

Can climate change shape gender-relations?
The Inca subtext of the drama Ollantay
As mudanças climáticas podem moldar as relações de gênero?
O subtexto inca do drama Ollantay

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Resumo: O (suposto) drama inca *Apu Ollantay* foi publicado pela primeira vez em Viena, em 1853, e desde então é um enigma, pois o momento revolucionário do drama é dado por uma reviravolta súbita no enredo padrão de tais dramas de amor: ao contrário de *Romeu e Julieta*, de Shakespeare, os amantes não morreram por suas próprias mãos, mas lutaram com sucesso pelo direito de amar devido a uma súbita mudança no regime político. O jovem Inca Tupac Yupanqui transformou os «rigores de um pai na generosidade de um rei» (o subtítulo do drama). Um espelho distante, o modelo do Estado Cosmológico do Sudeste Asiático, pode visualizar o caminho que uma história dos tempos incas abre para evidências sobre o impacto das mudanças climáticas nas relações de gênero.

Palavras-chave: *Apu Ollantay*; drama; revoluções; mudanças climáticas.

Abstract: The (supposed) Inca drama *Apu Ollantay* was published first in Vienna in 1853 and is an enigma since because the revolutionary momentum of the drama is given by a sudden twist of the standard plot of such love dramas: unlike Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*, the lovers did not die by their own hands, but fought successfully for the right to love due to a sudden political regime change: the young Inca Tupac Yupanqui turned the «rigors of a father into the generosity of a king» (the subtitle of the drama). A Distant Mirror, the Southeast Asian model of the Cosmological State, can visualize the avenue a story from Inca times opens to evidences on the impact of climate change on gender-relations.

Keyword: *Apu Ollantay*; drama; revolutions; climate changes.

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1. Introduction

The drama *Ollantay* is the best-known drama of the 18th century Peruvian Quechua literature. Itier (2006) claims to have identified the author of the drama following Raúl Porras Barrenechea: the parish priest Valdéz, as already established by Markham in 1853. Since the plot or storyline of the drama predates the 18th century, mentioned first in the report by Cabello Valboa based on a report by Matheo Yupanqui Inca from Quito (Fernandez, 2023: 8), several authors claimed the Inca origin of the drama, whose genre resembles Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*. In stark contrast to, the drama *Ollantay* has a happy-end due to the sudden change of the political regime in the Inca Empire. According to a note, it was a Christian *auto sacramental* (Martin 2011: 16-17): the Jesuits employed such theater plays for missionary purposes, but *Ollantay* contradicts in a crucial issue the Catholic conception of chastity. How can that be possible? To investigate this issue, external criteria for the evaluation of historical documents, the issue of their provenience (where do they come from) and the internal criteria (what do they tell) are applied.

2. The plot of the drama and its survived manuscripts

Ollantay, the general of Antisuyu, the Eastern quadrant of the Inca Empire reaching out to the highland and lowland jungles on the Eastern escarpments of the Andean moun-

tains, fell in love with Cusicoyllur, a so-called *ñusta*, declared as daughter of the Inca. When *Ollantay* asked the Inca Pachacutec for already pregnant Cusicoyllur's hand in marriage, the old Inca named Pachacutec demoted him, whereupon *Ollantay* turned into a revolutionary. The high priest of the Inca empire, Willca Umu, knew about *Ollantay*'s secret from the beginning, but eventually joined his revolution. *Ollantay*'s preparations took ten years. Cusicoyllur, meanwhile imprisoned in a monastery of the sun maidens, gave birth to Ima Sumaq. Eventually *Ollantay*'s old comrade-in-arms, the Inca general Ruminawhi betrayed *Ollantay* by posing as a political refugee in *Ollantay*'s stronghold, *Ollantaytampu*. During the rebels' celebration of the Inti Raymi, the Inca festival of the Sun, Ruminawhi secretly opens the gate of the fortress of *Ollantaytampu*. The Inca's troops stormed the stronghold while the rebels were drunk and arrested them. By that time, Inca Pachacutec has already passed over, so the young Inca Tupac Yupanqui pardons *Ollantay*, whereupon Ima Sumaq let Inca Tupac Yupanqui know that her mother, Cusi Coyllur, is still imprisoned in the monastery of the Inca's Sun Maidens. Inca Tupac Yupanqui rushed to set her free, stating that he is glad to have found his sister. Tupac Yupanqui was a son of Inca Pachacutec, allowing her to marry *Ollantay*, and makes *Ollantay* his deputy, thereby twisting the plot like a *deus ex machina*, a deity from the theater machine.

The drama, told this way, appears as tragi-comedy, from the Spanish theater of the *Siglo de Oro* (Bosshard, 2002). The 18th century Neo-Inca movement fostered Quechua literature (Brokaw, 2006; Cordiviola, 2010), but especially Ollantay has never been considered as a simple soap opera (Bordoy, 2003; Lienhard, 1985; Oleszkiewicz, 1995: 13-37). Two manuscripts of the drama belonged to members of Inca nobility, Justiniani and Don Justo Sahuaraura Inka (Markham, 1910: 325-330). The manuscript edited by Gybbon-Spilsbury (1897: 230-327) is perhaps a copy of Justiniani's manuscript.

The Swiss traveler to Peru, Johann Jakob von Tschudi, received a copy of the manuscript of the drama from the monastery Santo Domingo, in Cuzco, in Vienna to print (Tschudi 1853: 71-110). Since the Spanish archives were closed to the public until the middle of the 19th century, Vienna became a center of research on South America, highlighted by the Austrian expedition to Brazil accompanied the Hapsburg archduchess Leopoldina to her husband, Prince Pedro of Portugal, residing in Brazil (Wagner, 2021). Tschudi reviewed the Hapsburg collection of books and manuscripts on Spanish America to expand Rivero (1841) on Peruvian antiquities to a substantial documentation on the Andean civilization (Rivero-Tschudi, 1851) to enhance the small work by Rivero (1841). Both, the failed revolution of Tupac Amaru II (1780-1782) and the Spanish counterinsurgency, left nothing but smoldering ashes, so the rediscovery of the Inca Empire,

whose existence was denied first by Skinner (1806), started in 1853, when the British adventurer Clements Markham surveyed Cuzco and its surroundings. Markham (1856: 169-180) identified the drama's author and put it into the context of Tupac Amaru's «Last Inca Revolution» (Markham, 1856, 1865, 1871a; Fisher, 1966). Markham's second travel to Peru to oversee the transfer of Cinchona trees and seeds from Peru to British India (Markham, 1862; Hobhouse, 2006: 40-47) made him an authority on Peru (*inter alia*, Markham, 1892, 1910). In spite of several research works on Tupac Amaru II (Valcárcel, 1972; Garrett, 2005; Walker, 2013), the provenience of the story staged by the drama remains a disputed issue.

The first editions of the drama Ollantay are based on manuscripts (MS) found by their respective editors: Dominico I MS, by Tschudi (1853: 71-110); the Justiniani MS, by Markham (1871a); the Bolivian MS, by Tschudi (1875), in fragments; and the MS edited by Pacheco Zagarra (1878). No new edition came to Vienna after Tschudi's retirement from service as Swiss ambassador in Austria. The Dominico II MS, from Cuzco, was published by Teodoro Menezes (1983), whereas the now lost Bolivian MS was achieved by Tschudi in Arequipa, but since his manuscripts are lost, due to World War II, the quotations in Tschudi (1875) are the only traces of the so-called Bolivian manuscript. Years later, Ferdinand Anders (1983) realized an exhibition on Peru, at the Schallaburg, in Lower Austria. The photocopies of

the original Justiniani MS remained hidden in a folder in Anders' library: Markham (1871a) is therefore not an exact edition, however, since the drama is a work of poetry, any linguistic analyses and translation faces severe obstacles (Arguerdas, 2000).

Ortiz Rescaniere (1992: 70-73) proposes an anthropological interpretation of the drama's culturally specific subtexts, here considered as the «Sandwich Model», consisting of three layers of the drama's narrative: (1) the myth of a love affair between a mortal and a star; (2) fundamental aspects of love and marriage in the indigenous communities in the Andean and Amazonian region, which is Ortiz-Rescaniere's genuine issue as a cultural anthropologist; and (3) Inca Tupac Yupanqui's policy of integrating the Inca Empire (*Tawantinsuyu*) by love, harmony and understanding, instead of Inca Pachacutec's disciplined barrack state. This layer concerns the historical dimension of the drama. Anyway, there are two classes of narratives on the Inca past: the standard narratives (Rowe, 1945; Rostworowski, 1999) and the heterodox narratives based on the Jesuit chronicler Blas Valera cited by Anello Oliva (Hyland, 2003). The disputed Naples manuscripts provide accurate information on the greatest puzzle of the Incas: their compass rose known as the ceque system (Bauer, 2016). Fernando Montesinos, hitherto believed to have used the Valera material, did in fact a manuscript from Quito for his heterodox historiography (Hyland, 2007).

Meneses (1976-1977) thinks that Blas Valera provided the drama's plot. Anyway, a drama's script is not a history book, and the Andean civilization does not belong to the Western great tradition. Franklin Pease (1991: 31-32) cites a report written in 1555 on rituals transmitting information on history. See also Markham (1883), who, concerning the name Ollantay, refers to Viceroy Toledo's survey study from Jauja to Cuzco, from November 1570 to March 1571, on the origin of the Inca government. Two hundred witnesses were examined, the lineage

of each witness being recorded. Among these we find six witnesses of the Antasayac ayllu. [...] We thus find that the name of Ollantay belonged to Anta. Now the Incas were under great obligations to the chief of Anta, for that chief had rescued the eldest son of Inca Rocca [named Yahuar Huaccac] from the chief of Ayamarca [...] (Markham, 1910: 335)

Eventually, Francisco de Toledo put in charge Sarmiento de Gamboa to refute Inca genealogies which «assaulted» rights of King Phillip II in Peru (González Díaz, 2021: 475). Viceroy Toledo endorsed the so-called declaration of the Quipucamayos, masters of the Inca's data storage system, based on knotted strings (*Quipus*), but we do not have their autograph written around 1542 (Jiménez, 1892; Urton, 2004: 58-63). In 1853, Inca aristocrats were still alive, the drama and the figure of Ollantay was definitely associated to the existing Inca town

of Ollantaytampu (13°15' S[outhern Latitude] 72° 15' W[estern Longitude] from Greenwich) (Markham, 1917: 156), since Manuel Palacios published only an article about Ollantay and its background in the journal *El Museo Erudito*, in Cuzco, in 1835 (Pacheco Zegarra, 1878: 157-195), in fact 1837 (Itier, 2006: 70). The Inca genealogist Justo Sahuaraura (1893) complains that the historian Garcilaso de la Vega (1609) omitted the story of Ollantay as part of Inca history, as if the drama was like the Austrian playwright Fritz Hochwälder's drama on the fall of the Jesuits in Paraguay (Otruba, 1962: 7-15). Historical dramas of non-Western tradition, e.g., about the seven voyages of the Ming Admiral Zhèng Hé (Cheng Ho), which did happen (Yuanzhi, 2015), can give an example for historical plays (Ptak, 1986) as vehicles for a State's ideology and public morals. Before the advent of modern theaters, origin myths were enacted by rituals to reproduce and legitimize social arrangements, especially among the Incas and their pivot on agriculture based on corn (*zea mays*) by rituals (Bauer, 1996b): cosmological statements are expressed by rituals and plays, even among stateless societies whose *cosmovisión* (or *episteme*) has a source code: their mythical tales on the creation of their world, re-enacted by ceremonies especially on the moment, when the phase of the creation of the world is finished and their present order is established (Jensen, 1991: 230-31). In the Andean world, the change of the World Order is called *pachacuti*, which

can also be translated as «revolution», which, according to Silverblatt (1987), altered the gender relations in the process of colonialism.

3. Ollantay and Christian faith

Concerning its story-line, the Old World example of a myth turned into a theater play is Medea, however the generosity of a king has been frequently interpreted as the Christian message, so that Ortiz Rescaniere (1992: 73) says that the drama, if the plot stems from per-Iberian times, will support indirectly the theory of a pre-Columbian Christianity. Whereas the Justiniani and Gybbon-Spilsbury (1897) manuscripts allow to stage the drama Ollantay as a musical and are very likely copies of Valdez' original text, the way Ollantay shall propagate Catholic faith as an Auto Sacramental is a mystery, although the conception of the power of love is backed by the gospel of Matthew 19:19, where Jesus added a new commandment: «Jesus said, Thou shalt do no murder, Thou shalt not commit adultery, Thou shalt not steal, Thou shalt not bear false witness. Honour thy father and thy mother: and, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself» (Matthew 19:19). In contrast to dramas such as Romeo and Juliet, especially Cusicoyllur's daughter, Ima Sumaq was crucial to archive reconciliation between the Inca as an institution and the rebels. The Jewish Talmud, *Jewamot* 63a, has: «Rabbi Elazar said: Each man, who has no woman, is no real man because it says: "HE created them as Man

and Woman”» (Hessing, 1989: 100), citing Genesis 1:27. The Latin-American philosopher Enrique Dussel turned this theological meaning into the philosophical category of *proximity* (Schelkshorn, 1992). As did Ribeiro (1992) before, Dussel (1993: 09) rejects a kind of epistemological racism, executed by a specific epistemological community (on that term, Valleriani *et al.*, 2019), defining rationality. The first to overcome epistemological racism was Bartolomé de las Casas, at the Controversy of Valladolid, in the year of 1550, by a Copernican turn in epistemology (Todorov, 1992: 51-183). Proximity reveals that Claude Lévi-Strauss’ concept of *exogamy* is the cohesion power of cultural heterogeneous societies (Plachetka, 1997, 1998, 1999; Plachetka-Arraya, 2015): Pope Benedict XIV (1675-1758) invented the marriage by conscience in response to the «Bourbon reforms» in South America, banning unequal marriages. The Spanish King Charles III insisted on by his «sanción pragmática» he issued after the dissolution of the Jesuit order, in 1773 (Konetzke, 1963: 401-412), propelling the emergence of a caste-system in Spanish America (Rosenblat, 1954: 171; Stolcke, 1989). Valdez staged evidently the version of the Justiniani manuscript of the drama Ollantay (Itier, 2006), as Markham had no clue of the Dominican manuscript by 1853, bearing the note «auto Ollantay» for *auto sacramental* (Martin, 2011: 16-17). This genre to promote Catholic faith flourished in the age of Calderón de la Barca. In 1765, the Spanish King Charles III

banned the performance of *autos sacramentales* as a part of religious observance (Oberlander, 1969: 8-9). Hence, this «Auto» version predates Valdez’ «Musical» version. The motive of the power of love as attributed to Inca Yupanqui is crucial for the creation myths of the Amuesha (or Yanesha), who joined Juan Santos Atahualpa’s Revolution, from 1742 to 1756. The Amuesha have now creation myths telling about the *Enk* (Inca), *Yupa Yupac* (Tupac Yupanqui) and *Yompur Santo*, Juan Santos Atahualpa, whose revolution was hence a *pachacuti*, otherwise his story would not have sparked new creation myths (Santos Granero, 1991). The drama’s presence in Cuzco may be explained by the Jesuit college there, however, Ollantay’s version of the power of love refutes Christian ideals of chastity due to the crucial role of Ima Sumaq, Cusicoyllur’s daughter. It needs some rhetorical skills to argue that Pope Benedict privileged the resistance against the emergence of a racist system over the observance of Chasity; less eloquence is required to search references of the drama’s plot on the Inca past.

4. Material and methodology

Brian S. Bauer (1991, 1996a) identified the Inca polity before the empire and a specific place of the Inca’s origin, Maucallacta nearby Pauro, associated to the 9th Inca, Pachacutec. This story is missing in records such as Cieza de León (1883). The imperial history was preserved in the so-called *huaccas*, shrines as mentioned

by Polo (2013: 91-98), who investigated them (Bauer, 1998). The so-called chronicles (Julien, 2000) are somehow genealogical documents to trace back issues such as provenience and legitimacy, a politically crucial issue (Plachetka, 2023), and several records were written on behalf of Viceroy Toledo in the time of the quite obscure Taqui Oncoy Revolt (Roy, 2010). Anyway, the methodology of establishing the Sandwich Model (Ortiz Rescaniere, of the drama *Ollantay*, resembles to the analysis of the drama *Sumaq' T'ika*, the princess without water, associated to the pre-Inca site of Piquillaqta) (Dumezil and Duviols, 1974-1976; Duviols, 1974-1976), whose meaning, beside the historical dimension, requires climatic proxy data, due to a simple question: why did the princess of Piquillaqta, a Wari city, run out of water and had to marry the man who was the first to construct a water pipeline to her city, no matter if she loves him or not? This motive is widespread in local folklore in Piquillaqta's ecological zone. These zones are a key:

a) The Andean cultural area, integrated first by Wari and Tiwanaku (500-1000 C.E.) (Doig, 1991, I: 200-221), and afterwards by the Incas, encompassed eight specific vertical ecological zones, defined chiefly by their respective altitude above sea level and ecologic gradients, such as rainfall, temperature, air pressure, etc.: the transect runs from west to east, so the zones are: Chala, Yunga, Quechua, Suni, Puna, Yanca, to the mountain tops of the cordillera,

then descending the Eastern escarpment, again Puna, Suni, Quechua, riverine Yunga and then Rupa-Rupa (highland jungle) and Omagua (Amazon rain forest). Each of this zone is defined by distinctive botanic and agricultural traits (Pulgar Vidal, 1996; Plachetka, 2011: 29-40). The Wari site of Piquillaqta highlights the cultural traits of the herders and potato farmers at the Suni-viz. Puna zone.

b) These ecological zones are shifting in altitude due to alterations in the climate of the past, so that especially the Medieval Climatic Anomaly (MCA) and the Little Ice Age (LIA) had an impact that can be assessed by means of Archaeology and Agricultural Anthropology (Plachetka, 2011: 2014). Therefore, archives from nature (proxy data) can support historical reconstructions (Chepstow-Lusty *et al.*, 2009).

The period of the MCA is conventionally dated, according to the Common or Christian Era (C.E.), as the period between 900 C.E. and 1300 C.E, but not as exactly as a Swiss clockwork, due to the atmospheric circulation system. The LIA started in Europe during the 14th century, triggered the Black Death (Tuchman, 1977; Belich 2022). Since the coupled atmospheric-oceanographic system of the El Niño Southern Oscillation (ENSO) (Plachetka, 2019) links Western South America to Southeast Asia, the LIA ended with the disasters caused by the 19th century El Niño outbreaks (Davis, 2001). Therefore, the criteria for searching hints in the literature and historical documents are:

1. The issue of ecologic history of the Andean civilization (Chepstow-Lusty *et al.*, 2009; Frankopan, 2023: 270-283);

2. Reconstructions of the way the Incas transmitted information on the past to find the drama Ollantay's mythical kernel in the context of the development of the Inca state.

Concerning (1): since Lonnie Thompson's ice cores from the Qellcaya icecap, in Peru, a master sequence of climate change in the Andean past and their impact on human food systems and hence civilizations has been established, e.g., by Treacy (1994), on the Collca Valley. The ORSTOM-UMSAA-Project and Alan Kolata mapped the ecological history of the Lake Titicaca (Stanish, 2003; Bruno, 2021; Guédron *et al.*, 2023).

Concerning (2): there is no consensus on anthropological model for the Inca Empire from the Western intellectual tradition (Espinoza Sorriano, 1981). Franklin Pease (1991) argues that there was no history of the Inca Empire, due to their specific epistemology. Granet (1968) provides a similar analysis of the Chinese *cosmovisión*, without denying the history of China. Meanwhile, research on the Inca past expanded like as a Supernova in astronomy since World War II (Barnes *et al.*, 2015; Barnes, 2019). The conventional approach of combining archaeological findings with historical and ethnographic documents in archives is still opposed (Beresford-Jones and Heggardy,

2010). Rowe (1945) provides the standard list opposed by Albert Meyers:

[...] in a recent German exhibition on the «Inca-Kings of the Andes» [...] a critique of the «historical» sources with the comment that archaeological investigations have arrived at a different vision, but [...] repeating the standard list of («historical») dates for Inca rulers and their reigns: until 1438: Viracocha, 1438-1471: Pachacutec Inca Yupanqui, 1471-1493: Topa Inca Yupanqui, 1493-1528: Huayna Capac, 1528-1532: Huascar Inca, Atahualpa: 1532-1533. (Meyers, 2016: 258)

Pärssinnen (2003) shows that we cannot assume that 16th century historical records based on oral history provide a full picture on the Inca past. These records are fragments to be pieced together (Plachetka, 2011, 2014, 2020). Among all the standard chroniclers on the Andean past, from Cieza de León to Bernabé Cobo, it is only Fernando Montesinos (1882) and his Andean «long count» of Peruvian kings to support Meyer's hypothesis of unknown Incas («Incas X») before the Inca Yupanquis. Yupanqui is reportedly a surname (Ellefsen, 1989: 44), which is confirmed by the Spanish explorer Pedro Cieza de León, who announces the second part of his *Chronicle of Peru* as follows: «The second part is on the Incas Yupanquis, the ancient kings of Peru, their great deeds and their government, how many of them have been and which names they had» (Cieza de León, 1922: xxvi). Are there Incas not

belonging to the Yupanqui lineage? The announced second part (Cieza de León, 1883) has, along with Betanzos (1999), the earliest written reports on the Inca past, before Francisco de Toledo «clarified» the records on the Inca past since 1569. To Rostworowski (1999), the term *Empire* is too European. Both the Inca and the Chinese emperor considered themselves as centers of the civilized world, which mattered to the Chinese historical theater on Ming Admiral Zheng He (Ptak, 1986) and his seven voyages across the Indian Ocean (1405-1433 C.E.), however the Indonesian cosmos of rituals recommends Southeast Asia as the adequate position of the Distant Mirror, making visible parallels such as:

1. Falling in love with a star, which in fact is a princess, due to the self-presentation of a «cosmological state» whose royal court has to enact the model of the culturally defined cosmos, to parallel the micro-cosmos to the macro-cosmos (Heine Geldern, 1956). Geerts (2000) portrays Bali as a country with no real difference between past and present, due to the rituals. Flores Galindo (1994) portrays Peru in a similar way.
2. The *axis mundi* connecting the supernatural world (Inca Peru: *hanan pacha*) with the earthly world (*kay pacha*) and the underworld (*hurin* or *uku pacha*). The Inca talked with Pachamama, Mother Earth, in a cave in Cuzco, according to the Incarri myths (Incarri online), resembling the center, Mount Meru, in Hindu cosmology.
3. A ruling Inca as a founding father of bunches of lineages of kinship (*panaca*) (Rostworowski, 1999: 44-45; Sahuaraura, 1850) is paralleled by Ming Admiral Zhèng Hé (alternative spelling: *Cheng Ho*) (Plachetka, 2019) in the foundation myth of Chinese diaspora community in Semarang, Java, according to the story of the temple to venerate him, the *Klenteng Sam Poo Kong* (Yuanzhi, 2015). The mysterious Annals of Cirebon and Semarang (Wain 2015, 2017) are not endorsed by official Chinese records.
4. A kinship system among the ruling class based on status inheritance and real kinship exists in Bali, the successor of Majapahit (Geerts, 2000). The Inca's *capac* principle identifies an eligible Inca (Garrett, 2005: 54-57).
5. The archipelago system, obvious in ancient Indonesia (Munoz, 2016; Beaujard, 2019), is paralleled by what Murra (1986) identified as ecologic archipelagos of interconnected fertile oasis (*quebradas*), sometimes network hubs under regional Inca administration (D'Altroy, 1992).
6. Reports by the first Portuguese explorers (Pires, 1944; Reid, 1988, 2000) are sometimes clearer than Javanese indigenous records committed to dynastic legitimacy. There are no (intelligible) imperial Inca records before the Spanish invasion.
7. The construction of a cosmological empire by achieving cultural hegemony, such as Majapahit, in Indonesia, which has its historical

records, such as the *Nagara Kretagama* (Muljana, 2006; Panji, 2015).

Due to the Viennese documents, the ancient system of book (Bk.) in Roman numbers and chapter (ch.) is used here.

5. Results

Although Cesar Itier (2006) identified a lot of historical allusions of the drama to 18th century revolts, such as the Rebellion of Chayanta (Walker, 2013: 169), to consider it as a message to Diego Cristobal Tupac Amaru, the new leader of the revolution after José Gabriel's execution on March 18 1781, it is unlikely that the drama could have made Diego's mind up for reconciliation with the Spanish King Charles III. Itier (2006: 90) downplays the *sanción pragmática*. Therefore, the drama's entanglement with the Inca Empire is a difficult issue: when the Spaniards led by Francisco Pizarro invaded the Inca Empire, by 1532, they took the utmost out of Inca war of succession after Huayna Capac's death. The Spaniards established Manco Inca as their puppet Inca, who consequently started the reconquest of the Inca Empire. Did it fail? This is not a clear-cut issue, because the Spanish *encomenderos* revolted to claim fiefs. This revolt was suppressed by Pedro de la Gasca, who won the

Battle of Jaquijahuana (or *Xaquixaguana*, pronounce: *Shacsahuana*) at April 9th 1548, after the Incas of Cuzo where acknowledged by the Spanish Emperor Carlos V, in 1544. The Spaniards negotiated with Manco Inca's successor, Sayiri Tupac. His successor, Titu Cusi Yupanqui, fiercely opposed the *viracochas* (Carrillo, 1973), as if the Spaniards and the Incas of Cuzco were allies. Vilcabamba fell in 1572 (Hemming, 1993), arising the question of ritual history *vis-à-vis* genealogy: José de Acosta (1590, Bk V., ch. 27) says that the Inca ritual calendar has regular and special ceremonies, the latter to commemorate outstanding events. In the year of 1551, the year a historical theater play was mentioned, the Spanish Crown wanted to know how the Inca community mayors (*curacas*) were appointed (Cárdenas y Espejo *et al.*, 1864-1884, 18: 528). The Antasayac (Toledo, 1882: 229) was no royal *panaca* dynasty; neither mentioned by Don Justo Sahuaraura (1850) (Valderrama Escalante, 2022), nor by Maria Rostworowski (1999). Due to the almost absent difference between the letters *o* and *u* and *hu* standing for *w* in spoken Quechua, there is no canonized orthography, therefore, the *panaca* names are written phonetically in Table 1.

Sahuaraura's Incas	Panacas	Rostworowski (1999: 44-45)
Manco Capac	Ayllo Raurahua	Chima Panaca
Sinchi Roca	Chima Panaca	Raura Panaca
Lloque Yupanqui	Hahuanina Ayllo	Auyani Panaca
Mayta Capac	Usca Mayta	Usca Mayta Panaca
Capac Yupanqui	Ayllo Apumayta Panaca Urin Coscco	Apu Mayta Panaca
Inca Roca	Huicca Qquirau Panaca Anan Coscco	Uicaquirao Panaca
Yahuar Huaccac	Ayllo Huaccaylli Panaca	Aucaylli Panaca
Viracocha Inca	Ayllo Sucso Panaca	Socso Panaca
Pachacutec Inca Yupanqui	Caca Coscos (cf. Julien, 2000: 25)	Hatun Ayllu
Inca Yupanqui	Inca Panaca (recte: Inaca panaca)	In fact, Pachacutec
Tupac Inca Yupanqui	Ccapac Ayllo Panaca	Capac Ayllu
Huayana Capac	Ayllo Tumipampa	Tumipampa Panaca
Huascar	---	

Table 1: Panacas according to Sahuaraura versus the standard list.

Inca Yupanqui, as successor of Inca Viracocha, has been mentioned by Garcilaso de Vega (1609). Montesinos (1882, chs. 14-19), providing the long count, ascribes *panacas* to known Incas only, although in a unique way. A report published by De Bry (1624: 127), cites Polo de Ondegardo relying on *Huaccas*, which are sanctuaries having Inca Rocca, and not Manco Capac, as the first governing Inca. Early records by Gutiérrez de Santa Clara and Bartolomé de las Casas count back from Capac Ayllu, Tupac Yupanqui's *panaca* to Vicaquirao, Inca Roca's *panaca* (Julien, 2000: 86). José de Acosta (1590) refers to Polo de Ondegardo (Julien, 2000: 86-90). These *huaccas* around Cuzco should be considered as the imperial record, not as a genealogy, but Inca Yupanqui Pachacutec turned the Cuzco polity of the Inca into an empire.

Bauer (1996a) identified Pacaritampu, the mythical place of the origin of the Incas, as

Maucallacta, meaning *ñawpa llaqta*, situated nearby Paruro. Now one of the mythical founders of Cuzco, Ayar Manco is localized there (13° 45' S; 71° 57' W), but Maucallacta is a key to the biography of Inca Pachacutec. The constructions there have architectonic traits in common with the constructions on the islands of the Sun and the Moon (Bauer-Stanish, 2003: 64-66). The Canas and Canchis, with their temple of the deity Viracocha in Raqchi (14° 10' S, 71° 22' W), allies of the Incas and later of Tupac Amaru II, live in the Suni and Puna zone (Plachetka, 2020: 154). The distinctive agricultural trait of the Suni zone is potato agriculture (*solanum tuberosum* spp.), in crop rotation with of *chenopodiae*, that means, quinoa (*Ch. Quinoa*) or *caniwa* (*Ch. Pallidaucale*), followed by *oca* (*Oxalis tuberosa*) and *ullucu* (*Ollucus tuberosus*). The Puna, situated above the Suni, allows bitter potato in shifting cultivation and Llama herding (Pulgar Vidal, 1996: 97-136). According to the *huaccas*, the deity Viracocha

Pachayachachiq appointed the Inca Viracocha as ruler (Polo, in Markham 1873: 55). The Incas could not conquer anything before Inca Yupanqui Pachacutec defended Cuzco against the attack of the Chanka confederation with substantial support by his girlfriend, Chañan Cori Cuca, and her army of female warriors (Urton 2004: 67-72), who founded the Ñaca Panaca outside Cuzco. This victory made Inca Yupanqui a Pachacutec, a revolutionary to initiate the rapid expansion of the Inca Empire. The new Sun worship was the key to victory

(Polo, 2013: 91-98), dethroning the ancient supreme deity Viracocha Pachayachachiq.

Viceroy Francisco de Toledo's historical investigations are motivated by the first extant record on the Inca past, the *Declaración de los Quipucamayos* (Jiménez, 1892; Urton, 2004: 38-72). As a consequence, Rodrigo Suti Q Callapina denounced the Incas as usurpers, echoed by Sarmiento (2018) and the Anonymus of Yucay, in 1571 (Pérez Fernandez, 1995: 142-146). However, even Fernando Montesinos's heterodox long count (Hyland, 2007) ascribes *panacas* to the Incas only (Table 2).

Inka	Rostworowski (1999)	Montesinos, in Hyland (2007)	Montesinos
Manco Capac	Chima	Raurahua	Ch. 19
Sinchi Roca	Raura	Raurahua is ascribed to Manco. <i>Vicaquira</i> (Vicaquirao?)	Chs. 19, 22
Lloque Yupanqui	Auyani		
Mayta Capac	Usca Mayta	By Alloque Yupanqui [...] Usca Mayta	Ch. 19
Capac Yupanqui	Apu Mayta	Family Apu Maytas	Ch. 20
Inca Rocca	Uicaquirao	Alloque [Lloque?] Yupanqui as heir to the throne	Ch. 19
Yahuar Huaccac	Aucaylli	Correct name: Mayta Yupanqui	Ch. 22
Viracocha	Socso	Not available (Vicaquirau ?)	Ch. 23
Pachacutec	Inaca-Hatun Ayllu	Title, not a name, Montesinos has 9 of them.	
Tupac Yupanqui	Capac Ayllu		Ch. 27
Huayna Capac	Tumipampa		

Table 2: The Panacas according to Montesinos.

We can now work out key findings:

1. Sahuaraura (1850: 35) refers to his own genealogical documents on Pachacutec's *Ccacca cosco Panaca*, together with Anahuarqui, confirmed by court litigations (Julien, 2000: 25);
2. Inca Rocca is likely the first ruling Inca, whose biography belongs to imperial history, not only to genealogy;
3. Taking Urton (2004) into account, a conclusion akin to Sherlock Holmes can be drawn: the Pachacutec in the drama was Viracocha Inca. Tupac Yupanqui (in Justiniani's manuscript: Capac Yupanqui) was Inca Yupanqui Pachacutec himself. In the drama, Cusicoyllur did not represent either Chañan Cori Cuca, the she-warrior. Anahuarqui, Inka Yupanqui Pachacutec's legitimate wife, was important enough to found her own family. She may have had a higher rank than Pachacutec. Chañan Cori Cuca founded the *lñaca Panaca*, the reason for Rodrigo Suti's lawsuit against the Incas of Vilcabamba.

At this point, in-depth research is a necessity, due to the discord on the Chanka War (Rostworowski, 1999: 61). According to my prefatory reconstruction of Yupanqui Pachacutec's biography (Plachetka, 2011: 68-78), he first went to the Canas people to acquire his nobility during growing tensions with the Chankas (Cieza de León, 1883: 83-124). Meanwhile, Viracocha Inca ruled Cuzco and started some imperialistic adventures, causing troubles,

so that Yupanqui Pachacutec defeated the Chankas together with his girlfriend and ignited the Inca realm's rapid expansion (Plachetka, 2011: 49-81). Turning into a revolutionist, a Pachacutec, he could marry a high ranking princess, Anahuarque, as his legitimate wife to found the *panacas* of the Caca Coscos, Anahuarques and Sahuararuras (Sahuaraura, 1850: 35). So Inca Yupanqui lived twice: first with his girlfriend Cori Cuca. His victory and *coup d'état* allowed him to marry princess Anahuarqui, due to his elevated social rank, but he had an ill-fated successor: Amarotopa (Las Casas, 1892: 215-221) or Amaru Tupac. The Sun, supreme deity of the Incas, at least since Pachacutec's reign, did not accept Amaru Tupac as Inca (Las Casas, 1892: 218-219), so that Tupac Yupanqui became Inca. Sarmiento de Gamboa (2018: 243-244) gives but a polished narrative of the coronation of Tupac Yupanqui, but the Capac Raymi festival was established to celebrate the successful establishment of a new legitimate Inca. After Capac Raymi, the Mayuccati started, a ritual race to Ollantaytampu, similar to the common pilgrimages (Earls and Cervantes, 2015), to celebrate both thanksgiving for the rainfall and an initiation of the youth (Sarmiento, 2018: 214, note 5). Cristobal de Molina's account on Inca rituals (in Markham, 1873: 50-51) says that Coca leaves were thrown into the Vilcamayu river and the young males had to run from Cuzco to Ollantaytampu to arrive there before the coca leaves did. Molina is the first to mention Ol-

lantaytampu just in the context of this Mayuccati ritual to celebrates love, *wayllu* (Zuidema, 1989: 357). Since Tupac Yupanqui allowed Ollantay to marry Cusicoyllur as a ruling Inca, the drama's plot coincides with the Inca rituals, but it does not tell when Cusicoyllur got pregnant by Ollantay.

6. The female revolution in the light of the climate of the past

Montesinos (1882: 105-106) tells Inca Roca's Story according to information gathered at least at a specific *huacca* («sanctuary») nearby Ayacucho, Arriaga and Luis Teruel ascribed to Manco Capac. Jiménez de la Espada's edition is polished, so some messages are lost (Hyland, 2007: 04). The manuscript texts portray the coronation of Inca Roca as a woman's coup against male bio-political dominance, leaving women marginalized. The women's chief revolutionary weapon was the *cuyancarumi* (Hyland, 2007: 92), eventually a lady of royal background established Inca Rocca as the first Inca (Hyland, 2007: 88-89). According to the standard list, Yahuar Huaccac succeeded Inca Roca. Sahuaraura (1850: 33) mentions Ollantay's general Orco Huarancca as member of Yahuar Huacac's offsprings, which suggests, according to the logics of Bali, a rivalry between an older *panaca*, that of Yahuar Huaccac, and a younger *panaca*, that of Viracocha. This story was possibly mutilated before converting it into the Mayuccati ritual, associated to Ollantaytambo. Due to the Inca Yahuar Huacac,

the Antasayac matters here, and the *cuyaqrumi* was a key to a sex scandal (Montesinos, 1882: 117), suggesting how Cusicoyllur made Ollantay falling in love with her. Modern information on the *khuya rumi* (modern Quechua orthography) (Spotswood 2022: 11-13) stems from the Puna zone, whose epistemological community stems from the civilization around the Lake Titicaca (Markham, 1871b). Montesinos' story resembles aspects of the Mesoamerican sacred bundle, but for women: the Khuya rumi, the «stone for love affairs» (*cuyaq*, today: *muna*), was placed into a bundle, together with coca leaves, maize ears and other things. The bundle was regularly opened to replace the maize ears. In Mesoamerica and its North American outskirts, opening a sacred bundle means re-enacting creation myths in the context of so-called sacred war (Stenzel, 1967; 1968). A woman opening her sacred bundle would start her sacred love affair: *wayllu*. Priests supplied the women with the *cuyaqrumi*, and this explains why the supreme priest knew and backed Ollantay's illicit love affair. Montesinos and Blas Valera (1956) are the only to mention Piura Pacari Manco as a creator god strongly associated to maize (Hyland, 2007: 69-71). The Mayuccati festival, celebrated after Tupac Yupanqui's coronation jubilee, was a ritual pilgrimage and, therefore, to be considered as the mythical kernel of the drama Ollantay.

The identified evidences for the impact of climate change on agricultural systems along the route from Cuzco via the Lake Titicaca to Samaipata, in the Bolivian highland jungle (Plachetka 2011: 157-179), are confirmed by the sediment stratigraphy of the Marcacocha Lake, situated beside an Inca road connecting Ollantaytampu and the Urubamba Valley to the highland jungles. *Chenopodiae* indicate the Suni zone (Pulgar Vidal, 1996: 107). The slump of the water table of the Lake Titicaca during the intermediate period indicates water shortage, which refers to Sumaq Tika (Duviols, 1974). Afterwards, the Quechua zone, fit for maize agriculture (*zea mays*), rose in altitude and pushed the Suni zone uphill (Chepstow-Lusty, 2011: 578). Expanding maize farmers and Suni agro-pastoralists would have clashed. The Wari occupation of the Cuzco Valley was more intensive than previously thought, but Cuzco resisted (Glowacki and McEwan, 2001). Bauer (1996a: 65) dates back the beginning of pre-Imperial Inca Cuzco to 1000 C.E. and the Inca's imperial phase to 1400 C.E., therefore, the archaeological map (Glowacki and McEwan 2001: 32) allows to assume that Yupanqui Pachacutec's revolution was to overcome the ideological hegemony of Tiwanaku-Wari. Poor Sumaq Tika would have perfectly understood the Mayuccati philosophy.

7. Discussion

Silverblat (1987) argues that the Inca Empire was based on gender equality, but has her

focus on the arrival of the European conception of *witchcraft*. Anyway, gender equality became visible during the Peruvian age of revolutions: the 18th century. Not only José Gabriel Condorcanqui Noruega's wife, Micaela Bastidas, acted as a revolutionary leader, other leaders relied on their wives. The Andean female gender behavior differs profoundly from European role models.

Anyway, the Inca past is a prospect full of controversies (Julien, 2000: 6-12), but the proxy data from paleoclimatology indicate a drought period, with possibly low temperatures. The MCA's negative impact on the Innertropical Convection Zone (ITCZ), as the harbinger of rainfall, has recently been established again in Mesoamerica (Lucero and Larmon, 2018). Ozán *et al.* (2022) cite proxy data from the extratropical Pampa region of South America to criticize Plachetka (2014). Methodologically, they are right, as proxy data from cultivated landscapes are mutilated by human impact, but they are a necessity to feed the people of an empire. If the ecological zone of the maize farmers reached higher altitudes in the Urubamba Valley, conflicts between them and the Suni population would have been an inevitable result. Anyway, Ollantaytampu became a hotspot of maize agriculture. A document from there confirms that the surname of the Inca dynasty was Yupanqui (Glave and Remy, 1983: 44), which matters to the indigenous people there. The ritual and ideological importance of corn (*zea mays*) for Inca statecraft

is established, but maize and coca leaves in the female «sacred bundle» refers to the Inca ideology, whereas Betanzos (1999, 11) attributes Contiti Viracocha to Tiwanaku nearby the Lake Titicaca. Markham (1871b) argues that the legend of the landing of the founder of Cuzco, Manco Capac, and his wife, Mamma Occlo, at the Sun Island, in the Lake Titicaca, is a special legend of priests. It seems to merge traditions from the Titicaca region with Inca mythology.

A creation myth based on maize tells about a Pirua Pacari Manco, mentioned by Blas Valera (1953) and Montesinos (1882: 7). The Jesuit Blas Valera, who has a Chachapoyas background, was not arrested due to adultery, but for his heterodox historiography. Exactly this heterodox historiography refers to a *piura*, which is used for grinding maize, the most important crop to the Incas. However, the Urubamba Valley, where Ollantaytampu is situated, became arable for maize cultivation during the establishment of the Inca Empire, at the end of the MCA, according to its standard dating. Cérro Palomino (2006) thinks that Ollantay was named after Ollantaytampu as a place name, but the conception of love as celebrated during the Mayuccati, a special pilgrimage from Cuzco to Ollantaytampu, matches Ortiz Rescaniere's «Sandwich Model» for the interpretation of the drama Ollantay.

Conrad and Demarest (1988) argue in favor of a revolution in religion and epistemology

that fueled the rapid expansion of the Inca Empire. Juan Santos Atahualpa, the first to put the reestablishment of the Inca Empire on the agenda, mobilized Arawak people and no Quechuas. This process should be called «Incaization», by the apotheosis of a royal dynasty by a politician to have an own political vision legitimized by a concept of the Inca Empire, and not by any individual Inca aristocrat. The phenomenon of Incaization can be traced in South-East Asia, especially in the case of the Klenteng Sam Poo Kong, the temple devoted to Ming Admiral Zhèng Hé in Semarang, a place Zhèng Hé was never, to according to Chinese records. Local tradition has that his colleague fell sick, stayed there with his friends to recover his health in a cave. With new migrants doing rice agriculture, a statue was erected to commemorate Admiral Zhèng Hé, as if he was the founding Inca of that community (Yuanzhi, 2015: 61-65). Zhèng Hé became a mythical figure to legitimize at least the autonomous Chinese diaspora community in Semarang and elsewhere (Reid, 2001), therefore, the «Incaization» of Zhèng Hé among Chinese Hanafi Muslims and non-Muslims (Tan, 2009: 216-223) deserves an investigation in detail (Hew, 2019).

Concerning the anthropological model, Reiner Tom Zuidema (1964) proposed a completely different view on the Inca empire based on anthropological structuralism. The fact that Zuidema had his formative years as anthropological field researcher in Indonesia has always been underrated. There, the pivot of

rituals at a Theater state's capital city lies with the reproduction of the supernatural order (Heine-Geldern, 1956: 3; cf. Geerts, 2000: 30), which highlights the Mayuccati ritual geographically linking Cuzco to Ollantaytambo at the ecological frontier to the tropical forest and its peoples and their specific product, coca leaves, resembled in some versions of the Incari myths in the region south of Cuzco (Wilson, 1991), where Piquillacta is situated. The drama Ollantay to reconcile conflicts between the maize-growing quechuas in the sacred Valley of the Incas and the peoples of the Suni and Puna zone, the home of the bulk of revolutionary people headed by Tupac Amaru II, can have found its parallel during the foundation of the Inca Empire. Whereas the archaeological survey study edited by Covey (2014) has references on several lesser known aspects of the Inca past, Titu Cusi Yupanqui from Vilcabamba may have considered the Incas of Cuzco and their Spanish allies as «Viracochas» (Carillo, n.d.). The Inca empire was no territorial empire but a network empire along their royal highways and imperial strongholds, such as Ollantaytambo (D'Altroy, 1992: 2003). The wives and girlfriends as *sipas warmi* of each ruling Inca may have turned kingship into kinship. The resulting confusion caused a lot of lawsuits before Spanish courts since 1544, the year the Hapsburg Emperor Carlos V acknowledged the status of the Inca aristocracy. Anyway, the only documented source of a love affair in the Inca Empire is the

story of Curicoyllur, related by Cabello Valboa, who cited a report by Matheo Yupanqui Inca, from Quito (Fernandez, 2023: 8). The Quito region is perhaps a key to further discoveries.

The drama Ollantay as *auto sacramental* can be justified by Cusicoyllur's statement to Tupac Yupanqui, who released her from the virgin's prison: «you are the one who saves this captive/who digs up this dead woman!», which is considered as an allegory to the Christian idea of Resurrection (Martin, 2011: 17). In that case, Cusicoyllur was an allegory of Pachamama, the Quechua goddess of the Earth. Tupac Yupanqui was a savior or an allegory of Jesus Christ. This is a bombshell, as this message means «Make Tawantinsuyu great again!».

8. Conclusion

The theory that the Inca Empire was the result of a female revolution at the end of the Medieval Climatic anomaly, possibly against the will of traditionalists, will find strong opposition, due to a male and eurocentric bias, especially of those 16th and 17th century Spaniards who wrote the history of the Inca Empire. The South-East Asian Distant Mirror may allow an interpretation of the Inca Empire which is more realistic than the established alternative to History, a deterministic structural anthropology, according to Zuidema (1968), who possibly confused stage directions for the Theater state with an amalgam of epistemological and social structures. However, women's liberation from kin obligations by the Inca state is sym-

bolized by the Inca royal crop, the maize ears in their sacred bundle. The Mayuccati that follows Tupac Yupanqui's Capac Raymi endorses Ortiz Rescaniere's «Sandwich Model» of the drama Ollantay, which may have been a subversive Jesuit *auto sacramental*. Due to the Distant Mirror, this paper is not the end, but just the beginning of a new research on that prematurely discovered Quechua drama.

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