

ELEVEN INCA PRAYERS FROM THE ZITHUWA RITUAL

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One of the outstanding features of Inca religion, as it was practiced at Cuzco at the time of the Spanish invasion, was the prominence given to a creator god whose most common title was Wiraqocha (Lord). Creator gods are not uncommon in the mythologies of other native American peoples, but they are rarely prayed to and worshipped. Inca tradition credited the emperor Pachakuti 'Inka Yupanki, who ruled about 1438 to 1471, with organizing the worship of Wiraqocha, and this tradition is very probably correct. It was Pachakuti who undertook to organize the imperial administration, and one of his chief preoccupations had to be the development of a formal state religion to unite the numerous local cults of the newly conquered provinces. His solution involved emphasizing the worship of the gods of nature, many of whom were already widely worshipped under different names. The Sun, the Thunder, the Moon, and the Earth-Mother were among the most prominent of these gods of nature. In addition, Pachakuti apparently elevated the creator Wiraqocha from the position of a culture hero in Inca mythology to the status of a high god directing the universe and the gods of nature, thus attributing to heaven the sort of hierarchical organization which he was imposing on the Andean world. The worship of older gods and place spirits was not interfered with, but none of them received the number of sacrifices and prayers which were offered to Wiraqocha in the official round of ceremonies which Pachakuti had devised.

One of the first results of the Spanish conquest was the destruction of the Inca state religion, since the conquerors were eager to replace it with their own Catholicism. It was only some twenty years after the conquest, when the ravaged empire was once more at peace, that any systematic efforts were made by Spanish writers to investigate the culture of their new subjects. Their attention was directed primarily to the popular cults of the lesser gods and place spirits, these cults being still vigorous and furnishing the major obstacle to full conversion of the natives. The local cults proved highly resistant to campaigns of preaching and persecution and in many areas have survived in recognizable form to the present day, accomodating themselves to an overlay of Catholic ritual as they accepted the imposition of Pachakuti's cult of the Creator five hundred years ago.

Because of the marked emphasis on the description of the popular cults in the Spanish literature on Inca culture and because of the early destruction of the cult of Wiraqocha, Creator worship has remained one of the least known parts of Inca religion, and one of the aspects of it on which we are least likely to discover new sources to supplement the scanty information now available. It behooves us, therefore, to make the fullest possible use of the material we have, so that our total picture of Inca religion is not too badly distorted by the interests of the

Spanish writers on whom we must depend for information.

The best single source we have on the cult of Wiraqocha, and one of the two or three best on Inca religion in general, is a report written by Cristóbal de Molina ("of Cuzco") who was the priest in charge of the parish of Nuestra Señora de los Remedios of the Hospital de los Naturales in the Inca capital at the time he wrote it in 1575. A large part of Molina's report is taken up with a detailed description of the official Inca religious calendar, month by month, giving invaluable detail on the ritual of each ceremony described. In his account of the purification festival of the Zithuwa, which was celebrated in August or September, depending on how the lunar months fell, Molina gives the Inca text and Spanish translation of eleven formal prayers which figured in the ritual, most of them invoking Wiraqocha the Creator. These prayers give us our best evidence on the position of Wiraqocha in Inca religion and are the subject of the present study.

Cristóbal de Molina was apparently much respected in his own generation for his knowledge of native religion and his ability in the Inca language. He was one of the men chosen by Viceroy Francisco de Toledo to investigate the state of the church in the Cuzco area and was mentioned both by Toledo (1916, pp. 193-194) and by Guaman Poma (1936, pp. 611-612; i.e., 625-626) as a notable preacher in the native language. He says at the beginning of his report that his information on Inca religion was secured from a group of very old Indians who saw and participated in the rituals described in the days of Wayna Qhapaq (1493-1525), Waskhar (1525-1532), and Manqo 'Inka (1533-1545), the last emperors who held court in Cuzco (Molina, 1943, p. 7). He was thus one of the best qualified of writers on Inca customs.

If we had the original manuscript of Molina's report, much of the trouble to which I have gone in the present study would be unnecessary. It would be possible to interpret Molina's hispanicized orthography of the Inca texts by the use of two standard dictionaries (González Holguín, 1608, and Lira, 1944), following the principles for the reconstruction of the sounds of 16th century Inca which I have worked out in an earlier study (Rowe, 1950), and then the rather free translations which Molina gives for the prayers in question could be easily checked against the Inca original. Unfortunately, the original manuscript of Molina's work is lost and we know it only from a defective copy made by some copyist who knew no Inca and had a good deal of trouble reading Molina's handwriting. It is, indeed, not impossible that the received text is one step further away from the original and is a copy of a copy. In any case, the priceless Inca texts are badly garbled and demand a difficult job of reconstruction before they can be interpreted. I thought at first that the task of reconstruction was a hopeless one, but then I noticed that three of the prayers occur twice in the report and that the copyist had made different mistakes in the second rendering from those he made in the first. A comparison of the pairs of texts suggested a series of emendations which made sense in terms of Molina's Spanish translations and I succeeded in making very fair reconstructions of the repeated prayers. The first three gave me some feeling for the formal phraseology involved and I was then able to work out almost the whole of the remaining eight.

The new reconstructions are given below, following some more precise data on the known versions of Molina's work.

The master copy of Molina's report is a manuscript of 70 quarto pages bound up in vellum with a number of other important works on Inca history and culture in a volume numbered 3169 in the manuscript section of the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid. It is entitled Relacion de las fabulas y ritos de los Yngas hecha por Christoval de Molina, cura de la Perroquia de N.ª S.ª de los Remedios de el Hospital de los naturales de la ciudad de el Cuzco, dirigida al reuerendissimo señor Obispo D. Sebastian de el Artaum, del consejo do su Majestad (spelling taken from the Bancroft copy cited below) and occupies ff. 2-36. The handwriting is of the late 16th or early 17th century (see Paz, 1933, pp. 530-531; Porrás Barrenechea, 1943, p. 97). There are at least four 19th century transcripts of the Madrid copy in American libraries, as follows:

1. A copy made by or for the Chilean Claudio Gay and preserved in the Archivo Morla Vicuña in the Biblioteca Nacional, Santiago, Chile. It is not a particularly good copy but perhaps not as bad as the edition based on it (compare Romero, 1916, p. xxiii).

2. A copy made by or for the Peruvian bibliophile Félix Cipriano Coronel Zegarra and preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional, Lima, Peru, at least up to the fire of 1944. It was bound in a volume entitled: Mss. varios. De la Col. Zegarra, catalog number 0138. The Molina account was at the end of the volume (Vargas Ugarte, 1940, pp. 77-78, 88; Romero, 1916, p. xxiii).

3. A copy made for William Sully Beebe in 1868 and given to the Yale University Library, New Haven, Connecticut, by his daughter in 1915. It is bound with a copy of Juan Polo de Ondegardo's Traslado de un cartapacio a manera de borrador... (see Means, 1928, p. 398).

4. A copy made for Alphonse Pinart and purchased by the Bancroft Library of the University of California, Berkeley, in 1939. The transcript consists of 103 folio pages bound in cloth, with the catalog number fmF3429/M6. It appears to be a very good copy, at least as accurate as the Lima one.

Somewhere in England, perhaps at the British Museum, there should be another copy of Molina's work made for Clements R. Markham before 1873.

Four editions of the Relacion de las fabulas y ritos de los Yngas have appeared and are listed in the bibliography at the end of this paper. The first was a poor English translation made by Clements R. Markham, published in London in 1873. In spite of its defects as a translation, Markham's edition is of some value in studying the Inca texts of Molina's prayers because some of its readings are closer to the Madrid copy than those of any of the Spanish editions. The first edition in Spanish appeared in 1913 in Santiago, Chile, under the editorship of Tomás Thayer Ojeda; it was based on copy no. 1 in the list above. Another edition was

published in Lima in 1916 by Horacio H. Urteaga and Carlos A. Romero, using the Lima manuscript, no. 2 in our list. The fourth edition appeared in Lima in 1943, edited by Francisco A. Loayza. It was based on the same manuscript copy as the 1916 edition, Loayza having been refused permission to make a photographic copy of the Madrid manuscript in 1935 (Molina, 1943, p. 64, fn.). None of these editions is entirely satisfactory and a new one based directly on the Madrid copy is much to be desired.

I have not seen the Madrid copy myself, but found that by comparing the texts of the four published editions and adding the testimony of the Bancroft Library manuscript it was possible to determine the probable reading of the Madrid copy in every critical case. I do not believe that any important additional light would be thrown on the difficult passages in the Inca prayers by going directly to the Madrid copy; to do much more we would need to find the lost original.

There have been three previous attempts to reconstruct Molina's Inca texts, all of them highly unsatisfactory. The first, and in some ways the best, was made by José Gregorio Castro, former Bishop of Cuzco and a well-known Inca scholar, in 1921. Easily the worst is the one made by J. A. Rozas and published by Ricardo Rojas in 1937. The third was done by J. M. B. Farfán Ayerbe and published in the appendix to an article by Juan B. Lastres in 1945 (Farfán Ayerbe, 1945). All of these attempted reconstructions share one outstanding defect: their authors have assumed that there has been no change in the Inca language since the 16th century and have tried to make sense out of the prayers in the modern Cuzco dialect. In order to do so, they must assume that Molina's Spanish translations are very inaccurate or that the Inca texts must be entirely rewritten or both; in any case, they come out with "reconstructions" which tell us something about their authors but nothing of any value about ancient Inca religious ideas.

I have made rather different assumptions in my own work on the subject. First of all, there is plenty of evidence that the Inca language has suffered some changes since the 16th century. I worked out and published in 1950 the sound changes which have occurred between the Classic dialect of the 16th century and the modern Cuzco dialect by the use of materials published in the 16th and 17th centuries, and by the comparative study of several modern dialects. In reconstructing Molina's hymns I have acted on the principle that no dictionary later than González Holguín's ample work of 1608 could be trusted to give the meanings that Molina intended to convey in his translations. The forms and meanings of any modern dialect are useful only in so far as they may throw light on González Holguín's usage.

Another working assumption is that Molina's Spanish translations represent faithfully the meaning of the original, allowing only for differences in style between the two languages. In a number of cases, I was able to work out a particularly obscure passage only by retranslating Molina's Spanish into Classic Inca. This assumption worked very well

in all the prayers but one, no. 11; in the latter part of this prayer, the Spanish bears no relation to the Inca at all and one is tempted to suspect that the copyist of the Madrid manuscript telescoped both the text and the translation of at least two prayers in this case.

The final assumption is that the man who made the Madrid copy worked in good faith and intended to reproduce his original letter for letter. His mistakes, then, would consist chiefly of misreading single letters or combining neighboring parts of adjacent letters. It is evident from the cases where two separate texts of the same prayer are given that the copyist occasionally made more serious mistakes, such as leaving out a word or getting four or five letters completely confused, but I have tried not to assume any such gross error had been made until I had exhausted every reasonable possibility of explaining the situation by a minor error. Word division was done very capriciously by 16th and 17th century writers even in Spanish and I found the word division in the received Inca texts as meaningless as one would expect.

To cut down somewhat on the detail presented in this paper, I will not attempt to comment on all the variant readings of the copies used but will simply give my reconstructions with comments on the most difficult or doubtful passages. For each prayer I give first a reconstruction of what I think appeared in Molina's original manuscript, then a transcription in the orthography presented in my 1950 paper, and finally a fairly literal translation into English. The reader who wants to check the reconstructions should read this paper with a copy of at least one of the published editions of Molina in his hand. For the problem of establishing the original text, my first version, in old Spanish orthography, is the one to criticize in each case. If it is correct, then the secondary transcription and the English translation can be defended in most details; if it is not correct, they are certainly wrong.

1. First prayer to the Creator (Molina, 1943, p. 38)

A ticsi viracochan caylla viracochan tocapo acnupo viracochan
camac churac cari cachon, huarmi cachon nispa llutac rurac camascayqui
churascaiqui casilla quespilla cauçamusac

maipim canqui ahuapichu ucopichu puyupichu llantupichu hoyarihuay
hayniguay inihuay

imay pachacama haycay pachacama cauçachihuay marcarihuay hatallihuay
cay coscaytari chasquihuai maypi caspapas viracochaya

.....

'A teqzi Wiraqochan, qaylla Wiraqochan, t'oqapu, 'aqnupu Wiraqochan,
kamaq, churaq, "qhari kachun, warmi kachun" nispa, llut'aq, ruraq,
kamasqayki, churasqayki qazilla qespilla kawzamusaq.

Maypim kanki? Hawapichu, 'ukhupichu, phuyupichu, llanthupichu?
'Uyariway, 'ayniway, 'iñiway.

'Imay-pachakama, hayk'ay-pachakama kawzachiway, markhariway,
hat'alliway; kay qosqaytari chazkiway, maypi kaspapas, Wiraqochaya.

.....

Oh ancient Lord, remote Lord, most excellent Lord, who createth
and establisheth, saying: "Let there be man; let there be woman;" molder,
maker; because thou hast made and established mankind, may I live peace-
fully and safely.

Where art thou? Without? Within? In the clouds? In the shadows?
Hear me, respond and consent! For ever and ever give me life, take me
in thine arms, lead me by the hand; receive this my offering wherever
thou art, oh Lord.

.....

Comments. Except for straightening out the word division, this
prayer needed only minor emendations, all of which could be supplied
from the second copy of it which follows no. 11 (on p. 45 of the 1943
edition). My translation is slightly more literal than Molina's but
makes no change in the sense.

The titles t'oqapu and 'aqnupu appear to have been obsolete in
González Holguín's time, surviving only with reference to sumptuous
raiment (see González Holguín, 1608, p. 8, under Acnopoy ttocapuy).

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2. A prayer for the increase of the people (Molina, 1943, p. 39)

Viracochan apacochan titu viracochan hualpaihuana viracochan tocapo
acnupo viracochan runa yachacuchun uarma yachacuchun mirachun

llacta pacha casilla quispilla cachun camasayquita guacaychay atalli
ymay pachacama haycay pachacama

.....

Wiraqochan, 'apaqochan, t'itu Wiraqochan, wallpaywana Wiraqochan,
t'oqapu, 'aqnupu Wiraqochan, runa yachakuchun, warma yachakuchun, mirachun.

Elaqta, pacha qazilla, qespilla kachun. Kamasqaykita waqaychay,
hat'alliy, 'imay-pachakama, hayk'ay-pachakama.

.....

Lord, 'apaqochan, generous Lord, diligent Lord, most excellent Lord,
let the people increase; let the children increase and multiply.

Let the people and the land be peaceful and safe. Those whom thou hast created, guard, hold by the hand forever and ever.

.....

Comments. The verb *yachakuy* is used twice in this prayer and once each in nos. 3, 5, 7 and 8, always with the meaning of "increase." For each occurrence, an emendation was necessary, for the closest form found was *yachachuchun* (for *yachacuchun*) in prayers 2 and 7. González Holguín lists only "learn," "try," and "be able" as meanings for *yachakuy*, which probably indicates that the meaning "increase" became obsolete in the 16th century. The meaning "increase" is recorded only by Domingo de Santo Tomás (1560, f. 78), who has "Multiplicar como sementera—yachacuni."

The form *apacochan* is also troublesome. It occurs in this prayer and the next in a list of titles, and Molina does not translate the titles systematically enough to enable us to identify its meaning. He may have intended to render it "miraculous." The dictionaries do not list it, or give any similar form to which it could be emended.

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3. A prayer to all the huacas (Molina, 1943, p. 39)

Caylla viracochan titu viracochan hapacochan hualpaihuana viracochan
chancia viracochan aqsa viracochan atun viracochan caylla viracochanta
camcuna aynichic huñichic llacta runa yachacunanpac hahuapi hucupi
purispapas.

.....

Qaylla Wiraqochan, t'itu Wiraqochan, 'apaqochan, wallpaywana
Wiraqochan; Ch'anca Wiraqochan, 'Aksa Wiraqochan, Hatun Wiraqochan,
qaylla Wiraqochanta qamkuna 'ayniychik, huniychik, llaqta, runa yacha-
kunanpaq, hawapi, 'ukhupi purispapas.

.....

Remote Lord, generous Lord, 'apaqochan, diligent Lord; Ch'anca Lord,
'Aksa Lord, Great Lord: help ye and agree with the remote Lord that towns
and people may increase, walking also [with him] without and within.

.....

Comments. In his translation Molina interpolates some descriptive information regarding the huacas (gods) to whom this prayer is addressed; all were apparently local manifestations of the Creator. Ch'anca Wiraqocha, he says, was a huaca at Chuquichaca where the road to Vilcapampa crossed the Urubamba River; Hatun Wiraqocha was a statue of the Creator in a famous shrine at Urcos. He gives no comment on 'Aksa Wiraqocha but mentions some other huacas whose names are not found in the prayer as it

has come down to us. Possibly the original text invoked a longer list of deities.

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4. A prayer for the people (Molina, 1943, p. 40).

A uiracochan cusi ussapo hayllipo viracochaya runa cuyac mayhuaomi runa yana huaccha quisa runayqui camascayqui churascayqui casi quispilla camuchun huarmanhuan churinhuan chican ñanta purispa ama guatequintahuan yuyachunchu unay huatá causachun mana allcaspa mana pitispa micumuchun upiamuchun.

.....

'A Wiraqochan, kusi, 'usapu, hayllipu Wiraqochaya, runa khuyaq, maywaqmi; runa, yana, wakcha, qeza-runayki kamasqayki, churasqayki, qazi, qespilla kamuchun, warmanwan, churinwan; cheqan ñanta purispa 'ama wateqentawan yuyachunchu; 'unay wata kawzachun, mana 'allqasqa, mana p'itispá mikhumuchun, 'upyamuchun.

.....

Oh Lord, happy, fortunate, victorious Lord, who hath compassion on men and showeth affection for them, let the people, those who serve, the poor, thine unfortunates, whom thou hast made and established, endure in peace and safety with their children, with their sons; walking in the straight road, let them not think on temptation; long years let them live; without interruption, without breaking, let them continue to eat, let them continue to drink.

.....

Comments. Two passages in this prayer were badly garbled in the received text. My reading of runa cuyac mayhuaomi is emended from runacay amay dacay mi of the Madrid manuscript, and my chican ñanta purispa ama guatequintahuan yuyachunchu is emended from chincanta amaguat quinta huanyayai chichu. In both cases, the emendation was made by retranslating Molina's Spanish into Classic Inca and looking for the choice of wording which would involve the minimum emendation.

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5. A prayer for the crops (Molina, 1943, pp. 40-41).

A viracochaya ticçi viracochaya hualparillac camac churac cay hurin pachapi micuchun upiachun ñispa churascayquieta camascayquieta micuyñin yachacuchun papa çara imaymana miconcan cachun ñiscayqueta camachic mirachic mana muchuncanpac mana muchuspa camta yñincanpac ama caçachuncho ama chicchichuncho casilla huacaychamuy

.....

'A Wiraqochaya, teqzi Wiraqochaya, wallparillaq, kamaq, churaq, "kay hurin pachapi mikhuchun, 'upyachun" ñispa, churasqaykeqta, kamasqaykeqta mikhuyñin yachakuchun. "Papa, zara, 'imaymana mikhonqan kachun" ñisqaykita kamacheq, miracheq, mana muchonqanpaq, mana muchuspa qamta iflenqanpaq; 'ama qhazachunchu, 'ama chikchichunchu, qazilla waqaychamuy.

.....

Oh Lord, ancient Lord, expert creator, thou who maketh and establisheth, saying: "In this lower world let them eat, let them drink," increase the food of those whom thou hast established, those whom thou hast created. Thou who commandeth and multiplieth, saying: "Let there be potatoes, maize, and all sorts of food," so that they shall not suffer and, not suffering, do thy will; let it not freeze, let it not hail; keep them in peace.

.....

Comments. The phrase ama chikchichuncho ('ama chikchichunchu) is an emendation which I made somewhat hesitantly by retranslating Molina's Spanish. The Bancroft Library manuscript has ama chupichichuncho, which I suspect is the reading of the Madrid copy. This form suggests a verb chupichiy, "hail," but the dictionaries give no such word and we are probably dealing with a copyist's error.

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6. A prayer to the Sun (Molina, 1943, p. 41).

Viracochaya punchao cachun tota cachun ñispa ñic pacarichun yllarichun ñispa ñic punchao churiyquieta caçillacta quispillacta purichic runa rurasqayquieta cancharinganpac quillaringanpac viracochaya

casilla quispilla punchao ynga runa yana michiscayquieta quillari canchari ama honcochispa ama nanachispa caçicta quispicta huacayhaspa

.....

Wiraqochaya, "p'unchaw kachun, tuta kachun" ñispa ñeq, "Paqarichun, 'illarichun" ñispa ñeq, p'unchaw churiykeqta qazillaqta, qospillaqta puricheq runa rurasqaykeqta k'ancharenqanpaq, killarenqanpaq, Wiraqochaya!

Qazilla, qespilla p'unchaw 'inka, runa, yana michisqaykeqta killariy, k'anchariy, 'ama 'onqochispa, 'ama nanachispa, qazeqta qespeqta waqaychaspa.

.....

Oh Lord, who saith: "Let there be day, let there be night," who saith: "Let it dawn, let it grow light," who maketh the Sun, thy son, to move in

peace and safety to give light and illumination to the people thou hast created, oh Lord!

Peacefully, safely, Sun, shine on and illumine the Incas, the people, the servants whom thou hast shepherded, guarding them from sickness and suffering in peace and safety.

.....

Comments. Molina repeats this prayer further on (p. 74 of the 1943 edition), and a comparison of the two versions cleared up all difficulties in the reconstruction.

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7. A prayer for the Inca (Molina, 1943, pp. 41-42).

A uiracochan tiçqi viracochan hualpayhuana viracochan
atun viracochan tarapaqa viracochan capac cachun ynoa cachun ñispa nic
capac churasqayquicta ynoa camasqayquicta casillacta quispillacta huacay-
chamuy

runan yanan yachakuchun aocapuranta usachun ymay pacha haycay pachacama
ama allcachispa churinta mirantaguanpas huacaychay caçillacta viracochaya

.....

'A Wiraqochan, teqzi Wiraqochan, wallpaywana Wiraqochan, Hatun
Wiraqochan, Tarapaqa Wiraqochan, "qhapaq kachun, 'inka kachun" ñispa ñeq,
qhapaq churasqaykeqta, 'inka kamasqaykeqta qazillaqta, qespillaqta waqay-
chamuy.

Runan, yanan yachakuchun, 'awqapuranta 'usachun. 'Imay-pacha,
hayk'ay-pachakama, 'ama 'allqachispa, churinta mirantawanpas waqaychay
qazillaqta, Wiraqochaya.

.....

Oh Lord, ancient Lord, diligent Lord, Great Lord, Tarapaqa Lord,
who saith: "Let there be kings, let there be Incas," guard the king thou
hast set up, the Inca thou hast created in peace and safety.

Let his people, his servants increase. Let him defeat each of his
enemies. For ever and ever without interruption guard his sons and his
descendants also, in peace, oh Lord.

.....

Comments. My reconstruction of aocapuranta usachun ('awqapuranta
'usachun) is subject to question. The Madrid manuscript apparently has
aorari punari vsachun, which makes no sense. A possible alternative would

be aoca runanta usachun ('awqa runanta 'usachun), "Let him defeat his enemies," my preference rests on the argument that a copyist would be more likely to mistake r for n than for p.

A superfluous chay has been omitted before the next to the last word; it was probably a copyist's repetition of the last syllable of huacaychay.

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8. Another prayer for the Inca (Molina, 1943, p. 42).

Viracochaya gualpayhuana viracochaya runacta casi quispillacta capac ynca churiyqui guarmayquipas camascayqui huacaychamuchun hatallimuchun

pacha chacara runa llama micuy pay captin yachacuchun

capac ynca camascayquicta viracochaya ayni huñi marcari hatalli ymay pachacama

.....

Wiracochaya, wallpaywana Wiracochaya, runa qta qazi, qespillaqta qhapaq 'inka churiyki warmaykipas kamasqayki waqaychamuchun, hat'allimuchun.

Pacha, chakra, runa, llama, mikhuy, pay kaptin yachakuchun.

Qhapaq 'inka kamasqaykeqta, Wiracochaya, 'ayniy, huñiy, markhariy, hat'alliy, 'imay-pachakama.

.....

Oh Lord, diligent Lord, let the Inca king, thy son and thy child, whom thou hast created, protect the people and lead them by the hand in peace and safety.

Let the earth, the fields, the people, the flocks, the food increase while he liveth.

Lord, respond and accede to the Inca king whom thou hast created; take him in thine arms, lead him by the hand forever.

.....

Comments. Only minor and fairly obvious emendations were needed in reconstructing the text of this prayer.

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9. A prayer to the Earth Mother (Molina, 1943, p. 42).

Pachamama casillacta quispillacta capac ynca huahuayquicta marcari atalli

.....

Pachamama qazillaqta, qespillaqta qhapaq 'inka wawaykeqta markhariy, hat'alliy.

.....

Earth Mother, take the Inca king, thy child, in thine arms and lead him by the hand in peace and safety.

.....

Comments. Molina repeats this prayer further on (on p. 74 of the 1943 edition). The second version has an additional word, *cuyrumama*, following Pachamama. I have not been able to devise any reasonable interpretation of it. Molina's translation is so free as to be no help in this case.

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10. A prayer for all the Incas (Molina, 1943, p. 43).

A punchao ynca inti yayay Cuzco tambo cachun aticoc llasacoc cachun ñispa churac camac muchasqayqui cusi quispi cachun ama atisca ama llasasca cachuncho aticupas llasapas camasqayqui churasqayqui.

.....

'A:p'unchaw, 'inka 'inti, yayay, "Qozqo, Tampu kachun; 'atikoq, llasakoq kachun" ñispa, churaq, kamaq; much'asqayki. Kusi, qespi kachun; 'ama 'atisqa, 'ama llasasqa kachuncho, 'atikoqpas, llasapapas, kamasqayki, churasqayki.

.....

Oh daylight, Sun of the Incas, my father, who established and created the Cuzcos and Tampus, saying: "Let them exist; let them be conquerors and despoilers;" I will adore thee. Let there be happiness and safety; may they not be conquered, not despoiled, but conquerors and despoilers because thou hast made and established them.

.....

Comments. The text of this prayer is perfectly clear. In interpreting it, however, it is possible that we should read 'inka with p'unchaw instead of with 'inti, as Bishop Castro and Farfán Ayerbe suggest; in that case we should translate: "Oh daylight Inca, Sun my father." My version seems to me to make better sense.

.....

11. A prayer to all the huacas (Molina, 1943, p. 43).

This prayer, the last of the series, is the most difficult to interpret because Molina's Spanish is not a translation of the Inca text. The Inca begins with a series of incomprehensible titles, but also with a phrase of the sort one would expect in a prayer to the huacas. The last two thirds of it, however, the sense of which is relatively clear, is a prayer for plenty and for protection against witchcraft, and it is addressed, not to the huacas, but to the Creator. There is no way of telling whether the confusion is due to Molina or to his copyist, but our first suspicion should be that the copyist has combined parts of two or more different prayers. I have assumed such a confusion for the purposes of this reconstruction.

.....

(A) A pachachulla uiracochan ocuchulla uiracochan huaca uilca cachun ñispa camac atun apahuaypi huanatayna allasto allanto...

(B) Viracochaya hurin pacha anan pacha cachon ñispa ñic ocupachapi puca omocota churac hainiguay huñiguay quispi casi camusac uiracochaya micuinio mincacyoc qarayoc llamayoc ymaymayoc haycaymayoc ama cacharihuaychu ymaymana aycaimana chiquimanta putiymanamanta ñacasca huatusca umuscamanta quispichihuaycu

.....

(A) Only about half of this part can be reconstructed properly: ...Wiracochan, "wak'a willka kachun" ñispa, kamaq...

(B) Wiracochaya, "hurin pacha, hanan pacha kachun" ñispa ñeq, 'ukhu-pachapi puka 'umoqta churaq, 'ayniway, huñiway, qespi, qazi kamusaq, Wiracochaya, mikhuyniyoq, mink'aqyoq, zarayoq, llamayoq, 'imaymayoq, hayk'aymayoq, 'ama kachariwaykuchu. 'Imaymana, hayk'aymana ch'ikimanta, phutiymanamanta, ñakasqa, watusqa, 'umusqamanta qespichiwayku.

.....

(A) ...Lord, who created the huacas and villoas, saying: "let them be..."

(B) Oh Lord, who saith: "Let there be earth, let there be heaven," who placed the red sorcerer in the underworld, help me and accede to my prayer. May I live long in peace and safety, oh Lord, with food and helpers and maize and llamas and everything. Do not turn us away but protect us from all sorts of dangers and troubles, and from curses, spells, and witchcraft.

.....

Comments. Apparently Molina himself did not know how to translate

atun apahuaypi huanatayna allasto allanto in part (A), for he repeats the Inca words in his Spanish version. In part (B) there are three places where my text is especially subject to question. The first is puca omocta (puka 'umoqta), "the red sorcerer," the reading of which is doubtful because I know of no other mention of such a personage. The second is mincacyoc (mink'aqyoq), "having helpers," which does not fit well in a list of food. The third is putiymanamanta (phutiymanamanta), "from troubles." This word is an emendation of catuiman manta, of which I can make no better sense.

In the received text there is no verb in the last part of the prayer, so I have supplied the obvious one, quispichihuaycu (qespichiwayku).

.....

Molina's eleven prayers tell us much about Inca state religion, and especially about the Creator's position in it. Wiraqocha, as the Creator is always called in these prayers, made the Sun, who is also spoken of as his son; he also made the huacas, or lesser gods, mankind and man's food. His dwelling place is not known, but he is compassionate and affectionate toward man. He is expected to direct the everyday affairs of the world, but the petitions in these prayers are general rather than highly specific, as befits the prayers for a public ceremony. The Creator is asked to prevent freezing and hail which would damage the crops, to increase both the people and their food, to give long life, to guide human conduct, to protect the government and give victory to the Incas, and in general is asked for protection from trouble. Especially notable is the frequency with which the Creator is asked to keep the people in peace and safety.

On more than one occasion, the Creator is tactfully reminded that, since he is responsible for making man in the first place, he has some obligation to take care of him now.

The Sun is addressed twice, once with the Creator (prayer 6) and once alone (prayer 10). He is the son of the Creator, but in his turn is addressed as the father of the Incas; the Creator is not called "father" in any of these prayers. On the other hand, the making of kings is attributed, not to the Sun but to the Creator himself.

The Earth Mother is the only other divinity to whom a separate prayer is addressed; her relationship to the Creator is not explained in these prayers or in any other literature on Inca religion that I know.

The huacas explicitly named are all called Wiraqocha and are probably manifestations of the Creator at important shrines in the neighborhood of Cuzco. It is rather curious that Wanakawri, the most sacred huaca of the Incas, is not mentioned; none of the huacas named is identifiable as a mountain god. The huacas in general are spoken of as the companions and helpers of the Creator.

The suggestion has been made, by readers of Molina's rather free Spanish translations, that the concepts in these prayers which parallel

Christian ones might be due to Spanish influence in the years following the conquest. Study of the Inca texts makes such an idea highly unlikely because the phraseology in the original is so different from that used in Christian Inca literature. The Spanish missionaries seem to have deliberately avoided the terms current in the native religion and many of them were lost with the conversion of the Inca nobility to Catholicism. This is one reason why previous students of these texts have had so much trouble restoring them. We are not dealing here with a reflection of Spanish Christianity but with another great religion, the faith of Pachakuti 'Inka Yupanki.

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