

EQUILIBRIUM AND EXCHANGE:
THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LAND AND BODY
IN ANDEAN RELIGION

I

For the inhabitants of the austere Andean region to survive and prosper, they had both to maintain a careful equilibrium between themselves and their environment and to practise exchange among communities living at different altitudes with access to different resources. The Incas, for example, who had the task of maintaining, controlling and uniting approximately six million subjects over 4,300 kilometres, imposed strict regulations concerning land use and instituted an extensive system of exchange of goods and services throughout their empire.

Andean religion displays a similar concern for equilibrium and exchange. It postulates a universe held in balance by the opposing forces of existence and non-existence (*mana cajmanta caj*), one which strives for the consolidation of matter and the other for its disintegration. When the destructive force predominates the result is chaos and the world is sundered by earthquakes, hurricanes and the like (Oblitas Poblete 1963: 31, 50). Complete consolidation, however, is not desirable either, for, as we shall see with regard to our topic of land and body, the maintenance of certain basic distinctions is fundamental to an ordered cosmos. Andean religion must set forth these distinctions and keep them in balance, while at the same time providing for a means of exchange among them.

II

The cosmogony recorded by Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa in 1572 describes the primordial relationship between land and body according to Andean

tradition. Put succinctly, it consists of the following stages:

Viracocha created a world without light. He then modelled a race of disproportionate giants, but decided they were too large and instead formed humans after his own size.

These first humans lived in the dark world. After a time the vices of pride and cupidity were born among them, and they broke the law Viracocha had given them to live by.

Some of these first humans were then changed into stone, some were swallowed by the earth and some by the sea. Viracocha caused all the created world to be covered by a flood.

When the earth dried, Viracocha went to the island of Titi-caca. There he ordered the sun, moon and stars to go to the sky and give light to the world. One of the three men he had preserved to act as his servants was disobedient, and Viracocha had him bound and thrown into the lake.

Viracocha moved on to Tiahuanaco where he sculpted and drew on stones the people of all the nations he planned to create. This done, he ordered his two remaining servants to commit their names and places of appearance to memory.

Each of the three then took a different route - one servant to the west, one to the east, and Viracocha down the middle. As they went they called out the people from the earth, named them, and commanded them to populate the land.

At one point the people revolted against Viracocha, who appeared a stranger by his ways and clothes. Viracocha then brought down fire from the sky to burn the site, whereupon the people repented and he put out the fire.

When Viracocha reached the coast he spoke to the peoples of what would take place in the future and then disappeared with his two servants walking over the sea (Urbano 1981: 9-13).

This cosmogony tells us that human bodies are modelled after that of Viracocha, the Creator. This alone is the proper size for humans; the original sculpted giants must be discarded as disproportionate. The human body, with its perfect form, can now be used as a measure of other things. The standard measurement for land among the Incas, for instance, was a unit based on the length of a human body (Rowe 1946: 323-4). Space is thus humanized.

Although humans have the same form as Viracocha, however, they are evidently not of the same substance, for while Viracocha and his divinized assistants (who in other versions are gods) can walk over the sea, humans are tied to the earth. This is particularly significant in that Andeans see the body as a material reflection of the spirit (Oblitas Poblete 1963: 29; Bastien 1978: 43). The link to the earth, therefore, is one which involves the whole person.

Earth is the primordial matter of creation, the first thing called into existence by Viracocha. The human prototypes of the completed world are created in stone before they exist in flesh. In Bernabe Cobo's version of 1653, it is made clear that these original models are buried in the earth, from which they later surface as human beings. The sites from which they emerged then become sacred shrines for their descendants (Urbano 1981: 31).

Cobo's version relates that the various forms of dress of the different nations were painted on the models, thus becoming an integral part of their bodily existence (*ibid.*). This emphasis on proper dress suggests that the Incas had religious as well as practical reasons for insisting that the peoples of each nation under their rule wear their characteristic apparel, no matter where in the empire they might find themselves. In the early seventeenth century the native chronicler, Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, continued to express this concern, admonishing Indians and Spaniards alike not to dishonour themselves by forsaking their traditional dress (1980 II: 732-3).

Likewise, the cosmogony tells us that different peoples are created to inhabit specific places, and the Incan law prohibiting travel within the empire without special permission can be seen as reflecting this divine decree, as well as facilitating government and the maintenance of a balanced population.¹

Everything has its place and its function in the complex, highly organized system instituted by Viracocha. That human co-operation in upholding this system is necessary is evidenced by the fact that humans are able to disobey the will of the Creator and destabilize the cosmos. The three instances of violation of the divine plan which occur in the cosmogony all have drastic physical consequences. In the first two cases the transgressors are reintegrated into the land, either through earth or water. In the last case heavenly fire devastates the land, but the transgressors - who, unlike the first humans, have the light of the sky to guide them in their actions - are saved through their repentance. Human moral conduct, therefore, affects the physical order of the universe, and the order of the universe shapes human conduct.

The cosmos made by Viracocha consists of two basic, separately created parts: the earth, which is characterized by darkness, chaos and procreativity; and the sky, which manifests light, structure and spirituality. Between them is the surface of the earth, the middle ground through which exchange is possible. In Quechua these three levels are commonly referred to as *Hanan Pacha* or Upper World, *Cay Pacha* or This World, and *Ucu Pacha* or Interior World.

The upright human body, living on the earth's surface, can communicate with both heaven and earth, acting as a mediator between them, an axis through which power can flow. The body itself serves as a model for the cosmos: the upper half is equivalent to the sky and therefore to structure, while the lower half equals the earth and therefore chaos. The middle section, containing the heart, lungs and digestive system, circulates energy to the rest of the body, integrating it into a dynamic whole.

Poma de Ayala's illustration of the act of creation (1980 III: 853), ostensibly depicting the Christian account of creation but in

¹ Of course, one can interpret such myths as legitimating as well as influencing Incan law; however, attachment to one's native land and dress has deep religious significance throughout the Andes, as testified to by observers from the time of the Conquest to the present day.

fact thoroughly Andean in its conceptualization, shows God standing on earth with his head in the sky, placing the sun with his right hand and the moon with his left. This illustration, as well as depicting the body as a model for the cosmos, reminds us that creation takes place through the medium of the body of the Creator, giving the human body - modelled on that of the Creator - a dual role as both created and creator, subject to and manipulator of the cosmic forces.

III

There is a pan-Andean tradition of several ages preceding the present one, reputed by various chroniclers to last a thousand years each (Zuidema 1964: 227-35). In the middle, and particularly at the end of each age, great changes take place and the world is disordered and remade. This period of upheaval is known as a *pachacuti* or world reversal. Poma de Ayala, in fact, translates a term analogous to *pachacuti*, *pacha ticra*, as 'that which turns the world on its head' (ibid. I: 174).²

The *pachacuti* is a period of sacred and highly dangerous fluidity between land and body during which humans emerge from the natural world and can also return to it. An Andean term for the human being, 'animated earth' (Garcilaso de la Vega 1966: 84), indicates how close the relationship between land and body is, and therefore the care which must be taken to maintain the two distinct and balanced.

Two related myths describe the transformation which takes place at the opening of the age of the Incas. One recounts how four brothers and their sisters-wives come out into the world through a cave called Pacaritambo or House of Production. The first one to come out levels hills with his slingshot, whereupon his brothers send him back to the cave and wall him in. Two more of his brothers turn into stone, one in order to become a shrine on the summit of Huanacauri (Rainbow) Hill to the south of Cuzco, and the other to serve as a landmark. The fourth brother, Manco Capac, remains with his wife and those of his brothers, and it is he who founds the capital city of Cuzco and the Incan dynasty (Urbano 1981: 35-95).

The other myth, presented here in an abbreviation of the version given by Inca Garcilaso de la Vega in 1609, is more sophisticated.

In the old times people lived like wild beasts, knowing nothing of religion, government, towns, agriculture, clothes, or

² The same process of disintegration and restructuring which occurs in the *pachacuti* takes place on a human scale when lightning turns a person into a diviner: 'The first charge is believed to kill him, the second reduces his body to small pieces and the third reassembles his body' (Sharon 1978: 77).

having separate wives.

The Sun sent a son and daughter of his and the Moon, called Manco Capac and Mama Ocllo Huaco, to bring civilization to the peoples of the earth. He gave his two children a golden staff, bidding them to set up their court at the site where it would sink into the ground at a single thrust.

When Manco Capac and Mama Ocllo reached Huanacauri Hill the staff sank in with one thrust and disappeared into the earth, whereupon they determined to establish their dwelling in the valley below.

Manco Capac then went north and Mama Ocllo south, telling the savages they met of their divine mission and bringing them back to the valley, where they built the city of Cuzco.

Those peoples brought by the king formed Hanan or Upper Cuzco, and those by the queen, Hurin or Lower Cuzco. As the city was populated, Manco Capac taught the men agriculture, and Mama Ocllo instructed the women in domestic duties. Nothing which pertains to human life was omitted in their instruction.

Impressed by these benefits, great numbers of people settled in Cuzco and the Inca soon had an army at his disposal for the purposes both of defense and conquest (1966: 40-6).

In the first myth dealing with the origin of the Incas we see the interchange of land and body characteristic of periods of restructuring. In the second myth we are told that prior to the arrival of the Incas, the people lived in a state of savagery, virtually indistinguishable from nature. The first Incas here come not from the earth but from the sky, and therefore from mind and structure. Their mission is to bring the peoples of the earth out of the chaos of their natural condition into a state of divinely sanctioned order. In order to do this they must teach the people how to enter into a correct relationship with nature; specifically, to practise agriculture, to live in towns (i.e. to have settled, communal existence), to wear clothes and to regulate their sexuality. Elsewhere in Garcilaso's history we learn that the Inca bade his subjects to turn from the worship of things of the earth to that of the Sun.³ A civilized person is one who transcends the earth and participates in the structure of the sky. A savage is one who is identified with the earth and therefore unable to interact with both levels of the cosmos or serve as a mediator between them.

The aversion Andeans feel for disorder and excess can be seen in their dislike of the jungle⁴ and in the simplicity and symmetry of monumental Incan architecture, in which every stone is perfectly fitted. The brother who shows immoderate force by recklessly leveling hills in the myth must be returned to the earth so as not to

³ 'Let them notice the difference that existed between the splendour and beauty of the Sun and the filth and ugliness of the toad, lizard, frog and other vermin they regarded as gods' (ibid.: 68).

⁴ The Incas deemed the jungle to be inhabited by monstrous beasts and humans so brutish they mate with animals (Cieza de Leon 1959: 257-8).

endanger the stability of the world.

At this point it should be noted that there exists a third class of persons in the Andes. Martín de Murua wrote of these in 1590:

The Incas had some doctors or philosophical diviners called *Guacacue* who went around naked in isolated, gloomy places of the region ... and walking alone in the deserts without rest or tranquility they dedicated themselves to divination or philosophy. From sunrise to sunset they looked at the solar disk with great firmness.... They said that in that fiery disk they saw and attained great secrets.... All day they stood on the burning sands without feeling pain; and they also suffered with patience the cold and the snow.... Their sustenance was very easy, they did not pursue what sagacity, covetousness, and appetite look for in all elements - only what the earth produced without being mistreated by iron (Sharon 1978: 92).

These diviners have characteristics in common with the savages: they don't wear clothes, they don't live in towns, and they don't practise agriculture. Their purpose in this, however, is not to participate in the chaos and sensuality of the earth, but rather to detach themselves from it. One of the purported abilities of these diviners, in fact, is to sever the yoke of the body to the land and witness what is happening in remote places (*ibid.*: 112-7). Diviners are revered when they are associated with the upper, spiritual half of the cosmos, but they can also have a destabilising effect and so are potentially dangerous (*ibid.*: 23).

Returning to the myth of the origin of the Incas presented by Garcilaso, the golden staff given to Manco Capac and Mama Ocllo by the Sun symbolizes the divine power of the male sky, which fertilizes the female earth at a receptive point. The staff sinks into the ground connecting the three layers of the cosmos and establishing Cuzco as a chosen site of intercourse between heaven and earth. (The association of the rainbow with Huanacauri Hill in Cuzco is another sign of divine election.) This union is accomplished through the medium of the Inca, who is thenceforth the pre-eminent mediator of cosmic exchange and order.⁵

José Arguedas has recorded a contemporary Andean legend which displays similarities with this myth. In his account the *wachaq*, who belong to an age before that of the savages, enter into the heart of the mountain through its vein of water to find the water's source. In order to do so they must wear golden helmets and gold and silver clothes. When they come out they give the people fertile lands (1975: 51-3).

The meaning of the word *wachaq* is 'fornicator'. Arguedas finds this signification irrelevant to the legend (*ibid.*: 51), but it would seem to refer to the union of the sky - represented by the

⁵ A post-conquest Andean drama describes the Inca as the one who 'makes the mountains speak and sets the world in motion with his breath' (Wachtel 1977: 40).

gold and silver clothes - with the earth, accomplished once again through the medium of the human body.

In Garcilaso's myth we see the marked male / female dualism which is characteristic of Andean culture. Those peoples gathered by Manco Capac form Upper Cuzco - equated with male, sky and structure - while those Mama Ocllo gathers form Lower Cuzco - female, earth and chaos. Garcilaso writes of this division into upper and lower, which has a physical basis in the landscape as well as a symbolic meaning:

They were to be as the right side and the left side in any question of precedence of place and office, since those of the upper town had been gathered by the men and those of the lower by the women (1966: 45).

Right and left in Andean culture are in fact equated with male and female, superior and inferior. The attribution of inferior status to women and earth can be interpreted as an attempt to counter-balance their dynamic vitality and control their reproductive powers (Turner 1984: 115). This domination becomes more explicit in the imperial context. Garcilaso, for instance, describing the rituals carried out by the Incas at ploughing time, writes:

The songs they recited in praise of the Sun and their kings were all based on the meaning of the word *halli*, which means triumph over the earth, which they ploughed and disembowelled so that it should give fruit (1966: 244).

Verticality and transcendence of the earth characterizes men; while women are considered to be horizontal, parallel to the earth (Bouysse-Cassagne 1986: 215; Bastien 1978: 89). Women, therefore, are less suited than men to act as mediators between the cosmic levels.

IV

The myth of the origin of the Incas presented by Garcilaso, aside from expressing basic Andean beliefs, was a useful means of indoctrination and conquest for the Incas, who could appeal to their divine mission as reason for their domination. The chronicler José de Acosta comments on this that when the Incas made war on other nations they justified it by saying that all peoples owed them allegiance for having 'renewed the world' and for having 'revealed the true religion and cult of the sky' (Urbano 1981: 91). In other words, it was their restructuring of the cosmos which endowed the Incas with their right to rule.

It was with the ninth Inca, Pachacuti, that the area controlled by the Incas began to reach imperial proportions. This Inca's reign opened with a *pachacuti* or world reversal which Cabello Valboa in 1586 placed half a millennium after the founding of

Cuzco by Manco Capac (Zuidema 1964: 229). The new era was inaugurated by Inca Pachacuti's victory over the rebellious Chancas (a Central Andean people), who were on the verge of capturing Cuzco and overthrowing the Incan kingdom. Tradition states that during the battle the stones of the field turned into warriors to fight on the side of the Inca, and then changed back into stone again (Garcilaso 1966: 280). The battle won, Pachacuti set about rearranging the physical and spiritual landscape of his kingdom.

In 1653 Bernabé Cobo wrote of this Inca:

He injected order and reason into everything; eliminated and added rites and ceremonies; made the religious cult more extensive ... enlarged and embellished the temples with magnificent structures, income, and a great number of priests and ministers; reformed the calendar; divided the year into twelve months; giving each one its name; and designated the solemn fiestas and sacrifices to be held each month.... He was no less careful and diligent in matters pertaining to the temporal welfare of the republic; he gave his vassals a method of working the fields and taking advantage of the lands that were so rough and uneven as to be useless and unfruitful; he ordered that rough hillsides be terraced and that ditches be made from the rivers to irrigate them. In short, nothing was overlooked by him in which he did not impose all good order and harmony; for this reason he was given the name of Pachacuti, which means 'change of time or of the world' (1979: 133).

Here again we see the characteristic process of the *pachacuti*: a state of cosmic disorder in which land and body are interchangeable (i.e. the stones which become warriors) followed by the instauration of a new cosmic order.

Prior to the decisive battle with the Chancas, Pachacuti (or in other accounts his father), while alone in the countryside, had a vision of Viracocha, who promises him divine aid in his endeavours on behalf of the empire. On a leash held by Viracocha is an animal, a symbol of the barbaric nations the Inca is to subjugate and civilize.

A few of the nations subjugated by the Incas were, however, too closely allied to the earth to be fully civilized. Garcilaso writes of a group of them that were conquered by Pachacuti's son, Tupac Yupanqui:

They lived like wild beasts scattered about the countryside, and it was consequently more difficult to instruct them and reduce them to a civilized way of life than to merely subdue them.... The Incas established storehouses for their armies and lodgings for their king along the royal highways; but they did not build temples to the Sun or houses for the chosen virgins [the habitual means of the Incas of leaving their religious impress on the land] because of the primitive and barbarous character of the inhabitants (1966: 489).

The fate of those subjects who refused Incan rule and civilization

or, in other words, who refused to realize their full human potential through participation in the body of the empire, was reintegration with the land. In this regard Garcilaso notes that the captives of the Battle of Chancas were warned to either be good vassals or be 'swallowed up alive' by the earth (ibid.: 283).

V

Controlling and integrating the diverse ethnic groups of the empire was, in fact, an enormous task for the Incas, and reordering their subjects' relationship to the land formed an essential part of this endeavour. Andean religion provided several useful metaphors in this regard. If humans are animated earth, then land can be seen as a still human. The territory of the Incan Empire was thus conceptualized in terms of a body. The four major divisions of the body, upper, lower, left and right, were used to divide the empire into four zones, giving it its name Tahuantinsuyu or Four Quarters (Chinchasuyu, Antisuyu, Contisuyu, Collasuyu). At the centre was the capital, Cuzco, concentrating and circulating power throughout the whole. Garcilaso writes that

[The Incas] took as their central point the city of Cuzco, which in the private language of the Incas means 'the navel of the world'. The semblance of the navel is a good one, for all Peru is long and narrow like a human body and the city is almost in the middle (ibid.: 93).

As navel, Cuzco is in the centre both of the vertical body of the cosmos and the horizontal body of the land. It provides an umbilical cord between heaven and earth and it is the site at which civilization is created and spread outward.

The organization of the empire was to a large extent an extrapolation of the organization of Cuzco. The capital was organized in the form of a puma, with the temple situated in the puma's navel, mediating between the upper and lower sections of the town. The four quarters of Cuzco contained representatives of all the peoples of the empire. According to Garcilaso, this arrangement was established by the first Inca:

[Manco Capac] ordered that the savages he had subjugated should be settled according to their places of origin.... If a chief's province was to the right of his neighbour's, he built his house to the right; if it was to the left, he built it to the left, and if behind, he built his house behind. The result of this arrangement was that anyone who contemplated the wards and the dwellings of the numerous and varied tribes who had settled in them beheld the whole empire at once, as if looking in a looking glass or a cosmographic plan (1966: 422).

Radiating out from the centre of Cuzco were a number of

imaginary lines of power, called *ceques*, on which were situated major *huacas*, holy objects and shrines. These *ceques*, grouped together in threes, were associated with different social groups among which they served to regulate marriage (Zuidema 1964).

At the same time Cuzco was divided into four quarters by four streets in the form of a cross. Outside the city these streets became the four highways of the empire. During the annual rite of purification or *citua* evil and disease would be symbolically passed on from runner to waiting runner along these roads until a river was reached which would carry the misfortune out of the body of empire (Garcilaso 1966: 413-7).⁶

We find this quadripartition once again in the *mesa* (table) used by the Andean diviner, which is transformed into a microcosm by four diagonal lines crossing at its axis (Sharon 1978: 55). The *mesa* is also separated into two basic fields, that of evil and the underworld situated to the left, and that of good and heaven to the right, with representative power objects located on each. Between the two, mediating and balancing them, is the middle field, the human world. Eduardo Calderón Palomino, the diviner studied in the 1970s by Douglas Sharon, says of this middle field, 'that is the place where one has to put all, all, all his perseverance so that everything remains well controlled' (ibid.: 64). By controlling the flow of power in the microcosmos of the *mesa* the diviner is able to influence the macrocosmos, just as through Cuzco the Incas were able to influence all of Tahuantinsuyu.

The Incas gave order, meaning and integrity to their empire by applying the symbol of the body to the land and also by redistributing the bodies of their subjects over the land. Girls were brought to Cuzco from all parts of the empire to become wives of nobles and nuns, the heirs to the provinces under Incan rule were brought to Cuzco to be educated, and the principal movable *huacas* of all the ethnic groups were brought to Cuzco to be placed in the temple under the care of representatives from their peoples. By doing this the Incas strove to reorient their subjects from their local ceremonial centres towards Cuzco as centre of the cosmos.

Each town in the empire had the same upper / lower division as Cuzco. This was done, according to Cobo, to promote competition between the two halves and prevent them from uniting against Incan rule (1979: 195-6). Settlers, called *mitimaes*, were sent to newly incorporated lands in order to teach the natives and keep them in check. The greatest redistribution of bodies occurred with those subjects who were called to work for a period of time on a public project or to serve in the army (a tour of duty known as *mita*). This was a fundamental means of establishing a system of reciprocity among the peoples of Tahuantinsuyu and between the Inca and his subjects, and of creating a sense of common purpose.

Although the Incas imposed a common religion, law and language on their subjects, their aim was balanced diversity within a whole

⁶ In Andean medicine, to pass one's hand or a power object in the form of a cross over a patient's body disperses the illness to the four winds (Rosenberg 1939: 66-8).

rather than uniformity. Cobo writes of the *mitimaes* (who were required to retain their own form of dress):

As long as these *mitimaes* were loyal to the [Incan] governors, if the natives rebelled, soon they would be reduced to obeying the Inca, and if the *mitimaes* made a disturbance and started an uprising, they would be repressed and punished by the natives; and thus, by means of this resolution ... the king kept his states secure from rebellion (1979: 190).

This form of social organization was given consistency and meaning through the application of the body metaphor. The peoples of Tahuantinsuyu formed the separate but integrated parts of a body, at the head of which was the Inca, directing all the members according to a divine will.

It should be understood, however, that these metaphors, while expressions of belief, did not and were not expected to correspond strictly to physical or social reality, nor was the existence of discrepancies among them precluded. The resulting 'breathing spaces' or gaps in the structure allowed to some extent for the idiosyncrasy of historical circumstances and personal experience.

The body metaphor for land and society, extended by the Incas to include their whole empire, continues to have relevance in the Andes. An account given by an inhabitant of the Central Peruvian Andes in 1971 reads as follows:

God the powerful, of the Sky and of the Sea, travelled through the world, the body of Mama Pacha [Mother Earth]. He created us by taking us from the hair, the mouth, from the eyes, from the perspiration of our Mother Earth....

Peru begins in Lake Titicaca, which is the sex of our Mother Earth, and ends in Quito, which is her forehead. They say that Lima is her mouth and Cuzco her beating heart. Her veins are rivers. But Mama Pacha extends further and goes very far. Her right hand is Spain, perhaps (Ortiz Rescaniere 1973: 239).

While the earth as a whole is female, the elevated parts of the landscape are usually male. The Quechua word for mountain, *urco*, is in fact also the word for male. Mountains are often conceptualized as human or animal bodies with heads, chests and legs (Bastien 1978: 189). The basic social unit of the Andes, the *ayllu* (literally 'penis'), a form of kin group holding land in common, is both a body and a mountain, with the founding ancestor at the head (ibid.: xxiv).

In his study of a contemporary *ayllu* in the Bolivian Andes, Joseph Bastien examined how the body metaphor was applied to three communities living at the low, middle and high levels of a mountain, and to the mountain itself (1978). It was the task of the diviner who lived in the middle community, the heart and bowels of the body, to circulate life and energy throughout the levels (ibid.: 46). Through ritual, a system of exchange is established with the mountain and the peoples living on it, and a balanced, integrated world ensured (ibid.: xxiv). Bastien writes:

The Andean symbolic system is not the explanatory model of the anthropologist but the people's own metaphor of society. It is an analogous process by which a people understand themselves in terms of their land (ibid.: 197).

VI

To conclude our examination of the relationship between land and body in Andean religion, we will look briefly at how this relationship was effected by the Spanish conquest.

The eleventh Inca, Huayna Capac, had premonitions of the end of the empire, earthquakes and tidal waves disturbed the land and fearsome comets appeared in the sky. There was also a prophecy that the age of the Incas was coming to its close and that the next Inca would be the last (Garcilaso 1966: 573-5). The empire was certainly under a strain. The bodies of the Incan rulers were mummified after death and treated as if still alive, retaining all their personal lands and property. This created an ever-increasing demand for new land, a quest sanctioned by the divine mission of the Incas to disseminate civilization. New land to conquer was becoming scarce, however, and too distant from the government to govern conveniently. Prompted in part by these tensions, two sons of Huayana Capac, Huascar and Atahualpa, fought each other for the succession, devastating the empire in the process (Conrad and Demarest 1984: 84-151).

It was just after Atahualpa's victory in 1532 that the Spanish penetrated Tahuantinsuyu, captured the new Inca, and executed him. An Andean lament for Atahualpa's death proclaims that 'the earth refused to swallow up the Inca's dead body, rocks and precipices trembled and intoned funereal chants ... and time itself was reduced to the twinkling of an eye' (Wachtel 1977: 31). Without their head, the Incan subjects were immobilized.

A puppet Inca, Manco, another son of Huayna Capac, was set up by the Spanish, who showed their contempt for him by snuffing out candles in his face, urinating on him, and raping his wives before his eyes (ibid.: 170). Cuzco was replaced by Lima as the capital, and new political and religious divisions broke up the body of the empire.⁷ The Spanish burned the royal mummies, destroyed *huacas*, and said that the Andean gods were not gods at all, but devils, and that only *they* possessed the true religion.

It was a *pachacuti*, a disintegration and reordering of the cosmos. Poma de Ayala, who as a native Andean experienced the effects of this change, refers to the new situation as a 'reversed world' (1980 II: 380). Viceroy Toledo (1569-1581), in charge of much of the turnover, was called by the Andeans the second Inca

⁷ A modern Andean tradition tells us that 'when the Inca could no longer do anything, Jesus Christ struck Mother Earth and cut her neck. Then he had churches built' (Ortiz Rescaniere 1973: 243).

Pachacuti (Garcilaso 1966: 396).

In 1536 Manco escaped from the Spanish and established a rebel Incan state in the mountains. In the years that followed a millenarian movement arose among the native populace. Andean preachers proclaimed that when the Spanish arrived, the Christian god had conquered the native gods, but now the Christian god was completing his cycle and the native gods would once again reign (Wachtel 1977: 160). According to this popular belief, the spirits of the *huacas* had left their rocks and dwelling places and become incarnate in their followers. Only those faithful to the cult of the *huacas* would be received into the New Empire, those who had betrayed their religion by accepting Christian baptism 'would become wandering spirits, head down and feet in air' (ibid.: 181).

In 1571 an expedition organised by Viceroy Toledo captured the ruler of the neo-Incan state, Tupac Amarú, Manco's son, and brought him to Cuzco where he was executed. A Spanish observer wrote:

The Inca's head was fixed on a pikestaff close to the scaffold. Each day it became more beautiful.... At night the Indians came out to worship him, until one morning, at dawn, Juan de la Sierra, standing by chance at his window, saw the idolatry of the people. The viceroy was informed. He ordered the head to be buried, with the body, in a chapel in the cathedral (ibid.: 184).

It was the end of the Incan state and of the millenarian movement. Nonetheless, the hope for the return of the Inca and the Empire survived. In recent years many versions of this tradition, expressing the inability of the sundered body to order the world and the longing for its reintegration, have been collected. We will quote from three:

They say that only the head of Inkarrí [a contraction of Inca and *rey*, king] exists. It's growing downwards, they say its growing down to the feet. Then Inkarrí will come back, when his body is complete. He hasn't come back yet (Arguedas 1975: 40).

They say he's in Cuzco now. We don't know who could have taken him to Cuzco. They say they took his head, only his head. And they say his hair is growing, his body is growing underneath. When it has reconstituted itself, perhaps it will be the Day of Judgement... (ibid.: 41).

It was God [the Catholic one] who ordered the troops of the king-state to capture and decapitate Inkarrí.... The head of Inkarrí is in the Palace [of Government] of Lima and it's still alive. But it has no power because it's separated from its body.... If the head of the god is freed and reintegrates with its body, it can once again confront the Catholic god and do battle with him. But if he is unable to reconstitute himself and recover his supernatural power, perhaps we will all die (ibid.: 178).

The decapitated head which remains alive is Andean sacred structure, and the body which must grow and reunite itself with its head before the land can be reclaimed and order restored is the Andean peoples themselves.

CONSTANCE CLASSEN

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