

Recontextualising the Sacraments: Diego González Holguín's Construction of Christian Vocabulary in Colonial Peru

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– *Muchay* – worshipping God and the *huacas*: The complex usage of a Quechua word in the colonial Andes. In: Susana Bayó Belenguer, Eiléan Ní Chuilleanáin, Cormac Ó Cuilleánáin (eds.), *Translation Right or Wrong*; 173-190. Dublin: Four Courts Press 2013.

– El *Tratado de los errores* de Francisco de Ávila en comparación con el manuscrito quechua de Huarochirí. Estudio analítico y transcripción comparativa. St. Andrews: St. Andrews University, Centre for Amerindian, Latin American and Caribbean Studies 2016. (CAS Occasional Publications 34.)

– ‘... por decir Dios Trino y Uno, dijo Dios tres y uno son cuatro’: The Christian Trinity and the Multiplicity of Andean Deities: Indigenous Beliefs and the Instruction of the Christian Doctrine in Quechua. *Colonial Latin American Review* 25/4 (2016): 414–444.

– Co-authored with Elke Ruhnau: ‘Salvando las almas de los indios’: Los conceptos de ‘alma/ánima’ en las lenguas coloniales náhuatl y quechua. Together with Elke Ruhnau. In: Sabine Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz (ed.), *La transmisión de conceptos cristianos a las lenguas amerindias: Estudios sobre textos y contextos de la época colonial*; 185-230. Sankt Augustin: Academia Verlag 2016. (Collectanea Instituti Anthropos 48.) <<http://hdl.handle.net/1893/22937>> (accessed 04.02.2019).

– Idolatría y sexualidad: Métodos y contextos de la transmisión y traducción de conceptos cristianos en los confesionarios ibéricos y coloniales de los siglos xvi-xviii. Introducción al dossier. In thematic collection: *Idolatría y sexualidad: métodos y contextos de la transmisión y traducción de conceptos cristianos en los confesionarios ibéricos y coloniales de los siglos xvi-xviii*. Organización: Sabine Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz. *Indiana* 35/2 (2018): 9-27. <<https://journals.iai.spk-berlin.de/index.php/indiana/article/view/2531>> (accessed 04.02.2019).

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Abstract. – In 1608 the Jesuit missionary-linguist Diego González Holguín published a comprehensive Spanish-Quechua dictionary which covered all aspects of life and also included a wide range of words which refer to Christian and Andean beliefs. Although he situated himself in a by then established Christian Andean tradition of the translation of religious concepts, he also used innovative translation methods, reinterpreting Andean and Christian words in an unorthodox way.

Through the analysis of his translation methods light can be shed on the process in which religions are constructed. For this I will examine the translations of the term 'sacrament'. Whilst the word itself is transmitted into Quechua as a loanword, in more detailed explanations the author uses extensions of meanings and metaphorical expressions. Thus, for example, a certain aspect of the sacraments is translated in the context of healing/poisoning; another instance is the relation of the Holy Communion to the powerful royal Inca travel provision. González Holguín's translation approach shows how Christian religion could be integrated into the Andean worldview. [*Colonial Peru, Christianisation, Dictionary Source, Quechua language, Sacraments*]

Introduction¹

When the empire of the Incas was invaded in 1532 and submitted to Spanish rule little later, the newly formed colony received the Crown's right to take care of the conversion of the indigenous population to Christianity. Following earlier efforts in Mesoamerica to translate Christian texts into the native languages and teach the new faith through them, missionary linguists started creating grammars and dictionaries for the most widely spoken languages in order to have a linguistic framework for the translation of the Christian doctrine and related texts.² In Peru the first dictionary and grammar,

¹ I would like to thank Lindsey Crickmay and Cândida Barros for their careful reading of this paper and for their suggestions.

² These grammatical and lexicographic studies were among the first works in descriptive linguistics.

accompanied by a short Christian text, was published by the Dominican Domingo de Santo Tomás in 1560 (Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz 2008: 236-237). When the Third Provincial Council met in Lima at the beginning of the 1580s, it was decided, under the direction of the eminent Jesuit scholar José de Acosta, to produce an authoritative catechism in Quechua and Aymara, including a large collection of sermons to be used as models for the preachers who were supposed to have good knowledge of the native language of the area they worked in. These doctrinal works were complemented by a brief grammar and dictionary, from an author who has remained anonymous (Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz 2008: 237-238). The missionaries worked with these books (and probably other materials of their own) as the basis for their Christian teachings, and only in 1607 and 1608 a further grammar and dictionary were published by the Jesuit missionary and linguist Diego González Holguín. As opposed to the earlier linguistic works these were much more comprehensive and detailed, and the Quechua-Spanish and Spanish-Quechua dictionary can be said to be the most comprehensive until the present.³

It covers all aspects of life and also includes a wide range of words which refer to Christian and Andean beliefs (of which the earlier ones only had few). Although González Holguín situated himself in a by then established (although not made explicit) Christian Andean tradition of the translation of religious concepts, I will show that he also used innovative translation methods, reinterpreting Andean and Christian words in an unorthodox way. Through the analysis of his translation methods light can be shed on the process of how Andean and Spanish religion became linked. For this I will examine how he translated the term 'sacrament' as well as how he transmitted the concepts of the Holy Communion and the Extreme Unction. Whilst the words themselves are transmitted into Quechua as loanwords, in phrases and sentences the author uses extensions of meanings and metaphorical expressions which re-contextualise the Christian contents in order to provide explanations the indigenous population would be able to relate to their own cosmovision and experience.

Diego González Holguín and his lexicographical work

Diego González Holguín, born in Cáceres in 1552, was a member of one of the most distinguished families of Spain. He studied oriental and classical languages as well as the Bible at the Universidad de Alcalá de Henares. Although we have no knowledge of the syllabi of these subjects, we can suppose that, in addition to the languages themselves and the Scripture, students became familiarised with the topics and challenges of translation as this field was well known and widely discussed in Spain at the time (Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz 2016: 8-10).

³ Except for the one by Jorge Lira, also a priest, who published his 1200-page dictionary in 1944. For further information on the topics of this Introduction see Durston 2007; Mills 2008; Hamerly 2011; Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz 2016.

In 1581 González Holguín came to Cuzco as part of a Jesuit mission and was ordained as priest. It was also in the ancient Inca capital that he learned Quechua, the most widespread language due to the Incas' expansion, and consequently he used this dialect in his linguistic works.⁴

In 1600 he became *rector* of the Jesuit order in La Plata (Sucre, Bolivia), and in 1607 he was *superior* of the Jesuits in Juli, an important linguistic and missionary centre on Lake Titicaca. He then worked as an advocate for the indigenous population (*defensor de indios*) in Paraguay and Chile and became rector of the *colegio* in La Asunción. He died in 1618, while serving as *superior* of the *residencia* of Mendoza.

Like the other missionary linguists, González Holguín viewed his work as an aid for the missionaries to learn the indigenous language for the purpose of conversion. It has therefore to be kept in mind that his target group were the missionaries, not the indigenous people who would have been secondary recipients, through the words and teachings of the parish priests.

González Holguín wrote that the Quechua language lacked all kinds of words referring to vices and virtues, to the other life, and to the spiritual sphere, and that his dictionary helped to fill these lacunae ([1608] 1989: Al lector). Here he was obviously thinking of these concepts as part of the Christian faith because his work shows that most of these concepts were, indeed, present in the Quechua language, but not their exact Christian equivalents. The dictionary is a veritable treasure-trove of Quechua words and phrases, which is not surprising in the light of the author's statement that the principal authors were all the Indians whom he had consulted and with whom he had worked for many years (*ibid.*: Al christiano lector). Whilst all dictionaries of the time were to a certain extent modelled on Nebrija's first Spanish dictionary, González Holguín also used the Quechua vocabulary written in the context of the Third Lima Council as the basis for his work, supplementing it with a great deal of additional material and much more elaborated and detailed entries. The contents of his dictionary include words from virtually every sphere of human life and Andean culture, as well as the mentioned Christian terms. The first part, Quechua-Spanish, is comprised of 372 pages; the second part, Spanish-Quechua, contains 330 pages (in the original 1608 edition). There are approximately 25,000 entries altogether.

When studying individual words, it becomes clear that González Holguín constructed a network of words and meanings which could be cross-referenced and used as a manual to learn Quechua and deepen the missionaries' knowledge in text and context.⁵

⁴ The following paragraphs summarise mainly Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz 2008: 238-239; cf. Mannheim 2008.

⁵ See for example the semantic field of *muchay*, 'to worship' (Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz 2013: 238-246).

I use the consistent modern phonemic official Cuzco orthography when discussing lexical and morphological items; thus, for example, different spellings for what are the phonemes and their modern graphic representations /k/, /k'/, /kh/ and /q/, /q'/,

Even apparently straightforward semantic fields, such as the one around *maki*, ‘hand’, show that his dictionary hardly ever has one-word entries and equivalents, but in this case for instance ca. 122 equivalents, explanations and examples, concrete as well as figurative expressions. The translations and phrases document the richness of Cuzco Quechua as well as the challenge of incorporating new aspects into the indigenous languages as a result of the colonial situation.

The sacraments

The *Tercero Cathecismo*⁶, a collection of sermons published by the Third Lima Council in 1585, says that the sacraments are the signs and ceremonies ordered by Jesus Christ, with which we honour God and take part in his grace, and that those who take them are free from sin.⁷ González Holguín himself has an example of a Quechua translation for this:

Remedios para los pecados son los sacramentos. Huchacuna pampachaypac sacramentocunam yachacupuquen casca.⁸ (1608, Sp-Qu: 294; 1989: 657)

The sacraments are remedies for the sins [Spanish]. The sacraments were means/remedies to forgive the sins (Christian usage) / lit. For the faults to become even the sacraments were remedies [Quechua]. (Transl. SDS⁹)

/qh/ were used in the colonial sources, e.g. {qu}, {qqu}, {c}, {cc}, {k}; or {e} and {i} for the phoneme /i/.

⁶ Accompanying doctrinal texts (*Doctrina Christiana* [1584] 1985), this is the first collection of sermons, published in Spanish with translations into Quechua and Aymara, in 1585, by the Third Lima Council (*Tercero cathecismo* 1985). The underlying content and model for these would have been the catechism laid down by the Council of Trent in 1566 (see *Catechism of Trent* [1566] 1823, *Catechismvs ex decreto Concilii Tridentini, ad parochos* 1572), also known as Roman Catechism.

⁷ “Sacramentos llamamos vnas señales y cerimonias ordenadas por Iesu Christo: con las cuales honramos a Dios y participamos de su gracia. ... los Sacramentos ... hazen que los que los toman queden libres de peccado” (*Tercero Cathecismo*, sermón X [1585: fol. 56v-57r], 1985: 460-461).

⁸ “Yachacupuquen” is given by González Holguín as ‘the means, o medication, or what is important and valuable for something’ (“Los medios, o remedios, o lo que importa y vale para algo”, 1608, Qu-Sp: 362; 1989: 361); the religious meaning of *pampacha*- is a colonial creation (1608, Qu-Sp: 274, González Holguín 1989: 276; Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz 2013: 294). The nominalised form *kasqa* as a past tense was probably constructed by González Holguín and/or other colonial linguists, without reflecting actual Quechua usage (Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz 1999a).

⁹ All English translations of ethnohistorical sources and Quechua linguistic materials are mine. My translations from Quechua are based on colonial and modern Quechua dictionaries (González Holguín [1608] 1989; Lira 1944; Perroud and Chouvenec ¿1969?).

In the Roman Catholic Church the seven sacraments are Baptism, Confirmation, Eucharist, Penance, Extreme Unction,¹⁰ Holy Orders and Matrimony.¹¹

By the beginning of the 17th century, in Christian Quechua the accepted word for 'sacrament' was the loanword itself.¹² It is therefore not surprising that González Holguín does not include an entry in his dictionary, but that he does, indeed, see the necessity to complement it with words and phrases in the Andean language so that the concepts can be conveyed in an understandable manner to the indigenous people.

Here he follows the Christian imagery for the sacraments: their administration is compared to the preparation and eating of food; the soul can be healed with the sacraments; and the Holy Communion is conceived of as ingesting Christ's body (in the Catholic faith, the direct belief in the Eucharist as the consumption of Christ's body and blood), which is the Lamb of God. Thus, these comparisons and metaphors are what González Holguín had to transmit to the Andean people in their own language. For this, he included in his dictionary example phrases with Christian key words; these already had an Andean meaning which he now embedded in a Christian context in order to convey the new meanings.

¹⁰ Now called Anointing of the Sick (*Catechism of the Catholic Church* 2003, pt. 2, sect. 2, ch. 2, art. 5, 1512, http://www.vatican.va/archive/ccc_css/archive/catechism/p2s2c2a5.htm#, 1499).

¹¹ *Doctrina Christiana*, Catecismo Mayor, de los Sacramentos [1584, fol. 46r], 1985: 111; cf. *Catechism of Trent* ([1566] 1823, pt. II, On the Sacraments: 107). Cf. Durston (2007: 277-279).

¹² The Third Lima Council had already included a translation of the sacraments into Quechua in the Christian doctrine (*Doctrina Christiana*, Catecismo mayor [1584: fol. 45v-56v], 1985: 110-132; the Communion [fol. 48r-49v], pp. 115-118), and in the *Tercero Catecismo* it also had several sermons which were dedicated to a more detailed explanation (sermon X-XVII [1585] 1985). These translations always use the Spanish loanword.

A Preparation for the sacraments

	<p>González Holguín (1608, Sp-Qu: 13-14; 1989: 388)</p> <p>Spanish</p> <p>Quechua</p> <p><i>Spanish in Quechua text in italics</i></p> <p>Added by González Holguín in the Qechua translation</p>	<p>Translation by SDS</p> <p>From Spanish (S)</p> <p>From Quechua (Q)</p>
1	<p>Adereçar las armas.</p> <p>Auccanacunacta, o auccancacunacta¹³ huallparicuni¹⁴ camaricuni yachachicuni.</p>	<p>To prepare the weapons (S).</p> <p>With weapons I provide myself, make myself ready, prepare myself (Q).</p>
2	<p>Adereçarse para entrar en la guerra.</p> <p>Auccaman huallparicuni yachachicuni.</p>	<p>To prepare oneself to enter war (S).</p> <p>I equip myself, make myself ready for the war (Q).</p>
3	<p>Adereçar cossa suya, o parejarla aprestarla.</p> <p>Allichacuni camaricuni.</p>	<p>To prepare one's own things, or to put in place, to make ready (S).</p> <p>I prepare myself, I dispose myself (Q).</p>
4	<p>Adereçarse assi.</p> <p>Allichaycucuni yachachiycucuni camariycucuni sacramentocunapac.</p>	<p>To prepare oneself like this (S).</p> <p>I prepare myself, I make myself ready, I dispose myself for the sacraments (Q).</p>

In order to translate and explain the preparation for the sacraments González Holguín's method is that of a word-for-word translation of Quechua equivalents for Spanish words (1-3). The general usage of the synonymous verbs for 'to prepare'¹⁵ (3) is preceded by

¹³ González Holguín seems to use the more modern form *-na* interchangeably with the older form *-nqa* to express the instrumental (cf. González Holguín [1607] 1975, I, II, cap. 14: fol. 44r – as gerund), both forms for instruments or people dedicated to battle or war (Lira 1944: 72).

¹⁴ *-ni* is the suffix for the first person singular, and the colonial dictionaries used it where in Spanish they employed the infinitive.

¹⁵ González Holguín gives four largely synonymous verbs for 'to prepare': *allichaku-*, lit. 'to make oneself good', from *allin*, 'good', *-cha* 'to make (the quality of the adjective) – the word generally used for 'to prepare' (also present in the earlier

examples used for weapons and war (1-2), an important part of the expansionist Inca empire (D'Altroy 2015: ch. 10). These equivalents are then also applied to the Christian concept of the Sacrament which he only gives in the Quechua translation (4) – it seems that as priest he took it apparently for granted that these verbs could also be applied to a religious concept.

The constructions with the objects in question – direct object *-ta* for the weapons which are prepared (1), indirect object/directional *-man* for the war one prepares for (2), and *-paq* benefactive for the object of the purpose, the sacraments (4) – reflect his knowledgeable and consistent usage of Quechua morphology. I doubt whether the sacrament would here necessarily be seen in a context of warfare because this only seems to be an example, although the catechism of Trent talks about confirmation as equipping the Christian “for battle”.¹⁶ In any case it is possible for the missionary Quechua learner to relate both, the war and the Christian concept, in order to remember different grammatical constructions.

Thus in this case González Holguín gives word-for-word equivalents, and except for using a Spanish loanword in the last phrase without explaining it,¹⁷ by employing everyday Quechua words González Holguín integrates a Christian activity into Andean life as one more aspect of it.¹⁸

dictionaries of Anonymous 1586 s.v. “adereçar” and “allichacuni”, and Santo Tomás [1560: fol. 108v] 1951: 233); *kamariku-*, ‘to get ready, to dispose oneself’ (González Holguín 1608, Qu-Sp: 39; 1989: 47); *wallpariku-*, ‘to prepare oneself well adorned or clothed’, from *wallpa-*, ‘to make, form’ (ibid. 1608, Qu-Sp: 172, 1989: 174); *yachachiku-*, ‘to prepare oneself practicing’, lit. ‘to teach oneself’ (ibid. 1608, Qu-Sp: 362, 1989: 361) (from *yacha-*, ‘to know’, *yachachi-*, ‘to teach’; *-ri* indicates the beginning of an action [González Holguín [1607] 1975, I. III, cap. II: fol. 115v]); *-ku* as reflexive and pseudo-reflexive modal suffix expresses the subject’s involvement in the action (Hoggarth 2004: 38-39; cf. González Holguín [1607] 1975, I. III, cap. II: fol. 111v-112r).

¹⁶ Quoting Pope Melchiades, to be understood as the battle against sin or the devil (*Catechism of Trent* [1566] 1823, On the Sacrament of Confirmation: 139).

¹⁷ As the word “sacramentocunapac” is added at the end, it seems to be an afterthought – syntactically one would expect it to be at the beginning of the sentence (but this is, of course, a dictionary, not a sermon).

¹⁸ Obviously, there are many studies on translation methods which vary considerably in terminology and scope of each discussed phenomenon. Here I have used terms which I find most apt for my purpose. I have found the following works particularly useful: Baker 1992: 13-42; Fawcett 1997: ch. 4; Hatch & Brown 1995: 170-185.

B The preacher as the one who feeds the soul God's word

	González Holguín (1608, Qu-Sp: 129; 1989: 388)	Translation by SDS
	Quechua <i>Spanish in Quechua text in italics</i> Spanish	From Quechua (Q) From Spanish (S)
1	Karani. Dar de comer a personas, pensar las bestias y aues. ...	I serve food / I feed (Q). To serve food to people, to feed animals and birds (S).
2	Karacuk. Los que siruen a la mesa.	The one who serves food (Q). The ones who serve at the table (S).
3	Karani <i>animacta Diospa siminhuan o Sacramentocunahuan, animacta karak padre.</i> El predicador.	I feed the <i>soul</i> with / I serve the soul God's word, <i>or the Father</i> who feeds the <i>soul</i> with the <i>sacraments</i> (Q). The preacher (S).

In the case of *qara-*, 'to serve food' (1-2), González Holguín adopts the same method, but in his example of Christian usage he creates a complex and explanatory description of the priest as administrator of the sacraments (3). As above, González Holguín does not coin words or new lexical meanings (neologisms), but embeds accepted Andean words with their original meaning in sentences with Spanish loanwords in order to convey the figurative sense. He combines an everyday cultural concept, 'to serve food, to feed', with a more specified action where metaphorically the soul is fed with God's word, and the priest feeds the sacraments to the soul.¹⁹ This construction indicates that the indirect target person was meant to know the Spanish words 'soul', 'Father', 'God' and 'sacrament'; and that González Holguín considered the administration of the sacraments to be a vital part of a priest's tasks. In the same way as the Quechua word in this entry becomes related to a Christian concept, this concept is embedded in an Andean understanding. Thus in his Quechua explanation he creates a metaphor – a figurative expression, an image which goes beyond the word's daily usage (Braak 1969: 30-32) –, around the loanword, using understandable semantic resources of the target language to embed it.

¹⁹ González Holguín seems to have taken this image from the Catechism of the Council of Trent where the Eucharist is described as follows: "The sacrament is to be used by us as the food and nourishment of our souls." (*Catechism of Trent* [1566] 1823, On the Sacrament of the Eucharist: 160).

Finally it should be noted that surprisingly in the translation the function of the priest is not, as described in the Quechua sentence, an administrator of the sacraments. Rather, González Holguín renders the whole sentence simply as ‘the preacher’.

C Healing, poisoning and the administration of the sacraments

	González Holguín (1608, Qu-Sp: 138-139; 1989: 145)	Translation by SDS
	Quechua <i>Spanish in Quechua text in italics</i> Spanish	From Quechua (Q) From Spanish (S)
1	Hamppi, o hamppicuna. Qualquiera medicina. ...	Medicine, <i>or</i> medicines (Q). Any medicine (S).
2	Hampicamayoc. El médico o cirujano.	The one who is in charge of / knows about medicine; healer (Q). The doctor or surgeon (S).
3	Hampipayani. Curar de limosna, o de gracia. ...	I assist the healing process / I heal repeatedly (Q). To heal with the help of alms, or out of kindness. (S)
4	Hampik. Es el que dà rexalgar, o bocado para matar. ...	The healer (Q). The one who gives poison, or a serving in order to kill (S).
5	Hampini, o, hampipayani <i>animacta</i> huchanmanta <i>sacramentocunahuan.</i> Curar al alma de sus pecados con los sacramentos.	I heal, <i>or</i> repeatedly heal the <i>soul</i> with the <i>sacraments</i> from its fault(s) (Q). To heal the soul from its sin(s) with the sacraments (S).
6	Hampipayak. El sacerdote médico.	The one who assists the healing process / heals repeatedly (Q). The doctor priest (S).
7	Hampini. Curar a otro con medicinas. ...	I heal (Q). To heal someone else with medicine(s) (S).

The verb *hampi-* is the most general term for ‘to heal’ in Quechua. Entries 1 and 7 are straightforward word-for-word equivalents of ‘medicine’ and ‘to heal’ (*hampi* commonly refers to herbal medicine, and the healer is the *hampiq*; see Marzal 1971: 264-265).

Like most Quechua concepts, *hampi(-)* can express the positive action of healing as well as the reverse: causing damage through poisoning.²⁰ It is therefore understandable that González Holguín has derivations from the term for both (1-3 vs. 4).

Whilst these are all Andean concepts translated by González Holguín, his other entries integrate Christian concepts and thereby extend the Quechua meaning, that of a ‘healer’ to that of ‘priest’ (6, also 5).

In Christian faith, Christ is seen as healer of body and soul,²¹ and through the Holy Spirit the sacraments have healing force. It is therefore comprehensible that the Quechua terms for ‘medicine/to heal/healer’, *hampi-/hampiq* are used by González Holguín in this context and further extended to the priest (5, 6). This reflects the Christian idea of the confessor as a medical doctor (Muguruza 2018: 36-37) who heals the soul with the sacraments (5).²² Besides the priest as healer from the sins (5, 6), González Holguín also refers to that of a gesture of benevolence, typical of the Christian behavioural code to give alms (3).²³

²⁰ In Quechua cosmovision everything has two sides: a positive or benign one as well as a dangerous or negative one. This can be seen in the behaviour of the spirits and deities towards human beings, depending on how they are treated (Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz 2017: 445), and it is also found in Quechua words, such as *ayni-* which refers to mutual help, but also to vengeance, i.e. mutual compensation, positive as well as negative (see González Holguín 1608, Qu-Sp: 32-33, 1989: 40).

²¹ “... the Sacraments bring, to use the words of St. Ambrose, the healing remedies and medicines, as it were, of the Samaritan mentioned in the Gospel.” (*Catechism of Trent* [1566] 1823, pt. II, On the Sacraments: 104, cf. 112).

²² In a dictionary of the *lingua geral* (Brazil) from 1622, probably written by a Jesuit, ‘Father’ is translated as *pajé*, a shaman in Tupí culture (Ayrosa ed. 1938: 324; cf. Monserrat and Barros 2018, section 3 for *pajé*; I would like to thank Cândida Barros for calling my attention to this parallel). We do not know if there was any communication within the Jesuit order as to the kind of translation of key concepts, or whether the indigenous understanding seemed to make the missionary-linguists create the parallel independently. Supporting the latter hypothesis, Bertonio ([1612] 1984: Sp-Ay: 442-443), another Jesuit, has in his Peruvian Aymara dictionary a different translation of ‘Father’/‘priest’, as ‘father’ and ‘someone who helps another person as if he was a father’. This, then, reflects a rather broad, probably individual, variety of translation methods.

²³ For example, “The pastor will teach that every species of satisfaction is included under these three heads, prayer, fasting, and alms-deeds, which correspond with these three sorts of goods, those of the soul, of the body, and what are called external goods, all of which are the gifts of God.” (*Catechism of Trent* [1566] 1823, On the Sacrament of Penance: 204).

In the Andes healing is carried out by persons with particular knowledge and/or supernatural gifts (Marzal 1971: 257-266) – in this sense the concept of the priest as healer is not far removed from the Andean idea, and although in the late Incaic and early colonial era their denominations and functions varied according to regions, an important task of an Andean priest was healing, mostly through the communication with deities and spirits, and often preceded by divination.²⁴

The Quechua suffix *-paya* which refers to an intensive or repeated action or assistance²⁵ (3, 5 6) is apparently used to extend the original meaning to include new aspects. It is therefore possible that González Holguín used morphological devices to create semantic extensions (although words with *-paya* already had a meaning in Quechua).

It is not completely clear what González Holguín means with the translation: “Hampicamayoc. El médico o cirujano” (2).²⁶ An Andean healer is not considered a surgeon who would operate on a person or cut open wounds and tumours.²⁷ Whilst a *hampiq* in charge of a surgeon’s task in addition to his traditional ones might have been conceivable as an innovation, the application of the word for an indigenous healer to a ‘priest’ would certainly have enabled Andean people to integrate the concept of the priest into their own system – certainly a dangerous suggestion from the Christian point of view. Also, at least the Quechua-learning priest (if not the Quechua speaker as well when confronted with these terms in their extended meaning) may have been confused as to the complexity of *hampi-* which could have been understood in a number of ways: the *hampiq* is a priest and a doctor; the sacraments help to heal an illness; the healer can be Andean; he can be a surgeon; and *hampi-* could even refer not to curing, but to poisoning. It is possible that González Holguín’s consultants were responsible for these translations and examples, but there is still the fact that he did not disambiguate them and therefore made them available to the missionaries as *double entendres*, although he wanted to help them to find their way into Andean usage.

All this shows González Holguín’s competence in Quechua semantics and grammar, but these examples also reflect how his translation of words and phrases may have caused (con)fusion.

²⁴ Gareis (1987: 223-275). In more recent times the so-called *paqu* or *altomisayuq* heals by communicating with the spirit and deities (Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz 2017: 448). Whether the *hampiq* ever communicated with the deities may be doubted; rather he seemed to treat the sick using herbal medicines (Guaman Poma [ca. 1615] 2001: 192 [194]).

²⁵ González Holguín [1607] 1975, I. III, cap. II: fol. 114v.

²⁶ *-kamayuq* was used to refer to a professional of the task described in the word itself (e.g. González Holguín 1608: 40, 1989: 48). Almost 50 years earlier Santo Tomás ([1560: 136v], 1951: 290) had *hampikamayuy* as “medico, o cirujano generalmente”, ‘doctor or surgeon in general’.

²⁷ As described in the *Diccionario de Autoridades* [1729/II] 1990/1: 360, s.v. *cirugia*.

The only two sacraments he explains in his dictionary are those of the Communion and the Extreme Unction, and we will see González Holguín's innovativeness in his entries for these.

Holy Communion

In the Christian faith, the Lamb of God is the representation of the sacrifice of Jesus Christ in the Eucharist. By dying on the cross he took on humanity's sins in order for all of them to be absolved: "The next day, he saw Jesus coming towards him and said, 'Look, there is the lamb of God that takes away the sin of the world.'" ²⁸ In Christian belief this is the only sacrifice. ²⁹ How does González Holguín express this ritual of the Communion in the Eucharist?

²⁸ *New Jerusalem Bible* 2015, John 1: 29, http://www.catholic.org/bible/book.php?id=50&bible_chapter=1); "Altera die vidit loannes Iesum venientem ad se, & ait: Ecce agnus Dei, ecce qui tolit peccatum mundi" (*Biblia Sacra Vulgatae* 1592: 940). This gesture itself represented and replaced the sacrifice of a lamb which, according to the Old Testament, was offered in order to save the people from their sins (e.g. Ezekiel 46, where different animals were to be offered, the most important feature being that they were unblemished ([*ibid.* http://www.catholic.org/bible/book.php?id=33&bible_chapter=46]; cf. *Biblia Sacra Vulgatae* 1592: 756]; cf. also for example Leviticus 23: 12 [*New Jerusalem Bible* 2015, http://www.catholic.org/bible/book.php?id=3&bible_chapter=23]; cf. *Biblia Sacra Vulgatae* 1592: 97])).

²⁹ *Catechism of Trent* [1566] 1823, On the Sacrament of the Eucharist: 147, 173-176). Cf. the modern Catechism: "The only perfect sacrifice is the one that Christ offered on the cross as a total offering to the Father's love and for our salvation." (2003, pt. 3, sect. 2, ch. 1, art. 1, The first commandment, 2100, http://www.vatican.va/archive/ccc_css/archive/catechism/p3s2c1a1.htm#2099).

D The Holy Communion is delicious food

	González Holguín (1608, Qu-Sp: 218; 1989: 145)	Translation by SDS
	Quechua <i>Spanish in Quechua text in italics</i> Spanish	From Quechua (Q) From Spanish (S)
1	Machhicani, o machhichahuanmi, o machiyacuni, o machhiycuhuanmi, o mizquihuanmi, o miyzquihuanmi [sic], o mizquichicuni. Gustar de vna comida saber bien tomar gusto en ella como.	I like (the) food, or the food tastes well for me, or I enjoy the food, or it tastes well especially for me, or it tastes delicious for me, or it tastes delicious for me, or I make it taste delicious (Q). To like a dish, a dish to taste well, to find it enjoyable, like (S):
2	<i>Sanctissimo Sacramento</i> tam mizquichicuni machhicacuni, o Diospa vcunñam machhichahuan, o machiycuhuan, o mizquiycuhuan. Gusto ya mucho de comulgar.	I find the <i>Holy Sacrament</i> delicious, I like very much how it tastes, or God's interior/body already makes me enjoy it, or I enjoy it intensively, or I find it delicious (Q). I like it very much to receive Communion (S).

As mentioned above, the sacraments are seen as food for the soul; it is therefore not surprising that the concept of taste is related to the Eucharist, the Holy Sacrament, as well. The verb González Holguín uses in this instance is “mach(h)-” which means ‘to taste well’³⁰, and *miski* is ‘sweet’, ‘delicious’ (1)³¹, which he incorporates into a sentence that can be considered metaphorical – a figurative sweetness of the Eucharist – and at the same time physical with respect to the taste of the bread and wine. Thus the sentence can be seen as a word-for-word translation and a metaphorical expression. The loanword *Sanctissimo Sacramento*, embedded in Quechua morphology, is explained in the following clause: “God’s interior/body [subject] already makes me enjoy it” which seems to be grammatically incorrect as what is enjoyed is God’s body (it would have to be: “Sacramento *Diospa vcunñatam machhichahuan*”, ‘The sacrament makes me enjoy

³⁰ It may derive from Aymara (Bertonio [1612] 1984, Ay-Sp: 211), or both Quechua and Aymara from some older form; the Anonymous dictionary (1586) has ‘to become soft, tasty’ for (s.v.) “machitmani”.

³¹ -*wan* is the transitional form to mark third person subject to first person object: ‘he/she/it (to) me’ (González Holguín [1607] 1975, I. II, cap. XL: fol. 76r).

God's interior/body [object]'), because it is not God's body which makes one enjoy the sacrament (2). This was a confusing way to explain the concept.

But on the whole we can see how the Holy Communion, central element of which is the ingestion of the Host,³² is compared to delicious food, and the mention of God at the same time guarantees that it is related to spiritual enjoyment.³³ If this was taught comprehensibly to the new flock, it would have been difficult for the indigenous people to compare this kind of ritual to their own kind of offerings where the communication with the deity was the main objective (as it is still today, e.g. Pachamama, in Gow and Condori eds. 1976: 5-12), whereas here it is the ingestion of this deity. Thus, it seems that in these sentences little or no explicit relation is established between Andean and Christian rituals.

So far we have seen word-for-word translations, loanwords, extensions of meaning and metaphorical expressions as the means González Holguín uses to translate Christianity and to a certain degree enable it to be amalgamated. However, a fusion³⁴ becomes more evident and explicit in González Holguín's explanation of the Communion when he relates it with the Inca concept of travel provisions.

³² "In St. John he also says: 'The bread that I will give is my flesh, for the life of the world:' [footnote: John vi.52] the bread which he promises to give, he here declares to be 'his flesh'. A little after he adds: 'Unless you eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood, you shall not have life in you:' [footnote: John vi.54] and again, 'My flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed' [footnote: John vi.56]." (*Catechism of Trent* [1566] 1823, On the Sacrament of the Eucharist: 161).

³³ When chewing coca people will say that it is sweet (Lindsey Crickmay, personal communication, 17 January 2017), and contemporary offerings include different kinds of sweets, e.g. "tulsi mesa", 'sweet table' (from Spanish) (Fernández Juárez 1997: 89-90).

³⁴ 'Amalgamate' implies "the forming of a close union without complete loss of individual identities"; 'fuse' "oneness and indissolubility of the resulting product" (Merriam Webster Thesaurus 2018: <https://www.merriam-webster.com/thesaurus/fuse> [accessed 02.03.2018]).

E The Holy Communion is the Inca's travel provision

	González Holguín (1608, Qu-Sp: 348; 1989: 347)	Translation by SDS
	Quechua Spanish <u>Quechua in Spanish text</u> <u>underlined</u>	From Quechua (Q) From Spanish (S)
1	Tupacochor. ³⁵ Plancha de oro y piedras engastadas en que se ponía la <u>mazca paycha</u> que era la borla, que con <u>tupa cochor</u> hazían la corona Real del Inca.	Royal device (Q). Plate made of gold and inlaid stones on which the <u>mazca paycha</u> was set which was the tassel, which, together with the <u>tupa cochor</u> composed the Inca's royal crown (S).
2	Tupa yauri. ³⁶ El cetro real vara insignia real del Inca.	Royal sceptre (Q). The royal scepter, the staff, the royal insignia of the Inca (S).
3	Tupa. Dize cosa Real que toca al Rey.	Royal, noble (Q). Means something royal which is of the Inca.

³⁵ *Q'uchuy*, 'amusement', or *qhuchu*, 'meeting' (Lira 1944: 415 "'kochoy" and p. 539 "kkhocho" resp.) – but none of these seems to be related to González Holguín's expression, and I have not been able to locate the word in a chronicle. Lafone Quevedo (1892: 334) mentions the word with a question mark and seems to refer to Mossi's dictionary.

³⁶ This and related expressions, including "mazca paycha", with information about different colonial sources, are presented by Aranibar (1995: 396-397, 318) in his index to Pachacuti's chronicle.

4	<p>Tupa cocau.</p> <p>El viatico real, la comida que daua el Rey a los que embiaua, que era vna talega de mayz pequeña que por ser del Rey era de gran sustento porque vn grano quitaua la hambre, y comian vn grano al dia y hauian de boluer sin acabarse el viatico.</p>	<p>Royal travel provisions / victuals (Q).</p> <p>The royal travel provisions / Eucharist, the food the King gave to those he sent, which was a small sack of maiz, which – as it was from the King – was of great sustenance because one grain took the hunger away, and they used to eat one grain a day and had to come back without having finished the provisions / Eucharist (S).</p>
5	<p>Tupa cocau.</p> <p>Se dira el sanctissimo Sacramento al qual le conuienen mejor estas propiedades, de <u>tupa cocau</u> y con verdad. ...</p>	<p>Royal travel provision (Q).</p> <p>This is what the Holy Sacrament will be called; these characteristics of <u>tupa cocau</u> are most suitable for it, and this is rightly so (S).</p>
6	<p>Tupa.</p> <p>Es nombre de honor para honrrarse, o llamarse honrosamente, como nosotros dezimos Señor, <u>A tupay</u> o Señor, <u>A tupay</u> Dios, o Señor Dios, <u>tupay</u> San Pedro o Señor san Pedro.</p>	<p>Royal / noble (Q).</p> <p>It is a name of honour for someone to be honoured, or be named honourably, as we say Lord: <u>A tupay</u> or Lord; <u>A tupay</u> God, or Lord God; <u>tupay</u> Saint Peter, Oh Lord Saint Peter (S).</p>
7	<p>Tupa cuca.³⁷</p> <p>Coca de hoja menuda la mas sabrosa coca Real.</p>	<p>Royal coca (leaf) (Q).</p> <p>Coca of tiny leaves, the most delicious, royal coca (S).</p>

³⁷ Guaman Poma ([ca. 1615] 2001: 267 [269]) says that the Chinchaysuyus sacrificed, among other things, “tupa coca”.

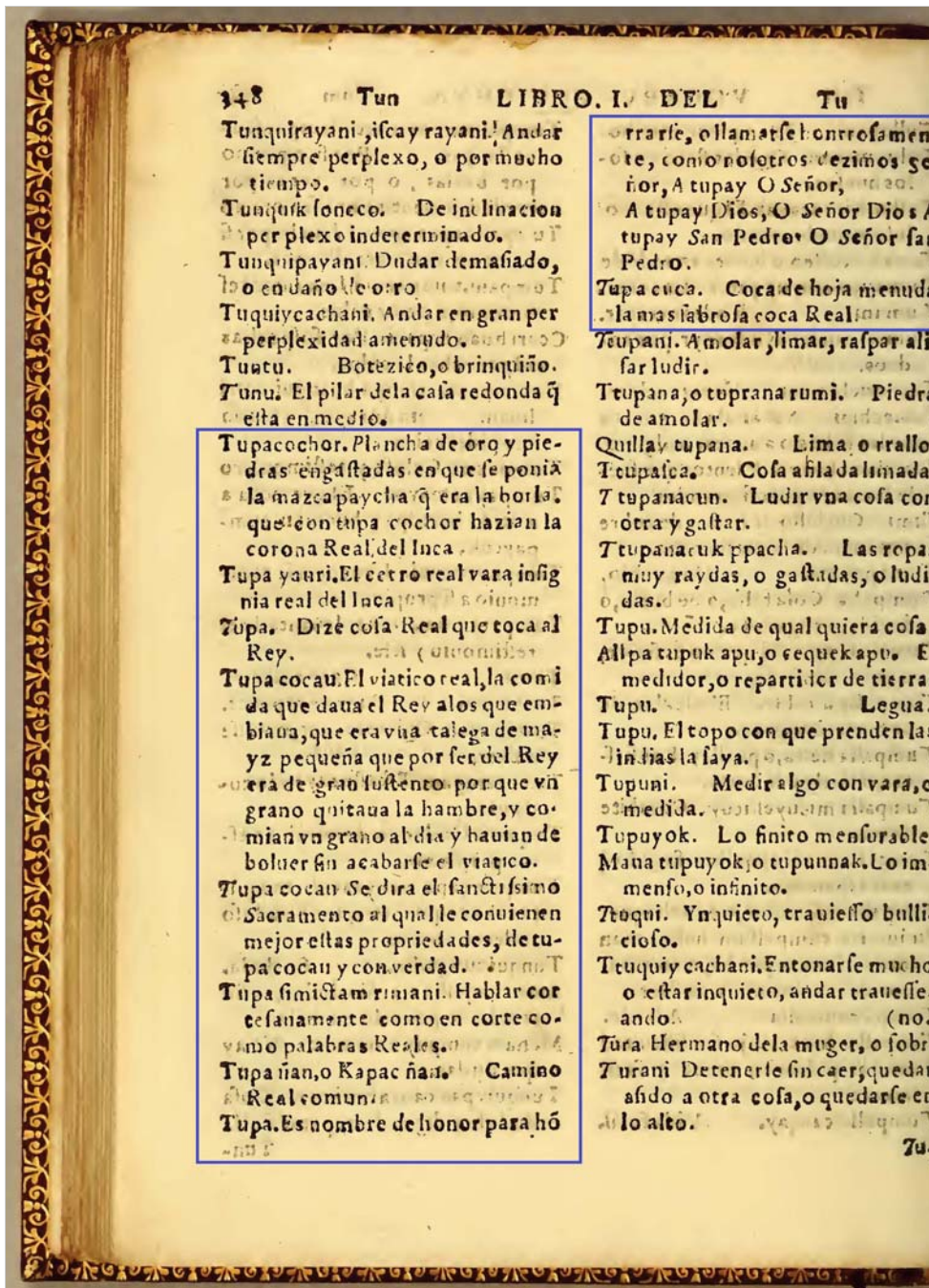


Illustration 1: González Holguín, *Vocabulario* 1608 (Qu-Sp: 348)

The central word González Holguín uses is *tupa*, which can be translated as ‘noble’, ‘honourable’, ‘precious’, and was above all used in prehispanic times for persons and objects relating to the Incas themselves. González Holguín recurs to the European concept of ‘royal’ in his explanations of the term itself (3) and several objects related to the Inca (the Inca’s headdress in 1, the Inca’s scepter in 2, and the special coca leaf³⁸ in

³⁸ The coca leaf (*Erythroxylon coca* [Allaby ed. 2013: s.v. *Erythroxylon*]) has a long tradition in the Andes – it is chewed as a stimulant, for stress relief, to reduce the

7). But by using the adjective 'royal', the concept of Inca nobility is related to Spanish nobility and also to Christian divinity, as a honorific title (6). It is evident here that for González Holguín there is no division between the political and the religious sphere. And thus he constructs a full circle: Spanish royal = Inca royal = divine, and implicitly the Incas can be seen as Christians.³⁹

However, the most interesting and explicit relation to the Eucharist is that of the travel provisions given by the Incas to their messengers (4). In trying to explain and find a word for the embodiment of the deity (Christ) in the ingested object (the Host), González Holguín equals it to the extraordinary character and strength the Inca provisions had. And he does so clearly and emphatically, justifying his translation: "se dira ... y con verdad", '[the Holy Sacrament] will be called [*tupa quqaw*, noble travel provision] ... and this is rightly so'.

But not only did his translation enable the missionaries to understand which Andean word could be used to convey the Christian concept; moreover they could have understood that the Inca object in question was, indeed, related to Christianity because 'viático' means both 'travel provision' and 'Eucharist'⁴⁰ – here the Christian and the Inca meaning almost seem to coincide.

What would the equivalence of the word for an object and concept of Inca culture with a Christian one have done to the Andean mind? Although we do not know in how far the Inca domination was still present in people's memory, we can suppose that they related *tupa* with concepts which were exclusively reserved for any kind of highly respected noble class. It is therefore understandable that González Holguín chooses this Quechua word, *tupa quqaw*, for the Holy Communion. Considering, however, the Inca's religious function as son of the Sun, the equivalence of the most important sacrament with the Inca's special food must have invited the integration of the Christian concept into the Andean one. In the worst (or best?!) case, indigenous people would not have known anymore what *tupa quqaw* was in Inca society and would have (only) been able to understand the Holy Communion as a very special food one would take with oneself on a trip (*quqaw*).

feeling of hunger; and it is used in healing and divination ceremonies, in offerings and for social purposes (cf. Allen [1988] 2002).

³⁹ As Serna (2006: [14]) points out, the chronicler Inca Garcilaso de la Vega and the Jesuits tried to explain that the indigenous people were inherently Christians (Garcilaso de la Vega 1609, I. II, cap. II: 27).

⁴⁰ Documented with both meanings in the *Diccionario de Autoridades* ([1739/VI], 1990/3: 474).

See also in the *Catechism of Trent* ([1566] 1823, On the Sacrament of the Eucharist: 147): "Sacred writers also frequently call it 'The Viaticum' as well because it is the spiritual food by which we are supported during our mortal pilgrimage".

González Holguín chooses a linguistic equivalent which he considers to be close in meaning to the concept he wants to translate, and this cultural substitution can have the impact on the indirect target group, the Andean people, that they relate their own concept with the new one. At the same time it can do the same to the immediate target group, the missionary who learns Quechua, i.e. he could relate the Andean concept to his own, Christian one.

As we will see, going even further than equating the miraculous Inca travel provision to the Eucharist, González Holguín directly identifies the baby llama the Incas sacrificed with the Lamb of God.

F The Eucharist is the Inca sacrifice of the baby llama

	González Holguín (1608, Qu-Sp: 160; 1989: 166)	Translation by SDS
	Quechua Spanish	From Quechua (Q) From Spanish (S)
1	Huaccar. Garça blanca cuelli larga pocas carnes. ...	Great white egret (Q). White heron with long neck and little flesh (S).
2	Huaccarpaña vña. Cordero blanco sin mancha para sacrificios.	White baby llama for sacrifice (Q). White lamb without spot for sacrifice (S).
3	Huaccarpaña [sic] vñanchic checamanta Iesuchristom casca. Nuestro verdadero Cordero y sacrificio es Jesucristo.	Our white baby llama for sacrifice is/was really Jesus Christ (Q). Our real Lamb and sacrifice is Jesus Christ (S).

The Great White or American Egret (*Ardea alba egretta*), called ‘garza’, ‘heron’ (1), is a large white bird that lives in wetlands and is native to the Americas.⁴¹ When one compares it to a white baby llama (2) (see Illustrations 2 and 3), the similarities in their whiteness and long necks are startling enough; moreover in the Andes this water bird is also linked to the mythical origin of the llama which came out of a fountain (Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz 1990: 183-184; Mariscotti 1978: 216, 221, 229). Although the etymology of “huaccarpaña” is unknown, it is quite obvious that this part of the word is related to the white bird; *uña* is a young animal, such as a lamb or baby llama.⁴² Whilst González

⁴¹ American Egret (1992-2016).

⁴² González Holguín 1608, Qu-Sp: 354, 1989: 355; see also González Holguín 1608, Sp-Qu: 78, 1989: 449: ‘White ram without spot which the Indians sacrificed ...’ (“Carnero blanco sin mancha que sacrificauan los indios, huaccarpaña”). In Aymara, Bertonio ([1612] 1984, Ay-Sp: 141) has “Huaccarpaña; Carnero blanco muy lanudo”, ‘very woolly white ram’, without mentioning its sacrificial aspect (the

Holguín’s translation of the bird is an accurate description of what he must have seen (1), the term “huaccarpaña vña” apparently only referred to the white baby llama as sacrificial animal (2) and was probably elicited from his consultants. We do not know whether this kind of sacrifice was still being made at the beginning of the 17th century, but the chronicler Cieza de León still witnessed it in the 1550s.⁴³ Despite the uncertain etymology the 'sacred' character of this animal moved González Holguín to suggest it as equivalent translation for Agnus Dei.



Illustration 2: Great Egret
(Ardea Alba 2009)



Illustration 3: Baby Llama ([2008])
(Courtesy of Tim Wellhausen)

verb “huacca-” means ‘to comb the wool by hand’, *ibid.*). It is possible that this is connected to the custom to use (still at present) the fine wool from the llama's neck to weave ceremonial garments (Lindsey Crickmay, personal communication, 17 January 2017). In Quechua *pañã* means ‘right hand, right-hand side’ (González Holguín 1608, Qu-Sp: 274, 1989: 277), but it is not an Aymara word (Bertonio [1612] 1984, Sp-Ay: 207). In Quechua the additive meaning of the elements as a word-for-word translation (*white heron – right-hand side) does not make much sense, and it is possible that the word as a whole (and its meaning in religious ritual) is a loan from another language (such as Puquina), possibly adapted through a folk-etymology.

⁴³ He wrote: ‘they brought a [llama] lamb up to one year of age without any spot, of one single colour ... stretched out on the ground alive, they removed its entire entrails from one side: and these were given to their diviners whom they called Guacacamayos [specialists in charge of the sacred], like priests among us. And I saw that certain of their Indians took hurriedly in their hands as much of the lamb’s blood as they could and spread it among the potatoes they had in the sacks’, “traxeron vn cordero de hasta vn año sin ninguna mancha todo de vna color ... tendido en el suelo biuo le sacaron por vn lado todo el assadura: y esta fue dada a sus agoreros, que ellos llamauan Guacacamayos, como sacerdotes entre nosotros. Y vi que ciertos indios de ellos lleuauan a priessa quanto más podían de la sangre del cordero en las manos, y la echauan entre las papas que tenían en los costales.” (Cieza de León [1553] 1984, cap. CXVII: 306). Cf. Molina, Mayo [ca. 1575] 2010: 47; Polo de Ondegardo cap. VI [1585b: fol. 9v], 1985b: 270.

In the Western biblical tradition, the white lamb, *Agnus Dei*, is a common element in the liturgy of the mass, a metaphor for the Eucharist, and as such it has also been widely used in iconography (see Illustrations 4 and 5).⁴⁴



Illustration 4:
Agnus Dei - The Lamb of God on the Book with Seven Seals. Iglesia de la Anunciación, Sevilla, España, 1616⁴⁵



Illustration 5:
The Lamb of God, by Juan Gerson.
Sotocoro, Temple of the Franciscan Ex-Convent of La Asunción de Nuestra Señora, Tecamachalco, Puebla, Mexico [1562] 1972

Thus, as the verbally and visually well known concept had to be expressed in Quechua, González Holguín decided to explain the Eucharist through the Andean concept of the sacrificial lamb. In this case, rather than a metaphor, he used the verb 'to be' (*ka-*) and the Quechua witness evidential (*-m/-mi*): "Huaccapaña [sic] vñanchic checamanta lesuchristom *casca*", 'Our white baby llama for sacrifice *is/was* really Jesus Christ – *I have seen it*' (3).⁴⁶ In this way he equates the Andean and the Christian concept, and although his Spanish translation seems, as equivalent, to render faithfully the Andean meaning he gives (3), the meaning of the Quechua term evokes a completely different cultural and ritual context from that of the Spanish word, each embedded in and associated with a different faith. The linguistic method he uses in equating "huaccarpaña

⁴⁴ For example, the Catechism refers to 1 Peter 1: 18-19: "... with the precious blood of Christ, as of a lamb unspotted and undefiled." (*Catechism of Trent* [1566] 1823, On the fourth article of the Creed: 50).

⁴⁵ *Agnus Dei* ([1616b] 2016); for a description see *Agnus Dei* ([1616a] 2012).

⁴⁶ Statements which in Quechua cannot carry this suffix because they could not possibly be witnessed, received this suffix as a kind of emphatic validator in Christian Quechua (Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz 1999b: 231-232).

uña” with “lamb and sacrifice” (see bolding in F3) fuses the Christian and the Andean explicitly.

To highlight the differences between the 'pagan' and Christian sacrifice, the authors of the sermon written by the Third Lima Council in the *Tercero Cathecismo* had noted that ‘we do not offer a llama, a young animal’, in Quechua: “manam llamactachu, manam vñactachu cocunchic” (sermon XIII [1585: fol. 73v]; 1985: 494)⁴⁷, but by negating the Andean ritual, they still evoked the comparison. González Holguín’s contextualisation of the Holy Communion in the Andean sacrifice is also more explicit compared to the *Doctrina Christiana* where the word *quku-*, ‘to offer’ (cf. Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz 2013: 232) is used to describe that Jesus Christ is the ultimate sacrifice (*Doctrina Christiana* [1584: fol. 49r]; 1985: 117). However, the *Doctrina* answer to what there is after the consecration of the sacrament states that it consists of the ‘real body and blood of Jesus Christ’, “el verdadero cuerpo y sangre de Iesu Christo”, quite literally translated into Quechua as “Iesu Christo apunchicpa checan vcun, checan yahuarinmi” (ibid. [fol. 48v]; p. 116,), ‘the real body, the real blood of our lord Jesus Christ’, which is, of course, not far from a possible Andean understanding of sacrifice.

Thus, almost a quarter of a century later González Holguín, a Jesuit like Acosta who was responsible for the *Doctrina Christiana* (Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz 2013: 50-51), explicitly refers to Inca sacrifices in order to explain the Agnus Dei. And although the Incaic sacrifice was supposed to be exterminated with the colonisation, people must have remembered it, and the fact that it was still carried out at least in the 1970s shows its vitality and continuity (Nachtigall 1975).

⁴⁷ In the letter to the Corinthians (1, 10: 14-21) it is made clear that the Communion has to be differentiated from the pagan sacrifice (*New Jerusalem Bible* 2015, http://www.catholic.org/bible/book.php?id=53&bible_chapter=10; *Biblia Sacra Vulgatae* 1592: 1010; cf. 1 Peter 1: 18-19, at <http://www.catholic.org/bible/book.php?id=67>; *Biblia Sacra Vulgatae* 1592: 1064). However, Christ’s quoted exhortation to ‘eat, this is my body’, “micuychic caymi ñocap vcuy” (*Tercero Cathecismo* [1585: fol. 74v], 1985: 496), may have had resonances of the entrails of an animal which was used for divination and which was then eaten.

G Christ's blood is Inca sacrificial painting

	González Holguín (1608, Qu-Sp: 285; 1989: 166)	Translation by SDS
	Quechua Spanish	From Quechua (Q) From Spanish (S)
1	Pirani. Era vna cerimonia que del carnero, o cordero que auian de sacrificar con la sangre nueva y fresca se embijauan con rayas en la cara, o cuerpo para tener parte en aquel sacrificio.	I ritually paint [someone] with blood (Q). It was a ceremony in which they painted in their faces or on their body lines with the new and fresh blood of the ram or lamb they had to sacrifice so that they could participate in that part of the sacrifice (S).
2	Pirascca. Los embijados, o sulcados con sangre, y se puede aplicar a nuestro cordero Christo.	Ritually painted with blood (Q). Those painted, or those with lines made of blood, and it can be applied to our Lamb of God (S).

Here González Holguín creates yet another cultural equivalent: the blood of a sacrificed animal used to paint one's body in Inca times (1) is, according to him, like the Lamb of God (2). There are numerous passages in the Bible which refer to the blood of Jesus. An interesting one, which links the Old and the New Testament and thereby gives us an idea of some of the similarities Andean and Old Testament religion showed, is the following:

But now Christ has come, as the high priest of all the blessings which were to come. He has passed through the greater, the more perfect tent, not made by human hands, that is, not of this created order; and he has entered the sanctuary once and for all, taking with him not the blood of goats and bull calves, but his own blood, having won an eternal redemption. The blood of goats and bulls and the ashes of a heifer, sprinkled on those who have incurred defilement, may restore their bodily purity. How much more will the blood of Christ, who offered himself, blameless as he was, to God through the eternal Spirit, purify our conscience from dead actions so that we can worship the living God.⁴⁸

These verses indicate the salvation of humankind through the offering of Christ's blood in the Eucharist ceremony, and González Holguín makes the transference of the word for

⁴⁸ *New Jerusalem Bible* 2015, Hebrews 9: 11-14, at http://www.catholic.org/bible/book.php?bible_chapter=9&id=65. Cf. *Biblia Sacra Vulgatae* 1592, p. 1055. For further passages see the *King James Bible* 2007, <https://www.kingjamesbibleonline.org/bible-verses-about-the-blood-of-jesus/>.

painting oneself with sacrificial animal blood to the Lamb of God completely explicit: “it can be applied” (2) – like the Inca travel provision as Holy Communion (E4). Again, he suggests more than the translation and application of an everyday word to a Christian concept: he makes an equation of Inca and Christian rites possible and thinks that it is acceptable.⁴⁹

Extreme Unction

In the 17th century the sacrament of the Extreme Unction was given to those who were about to die. The anointment of the sick or dying person served to prepare him for the meeting with God. It is therefore an important Christian ritual, and this is reflected in the fact that the 1585 *Tercero Catecismo* dedicated a whole sermon (17) to it (after a very brief treatment in the *Catecismo Mayor* of the *Doctrina Christiana* [1584: fol. 52v-53r; 1985: 124-125]). According to the authors it has three objectives: the pardon of all sins, to cure the body of its illness, and the strength to gain the coming battle with the Devil (ibid. [fol. 95r-96r], pp. 537-539).

H Extreme Unction and ritual ointment

	González Holguín (1608, Qu-Sp: 215, cf. 149; 1989: 166)	Translation by SDS
	Quechua <i>Spanish in Quechua text in italics</i> Spanish	From Quechua (Q) From Spanish (S)
1	Llussini o hauini. Vntar, o vngir. ⁵⁰ ...	I anoint or I spread a greasy substance (Q). To apply an oily substance (S).
2	Llussina hanpi. V[n]guentos o vnciones.	Herbal medicine to be applied as ointment (Q). Oily substances to be applied (S).
3	Llucsina [sic] <i>sacramento</i> . El sacramento de la extrema vncion. ⁵¹	The <i>Sacramento</i> to be applied as ointment (Q). The sacrament of the Extreme Unction (S).

⁴⁹ Durston (2007: 278-279) mentions two colonial hymns in which Christ is described as being inside the Host – yet another explanation which may have led to misunderstandings.

⁵⁰ *Diccionario de Autoridades* [1739/VI] 1990/4: 388, 394.

4	<i>Extremauncionhuan llussiy tucuni.</i> Ser vngido.	I am rubbed in with the <i>Extreme Unction</i> (Q). To be anointed (S).
5	<i>Sacramentohuan llussini.</i> Vngir o dar la extrema vncion.	I rub on the <i>Sacrament</i> (Q). To anoint or give the Extreme Unction (S).
6	<i>Sacramentohuan llussisca.</i> El vngido.	The one who is rubbed in with the <i>Sacrament</i> (Q). The anointed (S).
7	<i>Vya llussina.</i> Los afeytes,	The substance to rub on the face (Q). Embellishments (S).
8	<i>oyacta llussicuni.</i> Afeytarse.	I rub embellishment on the face (Q). To embellish/adorn oneself (S).

In this context, González Holguín uses the Quechua terms for ‘to rub a substance on the body’ (Spanish ‘untar’), i.e. *hawi-* or *llusi-*.⁵²

In a Quechua speaker, the usage of the Quechua words would at least have evoked the action itself. Therefore it seems to be an adequate choice to use *llusi-* in combination with the Spanish word, either ‘sacrament’ or ‘Extreme Unction’ (again, as loanwords), but it would only have evoked the physical aspect of rubbing a substance on the skin, not necessarily that of the ritual aspect for which González Holguín only uses loanwords.

⁵¹ From here onwards all the entries I have separated form one entry in González Holguín.

⁵² *Hawi-* and *llusi-* clearly refer to painting things or the face (González Holguín 1608, Qu-Sp [149], 1989 155-156; and 1608, Sp-Qu: 314, 1989: 686-687 resp., cf. Lira 1944: 236, 602). Of course, we do not know whether there was any kind of facial painting for embellishment only, without further ritual meaning, and González Holguín does not clarify this.

Santo Tomás has a number of words, of which *hawi-* means ‘to paint oneself with any kind of colour in general’ ([1560: fol. 6r] 1951: 18; fol. 137v, p. 292), and the same word also means that the woman paints herself with black oil (ibid. fol. 6r, p. 28) – this explains why *hawi-* is used in the sermon for the Extreme Unction: ‘he applies Holy Oil’, “sancto oliohuan hauin” (*Tercero Cathecismo* sermon XVIII [1585: fol. 95r], 1985: 537).

Similarly he used *pira-*, which refers to the painting of the face or body with fresh llama blood in a particular sacrifice ritual, to express the Lamb of God (G2). Several Spanish colonial sources describe the ritual anointment of adored people, objects or animals. Augustinian monks saw a ritual in Central Peru where, apparently in order to guarantee the fertility of maize, guinea pig blood was sprinkled on maize leaves. The rocks of a *huaca* (deity, sacred object) were rubbed with the blood of sacrificed guinea pigs; another *huaca* in the form of a stone was painted with the red colour of a certain tree.⁵³ Polo de Ondegardo mentions how sorcerers healed the sick by rubbing on their body the ointment of a guinea pig or frog's fat or meat, or plants such as maize, hoping for them to be healed. Other occasions where ointments were used were festivals, and Ondegardo also reminds us that the dead Incas' bodies were embalmed and their faces painted with the blood of children who were sacrificed on these occasions.⁵⁴ We can see that the ritual process of applying certain substances to the body was well known in Andean culture. This would have made it relatively easy to transfer the indigenous understanding to a Christian ritual, facilitating once again a fusion of both, and it is obvious from the examples that González Holguín used these interpretations intentionally.

Conclusion

By combining in his translations word-for-word equivalents, extensions of meaning and loanwords with Andean everyday and ritual terms, González Holguín created what one might call neologisms. But these are not lexical neologisms; rather, they are cultural parallels created through metaphors and the explicit equation of Christian and Andean beliefs. Andean words are used in these sentences, completely embedded in and surrounded by their own context so as to draw Christian terms and concepts into the Andean world. The purpose was obviously to integrate Andean elements into Christian faith more easily, but it also would have established parallels between both religions, which enabled Andean people to see their own rites as equal to Christian ones – a

⁵³ “... y allí las [flores del maíz] mochan y sacrifican un coy y a las hojas mismas echándoles la sangre encima” (Agustinos [1560/61: fol. 15v], 1992: 41); cf. “y ofresçiale coyos y untavan las peñas con la sangre” (ibid. fol. 7v, p. 22); “estava esta piedra e ydolo / muy enbixado, ques un colorado que allá tienen muy preçiado a manera de bermellón” (ibid. fol. 8r, p. 23).

⁵⁴ “Los enfermos se suelen embadurnar el cuerpo con mayz, o con otras cosas, o embadurnar a otros para sanar de sus enfermedades” (Polo de Ondegardo, cap. V, no. 11 [1585a, fol. 4v], 1985a: 260); “... vntandoles con sebo, o con carne, o grossura del Cuy, o Sapo, o de otras inmundicias, o con yeruas” (Polo de Ondegardo, cap. IIII [1585a, fol. 5r], 1985a: 257); cf. Polo de Ondegardo, cap. II, no. 12 [1585b: fol. 8r], 1985b: 267; cap. XIV [1585b: fol. 15v], 1985b: 282.

From a varied semantic field in the dictionaries and these Spanish sources one can conclude that the application of body colours and other ointments was important in Andean culture and that applying them was also a means of healing.

cultural substitution which worked both ways. Probably through its lack of orthodoxy this kind of cultural transference and convergence did not survive the colonial period, although it did reflect common practice of the time. Thus Polo de Ondegardo (cap. XIV [1585b, fol.15r-v]; 1985b: 282) had mentioned that the two systems were in use: indigenous ‘sorcerers’ employed Christian phrases and gestures and at the same time continued applying their own rituals; that is, only fifty years after the conquest the Andean people seemed to have learned to combine both types of rituals which superficially did probably not seem to be very different from each other to them.

On the linguistic level, what initially was a translation/transference of Christian metaphors into Quechua became a re-interpretation of Christian forms within the Andean cultural framework. Whereas the other colonial missionaries chose loanwords or literal translations, González Holguín is the only author (ancient and modern) who re-contextualised Christian and Andean terms and concepts by translating the key terms into Quechua and creating metaphors⁵⁵ based on the Andean culture, and thus, in a way, making it possible to bring two different visions of the world together through textual images.

Thus we can see in three cases, “tupac cocau”, “huaccarpaña vña” and “pirascca”, how González Holguín used the Andean words, fraught with cultural and religious meanings of the Inca era, to integrate the most central meaning of Christianity, that of the Eucharist, into the Andean world – and not the other way round! Linguistically he made his choice clear by assigning the Christian meanings explicitly to the Andean words by using ‘is’, ‘will be called’ and ‘can be applied’, and by integrating them into Quechua sentences. It is therefore clear that González Holguín took a conscious decision rather than making an intuitive translation.⁵⁶

This finds its support in González Holguín’s recontextualisation of Quechua words and concepts through his supposedly Christian interpretation and it makes the fusion process practically an orthodox one. It means that, at least in these examples, González Holguín explicitly creates Christian Quechua concepts which aim at combining or amalgamating Andean and Christian beliefs. However, whilst rituals themselves which combined elements from both beliefs, have persisted through the centuries (e.g. Marzal 1992; Albó 1999), González Holguín’s unorthodox translations did not become part of Quechua Christian discourse.⁵⁷ There is no documentation as to why this was the case,

⁵⁵ It would be interesting to study if and how the sermons written by 17th century priests make use of metaphors.

⁵⁶ In their religious texts, other missionaries used the Spanish loanwords for Host (*Doctrina Christiana*, Catecismo Mayor, de los sacramentos [1584: fol. 46r], 1985: 111) as do contemporary hymns (Durston 2010: 151).

⁵⁷ 20th century massbooks use the loanwords introduced by the Third Lima Council in the 1580s, e.g. the Eucharist is the ‘unique sacrifice’, “Sacrificio singular”, translated into Quechua as ‘principal sacrifice’, “sacrificio collanam” (*Doctrina cristiana en quechua* [between 1958 and 1963]: 52); similarly ‘Holy Communion’, “Santa Comunion” in Quechua, and ‘Most Holy Sacrament of the Altar’, “Santísimo Sacramento Altarpi” (ibid. 54). Equally in (Protestant) Bible translations Agnus Dei

for example critical Church comments as to an unorthodox usage of language. On the contrary, the dictionary was approved by the Real Audiencia and by the Church because – so wrote the Jesuit Juan Vázquez in his *Aprobacion* in 1607 – it has

examined and inquired particularly well the words and their use and easy accommodation to ours, and of their phrases and ours, everything so appropriately that I hope that it will be of much help for the priests and those who would like to use [it] in the preaching of the Holy Gospel in order to promote faith and good customs. This is because this work has a very large amount of terms and words which have now been adapted to the spiritual in order to declare the mysteries of our holy faith, vices and virtues which the language lacked.⁵⁸

Rather than having difficulties because of his unorthodox translations which contributed to amalgamating the religions, probably few parish priests used the dictionary because they may generally have relied on the Quechua Christian Doctrine of the Third Lima Council and lacked the time and interest to verify the translation of certain key terms in a comprehensive book which – moreover – does not seem to have been easily available.

The difference in the translation of key Christian concepts in the Third Lima Council texts, directed by the Jesuit José de Acosta, and that of González Holguín, Jesuit as well, also shows that there does not seem to have been a clear strategy adopted by a certain religious order.

With respect to the impact González Holguín's work might have had, there is no evidence documented in writing that it influenced the development of what is now called 'Andean religion', but it does seem probable that the fusion we see here may have been supported orally by his indigenous consultants who represented the contact the two religions had from early on. Thus, in a way González Holguín's translations reflect the practice of the indigenous people of amalgamating European and Andean culture, which began almost as soon as the Christianisation.

is translated using a loanword (John 1: 29), e.g. 'God's lamb', "Diospa Corderon" (*Señorninchis Jesucristoq Mosoq Rimanakuynin* 1966: 297), or 'God' combined with the Quechua word for 'young animal': "Diospa Chitanta" (*Senorninchik Jesucristopa Musuq Testamenton*, John 1: 29, 1958: 261).

We do not know if González Holguín's terminology was not accepted because it was not considered orthodox or simply because the discourse used in early doctrinal materials was easier to continue to employ than the words presented in a dictionary (re-edited for the first time only in 1842 [Hamerly 2011: 46]), which would have needed some analytic effort.

⁵⁸ Translation SDS; "particular examen y aueriguacion de la propiedad de los vocablos, y el vso y acomodacion facil de ellos a los nuestros, y de sus frases y nuestras, todo con tanta propiedad que espero ha de ser de mucha ayuda a los Curas y a los que se quisieren emplear en la predicacion del santo Evangelio para el aumento de la fee y buenas costumbres por tener esta obra grandissima copia de terminos y vocablos nueuamente acomodados a lo espiritual para la declaracion de los mysterios de nuestra sancta fee, vicios, y virtudes de que tenia falta la lengua".

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In this paper I refer to the English editions for easier understanding. There was no Spanish translation of the Bible recognised by the Catholic Church

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