little so called superstitious rituals, which have their origins in huaca worship? Is there perhaps a deep rooted distrust towards church and government officials still recognizable in regions with high percentage of Native Americans, or maybe not? Are there political movements influenced by the idea of huaca worship revival, resembling Taki Onqoy?

One of the reasons for this essay was to collect information about the Peruvian past in preparation for my upcoming master thesis. However, it is easy to theorize about another culture from an armchair perspective, as many 18th century orientalist desktop warriors proved. Their work, highly recognized in western society, and still influential to some extent today, was describing religious phenomena based on texts which had often little to do with true religious life. But the Huarochirí Manuscript seeks to describe worship reality and not theological thoughts of religious elites. Hence, I do feel prepared to enter the Andean world and looking forward to meet the descendants of the huaca culture.

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Appendix

Ayllu

As Salomon, Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz and Prem emphasize, there is no exact scientific definition or description of an ayllu yet. So far one can assume that it was a group of people, who were connected to each other (most probably by blood relation), who owned the right to cultivate their own land or exploited other productive resources, or even were specialized in different crafts (e.g. silversmithing). They probably had their own huacas and villcas and specialists for religious rituals. More than one ayllu could exist in one village and they are also seen as the lowest form of political power in the Andean precolonial society.¹⁸⁵

Huaca

It is interpreted by Salomon as superhuman being and also used in connection with religion, as in huaca religion.¹⁸⁶ Described by Salomon: “A huaca was any material thing that manifested the superhuman: a mountain peak, a spring, a union of streams, a rock outcrop, an ancient ruin, a twinned cob of maize, a tree split by lightning.”¹⁸⁷ People sacrificed to the huacas but also created new ones by burning children and youths alive or by mummifying their dead leader or high ranked officials.¹⁸⁸

Villcas

Salomon has no clear interpretation of the word villca. It could be a human who by achievement or marriage enters the circles of the huacas. It has a similarity to a contemporary Aymara word, meaning sun or shrine. A mummified ancestor could also be a villca.¹⁸⁹

Huacasas

Huacsa was a form of huaca priesthood. The title was not hereditary and people were often appointed in a rotary system within an ayllu or kinship. They impersonate the great huacas during festivals and reenact myth.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁵ Salomon and Urioste, *Huarocharí Manuscript*, 21,22; Dedenbach-Salazar Saènz, “Die Stimmen von Huarocharí,” 9; Prem, *Geschichte*, 240,241.

¹⁸⁶ Salomon and Urioste, *Huarocharí Manuscript*, 16.

¹⁸⁷ Salomon and Urioste, *Huarocharí Manuscript*, 16, 17.

¹⁸⁸ Salomon and Urioste, *Huarocharí Manuscript*, 16, 17.

¹⁸⁹ Salomon and Urioste, *Huarocharí Manuscript*, 46.

¹⁹⁰ Salomon and Urioste, *Huarocharí Manuscript*, 18.

Yanca

Yancas were also a kind of priesthood but with focus on calendric and technical elements in society. They could also function as oracles or mediators. Their office was often inherited and the secrets were passed on from one generation to the next one.¹⁹¹

Yunka

Yunka is a term for the coastal people, which were, according to the manuscript expelled from their territory in Huarochirí by ancient superhuman beings or folk heroes. They are mentioned in this context on several places in the manuscript.¹⁹²

Curaca

Curaca were probably some kind of lord in Andean society with authority over their territory (e.g. town, village, or valley). The manuscript mentioned several by name, but doesn't give further explanation.¹⁹³ In chapter 19 one can read about Don Juan Puypu Tamca the curaca of Llacsá Tambo, who ordered a priest, to bring the huaca Maca Uisa to his town. This reveals a great deal of authority of this curaca.¹⁹⁴

Checa

The Checa were a collective of ayllus which derived their brotherhood from a common mythology which explained their origins with the emergence of the five Paria Caca aspects; as they were the descendants of one of the Paria Caca components.¹⁹⁵

Quinti

The Quinti were also a collective of ayllus which derived their brotherhood from the same genealogical myth, which was utilized by the Checa.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹¹ Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 18.

¹⁹² Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 83.

¹⁹³ Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 18.

¹⁹⁴ Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 99.

¹⁹⁵ Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 20.

¹⁹⁶ Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 20, 79.