

Predation And Sacrifice In Andean War. Towards A Comparison Between Highlands And Lowlands

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Abstract

Traditionally, anthropologists have considered the highland and lowland societies of South America as distinct and have attempted to find associations, connections, and boundaries between them. In this article, I propose, instead, to view them as two ethnographically defined configurations, allowing to identify two models, or ethea, that interact within a particular social or conceptual domain, such as warfare. In Andean ritual combat or tinku, the two models are simultaneously at work, while in Inca warfare, an Amazonian ethos is present at the heart of the Inca State together with a human sacrifice which ensures the unity of the empire. Lastly, I wonder if the two models found in Andean warfare, predation and sacrifice, correspond to animism and analogism (Descola 2013a [2005]).

Keywords: Andes, Highlands/Lowlands comparisons, ritual combat, Inca warfare, alterity, sacrifice.

Introduction

In a paper published in 1988, I show that the Andean ritual battles of the *tinku* mobilize two simultaneous mechanisms that result in two levels of alterity (Molinié Fioravanti 1988).¹ On the one hand, combat defines each endogamous moiety in opposition to the other, constituting this one as its symmetrical image in otherness. On the other hand, the sacrificial dimension of this war defines the dualistic set of the two moieties in relation to a common exteriority. In this paper, I propose that the disjunction of the two symmetrical moieties follows a logic characteristic of Amazonian lowland societies, while the conjunction of moieties operates through a logic of active sacrifice characteristic of highland societies. Here, I would like to come back to my earlier proposal that these two mechanisms are present in the *tinku* battle to test their relevance to the imperial Inca wars and, in this manner, to improve their definition as models of identity construction, the first

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1 In another publication, my study of the *tinku* used psychoanalytic tools (Molinié 1999).

in Amazonian lowland societies, and the second in Andean highlands. I hope to be able to contribute not only to the understanding of imperial Inca warfare but also to a fruitful comparison of highland and lowland societies.²

This comparison has become a true anthropological object in the light of the pioneering study of Renard-Casevitz, Saignes, and Taylor-Descola (1998 [1986]). Since then, most studies on this topic have attempted to relate two discrete units, Andes and Amazonia; to identify the circuits of their exchanges and their reciprocal influences; and to search for their boundaries in data from piedmont societies. In empirical terms, these comparisons, when they are supported by accurate ethnographic or historical data, are indispensable and sometimes produce unexpected discoveries (Hirtzel 2013; Renard Casevitz 1991). But their conclusions tend to consist of simple records of empirical differences and similarities, not of a real comparison. to

This methodological dichotomy between the two objects of study could have been surmounted in light of the typology of the human modes of knowledge of nature in terms of four ontologies, as proposed by Philippe Descola (2013a [2005]). However, the application of this typology to the two kinds of Amerindian societies that concern us here seems to assign to lowland societies an animist ontology and to highland societies an analogist ontology. Since; these two ontologies are assumed to be incompatible, this approach can again fall back into a dichotomy (Descola 2013b). This does not correspond, however, to what can be observed in other semantic fields of Andean societies, where we observe combinations of Amazonian traits like predation with Andean features, such as sacrifice. This is the case of the construction of identity in a dualistic Andean society, as shown by the Andean ritual *tinku* battles. In the long term, one could attempt to inquire how the highland model and the lowland model are combined within a specific AAndean society and a specific AAmazonian society. Instead of conducting a term-by-term comparison or concluding that the ontologies are incompatible, it may be possible to define combinations of the two models within each particular society.

I will begin this exploration of the *tinku* – the contemporary Andean ritual war – by recalling the conclusions of my previous work (Molinié Fioravanti 1988): I distinguished two models of the construction of alterity, one for the lowlands and one for the highlands. In the functioning of these ritual fight, I distinguished two simultaneous operations in which I identified two models or *ethea* that seem to correspond to each of the two sets of the lowlands and highlands. These models are based on ethnographic observations but are situated on a level of abstraction that allows them to be tested with data about the imperial Inca war in a second stage. In the lattersecond stage, we will discover rituals that correspond to combinations

2 It is clear that Andean highland societies differ as much between them as the lowland Amazonian societies: what might seem abusive in this generalization is acceptable given the heuristic character it has in this work.

of the lowland and highland models. We will see how some characteristics of the Amazonian *ethos* are found in the heart of the Inca empire. This approach implicitly proposes the of a structural transformation between the contemporary ritual war and the imperial Inca war, putting on hold any historical dimension.

The ritual tinku war

Each year in southern Peru and Bolivia, especially in northern Potosi, ritual fights between moieties of dualistic societies are celebrated (Alencastre and Dumézil 1953; Arce Sotelo 2008; Bandelier, 1910: 88; Brachetti 2001; Cama Ttito 2007; Cama Ttito and Ttito Tica 1999, 2003; Cama Ttito and *al.*, 2003; Chacón and *al.*, 2007; Figueroa 1975; Gorbak and *al.* 1962; Hartman 1972; Hopkins 1982; Lira 1941, 1952; Molinié, 1999, 2006a, 2006b; Molinié Fioravanti 1988; Orlove, 1994; Paredes 1956; Platt, 1978, 1980, 1987a, 1987b, 1996, 2009; Rémy 1991; Sallnow, 1987; Urton, 1993; Valencia Espinoza and Valencia Becerra 2003; Walle, 2013 [1914]:151). These battles cause several casualties and often a death in one of the moieties, depending on the years. The moieties that celebrate ritual warfare with each other are theoretically endogamous, although today, in other timeskinship networks tend to fall apart *de facto de facto*. If the endogamous moieties do not exchange any women, they do exchange dead warriors who fall in ritual combat. These dead warriors form, by the alternation of their origin in the one or the other moiety, the foundation of reciprocity between the two units of a dualistic society.

According to González Holguín (1989 [1608]: 342–343), ‘*tincu*’ (*tinku*), the name of this ritual war in Bolivia,³ means ‘the union of two things’ (*La junta de dos cosas*) in Quechua and the verb ‘*tincunacuni*’ could be translated as ‘to be opposite or to compete’ (*Ser contrarios, o competir*). He mentions ‘*tincun*’ to express the opposition of the colours black and white. But the author also gives the word ‘*tincu*’ an aspect of harmony as in ‘*tincukmayo*’ which means ‘the union of two rivers’ ‘’, which means ‘a’ or as in ‘*ñauiptincun*’ (ñawip tinkun), which means ‘space between the two eyes, division of the eyes’ (*La entreceja division de los ojos*). The verb ‘*tinkuy*’ is used as well for the sexual union. It seems that ‘*tinku*’ expresses at the same time the union of two separate elements as two persons or two rivers, the opposition of two things as in the verb ‘*tincunacuni*’ (‘to compete’), and the separation of two things nevertheless united as the space between the two eyes. For the study of the ritual battle (*tinku*), it is also important to notice that ‘*tincuk pura*’ means ‘limit’ (ibid.: 342).

Bertonio (1984 [1612]: II, 350–351) offers nuances that clarify the nature of ritual battles: he translates the Aymara ‘*tincutha*’ as ‘the meeting of the enemy’s troops in war or in games, the beginning of the fight [...]’ (*Encontrarse los exercitos,*

3 In the south of Cuzco, these battles are called *chiaraje* (*c’iyaraji*) or *tuqtu*. *Chiaraje* is the name of a mountain that dominates the valley of Checa where several combats are celebrated between the communities of Canas and those of Chumbivilcas. *Tuqtu* is the name of a hill of Checa (Gorbak, Lischetti and Muñoz 1962). It is also the name of a bird whose feathers adorned the pre-Hispanic ritual warriors (Molina ‘el Cuzqueño’ 1916 [1575]).

o bandos contrarios en la guerra, o en los juegos venir a la batalla, comenzar la pelea [...]), but he also mentions ‘*tincustha*’, which means ‘to be the same (‘*ser igual*’) and ‘*tincusitha*’, which means ‘to conform a thing with another one, to be well, to adjust’ (‘*conformarse vna cosa con otra, venir bien, ajustarse*’). He offers as an example the key and the lock. Thus, various uses of the word *tinku* refer to concepts that might seem contradictory to us, like encounter and division, quarrel and harmony. In truth, the different meanings of this word are gathered in ritual combat: indeed, ritual warfare opposes the combatant moieties but at the same time gathers them in the same dualistic society.

This double mechanism of disjunction and conjunction appears in our analysis of the *tinku* performance. Indeed, this rite operates through two simultaneous mechanisms that define two levels of alterity (Molinié 1999; Molinié Fioravanti 1988). On the one hand, the combat defines each of the moieties in opposition to the other moiety, constituting its symmetrical image in otherness. On the other hand, the combat defines the dualistic set of the two moieties in relation to a common exteriority that we will discover later.

Let’s look at the first mechanism, i.e., the killing of a warrior of the adverse moiety. In the long run, the balance of the deaths of each of the moieties, the reciprocity of the slaughter, produces, year after year, the identity of each half by a mechanism that is well known in lowland societies as ‘constituent otherness’ (Erikson 1986). Each moiety reflects the mirror image of the other. Ritualized killing can be considered as a form of predation, comparable to the internal war of the Amazonas. Predation, through which each of the two moieties is defined by the other through reciprocity in slaughter, is expressed in acts of cannibalism that conclude the combat: sometimes the victors consume parts of the victim’s body or drink his blood (Abercrombie 2006 [1998]: 364, 368; Alencastre y Dumézil 1953:16; Platt 1978:1091, 1987b: 165, 1996: 68-69; Sallnow 1987:138-140). That is not all. It seems that the aim of predation is to capture an element of the victim’s ‘interiority’(*sensu* Descola (2013a [2005]), nothing less than his *ánimo*:

[...] so the blood of enemy victims falls on the Earth and is licked by warriors during *tinkus*. This allows them to assimilate the dead man’s “spirit” (Sp. *ánimo*) and protect themselves against vengeance by witchcraft from his kin and *ayllu*-mates (Platt 1987a:165).

It is relevant that *ánimo* is the essence of a being (*essence-en-acte d’un être* in French), the driving force that pushes him to unfold his realisation. It is often conceived as a double (Ricard Lanata 2007: 448)⁴. The predatory *tinku* warrior absorbs “something” of his enemy. Carlos Fausto has formulated the following definition of this “something” in the context of Amazonian predation:

4 On *ánimo* see La Riva, 2004.

[...] this acquired “something” corresponds to a capacity held by an other (human or nonhuman) which, on being captured through predation, becomes an integral part of the predator as a *supplement*.....this captured *supplement* corresponds to the predator part of the enemy’ (Fausto 2017: 509).

We propose to adopt the same definition for this “something” in the context of Andean ritual warfare. It is relevant to note that in Southern Peru, anthropophagy is less dramatic and often takes on a symbolic dimension, possibly because Christianization has been more effective than in northern Potosí region. Thus in the *Chiarajes* of the province of Canas (Cuzco), the victors merely seize the clothing of the defeated (Cama Ttito 2007:145; Cama Ttito *et al.* (2003: 49, 112). It is relevant that the word *q'ara*, which often means ‘the outsider,’ also means both ‘naked’ and ‘flayed,’ and we know the importance of weaving in the Andean world, especially the role of circulation of tissues in the administration of the Inca empire. This is how in the *Chiarajes*, celebrated every year for the feast of Saint Sebastian -- who, as we know, died by arrows-- the Ch'eqas and the Languis are distinguished by their attire. They all wear the *maqta p'acha* of the ritual war, but they add a “jacket” with the color of their community (Cama Ttito 2007: 145). In this context, the theft of the enemy’s clothing can be considered as an act of predation.

This practice corresponds to an observation I made in 1992, in Aymaya northern Potosí region: during the *tinku* fight, the warriors (especially the Jukumanis) claim to steal from each other’s belts the textile designs that allow them to identify their moiety, i.e., a ‘supplement’ of the enemy moiety.

Unfortunately, we do not have sufficient Andean ethnographic data to specify the nature and the agency of this *supplement* except that it is an element of the ‘interiority’ of the victim of *tinku* war. But we can argue that this anthropophagy completes the construction of the ‘constituent otherness’ of each of the moieties produced in battle. As in the case of many Amazonian societies, ritual war allows each moiety to incorporate the otherness of the other moiety and internalize this otherness as a point of view on itself through a ritual transformation (Viveiros de Castro 1996: 98).

Finally, each of the moieties defines itself by capturing dead members of the other moiety, and in some cases parts of their bodies as *supplements*, alternately assuming the roles of prey and predator.

We have thus defined the first level of identity of each of the moieties by the model of ‘constituent otherness’ ‘expressed through predation, which is effective in most Amazonian wars. It should be noted at the outset that predation has a much greater importance for Andean societies than is usually recognized. It is an essential aspect, for example, of the relationship between the highlands people and the mountain gods (Charlier 2015; Ricard Lanata 2007): this *Apus* can capture its *animus* in a predator-to-prey relation that Andean ethnography does not usually highlight as such because it is essentially focused on the cult of the mountains.

One could also cite the relationship that the natives of the Andean South maintain with their *machu* ancestors that can become *suq'a* predators of the *animu* if they do not receive proper offerings (Molinié Fioravanti 1985). Many Andean people also maintain a relationship of predation with the divinity of the Earth which, far from being the 'kind and tender mother' described by some ethnographies influenced by the New Age concept of Mother Earth, appears in most Andean communities as a predator avid for sacrifices. In August she is hungry, causing her victims to die from disease and scares. It is true that many Andeans believe that the evils suffered by the victims of the Andean predator gods could be remedied by magic or, in some cases, shamanic cures. had healing methods or, But the healer could also take the negative role of a predatory sorcerer and his patient that of a prey. Several colonial documents refer to predatory and even cannibalistic *brujos* such as those found by Arriaga (1968 [1621]: 208–209) not only in what he calls *los Llanos*, i.e., the coast, but also in the sierra where, after his visit,

[...] el doctor Alonso Osorio halló en la doctrina de Cochamarca algunos, y en la provincia de Ambar descubrió treinta brujos y se les averiguaron cosas muy extraordinarias y singulares, al modo de las de los llanos y costa de la mar. (Arriaga 1968 [1621]: 209).

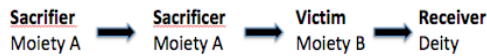
[...] Dr. Alonso Osorio found some of them in the doctrine of Cochamarca, and in the province of Ambar he discovered thirty sorcerers and very extraordinary and singular things were discovered, similar to those of the plains and seacoast. (Arriaga 1968 [1621]: 209).

The "plains and seacoast" that Arriaga mentions, even if they are not an Amazonian land, may have something to do with the 'lowland model' I described since it is clear that the latter does not in itself carry a geographical determination.

Let us now look at the second mechanism of *tinku* ritual warfare. It is true that the endogamous moieties, while having separate identities, form one social unit. At the same time that *tinku* produces the disjunction that we have just analyzed, *tinku* also produces a conjunction of the moieties.

A characteristic feature separates Andean ritual battles from Amazonian warfare: their sacrificial dimension. The *tinku* victim is effectively offered to the divinity of the Earth (*Pachamama*) or to the divinity of a summit (*Apu*), who guarantee the fertility of the fields and the cattle. The body of the man who fell in combat, called 'the good dead,' thus constitutes an offering, and the *tinku* acts as a sacrifice. Now we know, thanks to Marcel Mauss (1968 [1899]) and Claude Lévi-Strauss (1962: 296–302), that there is a link between the different actors of the sacrifice by successive identifications of the offeror (or sacrificer) with the killer (or sacrificer), and with the victim of the sacrifice. Through the sacrificial circuit, the moiety A of the sacrificer and the sacrificer, and the moiety B of the victim are evidently united in the offering in front of the divinity to which the sacrifice is dedicated. The fact that

the victim from the moiety B is considered as an offering means that this offering is made by the combatant who kills the victim, a fighter of moiety A. The assimilation of the victim's moiety B into the sacrificer/sacrificer's moiety A is indispensable for an offering to the god. Evidently this mechanism is reciprocal: the assimilation of the victim's moiety A into the sacrificer/sacrificer's moiety B is indispensable for an offering to the god. Thus, the divinity constitutes a second level of alterity, a level that allows the two moieties to be defined as a set with respect to a third element.



Finally, *tinku* ritual combat performs two simultaneous operations that produce two levels of otherness:

1. In exchanging their dead, each of the moieties A and B reproduces its identity through opposing its symmetrical image by the processes of predation and constituent otherness, processes characteristic of war in lowland societies. We thus discover, in the heart of Andean societies, a mechanism that is generally considered typically Amazonian.

2. In offering the deceased to the Earth, the sacrificer's moiety A and the victim's moiety B form a unit with respect to the deity by means of the sacrificial process. This unit corresponds to a mechanism generally considered to be typically Andean in South America.

Thus, we can present a summary of the two complementary *tinku* operations between moieties A and B:

Killing: A → B

Sacrifice: A + B → Deity

In the first operation we have two actors; in the second, three. These two operations are present in *tinku* combat, just as the word *tinku* encompasses both ideas of division and encounter. It should be added that the word *tinku* also has a fertility dimension insofar as it refers to sexual union through the verb *tinkuy* (Tschudi 1918 [1991]). “According to Arriaga (1968 [1621]: 216), ‘Another abuse is very common among all Indians today, that before marriage they must first learn each other and so it is very rare to marry without first *tinkunakuspa*, as they say.’ induce passionate feelings of Through its double sense of sexual union and confrontation, the word *tinku* suggests a relationship between the exchange of women (which in other dualistic societies is usually between moieties) and the interchange of the dead, which seems to have a comparable role for the moieties in *tinku* battles. The blood exchange between moieties through death seems to have a function that is equivalent to the exchange of blood for life. Both meanings of the word *tinku* correspond all the more to the form of warfare that it expresses, since, after combat,

some women of the defeated moiety are captured by the victors, thus confirming the moiety endogamy by an antinomic practice of marriage (Platt 1980: 156; Brachetti 2001: 67-68).

Another lexical fact confirms our analysis at distinct levels of otherness. Quechua distinguishes two forms of “we”: the inclusive, *ñuqanchik*, which includes all the interlocutors, and the exclusive *ñuqayku* which designates only the speaker and his group, as distinct from another group to which he addresses.

Finally, we should distinguish in *tinku* two mechanisms that correspond to two models, one of predation, a lowlands characteristic, and another of sacrifice, a highlands characteristic. The slaughter introduces a disjunction between the moieties: to each moiety, the Other is an enemy. The procedure is comparable to the *vendetta*. In fact, the quechua word *ayni*, which is used to refer to reciprocal services of work, is also used to refer to the reciprocity of revenge in the *tinku*. The sacrifice introduces a conjunction between the moieties: for the moieties that are united by sacrifice, the Other is a divinity. ‘revenge’ ‘sacrifice’ ‘One and the same rite, one and the same act of killing, one and the same corpse produce, at the same time, with extraordinary symbolic efficiency, on the one hand, the identity of each of the moieties through an Amazonian model of predation and *vendetta*, and on the other hand, the unity of a dualistic society (which otherwise would not exist, since the moieties are in principle endogamous) through an Andean model of sacrifice. This set of successive alterities as a mechanism of identity is often found in Amazonian wars. In contrast, the sacrificial process that allows the conjunction of the moieties corresponds to a highland model that implies the existence of divinities.

Both *tinku* operations construct two liminalities: one between a moiety and its symmetrical image, another between the two moieties and a divinized exterior (deity of Earth or *Apu*). The first liminality can be considered as a frontier since it lies at the junction between homogeneous and comparable categories. The second liminality can be considered as a limit because it is placed between heterogeneous categories: both moieties on the one hand, and the divinity on the other, correspond to different ontologies, one to humans and the other to non-humans. The ritual *tinku* war thus constructs a dualistic society through this “play” between border and limit. In fact, the warriors use the word *pukllay* (play) to describe the ritual battle of *tinku*⁵.

The Imperial War

This double effect of disjunction and conjunction of moieties allows us to create complex networks of social relations. By collapsing two combatant moieties

5 Like Donald Winnicott (2009 [1971]), we use the word ‘play’ in opposition to the word ‘game’. In his psychoanalytical study of the very first stage of the construction of otherness, Winnicott shows the importance of ‘transitional objects’ for the early infant development and uses the word ‘play’ in opposition to the word ‘game’ for the baby’s psychic relationship with his ‘not-me’ possession (see Molinié 1999).

into one category, and by articulating this new category in opposition to a new category, Andean societies could create endless numbers of dualities. In this way, an ethnic group whose moieties confront each other can, on another occasion, articulate itself opportunistically to another ethnic group with which it will form a dualistic unity against a common enemy. One can observe this phenomenon unfolding even today in the northern Potosí region in Bolivia. Viewed from this perspective, Inca imperialism could essentially consist of transforming a limit into a border and considering the conquering enemy as a possible moiety. Some Inca war rites appear to follow this logic.

Inca War Rituals

[...] cuando iban los ingas conquistando, dexavan alguna uña cortada suya o alguna pieça de bestido suyo o pieça de armas o alguna ala de halcón. (D)esta ala de halcón usa dicha cirimonia, que a las que vencía, escogía a uno a quien dexava en su lugar y le dezia : — Hazed desta ala de halcón bivo y tirad della hasta que la saquéis » ; que da el inga con la una y al que nombrava con la otra, y deziale : — « mirad como esta ave es la más noble y leal de las aves, ansi lo has tú de ser conmigo, que me fio de ti. » (Albornoz 1967 [1580]: 18)

[...] when the Incas were conquering, they would leave some of their cut nails or some piece of their dress, or some weapon or a hawk's wing. This hawk's wing was used in a ceremony with the defeated. He chose one of them whom he left in his place, telling him: 'grip this wing of a live hawk, and pull of it until you take it.' The Inca kept one wing, and the person whom he named named kept the other wing. The Inca told him: 'Look how this bird is the noblest and most loyal of birds, so you have to be with me, that I trust in you.' (Albornoz 1967 [1580]: 18)

Beyond the symbol of loyalty represented, according to Albornoz, by the shared hawk, this ceremony seems to transform the war of conquest into a ritual battle. For as in the *tinku*, two moieties interact, one of the Inca and the other of the defeated lord. The only difference is that at the beginning of *tinku* combat, the two moieties actually existed through previous battles, while in the case of an Inca victory the two moieties are created by combat. And the symmetry of the hawk's wings offers a perfect picture of them. It is, somehow, an upside-down *tinku*.

In addition, some ceremonial battles were celebrated in imperial Cuzco at the end of the initiation rituals of the youth of the Inca nobility. On the first day of the new moon of the Camay month, which corresponds to January, the newly-initiated boys from the *Hanan* and *Hurin* moieties, dressed in black shirts with white *tuqtu* feathers on their heads,⁶ clashed with slings and cactus fruits and sometimes grappled. The Inca presided over the ceremony along with the mummies of the ancestors of each moiety. He concluded the battle, and then the initiates would share

6 It is interesting to note that the name of this bird, *tuqtu*, is the same as the name of the place where violent ritual battles on horseback are celebrated each year in the Cuzco region.

their first meal with salt and hot pepper, breaking the initiatory fast that had begun at the *Qhapaq Raymi* feast (Cobo, 1956 [1653]: 212–213); Molina ‘el Cuzqueño’ (1916 [1575]: 78–79). This ritual certainly had a military dimension, since the documents mention that the young men were armed with ‘halberds’ and that they were thus prepared to be good warriors. The ritual battles were concluded with sacrifices, another episode that evokes the *tinku*.

Another prehispanic ritual battle is mentioned in the funeral of Pachacuti Inca:

[...] dos escuadrones de gente de guerra, uno de la gente de Hanan Cuzco y otro de Hurin Cuzco, y que el un escuadrón saliese por la una parte de la plaza y el otro por la otra y que batallasen y que se mostrasen vencidos los de la gente de Hurin y vencedores los de Hanan significando las guerras que el señor tuvo en su vida. (Betanzos 1987 [1551]: 147)

[...] two troops of warriors, one of Hanan Cuzco people and another of Hurin Cuzco, oneone troop should go out on one side of the square and the other on the other, and they should battle, and the people of Hurin should be defeated by those of Hanan, who should be winners, meaning the wars that the Lord had in his life. (Betanzos 1987 [1551]: 147)

The connection between this type of ritual battle and wars is explicit here not only because those who celebrate the ceremony are ‘troops of warriors’ (*escuadrones de gente de guerra*) but also because there is, according to the text, a direct relationship between this ritual battle and the real fights ‘that the Lord had in his life.’

One text indicates even more clearly the ritual dimension of the Inca war: the description of the end of Tupac Inca Yupanqui’s campaign, written by Joan de Santacruz Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamaygua (1968 [1613]: 302). Returning from his victorious mission in Quito, this young Inca was solemnly received by his father Pachacuti Inca, who organized in Sacsahuaman a battle ‘*a manera de comedias*’ – ‘in the form of comedies.’ The king divided the Inca army into two halves, one directed by his son Tupac Yupanqui, and the other by his grandson Huayna Capac, who headed 50,000 men with weapons of gold and silver. They simulated an attack and defense of the Sacsahuaman fortress above the city of Cuzco. At the end of the victory of the assailants, half of the victors triumphantly displayed on their spears the cut heads of the defeated Pastos and Cayambis, ‘*que estaban para ese efecto hechas*’ – ‘that were for that purpose made,’ smeared with llama blood. They then headed to the Quri Kancha, the Sun Temple where *Qhapaq Raymi* was to be celebrated. (Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamaygua (1968 [1613]: 302). We see here how a ‘real’ war finished with a ‘comedy-like’ war, a parody in which the enemy heads were exhibited as were exhibited as real or simulated trophies. Let us note that the ceremony ended with worship in the Sun Temple, where sacrifices would not be

lacking. This ritual Inca battle seems to combine the two mechanisms of *tinku* war: the predation that materializes in the trophy heads and the sacrifice in the cults offered in the Quri Kancha.

The obvious importance of the ritual dimension of imperial warfare (Guaman Poma 1980 [1615]: 413; Molinié 2006b; Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamaygua 1968 [1613]; Ziolkowski 1997; Zuidema 1991) invites us to examine it in the light of ritual *tinku* combats that we have analyzed previously. Thus, we will be seeking signs of the presence of a lowland model at the heart of the Inca war, relying on the two mechanisms we have discovered in *tinku*.

Taking Trophies, Skinning, Eating the Enemy

Some treatments of the bodies of the vanquished in prehispanic Andean war merit attention. The traditions of Huarochirí compiled by Avila (1608) and transcribed in Spanish by Taylor (1987) and in English by Salomon and Urioste (1991) relate a rite celebrated after a battle:

69. [...] cuando capturaban [a alguien] en la guerra, le recortaban el rostro [y, transformándolo en máscara,] bailaban llevándolo. Decían que de esto derivaba su valentía.

70. Y los hombres mismos que habían sido capturados en la guerra, solían decir: ‘Hermano ahora me matarás. Yo he sido un hombre animado con grandes poderes. Harás de mi un huayo y, cuando esté por salir a la pampa, me ofrenderás buenas cantidades de comida y bebida.’

71. Respetando estas palabras (la gente) ofrendaba comida y bebida a los demás huayos diciéndoles: ‘Hoy día bailarás conmigo en la pampa.’

72. /Sabemos que/ transportaban a estos huayos (*¿los hombres que llevaban las máscaras?*) en literas durante dos días.

73. Al día siguiente, colgaban [en las literas (*¿*)] maíz, papas y cualquier otro tipo de ofrenda (Ávila [1608] cap. xxiv, in Taylor ed. 1987: 373).

Now let us consider the translation from Quechua to English by Frank Salomon and George L. Urioste (1991: 120):

321. [...] If they captured a man in warfare, they would first flay his face, and then make it dance, saying ‘This is our valor!’

And when a man was taken prisoner in war, that man himself would say, ‘Brother, soon you’ll kill me. I was a really powerful man, and now you’re about to make a *huayo* out of me. So before I go out onto the plaza, you should feed me well and serve me drinks first.

322. Obeying this wish, they’d offer food and drinks to the other *huayos*, saying, ‘This day you shall dance with me on the plaza.’

They actually used to bring out the *huayos* and carry them in a litter for two days. On the following day, they'd hang them up together with their maize, potatoes, and the other offerings.

A note added by G. Taylor (1987: 373) to the word 'courage' in the citation 69 reads:

Uno de los numerosos gestos cuya repetición asegura la transmisión de un aspecto de la fuerza vital, en este caso: la valentía (*sinchi casca*) de los héroes, cuyos rostros llevaban en forma de máscara' (Taylor 1987: 373).

One of the numerous gestures whose repetition ensures the transmission of an aspect of the vital force, in this case: the courage (*sinchi casca* [*sinchi kasqa*]) of the heroes, whose faces took the form of a mask' (Taylor 1987: 373).

In this ritual, the victor takes the face of the defeated by transforming it into a mask and taking possession of his 'courage,' that is, of a moral quality. In another text related to the traditions of Huarochirí, it is stated that these masks were made with the skin and bones of the enemy. It seems that the one who used it had so much authority that they carried him in litters and made offerings to him:

Tienen unas mascararas. o caratulillas cortadas / del rostro de un hombre con el mismo hueso y piel, como estaua antes, para la qual deuen tener algun modo de sierra / o instrum(en)to muy agudo. Esta mascara su(e)le ser de algun Indio muy noble o valiente. o pers(on)a señalada, a esta hacen fiesta / q(uan)do el mayz esta de saçon. y preparando dos dias la chicha y lo demas necess(ari)o El tercero. Y quarto se traen en unas / como andas [...] y ponese uno la mascara y traenle en andas. y el sacrificio q(ue) le / offrecen es hechar las indias en el suelo unos pedacitos de sebo de llama. esta fiesta dura diez días (Taylor 1987: 371 nota ** de pié de página).

They have masks, or covers cut from the face of a man with its bone and skin as before, for which they must have some kind of saw / or very sharp instrument. This mask usually belongs to some very noble or brave Indian, or an eminent person. For this they make a feast / when the maize is mature. And after preparing, during two days, the maize beer and other necessary things on the third day. On the fourth day, they are carried on something like a litter [...] and one puts on the mask and is carried on the litter. And the sacrifice, which they offer him, consists in the Indian women throwing a few pieces of llama tallow on the earth. This feast lasts ten days (Taylor 1987: 371 footnote **).

It is difficult to interpret this rite that seems quite complex: how can one clearly distinguish the victor from the vanquished when the former wears a mask made of the face of the latter? What is clear is the act of predation of an element of the body of the enemy, nothing less than his face, which is his most essential body part for identification. This predation refers to a kind of symbolic cannibalism. Taking the enemy's face was, at the same time, the predation of his 'courage,' that is, an

element of ‘interiority’ (*sensu* Descola (2013 [2005]): like a reference to the animism of the lowland model.

The flaying rite observed in Huarochirí where the skin is stripped off the vanquished enemy seems to have been practiced often in Inca wars (Zuidema 1999) as shown in Guaman Poma de Ayala’s drawing (1980 [1615] I: 142, ms. 163 [165]), which represents the martyrdom of Inca Illescas, the Inca’s brother, who was skinned by Captain Rvmi Navi (Figure 1).⁷ The text that accompanies the drawing says that a drum was made with the skin of the victim, that maize beer was drunk in the skull, and that his bones served as a flute and his teeth as a collar. Elsewhere, Guaman Poma also mentions how Cullic Chauac was transformed into a *runa tinya* or a drum of human skin (1980 [1615] III: 891, ms 953 [967]).

It seems that the skin was at the center of various rituals (Zuidema 1999: 201) and was often filled with straw. Estete (1968 [1535]: 359–360) tells us how, in the ‘mosques’ of Pasao, he confused the crucified skins of flayed bodies with prehispanic representations of Jesus Christ. Cieza de León (1967 [1550], cap. XLVI: 155) describes how Pachacuti Inca, after the conquest of the Chancas, ordered the building of a mausoleum at the very site of the battle where the bodies of the vanquished were flayed and stuffed with straw and ash.

There is no doubt that the skin is an effective symbol of liminality, and it seems that the Andeans used it—and use it to this very day—with special skill (Molinié 1999). We have seen that the word *qàra*, which often means ‘the outsider,’ also means both ‘naked’ and ‘flayed’ (*vide supra*). It is as if the foreigner lacks the category of interface that allows one to communicate with each other, without which one can be nothing. Scarlett O’Phelan (oral communication) tells us that the supporters of Tupac Amaru’s great rebellion stripped the corpses of their Spanish enemies before abandoning them on the battlefield; bodies were thus ‘flayed’ of their clothes. Did the rebels want to reproduce the prehispanic treatment of their enemies, thus expressing the idea of incorporating their otherness?

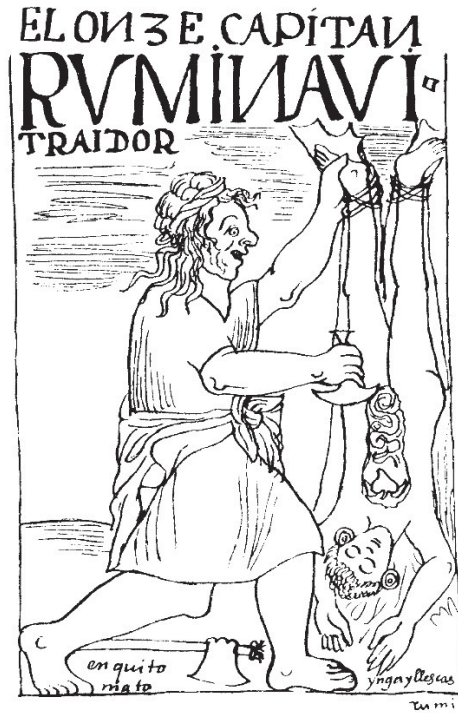


Figure 1. ‘El onze capitán / Rvmi Navi, traidor / En Quito mató Ynga Illescas’ (Guaman Poma de Ayala 1980 [1615]: 142, ms. 163 [165]).

7 For a study of European influence in this drawing by Guaman Poma, see Zuidema (1999: 206-215).



Figure 2. 'El segvndo capitán / Topa Amaro Inga / Colla Suyo' (Guaman Poma de Ayala 1980 [1615]: 124, ms. 147 [147]).



Figure 3. 'El Qv[i]nto capitán / Avqvi Topa Inga Ivpanqvi / Capac Yupanqui Ynga / hasta Qui-chiua, Aymara' (Guaman Poma de Ayala 1980 [1615]: 130, ms. 153 [153]).

But it seems that the skin was not the only predation of the enemy's body practiced by imperial war rituals, as Guaman Poma de Ayala shows in his drawings of the 'second captain' and the 'fifth captain' of the Inca army (Figures 2 and 3): the one, called Topa Amaro Inca, is removing his enemy's eyes, and the other, called Auqui Topa Inga Yupanqui, is offering a cut head to 'his father.'

Trophy heads seem to have been a common practice of Inca warfare (see Ogburn 2007). Guaman Poma (1980 [1615] II: 168, ms.194) mentions this practice in the initiation of thirty-year-old men (Figure 4). Joan de Santacruz Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamaygua (1968 [1613]: 302) tells how the Inca Yupanqui troops exposed the trophy heads of the defeated Pastos and Cayambis warriors and how they were covered with llama blood and taken to the Temple of the Sun in Cuzco. The King exhibited the heads of the defeated Chancas as proof of his triumph in the same way (Sarmiento de Gamboa, 1965 [1572]: 90).

We have seen that the skull of an enemy was used to drink corn beer (*vide infra*). Estete (1968 [1535]) tells how Atahualpa, after having skinned the ambas-

sador of his brother Huascar alive, used to drink from his skull, which was ornate with gold.⁸ Alonso de Mesa (1940 [1572]: 200) tells how Topa Inca drunk from the skull of his brother.

It seems that the use of trophy heads survived in Spanish colonial times. Garcilaso de la Vega (1959 [1617], Libro VIII, cap. 1: 785-789) tells how the Cañari Captain Francisco Chilche, who was an ally of the Spaniards, carried a trophy head in the Corpus Christi procession of Cuzco in 1555.⁹ I was told I was told that in the 1960s, the Peruvian *guerrilleros* of Hugo Blanco used to drink corn beer from the skulls of the military who had persecuted them. These rituals surely have a cannibalistic dimension.

Anthropophagy has even been suggested in the mythical origin of the Inca. Mama Guaco and her brother Manco Capac, at war against the natives of the region of Cuzco,

[...] prendieron a vno de estos poques o guallas y lo mataron, y sacaron los bofes y soplaron y, trayendo las bocas ensangrentadas, se binieron hacia el pueblo de los guailas. Los huallas, viéndolos, se huyeron pensando que era gente que comía carne humana... (Murúa 2001 [1613]: 45).

[...] caught one of these Poques or Guallas and killed him, and took out the lungs and inflated them, and carrying their bloody mouths they went towards the town of the Guailas. The Huallas, seeing them, fled thinking that these were people who ate human flesh ... (Murúa 2001 [1613]: 45).

We have another testimony of the semi-cannibalistic performance of Mama Guaco:

Y cuentan que Mama Guaco era tan feroz, que matando un indio Gualla le hizo pedazos y le saco el asadura y tomo el corazón y bofes en la boca, y con un haybinto-que es una piedra atada en una sogá, con que ella peleaba--en las manos, se fue contra los Guallas con diabólica determinación. Y como los Guallas viesan aquel



Figure 4. 'Capi[tv]lo, primera calle, vecita general / auca camaioic [guerrero] / de edad de treynta y tres años / balente moso, yndio tributario. / awqa kamayuq /' (Guaman Poma de Ayala 1980 [1615]: 168, ms. 194 [196]).

8 For the technical transformation of a skull into a drinking cup, see Ogburn (2007: 512).

9 For a description of this procession, see Bernard (2006: 118–121).

horrendo e inhumano espectáculo, temiendo que de ellos hiciesen lo mesmo, huyeron, ca simples y timidos eran [...]. (Sarmiento de Gamboa 1965 [1572]: 217)

And they say that Mama Guaco was so fierce that after killing an Indian Gualla, she cut him into pieces, extracted the entrails and took his heart and lungs in her mouth, and with a *haybinto* - that is a stone tied to a rope, with which she was fighting - in her hands, she rushed to the Guallas with diabolical determination. And as the Guallas saw that horrible and inhuman sight, being afraid that she would do the same thing to them, fled, so simple and shy as they were [...] (Sarmiento de Gamboa 1965 [1572]: 217)

Like skinning, these treatments of the enemy body that are close to cannibalism can be identified as procedures of incorporation of the otherness of the enemy. Mama Guaco and Manco Capac appear here as true warriors of the lowlands.

The occurrence of cannibalism and the 'wild' logic of the incorporation of otherness appears at the heart of the State through the Inca's very own brother. After the death of Pachacuti Inca, Tupa Inca Yupanqui had to face a rebellion of the Antis (people of the lowlands), who had united against him. The Antis surrounded the invaders, then massacred and devoured them. The Inca himself went to restore order in the lowlands with his two brothers Gualpa Rimachi and Inca Achachi. The latter '*metiose por el monte sólo*'— 'alone entered the jungle' and, after having torn to pieces a '*tiguere*' (i.e., a jaguar), 'began to eat a piece of meat as raw as it was.' After this,

[...] tomó un pedazo del tiguere en la boca y su hacha en las manos [...] y] juró de no salir de los Andes hasta haber comido de las carnes de los señores Andes [...] les prendió un capitán de los Andes y le hizo pedazos de cuya carne luego allí en comenzó [sic] a comer y viendo los enemigos lo que Ynga Achache había hecho y que traía un pedazo de carne de su capitán y su señor en la boca [...] (Betanzos 1987 [1551]: 152)

[...] he took a piece of the jaguar in his mouth and his ax in his hands [...] and] swore not to leave the Andes until he had eaten the meat of Andes' lords [...] he captured a captain of the Andes and cut him to pieces and began to eat of his meat. And the enemies, seeing what Ynga Achache had done and that he had brought a piece of meat of their captain and lord's meat in his mouth [...] (Betanzos 1987 [1551]: 152)

Inca Achachi is rather reminiscent of Otorongo Achachi, the son of Inca Roca who had taken an Anti woman as wife and who possessed the power to turn himself into a jaguar or *otorongo* (*uturunku* means jaguar in Quechua), like lowland shamans. Guaman Poma (1980 [1615]: 132, ms. 155 [155]) depicts him naked, like an Anti, facing the fearsome feline (Figure 5).

It seems to me that the characters of Otorongo Achachi and Inca Achachi must be taken out of their genealogical contexts and should be seen from the mythi-

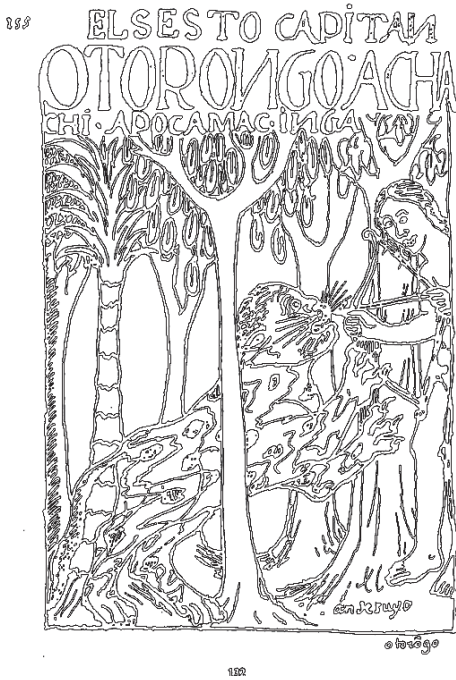


Figure 5. 'El sexto capitán / Otorongo Achachi Apo Camac Inga / Ande Suyo' (Guaman Poma de Ayala 1980 [1615]: 132, ms. 155 [155]).

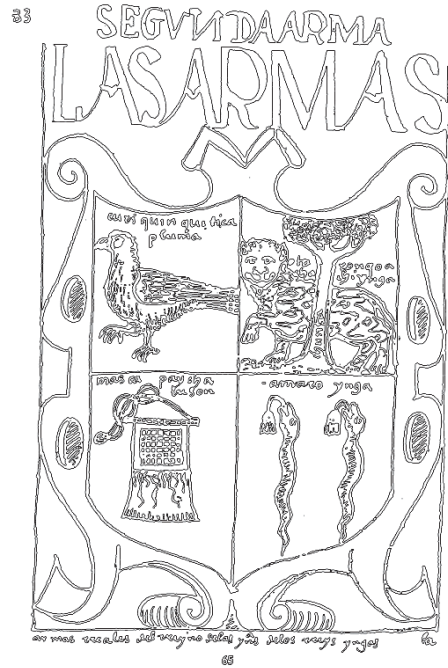


Figure 6. 'Segvnda Arma / Las armas / Curi Quinquitica [el picaflor de oro] pluma / chuntau (tipo de palmera) / Otorongo Achachi Inga [...]' (Guaman Poma de Ayala 1980 [1615]: 65, ms. 83 [83]).

cal perspective of the imperial function, as T. Zuidema proposed for the succession of kings. Seeing them like this, one can think of them as a reference to the 'savage' dimension of imperial institutions, to the model of predation and constitutive otherness characteristic of lowland societies. This hypothesis is confirmed by Otorongo Achachi's ability to turn into a jaguar as often observed in many Amazonian cultures.

Perhaps this 'wild function' is what Guaman Poma (1980 [1615], 65, ms. 83 [83]) wanted to show by including a jaguar behind a *chuntau* palm tree in his drawing of an Inca shield (Figure 6). In any case, we see in Inca warfares, even when mythical, one more step toward the internalization of otherness: it is no longer a captain removing his enemy's skin, eyes or head; here, it is the cannibalistic son of the Inca himself who turned into a jaguar and his own brother who ate the enemies' flesh. Knowing that anthropophagy was generally alien to the Inca, except in a ritual context and in special circumstances (Ziólkowski 1997: 237–240), it is possible to see in these semi-cannibalistic representations, in mythical contexts, a *ch'unchu* custom at the heart of the imperial war. This process of predation and constitution of identity is comparable to processes that have been observed in Amazonian societies.

However, it is worth noting, in Huarochiri's traditions, the sacrificial dimension of the rite of the skinning of the face, expressed in the offerings made to the masks of 'good quantities of food and drink' and 'bits of llama tallow.'¹⁰ It may be that these offerings have to do with the fertility of the Earth because 'they make a feast to this (the mask) when the maize matures.' In his commentary, Taylor (1987: 373) mentions the relationship between the fertility cult of the Earth and the covering of the face with a mask of human skin. This evokes the cult of Xipe Totec in ancient Mexico. Could it be that, just as in *tinku*, predation and sacrifice were combined into one and the same rite, that of *huayo* (*wayu*), and that several levels of identity are thus created by constituent otherness? We will now see that in the imperial Inca war there was an even more explicit sacrifice than the offerings to Huayochiri *wayu*.

The Sacrifice of the capac hocha

Ritual plays a fundamental role in the institution of political relations between the Inca State and its empire. The sacrifices that were celebrated in the imperial city of Cuzco are impressive not only for their quantity (thousands of llamas and textiles were burned) but also for the complexity of their codification according to the calendar and the identity of those who offer. The sacrificial excesses do not end at the gates of the imperial city; several documents describe the prodigality of offerings to the deities of vanquished peoples, both in Cuzco and in the conquered provinces (see Besom 2009). One of these ceremonies is called *capac hocha*.¹¹ There are few documents about this (Cieza de León 1967 [1550]: chapter XIX; Duviols 1976; Hernández Príncipe 1923 [1621]; Molina 'el Cuzqueño' 1916 [1575]), but some of them, according to the details they contain, suggest fruitful hypotheses. In the rare data we have, *capac hocha* refers to different types of sacrifices that can hardly be classified in a single category, but which generally have to do with the consolidation of the State and with the power of the Inca. This ritual was celebrated on occasions related to the birth of the king, his enthronement, his health, or the difficulties of his kingdom. But *Capac hoche* also refers to the imperial war.

The ceremony consists mainly of sumptuous offerings to the solar divinity of the State or to the sovereign, gifts that circulate between the provinces and the capital of Tawantin Suyu. They were carried in solemn processions and could consist of simple pots filled with the blood of llamas sacrificed in the imperial city, blood thus offered to a conquered province, as indicated by a manuscript from Can-

10 Nowadays, 'Llama tallow' is a common offering to the gods of the summits (*Apu*) and to the deity of the eEarth.

11 I use the most common notation of Spanish documents. *Qhapaq hucha* in Quechua can be translated as something like 'the fault of the mighty' or 'the king's guilt.' For a discussion of the meaning of this word and a study of the ritual, see Duviols (1976) and Zuidema (1973), who have inspired my analysis.

ta studied by Pierre Duviols (1976: 19).¹² One of the best-documented cases of *capac hocha* consists of a human sacrifice linked to a political pact after an Inca victory. It is the oblation of the daughter of an ethnic leader who seals an alliance between himself and the Inca sovereign, a pact between victor and vanquished (Hernández Príncipe 1923 [1624]).

For the feast of the Sun, a province conquered by the State sends some children of about ten years of age, destined to be sacrificed, to Cuzco along with sumptuous offerings (Figure 7). The children spend a season in Cuzco, where they participate with the Inca in several complex rituals linked to State deities. For example, in the *capac hocha* of Ocos, according to information collected by Hernández Príncipe (1923 [1624]), four children of ten to twelve years represented the four regions of the empire of Tawantin Suyu. The Inca, the mummies of the ancient kings, and the gods of the State and their priests received them with their divinities and their entourages in the central square of Cuzco. On this occasion, the proximity of the children to the Inca was exceptional. Thousands of animals were sacrificed, among them 100,000 llamas. A child was buried alive for the god of the Huanacauri summit.

But it seems that the victim could also be sacrificed in his province without actually travelling to Cuzco:

[...] tiene tradición de sus antepasados que el dicho idolo Ticllaurao era yndio principal deste pueblo de Hacas y el que yba de parte del pueblo a berse con el Ynga y que dicho Ynga le mando al dicho Ticllaurao quando bolbiese a su pueblo le hisiese el una capacocho quiera poner una olla grande enterrada y en ella pusiese una criatura viba y la ofresiese al Sol que era su padre del Ynga y el dicho Ticllaurao la uso dicha capacocho.



Figure 7. 'Ídolos i vacas / de los conde svios / Coropona / en los Condes / waqa /' (Guaman Poma de Ayala 1980 [1615]: 246, ms. 272 [274]).

12 'El principal, caciques e indios del repartimiento de Canta [...] interponen [...] recurso de segunda suplicación [...] en el pleito que contra ellos han seguido el principal, caciques e indios del repartimiento de Chacalla [...]'; (Archivo General de Indias, Justicia 413, nº 1, 1558–1570). See also Rostworowski (1967–1968).

[...] it is a tradition of their ancestors that the said idol, Ticllaurao, was the chief Indian of this village of Hacas, and that he was on behalf of the people to meet the Ynga and that said Ynga ordered to the said Ticllaurao when he would go back to his village, to celebrate for him a *capac ocha*, which consisted in taking a large pot and putting in it to bury a live infant and offering it to the Sun who was the Ynga's father, and the said Ticllaurao made the *capac ocha*.¹³

Hernández Príncipe (1923 [1624]) adds that the future victim of human sacrifice was generally sent back to his home community, along with a solemn company and sumptuous offerings from the Inca. He describes how the future victim traveled on a throne surrounded by a cortege that stopped in different regions where it was received with extraordinary solemnity. The route of the *capac hocha* back to the victim's province was an extremely long procession through the mountain range that sometimes lasted several months. All participants in the procession knelt before the throne of the victim, at whom they were not permitted to look, while animals and valuables were offered to the divinities of the traversed provinces. Upon arriving at his home community, the child was buried alive. Now, according to the documents, the man who sent the victim of the sacrifice to Cuzco to be sacrificed in his province was a defeated leader, and the offering was often his own child. This is how the *cacique* Caque Poma sacrificed his only daughter to the Sun:

que sera fuerza mentarlo algunas veces por haber dedicado al sol y sacrificado su única hija, que el Inca puso nombre Tanta Carhua, por cuyo privilegio ha venido de subsesión en subsesión el cacicazgo hasta este que al presente gobierna. (Hernández Príncipe 1923 [1624]: 52)

it will be necessary to mention him a few times because of having dedicated to the Sun and sacrificed his only daughter, named Tanta Carhua by the Inca, by whom the Inca's privilege of *cacique* has come by generations to the one that presently governs. (Hernández Príncipe 1923 [1624]: 52)

The immolation of this *cacique's* daughter informs us about the political dimension of the *capac hocha*:

de edad de diez años, hermosísima sobre todo encarecimiento, y desde que demostró lo que vino a ser, la dedicó al sacrificio del Sol, como lo significó al Inca, yendo allá en el Cuzco, de donde trajo orden para conseguir dentro de pocos días el dño y señorío de cacique por la dicha su hija. Enviola por la orden que es dicha, y a tiempo desta celebración y vuelta a esta tierra, la festejaron como es costumbre. (Hernández Príncipe 1923 [1624]: 61)

13 'Causa hecha a los curacas camachicos de el pueblo de San Francisco de Otuco, anejo a la doctrina de San Pedro de Hacas' (Archivo del Arzobispado de Lima, 1656, copied and studied by Pierre Duviols (1976: 13).

ten years old, very beautiful above any appreciation, and since she showed what she came to be, he dedicated her to the sacrifice of the Sun, as the Inca indicated, going to Cuzco, from where he brought order to receive within a few days the ceremonial stool and rule of *cacique* owing to his daughter. He sent her by the order as said, and in time of this celebration and her return to this country, they celebrated her according to the custom. (Hernández Príncipe 1923 [1624]: 61)

The oblativ body of Tanta Carhua appears to be a substitute for the body of her father, the *cacique*. From the time she left her province to her consecration at the epicenter of the empire, and then to her immolation back in her community, the trajectory of the *capac hocha* thus creates a bond of blood between the Inca and the ethnic chief, converting the latter into a *cacique*. The *capac hocha* thus appears as a rite of integration of the defeated ethnic group into the State by means of the sacrifice. This is shown by the victim's tour back from Cuzco to her community where she will be sacrificed:

[...] sin ir por el camino real derecho, sino sin torcer a ninguna parte, atravesando las quebradas y cerros que por delante hallaban...hasta llegar cada uno a la parte y lugar que estaban esperando para recibir los dichos sacrificios, yban caminando a trechos, alçaban una bocherà y gritería. (Molina 'el Cuzqueño' 1916 [1575]: 93–94).

[...] without going along the straight royal road, only without twisting anywhere, crossing the ravines and hills that they found ahead ... until each one reached the part and place where they were expecting to receive the said sacrifices. They walked, and while walking at intervals they raised a clamor and shouting. (Molina 'el Cuzqueño' 1916 [1575]: 93–94).

Up and down hills, 'without twisting anywhere,' the procession seems to follow a straight path that must be related to a line of the State *ceque* (*ziq'i*) system that regulated the space, time, and organization of the nobility of Cuzco.¹⁴ We can contemplate Zuidema's hypothesis (1973), according to which the lines of sanctuaries that radiated from the Temple of the Sun in Cuzco extended virtually to the ends of the empire, thus integrating all conquered territory to the State. Polo de Ondegardo (1990 [1571]: 47) indicates that each region of the Inca empire was organized according to the same order of *ceques* (*ziq'i*) as in Cuzco, and that in more than a hundred towns he had observed in the landscape a kind of map of the Cuzco *wakàs*.

14 In the temple of the Sun in Cuzco (Qoricancha), converged 41 lines or *ceques* (*ziq'i*) of 328 sanctuaries or *wakàs*. The points of the horizon, that these lines of sanctuaries pointed to, were fixed by astronomical observations, in such a way that the lines of *wakàs* were deployed around the Coricancha according to the rhythm of the stars: therefore the *ceques* correspond to months and around the City of Cuzco they formed a huge calendar of time. In these alignments of sanctuaries, rituals were performed on the dates that correspond to their places in the system, in charge of each of the social units of Cuzco, which assume responsibility for the cult of such or such *wakà* located on such or such *ceques*. This totalizing system, undoubtedly totalitarian, ordered, organized imperial space, regulated time through the ritual calendar, and formed and structured the society of the imperial city of Cuzco (Zuidema 1964; 2010).

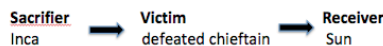
The relation between the ceremony of the *capac hocha* and the system of *ceques* [ziq'i] appears clearly in another word that designates a sacrifice (Zuidema 1973); the Quechua equivalent of *capac hocha* is *cachagua* (*kachawa*) (Molina 'el Cuzqueño' 1916 [1575]: 93), and also *cachau* (*kachawi*) (Albornoz 1967 [1580]: 38). These two words come from *kacha*, meaning 'messenger', a word that Albornoz (1967 [1580]: 38) uses as the equivalent of *ceque* (*ziq'i*). To go and be buried alive in the province to which he or she is destined, the child of the *capac hocha* and his or her entourage probably follow a *ceque* (*ziq'i*) or its prolongation. The ceremony of the *capac hocha* thus extends the State system of the imperial city to the last conquered province whose chief sends a sacrificial victim to Cuzco (his own daughter, in the case of Hernández Príncipe's account). As concluded by Tom Zuidema (1973: 142), the *capac hocha* belonged to an immense imperial system of *ceques* (*ziq'i*) that integrated the local deities and their ministers into a single political system. Therefore, the political function of the sacrificed appears clearly:

porque se vea la estimación que se hacia dellas [las *capacocha*], más que de huacas y mallquis [...] porque es cierto se han de hallar entre los caciques y gobernadores que por ellas recibieron el cacicazgo (Hernández Príncipe 1923 [1624]: 63).

in order to see the veneration owed to them [*capac hocha*, i.e., both the victims and the divinities into which the victims are transformed], a veneration greater than owed to wak'as and mallkis [...] because it is true that they are to be found among the *caciques* and governors who received the rank of *cacique* in exchange for them (Hernández Príncipe 1923 [1624]: 63).

Through the *capac Hocha*, a defeated leader sealed his union with the Inca and therefore with the State.

The sacrificial circuit establishes a particularly strong blood bond between, on the one hand, the offerer (sacrifier), that is, the Inca, and on the other hand the victim, that is the defeated chieftain (or his daughter, as a substitute of him), facing the State Sun god, to whom the victim is offered:



It also seems that these human offerings that contributed to creating the chiefdoms turned into divinities after their oblation. This is how Tanta Carhua, after being buried alive, became an oracle and spoke through her brothers and their descendants. The victim of the sacrifice transforms herself into a goddess to whom offerings are made, thus consecrating the integration of her ethnic group into the empire and constructing its articulation with the State.

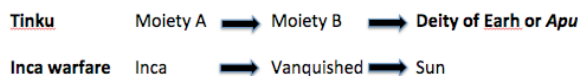
Finally, after an Inca victory at war, at least two kinds of rituals were celebrated: on the one hand, as we have seen (*vide supra*), the skinning of the vanquished and the taking of parts of their bodies as trophies; on the other hand, the

human sacrifice of the *capac hocha*. It is difficult to definitively establish a relationship between these rituals, as their documentation does not come from the same source and no one explicitly makes a connection between the practice of skinning or removing organs and the sacrifice of the *capac hocha*. However, it is clear that both rituals are celebrated after a confrontation between a conqueror and a loser. For this reason, it seems interesting to relate these two types of rituals and their mechanisms: those of imperial war—predation of elements of the body on the one hand, and sacrifice of the *capac hocha* on the other—with those of the *tinku* that we have analyzed—killing on the one hand and sacrifice on the other.

Back to *tinku*: The Transformation System

In fact, the prehispanic treatment of the enemy’s skin, especially in the form of a mask made of his face (*wayu*), corresponds to the first function of *tinku*, as we have defined it above. Placing the face of the vanquished enemy on one’s own face and appropriating his skin, bones, eyes or head effectively consists, like the anthropophagy of the *tinku*, in the incorporation of the enemy. We even have documented cases of mythical cannibalism in the Inca war: Mama Guaco with the lungs of the Guallas in her mouth (Sarmiento de Gamboa 1965 [1572]: 217) and Inca Achachi eating ‘the meat of Andes’ lords’ (Betanzos 1987 [1551]: 152). It would seem that Andean prehispanic warfare works by constituent otherness, like Amazonian in-group war. The first function, i.e., the killing of a member of the other moiety in the *tinku* or a member of the moiety created by the imperial war, is expressed in the case of *tinku* by acts of cannibalism and, in the case of the Inca war, by the appropriation of elements of the loser’s body and mythical cannibalism; these practices seem to refer to a model of predation and incorporation of otherness that are characteristic of lowland societies.

On the other hand, in Inca warfare, it is through human sacrifice that the defeated moiety comes to form a unity with that of the winner. This second function becomes explicit in the *capac hocha*, which brings together the Inca sacrificer with the defeated father of the victim, versus the solar divinity to which the sacrifice is offered. This mechanism is identical to that of the *tinku*, in which human sacrifice is offered to the deity of Earth or to the *Apu*, thus establishing a relationship between the sacrificer (the winning moiety) and the victim (the vanquished moiety), who are both opposed to versus the deity of Earth or the *Apu*. In *capac hocha* as in the *tinku*, it is the sacrificial circuit that allows the construction of such a union through the identification of the sacrificer with the victim, in this case the victorious Inca and the defeated lord represented by his daughter.



In the ritual battle of *tinku* as in the imperial war, human sacrifice establishes a pact between the conqueror and the vanquished that is all the more solid because it is directed to the divinity of the social unit that it forms: the deity of Earth or the Apu in the case of the ethnic group, the Solar god of the State in the case of the Inca nation.

Finally, the imperial war rituals work through two operations that refer to two models, one of the lowlands and one of the highlands. In the case of the *tinku*, the killing and sacrifice to the Earth operate in a single ritual act. In the case of the imperial war, the taking of trophies and the *capac hocha* form two stages. Finally, the two operations of the *tinku* on the one hand, and the Inca war on the other, are comparable or even homologous:

LOCAL TINKU

Killing: moiety A \rightleftarrows moiety B
 Sacrificing: moieties A + B \rightarrow Deity of Earth or Apu

INCA WARFARE

Killing: winner \leftarrow defeated
 (skinning, taking trophies)
 Sacrificing: winner + defeated \rightarrow Sun
 (*capac hocha*)

However, we can observe an important difference between the two models, that of *tinku* and that of imperial warfare: the relationship between the victor and the vanquished of the Inca war is not equivalent to the relationship between the moieties moiety A and B of *tinku*. In the *tinku* war, one or the other moiety wins depending on the year, and there is a balance in the number of dead of each moiety by a mechanism of revenge. The word *ayni* is used for the exchange of the dead. We know that this term expresses, in traditional communities, the reciprocity of social benefits. It manifests here, in the *tinku*, in the reciprocity of the dead of each moiety.

In the imperial rites of skinning and decapitation, however, a hierarchy certainly appears. Here we address the difficult problem of the compatibility between dualism and hierarchy that has never been satisfactorily solved. At the ethnic level of the *tinku*, a constant balance between equality and hierarchy governs the dualistic society. Among the moieties of prehispanic Cuzco, a hierarchy was instituted between *Hanan* and *Hurin*. The ritual combat that closed the initiation of the noble youths was always won by *Hanan* (Cobo 1964 [1653]: 212–213; Molina ‘el Cuzqueño’ 1916 [1575]: 78–79). The same happened in battles held for the funerals of Pachacuti Inca (Betanzos 1987 [1551]: 147).

In the same way, in the ‘manner of a comedy,’ the war rituals organized by Pachacuti Inca in Sacsahuaman to celebrate the victory of his son Tupac Yupanqui

on the Pastos and Cayambis, the hierarchy seems evident: the actors represent the winners who victoriously return to Cuzco exhibiting the trophy heads of the defeated (Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamaygua 1968 [1613]: 302). While in *tinku* the battle creates two moieties that are in principle made symmetrical by the internalization of the otherness, in the imperial war, as in the Cuzco ritual battles, the combat reproduces an established hierarchy between the two moieties. One may think that some evidence would be needed about an imperial battle lost by the Inca in order to analyze this dissymmetry. In reality, this possibility must be excluded, not by the facts but by the Inca idea expressed by the rituals, that is to say the idea of an ontological hierarchy between them and the others.

Let us now see the second function of the *tinku* and the imperial rites— the offering of *capac hocha*. This refers to a sacrificial circuit that we find in several semantic fields of Andean societies and that we have identified as the highland model. While the first function works by a disjunction between moieties by depredation and constituent otherness, the second function, i.e., the sacrifice to the deity of Earth or the *Apu* in the case of the *tinku* and the sacrifice to the Sun in the case of the *capac hocha*, proceeds by a conjunction between the sacrificer and the victim. But between the two types of sacrifice, that of the two moieties to the Earth or to the *Apu* and that of the Inca and the conquered lord to the Sun, there is the difference that we have already found in the first function: while in the *tinku* the sacrifice to the divinity unites the moieties, i.e., two units that are, in principle, equal, in the imperial war the sacrifice of the *capac hocha* institutes a hierarchy between the entity that offers, that is to say, the Inca, and the victim, that is to say, the daughter of the defeated lord promoted to become a *cacique*. Like the mechanism of constituent alterity, the sacrificial process is diverted from the egalitarian ethos that we generally find in the lowlands, and produces hierarchy.

Conclusions: Towards a System of Transformations

Despite these differences, we can conclude that a lowland model was present in the very heart of the Inca State. The presence of features of one society in the structure of the other has not been found by means of empirical comparisons, but by means of a structural analysis of highland rituals, i.e., the *tinku* ritual and imperial warfare, situating us at a level of abstraction that allows one to define models.

We may find a system of transformations between the *tinku* and the Inca wars, a bit like that discovered by John Murra (1975) between the structure of the vertical archipelago and that of the Inca State, but without any diachronic dimension. In effect, Murra demonstrated how the organization of the *mitmak* colonies in the Andean settlements has been transformed into the organization of deportation by the Inca State. Control of the complementary ecological floors of the ethnical settlement by a political center has given rise to the institution of deportation

of people from Cuzco to the provinces conquered by the Incas. The reciprocity of the relationships within the “vertical archipelago” of an ethnic group is thus transformed into a hierarchy between the State and the deported populations. The system of transformation from the *Tinku* war into the Imperial war may have followed a similar process in a “structural time” (Murra 1975:111).

and Inca³a -The system of transformation from the *tinku* to the ritualized imperial war may have followed a process comparable to the system of transformation from reciprocity to hierarchy in a ‘structural time’ (Murra 1975:111) that runs from ethnicity to State. It is clear that we do not give any chronological dimension (even less any historical perspective) to this transformation, which we consider to be of a purely structural nature.

The logic of offering sacrifices to local divinities (*wakàs*) undergoes a structural transformation at the level of the State: the Inca makes an offering of *capac hocha*, just as the ethnic group makes an offering to its local divinity (*wakà*, Earth or *Apu*). But the State offering is destined to the Sun, and consists of a substitute for the defeated enemy. While the receiver of the *tinku* sacrifice is the local divinity shared by the moities, the receiver of the *capac hocha* is the Sun, the State divinity.

We may think that the highland and lowland models of warfare correspond in some way to ‘animism’ and ‘analogism,’ which Philippe Descola (2013 [2005]) distinguishes in his classification of ways of thinking about the continuities and discontinuities between humans and their environment. Of course, the models I propose do not claim such a level of generalization: they are strictly local. In addition, they are not focused on the ways of identifying the entities that surround us, as in the system defined by Descola. The heuristic models that I refer to deal with the conceptions of alterity and war: this is how I distinguish ‘a lowland model’ characterized by predation from ‘a highland model’ characterized by sacrifice. It is a distinction that has some similarities with Descola’s distinction between two ontologies, ‘animism’ and ‘analogy.’ I hope, however, that, based on my proposal (and no doubt many others), we can discuss Descola’s distinction and question the hypothesis that a sacrificial logic cannot coexist with an animistic ontology (Descola 2013b).

It is true that there is no sacrifice in the Amazonian societies of the animistic type. However one might think that no concrete actual society, at least in South America, corresponds to only one of these ontologies. In the case of the Andes, we have been able to observe how an animist logic of predation and assimilation of otherness is combined with an analogical logic of sacrifice. In reality, the ontological models are combined in each particular society purpose . It seems that our method, despite its anachronism, if it is based on accurate accurate observations, can lift comparisons above the deadlock of a simple accounting of resemblances and differences, and can suggest a system of structural transformations without chronological pretensions. We have tried to do that for Inca warfare.

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Figure 1. ‘El onze capitán / Rvmi Navi, traidor / En Quito mató Ynga Illescas’ (Guaman Poma de Ayala

1980 [1615]:142, ms.163 [165]). Figure 2. ‘El segvndo capitán / Topa Amaro Inga / Colla Suyo’ (Guaman Poma de Ayala 1980 [1615]: 124, ms. 147 [147]).