

Inca Hymns and the Epic-Makers

Partiendo de la recepción de los himnos incas en "Les Incas" de Marmontel, el autor discute sus fuentes, sus antecesores y sus imitadores sudamericanos. Se demuestra que los poetas de la Independencia no solamente ignoran la cultura indígena, sino que utilizan el "inca" para sancionar el interés industrial y mercantil de los blancos. Tampoco los modernistas, ni los indigenistas, logran acercarse a la cultura indígena, sólo utilizan la tradición de Garcilaso-Marmontel para evocar un orden social pretendidamente ideal. Recién José María Arguedas y otros han intentado entender tanto las expresiones lingüísticas como las sociales y su mutua dependencia en la sociedad quechua.

The opening pages of "Les Incas" (1), Marmontel's polemical account of how European fanaticism destroyed the superior religion and life of the ancient Andean Indians, bear out Prescott's description of them as a "brilliant and not very extravagant... literary pageant" (Prescott 1847:Book I, ch.4). As the sun rises over the summit of Cayamburo, "Atilba" (Atahuallpa), the pontifex maximus, the virgins of the Sun, the nobles and people of Quito, celebrate their gorgeous equinoxial festival, the Situa Raymi, and entone a hymn to their doomed god which raises the narrative to a note of high solemnity. The picture of the sunrise itself has its "certain grandeur", as Gilbert Chinard (1913:385-389) allows, and easily stands comparison with Chateaubriand's better "scenic" passages. As for the hymn, recorded in full, it becomes the epic diapason to which the rest of the work is tuned. This at least would seem to be the way it was heard by the hundreds of imitators Marmontel inspired (2).

Marmontel was by no means the first European to write Inca hymns. Before him lay tracts of Black Legend rhetoric, born of the tough geo-political struggle between France and Spain in the seventeenth century and later refined by the encyclopaedists into an elegant condemnation of European religion and culture generally. And like the heroes of countless Mexican tragedies, Iroquois letters, and so on, with their "Indian" speech and song, Inca rulers and priests had been attributed a liturgy which amounted to a tradition for itself. Hence Zilia's invocations of Pachacamac in Mme. de Graffigni's "Lettres péruviennes" (which went through four editions between 1747 and 1764) and the ritual choruses of Leblanc's "Manco Capac" (1763). In addition, Marmontel wrote in an atmosphere resonant with the music of those "gallant" Indian spectacles his contemporaries found and made so much to their taste. Fuselier's "Les Indes galantes" (1735), with its famous Inca sequences, ran for decades. What distinguished Marmon-

tel, for all his polemical energy, was his concern with first sources (Chinard said he reproduced Inca hymns faithfully, though on what evidence I don't know) and the power of his intuition.

It was hardly his fault he had in fact so little to go on. Only in the last hundred years has anyone had a fuller idea of Inca religious expression than he obtained from Garcilaso's "Royal Commentaries", and from passing remarks by Herrera and other historians. The rediscovery, partial and confused as it still is, began with Clements Markham's edition of four manuscript chronicles of the late 16th and early 17th century (Markham 1873), the first two of which, by Cristóbal de Molina and Pachacuti-Yamqui respectively, each record a series of hymns or prayers in classical Quechua. The text established by Markham solved but few of the paleographical and other problems of the manuscripts, and hymns from both series have since appeared in numerous works and anthologies (3) whose editors have been constant in their disregard for how hard it is for a translator to know what they actually mean. Markham himself was directly responsible for popularizing some quite inadequate versions of Pachacuti's hymns when he Englished M. A. Mossi's Spanish translations of them (4) in his best-seller "The Incas of Peru" (1911); Mossi's notion that Quechua like all other languages in the world derived from Hebrew had not steered him closer to his originals, and indeed later led Means (1931:434 ff.) to find them similar to David's Psalms - a truly misleading comparison. More recently scholars like Jesús Lara have reworked these translations (5), while John Rowe has conscientiously reconstructed Molina's Quechua text (6) and provided a translation into a European language superior to Molina's Spanish "Declaraciones" (which Markham had previously rendered into the English of a Victorian hymnal). As added help have come: the "Nueva crónica y buen gobierno del Perú" by Guaman Poma de Ayala (1526 - 1614), published in 1936 as "the first Peruvian codex"; and the translation into German by Trimborn (1967) and into Spanish by J.M. Arguedas (1966) of the Quechua narrative (1598?) on which Francisco de Avila based his "Tratado y relación" (the fourth of the Spanish chronicles published by Markham in 1873).

One of Marmontel's first concerns was to know whom the Incas addressed in their hymns and prayers. His guide Garcilaso was however unusually vague on this point. On the one hand he indicated they knew a transcendental, invisible god "Pachacamac", who was by that token not inferior to the one owned by the conquering Spaniards. On the other, he insisted on their idolatry as sun-worshippers, as devotees of the visible sun: "su dios" (7). In this second vein he could be as ferociously condescending as extirpators like Toledo. His confusion doubtless stemmed from the struggle within himself between nostalgia for the half-forgotten faith of his mother, the Inca princess who was Atahualpa's cousin, and the desire to be someone in the arrogant society he came to know and live with at 21 in his father's land, Spain. More remarkably, Garcilaso accorded only a minor role to the one god who emerges with any clarity, in hymns now available, out of the polytheistic flux of ancient Peru: Viracocha.

That Marmontel was perplexed by Garcilaso is evident in the hymn he wrote and in the notes he assiduously appended to it. His opening verse, sung by the Inca nobles, runs:

"Âme de l'univers! toi qui, du haut des cieux, ne cesses de verser au sein de la nature, dans un océan de lumière, la chaleur et la vie, et la fécondité; Soleil, reçois les vœux de tes enfants et d'un Peuple heureux qui t'adore."

The sun here is god, plainly enough. But after verses sung by the pontifex (Villac Umu) and the Virgins of the Sun, the nobles come in again to suggest the sun might be but the avatar of a yet superior being, a First Cause:

"Âme de l'univers, ô Soleil! es-tu seul l'auteur de tous les biens que tu nous fais? N'es-tu que le ministre d'une cause première, d'une intelligence au-dessus de toi? Si tu n'obéis qu'à ta volonté, reçois nos vœux reconnoissans; mais si tu accomplis la loi d'un être invisible et suprême, fais passer nos vœux jusqu'à lui: il doit se plaire à être adoré dans sa plus éclatante image."

In a footnote, Marmontel explains the epithets "invisible et suprême", saying "Ce Dieu inconnu s'appelait Pacha Camac, celui qui anime le monde." How uneasy he felt about this is shown in the very interrogatives of the verse in question; and much more vividly in his translation in a previous footnote of the only Inca hymn known to Western literature up to the end of the nineteenth century.

This is the much-quoted "Rain Goddess" hymn recorded initially by Blas Valera and printed by Garcilaso with Valera's Latin and his own Spanish translations in his chapter on the amautas and the haraveks (tomo I, lib. II, cap. 27). It has found its way into countless anthologies and incidentally did stout and lonely service as the American voice in Herder's "Stimmen der Völker in Liedern". As Jesús Lara has in fact remarked its strange grammar makes translation hazardous, and while he criticised Garcilaso's version he shied away from offering one of his own (Lara 1947:56).

It opens: "sumac ñusta tura llaiquin puñuquita paquircayan" which Marmontel credibly renders: "Belle fille, ton malin frère vient de casser ta petite urne".

In the 3rd verse of his hymn this deity becomes one of the "heureuses épouses" who form the "céleste cour" of the Inca god. To make her subordinate was unquestionably right; but the problem remained, to whom? The Quechua says she was made the dispenser of rain, hail and snow by: pacharurag pachakamaq wiragocha, "the earth-maker, the earth-establisher, Viracocha". In other words Viracocha is shown explicitly to be the supreme deity. Yet of Viracocha, of this disposer of lesser deities, Garcilaso contrives to make an offspring and servant of the sun, and of the syllables of his name a mere pseudonym for the really supreme god Pachacamac, whose

divine title, he tells us, few Incas dared pronounce. Translating the end of Valera's hymn was thus an embarrassment to him. Rather than contradict himself flagrantly by making "pachakamaq" an epithet for Viracocha (as in this case it surely is), and unable to make the semantically opaque "wiraqocha" into an attribute of his Pachacamac, he compromised: three separate gods are made out of the three words quoted ("El Hacedor del mundo, El Dios que le anima, El gran Viracocha") and the corresponding verbs are put into the plural ("te colocaron, te dieron alma"). Hence Marmontel's puzzlement. In the end he ducked out and generalized Garcilaso's three "gods" into the phrase: "celui qui régit l'univers".

Much still remains to be known about when and how the religion of Viracocha was established, about the meaning of his name and the forms of his cult, and about the exact relationship between Viracocha the god and Viracocha the culture hero who finds fellows in myths throughout America (Quetzalcoatl, Sumé, Kukulcan, Michabo and so on)(8). The men of provincial Huarochirí in the narrative collected by Avila speak (in a "popular" voice compared by Arguedas to that of the "Popol Vuh" and by Duviols to that of Sahagún's informants) both of the man, and of the god Cuniraya Viracocha, who created man, the world, the Inca and the sun itself, and who is all powerful and invisible (9). But many of their words are tinged with the possible doubt implied by the suffix "-s" or "-si". And according to them, the cult of Viracocha could have been prior or subsequent to that of their deity Pariaca. While Guaman Poma's report on the great antiquity of Viracocha (for all its idiosyncrasy)(10) would seem to support the first suggestion, later in the narrative, in a pregnantly obscure passage, the men of Huarochirí speak of collusion between Viracocha and the last Inca emperor Huayna Capac (Chapter 14). They say these two decided to go away, leaving behind only doubles or representatives of themselves, only just before the arrival of the Spaniards (who of course themselves became known as viracochas). The elevation of Viracocha to supremacy and the making of his religion the hierarchical analogue of the Inca state itself have been attributed to a number of emperors, Viracocha, Pachacutec, Tupac Yupanqui, even Huayna Capac himself. Partly on evidence which concerns us, John Rowe has found Pachacutec (1438-71) responsible. And it is this same evidence which helps clear up the confusion between Viracocha and Pachacamac. This god seems to have been, initially at least, an independent deity from the central coastal area; though mighty he was still sensed specifically as the earth-mover and did not achieve the absolute eminence of the metropolitan Viracocha, to whom most surviving hymns are after all addressed.

Even if Marmontel was misled about the name of the "être suprême" he wrested from Garcilaso's contradictions, and even if the cult he describes in northern Quito may seem partly fanciful, he was clearly justified in intuiting such a being in Inca religion. The first verse of Molina's sixth hymn coincides almost uncannily with his enlightening rhetoric:

"Wiraqochaya, 'p'unchaw kachun, tuta kachun' ñispa ñeq, 'Paqarichun, 'illarichun' ñispa ñeq, p'unchaw churiykeqta qazillaqta, qespillaqta puri-

cheg runa rurasqaykeqta k'ancharenqanpag, killarenganpag, Wiraqochaya!"
 "Oh Viracocha, who says 'Let there be day, let there be night,' who says
 'Let it dawn, let it grow light,' who makes the Sun, your son, move in
 peace, in safety, to give light, illumination, to the people you have made,
 oh Viracocha!"

Indeed, Marmontel's verses are generally fortunate in their indications of divine qualities and of attitudes in address. Like his, the Inca hymns all open with major praise of the greatest god. The threads of epithets reoccur, like those of a quipu, in this and that pattern. Viracocha is the creator (ka-maq), who establishes (churag), is great (hatun), diligent (wallpaywana), happy (kusi), most excellent (t'ogapu 'agnupu). His utter supremacy is apparent in phrases like ticci, and qaylla (omnipresent) and in his ability to be both within and without (hawapichu, 'ukhupichu), in the clouds and the abyss (phuyapichu, llanthupichu). Thereafter comes (in several cases) the reminder of some specific disposition of Viracocha's, relevant to the hymn or prayer in question. He has said let there be (kachun) man and woman, food and drink, day and night, kings and Incas. These statements calmly precede requests for a good life, for healthy crops, for the safety of the sun and moon, and for the Inca's prosperity. Details are precise and firm: may our potatoes and maize not be withered by frost or dried by hail; let the Inca have land, fields, people, llamas and food. Viracocha's creation should remain as he ordered it and made all understand it; the cosmos is his: "what you created and established" (kamasqayki, churasqayki). Throughout, such pairs of near synonyms are balanced in formulas whose variations are so subtle as to work also below the threshold of consciousness. The hymns compell as both incantation and logic and move towards codas of strong persuasiveness: "Let life be in peace, in safety" (qazilla, gespi-lla); and: "Take me in your arms, lead me by the hand" (marqariway, hat'alliway).

The very elevation of Viracocha as a theistic concept has more than once aroused the suspicion that the Incas did not invent him on their own, and that their surviving hymns underwent the influence of those Spanish missionaries who set to work in Peru immediately after the conquest in 1533. Though it is common knowledge that the Spanish exploited and adapted existing liturgy in the Andes (11), the suspicion is untenable for many reasons. One is that Quechua-speaking Spanish priests like Molina did not fully understand all the hymns they collected, though these have a high degree of internal consistency. Far more important: in dogma and tone the hymns are positively non- or anti-Christian. Man is pre-lapsarian, in need not of redemption but of protection. He addresses god not with Hebreo-Christian yearning (of the kind which creeps into Mossi's translations), nor with the will to appease or atone. With the conviction that happiness is daily and human he makes requests that accord with the structure created by Viracocha's ordering and illuminating intelligence. And in all this, the hymn sung by Marmontel's "people heureux" can be said not to misrepresent grossly the originals he never knew, and to be to that degree "justified" as propaganda. The close of his hymn follows phrases in the Quechua almost verbatim:

"Âme de l'univers, père de Manco, père de nos rois, ô Soleil, protège ton Peuple, & fais prospérer tes enfants!"

Of course, Marmontel's hymn can still hardly be compared for beauty and power with the Quechua. It has nothing of that vigour which comes from the close conjunction of specific concrete "objects" (potatoes, maize, llamas, fields) with "sublime" praise. In the Paris of 1770s such agricultural detail would have been thought rank, itself a comment on that society. Other sacrifices are made to reigning taste in his *Situa Raymi*, and there are many bizarrely intrusive lines, especially in the Villac Umu's chant and the Virgins' chorus. The regal majesty given to the sun in the first smacks far too much of the closing choruses of the *Magic Flute*, of the specifically masonic pomp prompted by the fall of the Queen of Night; and the accompanying details of the sun's lively penetration of "les elemens" (see also the *Aeneid*, Book 6) are as odd and alien to their supposed context as the Virgins' talk of the sun's "charme" and their elegantly sentimental view of nature as a "fille tendre". But in fairness to Marmontel, the eighteenth-century polemicist who did his best with available sources, it should be said that his literary pageant is no more extravagant than Prescott believed, on less evidence than is now accessible. Even if the novel degenerates rapidly beyond consideration, the opening pages of "Les Incas" are more honourable as an implicit tribute to Inca literature, are much less of a travesty, than the many Indianizing epics and odes Marmontel inspired in South America itself.

The most prominent of these is without doubt J.J. Olmedo's "La victoria de Junín. Canto a Bolívar" (1825) (12), written to celebrate emancipation from just those Spanish fanatics and adventurers who had ravaged the Tawantinsuyu three hundred years previously, so it was claimed. This ambitious piece is brought to a climax by an Inca hymn, entoned by the Virgins of the Sun. They start singing after a protracted speech by the ghost of the last Inca emperor, Huayna Capac. Standing in the clouds before the assembled Independence armies, with the Virgins surrounding him, Huayna Capac vituperates the Spanish forces fleeing from Junín, predicts Sucre's conclusive victory at Ayacucho (1824), curses everything brought to Peru (which then included Ecuador) by that "vil aventurero" Pizarro and welcomes the imminent rule of the liberators. Then the chorus begins:

"Alma eterna del mundo
dios santo del Perú, Padre del Inca
en tu giro fecundo gózate sin cesar
Luz bienhechora
viendo ya libre el pueblo que te adora.

"La tiniebla de sangre y servidumbre
que ofuscaba la lumbre
de tu radiante faz pura y serena
se disipó;
....."

No-one could miss the echoes of Marmontel: "Âme de l'univers... père de nos rois... d'un éclat immortel... un Peuple heureux qui t'adore... tes regards dissipent l'immense obscurité..." etc. In the 4th and 5th stanzas, where the sun is praised as the great fecundator, the parallels are even closer. This much of Olmedo's hymn, then, at least stood the chance of being connected, via Marmontel and Garcilaso, to a native source; the rest derives from traditions entirely alien to ancient Peru. Even so, he worried in his footnotes that he might perhaps have made his poem too Indian, too given over to the words of Huayna Capac and the Virgins. And he justifies his "excess" not by any reference to Indian literature, but in terms of classical decorum and "probability" (these incidentally being just the terms in which the Inca episode was condemned by Menéndez y Pelayo). Garrulousness might be expected from a man as old as the Inca, he remarked, managing thus at least to amuse Bolívar, the addressee of the poem. The only thought he had for Inca literature comes in his note on the "antiguas tradiciones" which attributed prophetic gifts to Huayna Capac, such legends being in fact of doubtful origin, if not apocryphal. At the same time, proudly restoring "Atilba" to the form "Atahualpa", he took some trouble to decry the deformation Inca culture in general had suffered in the works of European writers, in a footnote that is counter-productive in so far as such writers can still be seen to have been his main source and guide.

The crucial difference between Marmontel and Independence bards like Olmedo stems of course from the degree to which their re-creations were, respectively, committed to a context. In 18th-century Europe, Pufendorff, Mme de Graffigny, Leblanc, Marmontel and others had turned to the Incas to demonstrate the horrors of religious fanaticism and to preach their Enlightenment gospel with an example that was remote historically and geographically, however close they may have felt spiritually to the ancient Andean Indians; Marmontel said explicitly he wanted to work at the dikes while the waters were low. A quite different proposition from Olmedo's. The Incas in "La victoria de Junín" could in no way be dissociated from the epic present the poem was celebrating, a present in which the Indian was an omnipresent figure. His enhancement had begun in earnest with Miranda, with his proposal to Pitt (then English Prime Minister) that the Inca monarchy be re-established to rule the vast territory which would be freed with Spanish defeat: La Gran Colombia, stretching from the Missouri to Cape Horn. And as it turned out, Indian presence in the long and arduous fight was palpable enough and continued a tradition of revolt which had last flared up under Tupac Amaru II in 1780 (13). It is against this background that we best understand San Martín's cry "Yo también soy indio", Bolívar's greeting the ladies of Lima as "Hijas del Sol" (on entering that city in 1825), and the Indian pretensions of Olmedo's poem. However, even as "La victoria de Junín" was being penned, enthusiasm for the Incas was being shown for what it was. The fact of independence, the immediate necessity of self-determination, rapidly and cruelly tested the worth of that preference. Instead of being the official languages of the Andes, Quechua and Aymara sank in status. University chairs in Quechua, created by the Spanish for all their "imperialism", were definitely abolished, and the language was even banned

in schools and some areas of public life. Restoration of Inca cities and architecture meant in practice the token rebuilding of Pachacamac shrine not far from Lima. Rather than being the elected masters of La Gran Colombia, the Incas became the victims of the "free" speculators in land and of an alien economic system. As a final blow, the tributes abolished by San Martín in 1821 were reinstated in Peru only five years later.

This disjunction between idea and practice (to put it unemotionally) is all too obvious in Olmedo's poem. One of the weakest and most transparent passages comes when the Inca voluntarily renounces power for his usurped descendants and offers it to the white liberators, before vanishing back up into the clouds. Bolívar himself bridled at this and said how improbable it was (14). It is both that and hopelessly dependant for explanation on a view of Inca "tyranny" fostered precisely by the chroniclers of imperial Spain, Olmedo's supposed enemy. Moreover, Olmedo makes Huayna Capac list the white heroes of Independence in sycophantic detail and forget to record even the fact of Indian participation in the battles that had just been won: for him martyr poets like Melgar, and Wallparrimachi with his band of guerrilla slingers, might as well never have existed. Again: while he relied on Marmontel, Olmedo was careful to suppress all suggestion that the Incas knew a god more sublime than the visible sun and had found a language to praise him. Even if he is first addressed as the "alma eterna del mundo", the god of the Virgin's hymn soon sheds all transcendent quality in order to become the sanctioner of specifically white interest, the masonic patron of industry. While this god is still asked to give good crops, far more emphatic is the request he should favour the career of Lima as a mercantile port. In short, Huayna Capac gives his people, after all the majority of the population, no reason to welcome their newly-won freedom. The meaning of the word "libre" in the opening stanza of the hymn could hardly be further removed from that of the gazilla gespilla recorded by Molina and Pachacuti.

It is hard to exaggerate the liberator's radical (Lara calls it racial) indifference towards the very culture and literature they exploited in their own cause. On this subject Bolívar's candour was amazing. In another criticism of Olmedo's epic, he said that the trouble with putting such fine language into the mouths of the Inca and his Virgins (as we have seen, the Quechua hymns are immeasurably finer) was that all that Indians could manage today was a few yaravis, a few mournful love-songs. In other words, Olmedo is seen to be dishonest, but the conclusion drawn is that Indian literature ought to be put aside in favour of the "íclitos poetas" of the European tradition - a policy with which Byron (as one of them and Bolívar's friend) heartily concurred when he hinted at the total irrelevance of ancient Inca literature in "Childe Harold". And this is just what happened. Only recently have South Americans become deeply aware of Inca literature and its epic potential; and they have generally found the mentality of the Independence period to be "colonial". Indeed, could there be anything more servile and insulting than the fact that Olmedo composed his own yaravi, the "Canción indiana" of 1826 in "el estilo americano de aquellos tiempos", not from anything he had heard or read in

the Andes but from Chateaubriand's version of a North American legend? This is not to suggest that the cultural situation of the liberators was any less problematic than it was, or to decry, in late romantic fashion, the propriety of "literary tradition". Just the opposite. It is to say that the choice of "Atala" meant in practice the ignoring of existing yaravis with their virtue, meant the failure to do what was promised, to develop another literary tradition which, elaborated, would of course have had its own rhythms, its own promptings, its own consequences. It is a commonplace that the political consciousness of the Slav nations grew in good measure from linguistic and literary renaissance.

Given the cultural postulates of his generation, it is little wonder that Olmedo's contemporary Bello never finished his epic "América" (1823-). In the fragment "Alocución a la poesía" he asks for inspiration from sources he knew little about: primitive America. While Herder might be excused his interested commentary on the "Rain Goddess" hymn (though his amusement over the "dummer Peruaner" still grates) (15), for Bello the American it was misguided and proved so to endeavour to make much more than epigrams out of the notion that poetry should abandon the philosophical culture of 18th-century Europe for unspoiled America. As long as he stays with the trope, or discusses unpeopled landscapes he does well, even brilliantly. But as soon as it is a question of his exemplifying his message the implicit assumptions of his neo-classical verse form and vocabulary intervene disastrously. His view of America remains firmly panoramic, exactly Parnassian. He moves from the Aztecs to the Incas, from the Araucanians to the Chibcha, but is always too far up to be able to hear what they are saying. The fullest example of ancient American poetry that we get is a laboured re-telling of a Muisca flood legend, gleaned from the pages of Humboldt's "Vues des cordillères" (16). As for Peru, the beauty of the yaravi that rises from the "lejano tambo" in the Andes resides precisely in its unintelligibility.

The neglect of Inca literature by 19th-century South American "littérateurs" was so thorough that by the time it was Juan León Mera's turn to be enthused about it, in his quite uncritical "Ojeada histórica-crítica sobre la poesía en el Ecuador" (Mera 1868), he was still unable to muster anything more than the worn and weary "Rain Goddess" hymn to prove how Quechua lent itself to the "entonación de la oda heroica, a las vehementes estrofas del himno sacro". He thus opened the door for that denigration of Inca literature, unsurpassed in intelligent malevolence, which Juan Valera, the Spaniard, elaborated in his "Cartas americanas" (17) when reviewing León Mera's book. Working to the conclusion that the unlettered Incas ought to have been grateful to the Spanish for having conquered them, Valera asked triumphantly, as late as 1889: "Where are all the odes, dramas and hymns so fondly attributed to them?" As for León Mera's lonely example he saw brevity as its merit and, quite unhampered by knowledge of Inca hymnody, suggested that if the poem had any grace at all, restricted as it was to the simian Quechua tongue, then this would be due to the fact it was written by "algún indio ya algo civilizado, a imitación de los versos de Castilla". Worse

than Valera's insolence was the inability of the "Indianists" to counter it. This is just as true of Vicente Fidel López's pathetic attempt (1871:338) to claim status for Indian America by "proving" that the "Rain Goddess" hymn was written in "Pelasgan Greek" (his abuse went to the length of quietly dropping the word "Viracocha" from the text, it presumably having proved too much even for the power of his philological fancy).

After sporadic appearances in a number of unrelievedly mediocre 19th-century novels and epics, the Garcilaso - Marmontel tradition of Inca hymnody enjoyed a final flicker of life in the work of the "modernistas". José Santos Chocano (in "Alma América"), Rubén Darío and others evoked the splendour of Inca ritual in their poems, but remotely now, as if the disquieting sense of disconnection could no longer be wholly soothed, copy as they might that Parnassian practice of encasing world culture in separate sonnets. Though it is true that even Heredia's trophied hand had failed him when he came to the Incas in his planned epic sequence "La Défaite d'Atilba"; the section on Pizarro, the conquistador he dreamed himself to have been, was the only one he finished (18).

Perhaps the best example of the "modernistas'" dilemma and inevitable demise comes in the work of Alcides Arguedas. His first novel included cameos of Inca courts and temples, complete with rhetoric and chants. Later his conscience grew so bad he disowned his creation. More than that, he attributed a modified version of it to a character in the subsequent novel "Raza de bronce" (1919), this character being a feckless "modernista" poet reared on Darío and on Marmontel's "Les Incas", "libro falso entre todos los producidos en ese siglo de enciclopedistas, refinado y elegante" (Brotherston 1971). Rightly seen, the falsity lay of course less in Marmontel than in his American imitators, as the very petulance of this rejection indicates.

Those writers who re-interpreted Inca hymns in the Garcilaso - Marmontel tradition persistently ignored the culture that gave them birth. This kind of literary self-sufficiency is after all not uncommon, and accords well enough with a certain view of mankind from China to Peru in which the shapes of individual languages (the pelf of literature) recede into non-existence. The case of the liturgy of ancient Peru is special only in so far as the social structure that it informed and reflected has doggedly retained the fame of having been one of the more perfect (if ingenuous) on earth. But it is only very recently, in the work of José María Arguedas and others, that the full consequences of this have been taken, and that attempts have been made to understand both the social and linguistic forms of that society, their interdependence at all levels, and their subsequent changes, and to found literature on this understanding. Even the indigenist movements of the twenties were blinded by Marxism to the tone and import of the Inca hymns, and saw in them not the quintessence of a way of being, but either the spectre of absolutism or evidence of sane Indian materialism. Mariátegui's remarks on Inca religious expression are perhaps the weakest part of his brilliant "Siete ensayos".

Hence it is hardly surprising to find that the principal mode of survival enjoyed by Viracocha's hymns should in fact have been Christian after all, beyond superb recent creations like José María Arguedas's *Haylli-taki* (Himno-canción) to "Nuestro Padre Creador Tupac Amaru" (Arguedas 1962). As is the hope of this epic hymn, the Quechua dawn may now be coming (Nas pacha achikyay) and a lost order (gan sayay) be being found by those whose hearts are no longer in peace (gasilla). But for most part, as Jorge Lira has shown, today the "Himnos sagrados de los Andes" (19), much as they preserve epithets and formulas of Inca belief, are sung fervently to the supreme being whose name is Hesusukristo. If nothing else, an ironic comment on Enlightened interest.

NOTES

- (1) Quotations here from "Les Incas" are from the Paris 1777 edition, ch. 1.
- (2) Besides those discussed below, Kotzebue should be mentioned ("Die Sonnenjungfrau", "Die Spanier in Peru"); and Sheridan ("Pizarro") are especially worthy of mention; see also Meléndez 1934. The tradition was revived recently in English in Shaffer's "Royal Hunt of the Sun" (1964).
- (3) Recently again in Nola 1963; and crucially in Basadre 1938.
- (4) In Rojas 1937, along with J. A. Rozas's Spanish rendering of Molina's hymns, and other versions.
- (5) Lara 1947; see also Arguedas 1966a.
- (6) Rowe 1953; quotations here from this reconstructed text.
- (7) See the following books and chapters of the 1st part of the "Comentarios reales": II, 22 (cited by Marmontel); VII, 6; and chapters 1 & 4 of book II.
- (8) Cf. the "Comentarios reales", I, VIII, 8; Brinton 1882, ch. 5; Porras Barrenechea 1951; Métraux 1962:115-135; Mason 1964:202-214; Baudin 1964:107-123; and above all Rowe 1960:408-429.
- (9) "...mana viracuchactaca ricuspatac ancha ñaupá rimac muchac" ("y sin que pudieran ver a Viracocha, los muy antiguos le hablaban y adoraban" - Arguedas); chapter 1 also records this invocation: "Cuniraya Viracocha runa camac pacha camac yma ayayuc campam chacraiqui campac runayqui" ("Cuniraya Viracocha, hacedor del hombre, hacedor del mundo, tú tienes cuanto es posible tener, tuyas son las chacras, tuyo es el hombre").
- (10) Guaman Poma 1956, I; section "Edades del mundo", and pp. 237-239.
- (11) Cf. de Oré 1598; mentioned in "Tarma Pacha Huaray" XLII; see also the "Comentarios reales", I, II, 1.
- (12) Olmedo 1947 (an excellent edition).
- (13) See Henríquez Ureña 1949, ch. IV; Lara 1947:136-151, and Lara 1951; and Flury 1948.
- (14) "Carta a J. J. Olmedo", El Repertorio Colombiano 12 VII (1825) (quoted by Espinosa Pólit). In this way Huayna Capac becomes as much the last emperor as he does in J. E. Caro's "En boca del último Inca."
- (15) "Über Ossian und die Lieder alter Völker".
- (16) See his own note (Bello 1952, I: 115).

- (17) "Nuevas cartas americanas"(Valera 1947-1958, vol. III) Needless to say, the "Quechua" poetry in León Mera's famous novel "Cumandá" (1871), chapters IV & X, bears no consideration as such.
- (18) "Les conquérants de l'or" (Heredia 1895).
- (19) Lira 1960; Lara (1947:113) discusses an earlier collection of Christian hymns from the Andes. R. & M. d'Harcourt (1925, I, no.10) record an Inca hymn to the sun.

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