

Time and Space: Contemporary Quechua Oral Tradition, Astronomy and the Inca Pilgrimage of the Sun ‘Inti Raymi’

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Abstract

This article deals with the connection between contemporary oral narratives in Quechua and the Inca pilgrimage of the sun (*Inti Raymi*) described in colonial chronicles. It aims to explain the complex astronomical links between an oral tradition and a pilgrimage.

The narratives, related to me in the village of Pomacanchi (Cuzco Dept.) during my ethnolinguistic fieldwork, form part of a cycle of myths about *Qanchi Machu*, the culture hero of the *Qanchi*. Both Inca pilgrimage accounts and contemporary narratives project onto earth – with astronomical precision – the year-long course of the sun at midday across the sky. Consequently, aspects of the Andean concept of time and space, both in Inca times and nowadays, are being revealed.

I describe the movement of the sun in the language of the nowadays Quechua peasants when they observe the sun, or in the language of the chroniclers who wrote it down in the 16th century, when the sun walked through the sky from one place to another just like the Quechua people do it in our world.

Chronicles from the colonial period and oral Quechua tradition are treated here as distinct yet equally valuable sources. Moreover, a link between the written chronicles and the orally transmitted myths is established through an eminently scientific medium, namely astronomy. Thus, something that would have been impossible in the case of a restriction to one type of source only – either chronicles or oral narratives – is achieved, namely to demonstrate the complexity of Andean culture, its worldview just as well as its continuity over the centuries (all transformations since the colonial era notwithstanding), thus making way for new insights and building understanding for the ritual activities back then as well as today.

Keywords: Inca, Pilgrimage, Inti Raymi, Oral tradition, Quechua, Storytelling, Inca Astronomy, Inca continuity.

Resumen

TIEMPO Y ESPACIO: TRADICIÓN ORAL QUECHUA CONTEMPORÁNEA, ASTRONOMÍA Y EL PEREGRINAJE INCA EN VENERACIÓN AL SOL ‘INTI RAYMI’

Este artículo se dedica a las interrelaciones entre los cuentos orales quechuas contemporáneos y el peregrinaje inca en honor al Sol (*Inti Raymi*) descrito en las crónicas coloniales. Se trata de poner de relieve los complejos enlaces astronómicos entre una tradición oral y un peregrinaje.

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1 I would like to express my gratitude to Weronika Szemińska for her English translation of my article, which was originally written in German. David Fenske translated the quotations which were originally written in Spanish.

Los cuentos que me fueron relatados en la Comunidad Campesina de Pomacanchi (Departamento de Cusco) durante mi trabajo de campo forman parte del ciclo mítico sobre el *Qanchi Machu*, el héroe cultural de los qanchis. Ambos, el peregrinaje inca y los cuentos orales quechuas contemporáneos, proyectan sobre la Tierra –con precisión astronómica– el trayecto del Sol por el firmamento a medio día a lo largo de un año. Por consiguiente, se revelarán aspectos del concepto andino del tiempo y del espacio, tanto en la época inca como en nuestros días.

Describo el movimiento del Sol en el lenguaje que emplean los campesinos quechuas contemporáneos para hablar de él cuando lo observan, o en el que utilizaron los cronistas del siglo XVI al redactar sus textos, cuando se consideraba que el astro caminaba por el cielo de un lugar al otro de la misma manera que lo hacen los campesinos quechuas en su mundo cotidiano.

En este artículo, las crónicas de la época colonial y la tradición oral quechua contemporánea se tratan como fuentes distintas, pero equivalentes. Más aún, se establece un vínculo entre las crónicas escritas y los mitos transmitidos oralmente, y se lo hace por un medio eminentemente científico: la astronomía. De esta manera, se logra lo que habría sido imposible si el tema se hubiera restringido a un solo tipo de fuente, sean las crónicas o los cuentos orales: mostrar la complejidad de la cultura andina, su visión del mundo, así como también su continuidad a través de los siglos –no obstante las transformaciones ocurridas desde la época colonial–, y abrir paso así a nuevas perspectivas y fomentar nuevas comprensiones de las actividades rituales tanto en el pasado como en nuestros días.

Palabras clave: Inca, peregrinaje, Inti Raymi, tradición oral, quechua, contar cuentos, astronomía inca, continuidad inca.

The starting and focal point of this article are two narratives about *Qanchi Machu*, the culture hero of the *Qanchi*, which Don Jacinto told me in the village of Pomacanchi, a *comunidad campesina* approximately 3600m (12,000ft) above sea level and around 120km (75mi) from the city of Cuzco, during my four-year ethnolinguistic fieldwork in the 1980s. Don Jacinto was then 68 years old. He had spent the majority of his life in Pomacanchi, where he had also been born. Don Jacinto is bilingual. His relatively good command of Spanish notwithstanding, he preferred to tell the stories in his mother tongue, Quechua. Don Jacinto, his family, and I formed a deep friendship during my stay in Pomacanchi. This relationship, predominantly with his daughter Melchora and her family, survived the death of Don Jacinto in 2005 and continues until this day.

Qanchi Machumanta hoq machukunamanta ima²

1 Kay llaqtanchismantas, kay llaqtamanta kasqaku karan machukuna antes, antesraq.

2 Hinasyá chay machukunaqa hoq llaqtakunawan huñuyukuspanku risqaku Sicuaníq hawan, Rayaman.

Chay Rayamanta unuta partinakusqaku karan, haqay Qolla lado, wichay Juliaca ladoman, Juliaca ladoman partesqaku. Después, kay noqay, kay

2 I write in 20th-century Quechua in the manner that reflects my informants' pronunciation and with five vocals, as is usual in the Cuzco region.

Qosqo ladoman, Qosqo ladoman ((an interjection not belonging to the story)) partinakamusqaku; iskaynin partiman. Hinaspa chay Rayamanta partinakusqaku: akhnaman, akhnaman.

Hinaspayá chaymanta partinakuspankuqa, riki, chayta partinakuspankuqa ch'equeripunku.

- 3 Ch'equerikuspanku kaq wakhmantaqa huñunaruquillasqakutaq kasqan Raya-llamantaq.

Hinaspa chaymanta –imata ruwasqaku?– ((an interjection not belonging to the story)), hinaspayá chayqa machukunaqa, riki, wakmanta huñunakuspanku, acuerdota ruwaspanku, chanqasqaku Qosqoman qori barretata. Hinaspa chay barretata mana valichisqakuchu. Hinaspa kay Qanchi Machuqa pasakampusqa kay llaqtanta, llaqtanta pasakampusqa. Hinaspa pasampuqtinqa maskhayunkusyá, maskhayunkus Qanchi Machutaqa. Hinaspas presota hina apanku chay Raya pataman. Hinaspas llapan machukunasyá chanqasqaku, hinas mana atisqakuchu Qosqoman qori barreta chayachiyta. Hinaspas presota hina apayuspanku, riki, kay llaqta Qanchi Machuñataq: “A ver, qanñataq chanqay!”, nispa. Niqtinku, riki, chanqasqa. Hinaspa akhnata maymirispa, maymirispa chanqasqa. Hinaspa Qosqo llaqta catedral kashan, anchaypiqa qochas kashan, riki. Qocha patapis kashan catedralqa. Chayqa chayman plantarukusqa, qochamanqa akhnata. Chayqa chay qori barreta³ patamantaq losarusqaku hallpawan. Chay qocha pataman, anchay patapi Qosqo catedraltaqa ruwasqaku, fundasqaku.

- 4 Chayqa anchaymanta chaymantapis ruwasqaku karqan, huk acuerdota ruwallasqakutaq machukunaqa.

Hinaspa chaykuna acuerdota ruwaspanku: “A ver, kunanqa Qosqopaqri, maymantataq unuta apamusun?”, nillasqakutaq. Chayqa Qosqopaq unuta apamusqaku Sipas Pukhumanta. Chay Sipas Pukhumanta apamusqankuqa, chay unuqa qapariyusqa. Anchhaynamanta chaymantapas kaq machuqa escaparqamullasqataq, kay Pomacanchi machuqa. Hinaspa escaparqamuqtinqa kaqsi, ek, mayqenmanpas mana uyakamusqachu chay sirpi. Sirpi kasqa chay Sipas Qocha unuqa. Hinaspa sirpiman tukusqa. Hinaspas mana uyakamusqachu ni mayqen machumanpas, nispas. “Mayqen machuchu icha faltanchispas”, nispa waturinakusqaku. Hinas waturinakuspankuqa: “Qanchi Machun mana kanchu”, nispa niqtin, huk comisionta kachamusqa kayman. Hinaspas: “Pasakapunchá, riki, pasakapullantaqchá, riki”, nispa kachamusqaku. Chayqa kaypi hap'irullasqakutaq, chayqa kaymanta puserullasqakutaq Qosqoman. Chayqa Qosqopiqa kaqsi Sipas Pukhyuman chayaruspapa, sirpitaqa hap'irqonsi. Hinaspas sirpiqa qapariykun:

3 Instead of 'qori barretata'.

“Manan noqaqa Qosqoq sikin maqchiwananpaqqa riymanchu!”, nispa nisqa, waqaykusqa. Hinaspas: “Imayna mana riwaqchu!”, nispa, makinta haywayruspa, qallunta akhnata waskhata hina mayt’urukuspa pasachimusqa sikhantakama. ((a comment not belonging to the story)) Hinaspas sikhantakama arastaykarqamun Qosqomanqa waqashaq qaparishaqta. ((a comment not belonging to the story)) Hinaspas chaymantaqa ñakaykusqa Qanchi Machutaqa: “Aman, kunan waqayniymanmi chayanki. Waqayniyman chayaspan kunan ch’awchuykikuna mana arribanqachu, noqaq ñakayniyman chayaspa”, nispa nisqa.

Hinaspas –que te he dicho– kay Pomacanchi ch’awchukuna ciertopaq fracasollapi kapuyku, fracasollapi. Mana sinchi askirisqayku kanchu kay llaqta. Verdad, ñakaranchá, riki, ñakaykurantaqchá, riki.

5 Chhaynatan ruwasqa karan, señorita.

Of Qanchi Machu and the Other Elders

(translation)

1 Back in the old days the elders from our village, from this village, still existed.

2 When the elders met with other villages, they went into the area of Sicuani, to La Raya.

From La Raya they divided the water, to the other side, the Qolla side, upwards to Juliaca, to the side of Juliaca they divided the water. Then they went on to divide the water to this, to our, to the side of Cuzco ((an interjection not belonging to the story)), to the side of Cuzco. They divided it between the two sides. So they divided it among them from La Raya: hither and thither.

So after they divided it among them, right, after they divided it among them, they dispersed.

3 After they had dispersed, they gathered together once again in La Raya.

Then afterward – what did they do then? – ((an interjection not belonging to the story)), so after the elders gathered together again and made an agreement, they threw a bar of gold toward Cuzco. But they didn’t manage to meet the target with the bar. In the meantime, Qanchi Machu had returned hither, to this village, he had returned to his village. After he had returned, they looked for him everywhere, they looked everywhere for Qanchi Machu. And then they brought him as a captive back up to La Raya. Then all the elders threw the bar of gold, but they didn’t manage to throw it all the way to Cuzco. So they said to Qanchi Machu from our village, whom they had brought back as a captive: “Let’s see, you throw now!” And he threw, as they told him to. He threw, making circles with his hand, describing

circles with his hand. In the city of Cuzco, after all, there is the cathedral, and there is a lake, too, right. And the cathedral is situated on the lake. So that is where (the bar of gold)⁴ got stuck in that lake. And they anchored the bar of gold there in the ground. Above the lake, there above they built, they founded the Cuzco cathedral.

4 And after the elders had done that, again they made an agreement.

They concluded the agreement: “Let’s see whence we will now bring water to Cuzco?”, they said. The water for Cuzco they wanted to bring from the ‘Spring of the Girl’. But the water which they brought from the ‘Spring of the Girl’ began to scream. After all that, the elder, the elder of Pomacanchi escaped again. But after he had escaped, well, the snake obeyed no one anymore. This ‘Lake of the Girl’ was a snake. Well, it transformed into a snake. And she obeyed not one of the elders, so it is told. “Which one of us the elders made a mistake?”, so they searched among each other. As they were busy searching among each other, it occurred to them: “Qanchi Machu is not here,” so they said and sent hither a delegation. “He must have gone back home, surely he will have gone back home.” And then they seized him here, and hence they brought him back again to Cuzco. And in Cuzco, as he comes to the ‘Spring of the Girl’, he grabs the snake. Then the snake screamed a great deal: “On no account will I go to clean Cuzco’s backside!”, so she said and wept violently. “What, you won’t go!”, said (Qanchi Machu), extended his hand, wound her tongue around it like a rope and dragged her through an irrigation ditch. ((a comment not belonging to the story)) He is dragging her, as she is screaming and weeping, along a ditch to Cuzco. ((a comment not belonging to the story)) Thereupon she cursed Qanchi Machu: “Not so, now you will repay me for my tears. As repayment for my tears, now your roots/your offspring shall not prosper any more, thus my curse will affect them,” she said.

And – as I have told you – we, the offspring from Pomacanchi, indeed live in nothing but misery, nothing but misery. There is hardly anything in this village that we have gained for ourselves. She must have cursed us indeed, right, curse us she truly did.

5 That is what she did, Señorita.

I will approach this narrative and another one by Don Jacinto to uncover the complex astronomical relations between the narratives and the Inca *Inti Raymi* pilgrimage (*inti* means ‘sun’; *raymi* are the celebrations of the solstices [cf. Lira 1982]) and to work out some aspects of the Andean concept of time and space. This

4 The text in simple parentheses was added to the translation for better comprehension.

analysis will be based on ethnolinguistic analysis and will start with the linguistic structures of the narrative, to which it will not be restricted.

After an introduction (passage 1), the narrative “Of Qanchi Machu and the Other Elders” covers three large episodes. The first episode (passage 2) describes how the elders from many villages met at La Raya, a mountain pass still bearing that name, which is located on the border between the regions of Cuzco and Collao (Collao in the broadest sense, occupies the area around Lake Titicaca), and there divided the water to each side (creating a watershed). In the second episode (passage 3), Don Jacinto tells how the elders endeavored to found Cuzco in the spot where a bar of gold that they threw from La Raya would hit the ground. No one but Qanchi Machu managed to achieve that. Finally, the third episode (passage 4) speaks of how Qanchi Machu – again as the only one from among the elders – manages to bring water to Cuzco. However, in doing so, he brings a curse upon his offspring: they shall never prosper.

The myth told by Don Jacinto reports the origin of Pomacanchi’s nearer and farther surroundings and their spatial organization and uncovers the deeper sense of spatial organization. It further reports—as will become clear later, during the analysis of this and the other narrative by Don Jacinto—a cosmic situation, an astronomical constellation that remains concealed at first sight, and thus incorporates the dimension of time into the concept of space.

Only the first two episodes of Don Jacinto’s narrative are relevant for the purposes of this article. Both will be discussed in more detail further on. However, the analysis carried out in this article will not be exhaustive, but rather restricted to the aspects of this narrative which are directly relevant to the subject of this article.⁵

The first episode (passage 2) is the shortest one. Don Jacinto describes the deed of the elders, a most significant act of creation, in scarce words.⁶

Let us take a look at the locations mentioned by Don Jacinto. These are three: First, La Raya, second, the area of Juliaca, the region of Collao, and third, the area around Pomacanchi, the region of Cuzco. These three sites and areas can still be precisely localized: La Raya is the mountain pass constituting the border between the Cuzco Region and the Collao Region, which includes Juliaca. As Don Jacinto says, viewed from Pomacanchi, La Raya is located behind Sicuani. The surroundings of Juliaca (more or less the contemporary *Departamento de Puno*)⁷ are

5 I analyse Don Jacinto’s story, amid many other narratives, from a wide variety of perspectives in *El Qanchi Machu aún vive* (Gutmann 2023) in the first volume: *Cuentos orales quechuas de Pomacanchi. Estudio etnolingüístico en una comunidad campesina de los Andes peruanos* (in English, *Qanchi Machu Is Still Alive: Oral Quechua Narratives from Pomacanchi. An Ethnolinguistic Study in an Indigenous Village in the Peruvian Andes*) (Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos Bartolomé de las Casas, Cuzco, and others) and also in Gutmann 2026.

6 At least, that is what it seems like at first sight. This is one of the points I discuss in detail in *El Qanchi Machu aún vive*. (see note 5).

7 Juliaca, a modern city, is located at the railway junction Arequipa–Puno (with a connection to Bolivia) and Arequipa–Cuzco.

still referred to as Collao today, and their inhabitants are called *qollas*. Pomacanchi still belongs to the area of Cuzco.

Yet by describing the locations, Don Jacinto does not intend to determine fixed points to mark the geographical area and thus pinpoint it statically, but to emphasize the dynamic relationship between all three places. All these places are correlated with each other by means of directional verbs. In this manner, Don Jacinto also includes the temporal component (see next paragraph).

These precise locations are also elements of the *Inti Raymi*, the Inca pilgrimage route in honor of the sun. The pilgrimage route is walked. Thus, again, the dynamic relationship between the individual sites emerges and the temporal dimension is included. In this manner, the Inca pilgrimage route and the myth told by Don Jacinto bring time and space together. Interestingly, the concepts of time and space are expressed using the same word in Quechua, *pacha*.

Moreover, by dividing the water in La Raya, the elders establish La Raya as a center. The notion of center (*chawpi* in Quechua) is of great significance in Quechua culture. As seen in another narrative from Pomacanchi concerning the healing of a sick person by an *apu* (mountain god), only a person who lives in the center of the world can be healthy. If a person is thrown out of the center, He/she becomes ill. I will discuss the notion of *chawpi*, that is, the middle or the center, later on in this article. Understanding *chawpi* is essential for the comprehension of not only the myth about Qanchi Machu, but also of the Inca sun festival *Inti Raymi*.

At the beginning of the second episode (passage 3), the elders gather again at La Raya, which once more becomes the site where the events begin. It is from La Raya that, on the one side, the elders make their way to find Qanchi Machu and fetch him from Pomacanchi as a captive, and, on the other side, the other elders—and later also Qanchi Machu—throw the bar of gold toward Cuzco.

Thus, the second episode depicts two directions: first, the direction in which the elders, including Qanchi Machu, go, and second, the direction in which the bar of gold is thrown. Both movements are interrelated; therefore, they are told not as consecutive, but as intertwined. Both movements partly fail to achieve their goals in the first attempt.

Let us now consider the movement of the bar of gold, which is particularly vital for the subject matter of this article. The purpose of the elders' efforts in La Raya is to hit with the bar of gold the spot where Cuzco should be founded.

Incidentally, the idea that the location of Cuzco is marked by a bar of gold is not new. The chronicler Garcilaso de la Vega writes in his chronicle *Comentarios Reales de los Incas* from 1609:

“Nuestro Padre el Sol, viendo los hombres tales como te he dicho, se apiadó y hubo lástima dellos y envió del cielo a la tierra un hijo y una hija de los suyos para que los doctrinasen en el conocimiento de Nuestro Padre el Sol, para que lo adorasen y tuviesen por su Dios y para que les diesen preceptos y leyes en que vi-

viesen como hombres en razón y urbanidad, para que habitasen en casas y pueblos poblados, supiesen labrar las tierras, cultivar las plantas y mieses, criar los ganados y gozar dellos y de los frutos de la tierra como hombres racionales y no como bestias. Con esta orden y mandato puso Nuestro Padre el Sol estos dos hijos suyos en la laguna Titicaca, que está ochenta leguas de aquí (i.e. from Cuzco, M.G.), y les dijo que fuesen por do quisiesen y, doquiera que parasen a comer o a dormir, **procurasen hincar en el suelo una barilla de oro de media vara en largo y dos dedos en grueso que les dio para señal y muestra, que donde aquella barra se les hundiese con un solo golpe que con ella diesen en tierra, allí queria el Sol Nuestro Padre que parasen y hiciesen su asiento y corte.**” (Garcilaso de la Vega (1609) n.y., Volume 1: 48) (emphasis in bold mine).⁸

Below is an English translation of the same passage from Paul Ricaut (London) from 1688:⁹

“Our Father the Sun (said the Inca) beholding Men such as before related, took compassion of them, and sent a Son and a Daughter of his own from Heaven to Earth, to instruct our people in the knowledge of Our Father the Sun, that so they might worship and adore him, and esteem him for their God: giving them Laws and Precepts, whereunto they might conform their Lives, like Men of Reason and Civility; that they might live in Houses and Society, learn to sow the Land, cultivate Trees, and Plants, feed their Flocks, and enjoy them, and other Fruits of the Earth, as rational Men, and not as brute Beasts. With these Orders and Instructions Our Father the Sun placed his two Children in the Lake Titicaca, which is about eighty Leagues from hence (i.e. from Cuzco, M.G.), giving them liberty to go, and travel which way they pleased, and that in what place soever they stayed to eat, or sleep, **they should strike a little wedge** (rather: bar, M.G.) **of Gold into the ground, (which he had given them,) being about half a yard long, and two fingers thick, and where with one stroke this wedge should sink into the Earth, there should be the place of their Habitation, and the Court unto which all People should resort.**” (Garcilaso de la Vega (1609) 1688: 12) (emphasis in bold mine).¹⁰

To render the significance of the city of Cuzco and its relation to La Raya and the reason for Qanchi Machu throwing the bar of gold precisely from La Raya more comprehensible, I would like to refer to an episode of another narrative by Don Jacinto also belonging to the cycle of myths on Qanchi Machu.

8 Several narratives about Inkarrí, another culture hero, also report that Inkarrí threw a bar of gold in order to found Cuzco (cf. also, e.g., Getzels 1983: 172; Müller and Müller-Herbon 1986: 56; Urbano 1981: 89 et seq.; and Vivanco 1984: 196 et seq.). Moreover, in some versions, Inkarrí throws the bar from La Raya (cf. Müller and Müller-Herbon 1986; Nuñez del Prado 1973; and Urbano 1981); in others, the location is not precisely specified (cf. Vivanco 1984 and Getzels 1983). In the narratives recorded by Getzels and by Müller and Müller-Herbon, the bar lands in a lake, above which the Cuzco cathedral is erected — just as in the story by Don Jacinto. Incidentally, the water does exist and may be heard under a stone plate within the cathedral.

9 I use various editions of Garcilaso de la Vega’s text, because each one contains different interpretation.

10 See note 8.

I heard this second story from Don Jacinto three years after the first one on Qanchi Machu recounted here before. The third episode is specifically crucial for our subject, so it will be the only one I will quote here.

Machukuna rumikunata Qosqo fundacionpaq qatimusqanmanta

1 ((Wager between Qanchi Machu and Qhapaq Qolla))

2 Chayqa chayman¹¹ anchaymanta kaq nampusqaku karan, hampusqaku. Paypis paypis ripurankuchá, sitionku sitionku llaqtankuman, riki. Hinas anchaymantaña kaq Qosqo fundacionmanqa kaq haykullasqakutaq karan.

Chayqa Qosqota fundamusqaku, fundasqaku Qosqota.

Chayqa chay Qosqota fundaspaqa, fundanankupaqqa haqay Ollantamantas rumita qatimusqa karan apuntay hasut'illa machukuna, riki. Antesqa haqay rumi phawaqchá, riki, puriqchá, riki. Hinaspasyá apunta hasut'illa qatimusqa karan. Chayqa chay Qosqopi akhnan wask'a rumikunaqa kashanmi, riki. Triangulopis. Rumi puchukuna kashanmi, riki, chay Plaza de Armaspis; akhnan rumikuna kashallantaq, riki. Chay anchaykunasyá chay puchu iglesiamanta, catedralmanta puchu kasqa. Chayqa hinatasyá hasut'illa qatimusqa karan. Chayqa chaywan formarukun, perqarukun, riki, catedraltaqa sumaqta formarukuran, riki.

3 ((How the water was brought to Cuzco))

How the Elders Drove Rocks for the Foundation of Cuzco

(translation)

1 ((Wager between Qanchi Machu and Qhapaq Qolla))

2 So then afterward they arrived thither.¹² One after the other, they probably went back each to his village. Then later they gathered together again to found Cuzco.

So they went to found Cuzco, they founded Cuzco.

As they found Cuzco, to found it, the elders drove rocks from that village of Ollanta with mere whipping. In earlier times those rocks possibly could run, right, probably they could walk. And so they drove them thither with mere whipping. That's why there are such longish rocks in Cuzco, right. There are also some in the form of a triangle. The leftover rocks can still be found on *Plaza de Armas*; rocks in that form can also be found there. Those were left from the church, from the cathedral they were left. So with mere whipping, they drove them thither. And they used

11 That is to La Raya, as follows from the first episode of the narrative.

12 See note 11.

them for construction, and they built the walls, right, with them they built the cathedral very nicely.

3 ((How the water was brought to Cuzco))

Nothing is explicitly said about a bar of gold here. Yet what this narrative by Don Jacinto has to do with the bar of gold and, moreover, what both Don Jacinto’s narratives have to do with the Inca pilgrimage route in honor of the sun will become clear in the further part of this text. Let us now focus our attention on what is explicitly said in Don Jacinto’s second story.

Cuzco, and in particular the cathedral, were then built out of rocks, which were brought by all the elders together from the village of Ollanta.¹³ The village of Ollanta, like all the other places mentioned in the stories, still exists and is called Ollantaytambo. It is located in Valle Sagrado de los Incas (the Sacred Valley of the Inca) on the bank of the river Vilcanota, which has its source in La Raya. Thus it is fed by the water which was divided in that place by the elders.¹⁴ Also perplexing is the fact that Cuzco is situated precisely on the line between Ollanta and La Raya as the crow flies, with the ratio between the distance between Ollanta and Cuzco and the distance between Cuzco and La Raya amounting to approx. 1:4. (I will discuss that point in more detail later on.)



The fact that, on the one hand, the bar of gold that is supposed to determine the location of the future city of Cuzco is thrown from La Raya and, on the other hand, the rocks required for the construction of the city are brought from Ollanta, establishes Cuzco as a center located between La Raya and Ollanta. Thus, beside La Raya, a new center emerges: Cuzco.

The meaning of the Andean concept of *chawpi* (center) manifests itself even more prominently when we include another cultural form of expression: a dance devoted to Qanchi Machu, called ‘the dance of *machus*,’ that is, ‘the dance of the elders.’¹⁵ The *machus* (elders) dance with wooden staffs and, after the dance,

13 The fact that these rocks could walk and were driven by the elders to Cuzco with whipping (which means they were not carried in any manner) indicates that here, again, we have to deal with the act of creation of culture heroes and not with human activity. This is also mentioned in another narrative about Qanchi Machu which I studied in the article *Visión andina del mundo y conceptos religiosos en cuentos orales quechuas del Perú* (Gutmann 1993).

14 In another narrative, Don Jacinto explicitly points to the fact that the water that flows from La Raya to Cuzco is called Vilcanota.

15 Interestingly, the *machus* dance at the *Fiesta de la Virgen de la Natividad* (the festival celebrating the Nativity of Mary) – that is a Christian feast. Its celebration, however, expresses much more of the Andean perspective than might be expected.

use five staffs to erect a cosmological model that resembles a pyramid. The *chawpi*, the middle, is specifically marked by one of the staffs. The remaining four symbolize the four cardinal directions (see Figure 1). (I will return to that point later.)

Let us now take a look at another chronicle from the colonial period, which describes the Inca pilgrimage festival in honor of the sun *Inti Raymi*, and include it within the analysis of the Quechua narratives.

Cristóbal de Molina, el ‘Cuzqueño’ ((1574?) 1943: 25 et seq.) describes how in the Inca Empire the pilgrimage route, the essential element of *Inti Raymi*, the festival of the *rising* sun, led from Cuzco to La Raya¹⁶ and — drawing a loop — back to Cuzco on a different road (along the river Vilcanota). In his 1989 edition of the chronicle by Cristóbal de Molina (Urbano (ed.) “Fábulas y mitos de los Incas”, 1989), Enrique Urbano makes the following concluding remark on Molina’s explanations:¹⁷

“Nótese las características del peregrinaje que sale del Cusco, va por un lado del río Vilcanota hasta la región de la laguna de Pomacanchis, por las alturas del actual Acomayo, al sur de Cusco. Volvían por otro camino en que sobresalen algunos de los santuarios dedicados al antepasado Wiraqocha, como el de Cacha y de Urcos que los mitos de origen mencionan. Hasta cierto punto se puede afirmar que el recorrido rehacía la salida del Sol en el horizonte como lo insinúan las menciones a las *sucancas*, que era algo así como pilares que marcaban el paso del sol durante el día.” (Molina (1574?) 1989: 69, note 35).

Below is the English translation of this passage, by David Fenske:

“Take note of the characteristics of the pilgrimage departing from Cuzco: it proceeds along one bank of the river Vilcanota until arriving at Lake Pomacanchi in the high mountain area around today’s Acomayo to the south of Cuzco. They returned on another route along which stand some sanctuaries dedicated to the ancestor Wiraqocha, like those of Cacha and of Urcos who are mentioned in the myths of creation. To some extent, this fact may confirm that the route reconstructed the path of the rising sun across the horizon as the *sucancas*, which were like pillars that marked the passing of the sun during the day, indicate.”

This pilgrimage route to La Raya had a counterpart, also described by Cristóbal de Molina: At the festival of the *setting* sun, the Inca would undertake

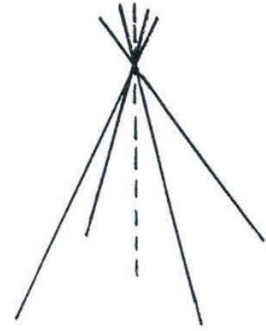


Figure 1

16 It went through K’ullupata, (among other sites), which is in close proximity of Pomacanchi.

17 I use various editions of Molina’s text, because each one contains different interpretation.

a pilgrimage from Cuzco, along Vilcanota in the direction of Ollanta, and – again drawing a loop – on a different road (through the village of Maras) back to Cuzco.

“Y el día siguiente que hera a los diez y nueve del dicho mes (de diciembre, M.G.¹⁸), salían a la plaza del Cuzco llamada *Haucaypata*, como dicho es, el Ynca y toda la demás jente, y asimismo sacavan todas las demás guacas y los cuerpos de los muertos embalsamados, do echa la reverencia acostumbada, empeçavan a hacer el sacrificio llamado *Moyucati* por la horden siguiente:

En el Cuzco por medio dél, pasa un río pequeño llamado *Capimayo* y *Guacapancomayo*, el que baxa de unas que están en lo alto del Cuzco hacían en él unas represas a trechos del agua para tenerla represada, no obstante que hera ynvierno¹⁹, para que con más fuerça llevase los sacrificios que en él se avían de hechar. (...) Estavan de la una parte y de la otra, mucha jente, al remate de la ciudad del Cuzco, en un lugar que llaman *Pomapichupa*, adonde hechavan los dichos sacrificios. Héchandolos **una ora poco menos antes que se pusiese el Sol** y los yndios que estavan de la una parte del río y de la otra, en echando los sacrificios en el río, **el Ynca señor, que presente estava, les mandava fuesen con el dicho sacrificio hasta Ollantaytambo, que con el rodeo que llevavan, será del Cuzco diez leguas**. Avía puestos en paradas yndios de los pueblos por do avía de pasar con achas de paja, hasta llegar al dicho pueblo para que de noche alumbrasen, para que no se quedase ninguna cosa del dicho sacrificio en el río; y alumbrando los que lo yban siguiendo y llegados a la puente del dicho Allonsaytambo [Ollantaytambo²⁰], que es un río grande que baxa la mar del norte, al llegar de los dichos sacrificios hechavan de la puente dos cestos de coca llamados *pilco longo*, *paucarongo* y así dejavan yr solos a los dichos sacrificios. Y aquel día y otro los que los avían llevado estavan beviendo y holgándose y haciendo el *taqui chupayguayllo*.

La raçon porque hechavan en el río estos sacrificios, hera diciendo que pues el Hacedor de todas las cosas les avía dado tan buen año, tubiese por vien del venidero dáselo bueno, y que de aquellas cosas que les avía dado, le hacían aquella ofrenda y sacrificio porque no los tuviese por yngratos, suplicándole lo receviese de su mano, doquiera que estoviese; y así acaso estava en la mar, que ellos llamavan *Mamacocha*, lo receviese doquiera que estoviese y por esta raçon hechavan los dichos sacrificios en el río, diciendo los llevaría a la mar²¹. **Y a cavo de dos días, los que avían segui-**

18 It seems to me that Cristóbal de Molina errs in this point. The pilgrimage could have taken place solely in June, during the winter solstice.

19 This is true in the case of Europe, but not in the case of Peru. Again, we can observe de Molina's Eurocentric perspective.

20 Addition from Henrique Urbano.

21 Henrique Urbano makes the following revealing remark at this point:

“El ritual *moyucati* es hasta cierto punto el complemento calendárico y litúrgico del peregrinaje hecho en el mes de mayo o *Hacicay llusque*, cuando los sacerdotes iban hasta la laguna de Pomacanchi visitando los santuarios que encontraban en el camino, volviendo después a Cusco. *Moyucati* celebrado en sentido contrario envía las ofrendas hacia el norte o mar del norte o Mamacocha. En ese sentido, es la continuación de los gestos rituales que se hacían en la línea espacial definida por el río Vilcanota, el cual dibuja de alguna manera la ruta que el Sol o Inti realiza en

do el sacrificio hasta la dicha puente bolvían al Cuzco trayendo en sus manos, los que más avían corrido, una lança hecha de sal y otrosalcones de sal; y los postreros y que menos avían corrido unos sapos de sal, para que se viese quan poco avían corrido y quan poco avían sido y fue causa de hacer burla dellos y de algún recocijo. Y lo que quedava del mes cada uno entendía en sus haciendas.²² (Molina (1574?) 1989: 114 et seqq.) (emphasis in bold by me).

Below is an English translation of the passage by Bauer, Smith-Oka and Cantarutti (2011):

“The next day, which was the nineteenth day of the month (of december, M.G.²³), the Inca and all the other people would go to the plaza of Cuzco, called, as has been described, Haucaypata. They also brought [there] all the other *huacas* and the embalmed bodies of the dead, where [after] having paid the accustomed obeisances, they began to perform the sacrifice called *maiucati*, in the following way.

A small river passes through Cuzco, called Capi Mayo [[-The Saphi River (i.e., Capi Mayo) continues to flow through Cuzco, although it has long been covered over to create modern streets.-]] and [also] Guacapanco Maio, which descends down from some ravines that are above Cuzco. Even though it was winter²⁴ they

el firmamento. Los dos puntos extremos, la laguna de Pomacanchi o el manantial que da cuerpo al Vilcanota allá por La Raya y Ollantaytambo, donde el Vilcanota se pierde y se estrecha, son los límites o fronteras del espacio ritual cusqueño incaico.” (Molina (1574?) 1989: 116, note 120).

In English (translated by David Fenske):

“To a certain degree, the *moyucati* ritual is the counterpart, in terms of the calendar and the liturgy, of the pilgrimage undertaken in May, or the *Hacicay llusque*, when the priests walked toward Lake Pomacanchi while visiting the sanctuaries that were on the way, and then eventually returning to Cuzco.

Moyucati, celebrated in the opposite direction, sends the offerings to the north or the sea of the North, or Mamacocha. In this manner, it is the continuation of the ritual gestures that they made in the line in space defined by the river Vilcanota, which in some way traces the route of the Sun, or Inti, across the firmament. The two outer points, Lake Pomacanchi or the natural spring that forges the river Vilcanota there in La Raya and Ollantaytambo, where the river Vilcanota disappears and narrows, are the limits or boundaries of the ritual space of Cuzco in the times of the Inca.”

22 Henrique Urbano offers the following illustrative comment on that point:

“La sal utilizada en estos gestos rituales proviene del pueblo de Maras donde aún se extrae hoy día. Maras queda a pocos kilómetros de Ollantaytambo, en la margen izquierda del río.” (Molina (1574?) 1989: 117, note 121).

In English (translated by David Fenske):

“The salt that was used for these ritual gestures comes from the village of Maras, where salt is still harvested to this day. Maras is situated several kilometers from Ollantaytambo, along the left bank of the river.”

The note, which I find very informative, is unfortunately not included neither in the edition of Cristóbal de Molina’s chronicle edited by Julio Calvo Pérez and Henrique Urbano (2008) nor in that edited by Brian S., Vania Smith-Oka and Gabriel E. Cantarutti (2011).

(English version see Kuprienko (2009)).

23 It seems to me that Cristóbal de Molina errs in this point. The pilgrimage could have taken place solely in June, during the winter solstice.

24 This is true in the case of Europe, yet not of Peru. Again, we can observe de Molina’s Eurocentric perspective.

would build some rows of dams [in the river] to collect water so that the offerings that were to be thrown into it could be carried off with greater force. (...)

(...) Many people would stand on either side [of the river] at the outskirts of the city of Cuzco in a place that they call Pumapi Chupa, [[-Puma Chupa, the confluence of the two rivers that flow through Cuzco, is a well-known place.-]] where they used to cast all those sacrifices. They would throw them in **a little less than an hour before the sun set. The Lord Inca, who was present, would order the Indians** who were on either side of the river throwing the sacrifices into the river **to follow the sacrifice to Ollantaytambo, which, with the detour that they took, might be ten leagues from Cuzco.** All the way to that town [alongside the river] were Indians from the towns through which [the sacrifice] had to pass, stationed in places with straw torches in order to burn during the night, making sure that nothing of the sacrifice was left in the river [and] giving light to those who were following [the offerings]. Once the sacrifices reached the Ollantaytambo bridge, which is a large river that goes to the Northern Sea [[-that is the Atlantic Ocean-]], they would throw from the bridge two baskets of coca, called *pilco longo* [and] *paucar ongo* [*pilco* basket and multicolored basket]. And with this, they allowed the sacrifices to go on their own. That day and the next, those who had followed [the sacrifices] drank, rested, and performed the *taqui* [called] *chupay guayllo* [tail song] (...)

They say that the reason they threw these sacrifices into the river was so that the Creator of All Things, who had given them a very prosperous year, would deem it proper to give them another good [year]. [They also say that] they performed the offering[s] and sacrifice[s] with the things that he had given them so that he would not see them as ingrates, asking him to openly receive [the offerings], wherever he might be. And if by chance he was in the sea, which they call *mamacocha*, [they asked him] to receive it wherever he was. For this reason, they threw the sacrifices into the river, saying it would take them to the sea²⁵.

At the end of two days, those who had followed the sacrifice to the bridge returned to Cuzco. Those who had run the fastest carried a spear made of salt in their hand, and others, hawks of salt. The last ones, those who had run the slowest, [carried] some toads of salt, so that it would be known how slowly they had run and how little they amounted to. This was grounds for mocking them and for some amusement. During the remainder of the month, everyone would work on their estates.²⁶ (Molina (1574?) 2011: 69 et seqq.) (emphasis in bold by me).

Thus, Cuzco was determined as a center by both pilgrimage routes, which complement each other and together make up a whole in the sense of the Andean principle of complementary duality (in Quechua: *yanantin*), as is also expressed in the two narratives by Don Jacinto discussed here.²⁷

25 See note 21.

26 See note 22.

27 The principle of *yanantin* corresponds more or less to the Chinese notion of yin/yang.

The establishment of Cuzco as a center is by no means static; instead, it is a most dynamic process. The pilgrimages were undertaken from one year to another. Thus, so to speak, walking served the Inca to create the center. Don Jacinto's stories discussed here likewise indicate this active creation, albeit in a different manner. The bar of gold was thrown from La Raya, and the rocks for the construction of Cuzco were driven from Ollanta. The dynamic aspect is further emphasized by the form which the two pilgrimage routes take. The course of both routes take the shape of a horizontal figure eight, with the city of Cuzco lying precisely at the intersection of the lines.

The following figures may explain this point more clearly:

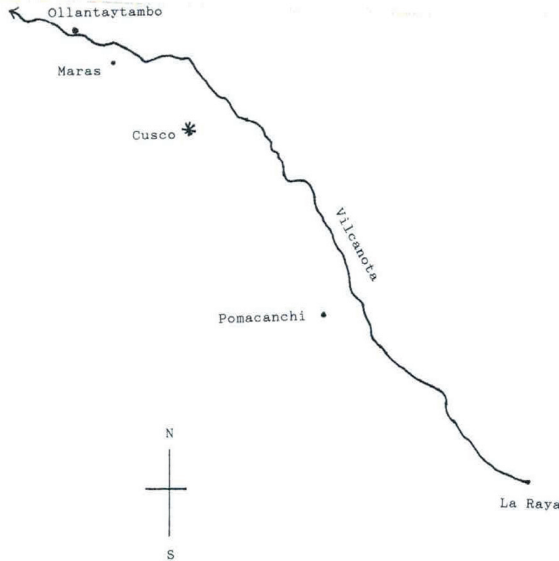


Figure 2

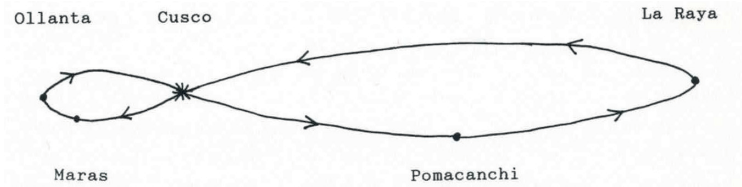


Figure 3

Obviously, the Arabic numeral eight was brought to the country only by the Spanish and originally had nothing to do with the Quechua culture. Yet the horizontal eight is also a higher-order mathematical curve (one of the Cassinian curves) that is called a lemniscate. The lemniscate predominantly depicts an archetypal, fundamental form.

“The lemniscate is not only the two-stranded ribbon to two, but is in fact much more. It also unites the round with the straight, releasing with binding, in the simplest way. And more than that: if you shade in one side of the lemniscate, it becomes evident that the one wing faces *outwards*, whereas the other faces *inwards*, and vice versa. The crossing point becomes also the point of *inversion*.

(...) A union of inner and outer, above and below, takes place, pulsating between the crossing and unfolding, binding and releasing.” (Kutzli 1990: 12).

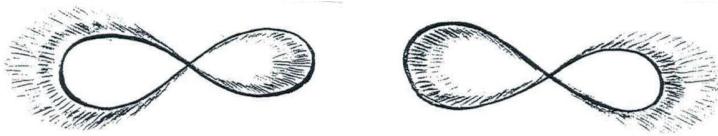


Figure 4 (copied from Kutzli 1990, figures in the first sequence)

Thus, Cuzco binds inner and outer, above and below together into a rhythmic structure, dynamically uniting fundamental activities and forms of being (binding and releasing, crossing and unfolding, the round and the straight). I will discuss this in more detail with reference to Don Jacinto’s narratives.

Another meaning of the lemniscate reveals a new aspect of the Andean concept of space that is equally vital for interpreting Don Jacinto’s narratives and the Inca pilgrimage route *Inti Raymi*. In the course of a year, the sun in its zenith draws a lemniscate on the sky.

To illustrate this, I would like to present a figure by Joachim Schultz from his book *Movement and Rhythms of the Stars: A Guide to Naked-Eye Observations of Sun, Moon and Planets* (1986). Basing me on Kutzli (1990) and after consultation with physicist Martin Basfeld, I added the two solstitial points and the two equinoctial points (horizontal line through the middle).

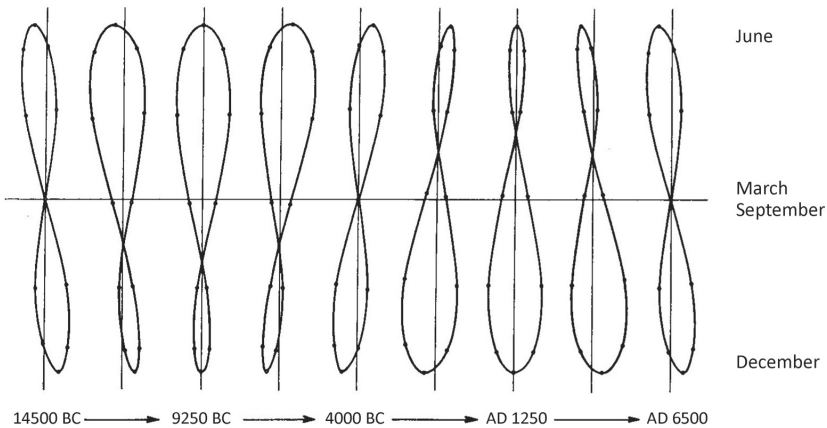


Figure 5 (Margit Gutmann’s adaption from Schultz 1986: 63)

Schultz's figure is accompanied by the following remark:

The equation of a time curve, or analemma,
“which could be derived purely from astronomical observations, shows, in addition to the clear asymmetry between the upper and lower parts, a slight asymmetry between right and left. This effect is due to the positions of the Sun's apogee and perigee, which at present lie about 10° from the solstices. (...) This relationship changes gradually. In AD 1250, the line of apsides coincided with the solstices and will return again to the same position after the course of about 21,000 years. This period brings about a continual but very slow change in the form of the curve of the equation of time. A complete cycle through all the changes in symmetry takes place over about 21,000 years. This is illustrated ... in eight equal phases²⁸. As can be seen, the form of the curve was laterally symmetrical around AD 1250, when the Sun's apogee coincided with the summer solstice, whereas today the form is in the process of becoming more and more tilted. A half-period earlier, that is, around 9000 BC, when the apogee coincided with the winter solstice, the curve was also symmetrical, but with the smaller loop below. In between these two extreme positions, this lateral symmetry decreases, and a vertical symmetry of the size of loops takes its place. (...)

The structure and transformation of the curve of the equation of time arise out of the interplay between the course of the day and the course of the year, together with the long periodic cycles of the Platonic year and the movement of the apogee and perigee.” (Schultz 1986: 62 et seq.).

Kutzli expresses this meaning of the lemniscate in a somewhat more poetic manner, which is also closer to Don Jacinto's narratives:

“It is not too much to say that the heavenly resounds together with the earthly. During the year the midday point of the sun describes a lemniscate in the heavens, and this form varies from year to year. Only after 21,000 years does this living movement of the lemniscate return to the same form, in what might be described as a majestic rhythm of cosmic harmony. (...) And so it is an accurate statement to say: the working together of sun-light and levity with earth-gravity, the creative field of all unfolding life on earth, manifests in the form of the lemniscate.” (Kutzli 1990: 12 et seq.).

Thus, retracing the lemniscate in their marches, in a certain manner, the Incan pilgrims brought the course of the sun to the earth. In this way, the sky and the earth were merged into one.²⁹ The Inca did have a reason to call themselves ‘the sons of the sun’.³⁰

28 See Figure 5.

29 Incidentally, this takes place still today, for instance at the festival of *Qoyllur Rit'i* (the Festival of the Star-Glittering Snow). At sunrise on the third and last day of the festival, after the nightly pilgrimage, which leads at full moon along the Ausangate massif, several groups of dancers from various villages perform the final dance with a breathtaking choreography, which, among other things, reproduces a lemniscate, down a depression towards the village of Tayancani, where the final Mass of the festival is celebrated in the village church.

30 Cf. also the quote from Garcilaso de la Vega cited above.

The following fills us with wonder: We, contemporaries, assume that the position of the sun at noon (the position of the ‘actual’ sun at 12 o’clock local time) may only be determined with highly precise clocks. For the sun does not appear at its highest elevation in the sky at midday throughout the entire year, but only on the days when the equation of time has the value of 0. On all the remaining days, the solar time (e.g. the time on a sundial) will be ahead or behind in relation to the normal clock time (as shown on our modern clocks). This irregular course of the sun was familiar already to the ancient astronomers (Babylonians, Greeks, Arabs), yet the contemporary quantitative form of representation as a lemniscate (‘analemma’) became possible only with the discovery of Kepler’s laws and the invention of precise clocks (starting around the mid-17th century). (The preceding is a personal communication of Thomas Meinhold, a mathematician with profound knowledge of astronomy, who wrote it down for the purpose of this article — as recounted here — and then explained it to me with great patience until I grasped it.)³¹

The capability of the Inca not only to gain exact knowledge of the celestial sun lemniscate but also to render this lemniscate visible and tangible through pilgrimage marches on earth, all without precise clocks or astronomic devices as references, is impressive, to say the least. It truly makes us wonder. How did the Inca, who developed upon previous civilizations, achieve this? It would undoubtedly be most rewarding to pursue this question as a basis for subsequent research.

It is additionally striking how this knowledge lives on through the cycle of myths of Qanchi Machu, passed on solely by word of mouth. This remains valid even if the reference to the pilgrimage routes of the Inca festival of the sun fails to strike us—at first sight. It shows the tremendous knowledge in the oral Quechua narratives of the Andes. Now I would like to hear anyone say again that oral cultures are inferior to cultures of writing.

Another thing which catches our attention is that – if we compare the lemniscate in the figure by Schultz (see Figure 5) with the lemniscate constructed geo-

31 The following additional personal explanations from Thomas Meinhold helped me comprehend the complex correlation; therefore, I would not like to withhold them from other astronomic lay-people: Modern clocks run at a constant rate the entire year long and show the so called ‘mean solar time’. Yet the course of the sun itself is not regular, when measured with a clock. For one thing, when the earth is farthest from the sun (aphelion), it moves slower around it, and when it is closest to the sun (perihelion), it moves faster (cf. the above quotation from Kutzli). (This is because the earth’s orbit takes a slightly elliptic form.) For another thing, the noon elevation of the sun, which rises and declines throughout the seasons, indicates another irregularity in the course of the sun. This irregular course of the sun is called the ‘apparent sun’ or ‘true sun’, which was, as already mentioned, familiar already to the Babylonians, the Greeks and the Arabs already.

The lemniscate, the equation of time curve (see figure 5), however, may be recognised only through the discrepancy between the mean sun (clock time) and the apparent sun (the irregular course of the sun) throughout the year. In other words: the lemniscate is formed by the discrepancy between the precise time (e.g. 12 o’clock in the daytime) and the noon elevation, i.e. the highest elevation of the sun. It is indispensable to use a reference, e.g. by means of a precise clock. Yet the Inca had no precise clocks to use as reference.

graphically in the narratives and by the pilgrimages (see Figure 3) – the thus created form of the lemniscate reflects the course of the sun around either AD 1250 or 9250 BC. My present knowledge does not offer an answer to the question of which of those two lemniscates corresponds with Don Jacinto's narratives and the *Inti Raymi* pilgrimage. Perhaps other researchers will find the necessary indices which will render it possible to ascertain which of the two lemniscates is referred to. Both lemniscates, however, indicate not precisely the year AD 1250 or 9250 BC, but rather a certain time span around AD 1250 or 9250 BC, since the lemniscate drawn by the sun in its solar noon on the sky alters very slowly according to human criteria. It will return to the same form only after 21,000 years. I assume that astronomers will be able to date the form of the lemniscate between La Raya, Cuzco and Ollantaytambo very precisely and thus ascertain which of the points in time was particularly crucial for the Inca. I suppose that this lemniscate could show a point in time at which something meaningful and new began for the Inca since the oral narratives of Qanchi Machu tell a story of creation. Should further studies show that the lemniscate reflects the time around AD 1250, it could mark the exact beginning of the Inca Empire. If the pilgrimage route reflects time around 9250 BC, it would mean that the Inca incorporated the numerous cultures that preceded them into the perception of their own history and that they saw the actual beginning of their empire at that point in the past. Much more research needs to be done to bring more clarity into all these issues, and I am convinced that it has to be interdisciplinary. Otherwise, no progress can be made in this most complex matter.

The sun was brought onto the earth in one more way.³² It provided the model for both the urban plan of Cuzco and the organization of the entire Inca Empire, as explained by, among others, Douglas Sharon in his book "*Wizard of the Four Winds: A Shaman's Story* (1978):

"It seems that the sun also provided the model for the horizontal dimension of the world, as reflected in the division of Cuzco (...) and the empire (Tahua-ntinsuyo, 'Land of the Four Parts') into four ceremonial 'quarters': Antisuyo, eastern (approximately); Chinchaysuyo, northern; Contisuyo, western; and Collasuyo, southern³³. Religious shrines (*huacas*) located along lines (*zeques*) radiating out from the Temple of the Sun were assigned to each quarter.³⁴ According to Valcárcel (1959: 109-110 [Etnohistoria del Perú antiguo]), *anti* (as in Antisuyo) refers to the region where the sun rises, and *conti* (as in Contisuyo) to the region where it sets." (Sharon 1978: 94).

Sharon continues, and this is of particular interest if we want to comprehend Don Jacinto's stories:

32 In the Quechua worldview the sun is a person who can be brought to a place, for example.

33 Now called Collao.

34 One of the fundamental works on the subject to date is *The Ceque System of Cusco: The Social Organization of the Capital of the Inca* (Zuidema 1964).

“It is interesting to note that Cuzco, following the Andes as did *Viracocha*³⁵, is built with its long axis running roughly southeast-northwest. Thus it appears that the biannual journey of *Viracocha*, “the Sun behind the sun”, from sunrise in the southeast (site of the ‘thing come out of the water’) during the December 21 solstice to sunset in the northwest (where the ocean and the Chinchay feline ‘swallow’ the sun prior to its return journey) during the June 21 solstice established the mythic paradigm for the solar cosmology of the Inca ‘children of the sun.’” (Sharon 1978: 94).

It is not only the city of Cuzco that is built along the axis from southeast to northwest, i.e. stretched between the solstitial points of December and of June. And it is not only Viracocha who follows this axis upon a journey he undertakes every two years. If we draw a line from La Raya through Cuzco to Ollanta, just as the narratives of Qanchi Machu and the other elders suggest, then this axis also goes precisely from southeast to northwest and connects these two solstitial points.³⁶ La Raya and Ollanta mark the two solstitial points and thus indicate the course of the year. Here it becomes clear that the concept of space is indissociable from the factor of time. Thus, time is introduced as the fourth dimension next to the three spatial dimensions. As has already been mentioned, the Quechua word *pacha*, which incidentally appears in the expression *pacha mama* (‘mother earth’), and means, according to Antonio Cusihamán’s dictionary, among other things, ‘living space’ (Cusihamán 1976: 99), refers not only to a (three-dimensional) space, but includes also the temporal component as the fourth dimension. And so, *kay pacha* means ‘here’ **and** ‘now’.

In addition, the above observations further indicate that the two pilgrimage routes, just like the urban plan of Cuzco, constitute microcosmic representations (of a different scale) of macrocosmic phenomena. They are embedded in each other: city – region – macrocosm. Astronomical laws and processes made up the model for the organization of life on earth in the Inca Empire like they still do today (cf. Urton *At the Crossroads of the Earth and the Sky. An Andean Cosmology* 1981). In this article, I try to discover only a few links between Don Jacinto’s narratives and the festival of *Inti Raymi*.

In the center of the city of Cuzco, which is itself a center, a new center may be found: the Temple of the Sun, the most important temple of the Inca, upon whose foundations as well as upon some other preserved ruins the Dominicans erected their Church of Santo Domingo. The area of the temple included *Qori Kancha*, which name used to be given also to the entire area of the temple. *Qori Kancha* means ‘enclosed yard of gold’. The name becomes comprehensible when we read the remarks of the Spanish chronicler Pedro de Cieza de León, who stayed in Peru in the years 1547–1550:

35 The cycle of myths on Viracocha deals with the subject of the creation of the world as well.

36 The sun rises in the southeast on 21 December; it sets in the northwest on 21 June. Therefore, it has to be assumed that the Inca pilgrimed to La Raya in December (and not, as Cristóbal de Molina writes, in May) and to Ollantaytambo in June (and not in December).

“Tenían un jardín que los terrones eran pedazos de oro fino y estaba artificiosamente sembrado de maizales, los cuales eran [de] oro, así las cañas dello[s] como las hojas y mazorcas y estaban tan bien plantados que, aunque hiciesen recios vientos, no se arrancaban. Sin todo esto tenían hechas más de veinte ovejas de oro con sus corderos, los pastores con sus hondas y cayados, que las guardaban, hechos deste metal. (...) En fin, era uno de los ricos templos que hubo en el mundo.” (Cieza de León (1553) 1967: 93 et seq.).

Below is an English translation of this passage from Clemens R. Markham from 1883:

“They also had a garden, the clods of which were made of pieces of fine gold; and it was artificially sown with golden maize, the stalks, as well as the leaves and cobs, being of that metal. They were so well planted that even when there was a high wind they were not torn up. Besides all this, they had over twenty golden sheep with their lambs, and the shepherds with their slings and crooks to watch them, all made of the same metal (...), in fine, it was one of the richest temples in the world.” (Cieza de León (1553) 1883: 85 et seq.).

Gold is the Andean metal representation of the sun,³⁷ without which neither plants nor animals may thrive. From the Temple of the Sun, as Douglas Sharon mentions in the above quotation, emerged *seqe* (holy lines), which symbolized, among other things, the four cardinal directions as well as the four parts of the Inca Empire (cf. Zuidema 1964, Urton 1984: 14). (Partly these lines can be seen even today, at least until 2000.)

It was also at the Temple of the Sun that the pilgrimage route of *Inti Raymi* to La Raya had its starting point, as Cristóbal de Molina, el Cuzqueño, mentions in his chronicle (Molina (1574?) 1989: 67).³⁸ The other part of the pilgrimage route, leading to Ollantaytambo, must have started there, as well, because Cristóbal de Molina writes that first of all the *wak'a* (hallows) and the embalmed bodies of the ancestors of the Inca and his followers were brought to the large square in Cuzco and worshipped there. Yet both the *wak'a* and the mummies of the ancestors were kept in the Temple of the Sun.

Yet Don Jacinto never mentions the holy center of the Inca, the Temple of the Sun, or *Qori Kancha* in his stories; he always mentions the cathedral. The bar of gold which Qanchi Machu throws from La Raya hits the spot where later the cathedral is erected over a lake. And the rocks which the elders drive from Ollanta to Cuzco are again used for the construction of the cathedral. Presumably, replacing the cultic center of the Inca Empire with the cultic center of the conquerors indicates the impact of almost 500 years of suppression of the indigenous culture, which has diluted the myth. Yet, without contradicting the above explanation, it

37 Silver represents the moon.

38 Sometimes Cristóbal de Molina mentions not the Temple of the Sun, but *Qori Kancha* to be the point of departure.

could also be the case that the cultic center of the Catholic Church was in a manner merged into the natives' own understanding of the world. Be that as it may, the position of Cuzco as the center is indisputable also in Don Jacinto's narratives.

The site for the foundation of this center is marked by a bar of gold. Since gold represents the sun, the flight of the bar of gold through the air matches the course of the sun. This is further emphasized by the fact that Qanchi Machu is the only one who achieved to meet the aim with the bar. Contrary to all the remaining elders, he threw it, "making circles with his hand, describing circles with his hand." ("Hinaspa akhnata maymirispa, maymirispa chanqasqa.") This seems to be a rather counterproductive technique that is not adjusted to the object. Yet the subject here is not the act of a human, but an act of creation carried out by a culture hero. This is evidenced first by the large distance covered by the bar of gold despite or perhaps rather thanks to the peculiar technique chosen by Qanchi Machu: the distance between La Raya and Cuzco as the crow flies amounts to 150km (93mi)!³⁹ It suggests that Qanchi Machu uses the circles he makes with his hand to embrace the world in its horizontal dimension, towards all of its cardinal directions as marked by the position of the sun. In this manner, he holds the sun in his hand and commands it, in a way.⁴⁰ When Qanchi Machu, holding the bar of gold in his hand, makes circles with his hand, the bar and Qanchi Machu are located in the center of those circles, that is in the middle of the world. This middle of the world – represented by the bar of gold – is projected by Qanchi Machu upon a precise geographical location, which then becomes the materialization of the middle of the world.

But why was a bar of gold thrown and not, say, a golden sphere?

Let us remember that the proportion of the distance between La Raya and Cuzco to the distance between Cuzco and Ollanta is 4:1. Four plus one amounts to five. Now five is, as myths and legends preserved by priest Pater Francisco de Avila at the beginning of the 17th century in the area surrounding Huarochirí (the modern Departamento de Lima) show (see Anonymous (1608?) 1987, and 1991), another holy number (apart from, for example, three). And so Pariacaca, the principal god of Huarochirí and Yauyos, was born on the mountain of Condorcoto out of five eggs as five falcons/warriors (cf. Anonymous (1608?) 1987: 49, 85).⁴¹ The Temple of the

39 As Don Jacinto explains in another narrative, the remaining *machu* fail in particular due to this great distance. They do not manage to throw the bar far enough and meet only locations nearer to them than Cuzco.

40 In numerous stories about Inkarrí, Inkarrí comes into close connection with the sun: according to some accounts, Inkarrí emerged from the bonding of the sun, his father (the sun is, in Quechua as in Spanish, a masculine noun) with a human woman (cf. e.g. Arguedas and Roel Pinedo 1973: 220 et seq.; Ortiz Rescaniere 1973: 133 et seq. and 135 et seqq.). It is also told that Inkarrí had the power to tether the sun. Thus, he prolonged the day and was able to create magnificent works (cf. i.a. Arguedas and Roel Pinedo 1973:220 et seq.; Müller and Müller-Herbon 1986: 62; Valderrama and Escalante 1977: 18 et seq.; Ortiz Rescaniere 1973: 130 et seqq.; Ortiz Rescaniere 1980: 134 et seqq., Valencia Espinoza 1973: 288 et seqq.).

41 These considerations, as well as those which I am going to present further in this text, emerged out of a most fruitful conversation with Peter Masson, who suggested to me to add up the relations

Sun in Cuzco, too, had five rooms, which are still discernible today. The inhabitants of ancient Mexico knew five cardinal directions: the common north, south, east, and west, plus the vertical anchored in the middle. As far as I am aware, the researchers had not called attention to the vertical dimension of the five cardinal directions. Yet, what Ana María Mariscotti de Görlitz writes about the meaning of five goes in the same direction. Based on the texts of the manuscript of Huarochirí, she points out that, in Andean cosmology, the number five symbolizes the entirety, “i.e. the entirety of space, consisting of the four cardinal directions and one center, called *chaupi*” (Mariscotti de Görlitz 1994: 46, the cited quotation translated by W.S.). Yet what Ana Maria Mariscotti de Görlitz says suggests the idea of a punctiform center. This does not convince me. Here I would just like to remind the cosmological model erected by the group of dancing *machus* during the *Fiesta de la Virgen de la Natividad*, namely a model made of staffs, which I reproduce here again (see Figure 1).

The four external staffs symbolize, as I have already explained, the four cardinal directions; the fifth staff marks the middle, the center. This fifth staff, which we must imagine as extending also into the ground, is the symbol of the connection between above, middle, and below (in Quechua, *hanan*, *chawpi*, and *urin*). Thus, the bar of gold, which is thrown by Qanchi Machu from La Raya and which similarly gets stuck in the ground represents the principle of verticality, another fundamental Andean principle.⁴²

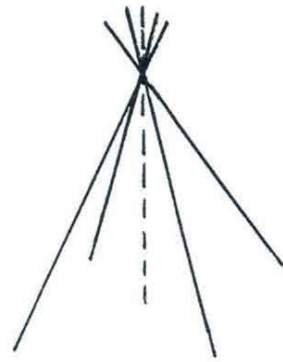


Figure 1

So there are good reasons to believe that the perpendicular anchored in the middle is to be seen, even if not explicitly, as the fifth cardinal direction, then certainly as an integral component of the Andean concept of space.

Thus, Cuzco stays in a perfectly direct connection with the above⁴³. It is probably this fact that the *pomacanchinos* refer to when they say that they ‘go up’ from Pomacanchi to Cuzco, even though, geographically speaking, Pomacanchi is located 300 m above Cuzco.

between the distances, and who drew my attention to the fact that five was mentioned as a holy number in the Huarochirí texts and also to its significance in ancient Mexico. All conclusions I draw here, above all interpreting the stories by Don Jacinto and the pilgrimages, are my own.

42 Interestingly, the Inkarrí story recorded by Nuñez del Prado in Qero says explicitly that Cuzco was founded in the spot where the bar of Inkarrí, which he threw from La Raya, got stuck in the ground in the vertical position.

43 Mircea Eliade writes: “The symbolism implicit in the expression ‘gate of heaven’ is rich and complex: the theophany that occurs in a place consecrates it by the very fact that it makes it open above – that is, in communication with heaven, the paradoxical point of passage from one mode of being to another. We shall soon see even clearer examples – sanctuaries that are ‘doors of the gods’ and hence places of passage between heaven and earth.” (Eliade (1957) 1987: 26 et seq.). *Qori Kancha*, the Temple of the Sun in Cuzco, is such a sanctuary.

The city of Cuzco is thus the middle in relation not only to the horizontal but also to the vertical dimension of the world; Cuzco connects the above, the middle and the below. (The demonstration follows.)

This above–middle–below becomes evident on another plane, as well: the La Raya–Cuzco–Ollanta axis represents above–middle–below, too: La Raya is placed at 4320m asl, Cuzco at 3310m asl, and Ollanta at only 2800m asl. The La Raya–Cuzco–Ollanta axis is thus in a manner a slanted staff (with ‘buckling’ in its four-fifths). (I will later return to the significance of the buckling.)

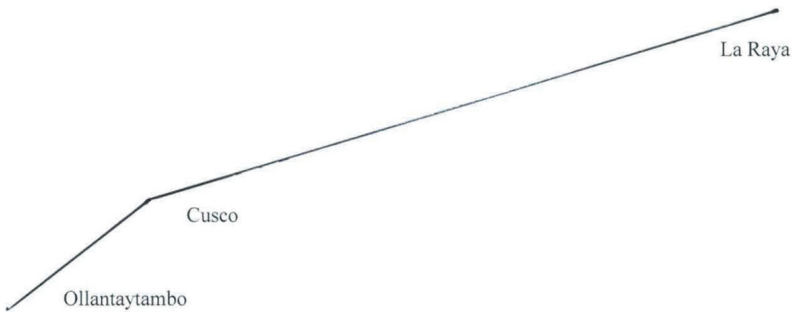


Figure 6

The above–middle–below is also present at the *Fiesta de la Virgen de la Natividad*, namely through the dancer groups performing at the festival, since there is one dancer group of the *qhapaq qolla*, one of the *machu*, and one of the *chunchu*. The *machu* group, as I have explained, refers to Qanchi Machu and thus represents the middle; the *qhapaq qolla* group represents the area of Collao, that is, the region beyond the upper border marked by La Raya; the *chunchu* group, however, represents the *selva* (jungle, rain forest), which is the region on the other side of the lower border marked by Ollanta. And even the center, the city of Cuzco, is a model of the principle of verticality, as it consisted of two parts during the Inca Empire: *hanansaya* (the upper half of the city) and *urinsaya* (the lower half). The middle was the Temple of the Sun, where presumably the bar of gold hit in earlier versions of the myth.

The vertical component of space is characterized by complexity, as well: similarly to the horizontal component, it consists also of several space levels nested into each other: macrocosm—supra-regional levels (includes Collao, Cuzco, jungle/rain forest)—regional levels (includes La Raya, Cuzco, Ollanta)—local level (includes the city of Cuzco).

The horizontal and vertical dimensions are interconnected; they make up a system. Yet this system is beyond our notion of three-dimensional space, even if we exclude time as a dimension. This becomes evident, for example, through the

fact that the five staffs of the cosmological model are bound together, namely at the top, which makes visible that the model represents spiritual, holy principles. And five is, as the manuscript of Huarochirí shows, a holy number itself (cf. the birth of God Pariacaca out of five eggs, as mentioned in that text).⁴⁴

The fact that the Andean concept of space goes beyond our notion of the three-dimensional space also manifests itself in the La Raya–Cuzco–Ollanta axis. This has to do with the unique relations of distances. It seems obvious that the section route La Raya–Cuzco (four sections of the distance) represents the four cardinal directions, i.e. the world's horizontal dimension, while the route Ollanta–Cuzco (one section) stands for the perpendicular dimension and thus represents, in a way, the fifth cardinal direction. It should be noted that both routes lead to Cuzco as the center; thus, on the one hand, they belong together, and on the other hand, being reversed, they somehow lie on different levels. This explains the 'buckling' in the slanted staff if we perceive the route La Raya–Cuzco–Ollanta as such. As expressed by the two pilgrimage routes and Don Jacinto's stories, the entire route La Raya–Cuzco–Ollanta symbolizes the principle of verticality, while the respective relations between the distances join the principle of verticality with that of horizontality and thus span the space as a whole, just as the dancer group of *machus* did, in another way, with their staffs. Space is constituted through the fact that the bar, which should rather be attributed to the vertical dimension (at least more so than the rocks) is thrown across the long distance from La Raya to Cuzco (four sections of the distance), which symbolizes the horizontal dimension of space, while the rocks, which are rather associated with the world's horizontal dimension, are driven along the short route from Ollanta to Cuzco (one section of the distance), which, as we have seen, should much rather be attributed to verticality. Thus, just by this interconnection of the horizontal with the vertical, space is constituted, even more firmly, as an established whole. It becomes a unity in the sense of *yanantin*, the principle of complementary duality.

Yet the 4:1 ratio of distances comprises not only the dimension of space but also that of time. This is because the proportion 4:1 has to do with the course of the sun as well. (This is another aspect found out by Thomas Meinhold. I will discuss it in more detail further on.)

First, it ought to be mentioned that Cuzco lies between the Tropical Circles, namely at a latitude of approximately 13 degrees south.

Let us now take a look at the course of the sun southward and then northward and back throughout the year. In the following paragraph, only the position of the sun at noon (highest elevation, culmination) is considered.

⁴⁴ Interestingly, the staff model built of the *machus* resembles the form of a pyramid. The form of a pyramid is said to unite cosmic energies with earth's energies, which generates a new, somehow exponentiated energy.

The sun is at its zenith in Cuzco on 26 October. The zenithal culmination moves from Cusco to the summer solstice on 21 December 10 degrees latitude towards the south to the Tropic of Capricorn at 23 degrees south. Then, the sun⁴⁵ turns around on 21 December and travels back north, where it culminates in the zenith at the Equator on the equinox on 21 March. So, on its northward way, the sun first covers back the 10 degrees it made from Cuzco southwards, and then the 13 degrees to the Equator (as has been said, Cuzco is located at a latitude of about 13 degrees south). Then the sun travels on from the Equator northwards up to the latitude of 23 degrees north (the Tropic of Cancer), where it is in the zenith at the winter solstice on 21 June. This means that, on its way northwards from Cuzco, the sun wanders around 36 degrees (13 degrees from Cuzco to the Equator and then 23 degrees from the Equator to its furthest northward point).

Now let us take a look at the proportion of distances:

The distance covered by the Sun in the zenith from Cuzco amounts to:

- 10 degrees latitude southwards
- approx. 36 degrees latitude northwards

This can be easily measured by watching at noon the length of the gnomon's shadow of a sundial in Cuzco.

This again equals a proportion of 4:1, this time not on the earthly plane, but on the celestial one. Yet here again the Inca projected the sun onto the earth. This astronomical fact, too, is present in both the Inca pilgrimage festival *Inti Raymi* and is implicitly reproduced in modern Quechua narratives from Pomacanchi.

The sun lemniscate of the stories and of the festival of the sun with its two loops (the shorter one for the June solstice and the longer one for the solstice in December)⁴⁶, which meet in Cuzco as the *chawpi*, unites time, and the solar year in particular, into one entity and integrates it into the cycle of 21,000 years. Both the oral Quechua narratives from Pomacanchi and the Inca pilgrimage route *Inti Raymi* bind space and time together into an entity.

Concluding Remark

As we have seen, the Andean concept of space firstly comprises notions that are nested into one another, lying on one level, and secondly notions that concern different levels of the concept of space, which makes it extremely complex. At the same time, the Andean concept of space is by no means static, but highly dynamic: the staffs are bound together, the pilgrimage routes are walked, the bar is thrown and the rocks are driven from Ollanta. Thus, we have an exchange between all levels. A rhythmic structure on many levels emerges: macrocosm

45 In the Quechua worldview the sun is a person who can walk from one place to another.

46 At this point, it should be noted that winter is longer than summer in the Southern Hemisphere. At the moment, the difference amounts to around six days. Yet that changes in the course of 21,000 years: when the perihelion is reached at equinox, both seasons are of the same duration!

(lemniscate) – regional plane (La Raya – Cusco – Ollanta – the city of Cusco). Rhythm emerges generally from the merger of space and time. In the cultural and religious concept of the Quechua culture of the Andes, time and space form a unity. That was the case in the past, in the Inca Empire, and it has been so until today. This fact manifests itself in the Inca pilgrimage route *Inti Raymi* in honor of the sun, as well as in the modern oral Quechua tradition, of which Don Jacinto's narratives are an excellent example. Moreover, mythical thinking, as expressed in the narratives, and scientific discovery, as in the area of astronomy, form an entity in the Quechua culture in an impressive, most precise manner that survives across time. Furthermore, thought in the Quechua culture embraces very broad dimensions, as is shown in the metamorphosis of the lemniscate which covers the time span of 21,000 years.

Additionally, both Don Jacinto's Quechua narratives and *Inti Raymi* demonstrate the great capacity for abstraction present in the Quechua culture of the Andes, which reveals itself when we risk a glance behind the appearances of otherness.

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