



Jacques de Mahieu

EL IMPERIO VIKINGO DE TIAHUANACU

EDITORIAL DE LA CASA DE THARSIS

THE VIKING EMPIRE OF TIAHUANACU

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THE VIKING EMPIRE OF TIHUANACU

(America before Columbus)



*Publisher:
Casa de Tharsis*

THE VIKING EMPIRE OF TIAHUANACU

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This work was completed
in Cochabamba, Bolivia, in April 2013.

LIMITED EDITION

FIRST EDITION

Director of the collection: José Manuel Infinita

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Photographs from the Institute of Human Sciences. Collection design:
Manuel Domingo

Ediciones de Nuevo Arte Thor Gala

Placidia 1,08006 Barcelona.

Printer: Hipercolor S.A., Badalona. Printed in
Spain. ISBN: 84-7327-102-5

Legal deposit: B-12.419-1985.

LATEST EDITION

2013 THARSIS HOUSE PUBLISHING: COCHABAMBA

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Printed in Cochabamba, Bolivia

Editorial Casa de Tharsis

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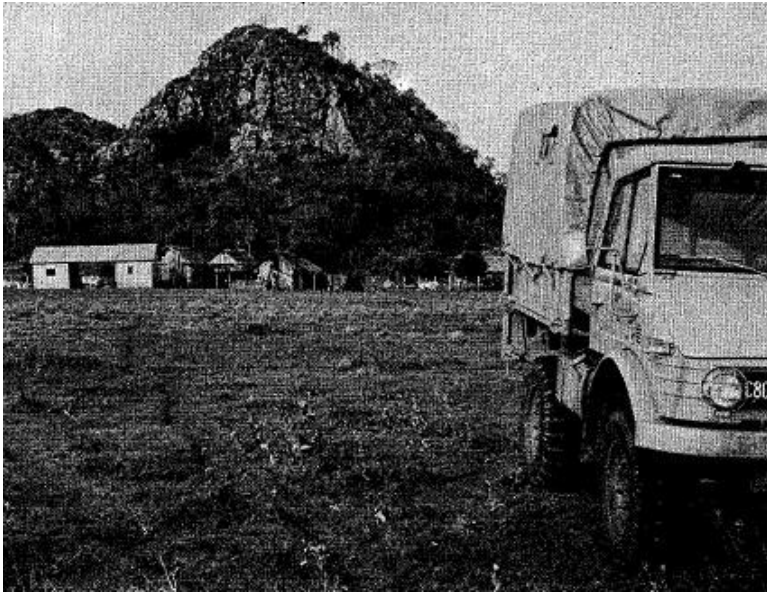
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Jaques de Mahieu, examining the foundations of the Viking temple in Tacuatí, Paraguay.



Cerro Peró, 'The dwelling place of the White King Ipir', in Amanbay, Paraguay.



"Olif, brave man, to Ull of the place," runic inscription from Cerro Guazú, Paraguay.

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FOREWORD TO THE BOLIVIAN EDITION

It is now widely known, as people gradually realise, that official 'history' has been distorted, mutilated and altered, and that, as a result, it no longer constitutes a valid reference point for undertaking the long-awaited political and social restoration that all societies yearn for, which is now more urgent than ever, given the rapid decline that humanity is currently experiencing.

It is inexplicable that a book such as the one we have the honour of prefacing, full of vital information that can change the way we see the world and ourselves, has been discontinued and has almost disappeared from the cultural sphere. Above all, here in the Andes, this book could generate a social revolution of unprecedented magnitude, since the paradigms on which national life is based are riddled with racism, hatred and prejudice against those who are not of white race; Simply put, a large percentage of the Andean population does not appear at all in population censuses, having been branded as remnants of a "conquest" full of treachery and evil, and thus deprived of the right to even be recognised as an ethnic minority.

However, the information in this book shows that white peoples inhabited America centuries before the supposed 'discovery', and that these populations contributed a wealth of cultural heritage, so vast and mystical that it is still preserved in the Andes, in the myths, legends and folklore of all the American peoples. The Bolivian diablada and other Andean dances are irrefutable proof of this. And therein lies the virtue of "The Viking Empire of Tiahunacu", the work of this great Argentine anthropologist, archaeologist, philologist and researcher of French origin, Don Jaques de Mahieu, who compiled information on countless trips through Mexico, Guatemala, Peru, Bolivia, Paraguay and Argentina, following the trail of the Vikings in America and their extraordinary legacy, history, vicissitudes and horrific end at the hands of a Diaguita rebellion led by Chief "Kari" in the 13th century, which devastated the Third Tiahuanacu Empire.

The brief information we have provided in the preceding paragraphs alone debunks the entire "history" that is repeatedly instilled in us

through repetition in schools and universities. Behind the misnamed "discovery" lies much more than a desire to find another route to the East Indies and subjugate backward peoples. With the arrival of the conquistadors came a priestly caste that sought to erase the traces of humanity's Atlantean past and its Andean connection.

Likewise, behind this intolerant racism of the "non-white" Amerindian towards the "white" man, there is an ancestral hatred rooted in centuries of intolerance and antagonism between royal castes, since it was the misnamed "Incas" when the empire was in clear decline who tried to erase all traces of Viking influence in the culture and tradition of the Andean peoples.

In this era of equality and anti-discrimination laws, it is our duty to be fair and honest, since now, all this biased paraphernalia, supposedly anti-xenophobic and anti-racist, constitutionalised and pompously legalised, only applies when the "white" person, by expressing an attitude, even a fair one, offends a "non-white" person. In this sense, recently in Bolivia, the government in power offended hundreds of thousands of people by discriminating against them in the latest census, and no one said or did anything to rectify this attitude, which is indeed xenophobic, racist and intolerant, on the part of a majority that, for circumstantial reasons, has control of the state apparatus, against a minority that also has rights and virtues that must be taken into account and respected.

May this book serve to expose all those hypocrites who hide behind ignorance of the historical truth destroyed by centuries of obscurantism and religious, political, social and economic persecution.

Likewise, may this book serve to turn our eyes to our ancestral past and thus change our present and, with it, achieve better days for this America of races, suffering, multicultural, plurinational and multi-ethnic.

Cochabamba, 15 April 2013. The Editors ores.

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PRELIMINARY NOTE

In the course of research that has lasted more than thirty years and is far from over, we have solidly established, with tangible evidence that no one has ever been able to refute, the presence of Schleswig Vikings in Mesoamerica and South America long before Columbus. In our six previous works, one of which has not yet been published in Spanish (*Les Templiers en Amérique*, Editions Robert Laffont, Paris, 1981), we presented the facts as they were discovered. The time has come to give an overview of them and to take stock.

Our readers, both old and new, will find in the following pages not merely a summary of the results previously achieved, but a systematic presentation of the conclusions we have reached. Today, we are able to present a history of the Viking empire of Tiahuanacu that is similar, in terms of its elaboration, to that of any other civilised country of the Middle Ages. In accordance with standard practice, we have avoided, except in a few cases, bibliographical references to sources, which can be found in our previous studies: they would have unnecessarily hindered our development.

All research involves trial and error, followed by corrections. We have not hesitated here to correct ourselves whenever we have noticed an error in our previous presentations. This is how we give the name Viracocha, the deified hero of Peru, a more satisfactory etymology than that which appears in *The Great Journey of the Sun God*, just as we modify our estimate of the number of whites in the Tiahuanaco empire, which was the subject of a mere—and unforgivable—calculation error in *Drakkars in the Amazon*. and how, on the basis of more in-depth analysis, we have specified the dates of the Vikings' arrival in Peru, their first return voyage to Europe, the destruction of the Old Empire, and the founding of the New. These are, however, merely details that in no way affect our previously stated conclusions; on the contrary, they reinforce them.

In our transcriptions of terms belonging to American languages, we have followed the rules currently in force for Nahuatl in Mexico, Aymara in Bolivia, and Guaraní, with

two exceptions, in Paraguay; while for Quechua, the instability of the rules applied in Peru, where it is the official language, and the lack of agreement between the countries - Peru, Ecuador, Bolivia and Argentina - where it is still spoken, has led us to use the transcription method established by the chroniclers of the Spanish Conquest. However, when it differs from these, we have maintained the common spelling of place names still in use and, in particular, the prosodic accent that is added to them, where applicable. As for the names of American races, peoples and tribes, we have respected the Spanish plural ending in s only when they have historical significance or when they have come down to us in a Europeanised form that makes it impossible for us to reconstruct their correct spelling.

The philological analyses are due to Professor Hermann Munk, head of the Department of Germanic Philology at the Institute of Human Sciences, which we direct in Buenos Aires; the few, but very important, translations from archaic Guaraní are due to Professor Vicente Pistilli, director of the Paraguayan Institute of Human Sciences.

J.de M.

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I

THE GREAT JOURNEY

The year is 967 AD, on a certain summer day. Seven sleek ships, their sides covered with shields glistening under the tropical sun, approach Panutlán, a small fishing port that has been called Pánuco since the Spanish conquest, located on the Gulf of Mexico in what is now the state of Veracruz. Some of them, rowing with their sails full, plant their prows in the sand. Tall, white, blond, bearded men leap onto the beach, swords or battle axes in hand. For Jarl Ullman's Vikings, this is the end of an uneventful voyage. It is also the starting point of an incredible epic that will unfold over the course of some five hundred years.

We should not be surprised to find, in the second half of the 10th century, the fleet of a sea king on the shores of what, at the cost of an anachronism, we have no choice but to call America. In Scandinavia, the age of great adventures is not over. But gone are the days when, during the summer, while the Swedes penetrated Russia via the Dnieper and Volga rivers, Norwegians, Danes and Frisians launched themselves on the British Isles and sailed up the Elbe to Hamburg, the Rhine to Cologne and Bonn, the Loire to Orléans, the Garonne to Toulouse, the Tagus to Lisbon, the Guadalquivir to Seville and, with seven hundred ships and forty thousand men, the Seine to Paris. The Vikings had not yet renounced violence, but they had accepted the Western way of life. Scotland, Ireland, Northumbria, East Anglia and Normandy belonged to them, and there the pirates of yesterday had become feudal lords, desiring, if not peace, at least order and justice. This colonisation is both the effect and the cause of a monarchical centralisation, which is otherwise very relative, imposing a pyramidal hierarchy in the metropolis as well as in the conquered territories, which is very difficult to bear for the jarls who, until then, enjoyed absolute autonomy in their odals and on their ships. Hence, the rebels, those who could not adapt to the new order, and the second sons of large families, excluded from feudal inheritance, desperately sought new areas of settlement, which they could only find in the West. Thus, around 860, we see the Norwegian Ingolf settling in Iceland, a well-known island that had been frequented for centuries by anchorites.

Irish who had several convents there, and, in 986, Eirik the Red settled in Greenland with numerous families. Shortly after the year 1000, Leif Eiriksson and his brothers landed in Vinland, present-day New England, and founded colonies there which, despite what has been said, lasted four hundred years.

In the 10th century, the existence of America was well known in Western Europe. The ancient texts that mention it, written by Aristotle, Strabo, Seneca, Macrobius, Plutarch, Diodorus Siculus and others, continued to be read, at least in Latin, in educated circles in the early Middle Ages. In the 7th century, Isidore of Seville proclaimed it. From the 9th century onwards, the *Navigatio Sancti Brandani* circulated in convents and castles, recounting the real (as it seems) or imaginary journey of the abbot of Clairfert to Central America in the year

536. Perhaps the Vikings, still pagans, were unaware of all this. But they knew very well, and their sagas recount, that Ari Marsson was carried by a storm in 963 to Huitramannaland —the 'Land of the White Men'— or Great Ireland, populated by Celts who held him there and baptised him, and that Norwegian sailors saw him and then went to America themselves. Other episodes of the same nature must have occurred earlier, as they would occur later. In 986, Bjarni Heijulfsson, swept away by a storm while travelling from Iceland to Greenland, would sail along what would soon be called Vinland and tell Eirik the Red about it. In 1004, Thorir and his men were rescued after their shipwreck by Leif Eiriksson, who had just begun his return journey from the new colony. In 1029, Gudleif Gudlangsson, pushed westward, landed in America and, to his great surprise, found Bjorn Asbrandsson, the Champion of Breidavik, exiled in 999, who rescued him from the Irish who were plotting to harm him. Since regular voyages had been made between Norway and Iceland since 967, a hundred years earlier, it was inevitable that drakkars, ships that were very seaworthy but whose short keels and square sails prevented them from sailing into the wind, would have been driven against the shores of the 'new' continent. And, in all likelihood, much earlier still, since for three thousand years or more the Scandinavians had been sailing the Atlantic in boats which, judging by the friezes of the Egyptian temple of Medinet-Habu, which show them to us in 1200 BC, were not very different from those of the 10th century.

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Only very recently, thanks to the extraordinary work of Jürgen Spanuth, has science shed some light on the ancestors of the Vikings. Indeed, the ancients told us of the Hyperboreans who supplied amber to Egypt and Mycenae and whom the Masaliot Pytheas had visited in 330 BC. And it was not unknown that the Achaeans and Dorians had come from the countries of the Far North, with whom the former maintained contacts that were not exclusively commercial. We now know that, at the end of the Neolithic period and in the Bronze Age, a vast empire, whose capital was Basiléia, also called Abalus, was located on a large island, submerged in the last quarter of the 13th century BC, which was situated in the North Sea and of which only the rock of Helgoland remains today. An empire whose federated nations covered not only the area of Nordic culture – southern Sweden and Norway, Denmark, Friesland and Northern Saxony – but also southern Spain (Gadiros, or Tartessos), North Africa and Europe as far as the Tyrrhenian Sea. An empire whose diverse peoples were ruled by an aristocracy of Nordic race, whose origins date back to the Cro-Magnon men, and of Indo-European culture, since it is responsible for pre-Runic writing, the mother of all alphabets in Europe, the Middle East and North Africa, whose first traces appear in the Magdalenian period.

They were the builders of megaliths, whose monuments are found on the shores of the Atlantic and the Mediterranean and, much further afield, in Insulindia, Korea and even Polynesia, fused, at the beginning of the Bronze Age, with the axe men, invaders of the same origin but more warlike. A race of sailors, as evidenced by the incursion of the North Sea Peoples who, expelled from their flooded lands, launched, at the end of the century...

13th century BC, a powerful fleet against Athens and Egypt. Warriors, yes, but also farmers and merchants who sold, for their weight in gold, the amber that their carts and ships transported along perfectly mapped routes to the Mediterranean. We only know their history, or almost, from Egyptian sources: the account handed down to us by Plato, with a serious error in the date due to an incorrect translation, made to Solon by the priests of Sais, some papyri and the inscriptions at Medinet Habu. In short, the statements of Hyperborean and Libyan prisoners of war, recorded by their victors. The high cultural level, power and prosperity of the empire are attested to, however, in Scandinavia, by

tangible elements: on the one hand, the treasures left to us by burial mounds, with their furniture, weapons, statuettes, trumpets and jewellery; on the other hand, the rock carvings that show us, not the image of the Magna Mater from the megalithic era, but the gods of fertility and war, with erect phalluses and axes in their hands, surrounded by solar symbols in the form of discs or wheels, sometimes isolated, sometimes supported by a ship or a chariot.

The cataclysms of the late 13th century marked the beginning of a long period of decline due, in large part, to the cooling of the region, but also, in the course of the last centuries before our era, to the anarchic expansion of the Celts in Western Europe, which cut off the amber routes. First the Cimbri and Teutons, then the Lombards, Burgundians and Goths, pushed southwards, where they clashed with the Romans. Soon, however, thanks to the latter, trade was revived and prosperity returned to Scandinavia, aided by a milder climate. The collapse of the Empire once again brought an end to the export of amber. Internal conflicts between tribes or between lords, and even outright banditry, aggravated the crisis. The Angles, Jutes and Saxons invaded Great Britain, while other tribes, in successive waves, joined the continental Germanic peoples in their march southwards. Paradoxically, the anarchy that reigned in the West soon favoured the Scandinavian peoples, who were not threatened in any way. From the 5th century onwards, and for three hundred years, there was a golden age: trade and piracy concentrated much of Europe's treasure in the ports of the two peninsulas. Cities of some importance sprang up on the shores of the Baltic. The odals began to federate under the pressure of the most ambitious and politically gifted jarls. In the 7th century, the demographic expansion caused by renewed prosperity and the discontent aroused in many lords by the new social order created a tension whose consequences we already know: the Viking era was beginning.

History is usually written by the victors. The history of the Scandinavian pirates who ravaged Western Europe in the 9th and 10th centuries was written by the victims, but this did not, of course, make it any more impartial.

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impartial. At that time, writing was known almost exclusively in convents. Now, the Vikings preferred to plunder monasteries and churches. This was not out of religious hatred: the pagans were very tolerant and, when Christianity began to spread in Scandinavia, they did not bother its followers at all. They were even exempted from attending ceremonies, which were compulsory for others, as these could violate their faith. The looters were simply attracted by the treasures contained in buildings that, for them, were no more sacred than castles. It is not surprising, then, that they left bad memories for ecclesiastical historians, who have presented them to us as agents of Satan. Only very recently have people begun to weigh up the pros and cons.

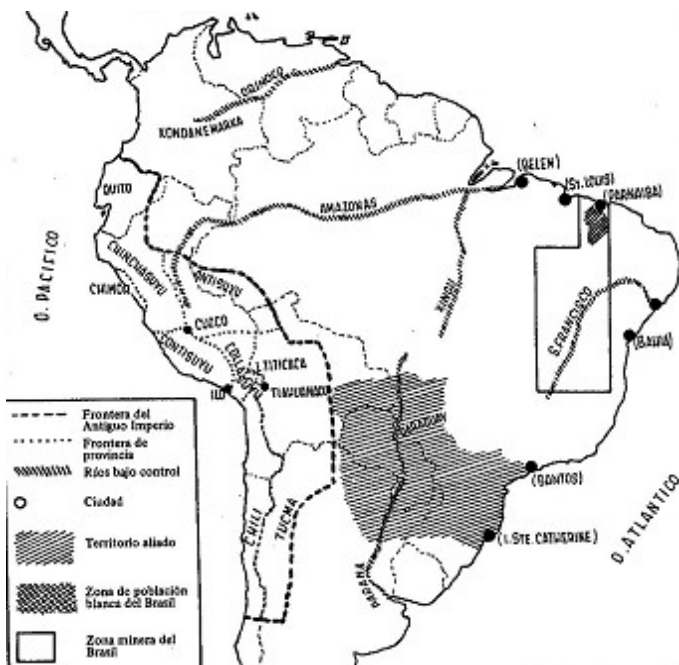
The Vikings were neither angels nor demons: they were simply men of their time, of a violent era not given to sentimentality. What we call piracy was for them no more than an activity as laudable as privateering was for the English or French in the 17th century. The land was tilled in autumn and spring, expeditions were undertaken in summer, and winter was spent in feasting and merrymaking: this was the norm, following the rhythm of the seasons. These rough warriors, whose morals were based entirely on heroism, loyalty and camaraderie, respected defenceless populations, but treated those who resisted them as they treated each other in the course of sporadic conflicts that violently pitted gangs and clans against each other. They were no more tender towards the Franks than Charlemagne was towards the Saxons, whom he converted to Christianity through... forceful arguments. And if it seemed normal to them to appropriate the gold and women of the vanquished, we can understand this by remembering that not so long ago the right to plunder, recognised for regular armies, was abolished by international agreements, which were not always respected, of course.

That said, the Vikings were not savages. Their mythology was very similar to that of the Greeks, from which it was derived. The poems of their skalds were every bit as good as the romances of the Frankish troubadours. The history books we owe them – the sagas – unknown in Western Europe until the last century, are more accurate and better written than those left to us in Latin by the monks of the time.



Runic inscription in Sete Cidades, Brazil, in the style of the Danish sámstavsruner: 'the intelligent bearded men near their residence on the Plain'.

Below, location of the Tiahuanacu Empire.



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Their weapons and goldwork attest to a refined and entirely original artistry. Their naval architecture produced some of the best-designed ships of all time. And although, due to their lack of stone, they did not build large buildings, at least in Scandinavia, that would have survived to the present day, the wood carvings that have been preserved reveal a creative ability in their authors that places them at least on a par with the sculptors of the West.

Ullman, whom we have seen disembark in Mexico with his people, was a jarl like so many others who, in the 10th century, had gathered under his consenting authority, with a view to some adventure, a flotilla of drakkars and knerrir whose captains had made up the crews with their men and volunteer friends. He was a native of Schleswig, a region that today straddles a somewhat unstable German-Danish border, where Danes and Saxons lived together without problems. And even Frisians, for the territory in question at that time extended well beyond the borders assigned to it on our maps. In fact, the descendants of the expeditionaries spoke, in America, a dialect intermediate between Norse - the old Danish-Norwegian - and Old Low German, without us being able to know whether the members of the primitive group already used it as such before departure or whether the common life of Danes and Saxons in the "New World" had been the cause of its formation. However, our Vikings did not come directly from continental Europe. They had been recruited—at least some of them—in England, in the Danelaw that King Alfred the Great had ceded to the Danes in 886, where so many traces of the Scandinavian settlement remain, in stone and in language. We have proof of this, as the futhark that the emigrants used in their South American inscriptions contained some characters taken from the Anglo-Saxon futhoro, that is, the runic 'alphabet' as it had been modified in Great Britain to make it suitable for transcribing the local language.

Ullman knew where he was going. Had he based his expedition on some Hyperborean tradition, later lost, or on Irish accounts that were more accurate than those that have come down to us? Or, on the contrary, had he gathered information from the captain of a drakkar swept away by a storm, such as Leif Eiriksson of Sjarni? In

In any case, we must rule out the hypothesis of an involuntary arrival in America: caught on the high seas by bad weather, their drakkars would have separated with no possibility of regrouping. Nor was it a mere voyage of exploration: several ships were never used for this purpose, as the risk would have been unnecessarily multiplied. Nor was it an attempt at colonisation, as the ships did not carry cattle, as those of Thorfinn Karlsefni would do in 1007 with a view to establishing a permanent settlement in Vinland. But Ullman did have horses on board, as was customary for a conquest expedition. He was therefore aware that he was heading for an inhabited country where, perhaps, he would have to fight.

In fact, in the 10th century, the enormous triangle of land we now call Mesoamerica was densely populated by a mosaic of tribes of Mongoloid origin, related by race but very different from a cultural point of view. In the south, the Maya formed a compact and homogeneous bloc, isolated from their neighbours by language. There, as further north on the Pacific coast, Asian influences had given rise, a thousand years earlier, to a civilisation that had reached a considerable level of development, as evidenced by the monuments it left behind, the pottery found beneath the ruins and the codices thanks to which we know the beliefs and customs of peoples now extinct. On the plateau that, due to an ancient misinterpretation, bears the name Anáhuac ("near the sea"), a recently immigrated tribe had created a kingdom south of Lake Texcoco, on whose shores Mexico City stands today. It belonged to the same Nahuatl linguistic group as the Chichimecas—including the Aztecs—those nomadic hunters who had not yet arrived from the north. The members of this tribe, known to us as the Toltecs ("people of Tula, or Tollán"), would soon become the talk of the town. On the tropical Atlantic coast, south of present-day Veracruz, there was a people whose Neolithic culture, quite advanced but somewhat mysterious, dated back at least two thousand years. We do not know much about them, as by the time of the Conquest they had been absorbed by the Aztecs, who even took away their language. North of these Olmecs, made famous by the excavations at La Venta and Tres Zapotes, were the Huastecs, who occupied the area around Panutlán (Pánuco) and whose

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culture would only develop from the 11th century onwards, and the Totonacs were practically vassals of their neighbours.

The name that Spanish chroniclers attributed to the Olmecs¹ is the one given to them by the Nahuas of the plateau. For this reason, the roots of Olmec were sought in *ca*, 'people', and *ulli* or *olli*, as the *u* and *o* are confused in American languages, which means 'rubber' in Nahuatl. Such an analysis is unacceptable. On the one hand, the area where the rubber tree grows is located much further south, in the heart of Mayan country. On the other hand, in Olmec, for the word to have the meaning of 'people of the rubber', there is one syllable too many. Finally, we know that the Mayans attributed the Toltecs' place of origin to a certain "Pais del Olman" and that, later, the high officials of Mayapan, their second capital, were required to speak the "language of Olman". The syllable *me* in Olmec is therefore nothing more than a somewhat distorted contraction of *man*, which has no meaning in any of the languages of Mexico. Now, the Vikings landed in Pánuco and the first Indians they encountered were Huastecs subjugated by the Olmecs. And it so happens that Ullman - "the man of Ull", god of hunters in Germanic mythology - is a well-known Scandinavian name. Olmec therefore means 'people of Ullman', while the 'Land of Olman' of the Maya was none other than the land of origin, not of the Toltecs, but of the Schleswig Vikings who, as we shall see, had subjugated them. Thus we know the name of the jarl who, in 967, landed at Panutlán.

The expression "people of Ullman" to designate the inhabitants of the coast suggests that the agreement between the Norse and the indigenous people was made

¹ Not to be confused with the highly civilised people to whom archaeologists give the same name.

very quickly and that they willingly accepted the authority of the newcomers. Not so long ago, monks from Huitramannaland, peaceful men among all, preached the Gospel in the region. There was therefore no reason for the Indians to consider the white men as enemies. Otherwise, the Vikings would probably not have been able to settle in Mexico. In fact, there were no more than about seven hundred men and women. This is only an approximation, but it is solidly based. We know that a drakkar or a knórr of the time could carry up to one hundred and forty people, including crew members. However, such numbers would not have been reached on an ocean crossing. The Eiriks Saga Rauda gives us a precise indication in this regard: when Thorfinn Karlsefni set out to colonise Vinland in the early 9th century, he had three ships carrying sixty crew members, some of them, as was customary, with their wives, and one hundred settlers of both sexes. But they also carried "livestock," including cows and at least one bull, duly mentioned in the account of the expedition, which obviously had to take up considerable space (in ships without decks, in the case of drakkars, or with decks only at the bow and stern, if the fleet was composed of knerrir, and in both cases, with little draught). We find no trace of cattle in pre-Columbian Mexico. Ullman, therefore, had only loaded his ships with war horses, accustomed to this kind of transport, and dogs, which took up no space. We can therefore estimate the total number of people on each ship to be around 100 on average. Whatever the proportion and fighting capacity of the women who were part of it, and despite the superiority of their weaponry, such a force would not have been enough to prevail over warlike populations such as those surrounding Panutlán.

In any case, even if the first contact between the Vikings and the Indians had led to some skirmishes, which is unlikely, excellent relations were soon established. We have some good anthropological and archaeological evidence of this. At the time of the Spanish conquest, the descendants of the Olmecs were, in fact, two distinct types of people: one short, stocky and flat-nosed; the other taller, with a pointed nose and thin lips, often sporting a small beard. We see the latter

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represented on two stelae found respectively near Orizalba, on the slopes of the eastern Sierra Madre, and near Alvarado, at the mouth of the Papaloapán River, south of Cerro de las Mesas. Another stele, in Tres Zapotes, shows us, next to a classic-looking Indian woman, a tall, bearded halberdier whose features are distinctly European. It is no coincidence, then, nor solely because of their hatred for the Aztecs, that five hundred years later, the Huastecs and Totonacs—the Olmecs had already disappeared as a people—welcomed the Spanish with sympathy and helped them conquer the central plateau: they were simply following the example of their ancestors, who had no reason to regret their collaboration with the white men. the former, above all, whose cultural expansion had begun with their influence, at least if we go by the dates. They would soon realise that the conquistadors were, unfortunately, not the sun gods into whom their traditions had transformed the men of Ullman, but it would be too late.

If the Indians of the coast had not immediately, or at least very quickly, become reliable allies for the Schleswigers, the latter would not have been able to leave their ships in Panutlán with, at best, a small guard, let alone venture into densely populated inland areas.

Which they did not take long to do. The reason for their decision is easy to understand: they had not left Britain to vegetate in a tropical climate unbearable for northerners. In Panutlán, they heard about the central plateau, surrounded by snow-capped mountains, where prosperous cities stood. That was all it took to convince them to try the adventure.

Following the route that Hernán Cortés would later take, Ullman and the bulk of his troops, supported by indigenous auxiliaries, entered the mountains. No account of this expedition has come down to us. We can assume, however, that it did not take place without skirmishes with various independent tribes who spent their time warring among themselves and who must have considered the Huastecs and Olmecs, their neighbours to the east, as enemies. Nor do we know how contact was established with the Toltecs who, at the end of the 9th century, were still nothing more than savages living in the midst of the

ruins left behind by the degenerate descendants of the builders of Teotihuacan. Nothing could be more normal. The history of a people begins on the day when an event breaks the monotony of an existence that, until then, had unfolded through the generations without any notable changes. A leader is born among them and launches them into some adventure, a conqueror imposes himself on them and changes their customs: events arise that remain engraved in their memories and can be recounted. But this history that is born then is the one created by the man or group to whom, for better or worse, a transformation is owed, first suffered, then accepted, and which the people make their own over time. Thus the history of Gaul begins with Caesar. Thus, the history of Mexico begins with Ullman's arrival. Or rather, with his departure from Europe. For it will not be long before the Toltecs say and, in their own way, write that their ancestors, and even those of all the main peoples of Mexico, had come from Tlapallán, the 'Country of the East Sea', located to the north, on the other side of the ocean. A country whose capital was called Tula (also found in the forms Tollán, Tullán and Tulla), a place name derived from Tonalli, sun, shortened in accordance with the genius of the Nahuatl language, and from lan, land, country. Hence the meaning of "Land of the Sun", which is almost exactly that of Thule, the Greek form of the Norse Soley, "island of the Sun". It is a name that "comes from the sun," says Isidore of Seville at the beginning of the 8th century, "because it is stationary at the summer solstice," that is, because it does not set. A name that, since ancient times, was given to Iceland in southern Europe and, more generally, in the Scandinavian countries. This would be enough, if many other pieces of evidence were not added, to identify Ullman and his companions.

The Toltecs, then, adopt the Vikings, to the point of attributing their geographical origin to them. This is understandable, since they themselves have only lived in Anahuac for four generations and, in the absence of any history, do not know where they come from. But does Ullman impose himself on them through war, thanks to the help of his allies, as Cortés would later do to the Aztecs with equivalent forces? Or, on the contrary, did these savages, who showed an exceptional capacity for assimilation, beg him to lead them, as the Russians did Rurik at the same time? There is nothing to help us decide between these two hypotheses. For, let us repeat, the history of the Toltecs

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begins on the day when, in one way or another, Ullman becomes their fifth king.

At first glance, the indigenous traditions and iconographic documents referring to the character seem confusing and even contradictory. They always refer to a tall, bearded man of white race. But the unanimity does not go beyond this physical aspect. Neither the texts nor the codices agree on his clothing. According to some, he wore a long white dress and a blanket dotted with coloured crosses, sandals on his feet, a kind of mitre covering his head and a staff in his hand, if not a round shield adorned with a Maltese cross. Others show him dressed in a black burial jacket with a low round neckline and wide short sleeves, covered with a golden helmet with earflaps, sometimes adorned with snakes. The differences are no less significant when it comes to his psycho-social characteristics. On the one hand, he appears as a priest of austere customs. He has no wife or children and devotes himself to ascetic practices in the mountains. He is a reformer who brings men a new conception of life, and therefore of morality, and seeks to replace the bloody cult of heroism with a religion of penance based on the notions of sin, remorse, forgiveness and, as a corollary, redemption. On the other hand, he is described to us as a fearsome warrior, unscrupulous in his choice of means, a conqueror and a head of state.

We have an explanation for this duality. Ullman, as we have already mentioned, was not the first European to play a role in Mexico in the 10th century. Before him, Culdee monks from Huitramannaland had gone there as missionaries. These sons of a seafaring people could not resist the temptation to explore and evangelise the lands that stretched south of their American settlements. In the 16th century, the Aztecs still preserved the memory that the Toltecs had inherited from them, and their priests—in order to be recognised as such by the Spanish—took the name of papa, father, the same name given to Irish clergymen. Over time, the traditions relating to the superior of the popes—a mitred abbot, judging by his ornaments—and the chief of the Vikings had become mixed: at least in Anahuac, for in the Mayan country, five hundred years later, a clear distinction was still made between the Great

Arrival, that of the monks and their superior, Itzamná, and the Last Arrival, that of Ullman and his men. On the plateau, the two personalities of the abbot and the king had merged into a single character, later deified with the name Quetzalcóatl, whether or not the Schleswig sovereign bore it. A most unusual name, let us admit, for a Christian priest, a king or a god. The quetzal is a Mexican bird with magnificent green plumage. Coatl means 'serpent'. Quetzalcoatl therefore means bird-serpent and, less literally, feathered serpent. This was the name of a deity prior to the arrival of the popes. Did the Toltecs give it to the abbot of the Culdees? It is not impossible, but there is no evidence to support such a hypothesis. It is more likely that Ullman, before or after his departure, received this nickname, which was later applied to all Europeans before him and, it seems, to the descendants of the Vikings who remained in Anahuac, and then to the white god who symbolises them all in Mexican mythology. Let us think, in fact, about what a Scandinavian ship might have looked like to the indigenous people, with its pointed prow crowned by a fabulous animal head, its sides covered with glittering shields and its large square sail, moving like wings. It is not without reason that the Vikings themselves called their smaller ships snekkar, or snakes, as opposed to drakkars. It matters little to us, moreover, whether Ullman was called Quetzalcóatl during his reign or much later. Indeed, analysis of the historical documents in our possession clearly distinguishes his figure from that of the abbot, his predecessor, and even from that of the god, who logically resembles an ascetic rather than a warrior.

When Ullman took power, the Toltecs were nothing more than a tribe, still nomadic seventy years earlier, barely settled in a poorly defined territory: hunters who had not progressed beyond Neolithic culture and lived in bands on the ruins of a past they did not know. Therefore, the first task of the new king — this is clearly a very pretentious term, used by the Spanish in their chronicles to define the role of someone who, at the beginning, is nothing more than a chieftain, like his indigenous predecessors — is to build a capital worthy of his ambitions. To do so, he chooses a location about 150 km from the current city of Mexico City — which does not yet exist — probably that of a large, more or less habitable village, and undertakes the construction of the essential buildings: a temple,

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a palace, houses for his men and for the Indian dignitaries. He has no shortage of labour, not even craftsmen, as not all traditions must have been lost among the populations subjugated by the conquerors who arrived from the north. Among the Vikings themselves, as always on sailing ships, there are carpenters and blacksmiths. Great heads of state have the soul of urban planners. Ullman is no exception: he draws up or approves the plans for the city, designed according to local traditions. The Toltecs are intelligent and skilled with their hands. Soon a settlement rises up, whose importance will grow rapidly. It must be given a name. The 'king', all the chronicles agree, chooses Tula because that is the name of his homeland.

A capital only makes sense if it is the seat of a state, and therefore if there is a properly organised territory around it. Ullman is dedicated to imposing a social order on the Toltecs that allows the Vikings not only to exercise their authority, but also to increase their power. We know the essential structures of this order, as it was inherited by the Aztecs and observed and described by Spanish chroniclers, who were very surprised to find in it a reflection of medieval Europe still alive in their time. However, such a resemblance is only logical. The Schleswigers came from England, where the Vikings ruled a conquered country whose population was subjugated to them. There is, in fact, less difference between Danes and Anglo-Saxons, people of the same race and culture, than between Europeans and Indians. In Mexico, therefore, the problem is more difficult to solve, but its fundamental data are identical. It consists of establishing solid hierarchical relationships between rulers and ruled, based on an exchange of services. This is the principle of the feudal system: a military and political aristocracy protects and directs a subordinate population that constitutes the instrument of its power and well-being. But in Great Britain, social structures already existed: the Vikings only had to replace the local aristocracy or dominate it. In Mexico, Ullman and his men had only primitives at their disposal, whose leaders came too directly from a nomadic lifestyle that had barely been abandoned for it to be possible to use them without complete re-education. This was in the political sphere. From a cultural point of view, the difference was no less significant: the Anglo-Saxons had an intellectual and, above all, artisan elite; the Toltecs were nothing more than predators barely capable of making their own weapons.

weapons. They are even unfamiliar with agriculture, whereas the peasants of Great Britain had been practising it for millennia. And without agriculture, there are no villages: only unstable clusters of huts as easily abandoned as they are built.

If, then, the order that is to be established in Anahuac is the same as that which prevails in the Danelaw, and there is no other solution, implementing it requires a completely different process. It is not a question of superimposing a pyramidal hierarchy on already organised local communities, let alone replacing the one that existed previously, but of creating the essential basic structures from above. This is much more difficult, especially, as in this case, when race erects a natural barrier between rulers and ruled.

Neither the codices nor the chronicles describe the process followed by Ullman to achieve his purpose. But it is easy for us to reconstruct it, since we know its starting point and its end. Thanks to his Vikings—equipped with weapons superior to those of the indigenous people—his Huastec and Olmec auxiliaries, already organised and trained, and the Toltec warriors to whom he gave the structures they lacked, he firmly established and secured the borders of the kingdom and pacified its territory. He could only achieve this by imposing his authority on the rival bands that had hitherto clashed periodically in sporadic conflicts and by reducing the pockets of foreign influence that were sources of unrest. To achieve this, a modern head of state would create a centralised army or gendarmerie whose units would be able to move quickly to intervene wherever the situation required. In the 10th century, the spirit of the times and the difficulties of communication, even more serious in Mexico than in Europe, were opposed to such a conception of maintaining order. Ullman therefore divided the country into territorial sectors of varying sizes, whose boundaries responded to the diverse requirements of geopolitics, demography and economics. At the head of each of these, he placed one of his Vikings, with full political and military powers, who was answerable only to him. The district thus became a fiefdom.

The difference with Europe is that the lord, except perhaps in some areas of special strategic importance, is the only one of his race in the midst of an indigenous population from which he is completely separated. In the best

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In most cases, he is accompanied by his wife and children, who are soon born. As a bachelor, he does not have the option, common in Great Britain, of marrying the daughter of a local chief, a solution that is strictly prohibited here. In any case, it is impossible for him to integrate into the community he leads, if not create it. Far from removing the obstacles that stand in the way of this over time, the feudal system reinforces them. He does not tend to 'Europeanise' the indigenous people. On the contrary, he respects their beliefs and customs and even, when they do not affect the lord's authority, the pre-existing hierarchies. Therefore, Ullman is really the one who gives his laws to the Toltecs, as tradition recounts. But these laws constitute a dual legal system. On the one hand, they consolidate a political order born of the submission of a people to a foreign minority and based on relations of vassalage that are all the more solid because they stem from strict military discipline and are supported by racial solidarity. On the other hand, they reinforce, in an organised manner, an indigenous social order that responds to racial and historical demands that are completely foreign to the Viking way of life.

Taken together, therefore, it constituted an aristocratic, rather than a colonial, system. Unlike in Europe, even after a conquest, the lord remained above the community he ruled and protected. He was linked to it by a functional exchange of services, but he was not part of it. When the Schleswigers left, the Toltec villages retained the structures they owed them, because they were natural to them. However, the federal political order would weaken and local wars would resurface, until first the Chichimecas and then the Aztecs came to impose their own authority, which was never fully accepted by the rest, but which respected the principles of feudalism and, therefore, local freedoms. Everything suggests that the Vikings realised, but too late, the mistake they had made in transplanting, plain and simple, a European system of government that could only prosper, or at least last, on the basis of racial unity, which did not exist in America. Later on, we will see how they learned the lesson from their Mexican experience.

For now, we cannot fail to mention, even though it is not our subject, the influence that the Vikings had on the Indians who were subject to them. Indigenous traditions tell us that it was Quetzalcóatl to whom the Toltecs owed their religious beliefs, calendar, writing, and the arts of agriculture and metallurgy.

In fact, in a previous work, we were able to summarise in one page a mythology that was valid both for the still pagan Scandinavians and for the peoples of Anahuac, except for the Christian contributions they received from the ascetic Quetzalcoatl, that is, from the abbot Culdee, later confused with Ullman. We know, on the other hand, that the Toltecs used two calendars, lunar and solar, and that the latter had already fallen into disuse during the Spanish conquest, as it had been imposed without ever being fully accepted. We know nothing about writing, as it clearly cannot be the ideograms used by the Aztecs, but they made an effort to erase the traces of their predecessors and the Spanish friars later devoted themselves to destroying the "symbols of idolatry" and, in particular, the inscriptions they did not understand. The teaching of agriculture went without saying, as it was only through agriculture that it was possible to transform nomads into sedentary people. As for metallurgy, archaeological excavations confirm that the working of copper, gold and silver emerged in Anahuac in the 10th century.



Above, the Viking head of Gávea, Rio de Janeiro (photo by Eduardo Chaves). Below, runic inscription from Abrigo del Caballo, in Cerro Guazú, Paraguay: "Ginilel Rizado".

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Below: Thor and the Giant fishing for the World Serpent, on the Viking cross of Gosforth (Cumberland). Next to it: the same scene on an engraved pre-Columbian shell from the north coast of Peru.



Twenty years pass. The kingdom of Tula is now solid, and the seeds of decay it contains have not yet had time to develop. Its territory has probably expanded. Its influence, on the other hand, is felt far beyond its borders. Even the Maya, whose civilisation (as evidenced by the ruins of magnificently constructed cities they left behind) is, or at least was, far superior to that of the peoples of Anáhuac, fear and envy it. In 986, Ullman mounted an expedition to conquer the tropical lands of the South. Was he called

by the Itzáes, who were then Mayans, or were they the Toltecs under his command? Experts disagree on this point. Whatever the case, he invaded the Yucatán by sea with a large indigenous force that included his own men. He must not have encountered significant resistance, because immediately, in 987, he founded the city of Chichén-Itzá on the ruins of a previous village, which would become his capital.

History repeats itself, but at an accelerated pace. Ullman, in fact, whom Mayan traditions refer to by the names Kukulkán—a mere translation of Quetzalcóatl—in Yucatán, and Votan in Chiapas, finds himself facing populations that are less warlike and, above all, more civilised than those of Anáhuac. They are also better organised. Their authorities are more stable; their villages are locally confederated, on a solid tribal or dialectal basis. It seems that the Vikings, without having been called upon, are quickly accepted. Their cultural influence is noticeable in two years in the Mayan country, almost as much as in two decades on the plateau, although they lack the time to pass on the techniques and arts of metallurgy to the Indians. Soon, however, rebellion breaks out and spreads. In Chichén-Itzá, the indigenous people rise up. The fighting is violent in the city, which the Vikings and their Toltec auxiliaries are forced to evacuate. It continues at sea, at an undetermined point on the coast, where the invaders' ships are stationed. The white men re-embark, but not without leaving some of their own in the hands of the enemy, who sacrifice them to their gods. The frescoes in the Temple of the Warriors at Chichén-Itzá still show us, in great detail, white and blond men with long ears like their conquerors, drakkars, etc., scenes from the two battles and the bloody ceremonies that follow. They even seem to indicate the reason for the uprising, as all the prisoners are depicted with erect penises. Some Schleswigians and Toltecs who did not manage to retreat in time remain in the interior of the country. Further south, in Chiapas, Guatemala, El Salvador and Nicaragua, we find the descendants of the latter, known as Pipils, 'princes', i.e. rulers, who still speak Nahuatl. As for the former, who merged with the indigenous population centuries ago, they are responsible for the dozens of Danish and German words that Brasseur de Bourbourg found in the last century in Quiché, a Mayan dialect of Guatemala.

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Ullman and the survivors of Chichén-Itzá return to Anáhuac. There, an unpleasant surprise awaits them, as recounted by Moctezuma himself, a descendant through the female line of the last Toltec king, in his welcome speech to Hernán Cortés, as told to him by his father, "who also heard it from his father," according to the tradition passed down to members of successive royal families. Some of the Vikings who had remained on the plateau, evidently unmarried, had joined with Indian women and already had children, which had given them "much power in the land". The Schleswigers had, in matters of women, the morals of their race and their time, and besides, the young Indian women were not at all repugnant. Numerous small mestizos must therefore have been born during the first twenty years of the white presence in Mexico. But this did not affect the racial status of the aristocratic minority. The situation Ullman finds himself in upon his return from Yucatán is completely different: children born of mixed marriages will mix Indian blood with that of the Vikings. The inequality between rulers and subjects will diminish over time and disappear in a few generations. The jarl cannot accept this. But it is impossible for him to impose his authority on those of his men who have betrayed their race: they would have the indigenous people on their side. Therefore, he prefers to abandon the land: America is large, and he knows it. The men married to white women, with their extended families — there must already be children whose parents were born in Mexico — and some of the single men follow him. The rest will disappear into the local population, or at least into its ruling class. It is to them that some Toltecs will still owe, five hundred years later, the chroniclers' description of them as "tall, white and bearded" and one or two "whiter than any Spaniard"⁽²⁾

² . The indigenous chronicler Ixtlilxochitl recounts that one day the last king of the Toltecs, Topilzin, brought back a "very white, blond and beautiful" child found in the mountains. The

Ullman, with his men, descends to the Atlantic coast where his drakkars are based, at the mouth of the Goasacoalco River, and sets sail, not without leaving behind him the famous prophecy whose memory will greatly facilitate the Spanish conquest: one day, white, bearded men, his sons, will come from the East to avenge him and rule the country. For the time being, he limits himself to crossing the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea. With his people and his horses, he reaches the coast of Venezuela. Does he burn his ships, send them south, or use them to sail up the Orinoco? The first hypothesis is highly unlikely. The second assumes surprising, if not inexplicable, geographical knowledge. The third is too consistent with Viking customs for us not to be tempted to accept it. In any case, by land or, more likely, in their drakkars, the expedition crossed the Venezuelan savannahs and entered present-day Colombia via Pasca. We find traces of them in indigenous traditions that tell us of the civilising hero of the Muyscas, a white man with abundant hair and a long white beard, later deified under the name of Bóchica.

Is it still Ullman? If he did not die during the voyage, he does not have much time left to live. We do not know whether it is he or his successor who commands the Schleswigers when they reach the Pacific. What we do know is that they build canoes out of wolf skin—an animal we are not accustomed to finding in those latitudes, but which, in fact, abounds here—boats similar to the large umiaks of the Eskimos. They load their horses onto them, travel south, and reach what is now Ecuador. Their chief, Atau (from the Norse atall, fierce), later deified, bears the title of Con in local traditions, which does not belong to Quechua, the language of the country. In Norse, the word konr in

sovereign, even though he himself was white and had "a long beard between grey and red", considered the event to be a bad omen and gave the order to return it to the place where it had been found. But immediately afterwards, the child's head began to rot, as a result of which "a great plague" broke out, killing ninety per cent of the population. Professor Dr Pierre-André Gloor, president of the Swiss Anthropological Society, suggested to us in a personal communication that this story could well refer to an epidemic unintentionally caused by Europeans, who were carriers of microbes against which the indigenous people had no natural defence. We believe this interpretation to be correct.

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The nominative form, but the ending disappears in other cases and does not appear in any dialect spoken in South America. It originally meant "son of a noble family" and gradually acquired the meaning of king, which we find today in its derivatives konung in Norwegian and konger in Danish. The Bogotá plateau, which the Vikings crossed on their advance towards the Pacific, does not owe its enduring name, Cundinamarca, to chance. We have just seen the meaning of con (the o and u are confused in Quechua, the language through which the word reached the chroniclers). Marca means 'province, mark' in Quechua as in Norse. That leaves dina. We see in this word a deformation of dañe, after the Conquest, which is logical, since Danemark, in Spanish, has become Dinamarca. It is normal that the transcribers, who were not philologists, transformed Kondanemarka, 'Danish Royal Mark', into Cundinamarca.

Upon reaching Ecuador, the expeditionaries establish a base on the island of Guayau and then, as they did when they landed in the Gulf of Mexico and as they will do in Peru, and probably for the same climatic reasons, they quickly abandon the torrid zone and climb up to the Andean Altiplano, where they found the kingdom of Quito, which the Incas will later incorporate into their empire. For reasons that escape us, they soon resumed their temporarily interrupted journey. They left only a few men in Ecuador, whose first chief bore one of the names of Odin, Kara, from the Norse kárr, 'the Curly'. The eighteen kings who succeeded him would call themselves scyri. This word has no meaning in Quechua, but in Norse skirr means 'pure' and skirri 'purer'. Now, scyri can only be a clumsy transcription of skirri in a language whose alphabet does not recognise the letter k. The group would not be explained in a Spanish text, since its pronunciation would be identical to that of an s. Here, it can only respond to the intention of expressing the sound sk and replacing the more correct but more jarring form squ. It should be noted that such a transposition of k to c is not unique to Castilian transcriptions of foreign words: thus, for example, Mykerinos becomes Micerino. And, on the other hand, phonetic accuracy is the last thing one can expect from chroniclers. The names of the first fourteen scyri have not come down to us. The last of them died without leaving any male descendants. His daughter, Toa (from the Norse toeja, to help, to support), married a local chieftain, who, for that reason, and with the necessary agreement in accordance with Scandinavian custom, even in the case of a normal hereditary succession

of the assembly of lords, ascended to the throne. He belonged to a family of Viking origin: his name was, in fact, Duchicela (from the Norse duga, to be worthy, to serve, from which dygdh, virtue, strength, and ketill, helmet in the shape of a pot, is derived, which becomes kell in anthroponyms) and gave his name to the dynasty of the last four sovereigns of Quito.

We are better informed about the next stage of our travellers' journey: the north coast of Peru. There, for at least 1,400 years, a strange people, now extinct, had settled. Nothing is known about the origin of these Mochicas, who, based on nothing more than a certain similarity in clothing, have sometimes been thought to have arrived from Mesoamerica around 400 BC. They themselves claim that their ancestors came from across the sea, which can only be true, as in the case of the peoples of Mexico, for one or more civilising minorities. Their physical type, Mongoloid, is as different as possible from that of their mountain neighbours. Countless anthropomorphic vessels show us their fine, open, sometimes harsh, often bearded faces, which reveal a profound intelligence. In the 10th century, they had been working with metals for a long time and their goldsmithing had already reached a considerable technical and artistic level, as had their pottery. Their capital, Chan-Chan, is magnificently built in one of those valleys of lush vegetation that interrupt, at long intervals, the desert of a coast where it never rains.

This high culture was once strongly influenced by Asia. This should come as no surprise: Chan-Chan is none other than the "well-known city of Cattigara" mentioned by Ptolemy, which he places on the east coast of a Sinus Magnus that separates the Golden Chersonese — Indochina and Malaysia — from a huge — non-existent — peninsula that extends east Asia southwards. An arbitrarily reduced Sinus Magnus which, according to his predecessor Marinus of Tyre, extended as far as the Marquesas Islands. This was still insufficient, since it could only be the Pacific Ocean. The toponymy left to us by Ptolemy of the Land of Cattigara shows us that the Hindus and Chinese frequented it. Moreover, our geographer tells us, according to Marino, of the voyage that took the Greek captain Alexander there in the first century AD. What Asians and Europeans went to Peru to seek was the gold that the country overflowed with. What they brought back, in addition to

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such and such goods, were customs refined to excess, as evidenced by numerous vases with erotic motifs, and technical and artistic knowledge that was very advanced for the Indians of that time.

It is at the mouth of the Faquisllamga River, where Lambayeque is located today, a little north of Chan-Chan, where the Vikings

—men and women— landed in what would become the empire of Chimor (from the Norse skim, skimi, light: skima, dawn). At the time of the Spanish conquest, indigenous traditions still preserved the memory of their great fleet, which arrived from the north in the year 1000, commanded by a powerful chief, Naymlap, sometimes given the title of kon, and his eight lieutenants. The invaders, whom Chimú pottery depicts as white and bearded, took over the country and imposed a new dynasty whose twenty kings would bear the title of Chimú Capác and reign until the annexation of the empire at the end of the 15th century by the Inca emperor Tupac Yupanqui. We are not told who Naymlap and his companions were, but the names of the chief and his wife, Ceterni, are invaluable in this regard. They do not belong to any of the American languages. On the contrary, they have a very strong Germanic consonance. What is more, naym is exactly how a Spaniard would transcribe the word heim, more or less correctly pronounced by an Indian. Now, heim, in Old Norse as in Old German, means 'home', 'homeland', while lap, in Old Norse, translates as 'piece'. Heimlap - Piece of Homeland - could very well have been the nickname given to the chief of a Scandinavian colony established on American soil, or to the colony itself, later confused with that of its founder. The only surprising thing is that the word has changed so little over centuries of oral tradition and that the Spanish have passed it on to us without further distortion. Ceterni comes from the Norse theyta, to make shout, to blow the trumpet, to advance, and erni, skilful, tough, energetic. The name can be translated as 'she who encourages advancement'.

The influence of the Vikings on the Mochicas, soon called Chimúes, is evident. Added to the previous mythology of the population of Chan-Chan and the region is a god of the storm, Guatan, the Spanish transcription of Huatan, which in Quechua —and Quechua was, in Peru, since the Incas, the "general language"— is

pronounced almost like Vatan: a name very similar, as some authors have already noted, to the Mesoamerican Votan and the Germanic Wotan—or Odin. The Mochica vocabulary, established in the 17th century by the mestizo Fernando de la Carrera, contains some words of obvious Nordic origin. The ships that appear on numerous pieces of pottery dating from after the 10th century have — despite their construction being very different from that of the drakkars — their two ends upright and the figurehead is an animal's head. An engraved shell found in the region bears an incredibly accurate copy of a motif from the Viking cross of Gosforth, in Cumberland, i.e. in the Danelaw of England. The sun wheel that adorns the rings of some of the characters on the portrait vases can only have a Nordic origin, especially since the Chimú did not worship the Sun, but the Moon. All this without even mentioning the beards of some of the subjects. One detail, however, suggests that the Scandinavians who settled in Chimor were not numerous and that their assimilation was rapid: the battle scenes painted on pottery show us white prisoners of the Indians. However, the Schleswigians were not defeated, either upon their arrival, since they conquered the country, or later, since the dynasty they founded remained in power for almost five centuries. The only explanation is that they were absorbed to such an extent that their victory was erased from the history of the empire. In fact, the bulk of the Vikings re-embarked very soon, resumed their journey south and landed at Lio, just south of the parallel of Tiahuanacu, the only good natural harbour in the area, at the mouth of the river of the same name. This place name comes from the Norse *ili*, anchor stone, and probably means 'anchorage'.

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II THE ANCIENT EMPIRE

The Andes mountain range consists of two parallel chains of mountains whose peaks, from Ecuador to Chile, dominate the Pacific Ocean. To the west, its steep foothills border the narrow coastal strip, whose desperate aridity is only broken by the lush vegetation of a few valleys where meagre rivers are lost, very few of which reach the sea. To the east, on the other hand, the Amazon and its main tributaries are born, along with numerous other rivers that flow through the immense equatorial and tropical jungle to the Atlantic. Between the two ranges, at 4,000 metres above sea level, lies the Altiplano: a wide steppe corridor bordered by snow-capped peaks ranging from 5,000 to 7,000 metres in height. The days are scorching; the nights are freezing. In this lunar landscape, both grandiose and sinister, any sign of life seems incongruous. At the height of the Lio Pass, however, the panorama of the Puna offers a noticeable variation. It is there that the corridor reaches its maximum width: 900 km, while it is only 300 km wide in Cuzco, 400 km further north as the crow flies. At its centre, a wide basin allows the gigantic mirror of Lake Titicaca to sparkle: a veritable inland sea 210 km long and 65 km at its widest point. Twenty-two km from the current coastline, west of its southern tip, stand the ruins of Tiahuanacu.

All authors who, in the last century, took an interest in this impressive archaeological site highlighted the contradiction inherent in a large, highly civilised city located in an area of absolute sterility. In 1904, Sir Clement Markham cautiously put forward a bold hypothesis: after the era of great construction, a tectonic movement would have caused the sudden elevation of the Altiplano about a thousand metres above its previous level, transforming extraordinarily fertile and jungle-covered soil into a desert. This meant that the monuments of Tiahuanacu dated from the pre-glacial era, since in the Andes, during the Pleistocene, there was no geological movement capable of causing such a change in the relief. Then came Arthur Posnansky, that amateur archaeologist from La Paz to whom we owe, apart from data of real interest, a whole series of aberrant interpretations with which the fantasists of Americanism-

fiction still revel in today. According to him, the city, in its heyday, was located on the shores of the Pacific. One fine day, a cataclysm threw it up to an altitude of 4,000 metres, and with it the immense seawater spring that turned into a lake and whose salinity gradually disappeared due to the contribution of the glaciers. Since then, the level of Lake Titicaca has been slowly dropping and its shore has been moving away from the city, abandoned by its inhabitants due to climate change. The construction of Tiahuanacu dates back 13,000 years: Posnansky knows this thanks to astronomical calculations based on the orientation of one of its buildings, the Kalasasaya; these calculations are manifestly false and specialists could only laugh at them.

Everything else in this story is false. The altitude of the Altiplano has not changed since the Tertiary period. Lake Titicaca has never been anything other than a receptacle for the torrents that flow down from the mountains, especially during the snowmelt. The level of the lake varies according to the rainfall regime — for example, it rose three metres during the summer of 1978-79, and a slight change in the climate would be enough to restore the thirty-odd metres it currently lacks to reach Tiahuanacu, and even to turn it into an island. Finally, the soil is not arid, although its fertility is much lower than it was a thousand years ago.

This last point is extremely important, and we must dwell on it for a moment. For while the altitude of the Puna and the nature of the lake only pose false problems, the same cannot be said of the infertility of the soil, which seems obvious to any traveller, as well as logical at 4,000 metres. However, the sterility attributed to the Titicaca basin does not exist. Archaeologists, who did nothing but pass through the region, likely suffering from altitude sickness, which affects all outsiders with tremendous severity, can be excused for having been impressed by the desert-like appearance of the plateau. But Posnansky must have known what to expect. Now, it is a fact that the Titicaca basin receives between 400 and 750 mm of rainfall per year, which allows it to produce wheat, barley and millet without irrigation (almost all the terraced crops in the region are irrigated), not to mention potatoes and, contrary to everything that has been said, even corn. What is more, most of the vegetable supply in La Paz, the capital of Bolivia, comes from

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of the Tiahuanacu area. It is not so cold there, which is understandable, given that the enormous mass of water in the lake acts as a temperature regulator. It is because of this microclimate that the Titicaca region, outside the urban agglomerations, is the most densely populated in southern Bolivia. This is not a new phenomenon. Alcide d'Orbigny wrote in 1839: "There is no area in the two current republics of Peru and Bolivia that is more densely populated than the shores of Lake Titicaca. Everywhere there are villages and also traces of the ancient population."

However, the region is very dry and arid compared to what it was between the 10th and 13th centuries. Several recent studies, one of them based on the analysis of the concentric rings of the ancient redwoods of California, have shown us that the climate, which at the beginning of our era was no different from ours, gradually became milder until the year 850. The temperature remained unchanged until 1200, and then began to cool. Slow at first, the process accelerated from the mid-13th century onwards, reaching its lowest point in the 16th century. After two hundred years without change, a warming trend began that lasted until 1950. For the Andean highlands, the consequences of such a climate change were of tremendous importance. On the one hand, during the period in question, the average temperature there, as everywhere else, was several degrees higher than today: at that time, wheat was grown in Iceland and Eirik the Red was able to call Greenland 'Green Land', which today is nothing more than an immense glacier. On the other hand, evaporation from the seas had increased considerably, rainfall was heavier, and snowfall was much more abundant in the neighbouring peaks, which favoured crops and contributed to further moderating the climate. Finally, Lake Titicaca, into which an increased volume of water had been flowing for centuries, had reached its maximum level and formed an enormous complex that included Lake Poopó and the Oyuni salt flats. It was on its shore, as it still was at the time of the Spanish conquest, and perhaps on one of its islands, that a large village, Chucara, was built, which would later take the name of Tiahuanacu.

Nothing allows us to date monuments built exclusively of stone with any scientific rigour. The carbon-14 method, a

Despite the reservations it requires, it can give us some indications in this field with regard to organic materials; and the most recent and most reliable thermoluminescence method provides accurate information about ceramic pieces. However, it is never possible to establish with certainty the contemporaneity of the buildings and the remains—skeletons, fabrics, wooden artefacts, pottery fragments, etc.—found at the time of excavation. Archaeologists must therefore limit themselves to subjective estimates based on the style of the buildings and their sculptures, and to interpretations that depend not only on the facts observed, but also on their supposed sequence. If, in addition, their mental process is distorted by localist considerations, as is too often the case with Tiahuanacu, the result is such confusion that the only way to see clearly is to revisit the whole issue on the basis of the tangible data available. This is what we will try to do.

Here, the tangible data are essentially graves and ceramic pieces. They indicate, with an acceptable margin of certainty, that the culture that archaeologists call "ancient Tiahuanacu" was born in the first century AD. We owe it a painted ceramic—reddish, ochre and black—ornamented with staggered geometric shapes and strange zoomorphic figures. "Classical Tiahuanacu," which followed in the 5th century, is characterised by extremely fine pottery whose polychrome decoration shows stylised humans and animals that seem to reflect the influence of Nazca. Large adobe palaces date from this period, during which copper metallurgy appeared. In the mid-8th century, a period of decline began that lasted until the year 1000. Pottery was limited to imitating the shapes and designs of the classical period, but was impoverished from every point of view. The polish was gradually lost; the number of colours was reduced, and soon only red and black appeared, and then, often, only black.

During the nine centuries of this process, whose three periods—ancient, classical, and decadent—are, of course, only the result of analysis, Tiahuanaco culture did not spread much further than a few kilometres from its centre, although its influence is noticeable in the region of Cochabamba, now part of Bolivia, in northern Chile, and in the

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south of present-day Peru as far as Cuzco and, on the coast, as far as Arequipa. Then, suddenly, everything changes: we enter the period that archaeologists know as "Expansive Tiahuanacu".

Before going any further, and in order to complete the analysis of the framework in which subsequent events will unfold, let us pause for a moment to consider the anthropological and political situation of the immense territory, now divided between Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Argentina and Chile, which we will retain, for convenience, the name Peru, which was its name in the days of the chroniclers.

In the year 1000 AD, the Atlantic was populated by men belonging to a single race. Short, stocky and well adapted, thanks to their enormous rib cages, to life in the rarefied air of the high altitudes, these copper-skinned Amerindians, brachycephalic or mesocephalic, leptorrhinc and beardless, are of average intelligence. They are characterised by extreme sociability, which leads them to passive obedience and makes them avoid all forms of delinquency. Sweet, taciturn and cold, death seems to be indifferent to them. They are excellent soldiers, brave and disciplined, but more suited to defence than offence. Very hard-working, livestock breeding and agriculture constitute the bulk of their activities, although they do not despise fishing in lakes and rivers and even in the ocean, whose shores they reach at various points in the north and south. These men of the Andean race are not, however, the only inhabitants of Peru. On the central Pacific coast, we find peoples who are very different in terms of their culture and the physical characteristics of their members, who are often dolichocephalic. Of these, the Chimú constitute the most important group.

United by race, the mountain Indians are divided by language into four nations, in the true sense of the word. The Quechuas occupy the territory stretching from the Ancasmayo River, slightly above the equator, to 13 degrees south latitude. To the west, their boundaries are the ocean and the Chimú empire; to the east, the jungle at the foot of the eastern chain of the Cordillera. To the south, from the region of Paucartampu and Cuzco, including—this will remain true at the beginning of the 19th century, according to the demographic statistics of

d'Orbigny—the current Argentine provinces of Jujuy and Salta, that is, at the 20th parallel, are inhabited by the Aymaras, or Kollas.



Above, left, Viking fortress of Cerro Corá, Paraguay. A view of the outer wall of large carved blocks.

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On the right, drawings of drakkars and runic inscriptions at the "posta" of Yvytyruzú, Paraguay. Next to it, a Latin cross on a building in Tiahuanacu.



Below: Map by Hulsius (1599): Paraguay and Guayrá, with their partially Nordic place names.



The latter name must have been given to them by the Vikings, as it seems to derive from the Norse *kollr* (rounded peak, head, skull) and mean 'round heads'. The Quechua-speaking populations found today in the mining valleys of Cochabamba, Charcas (now Sucre) and Oruro originate, like those of Santiago del Estero in Argentina, from subsequent forced displacements by the Incas. In any case, the linguistic distinction we have just indicated is only accurate in broad terms: it leaves aside numerous allogenic pockets, subsequently reduced, which are of no interest to us. But it does not lend itself to any confusion. For although the Quechua and Aymara languages have the same grammar and, at least today, 20 per cent of their vocabulary is common, most of their roots are clearly different. There are two nations enclaved in Aymara territory: the Urus, who inhabit the area around Lake Titicaca—to the south and west—the port of Lio on the Pacific coast, and the mountain slopes between these two boundaries; and the Puquina, on the eastern shore of the lake. The Arawaks, who still live—though not for much longer—in an area of indeterminate size that stretches from Vilcanuto, north of Lake Titicaca, between Ayavire and Cuzco, eastward to the eastern slopes of the mountain range and beyond to the Moxos plain, belong to another, quite distinct race.

In the political sphere, these different peoples, with the exception of those in the kingdom of Quito (as it has only just been founded), are organised into tribes or, due to the extreme geographical compartmentalisation of this mountainous country, into villages, each in its own valley. We lack precise data in this regard, but we do know, however, that the Quechua and Aymara languages are divided into countless dialects, which seems to rule out the existence of unified states. At most, from time to time, in this or that place, an unstable federation may appear, brought about by the military preponderance of a tribe, the descendant of a local chief, or, as was previously the case with Chavín, the cultural expansion of a community. Hence, there were countless sporadic conflicts between tribes and between villages. On the coast, political fragmentation was the natural consequence of a habitat made up of oasis valleys separated by desert. The only exception was the Chimú empire, whose territorial extension, however, was still far from reaching the limits that, after the change of dynasty we mentioned, would later be its own.

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Such is the country where the Vikings landed shortly after the year 1000, touching down in Lio. Did they already know of the existence of Lake Titicaca, or did they learn of it from the Urus who controlled its access? This question remains unanswered for the moment. But it is a fact that, probably fleeing, as always, from the unbearable heat of the coast, it did not take them long to follow their Indian guides to the Altiplano. The immense lake, much larger than today, with its dry, temperate climate and snow-capped mountains, reminds them, despite the absence of trees, of their distant homeland. The Urus are peaceful, as they will continue to be, but one never knows in a strange land. Once again, our sailors prefer to settle on an island. They choose the largest one.

Is it the one that today, and already at the time of the Conquest, bore the name of Isla del Sol? We believed this for a long time, because it is the one mentioned by chroniclers who, at a time when the waters of Titicaca had already receded considerably, saw no other island in the southern part of the lake, at the height of Lio, that matched the information provided to them by indigenous traditions. Furthermore, important vestiges of the Inca era were found on the island, suggesting earlier occupation. We now doubt this, following our altimetric study—in *libris*— of the body of water in question. It seems much more likely to us that the Vikings settled from the outset in Chucara—the original name of Tiahuanacu—, then an island village.

Did Konr Heimlap remain in Chan-Chan as King Chimor, or is he still leading the expedition? We have no information on this subject. This is because indigenous traditions, when recorded at the time of the Conquest, had already transformed a 500-year-old story into myth. The chieftain presented to us, white and bearded as he should be, has become the supreme god of the Quechua and Aymara peoples: an invisible and almighty god, creator of the sun, moon, planets and stars, who incarnated himself to bring revelation and redemption to mankind; an immaterial god of whom the sun is the cosmic expression. On the one hand, then, Konr Viracocha disembarks with his people in Lio and settles on an island in Titicaca, where he organises and civilises the region; on the other, the Creator Viracocha comes to bring order to the world and save mankind. This is a repetition of the case of Quetzalcóatl, which we analysed briefly above. Some chroniclers, though not the most reliable ones, give the Viking chief a proper name in addition to the one he

he shares with the god. They call him Pirhua Manco, or Manco Inca. Perhaps this is just a confusion with the first Inca emperor, Manco Cápac. But it is not impossible that the latter, when founding a new dynasty, took the name of his glorious predecessor. Pirhua - the word, in Quechua, means 'granary', which makes no sense here - comes from the Norse byrdh, birth, origin, and vé (hu, pronounced v in the languages of the Altiplano), a sacred place which, in Gothic, in the form weihs, means 'priest'. Hence the meaning: 'of sacred origin'. Manco is a combination of man, man, and konr, shortened as a result of the strong stress on the first syllable of the word and the tendency of the indigenous people to soften the pronunciation of the ending: man-king or the man who became king. Inca (Inga, according to the Spanish transcription) comes from ing, a particle found in all Germanic languages, and even in Castilian in Merovingian, Carolingian, and Lotharingian, meaning "descendant": a word that was already in use before the time of the Inca empire proper, as confirmed by a runic inscription from Sete Cidades, in Brazil.

The name Viracocha, sometimes spelled Huiracocha, has given rise to the most fanciful interpretations. Some translate it as 'foam (huirá) of the sea (cocha)' or, in a more poetic transposition, as 'spirit of the abyss'. Unfortunately for them, in Quechua as in Aymara, the genitive precedes the noun it complements. We would therefore have, at best, 'sea of foam'. But according to the chronicler Garcilaso, son of an Inca princess whose mother tongue was Quechua, huirá does not mean 'foam' but 'tallow'. 'Sea of tallow': a most strange name for a civilising hero or a god! It is true that the spelling we find in the chronicles does not correspond exactly to the actual pronunciation of the word. The muffled diction that still characterises the Indians of the Altiplano today causes them to convert all unstressed vowels into a sound very close to the French silent e, while the ch approximates the English sh. We have often been able to verify this personally: in their mouths, Viracocha becomes 'Vircosh'. On the other hand, the e and the i are, in the languages of Peru, the same vowel, with an intermediate pronunciation. Now, in Old Norse, verr means 'man' (male), with a certain sense of hierarchy, like the Latin vir, which has the same Indo-European origin, and godh, god. The particular sound of the letter dh in Old Norse (soft English th)

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exists in Quechua, but not in Spanish, the language through which the word in question has come down to us. It is therefore normal that it has been transformed into ch. If so, Viracocha is a mere transcription, slightly distorted, of Verr Godh, Man-God, in Norse.

No one is less aware than we are of the dangers of this kind of analysis: a 'good' philologist never has any difficulty in deriving any word from any other, thanks to a series of substitutions, splits, inversions and mergers of some of its letters. But in the case that interests us, our reservations give way to the evidence. Our deified hero is sometimes referred to in the chronicles simply as Viracocha, but more often as Con Ticsi Viracocha or Illa Ticsi Viracocha. We have already seen the meaning of kon in Norse. Ticsi, sometimes spelled Ticci, has no meaning in Quechua. But we also find the form Titi, repetition, as in the current German place name Titisee - Lake Titi - from the Old German root ti of Tiwaz, the name of the Father of Heaven in Germanic mythology. Illa, on the other hand, is Quechua and means 'light'.

This interpretation is supported by a series of coincidences that cannot be accidental. For example, the lake on one of whose islands the Vikings settled is called Titicaca. In this place name, we find the doubled root ti, followed by a word that has never been correctly translated. As a noun, caca means, in Quechua (cacca) and Aymara (kha-kha), 'mountain peak', which is difficult to link to a body of water, with or without islands, and even more so if one sees in titi, as some did, a deformation of the Quechua tiqui, lead, as there is no trace of this metal in the region. The place name, on the other hand, makes sense if we consider caca to be a Castilian transposition of the Aymara adjective khakha, which means "clear", "blond", "fair-haired". Thus, with the word khota implied (Titikhakhkhota), we can easily read "lake of the blond Ti". As for the name of the city of Tiahuanacu, it has given rise to various fanciful interpretations, none of which stand up to the slightest analysis. This is logical, since they all originated from Quechua. The place name actually comes from Ti, a form derived from tía, 'to drive', and vangr, 'residence', in Norse. Tiahuanacu means, por tanto, 'Residence del Dios' y, más

exactly yet, of the God who drives the Sun. As for the Vikings themselves, it is in Quechua that indigenous traditions give them a name: *atumuruna*, the meaning of which specialists cannot agree on. Brasseur de Bourbourg sees this word as a deformation of *hatun*, large, and *runa*, man, people, an interpretation that can be ruled out from the outset, as *hatun* seems to derive from the Norse *yótun*, giant. Vicente Fidel López translates it literally as "people of the worshippers —or: of the priests— of Atí", that is, of the waning moon, which seems unlikely, since the men of Tiahuanacu worshipped the sun. Given the aforementioned inaccuracy with which the Spanish transcribed indigenous words, we wonder whether *atumuruna* should not in fact be read as *atumaruna*, which means 'men with moon heads', an expression equivalent to 'pale faces' used by the Native Americans. We have examples of confusion between the letters *a* and *u* in the same word. Thus, the chroniclers call the Inca High Priest of the Sun *Vilaoma*, instead of *Villac Umu*. Our hypothesis is confirmed by the fact that the eastern region of Lake Titicaca was called *Umasuyu*, 'province of the heads'.

While almost all chroniclers mention the arrival in Tiahuanacu of Viracocha, a civilising hero who came from the north, or the appearance on an island in Lake Titicaca of Viracocha, the creator god — two versions, historical and theological, of the same event — only one of them gives us some clues, which are accurate despite a fanciful chronology of what happens immediately afterwards. Felipe Guarnan Poma de Ayala, although some attribute him a Spanish father, was most likely a pure-blooded Inca. Proof of this is not only the genealogy he gives of his family, but also and above all his social status and the language in which he writes. Almost all the conquistadors had married, regularly or otherwise, women from the Peruvian aristocracy, and their children were never subject to any discrimination. We will see why in Chapter VI. However, our chronicler lived modestly, to say the least, at the beginning of the 16th century, as sacristan of the parish church headed by Father Martín de Morúa, with whom he did not get on very well. Far from having received the education of a Garcilaso, he wrote in appalling Spanish, sometimes incomprehensible. When he died, he left behind an enormous manuscript, illustrated with some four hundred pen drawings, from which his parish priest had clearly drawn inspiration to write his own chronicle. Mysteriously

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disappeared, the work was only rediscovered at the beginning of our century in the National Library of Copenhagen, and its first edition dates from 1936.

Baptised and sacristan, Guarnan Poma (Huaman Puma: Falcon Puma), whose humble status made him less vulnerable than anyone else to the Inquisition, already firmly established in Peru, had all the more reason to avoid any suspicion regarding his orthodoxy, as he could expect no benevolence from his 'patron'. For this reason, he proclaimed his Christianity at every opportunity, even when there was no need to do so. But how, in these circumstances, could he speak of the first inhabitants of Peru, confused, as in Mexico, with their civilising minority, without making them go back to the Flood? The solution was to attribute, as the Bible does, extraordinary longevity to the "patriarchs". Guarnan Poma thus divides the history of Peru into four "ages" which, in total, last 5,300 years, from the arrival of Viracocha to Emperor Tupac Yupanqui, around 1475. If he had called the month a "year", as he does, on the other hand, with the day when he dates the creation of the world at 2,000,612 years, his chronology would be almost correct, since it would give, for the period in question, 442 years instead of 475, as we shall see later. But this would probably be splitting hairs. All the more so since our chronicler clearly has no sense of the order of quantities. Does he not tell us of the emigration, in the time of the first Inca emperor, of fifty million Chancas Indians, 'not counting women, children or the elderly'?

The 'first generation of Indians' (sic), 'first Indian of this kingdom', is called Variviracocha Runa. The word runa, in Quechua, is ambiguous: it sometimes means 'man', other times 'people'. Here - as we shall see later - the singular prevails. Vari makes no sense in the language in question. In Norse, on the other hand, the word means 'guardian' and, by extension, 'warrior': it is the root of the name of the Varangians, the Swedish Vikings who gave Russia its political organisation. We have seen above the meaning of Viracocha, the name given a posteriori to the konr who landed in Ilo, a "white gentleman with a slight beard". The complete expression therefore means "the man of Viracocha the Warrior". The drawing with which our chronicler illustrates the story shows us a man, clearly of white race—his features, his wavy hair

, his beard and moustache leave no doubt about this—working the land with the help of an Inca-style hoe, accompanied by a woman, Variviracocha uarmi, 'the wife of Viracocha the Warrior'. These are, then, our Vikings the day after landing, stripped of everything—they are dressed in leaves—and forced to provide for their own subsistence.

The 'second age of the Indies' is that of Variruna. The meaning of the word is as clear as can be: 'the Warrior'. Viracocha died, but his successor—as we shall see—is a jarl, a war chief like himself. The Vikings are now settled. They live in small houses made of carved stone, as the chronicler shows us in the corresponding drawing, and they are dressed in skins, for which they thank God: not Viracocha, who has not yet reached this level of the hierarchy, but Pachacámac, God not personified.

The name of the person representing the "third age", Purunruna, is more difficult to interpret. In Quechua, the term literally means "the man of the desert". However, in his time (as Guarnan Poma's drawing attests), life is back to normal: the houses are spacious, and men and women are dressed in woven tunics and sandals. If the anthroponym is Norse, as in some of the previous cases, Purun comes from bodha, to announce, to predict, and from run, rune: 'he who interprets the runes'. But the illustration does not refer to anything of this kind. We must therefore admit our uncertainty.

The "second age of the Indies" is that of Variruna. It bears the name Aucapacha, "Time of the Warriors", a word formed from auca, warrior, and pacha, time. In the corresponding drawing, we see soldiers dressed as in the time of the Incas, some of whom are attacking a symbolic pucara (fortress), which others are defending.

In the first age, Guarnan Poma tells us, Variviracocha ruled. The chiefs who succeeded him bore the title of Yarovilca: Variruna Yarovilca, Pururuna Yarovilca and Aucaruna Yarovilca. "En dezir yarovilca," the chronicler specifies in his incorrect Spanish, "that is to say, he is the high lord of all nations." And aro, which means nothing in Quechua, is a slight deformation—the word is pronounced almost

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yar— of the Norse jarl, title of the Viking lord, a word that any Indian of the Altiplano would make yar. Vilca, sometimes spelled huilca, which means "fortress" and, by extension, "lord of the fortress"—the word would later take on the meaning of "sacred place or person" under the Inca emperors—comes from the Norse virk, work, fortress. Yarovilca seems to mean, then, "lord of the fortress of jarl".

But are these four ages of Peru merely mythical periods symbolising the different evolutionary phases of humanity, as some authors believe? If so, we would have to acknowledge that tradition, by placing agriculture before the hunting represented by the skins of Variruna, would have demonstrated a terrible collective memory. Guarnan Poma, for his part, is categorical: these are individual reigns. "From Variviracocha," he writes, "descended Variruna-Yaro vilca, descended Purunruna-Yarovilca, descended Aucaruna-Yarovilca." If, on the other hand, we consider the logic of the facts, the sequence of "ages" described by the chronicler corresponds to what might be expected of Europeans landing in a strange land: first, the cultivation of the soil, since they cannot feed exclusively on fish, and the Uru have never been farmers; then hunting, which requires adaptation to species very different from those they knew; finally, the construction of houses, primitive at first and then more comfortable, and the textile craftsmanship that only hunting, in their condition, makes possible.

Three generations passed before the Vikings were comfortably settled in the region. But it would be a mistake to think that, during those sixty years, they confined themselves to improving their way of life by producing what they needed by their own means. They were farmers, hunters and even builders, but first and foremost they were warriors. They came from Danelaw, where their compatriots, now feudal lords, left manual labour to the indigenous people, even though they were also Nordic. They did not come to Peru to vegetate there, but to conquer an empire. For this reason, already in the time of Viracocha the Warrior, they began to impose their authority on the surrounding tribes. Tradition shows us the konr, whose work is confused with that of the Creator, but without the slightest doubt as to his historical reality, carefully drawing up his campaign plan "sculpting and

drawing on large slabs all the nations he planned to create". After which he set out from the Altiplano towards the north. He subjugated numerous tribes and villages without a fight. He crushed without mercy those who tried to oppose his advance. He thus arrived about 500 km as the crow flies from Tiahuanacu and, in a privileged position, founded the city of Cuzco, intended to serve as a base for further expeditions, and built a fortress there.

The name Cuzco, or Cusco, has no meaning in Quechua or Aymara, but, according to the chronicler Garcilaso, in the "particular language" of the Incas, it means "navel" or "centre of the world". The word, however, is not Norse. It seems to come from the Finnish *keakus*, meaning centre or middle. The Scandinavians were well acquainted with the Finns, whom they called *Skraelingar* — puny ones — a word they would later apply to the Eskimos and Amerindians. Some Germanic roots had even found their way into the Lappish language: for example, *kuningas*, king (from *konungr*), or *kaunis*, beautiful (from *skounis*). The opposite is not implausible, then. It is even possible that some Finns were part of Ullman's expedition, as the Vikings often recruited foreign soldiers. Perhaps, however, the Atumaruna gave a Finnish name to a populous indigenous city, much as we call our American-style stores 'supermarkets'. These are only hypothetical explanations.

Whatever the case, from Cuzco, Viracocha, after dividing the territory of the future empire into four regions, sent his two sons to continue the work. One of them, Ymaimana Viracocha, entered the mountains and, heading north, took Jauja and reached Cajamarca, while the other, Tocapo Viracocha, took the coastal route and conquered Pachacámac, a little south of present-day Lima. According to another version, it was not his sons, but two of his lieutenants whom Viracocha sent from Tiahuanacu to the north, one along the western chain of the mountain range and the other along the eastern chain. Or, alternatively, only one, named Hue Con (from the Norse *hugr*, brave, and *konr*, which we already know) or Sua Con (from the Norse *sóa*, to sacrifice, to kill, and *konr*). Another account adds that he himself takes the route that leads to Cuzco and seizes the city, entrusting it to one of his men, Alcaviza (from the Norse *olgr*, one of the names of Odin, 'god of the roaring sea', and *visi*, prince, leader), subdues the *canas* who attack him

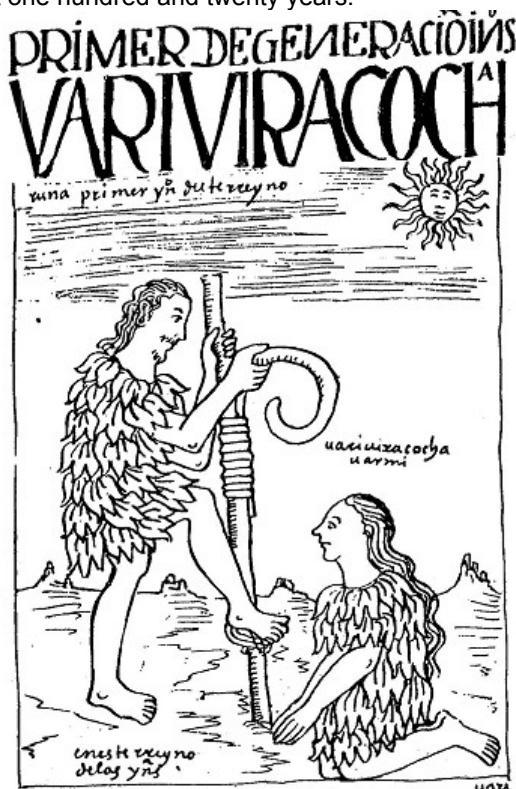
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attack him in Cacha, 18 leagues away, and continues the expedition to Cajamarca.

It seems that, in these accounts, events unfold too quickly and that the sons or lieutenants of the konr are in fact his successors. If we can strictly admit that Pachacámac, south of the border of Chimor, already occupied by the Vikings, was conquered in the first generation, it is entirely impossible that this was the case in Cajamarca, in the far north of Peru. Clearly, tradition concentrated conquests that took place later in the reign of Viracocha. What is admissible and logical is that the Vikings, during the first sixty years of their presence in Peru, subjugated the entire region populated by the Ay-maras, up to Cuzco, and made this village, duly fortified, the centre of their future operations. This must have been the case, since tradition attributes to Viracocha the title of Sapalla (a Quechua deformation of Sapaktha, "the Only One" in Aymara), which is that of the Kolla kings. Aucapacha, the "time of the warriors", the era of great conquests, came later, with the fourth generation.

Before addressing this period, let us return for a moment to Phelipe Guarnan Poma de Ayala. The chronicler gives us some genealogical information about the chiefs who succeeded Viracocha. He does so for the empire and for three of the provinces into which the Tahuantisuyu, the territory dominated by the Incas, would later be divided, which therefore preceded it: the Antisuyu (province of the Andes) to the east; the Contisuyu (province of Con-Ti, of the King-God: through which Viracocha had arrived), to the west; Collasuyu (province of the Kollas), to the south. He tells us almost nothing about the latter, except that their 'kings' are descended from Aucaruna and his predecessors. On the contrary, he insists, as is fitting, on the heads of the imperial state, from whom his own ancestors, the 'kings and lords' of Chinchasuyu, the fourth province, in the time of the Incas, are said to have descended. He mentions, between Aucaruna and Cápac Apo Chaua, a contemporary of the Inca emperor Tupac Yupanqui (around 1480), thirty-nine names, which would represent, if it were a dynasty, some seven hundred and eighty years, while
- as we shall see - the actual period cannot be much more than four hundred and twenty years. In fact, Guarnan Poma gives us the exact names

or not, of the 'kings' and their children, but he also points out that there were many other 'kings of each fortress' but that the one he indicates 'had the highest crown before he was ynga and was then feared by the ynga and thus became his second in command'. The fact that this is not a succession from father to son is not merely our interpretation. Guarnan Poma, in fact, gives nine names of descendants between Variruna and Purunruna, of whom he himself says that the second succeeded the first. And he cites, for the period between the Inca emperors Tupac Yupanqui and Huascar, that is, at most, about fifty years, six "kings" of Chinchasuyu, a province already subject to Cuzco, whose reigns would represent, together, about one hundred and twenty years.



'The man of Viracocha the Warrior', 'first Indian of this kingdom'. Note the character's beard and wavy hair. (Drawing by Guarnan Poma de Ayala).

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Dibujos de Guaman Poma de Ayala, de la segunda, tercera y cuarta "edades de indios". Sobre estas líneas: "el tiempo de los guerreros".

In reality, the "descendants" of the first four chiefs are merely those of the Vikings who received fiefdoms in the four provinces as they conquered them. Or rather, some of them, as the chronicles mention many others. These local chiefs

often bear the title of cápac, which later became reserved for the Inca emperor, as far as we know. The word is neither Quechua nor Aymara, and Garcilaso, who nevertheless attempts to interpret it, gives it two different meanings in two different passages of his chronicle. It comes from the Norse kappi, meaning brave man, hero, champion and, after the Christianisation of Scandinavia, knight. The name of another of the characters mentioned by Guarnan Poma is accompanied by the title ynga — from ing, descendant, as we already know. We also find the title auqui —offspring, in Norse— which was given to the children of the Inca until their marriage and, throughout their lives, to the emperor's brothers: identical, therefore, to 'infante' in Spanish. This confirms what we said above about the composition of the list, since a teenager could not have occupied the 'throne', nor, of course, could the brother of the reigning sovereign. Finally, let us mention two Quechua titles: apo, which simply means 'chief', and curaca, which in Inca times was applied exclusively to indigenous chiefs. Perhaps this was not the case before. Perhaps, too, Guarnan Poma indiscriminately cites the names of local chiefs, one or more of whom — for some are purely Quechua, while others include at least one Norse word (Vari-viracocha, Viracocha, vari, cápac, auqui, ynga) — were Indians.

In any case, the repeated mention by Guarnan Poma and other chroniclers of the purely Norse title of cápac, attributed to local chiefs, shows us that the Vikings applied the norms of medieval Europe after their conquest. They divided the subjugated territory into fiefdoms, which they attributed to those of their men whom they judged capable of governing them. The sovereign of Chan-Chan had already taken the title of Chimú-Cápac. Later, the Inca emperors of Cuzco would have certain difficulties in imposing their authority on "more than two hundred chieftains of towns and provinces, fifty and sixty leagues around the city of Cuzco, who called themselves and were called Cápac Inca in their lands and towns", as the chronicler Betanzos writes. They would have to "acquire and subjugate these towns and provinces, and remove the names that each petty lord of these towns and provinces had given to Cápac". Further away from the capital, this would not always be easy to achieve and a bloody war would be necessary to subdue the king of the Kollas, Chuchi Cápac.

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Our interpretation of Guarnan Poma's "dynastic series" is reinforced by various Aymara traditions revealed in the first half of our century by Bolivian ethnologists. Numerous names—mythical and historical—appear in accounts referring to the past of the Kolla country, but they generally do not coincide, and when they do, they are never linked in the same way. This is not surprising. On the one hand, this information comes from different regions, each with its own memories. On the other hand, the authors in question insist on including as many names as possible in the four 'ages' of Guarnan Poma, whose implausible duration they accept without question. In other words, they abusively systematise isolated traditions which, in order to restore their meaning, we must remove from the arbitrary framework imposed on them. Let us give an example of the procedure and analysis required.

Luis Soria Lens is a serious researcher who, over many years of close contact with the Aymara indigenous people, collected numerous traditions and legends which, unfortunately, he later unified in his own way. He thus presents us with four dynasties of mallku kollas, a title that comes from the Norse mal, judgement, and konr, king, and therefore literally means 'king of judgements', or king-judge. The first, that of the Mallku Titi, dates back to Viracocha. Of its long line of rulers, only a few names remain: Kuntur Mamani, inventor of the house, who, deified, has become the protector, still invoked today, of roofers; Kkhapa Tchekha, inventor of weaving, also deified and patron saint of weavers; Orkho Titi and Khala Titi, warrior heroes, who are called upon in times of conflict; and finally, Sapalla, conqueror of the territory up to Cuzco. It is clear that these are mythical characters who symbolise the different aspects of Viracocha's activity: his cultural contributions, or at least some of them, and his conquests. Sapalla is not even a name, as we have already seen, but a title, curiously mentioned here in its Quechua form. The second dynasty, that of the Mallku Apu Willka, includes Mallku Wanka Willka, 'the priest king of Wanka', that is to say, of the god of poetry, music and dance; Apu Willka Uyushtus, or Yustus, who bears the Aymara name of Viracocha, and others, among whom the Mallku Khakhapara —'the kings with blond hair', who have left a bad memory— stand out. From the third dynasty, that of the Illa, we only have three

names: Yauilla, Takuilla — a very historical figure, whom we will return to later — and Kipuilla, inventor of the quipos, or the mnemonic procedure of knotted strings. This is the era of conquest, while the fourth dynasty, during which a process of decline took place, brings to mind one name, Makuri, and ends with Mallku Kkhapa, Manco Cápac, founder of the New Empire, that of the Incas. All this is nothing more than an ingenious montage, and there are others of the same kind. To get a clear picture of the matter, we must first of all erase the artificial framework drawn up by Guarnan Poma and, moreover, misunderstood by ethnologists who believed they should inscribe in it the results of their research, often of the highest interest. Let us therefore resume our analysis at the point where we left off.

During the first sixty years of Viking presence, the organisation of the kingdom was limited, as we have seen, to Collasuyu and Contisuyu, that is, to the territory extending from the Altiplano to Cuzco and, on the coast, to Pachacámac. In the north, the kingdom of Quito was ruled by a related dynasty, as was the kingdom of Chimor in the west, which gradually annexed the fertile oases of the desert coast and transformed itself into an empire. The savage tribes of Antisuyu and the peoples occupying the regions south of Collasuyu, who were more peaceful and civilised with the exception of the Araucanians of Chile, did not cause any problems. There remained the large mountainous area of Chinchasuyu, where the confederated tribes of the Chancas lived, and, down to the coast, the Chinchas, still powerful remnants of the Chavín empire, destroyed, it seems, at the beginning of the 8th century, whose culture dates back at least a millennium and perhaps much longer: these are extremely turbulent tribes whose mere presence weighs heavily on the territory of the Atumaruna as an intolerable threat.

As the conquest progressed, the Viking jarls organised their fiefdoms from a military point of view according to the Nordic model. In the 10th century, in Scandinavia, and more precisely between the islands of Frisia and Oeland, in Denmark and southern Sweden, the administrative unit was the circle, hufe or bohle. One hundred circles formed a district - haeret in Denmark and hundan in Sweden - which, in the event of war, had to supply 120 soldiers and sailors. In England, these men were, of course, serfs under the command of their lords. The situation was the same in Peru, as no people

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abandons its customs unless compelled to do so by some compelling reason. The only difference is that circles and districts are much larger here than in Europe, and that the subordinate functions of civil and military organisation – confused as required by the feudal order – are necessarily entrusted to the traditional leaders of the subjugated peoples. The whites, in fact, are but a handful, while the indigenous people number in the millions.

Can we get an idea of the number of Vikings settled in Peru shortly after 1060, when 'the time of the warriors' began? Yes, as long as we are satisfied with a rough estimate that lacks any precision. We saw in the previous chapter that Ullman landed in Mexico in 967 with some seven hundred men and women. We know that the jarl left behind in Anáhuac a number of single men who, during his expedition to Yucatán, had joined with indigenous women. On the other hand, they had lost some men in the course of the fighting at Chichén-Itzá, which forced him to leave the Mayan country, and probably before that, when they landed at Panutlán and conquered the central plateau. Let us say that, upon his departure, he had about five hundred men and women left, with a more balanced distribution by sex than at the time of his arrival, plus the white children born on American soil during his twenty-two years in Mexico. Let us take, for the year 967, the number of five hundred 'useful breeders' and apply to it the population growth rate corresponding to the French in Canada for the two hundred years following the English occupation of 1763: doubling every thirty years. This choice is not arbitrary, as these are populations belonging to the same race, living in a harsh and healthy climate, subject to natural selection, the limitation of which, in Quebec, between the beginning of our century and 1963, is compensated, from a statistical point of view, by the reduction in the birth rate, particularly in cities. On this basis, we arrive at the number of

4,000 people. Let us divide this by two, which is undoubtedly excessive, given the lower fertility rate than that of the French Canadians, the loss of some families left behind in Quito and Chan-Chan, the adverse effects of altitude on childbirth during a process of acclimatisation that requires two or three generations, and the mortality rate due to the wars of conquest of the

Collasuyu. In 1060, we are left with 2,000 Vikings, or about 500 men of military age.

Five hundred well-organised, well-trained combatants, equipped at least in part with steel weapons and provided with some horses, is not a negligible force when it comes to confronting indigenous people who, divided into countless hostile tribes, are incapable of forming the slightest coherent unit and have only wooden clubs and javelins at their disposal. Ullman had no more than this to conquer Anahuac. Cortés would take Tenochtitlán with four hundred men. Pizarro would defeat Atahualpa with less than half that number. The latter would certainly benefit from the prophecies concerning the return of the "white gods", which would cause their adversaries to waver, at least at first. But this psychological advantage would be offset by the fact that they would have to fight well-organised armies. In any case, Viracocha and his successors, at least after the Vikings settled in Tiahuanacu, were unable to gather their warriors into one or more fighting units, as most of them were scattered across a vast territory, each under the command of a feudal lord whose inhabitants, when called upon to bear arms, were transformed from farmers into soldiers. The Viking army is therefore made up of colonial "reserve" units, organised by local indigenous chiefs — the curacas — and commanded by a white man, always ready to respond to a call to arms.

At the beginning of Aucaruna's reign, and despite some traditions, or their anachronistic compilation, which attribute expeditions to Viracocha and his sons that would have taken them much further north, Tiahuanacu only plausibly controlled Collasuyu, with the region of Cuzco constituting its forward point in the northeast, and the southern part of Contisuyu. Along the entire northern border, the Chancas, Angaráes and Chinchas, all of whom spoke Quechua, exerted constant pressure on the Viking fiefdoms, with sporadic incursions. The situation could not last. The konr launched his forces against his troublesome neighbours. It is his work that the traditions revealed by Soria Lens attribute to the 'dynasty' of the Mallku Apu Willka, whose 'kings', whether historical or mythical, can only be or represent war chiefs. One of them advanced in the Altiplano as far as

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Huancavélica, 300 km northwest of Cuzco as the crow flies. Another, to the west, occupies the territory of the Angaráes and then, on the coast, that of the Chinchas. The same, eager to consolidate all the borders of the empire, subjugates the savage tribes of the Hacha Yunka in the tropical valleys of the east. It is more doubtful that he descended along the coast in Chile to Copiapó, about 1,000 km south of Lio in a straight line, and even less likely that a third "general" advanced north to Piura, almost on the border with Ecuador. These distant conquests probably belong to the successors of Aucaruna and, in particular, to the famous Takuilla, the unifier of the territory, whose name comes from tak, to take, and illr, evil - he who takes the evil ones - and whose exploits the Aymaras still sing about today in their epic poems.

The defeat of the Chinchas, Angaráes and Chancas was consolidated by the establishment of Viking military colonies in Quaytara, on the coast, and in the mountains, in Huamanga, according to the chronicles, but more likely in Vinaque, where there are important ruins of pre-Inca buildings "built by white, bearded men", as Cieza de León says, in Pomacocha and, it seems, in Vilka-Huaman where, in 1953, Victor von Hagen noted a remarkable proportion of blue-eyed individuals in a population that only speaks Quechua and lives in the indigenous way, did nothing more than shift the problem of border security 300 km further north. For beyond the lands thus occupied, other Quechua-speaking tribes — then, at least culturally, related to the vanquished — were themselves stirring. Takuilla, thus demonstrating a remarkable geopolitical sense, realised that there was only one way to achieve peace: to reach the natural borders of the empire, which were, to the west, the Pacific Ocean, and to the north and east, the virgin forest of the Hacha Yunka Pampa, the great equatorial and tropical plain that stretches to the Atlantic. To the south, the ancient civilised peoples of Tucumán, in present-day Argentina, pose no threat and can easily be turned into allies. On the contrary, the Araucanians of Chile, who dominate the coast from the Atacama Desert to Coquimbo and further south, are restless neighbours who must be subjugated. Such is his plan of action. Does he carry it out alone, as is likely, or has tradition grouped the work of several sovereigns under his name? We do not know, and the matter is of no importance.

Takuilla, tired of skirmishes and expeditions with limited objectives, concentrated all his available forces and launched them towards the north. Nature, rather than the warlike but disorganised tribes of the Altiplano, slowed his advance. However, he achieved his goal. Respecting the friendly Ecuador, the konr retraced the path taken by his ancestors in the opposite direction. He occupied Kondanemarka, in present-day Colombia, and, according to some accounts, crossed Venezuela. The Tumuc-Humac mountains, which separate present-day Brazil from the Guianas, owe their Aymara name to him, although this may also be attributed to mere coincidence. What is certain, and this also confirms his extraordinary geopolitical sense, is that he established a permanent base in the north-east of the empire. In the Chachapoyas region, east of Marañón, in the upper Amazon, where the river begins to become navigable — and we will see that this is no coincidence — he not only builds temporary structures that will later become imposing fortresses, but also establishes kollas, to whom he distributes land, with a solid Viking framework. Even today, we can still see the ruins of fortifications in the region, such as those of Kuelap, built in the Tiahuanaco style. There, the place names are largely Aymara. The 'indigenous people' are white. 'From what we know of their ancestors,' says explorer Bertrand Flornoy (1943), 'they were an organised, religious people marked by the civilisation of Tiahuanacu'. These strange Indians are not the product of miscegenation with Spaniards: Flornoy mentions, according to an unidentified chronicler, that when the Inca emperor Huayna Cápac reconquered Chachapoyas, some women from the tribe were sent to Cuzco "because they were beautiful and very white". On the right bank of the Uctubamba, in a place called Angulo, there is a limestone ravine with a 45-degree slope. The wall is dotted with small caves, protected by an overhang. Each one contains an anthropomorphic statue measuring 1.40 metres high and 2 metres in circumference at the base, made of white clay, stones and grass. It is a funerary monument: it is hollow and open at the back, and inside there is a mummified body curled up. The faces of the statues have distinctly European features and a very thick full beard. What is more, the figure is wearing the pointed helmet that only the Vikings used. Evidently, the Kollas transplanted by Takuilla merged with the Quechua population, from whom they differed in no way physically.

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But the whites, through endogamy, have preserved the racial type of their Scandinavian ancestors almost unchanged to this day.

After thus securing the pacification of the Altiplano, whose tribes are blocked between the solid garrisons of Cuzco and Kuelap, Takuilla descends again towards the south along the coastal road; it is excellent to give his Chimú allies and the recently subjugated Chinchas the spectacle of his victorious army. But he does not stop there. A new expedition takes him to Chile. He crosses the Atacama Desert and then conquers, as far as Copiapó, the narrow coastal strip populated by turbulent Araucanian tribes or, at least, if it is true that one of his predecessors had already taken care of the matter, he consolidates his occupation. He continues on to Coquimbo, capital of the Araucanian kingdom, and subjugates the region that depends on it, up to the Maulé River, south of present-day Santiago. Perhaps, although no tradition recounts it, he travelled up the Tucumán, now in Argentina, where a mysterious white population has lived since time immemorial in the mountains of Córdoba, and where, further north, among the Diaguitas of the present-day provinces of La Rioja and Catamarca, the influence of the Tiahuanacota civilisation is evident.

The eastern borders remain subject to sporadic incursions by tribes of different origins that populate the eastern flanks of the Bolivian mountain range, not to mention the Chunchus, the forest dwellers of the Hacha Yunka Pampa. Takuilla undertakes the conquest of these territories, which are essential for the security of the empire. He successively defeats the Charcas of the mining valleys, whose current city of Sucre will later bear his name, and the Guaraní Chiriguanos of the Santa Cruz plains. He then established a powerful military colony in the region. Although no ruins remain of the fortifications, which were probably built of wood like those erected by the Incas in the same area, the descendants of his Viking cadres—the Yuracaré "white Indians"—were still being studied by Alcide d'Orbigny in the early 19th century. One of Takuilla's successors, known only by the nickname Chacha-Poma (Jaguar-Puma), would later complete the conquest of the eastern plains. We will return to this subject in the next chapter.

Only through analysis can we place the kings of Tiahuanacu in time, whose geopolitical and military work we have just summarised

thanks to the scattered and undated facts that tradition has handed down to us. We have seen, on the one hand, that three generations passed between Viracocha's landing in Lio, sometime after the year 1000, and the beginning of Aucaruna's reign. This represents, at that time, about sixty years. We will see, on the other hand, that by 1150 the Vikings of Tiahuanacu already had a port on the Atlantic, which implies the previous conquests of Takuilla and Chacha-Poma to the east of the Andes. We therefore have, for a period of just under a hundred years, three names of sovereigns. This is not enough. We are probably missing two more, which tradition has not preserved or has mixed up with those of lesser figures. Such a gap is not surprising. Popular memory only preserves the memory of heroes. Let us ask any French peasant the names of our medieval kings: despite compulsory schooling, not to mention the archives and libraries that exist, even if he does not frequent them, he will probably mention, at most, those of Clovis, Charlemagne and Saint Louis. One cannot reasonably expect a better answer from illiterate Indians, especially after the Incas made efforts, as we shall see, to erase all traces of the history of Tiahuanacu.

This explanation applies to the hundred years after 1150. The borders of the empire are well demarcated and well protected. Life has become routine. For the common man, nothing happens that is worth singing about. The successive rulers are, for him, distant figures, devoid of epic warmth. They are respected, obeyed, and forgotten. It will take a catastrophe for the oral tradition to return to its former glory.

How many things happen, however, in Peru! Certainly, the kings of Tiahuanacu did not wait for the end, or even the beginning, of the conquest expeditions to leave their mark and develop indigenous culture. Terrace farming and the first irrigation works, as well as the establishment of a civil court, are already attributed to Viracocha. The establishment of worship and the creation of a priestly hierarchy date back to the reigns prior to that of Takuilla, since the latter had to oppose the undue interference of the clergy. Llamas were already being used as draft animals for farming, which meant the use of ploughs. But it was Takuilla, organiser of trade between the mountains, the coast and the plains

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lead to the Amazon and Río de la Plata basins, that we owe its use as a pack animal; he is also the great military leader who, moreover, promotes the crafts of pottery, weaving and dyeing. War itself, from the outset, but even more so from the moment the troops entered the mountains, required communication routes that the indigenous people, divided into hostile tribes, had never needed before. Before Aucaruna's reign, there were therefore necessarily roads between Tiahuanacu and the coast on one side, and between Tiahuanacu and Cuzco on the other, with their staging posts and depots for food and military equipment, without which their use would have been extremely uncertain. Later, the construction of roads naturally followed the progress of the armies: prisoners of war provided an abundant labour force for the work. This is not merely a logical deduction on our part. Although the Inca emperors later improved and expanded their network, traces of the most primitive roads still remain in Peru: for example, the one discovered in 1952 by the von Hagen expedition on the Paracas Peninsula. Luis de Monzón, corregidor of Huamanga (now Ayacucho) in the centre of the country, confirms its existence when he writes in 1586 that the elderly Indians said that, according to their ancestral traditions, the Viracochas, long before the Incas, had the indigenous people build roads as wide as streets, lined with low walls and equipped with houses at regular intervals. Garcilaso mentions that Manco Cápac, the first Inca ruler, when he undertook the reconquest of the empire, advanced a dozen kilometres along the royal roads that led from Cuzco to the four regions of Tahuantisuyu. The chronicler's text, precise as always, leaves no room for doubt. Manco did not lay out these routes: "He ordered thirteen towns to be populated on either side of the royal road of Antisuyu". And Garcilaso uses exactly the same terms when referring to the other directions. Not only, then, did the Cápac Ñan, the Roads of the Heroes, as they were called in Quechua, date back to the Old Empire, but they also had their centre in Cuzco and not in Tiahuanacu. If the political, religious and cultural capital of the Vikings had been able, without major inconvenience, to remain where history had placed it, it was too far from the northern provinces, which had to be conquered and which later, even in Inca times, would be the most turbulent. Cuzco, on the linguistic border and practically in the geographical centre of the empire, was the ideal location

for a military capital. All that was needed was to build the necessary fortifications. The Atumaruna did not fail to do so. This solves the enigma posed by the gigantic fortress of Sacsahuaman, which dominates the city. In the absence of a better explanation, archaeologists have attributed it to the Incas, while pointing out the fact, incomprehensible to them, that its construction is identical to that of the buildings at Tiahuanacu and, therefore, very different from that of the Inca period. We now know where we stand.

The ruins that remain of the ancient metropolis give us only a very distant idea of what it was like. Plundered, as we shall see, at the end of the 13th century, abandoned until its reconquest by the Inca emperor Mayta Cápac around 1350, in the hands of local chiefs with little interest in preserving monuments that reminded them of foreign rule, undermined when the Spanish arrived by treasure hunters, and used as a quarry both by the inhabitants of the present-day town and, later, by English engineers who ordered columns and statues to be broken up to build ballast for the La Paz-Guaqui railway, finally razed by Arthur Posnansky, the engineer who made it known to the world but filled German museums with its remains, Tiahuanacu now shows us nothing but grandiose ruins. In a letter reproduced by Garcilaso, Father Diego de Alcobaza gives us an idea of what the building called Kalasasaya was still like at the end of the 15th century, in which José Imbelloni, a man of exceptional culture but sceptical by temperament, stubbornly saw nothing but an alignment of upright stones: "A square courtyard fifteen fathoms on each side, with a fence more than two states high. On one side of the courtyard there is a room forty-five feet long and twenty-two feet wide... The roof of the room, from the outside, looks like straw even though it is made of stone, because, just as the Indians cover their houses with straw, they combed and scratched the stone to make it look like a straw roof, so that it would resemble the others. Lake Titicaca is depicted on one of the canvases in the courtyard (which confirms that the lake level was much higher then than it is today).

...There are also a large number of stones carved with figures of men and women, so lifelike that they seem to be alive, drinking from cups in their hands, some sitting, others standing, others crossing a stream that runs between those buildings; other statues have their children on their skirts and laps; others carry them on their backs and others in a thousand different ways.

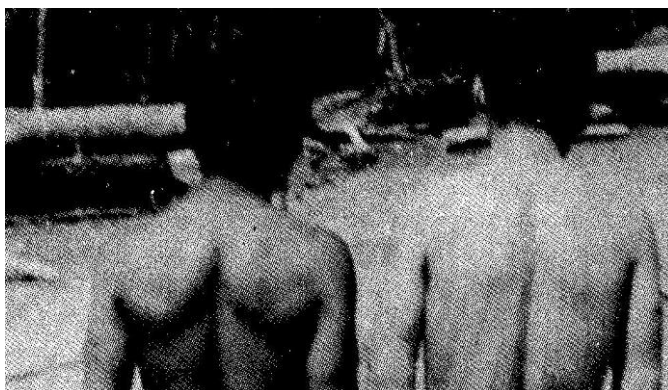
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Cieza de León, one of the first Spaniards to visit the ruins —after the treasure hunters, whom he mentions in passing—he describes, in 1552, the 'great buildings' of which little remains: 'a well-built wall, stones so large and grown that it is astonishing to think how, being of such greatness, human strength was enough to bring them where we see them. Some of them are shaped like human bodies... many large doorways, with their jambs, thresholds and lintels, all in one piece... I cannot understand what instruments and tools were used to carve (all this)... I asked the natives... if these buildings had been made in the time of the Incas, and they laughed at this question, stating that they had been made before they reigned, but that they could not say or affirm who made them... For this reason, and because they also say they have seen bearded men on the island of Titicaca and that such people built the building at Vinaque, I say that it may be that, before the Incas ruled, there must have been some knowledgeable people in these kingdoms, who came from somewhere unknown, who would have done these things, and being few in number, and the natives so numerous, they would have been killed in wars.

It is not only in Tiahuanacu and Vinaque that pre-Inca ruins remain, but also in Ayavire, a place name that is easy to identify (from jarl, lord, with an augmentative Quichua a, and virk, fortress, in the form we find in Normandy where the name of the city of Vire has the same origin), in Konkho Huanankané, near the ancient capital, in Cuzco, in Huari (Vari, warrior, in Norse, as we have already seen), in Chachapoyas and in numerous other places, known and unknown, since Bolivia and Peru are far from having been thoroughly explored from an archaeological point of view. Not to mention the countless chullpas, those funerary towers, some square and others round, built of carved stone in the purest Tiahuanaco style, which are scattered throughout the territory of ancient Collasuyu, extending well northwards.

Let us not believe, on the basis of these descriptions of ruins, that the buildings of the Tiahuanacu period were characterised exclusively by the gigantic dimensions of the blocks used in their construction.

Two photographs of "brown" guayaki and "white" guayaki. Above, detail of a drawing by Guarnan Poma de Ayala of the usurper Atahualpa; note the indigenous features of the character.



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Much more surprising, for those who do not have the key to the matter, are the architectural forms revealed by the carved pieces that lie scattered around the remains of monuments and in Puma Punku, the stonemasons' workshop in the Viking capital. So much so that in 1933, long before our research, a German author, Edmund Riss, with no other knowledge of the problem, was able to write in the magazine *Germanien*, as the conclusion of an article on pre-Inca architecture: "Men of Nordic race must have resided in the city of Tiahuanacu. They are probably responsible for the buildings of the prehistoric capital (as it was then). This is clearly not Indian architecture." However, although they were of Nordic race, the builders of the monuments in question were not the descendants of the men who arrived with Viracocha. Ullman's Vikings had left Europe on a conquest expedition, not a colonisation expedition, since

—as we have already said— they had taken horses but not cattle. Therefore, there must have been only a few craftsmen from the entire sailing fleet among them: carpenters and blacksmiths. Certainly no stonemasons, since in the 10th century only wooden buildings were constructed in Scandinavia and, with a few exceptions, in England. And even fewer architects. However, there are no forests in the Altiplano that could provide the raw materials necessary for traditional construction, and the eastern slopes of the Andes are difficult to access. The Indians, on the other hand, judging by the total absence of buildings prior to the year 1000, are far from mastering the Royal Art. The Vikings must therefore have lived for a century and a half in very uncomfortable huts. This was of little importance at a time when they were waging war throughout South America with a view to conquering and organising their empire. Very soon, however, the need for a capital worthy of their power must have become apparent. In today's language, we would say that they lacked the necessary technology to build it. They managed to obtain it, as we shall see in the next chapter. Master builders, stonecutters, sculptors and smelters arrived from Europe with, of course, their steel tools. The Indians were skilled and meticulous. The workers were quickly trained. Soon, temples, palaces and fortresses began to spring up everywhere.

On the technical side, another aspect of Tiahuanacu culture deserves mention. Before the year 1000, as we have seen, the indigenous people of the

In the field of metallurgy, the Titicaca people only knew how to work with copper, and this was thanks to the influence of the Nazca. It is even doubtful that they produced the metal themselves. In the Viking Empire, on the other hand, we know that copper was extracted from sulphides, which required a very complex procedure. The proof is provided by the hooks used to hold together the large blocks that make up the walls of buildings. Later, under the Incas, this technique was forgotten and metal was only produced from silicates, carbonates and oxychlorides. It was also after the year 1000 that bronze appeared, which was used to make crescent-shaped axes, pins, T-shaped knives, etc. Iron and steel were certainly not unknown, as the Vikings had already moved beyond the Bronze Age more than 1,500 years earlier. On the other hand, the craftsmen who arrived around 1150 did not use tools made of any other metal. It is highly probable that the smelters who taught the Indians advanced copper metallurgy also knew how to produce iron and steel. This is all the more likely given that the Quechua language has a word, *ccellav*, for iron, and the Guaraní languages of Brazil and Paraguay, respectively, call iron *itahúna* and *kuarepotohü* and steel *itaite* and *kuarepotiata*. It is logical that we have not found any indisputable instruments made of either of these metals, as iron and steel disappear quickly without a trace. "And as we now know (but Herodotus already knew this, author's note) that the ancient Egyptians had fine iron instruments, although none have been discovered before the opening of King Tut's tomb

," writes the great American archaeologist Hyatt Verrill, "it is still possible that we may discover steel tools in some American tomb or ruin. Countless copper or bronze tools have been found, but none of them are capable of cutting the softest stone." Perhaps the steel sword with a runic inscription found near La Rioja, in the Argentine Andes, in 1972, but whose study has not yet yielded definitive results, constitutes the tangible proof we were hoping for.

In a completely different field, that of writing, there is no doubt. Indigenous traditions tell us that the men of Tiahuanacu wrote "with letters" on *quellca* (parchment) and banana leaves. The inscriptions we discovered in Paraguay and Brazil, translated by Professor Hermann Munk, confirm this beyond doubt. Among the Vikings who set out with Ullman, there were some who

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knew not only how to read but also how to trace the runes of the futhark - "alphabets" - then used in Schleswig and England. This art was never lost. Under these circumstances, we have the right to ask ourselves why no inscriptions were ever found in Mexico or Peru. The answer is simple: they were systematically destroyed. In the empire of Tiahuanacu, this was done by the priests of the Sun, as we shall see, and later by the Spanish friars who were relentless in their persecution of all "symbols of idolatry" and, above all, of signs that were incomprehensible to them and could only be the work of the Devil. Father de la Calancha, who saved and reproduced the Calango inscription, in which runic characters and other distinctly European drawings can be seen, complains bitterly about this at the beginning of the 17th century. Only in regions that the conquistadors did not reach, or reached later, when their iconoclastic fury had subsided, are there still runic inscriptions dating from the Tiahuanacu empire.

A little over a hundred years pass without much history, but not without activity. The conquered territories are organised into fiefdoms. Military colonies are established in the most turbulent provinces. In Tiahuanacu, in Cuzco, and in many other places, magnificent civil and military buildings are constructed, transforming former indigenous villages into grand cities. The Indians were subject to a patriarchal order that protected them, respecting their customs, beliefs and even their authorities. The Vikings, for their part, strictly preserved the purity of their race, language and religion. They constituted a caste aristocracy that reserved political and military command functions for themselves, above populations that they had no desire to assimilate. Their numbers grew rapidly, but they were never enough, for as time went by, the indigenous people found it increasingly difficult to bear the burdens imposed on them by the empire. Military service outside their native province, compulsory labour for the construction and maintenance of royal roads, and the requisitioning of labour for the mines made them gradually forget the advantages of internal peace and justice. They began to stir. This is why tradition presents us with the last sovereign of the house of Viracocha, Makuri (from the Norse *mal*, judgement, —the fall of the / is normal— and *kór*, choice: he who pronounces judgements, the judge) as a tyrant, "a Tartar-like conqueror, bloodthirsty and implacable, (who used to drink) the still-warm blood of his victims, served in cups carved from the skulls of the

enemy chiefs he had defeated, whom he had first had skinned so that their skin could be used to make drums, as well as having their teeth pulled out to make necklaces for his concubines," wrote Bolivian historian Rigoberto Paredes in 1901. **All that's missing are the gas chambers and crematoria!** But there is one word too many: bloodthirsty or not, Makuri is not a conqueror, for the simple reason that, in his time, as we shall see in the next chapter, the empire had long since covered almost the whole of South America. Moreover, the traditions concerning him were discovered among the Kollas, that is, in a region where the conquest, if there was one, was the work of Viracocha and his immediate successors, two hundred and fifty years earlier. What the image that tradition has preserved of Makuri reveals is not war, which rarely arouses such hatred, but repression. And, in fact, during his reign, there were indigenous uprisings here and there, which the Judge crushed without hesitation; successfully, but at the cost of the Vikings' popularity. When he died, around 1275, his heir failed to retain power and the empire fell into widespread anarchy, the cause of which we will analyse later.

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III

THE ROADS OF THE ATLANTIC

In Europe, the Vikings never resisted the temptation to sail up or down a river. Having become mountaineers in the Andes, they lost none of their instincts and traditions as sailors, continuing to navigate the Pacific and Lake Titicaca. Perhaps they are somewhat disappointed not to find, in the course of their conquests, rivers worthy of the name, but only torrents. Everything changes when, suddenly, Takuilla stumbles upon the deep fault that, over time, the upper Amazon has carved into the eastern chain of the mountain range. He cannot help but question the Indians. They tell him about the enormous river that runs through the impenetrable jungle and flows far away into the great eastern sea where the sun rises. The Konr, of course, is not unaware of the existence of the Atlantic, since his ancestors crossed it. The Amazon, then, allows him to reach it. The region of Chachapoyas thus acquires exceptional importance for him. He must ensure his control over it. The best way to achieve this is to settle in the area not only the transplanted Indians, who, being strangers to the environment and poorly regarded by the locals, will have no choice but to remain loyal, but also a white military colony that will provide him with the necessary leadership.

As a route of communication with the ocean—as the Vikings would soon realise—the Amazon does not, however, offer only advantages. On the one hand, it can only be reached from the northern tip of Peru, 1,500 km as the crow flies from Tiahuanacu. On the other hand, for light vessels other than canoes, the river is only navigable during part of the year because, in the rainy season, it carries submerged logs that are invisible in its muddy waters.

The situation improved when Takuilla decided to pacify the valleys that, from the Altiplano, at the height of the capital and further south, sink into the eastern jungle. The Chiriguanos who live on the plain, at the foot of the last foothills of the Andes, are semi-nomadic Guaraní, in contact with their sedentary brothers of the same race in the east. Through them, the emperor learns of the existence of a great river that, 500 or 600 km from the mountains, descends from the north and ends in a huge estuary on the ocean. Here, too, there is an apparently usable communication route, and one that is easier to access than the Amazon.

A military colony is established below the valleys. This covers the entrance to a possible route leading to Paraguay. A route that Konr Chacha Poma soon opens up after penetrating the Santa Cruz plain and beyond, deeper than his predecessor.

Does the empire owe to Takuilla the military organisation of its northern territories, which we now call Colombia and Venezuela, not to mention the Guianas? We have no proof of this, but tradition suggests it and the method used leads us to believe it. The region is attractive. The temperate climate of its plateau allows for agriculture complementary to that of Peru. But above all, it is crossed from west to east by another great river, the Orinoco, which flows into the Caribbean Sea. These are sufficient reasons for the Vikings to take a certain interest in it and, in any case, to take the necessary measures to ensure its tranquillity. However, the local population is not at all trustworthy. Alongside the Muyscas, who enjoy a high cultural level, especially in the field of goldsmithing, there are numerous forest tribes, some of which are still not subjugated today. The territory is so vast that it would be insufficient to establish a few military colonies there. Significant forces are needed to ensure control of the river, the coastline and the land communication routes. The Vikings command the Arawaks.

We have already mentioned this people, unrelated to the Andean race, who in the year 1000 formed a pocket in the Aymara area, near Vilkanuto (Virk Knud, in Norse: Fortress Knud) and extended eastwards beyond the mountain range. It is likely that Viracocha had secured their alliance during the conquest of Collasuyu. On the one hand, minority populations are always willing to play along with any invader in order to free themselves. On the other hand, the Vikings (as we saw in the case of Ullman in Mexico) sought and knew how to obtain from them - Olmecs, Huastecs or Itzaes - the numerical support that was essential to them. For the people of Tiahuanacu, the Arawaks represented an acquisition of exceptional value: not only were they brave warriors, but they also possessed a culture far superior to that of the Aymaras.

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LA PRIMERA REINA I. S.
CAPACOMAGUALLA



SEGUNDA SEÑORA
CAPACMAYLOUTIMA



La "reina" del Chinchasuyu (sobre estas líneas); la mujer principal del Antisuyu, "más blanca que una española", en la época incaica (arriba, a la derecha); y mujer principal de Collasuyu, netamente india (al lado).
Dibujos de Guaman Poma de Ayala.

TERCERA SEÑORA
CAPACOMETALLAMA



In the last century, they were still skilled blacksmiths who used iron ore that they extracted and worked themselves—a technique probably inherited from the Vikings, as the Spanish in America were unfamiliar with it—to make axes, knives, and spears of excellent quality.

They wove and dyed fine fabrics, cultivated cotton and sugar cane, and used the juice of the latter to make molasses bread, using machines invented by themselves or inherited from their former masters. They were extraordinary potters, and their finely decorated vessels, with their intricate designs, feature prominently in museums in Brazil and other countries. What leads us to believe that they collaborated with Viracocha is the name they bear. The word arahuac — the Spanish transposition of aravac, as pronounced by the Quechua people — has no meaning in any of the indigenous languages of the Altiplano. But in the Schleswig dialect of the Vikings of Tiahuanacu, the word (from the Old German era, honour, and the Norse vaka, guard) means "Guard of Honour". Not a "guard to pay honours", which would have made no sense at that time, but an "honorary guard".

There was probably an elite corps in the capital, the Guard, composed exclusively of white people. Viracocha's auxiliaries had earned the right to be assimilated into it. In any case, under Takuilla or later, the Arahua were moved, at least in large part, to the northern marches. We find them settled on the coasts, from the mouth of the Orinoco to that of the Amazon, where order is well guaranteed.

However, it is only a marginal area. The Vikings travelled through it, as evidenced by some runic inscriptions, but apart from the senior officials responsible for administering the region and the officers entrusted with command of the border troops, they did not, in all likelihood, reside there. Except for the Kondanemarka plateau, the climate was too harsh for them and, in truth, they had nothing to do in the area. Nevertheless, they used the Orinoco for some of their journeys, as it connected them, via the Cassiquiare, through the construction of a canal, with the Negro River and then with the Amazon. Tradition has handed down to us the name of the civilising hero of the region, who devoted himself to regulating the course of the Orinoco "in such a way that

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one could always follow the current to descend and ascend the river": Amilavaca, from the Germanic name Amil, which comes from the Old German am, a secondary form of em, strong, and ilen, to run, which we still have in German (Emil), Spanish (Emilio) and French (Emile), and from the Norse vaka, guard. Hence: Emilio the Guard. He was probably the jarl who commanded the Arawak corps. The essential thing for the Vikings was to prevent any unrest north of the equator and, above all, to guarantee free movement along the Amazon. The situation is completely different in the immense territory that today belongs, south of the Great River, to Brazil and Paraguay.

The north and centre of Peru are bordered, at the foot of the eastern chain of the Andes, by the equatorial jungle which, with no interruption other than a few savannahs, stretches to the Atlantic, criss-crossed by countless rivers, some of them navigable, which, with few exceptions, flow directly or indirectly into the Amazon. To the south, present-day Bolivia borders the Santa Cruz plain, which extends to the ocean; to the east, the tropical jungle is crossed by two large rivers, the Paraguay and the Paraná, which, long after their confluence, form the Río de la Plata with a third river, the Uruguay, in the Argentine pampas. The two basins are separated by the Sierra de Paresis, where the Paraguay River originates. To the north live countless forest tribes, often nomadic, with a very low cultural level, in constant war with each other. To the south, the bulk of the population is made up of Guaraní people — who will only be given this name later, incidentally — who are certainly warlike but mostly sedentary and who, at least the latter, enjoy a culture that is appreciable at the Neolithic level.

It was impossible for the Vikings to conquer and, above all, to hold this largely impenetrable territory of some eight

millions of square kilometres, which they call Matt³, the Plain, as opposed to the mountain range, Berg, the Mountain. The Andean Indians would not be of much use to them on an expedition of this kind, as they cannot withstand the low altitude or the hot and humid climate. They therefore had to secure the alliance of an indigenous people adapted to the living conditions of the region. They obtained that of the Guaraní, which allowed them to extend the borders of their empire to the ocean. But they did not stop there. They supplied their vassals — there is no other term — with white officers and organised them into a disciplined and well-trained territorial militia. Thanks to the latter, they set out to conquer the Amazon rainforest and its Atlantic coasts. They thus occupied the enormous territory that stretched to the Orinoco, which tradition would remember as the "empire of Great Paytiti, land of the Musus". Paytiti comes from the Guaraní pa'i, father in the sense of priest, and Ti, which we already find in the same double form. Musu is a deformation of the Norse mose, swamp, very appropriate for designating a region where water and land are rarely well defined.

Occupy is, moreover, an excessive word. The Vikings limited themselves to securing control of the coasts and navigable rivers. Thus, we find Guaraní people, even today, throughout the Amazon and its tributary the Xingu, the Paraguay and the Paraná, as well as at the mouth and sources of the San Francisco, an anomaly that we will explain later. The Amazon is the most rational route to the Atlantic for those coming from Peru, and the Vikings use it, at least in winter. The Xingu, although

³ This place name has survived to this day in the names of the two Brazilian states between which the jungle area south of the Amazon is divided: Mato Grosso (former spelling: Matto Grosso).

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cut by numerous rapids that do not deter today's indigenous people at all, allows one to go from the mouth of the Great River to the sources of the Paraguay, travelling on foot for barely a hundred kilometres, and then, following the current, to reach one of the roads that lead, as we shall discuss, to Tiahuanacu. This is certainly not a very comfortable journey, but couriers may be interested in making it, rather than going up the Amazon—which is impracticable in the rainy season—and then descending on foot from Chachapoyas, or vice versa. The Xingu also constitutes a direct line of communication between the densely populated Guaraní region of Paraguay and Mato Grosso and the Amazon valley, on the banks of which warriors in the service of the empire have their forts. This line of communication was so important that the Vikings established themselves there in Arawak, whose descendants can still be seen in the Sierra de Paresis, the divortium aquarum between the Gran Río and Plata basins, which was still a passable road in the 16th century, through a village called Orthuesi (from the Old German ort, region, and the Quechua huasi, house(s), derived from the Norse hus, which has the same meaning: Houses of the Region), connects with Charcas and Tiahuanacu. As for the San Francisco, it allows one to travel by river from the north of Bahia to the mouth of the Río de la Plata, covering only about thirty kilometres on foot between its source and the Rio Grande, a tributary of the Paraná. The Guaraní people rendered good and loyal service to the emperors of Tiahuanacu. The Vikings clearly appreciated their efficiency, since their current name is a mere deformation of giiarini, the Spanish transcription of varini, whose root, vari, means "guardian" in Norse.

It is further south, however, that the role of these allies becomes fundamental. The Amazon, as we have already said, is only usable as a means of communication during the dry season. Its use also requires a long journey. On the other hand, there are only 2,000 km as the crow flies between Tiahuanacu and the Atlantic, via Santa Cruz and Paraguay, a distance much shorter than that separating the Viking capital from the island of Marajó, but one that must be covered on foot or on horseback. However, the route is impassable if there are no roads. Tradition tells us that Chacha Poma undertook its construction. And, in fact, the Guaraní alliance only makes sense once regular contacts have been established between Peru and Paraguay, which presupposes a means of access between the two countries.

Is it him, his successor whose name has been forgotten, who advances to the Atlantic? In any case, the Peaviru, the "Soft Road", soon crosses Paraguay and then Guayrá, a former Paraguayan province now divided between the Brazilian states of Paraná and Santa Catalina, up to the current state of São Paulo further north. Its construction poses a technical problem for the Vikings that is difficult to solve. In the treeless Altiplano, a straight road can be laid out by raising low walls on both sides of a natural, flat and firm roadbed. If an elevation stands in the way, steps are carved or tunnels are dug. On the coast, to avoid the shifting dunes, it is enough to follow the side of the mountain, filling in and paving this or that swampy passage. On the Santa Cruz plain, the savannah offers sufficiently consistent terrain, and in the Chaco, the sparse trees can be removed without much difficulty. In the jungle, everything is different. The soil is spongy and the vegetation dense. There are no stones with which to consolidate or cover the ground. It is possible, of course, with the necessary labour, and there is no shortage of labour, to open up paths. But these would soon be closed again by the push of exuberant vegetation. The Vikings find the solution. Let us reproduce here what the Swiss-Paraguayan historian and anthropologist Moisés Bertoni writes on the subject, attributing it to the Guaraní:

"The system was very simple and ingenious. They opened paths in the forest and, after clearing them with some care, they sowed them at intervals with seeds of two or three species of grasses, one in particular whose shoots spread very easily, and the plants that soon sprouted completely covered the ground and prevented the growth of trees and weeds, which would otherwise have hidden the path. These carefully chosen grasses had the special characteristic of having sticky or silky seeds, so that they spontaneously stuck to the feet and legs of travellers. It was enough to plant or sow them at great distances, for example, every league, so that after a short time, perhaps one or two years, the road would be covered by a carpet that prevented the growth of shrubs and other weeds that could have obstructed it. And, in the 17th century, Father Lozano described the "famous road": "It is eight palms wide, in which space only a very small grass grows, distinguishing it from all the grass on the sides, which, due to the fertility of the soil, grows to half a yard and, even though the straw is withered and

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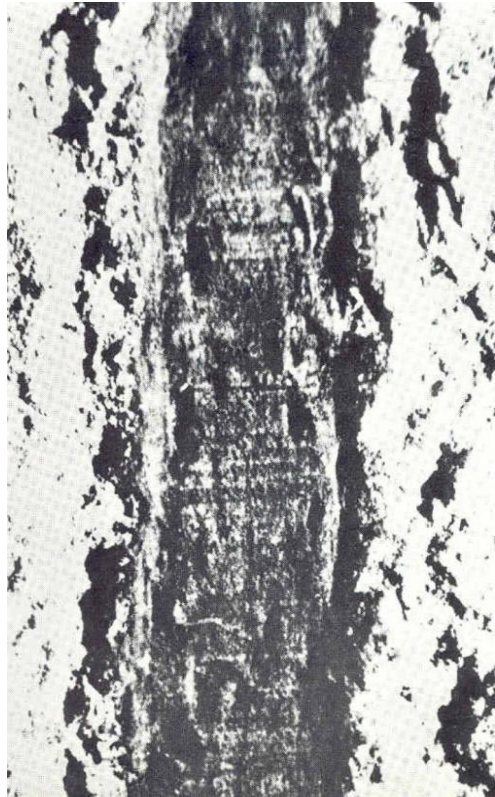
the fields are burned, the grass on that path never grows any higher." The procedure was so effective that, even after seven hundred years of neglect, some sections of the Peaviru can still be seen, especially in the Paraguayan mountain range of Caaguazú.

It is, in fact, an entire network. A single road descends from Tiahuanacu through Oruro, Charcas (now Sucre) and Tarabuco, where it splits. Its southern branch follows the course of the Pilcomayo River to Paraguay, "River of the Men of the Sea" in Guaraní, now Asunción, where it splits again. It heads south towards Yvytyruzú, a crossroads where a post still stands today bearing, in addition to a magnificent image of Odin, the main god of Scandinavian mythology, perfectly intelligible topographical indications in the Norse language and a portolan chart showing the different roads that diverge from this crossroads and their respective destinations. One of them reaches the confluence of the Yguazú and Paraná rivers and then, via Togahuasi, Togahusir and Avahovi, the Atlantic coast at the mouth of the Itabuco River, north of Santa Catalina Island. While Avahovi is a Guaraní place name (from ava, Indian, and hovi, to pile up: Multitude of Indians), Togahusir is unquestionably Norse and comes from toga, the genitive plural of tog, expedition, and husir, the nominative plural of hus, house: Houses of the Expeditions. Togahuasi has the same meaning, but combines toga with the Quechua huasi, which in turn comes from hus. From Yguazú, a branch heads south where, after crossing the Tapé mountain range, whose Lusoguaraní name means "Sierra del Camino" (Mountain Range of the Road), it reaches Lagóa dos Patos (Duck Lagoon), which connects to the ocean. From Paraguay, another road to the north passes through Cerro Morotí, crosses the Paraná at Puerto Adela and, via Peabiru, Londrina and Ourinhos (current place names), reaches the Atlantic at Santos -San Vicente in Portuguese times- in the gulf of the same name.

From Tarabuco, the other branch of the Peaviru heads through Tomina and present-day Santa Cruz de la Sierra towards the Paraná, which it reaches opposite the important village of Vejvink (Weibingo, on the earliest maps of Paraguay), from vej, road, and vink, path, in Norse, at the mouth of the Ypané River. From there, it runs eastward, passing through the present-day cities of Pedro Juan Caballero in Paraguay and Ponta Pora in Brazil, crossing the town of Dourados and the village still called Ivinheima (from the Old German iwa, iva, a n d heim —Norse

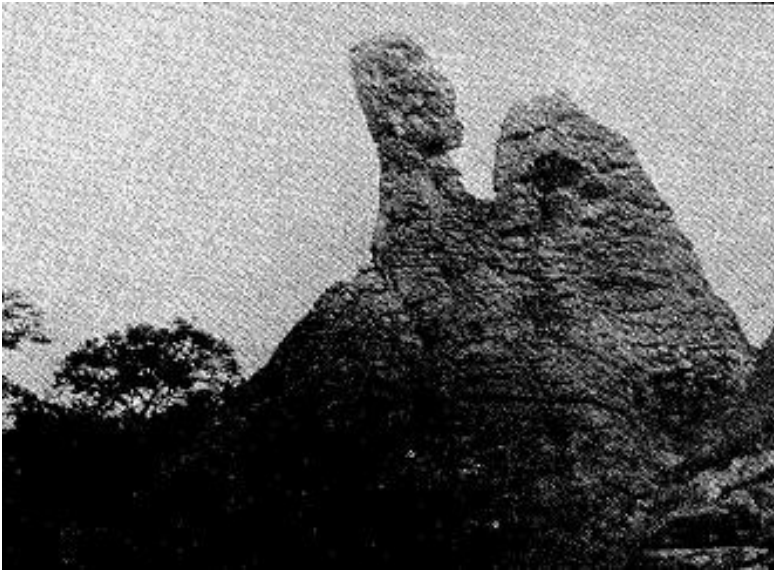
heimr—country, homeland), crosses the Paraná at Presidente Epitácio, and joins the southern Peaviru at Ourinhos, which leads to the Gulf of Santos.

All these roads, and many other minor branches, were obviously not built in a few years.



Above, a Guayaki musical instrument with runic characters (photo by Alfredo Tomasini). On the right, an image of Odin on the cross at the Viking post in Cerro Polilla, Yvytyruzú, Paraguay.

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The Viking war horse of Cerro Guazú, Paraguay (above), and statue of the Knight, in Sete Cidades, Brazil (above these lines).

This is a long-term project that responds to growing needs. These needs stem from a single intention, soon realised, and its consequences. For the Vikings, the Atlantic could have no other interest than to allow them to reconnect with Europe. The Cape Horn route—which they explored and even discovered the strait we call Magellan, or will soon do so, as the maps attest—is too dangerous for low-lying and difficult-to-steer ships, especially when there is no logistical support on the eastern coast of the subcontinent.

Access routes to the Atlantic, whether via the Amazon or the Peaviru, are of no use and therefore have no *raison d'être* if they do not lead to ports, which must therefore be built. One of them must be located in the delta of the Great River. However, no trace of it has been found, but perhaps its remains have been covered by the facilities at Belém do Pará, which date back to the beginning of Portuguese colonisation. Ports, in fact, generally remain in the same place throughout history. The presence of the Vikings in the region is attested to by the countless pieces of pottery unearthed on the island of Marajó, in the Amazon delta, whose floodplains are not at all suitable for the establishment of a maritime base, but which for millennia has been an obligatory crossing point for both tribes coming from the interior and those bordering the coast. Several influences are still noticeable when observing these incorruptible fragments, the only vestiges of occupation that have not been affected by permanent humidity and flooding. Among other things, we see runic or runoid characters, Tiahuanacu crosses and Maltese crosses similar to those found in Mexico and Peru.

If we descend from the island of Marajó along the Brazilian coast, we find, some 500 km away, the immense bay of San Marcos, whose entrance is partly closed off by the island of San Luis, where the capital of the same name of the current state of Maranhão is located. At the bottom of this bay, 300 km inland, two rivers of some importance meet, the Pindaré and the Mearim. The latter is navigable for at least 400 km and its ports - Arari, Bacanal, Ipixuna, Pedreiras - have, today, a considerable amount of traffic. Forty kilometres from its mouth, the Mearim receives the Grajaú, fed by some

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kilometres further upstream by three lakes in a chain named Maracu, Verde and Assu. There are still traces of ancient lake ports there. 300 km further south, still skirting the coast, is the Parnaíba delta, whose secondary arm surrounds the Gran Isla Santa Isabel with its calm waters and provides remarkable shelter for small boats. But there is another, much safer one for knerriry and drakka-res, located on the island's coast. This coast is cut by a 3 km long natural channel, bordered on the sea side by a sandbank. Large sailing ships will later be able to shelter there from the swell, but not from the wind, as the entire coastline of the delta consists of a 30 km long beach, devoid of any elevation, as is, of course, the sandbar itself. Viking ships, with their very low superstructure, offer little resistance to gusts and do not fear running aground on the sandy bottom, provided that the swell does not shake them. This channel, therefore, seems to be a suitable place for them.

This would be just one possibility among others if the inlet in question had not been carefully marked, since before the conquest, by two large rocks that mark its entrances. Their function is so obvious that a lighthouse was built on the western one in 1873. The other is crowned with a spherical stone that fishermen call "the Globe", obviously intended to make the beacon visible from afar. On the sand, at the foot of this rock, a stone hand was found in 1924, which seems to have broken off from it and must have indicated the direction of the channel.

On the right bank of the Parnaíba, almost opposite the globe rock, lies the town of Luis Corrêia, built on the site of Tutóia, a large village of the Tremembé Guaraní. A few kilometres further upstream, a small port, which is now the city of Parnaíba and was still called Amarragao (Mooring) fifty years ago, was probably the Vikings' maritime base. In the vicinity of Tutóia, the first Portuguese colonisers discovered the ruins of strong walls made of cemented stones. It is highly probable that these maritime stations were complemented by shipyards and warehouses located some fifty kilometres further upstream, on Lake São Domingos, into

into which the Longá River flows and which is linked to the Parnaíba by a 12-kilometre canal, but no archaeological study has yet been carried out in the region.

300 km south of the mouth of the Parnaíba River, in Ceará, there are two lakes connected to the sea by channels measuring 3 and 8 km respectively. The town of Paracuru is located on the second of these channels, which is marked on a Viking portolan chart that we will discuss later. Some 500 km further south, in the state of Rio Grande do Norte, the port of Touros occupies a privileged position near Cape San Roque, the easternmost point of the coast, which from there turns sharply southwards. In the surrounding area, Lake Geral and, further south, Lake Extremos, connected to the sea by artificial canals 10 and 11 km long respectively, still show us ancient embankments and underground passages.

The Vikings thus have, on the coast of north-eastern Brazil, between the Amazon and Cape San Roque, and even further south, a chain of lake ports, separated by a distance of 300 to 500 km, which represents two or three days of sailing for drakkars. There they find not only safe landing places, as in the fjords of their ancestors' country, but also docks where they can repair their ships if necessary.

The traces of these ports are not the only vestiges we know of the Viking presence on these coasts. We have just mentioned the cemented walls of Tutóia. Other ruins of the same kind were discovered in Marañón, on the peninsula opposite the city of San Luis and on the island of Traína. Similarly, at the tip of the Camocim peninsula in Ceará, 100 km from the mouth of the Parnaíba River, similar ruins were found, whose post-Columbian origin has not been established. Moreover, if the French, Dutch, or Portuguese had built stone fortifications on these coasts, they could only have done so from the 17th century onwards, and the time that has elapsed since then would not have been enough to destroy structures that their permanent usefulness would have led them to maintain with great care.

We have to go seven degrees south to find other traces of pre-Columbian white settlers, all of which have been erased today, but

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about which we have reliable evidence. Enclosed by Itaparica Island, the Bay of All Saints, where the city of Bahia is located, is one of the most sheltered harbours in the world. Father Manoel de Nóbrega, the first provincial of the Society of Jesus in Brazil, points out in a letter addressed to his superiors in 1549 the existence in different places of feet engraved in the rock and attributes them to Pa'i Zumé, the Christian priest to whom we will dedicate our next chapter, who stopped at the port during his journey south. In reality, these were the signs that the Vikings used to mark their paths. The "white apostle" had not traced them, but followed them, as evidenced by the fact that they indicated the direction of the sea from whence he came. A century later,

Father Lozano mentions a "path of solid, pure sand that (...) extends half a league into the sea" and that the indigenous people, who attributed it to a miracle performed by the same character, called Karaipe, the "Path of the White Man". It must have been a breakwater or a pier built in the waters of the bay to delimit a port or serve as a mooring. For although the harbour is enclosed, it is immense and the effects of the swell are felt there. It is therefore logical that the Vikings, who must have established one of their most important bases there, would have built a dock, whose breakwater still existed in the 17th century, where their small boats were well protected from the wind and waves. Other information, relating to remains of a more definite origin, refers to the discovery, in the same place, in the first half of the 19th century, by the Danish anthropologist Peter W. Lund - the 'inventor' of the man of Lagóa Santa - of a stone plaque with runic inscriptions, from which he was able to decipher some words, and the foundations of Viking-type houses. But these are only indirect references. We do not know where the plaque is, if it ever existed. And it would be futile today to search for ruins in an overpopulated area.

Continuing down the Brazilian coast, ten degrees further south, we find the deep Guanabara Bay, at the entrance to which Rio de Janeiro and Niteroi face each other. To the south of the former capital, from east to west, are the famous beaches of Copacabana, Ipanema and Leblon, and then, at the foot of a mountain range covered with lush forests, those of Sao Conrado and Barra de Tijuca. The mountain range in question is dominated by an enormous bare rock, 800 metres high, which extends it like a kind of elevated spur and is known as Pedra da

Gávea. The north face of this rock bears all the hallmarks of an elderly, bearded man with European features, wearing an ogival helmet bearing various inscriptions, the main one of which, some 30 metres long, is clearly visible, although damaged by the tropical wind and rain. Professor Hermann Munk, a runologist at the Institute of Human Sciences that we run in Buenos Aires, managed to establish its correct spelling – they are runes – transliterate it without encountering any difficulties other than two groups of linked characters, and then translate it: "Near this rock, numerous oak planks for ships deposited on coarse sand beach (or: pebbles)". He attributes a degree of certainty of 80 per cent to the results of his philological analysis. Reasonable doubt could only arise in this regard if the meaning of the inscription had no plausible connection with either its presumed authors or its location. This is certainly not the case. Nothing could be more logical than a deposit of planks installed by the Vikings in the most suitable place, between their two bases in Bahia and Santos, to land and repair their ships, since Guanabara Bay has both the characteristics of a safe mooring and a lake port of the kind mentioned above. The inscription seems to indicate, however, that at the time it was engraved, there was no permanent settlement in an area that was merely a place of accidental refuge for them: no shipyard, only a warehouse of planks that could be used in case of need and were carefully hidden. The situation may have changed later.

We find another runic inscription in the vicinity of the old village of Trindade, at the bottom of the Bay of Ilha Grande, one of the best anchorages in Brazil, 150 km south of Rio de Janeiro. Then we reached the Gulf of Santos where, in the 16th century, "traces of the apostle" could still be seen. It was, as we know, the place where two of the branches of the Peaviru arrived. The third reached the Atlantic a little north of Santa Catalina Island, where the city of Florianópolis stands today. Between these two points lies the coast of Guayrá, which, on Vulpus' globe, built in 1542, bears the significant name of Costa Danea, Danish coast in the Latin of the time.

Why this series of ports between the Amazon delta and Santa Catarina Island? The only explanation is that there was continuous maritime traffic between these two points, requiring numerous, properly equipped ports of call where the captains of drakkars and knórrs

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can be sure of finding not only a place of refuge but also the logistical support they may need. But this traffic only makes sense in relation to Europe. For ships unable to sail against the wind – and it is of course impossible to row for thousands of kilometres – it is much easier to reach the old continent from the southern ports, but the return journey ends at the mouth of the Amazon. The wind and current patterns therefore impose a triangular route. Added to this, as we have already mentioned, is the impossibility of using the Great River during the rainy season to reach Tiahuanacu.

Where did the Vikings establish their first shipyard once they reached the ocean? Logic suggests Santa Catalina Island, but this may be misleading, as the rational choice of this starting point would imply knowledge of the South Atlantic, which had not yet been acquired. To tell the truth, we do not even know if the Peaviru had already been completed at that time. The construction of a knorr presented no difficulty. There were carpenters among Viracocha's companions, and their techniques were passed down from generation to generation, as they continued to sail the Pacific. This is why recruiting a crew was not a problem either. One fine day, then, a ship sets sail and heads for Europe. We have no documentary evidence or testimony of its departure, but we know that it reached its destination: it arrived in Dieppe, Normandy.

Why Dieppe? Because, logically, the Vikings returned to the country from which their ancestors had departed in 967, namely the Danelaw. Much had changed in nearly two centuries. The Danes were expelled by the Anglo-Saxons. But the Normans conquered the region in 1066, when the duke we call William reigned in Rouen, but whom the Bayeux Tapestry names as Willelm. Paradoxically, then, the Vikings of Tiahuanacu find themselves in a familiar country. It is true that the Norman lords now speak only French. But the people use, as they still do today in the countryside, a patois made up of a mixture of Danish and Anglo-Saxon that must not be very different from the Schlewigen dialect of the newcomers. It is easy to understand each other, then. But England is still an agricultural country, while Normandy has retained the maritime traditions of its Viking population. Both regions have the same sovereign. It is understandable, therefore, that the

American ship is finally sent to Dieppe, the Norman port closest to the English coast: a port that maintains close contacts with Denmark and where, consequently, there is no shortage of interpreters.

The Vikings of Tiahuanacu have no reason to hide their knowledge of South America from their cousins. On the contrary, they should boast about it. So they let the Dieppians copy the map they designed over the course of 150 years of sailing along the coasts of the subcontinent and exploring a territory they occupy west of the eastern Andes mountain range and control, with the help of their Indian allies, to the north and east, from the Orinoco to the Río de la Plata; a map that soon expands, based on information received from Scandinavia, with the layout of Vinland, that is, the lands colonised or recognised in North America by the Norwegian Vikings. And they talk about the riches, in gold, silver and hardwoods, that their immense empire holds. The people of Dieppe, in keeping with the customs of the time, carefully guarded a secret from which they hoped, not without reason, to derive commercial advantages later on. But they were not the only ones who knew about it.

In Normandy, even more than elsewhere, the Temple was all-powerful in the 12th century. Officially founded in 1128, after ten years of meticulous preparation and with the support of Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, the Order of the Poor Fellow-Soldiers of Christ and of the Temple of Jerusalem, whose members are called Knights Templar, brothers of the Militia of the Temple, fellow-soldiers of Christ or, more commonly, Templars, has developed, from the beginning and until a little before, with surprising rapidity. Not only has it already supplied the Frankish kings of Jerusalem with seasoned troops who will participate in all the battles until the end, but it has also established itself throughout Europe at that time, where its commanderies, whose domains are expanding day by day, continue to multiply. These commanderies were fortresses, of course, but they were also banks that received deposits and lent money at interest, contrary to all religious and civil laws, protected by the sovereignty of an order that only nominally recognised the authority of the Pope. Among the "beneficiaries" of Templar loans, there are good reasons to think of the bishops and municipalities who,

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since 1140, encouraged by the Cistercian monks, have begun to build Gothic churches: only the order possesses, in fact, the necessary funds at that time. These are enormous funds, if one considers that in less than a hundred years more than eighty immense cathedrals are built, not to mention some seventy churches of lesser importance. Where does the money come from? Certainly not from the deposits made by the lords who placed their treasures under the protection of the Temple and by the merchants who preferred to deal in bills of exchange rather than gold coins. Cash was incredibly scarce at that time, until the day the Temple flooded the West with silver coins.

Where does the metal come from? Coins dating back to Roman times have long since worn out. The Crusaders bring some from Palestine, where they are more valuable than gold, but the quantities are minimal. In Europe, there are no silver mines in operation. Those in Germany are not yet open; those in Russia remain unknown. However, here and there, the Order's commanderies mint coins, not from gold, but from silver. This metal comes from America. This is the "secret of the Temple".

A few kilometres south of Dieppe, in Saint-Valery-en-Caux, the Order owns a port that is of particular importance to it, as it serves as a major hub for its communications with Great Britain. There, the arrival of an unexpected ship, manned by men in strange clothing, probably carrying magnificent gold and silver jewellery, cannot be ignored. The Templars investigate. Their report should not surprise the Grand Master too much: it merely confirms much of the information already gathered in Byzantium and elsewhere about the "new world". But it does open up unexpected prospects. Contact is therefore made with the South American Vikings and an agreement is negotiated. With its already impressive fleet, the Temple is better equipped than simple fishermen to exploit the information received from across the Atlantic. Only a hundred years later would the shipowners of Dieppe be in a position to trade in South America. And they would be very careful not to compete with the Order by going in search of precious metals. Instead, they would limit themselves to bringing back shipments of brazilwood from the Amazon, which was of no interest to their neighbours. The Templars did not wait. They immediately set about organising a trade for which they reserved the port of La Rochelle, which had been so

It has so far concerned historians who wondered what purpose it could serve. For him, the matter is of such importance that it justifies the establishment of a hierarchy which, at least in his domain, takes precedence over that headed by the Grand Master. This is proven by the seals of the secretum Templi, seized in 1307 by the gendarmes of Philip the Fair and recently rediscovered, one of which shows us a characteristic Amerindian.

The contact established in Dieppe with the Templars allows us to approximate the date of the Vikings' voyage. The first Gothic churches, as we have already mentioned, began to be built around 1140, but it was not until some twenty years later, after the necessary funding had been secured, that the construction of the first cathedrals began. Founded in 1128, it took the Order several decades to establish its main commanderies, including that of Saint-Valery-en-Caux, and it would take several more years before it could go to South America, where mining operations were to be launched, to fetch its first shipments of silver. It was therefore around 1150 that the knorr from Tiahuanacu arrived in Normandy.

Peru was overflowing with precious metals, not to mention copper and tin. Unfortunately, we only know about Inca metallurgy, as shown by the process used to produce copper and the absence of ironworking, from a period of decline compared to the Ancient Empire. Silver came from mines located, at least the most important ones, in the Porco region, on the eastern slope of the Bolivian Andes, which the Spanish would later call Sierra de la Plata, where the large village of Charcas was located, which would take the name of Villa de Plata or Villa de la Plata, not far from the hill of Potosí, unexploited before the Conquest, from which incalculable riches would later emerge over the centuries. To smelt the ore, charcoal furnaces were used in Inca times, the fire being stoked with thick blowpipes. The latter, which required great effort, were often replaced by two particularly ingenious systems: the most primitive consisted of installing perforated furnaces on the tops of hills or on the sides of slopes, where the wind blew strongly. The other, more widespread, also uses the wind, but captured by leather pavilions, duly oriented. We do not know whether this technique was introduced by the Templars, or whether these methods were already used by the Vikings, or even by the Indians, who were familiar with goldsmithing before the arrival of Viracocha.

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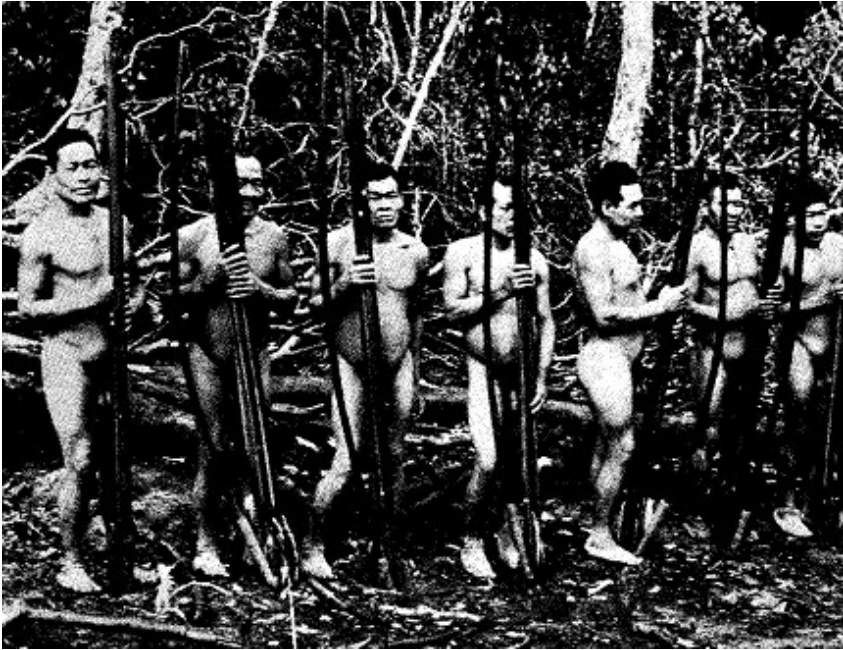
The truth is that mining, if it existed at all—for it cannot be ruled out that only surface veins were exploited, as in Mexico—was very limited, especially with regard to precious metals—precious to us—for which there was little demand. The situation changes when it comes to obtaining industrial production for export. The deposits had to be located and measured, water mills and smelters had to be built, and 'engineers', foremen and smelting workers had to be brought in, i.e. the skilled workers who were as impossible to find in the Altiplano as they were to improvise. The Temple probably sent a ship to America to escort the Viking knorr on its return journey, carrying the first technicians on board. However, those who can be recruited in France are far from sufficient. Miners and smelters are therefore brought in from Germany and settled in Les Charbonnières, in the Toulouse region, where an old Roman mine, exhausted and abandoned for centuries, serves as a pretext. There, the specialists who will leave for Peru are selected and trained, meanwhile subjected to a regime of complete isolation under strict surveillance. A smelter is set up, which will work for 150 years with metal of mysterious origin. In the surrounding area, the encomiendas of La Coume Sourdre and L'Ermitage minted coins, as did their vassals, the lords of Bézu, an impregnable fortress standing on the banks of the temperate route from Portugal. Soon, the first galleries were opened in Porco and the ore began to pile up in the mine entrances.

The Templars could, of course, process this mineral locally. Are they afraid of excessive control by the Vikings? Or do the Vikings limit the number of foreign technicians in their metropolitan territory as much as possible? The fact is that caravans of Indians are beginning to transport, through northern Peaviru, probably with herds of llamas, large loads of ore or partially refined metal, whose immediate destination is Cerro Corá, in Paraguay, where, 32 km from the current city of Pedro Juan Caballero, stands the Ita-guambypé —'fortress' in Guaraní— which dominates the road at a point of vital importance. At the foot of this impressive structure, of which only a wall remains, built in the

tiahuanacota style, 300 m long, 10 m high and 3 m wide, runs a stream, the Aquidabán-Nigui. A small waterfall interrupts its course, next to which stand the ruins of a 16.80 m long building. There, the Templars set up their foundry, which a mould, found among the fallen blocks that form its walls, allows us to identify without the slightest doubt. A mould from which ingots were produced that were identical in shape to those that make up the metal fittings of our state banks. A few dozen kilometres away, at the summit of Cerro Kysé, very close to a sacred Nordic-type forest and a hill, the Yvyty Perd, which rests in a huge cavity that has not yet been opened, but which appears to be a Viking necropolis, some esoteric symbols of clear Templar origin can be seen engraved in the stone among runic characters. Let us add that there are no silver mines in Paraguay and that the Guaraní, although they had words in their language, otherwise artificial, to designate them, were unaware of the use of metals. Transformed into ingots, constant and easy to count units, silver—and perhaps gold too, but in much smaller quantities—thus takes the route to the Atlantic, where the ships of the Temple load it into their holds to take it to Europe.

Were the mines of the Charcas Valley and the Cerro Corá smelter, although inexhaustible, ultimately insufficient to meet the growing demand of the Templars? Were the ports of Santos and Santa Catalina too far away? Or did these strange religious figures abuse their presence in the metropolitan territory of the empire, or at its gates, to foment unrest, and did the Vikings consider it prudent, if not to remove them, at least to restrict their activities in an area of strategic interest? The fact is that new deposits were soon exploited, this time some 800 km south of the Amazon, in the present-day state of Piauí, which crosses the Parnaíba River, at the mouth of which, as we have already seen, there is an excellent port. Today, this is the poorest region in Brazil. The population of its countryside – mestizos with golden hair – lives a subsistence economy, raising goats and growing some manioc crops. But this was not the case a few centuries earlier.

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Above, Guayakis in "jungle dress". Above these lines, examples of baldness among the Guayakis. Note the hair on the back of the subject on the right.



A sick Guayaki, covered with medicinal paints. Note the large size of the head and genitals. (Photo from the Ethnographic Museum, Asunción).

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When the Portuguese arrived there in the second half of the 17th century, they found a large number of exhausted mines, especially in the Serra do Sumidouro, where numerous galleries can be seen open in silver-bearing rocks. The deposits were probably pointed out to the Vikings by the Guaraní people they had settled on the coast. In this marginal area of the empire, the presence of the Templars did not pose the same dangers as in the Andes. It was enough to establish a military colony there to maintain order.

The mines of Piauí, however, are far from being as rich as those of the Sierra de la Plata. They are quickly depleted. However, to the south of the region lies a gigantic lagoon, made up of swamps and lakes that fill up during the winter and from which numerous mountain ranges emerge, some of which reach a height of 300 m above sea level and contain enormous silver mines. A navigable river crosses it, the Opala, which comes from the south and ends in the west, in the ocean: today's San Francisco, where you can still see large boats that, due to their shape, construction and figurehead, are reminiscent of drakkars. Another river flows out of it and empties into the Piauí, a tributary of the Parnaíba, which thus becomes navigable during the rainy season, the only time when it is possible to transport the produce of the Gran Laguna mines by river. In order for these deposits to be exploited throughout the year, the Upa-Assu must be emptied, as the Guaraní people of the region say. To achieve this, it is sufficient to lower the threshold of the drain where the Opala rises. Templars and Vikings undertake the task. Soon, five symmetrical channels concentrate their waters in a single square cavity, 50 metres deep, carved into the living rock. In a short time, all that remains of the Gran Laguna is the middle course of the present-day San Francisco River. This provided a permanent communication route between an exceptionally rich mining area and the Atlantic, where a port was built in Piagabuga or Panado. It was not only the silver mines of Upa-Assu that the new river connected to the ocean, but also the territory of the current state of Minas Gerais, which crosses the south of the former Great Lagoon, where there are countless pre-Columbian mines and where the Portuguese discovered, in the 16th century, a tribe whose male members were bearded and fair-skinned: the Molomaques, whose women were "white as Englishwomen, with golden, platinum or chestnut hair" and had "delicate features, small hands

and feet, and beautiful, silky hair". It should be noted that the Guaraní people of the region, like those of Paraguay, are perfectly familiar with the names of the different metals, which they do not use, however: these names are as artificial as those of the South, but different.

For almost 150 years, temperate ships have been coming to Santos, at the mouth of the Parnaíba and San Francisco rivers, to collect silver from South American mines, whose existence they know about thanks to the Vikings who grant them concessions, while also supplying the indigenous labour force essential for their exploitation. What is the *quid pro quo*? Sailors, warriors and, when the opportunity arises, pirates, the men of the North, in Europe, are also merchants. It would never occur to their descendants in America to give away, and to Christians at that, with whom relations are not the best, a metal that is of little use to them, it is true, but whose value they are well aware of and whose extraction and smelting require labour. Therefore, it can only be a matter of barter.

But what would the Templars offer in exchange for the silver? Some luxury items, possibly: fabrics and wines, for example. Weapons, perhaps. Horses and cattle, it seems unlikely, judging by the breed of animals we see reproduced in the runic inscriptions of Cerro Guazú, in Paraguay, as it was the Normans who, from 1250 onwards, supplied them with shipments of Brazilian wood. Whatever the case may be regarding this last point, everything that can be imagined in this field is far from balancing the scales. We must therefore consider something else. Now then: we do indeed find a new fact in Tiahuanacu and other places in the 12th and 13th centuries: the construction of temples, palaces and fortresses, which, as we have seen, required not only the training of indigenous workers, but also a technique and an art that the Vikings did not master. Such is the currency of the Templars: master builders, stonecutters, sculptors and smelters. We will see in the next chapter that this is not mere speculation on our part.

What proof do we have, however, of the Viking presence in Piauí? It is logical to attribute to the men of Tiahuanacu, since we know that the indigenous people of Brazil were incapable of doing so, the construction of ports whose remains are still visible, and even the exploitation of the mines. In this field, however, logic is not a sufficient guarantee. But it so happens that the work is signed.

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When, from Tutóia, now Parnaíba, the Norsemen set out to exploit the region's mines, a surprise awaited them. 130 km away as the crow flies, they found themselves facing an 'enchanted city', as the few inhabitants of the area still call it: walls, a fortress with cannons, a castle whose library contains large books on a kind of shelving, and houses lining streets, avenues and squares. In reality, these are just rocks that have been given these strange shapes by laterisation and erosion. The complex, which today bears the fanciful, medieval-reminiscent name of Sete Cidades, Seven Cities, is reminiscent, apart from its gigantism, of the Externsteine in the Teutoburg Forest in Lower Saxony, the most famous place of worship in ancient Germania, whose existence was known to the Vikings through tradition. For them, this was a sign. They settled in what soon became a centre of pilgrimage where they celebrated their religious ceremonies.

In Sete Cidades, we can still see statues carved by human hands: a bearded figure with a straight nose and an open mouth, as if shouting, atop a column placed on a conical pedestal; a bearded head with an upturned nose, covered with a sailor's cap; a medieval horseman whose rearing horse wears the long cloth that was used at the time and whose hand rests on the hilt of a sword hanging from the saddle; a somewhat surrealistic Icarus. Everywhere, runic inscriptions—which had not attracted the attention (until we researched them) of visitors who probably considered them Indian scribbles—and drawings of distinctly Nordic inspiration are painted on more or less smooth walls. Sixteen lithographs were translated by Professor Hermann Munk, ranging from mere anthroponyms to long classical sentences written in the Schleswig dialect. For example: 'Little fairy of the forests of Ulf, guardian of this land, cunning and fierce like the divine elk, and a breaker' (of heads); 'Incas running in arms'; 'the intelligent bearded men near their residence on the Plain'. Drakkares, trees of life crowned with eagle's nests, which in Germanic mythology symbolise Valhalla, Thor's hammers, a mermaid and horned devils confirm an identification for which the inscriptions alone would be sufficient to leave no room for doubt.

On a small stone panel, above a tree of life with extremely regular branches, similar to the one depicted in the Viking post at Yvytyruzú, in Paraguay, there is a drawing identical in conception to the portolan found in that place and in the same position. It is a geometric set consisting of a central circle from which six straight lines of different sizes emerge, indicating, in relation to the Seven Cities, six geographical points in the region that were important at that time. Attracted by the Parnaíba, whose volume indicated that they had come from far inland, the Vikings probably limited themselves to having the Indians exploit the mines in the area. But the Sacred Rocks of Sete Cidades appeared to them as a gift from the gods: an Externsteine on the scale of their empire, which would allow them to restore the cult of Odin and Thor in all its purity, with increased magnificence. Pilgrims flocked to the site: not devout believers, but conquerors. The men of Tiahuanaco explored the region, discovered the Opala—the San Francisco—the Great Lagoon and the enormous mineral deposits it contained, which they soon began to exploit.

Thanks to Sete Cidades, the Brazilian Northeast became a prosperous colony whose importance later justified the gigantic works required to drain the Upa-Assu. There was no shortage of labour or leaders. However, they did not modify the sacred place that nature had made similar to those their ancestors had left in Europe with stone buildings: the Vikings limited themselves to building wooden houses, according to the customs and traditions of their old country. But the godhar—the priests—and the pilgrims carved some rocks and marked the walls with their graffiti, not to mention inscriptions of some importance. Among them was a certain Ulf, one of the guardians of this haut-lieu of the West.

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IV EVANGELISATION

Some two hundred and fifty years have passed since Viracocha landed in Lio. The Tiahuanacu Empire is at its peak, firmly in control from the Maulé River in Chile to the Orinoco, from the Pacific to the Atlantic. The main buildings of its capital and many other cities are built, sober and grandiose. The silver mines in the mountains and in north-eastern Brazil are in full operation. Norman ships begin to load, at the mouth of the Amazon, the dyed wood whose importation is mentioned in the customs records of Dieppe, Caen, and Honfleur. According to the estimation rules previously applied in our calculations, there are now around 150,000 Vikings, some concentrated in cities and military colonies and others scattered throughout South America, where they command indigenous troops and administer provinces and ports.

A ship with the Templar cross on its sails sails down the Brazilian coast, from the Great River towards whose delta winds and currents have pushed it. In order not to alert the Vikings to its very special mission, it probably passes along the ports of the mining area, since, south of the Amazon, only in Bahia have Indian traditions preserved its memory. After several months at sea, it needs to stock up on fresh water and provisions. It does so in an isolated bay, a mere logistical support point for the knerrir and the naos that follow the southern route, from where communications with Tiahuanacu are long and scarce.

The officers at the base must have been somewhat surprised to find passengers on board who were very different from the sailors and craftsmen usually transported by the Temple's ships: men dressed in long white tunics, marked on the chest with a red cross, who would soon be the talk of the town.

If the stopover at the mouth of the Amazon was brief — we have only one indirect account of it, reported to Father del Techo by Brazilian traders who had heard it mentioned by Indians in the area — the one in Bahia is prolonged, either because scurvy has struck the travellers or because their ship has suffered damage.

So they all disembark. The sailors enjoy themselves in their own way. But the chaplains of the Temple, let us call them by their name, take advantage of their stay to catechise the indigenous people. Perhaps one of them had previously come to America, disguised as a craftsman, and had mastered the Guaraní language. As long as they limited themselves to talking about God, they did not shock or bother anyone: pagans have always been very tolerant in this area. Their practical advice on the cultivation of manioc and the manufacture of cassava (tapioca) from this tuber was welcomed by all.

Things change when customs are challenged, especially polygamy. The latter is, in fact, a requirement of life for warrior peoples, who always have more women than men and in which women can only survive with the protection of a husband. For Christian priests, however, it is an immoral practice. The superior of the religious order becomes unbearable, and the indigenous people lose patience. One day, some of them try to assassinate him. He flees and, miraculously, the Karaípe, the Way of the White Man, emerges from the water to allow him to escape from his enemies: that is, the chaplain runs along the harbour wall to re-embark as quickly as he can.

The next stop, according to tradition, is Cabo Frio, 200 km north of Rio de Janeiro, but no incident is reported there, nor in Santos, where the religious disembark and, without delay, enter the jungle. Later, the "apostle", who became Saint Thomas by the grace of the Portuguese and Spanish missionaries, will be credited with the presence in Bahia, Cabo Frio, Santos and many other places of footprints engraved or painted on clearly visible rocks, sometimes accompanied, as in the Paraíba valley, which runs about 60 km from Cabo Frio, by letters whose meaning will remain incomprehensible to the Portuguese. from Cabo Frio, of letters whose meaning will remain incomprehensible to the Portuguese. In reality, as we have already seen, these are simply the "arrows" that the Vikings used everywhere to mark their paths.

Via Peaviru, which starts at the Gulf of Santos, the monks enter Guayrá. Maintained and protected by the Guaraní people of the region, the road offers travellers lodgings that are also permanent guard posts, whose small indigenous garrisons are commanded by Viking officers who, like their soldiers

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live with their families. At least as far as the Cerro Corá smelter, the Templars have free passage. However, upon reaching the village that still bears the name Peabiru today (an old spelling), the group abandons the direct route, which is too busy—it is used by the llama trains, laden with ingots and escorted by Viking guards, to reach the coast—and takes a secondary branch to the mouth of the Yguazú, that is, the southern road that, via the Posta de Yvytyruzú, leads to Paraguay.

Some chaplains must, however, remain in the region, unless they return there later. When the Spanish arrived, the Guayrá Indians still remembered the religious leaders, whose chief they called Pa'i Zumé, Father Zumé, a name that the missionaries would transform into Tomé, or Thomas, to identify him with the apostle who, according to Catholic tradition, had been the evangeliser of the East Indies. Moreover, there were numerous traces of Christianity in the beliefs of the Guaraní, which the Jesuits who settled in Paraguay at the beginning of the 17th century mentioned with surprise and, at first, not without reservations. "It seems," writes Father de Charlevoix, "that they have a slight idea of a God made Man for the salvation of the human race, for one of their traditions is that a woman endowed with perfect beauty conceived, without ever having lived with a man, a most beautiful child who, when he reached manhood, performed many wonders, raised the dead, made the lame walk, restored sight to the blind, and, having one day gathered a large crowd, rose into the air, transformed into this sun that shines upon us (...) These Indians recognise a large number of gods, among whom they distinguish three who are superior to the others and form a Trinity composed of the Father, the Son and the Spirit (...). It is the Father's wife, called Quipoci, who, while remaining a virgin, became the mother of the Son. (...) the Father is the God of Justice and punishes the wicked; the Son, his Mother and the Spirit act as Intercessors for the Guilty". And Fr. Lozano adds: "(...) it cannot be said that this is certain, because there are no monuments from that time to bear witness to it; but it is undeniable that the constant and uniform tradition of various peoples of this new world, the signs and traces and the name of the apostle known to them since time immemorial, make this coming highly probable, without it being possible to deny it without being considered capricious or reckless." Already in 1613, Fr. Giuseppe Cataldino, the

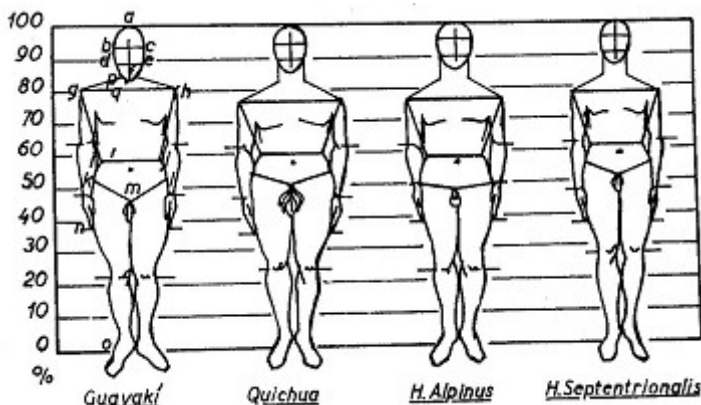
first Jesuit to enter Guayrá, wrote to his provincial: "These Indians had told me many things from the beginning about the glorious Apostle Saint Thomas, whom they call Pay Zumé, and I have not written them down before, in order to verify them further and ascertain the truth. The elderly Indians and principal chiefs say that they hold as certain, based on traditions passed down from father to son, that the glorious Apostle Saint Thomas came to their lands in Asia by the sea of Brazil and (...) told their ancestors many things to come, among them the following: that priests would enter their lands and that some would only pass through and then return; but that other priests would enter with crosses in their hands, and these would be their true fathers and would always be with them and teach them how to be saved and serve God (...). He also told them that when these priests entered their lands, they would love one another greatly and the wars they continually waged against one another would cease. That then each man would have only one wife, to whom they would be married by these fathers (...) that they would not have Indian women in their homes to serve them and that they would bring bells; that they would eat all the foods they had but would not drink their wines...".

Everything in Pa'i Zumé's predictions was bound to displease the Guaraní people. Especially the one referring to compulsory monogamy. In fact, they gave the 16th-century missionaries the nickname they had already given their predecessor: Pa'i Avaré. Father Ruiz de Montoya explains that this term means *Homo segregatus a venere*, chaste man. This is a euphemistic translation. Pa'i Avaré means, quite precisely, with all due respect, Father Marica. Montoya was not unaware of this, as he acknowledged that the "magicians and sorcerers who commonly deny us the Gospel call us abaré in contempt". And he explains why: "They ignored the virtue of virginity, chastity and celibacy to such an extent that they previously considered it unhappiness, and great happiness to have many women, many children, many maids and families". The good father adds, not without reason, that the fact that the Indians gave Pa'i Zumé the nickname Pay Abaré is proof that he was a Christian priest. Never would the 'elders', the magicians and sorcerers who usurped the word Pay, have done the same with abaré, an insulting word if ever there was one. This nickname helps explain why the chaplains of the Temple were not very successful among the Guaraní.

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Guayakí con barba, que presenta rasgos mestizos pronunciados. A la derecha: guayakí de sesenta años; y guayakí con el pelo ondulado. Abajo, siluetas geométricas de guayakí, y de tres tipos raciales (indio quichua, alpino y nórdico), tomadas a título de comparación. Las proporciones son dadas en porcentajes en relación a la estatura.



To look good in the eyes of the Spanish, the latter later embellished their memories of them. But at the time of their passage, they did all sorts of things to them and tried more than once to "arrow them down",

as recounted by Father de Nóbrega in 1552. The religious, then or later, nevertheless managed to convert some indigenous people, such as Etiguara —'the Poet' in Guaraní—, a preacher from Guayrá, who mentions the tradition, and to incorporate some Christian beliefs into 'the crude fables and monstrous dogmas that make up their religion', as Father de Charlevoix says.

In any case, it is not Paraguay that interests "Pa'i Zumé". The goal of his journey is the Viking empire of the Mountain and not its marks on the Plain. Only the Christianisation of Tiahuanacu will allow the Temple to impose its authority. Nothing authorises us to doubt the intentions of the chaplains: they risked their lives to save the souls of the Vikings and the Indians. But their superiors have other concerns. In fact, the Order has never managed to secure a territory of full sovereignty, as the Hospitallers did in Rhodes. Certainly, throughout Europe, their houses enjoyed the privilege of extraterritoriality. But they were located on the lands of temporal sovereigns who, in 1250, began to view the excessive growth of Templar power with suspicion. It was impossible to know what the future held. South America, officially unknown and well protected by the ocean, would constitute not only a possible base of retreat, but also an extraordinary factor of power. Unfortunately for the Temple, the Vikings of Tiahuanacu have taken precautions. Only the craftsmen who work there and, possibly, from time to time, the occasional ambassador, have access to the Mountain. The knights and sergeants are prudently stationed on the coast, where the shipment of ingots justifies their presence and where their remoteness renders them harmless. But the chaplains are not men of arms. They may succeed in infiltrating and imposing themselves at the heart of the empire.

Pa'i Zumé —let us leave him this Guaraní nickname— reaches Paraguay without much difficulty, it seems. He then takes the road that runs along the Pilcomayo River, from which he departs, however, since the apparently conflicting traditions lead him to the Altiplano: some via Tarija, that is, via the road that comes from Tucumán, in present-day Argentina, and others via Santa Cruz, much further north. Perhaps the Viking garrisons of the forts protecting the approaches to Tiahuanacu repelled them on several occasions. But it is also possible that one or other of these itineraries refers merely to

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later journeys by the chaplains. In any case, the group reached and crossed the eastern chain of the Andes in the Carabaya region, at the height of Lake Titicaca. They settle in Carabuco, on the shores of the lake, where they plant a large oak cross on top of a hill, the remains of which are still venerated in the chapel that the Spanish built for this purpose at the site of its discovery.

In Peru, Pa'i Zumé loses, of course, his Guaraní name. He receives another, which makes no sense in Aymara or Quechua and which Spanish chroniclers, and perhaps the Indians before them, distort as if its pronunciation were difficult for them: Tonapa, Ttonapa, Tunupa, Thunupa. This last spelling is the most convincing, as it is completely foreign to Castilian Spanish, a language in which the combination of the letters t and h does not exist. Adding an h, a letter that is always aspirated in Quechua, to the t in Tunupa can only have the purpose and result of making it the equivalent of the English—or Norse—th, whose sound appears in the language of Peru. Now, the word thul has a precise meaning, but not in Quechua or Aymara: in Old Norse. It means priest, soothsayer and, even more so, superior of a religious order. And Gnupa (gn moullé, in French) is one of the most common names in medieval Scandinavia. From Thul Gnupa to Thunupa, there is only one step, especially if one takes into account the slightly different pronunciation of the Indians of the Altiplano, on the one hand, and, on the other, the ease with which the l falls, whatever the language, in associations of this kind. No one more than us, as we have already said, distrusts interpretations and even philological "evidence". Let us recognise, however, that it is not strange that, in a Schleswig colony, a priest should bear the title of thul and be called Gnu-pa, whether this is his real name or the one attributed to him, in his language, by the masters of Tiahuanacu. But there is more. Tradition mentions the evangeliser by various nicknames. Some, such as Tarapaca, the Eagle, Vicchaicamayoc, the Preacher, and Cunacuy camay oc, the Counsellor, are Quechua. Others are mixed: Viracochapacchacan, the Servant of Viracocha; Vihinquirá, Son of Viking. Quira means 'son' in Quechua, in the broad sense of the word 'descendant', and vihink, if we take into account the double fact that the h is aspirated and the k and g are confused, leaves little doubt as to its primitive form. Another nickname is of purely Norse origin: Varivillca, the Soldier Monk, which comes from vari, guardian,

warrior, and virk, fortress, which gave villca in Quechua, with the double meaning of "sacred place" and "sacred person".

As far as the personality of Thul Gnupa is concerned, there is not the slightest hesitation in the minds of the various chroniclers, both Spanish and indigenous, who transmit the traditions concerning him to us, even when they refuse to identify him with Saint Thomas, and even when they mention the contrary opinion of this or that religious figure who sees him as a sorcerer, "an emulator of Simon Magus". For them, he is undoubtedly a Christian priest who, travelling incessantly throughout the country, preaches "the law of God" and teaches the Indians, whom he calls "my sons" and "my daughters" and to whom he speaks "lovingly and with great gentleness", the love of one's neighbour and charity, not without reproaching them for their vices and exhorting them to have only one wife; a Christian priest who, everywhere, attacks the cult of the Sun and destroys idols. And also a miracle worker who heals the sick, restores sight to the blind, and expels demons from the bodies of the possessed. All this must have been somewhat "updated" by the Indians and the missionaries. Even stripped of any "apostolic" fantasy, the image of Thunupa remains, in any case, that of a Christian preacher.

The same is true of his physical appearance. All chroniclers who mention him describe him as a thin, tall, white man with blue eyes and a beard. Some specify that his beard is red and that he wears his hair short, with a monk-like crown. Sometimes he is described as an elderly man with grey hair, 'long like a woman's'. He wears a 'robe' or white tunic with a belt, which 'reaches down to his feet'. But he is also shown dressed 'almost like the Indians' or wearing a purple shirt and a crimson blanket, which must give him a somewhat episcopal appearance. Sometimes he carries a breviary and a staff or walking stick in his hand. He always has an authoritative and venerable appearance.

The few differences that stand out in these descriptions, which are essentially consistent, can be attributed to a tradition that has been distorted in different ways, depending on religion, by long oral transmission, or also to circumstances of time and place. Nothing, of course, prevents us from thinking that Thunupa may have changed his clothes and grown his hair. And it is logical that he would have aged. But, on the other hand, traditions concentrate the activities of several evangelisers in a single name

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evangelisers, to the point that Thul's itinerary in Peru becomes incoherent, not without this or that chronicler noting that the events he recounts "could well have happened at different times" or telling us about two preachers, the teacher, Thunupa, and the disciple, Taapac, whom the Indians consider to be the son of the former, which, "in the force of their language, does not mean begotten son, but adopted son".

The chaplains of the Temple thus managed to penetrate the empire. The Vikings probably regarded these ascetic religious figures, who taught the Indians humility, meekness and submission and spoke to them of a Redeemer not unlike the god Balder of Germanic mythology, with pagan tolerance. The indigenous people, for their part, laughed at men "who talked so much". At least at first. The missionaries travelled around the country, sometimes sleeping in the open air, "with no other clothing than their long tunics, their blankets and their books". However, it did not take long for incidents to occur. Meek and understanding in order to be accepted, Thul Gnupe and his companions quickly revert to the intolerance and harshness that comes with the certainty of being the repository of truth. They begin to destroy the huacas, the shrines that stand along the roadsides. They threaten the indigenous people with hell in the name of a morality that they cannot understand any better than the Europeans who accept their rules without respecting them. They interrupt village festivals, such as solar ceremonies. The reactions are sometimes violent. In Cacha, the Indians try to stone them; in Yamquisupa, they are brutally expelled, as they are in Pucará; in Sicasica, they set fire to the hut where Father Gnupa is sleeping. Despite everything, the missionaries gain followers and, in general, are respected, though not without fear, because of their sacrificial life and the miracles attributed to them. Did Thunupa not transform the village of Yamquisupa into a lake? Did he not bring down fire from heaven upon the wicked, "so violent that the burnt stones became as light as cork"?

For our chaplains, however, preaching in the countryside is only a first attempt. They impose themselves, not without difficulty, where they do not run the risk of disturbing the Vikings too much. They thus earn a well-deserved reputation as religious saints. Even the abuse inflicted on them is useful to them, for among white people, racial solidarity works in their favour.



La evangelización de los indios. Aquí, por un jesuita después de la conquista española. Los métodos del P. Gnupa no debieron ser muy diferentes. (Dibujo de Guaman Poma de Ayala).

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La evangelización de los indios. Aquí, por un fraile agustino. El P. Gnupa obraba del mismo modo. (Dibujo de Guaman Poma de Ayala).

In this way, they eventually manage to gain entry into Tiahuanacu. They have long had followers in the capital—the artisans of the Temple—who, without even seeking to do so, have prepared the ground by presenting Christianity in the light that the Roman sense of hierarchy and the heroic spirit of the Germanic and Gallic peoples have given it in the West over centuries of symbiosis.

The Thul Gnupa gained acceptance and recruited proselytes. In addition to the testimonies collected by chroniclers, we have material evidence of this, interpreted by Héctor Greslebin. First, there is the statue that no one in Bolivia calls anything other than 'the Friar'. It is a 2-metre-high monolith representing a human being dressed in a tunic and trousers. In his right hand, the figure carries an object with a cylindrical handle, the shape of which has been obscured by wear and tear; in his left hand, he carries a missal or breviary, whose metal clasp and hinges are reproduced as clearly as possible. This would already be a significant fact, even if the Friar were not a copy of the statue of an apostle – probably Saint Peter – which appears on the left, as you exit, from the central gate of Amiens Cathedral. The style is different, but it is unquestionably the same character, with his book with a metal clasp and his cylindrical "handle" branch. What is more, there is even a real similarity in facial features and a perfect identity of proportions between the two square faces with convex foreheads.

No less significant is the monolithic door known as the Sun Gate, which was found collapsed and broken in the Kalasasaya enclosure. It should be noted that this is not a kind of triumphal arch, but actually a door in the full sense of the term. The holes where the hinges were placed can be seen, and at the beginning of the last century, d'Orbigny was still able to observe the green marks left on the stone by the bronze. The geometric cavities on the back show that it must have been incorporated into a wall, and the lack of polishing on the upper part seems to indicate that it must have been covered with an architrave. Above the opening is a bas-relief frieze consisting of a central figure and four horizontal rows of sculpted figures depicting, in the style typical of Tiahuanacu, the Adoration of the Lamb, as depicted in Chapter V of the Apocalypse, on the tympanum of 13th-century Gothic cathedrals and, more specifically, above the main door.

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of Amiens. Its central motif is a seated anthropomorphic figure that corresponds, down to the smallest detail, to the apocalyptic description of the Lamb, with the book of seven seals, the seven eyes, the living and the elders fallen at his feet. The character's robe is described in chapter XXXIX of Exodus: the two shoulder pieces, the belt, the square double breastplate adorned with four rows of precious stones, the gold chains in the form of a cord on the breastplate, the two capsules on the shoulder pieces, located between the two cords, and the diadem. The forty-eight figures in the three upper rows of the frieze—the same number as in Amiens and Chartres—represent the twelve apostles, the twelve minor prophets, and the twenty-four elders crowned with gold and carrying zithers and golden cups. Below, two angels are playing the cornet, an instrument that was never used in pre-Columbian America. The profile of the human-faced figures is, moreover, distinctly Indo-European.

Kalასasaya, then, was an unfinished Christian church. Greslebin, who was an architect, was even able to reconstruct its model, thanks to a complementary discovery. Less than a kilometre away, there is a gigantic pile of stone blocks carved in the style of the "Gate of the Sun", including an architrave and several monolithic doors. However, there are no traces of buildings or foundations at Puma Punku, as the indigenous people call the site. It is, in fact, the workshop where the blocks for the church were carved and sculpted. The architectural pieces that are still there have the dimensions and shapes necessary to complete, at least partially, those that were already installed and have survived successive destructions: foundations, pilasters, staircase and portal. The small-scale modelling of both showed that Kalასasaya was a building in the purest Romanesque style. The Friar and the frieze, and even the statue alone, would suffice to date the arrival of Father Gnupa. The cathedral of Amiens, a city located, incidentally, 100 km in a straight line from Dieppe, which is its natural port, was built between 1220 and 1288, and its central gate between 1225 and 1236.

What the chaplains of the Temple introduced to Tiahuanacu, in addition to these architectural contributions, was not only a new God and new rites, which paganism would incorporate without much difficulty,

but above all a conception of the world and of life that was diametrically opposed to pantheistic polytheism and to the morals and customs of both the Vikings and the Indians, calling into question the established order: an order based on a hierarchical principle that stemmed from the inequality of races, first and foremost, and then of families and individuals. Father Gnupa proclaimed the equality of all men before God and, by a theocratic extension common to all religions, but especially to Catholicism, before their representatives on earth, the priests. In Europe, an unstable balance has been established between the two powers, spiritual and temporal. But in a pagan country, where the church lacks power, the state is not merely a rival with whom one can compromise, but an enemy that must be destroyed. The chaplains of the Temple have no military force in America. They resort to subversion.

In Tiahuanacu, the history of Rome repeats itself. In this enormous capital, whose indigenous neighbourhoods extend some five kilometres around the administrative centre, the feudal regime, whose solid structures maintain satisfactory relations between Vikings and Indians in the mountain provinces, and the system of alliances, which guarantees order in the plains, disappeared long ago. A large indigenous populace, made up of artisans, farmers, fishermen, professional soldiers and also servants in the service of white people, naturally accepts a subordination compensated by an easy life. But there are religious figures who not only refuse to share the privileges of their brothers of the same race, but also proclaim their injustice. These ascetic priests lived among the Indians and spoke to them in a new language: "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven; blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth; blessed are those who hunger and thirst for righteousness, for they shall be filled; blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called children of God..." Here is the exaltation of the lowly, who are promised heaven and earth. Here too is the condemnation of the masters, whose superiority rests on military force and culture. Has not the God of the Christians, as proclaimed in the Magnificat, "cast down the mighty from their thrones"? Has he not "lifted up the lowly"? The Indians of the city suddenly realise that they are discontented. Envy begins to gnaw at them. The

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promises of the Sermon on the Mount, which they take literally, prepare them for subversive action. The new moral norms do not bother them greatly, since polygamy no longer exists, for lack of reason, in the region of Tiahuanacu, which has long been pacified. In increasing numbers, the indigenous people convert.

However, the clergy did not forget the white aristocracy: it is a law of political action that subversion can only succeed if the ruling minority is weakened. The "court nobility" of the capital and the minor officials whom peace condemns to unglamorous administrative tasks constitute favourable breeding grounds. Christianity achieved conversions in these sectors, as the church of Tiahuanacu was put into operation. More sensitive than men to evangelical principles, women, too—especially women, probably—were attracted to the new beliefs. We will see an example of this.

The common people are in turmoil, while a fraction of the ruling minority begins to doubt the legitimacy of power. But the capital, solidly dominated by the Guard, composed exclusively of Vikings, does not offer the environment necessary for an insurrection. For this reason, the chaplains of the Temple do not neglect the provinces, which they continue to travel tirelessly. As we have already said, there is no shortage of reasons for discontent in the provinces, especially compulsory labour imposed by the construction and maintenance of roads and service in the mines. There are also very old tribal rivalries that can be exploited. Conservative like all peasants and passive by nature, the Indians of the fiefdoms, where the prestige of the lords remains intact, are more reserved towards the new faith than those of the cities and do not much like the fanaticism that leads the missionaries to destroy their huacas. But they are also capable of violent actions when an unforeseen event serves as a trigger.

The years pass, and the subversive preaching begins to bear fruit. Several indigenous uprisings occur in different places, which Makuri, the reigning sovereign, represses without hesitation. However, he hesitates to interfere with the clergy, whose influence is already too great for an expulsion measure not to cause dangerous turmoil

. He only decides to do so when his daughter Karahuara (or Karavara, from the Norse kárr, curly, and vari, guardian, warrior: the Curly Warrior), who has become one of Father Gnupa's disciples and has fallen in love with him, is baptised in the presence of a crowd of Indians. He orders the chaplain to be arrested. Tied to a raft, he is thrown into the lake and carried away by the current to the Desaguadero River, where he disappears forever. One after another, the clergy are arrested and executed. New insurrections break out as a result of these belated measures. Makuri reacts violently and successfully.

In Coquimbo, in the south of the Chilean provinces, a local chief, Kari, taking advantage of the unrest, revolts and marches on Tiahuanacu. Was he an Araucanian, as was said — and we repeat — or an Aymara from the Lupaca tribe, which appears to be settled in the region? Analysis of the situation favours the second hypothesis. On the one hand, the rebel cannot carry with him, over a distance of 1,500 km, which includes the Atacama Desert, whose crossing is extremely difficult due to the impossibility of finding the necessary food and water there, but only a very small number of troops. On the other hand, as soon as he entered Collasuyu, he obtained the support of local tribes, which he united under his authority. Was his name really Kari, or was he later given the name of some evil genius? We may well ask ourselves this question: in Scandinavian mythology, Kari is indeed the sinister giant of the storm, the 'devourer of corpses'.

Whatever their origin and name, the rebel gathers considerable forces and attacks Tiahuanacu, which he takes over. The surviving Vikings take refuge on the Island of the Sun, where he pursues and crushes them. White males are mercilessly slaughtered. The revolt spreads throughout the empire. The military colonies, whose members are largely "Incas" or "descendants", are not attacked or resist without major difficulties. Isolated among the Indians, the local lords, on the other hand, are at their mercy from the moment they are no longer supported by any central power. Some, whose subjects remain loyal, manage to retain their authority. But many, probably most, are killed. If the 300,000 Vikings, including 75,000 of them of fighting age, who are in South America — according to

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our previous calculation, but it might be prudent to reduce these figures due to the decreased fertility and higher mortality of the whites settled in the plains—had been concentrated in Tiahuanacu and Cuzco, events would have unfolded differently. But they are scattered across a vast territory that includes, as we have seen, not only — in today's terms — Peru, Bolivia, half of Chile and a quarter of Argentina, but also Colombia and Brazil. Under these conditions, all resistance is impossible, except, at times, on a local scale. But then it is no longer a question of survival.

Victorious, Kari established his capital at Hatunkolla, on the northern shore of Lake Titicaca, and took the title of Sapakhta. He and his successors made Collasuyu an independent, more or less organised kingdom. In the north, the Chinchas and the Chancas followed his example. In all the other provinces, anarchy reigned. Such was the anarchy that the Temple had to give up trying to reap the benefits of its work. After the dissolution of the Order in 1307, the brothers preferred to seek refuge in Mexico. All that remained of their presence in South America were a few traces of Christianity incorporated into the cult of the Sun.

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V

THE NEW EMPIRE

In the Apurimac mountains, 25 km southwest of Cuzco, stands the first tampu, the first stage lodge, on the road leading to Contisuyu, that is, to the coastal provinces. It will later be referred to as Paccari Tampu—the Dawn Lodge—but in Makuri's time it was called Paucar Tampu—the Walk Lodge—probably because it was a destination for excursions for the city's inhabitants. It is the centre of a small fiefdom whose *raison d'être* is to guarantee the maintenance and safety of the route within its territory. We would not know much about its lord, Apu Tampu, had he not received a visit from Father Gnupa. As was his custom, the priest had interrupted a festival being celebrated by the indigenous people with his reproaches, and they had attacked him. Only the intervention of the chief, who, after calming the Indians, had taken him into his home, had allowed him to save his physical integrity. In gratitude, the thul, upon leaving, had presented him with his staff.

Who is this Apu Tampu, whose Quechua name—General Albergue—does not make much sense, unless it is merely the nickname of a quartermaster? The traditions concerning him are contradictory. This is not surprising, as they are closely linked to the myth that the story of the creation of the New Empire became over time. Apu Tampu is, in fact, the father of Manco Cápac, its founder. But isn't the latter the son of the Sun? His progenitor is then presented as a simple curaca—an indigenous chief—who had raised him and, under the influence of two old priests of his race, had revealed his miraculous origin to him when he reached the age of ten. But perhaps it was more useful to link the new dynasty with the old: Apu Tampu thus becomes the son of Makuri, the last ruler of Tiahuanacu. There is nothing to be retained from these legends. All the more so since other traditions present the facts in a much more satisfactory manner.

At the time of the destruction of the Old Empire, a boy of about ten years of age, the son of the lord of Paucar Tampu, was in the capital, most likely as a pupil at one of the schools reserved for the children of Vikings. Somehow, the boy managed to escape when the city was taken by Kari's troops and to join

with his own people in the family fiefdom, where order was maintained. Numerous refugees soon began to arrive: priests, scholars and officials, but also loyal Indians. Apu Tampu, despite not belonging to the royal family, became a minor sovereign due to his race and investiture. Ten ayllu—indigenous, agricultural and military communities—in the region recognised his authority. Soon, the small lordship, protected by inaccessible mountains, became strong enough for its leader to consider a reconquest. Preparations had to be made. The priests made a decisive contribution. The defeat of the Atumaruna had been fundamentally religious in nature. The simplistic idea of equality before God, which had unified and stirred up all the resentment of the indigenous people, could only be opposed, since the force of arms had proved powerless against it, by what we today call a myth: a dynamic set of images capable of evoking, beyond all rational analysis, the motives, procedures and goals of a process of re-establishing the hierarchy, as well as the stimuli necessary to bring it about. A religious myth, of course. But first, the memory of the past had to be erased. In Paucar Tampu, all written documents and inscriptions were destroyed. It is even said that, a few years later, an amauta – a sage – who had invented a new writing system was sentenced to death. From then on, only quipos, which only easily controllable specialists could interpret, were to be used. It must all have begun in Paccari Tampu, the Lodge of the Dawn, the village where the sun rises.

Years passed, during which Peru began to long for the lost order. There were fights between valleys over a field or a herd. The curacas, free to act as they please, exploit the Indians more than even the worst Viking lords ever did. Bands of robbers ravage the fields, with no one in a position to offer them any effective resistance. The time has come to implement the plan that has been worked out in every detail. The priests begin to travel through the mountains, announcing the good news: the Sun takes pity on the Quechua people and will send them his sons to restore their happiness and peace. Then they summon the Indians to the foot of a hill where the miracle will take place. On the appointed day, at dawn, the Sun shines his rays on the three windows of the cave

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of Tampu Toccu —the Refuge of the Shelter— which overlooks the valley. From the middle window, which will later be called Cápac Toccu, the Refuge of the Champion, in the Viking sense of the latter word, four teenagers emerge. The eldest —the son of Apu Tampu— is dressed in a silver tunic studded with shells. He wears a large gold breastplate on his chest and a medal of the same metal on his forehead. Silver bracelets adorn his arms. Multicoloured feathers fall over his costume. The young man sparkles in the sun, like an idol. He addresses the prostrate Indians: his father, the Sun, has sent him to rule over them. All must obey him, on pain of the worst punishments. Tradition presents these young people to us as brothers and sisters and gives them a title that makes no sense in Quechua but "must have had one in the particular language of the Incas," says the chronicler Garcilaso: that of *ayar*. If we leave aside the augmentative *a* of Quechua, we rediscover the Norse word *jarl*. The four boys and four girls are all brothers and sisters. This does not necessarily mean that they have the same father and mother, but perhaps, more simply, that they are of the same race. The eldest, who is already eighteen, marries one of his 'sisters', Mama Occlo. Flanked by whites, the warriors of the ten loyal *ayllu* descend on Cuzco. Do they occupy without resistance what is already a stronghold with a sizeable population, or must they fight to take it over and then subdue the neighbouring tribes to gain control of the region? The chronicles provide us with conflicting versions of this. In any case, Manco Cápac—this is the name he will use from now on—the Champion Man-King, settles in what will become the capital of the New Empire, well protected by the fortress of Sacsahuaman. The "fifth age of Indians" begins, that of Incapmna, of the Inca people.

We must open a long parenthesis here so that the following pages are fully understandable. While the information referring to the Old Empire has come down to us only through an oral tradition that could be described as clandestine, the information referring to the Incas themselves, from Manco Cápac to the Spanish conquest, comes from two sources. On the one hand, we know the official history that was taught in schools. On the other, we have countless accounts given to chroniclers — Spanish, mestizo and more or less Hispanicised Indians — by elderly Incas who had not forgotten the past

of their race and no longer felt obliged to keep it secret. From these two sources, we have received information that is often contradictory. This is because the rulers of Cuzco, and one of them in particular, Pachacutec, had falsified history to turn it into an instrument of power.

It had all begun with Manco Cápac. Previously, a great flood—a mythologised version of Kari's victory—had destroyed everything on earth. The few humans who had escaped, Garcilaso's maternal uncle, an Inca from the royal family, told him, lived "like wild beasts and brute animals, without religion or police, without a town or house, without cultivating or sowing the land, without clothing or covering their flesh, because they did not know how to spin cotton or wool to make clothes. They lived in pairs and threes, as they happened to gather in the caves and crevices of rocks and caverns of the earth." But the four *ayar*, gathered in council, decided: "We were born strong and wise, and with the help of our peoples, we are powerful. Let us set out in search of lands more fertile than those we possess, and when we reach them, let us subjugate their inhabitants and wage war on anyone who does not receive us as lords." Let us not be too surprised: how many French people still believe that under the Ancien Régime, two hundred years ago—less than the duration of the New Empire—peasants scratched the earth with their fingernails to extract roots, their only food, and that an era of happiness began in 1789, thanks to the "Great Ancestors" and their "immortal principles"!

The Old Empire disappears from official history. Its founder, Viracocha, is relegated to the distant past. He is deified: he is the creator of heaven and earth. But, as a result of a flood, men live like animals. The Sun takes pity on them and sends them a son and a daughter who, coming from Tiahuanacu, appear in Tampu Toccu, charged with teaching them the true religion and customs of civilised beings and then governing them "with kindness, mercy and gentleness, like a father". The son of the minor lord of Paccari Tampu, without any hereditary right to the crown, thus becomes the Redeemer of humanity. Because of his miraculous origin, he has unquestionable power, which will be shared by his descendants, the Inca emperors. With the exception of Mama Occlo, Manco's wife, the other *Ayars*, his "brothers" and "sisters", fall into oblivion. There are now only Children of the Sun. The

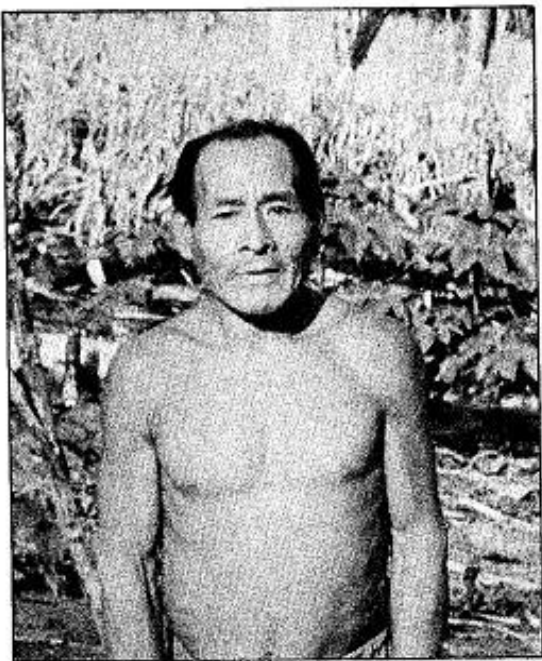
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Inca sovereigns succeeded one another until the day when one of them, Pa-chacutec, some seventy years before the arrival of the Spanish, decided to simplify history even further by concentrating the work of the dynasty on the reigns of his immediate predecessors, whose first leaders were thus reduced to mere names. He gathered a council of elders and wise men who had paintings made on wood, which the chronicler Cristóbal de Molina still managed to see in the Temple of the Sun at Poquen Cancha, depicting "the life of each of the Incas and the lands they conquered, with their portraits". This "history book" was, of course, destroyed by the conquistadors. The chronicler Sarmiento de Gamboa had it reconstructed on canvas and sent it to Spain, where it was lost. It is likely that Antonio de Herrera, Chief Chronicler to His Majesty, came to know it and took from it the portraits of the Inca sovereigns with which he illustrated the cover of his *Décadas*.

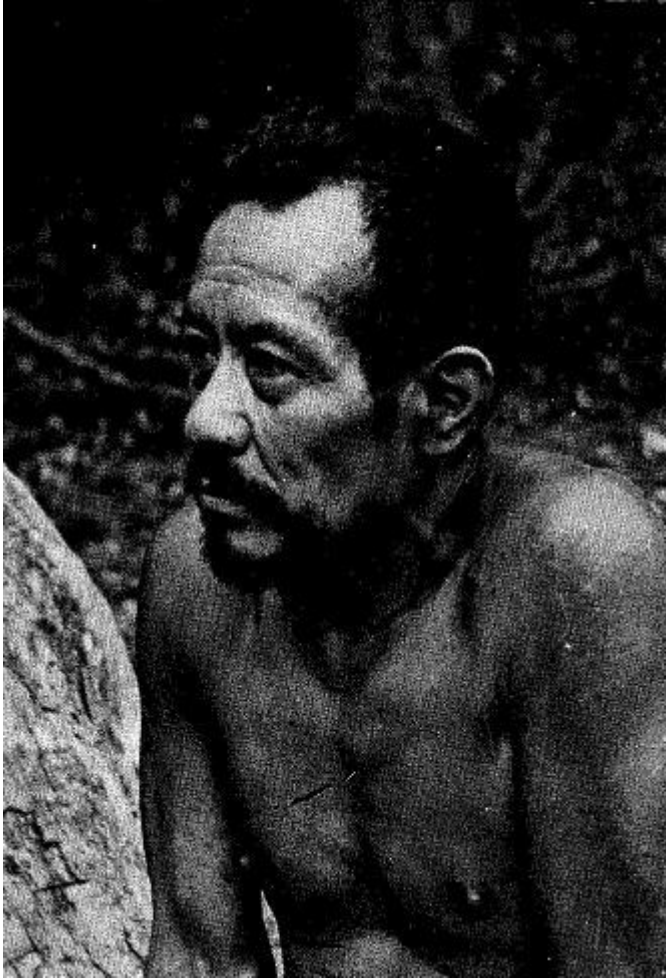
Despite their efforts, the successors of Manco Cápac and Pachacutec himself did not succeed in completely erasing the memory of past centuries. Oral tradition was maintained, especially in the provinces. The members of the white aristocracy, accomplices in this "brainwashing", were not ignorant of the truth, which was passed down from father to son. This is how some of the chroniclers of the Conquest era were able to gather a great deal of information about the Ancient Empire, the years of anarchy and the early reigns of the new dynasty. The most curious case is that of Garcilaso, the son of a Spanish captain and an Inca princess, granddaughter of Emperor Tupac Yupanqui and niece of his successor Huayna Cápac: a palla, as married women of the Peruvian aristocracy were called, a word that may come from the Norse ballr, meaning bold, or, after the transmutation of the / into p, which does not exist in Quechua, and the long, open o becoming a, from félaga, wife, in Old Norse. Raised in Cuzco until the age of twenty with his maternal family, he received the education reserved for the auqui (from the Old Norse auki, offspring), the children of the Incas, at a time when languages had already diverged. Later settling in Spain, he maintained close correspondence with his friends from his youth, most of whom were "mestizos" like him, who remained in Peru.



Indios guayakís.
En el de la foto superior se aprecia una calvicie occipital. Esta carencia de pelo nunca se da en un indio. A la derecha, retrato tipo de guayakí, (dibujo de la Dirección de Asuntos Indígenas, Asunción).



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A Guayaki, immediately after his first departure from the jungle. Note his European features: clear forehead, longitudinal face, frontal baldness, white locks and thick beard.

This is how he was able to write the Royal Commentaries, the most complete work we have on the Inca empire. The accuracy of his account has often been questioned, and it is clear that Garcilaso idealises the history of his ancestors. He reproduces, without

questioning or being misled by them, the "fables" relating to the origin of the New Empire and makes no reference whatsoever to the Old Empire. However, he does reject, without mentioning it, the 'concentrated' interpretation of Pachacutec and, with even more reason, that of some chroniclers who, on the basis of fragmentary information, reduce the dynastic list of the Incas to the last four or five sovereigns. On this point, he is the one who is right. The chronology proves it.

We saw in the previous chapter that Father Gnupa was unable to reach America until after the construction of the central gate of Amiens Cathedral, completed in 1236; that he had made a sufficiently long stop in Guayrá and Paraguay to leave behind, in indigenous traditions, the memory of his passage and some traces of his teaching; and that he had subsequently evangelised Peru for many years, gaining followers and undertaking the construction of a Christian church, which was well advanced when Kari took Tiahuanacu. Now, his encounter with Manco Cápac's father had taken place during the course of these sermons. Therefore, the event must necessarily have occurred in the second half of the 13th century. On the other hand, Garcilaso and, with him, many other chroniclers give us a list of Inca rulers which, from Manco Cápac to Huayna Cápac, who died in 1525, comprises a dozen names. A generation was then equivalent to about twenty years. It is the same, in the same period and under fairly similar living conditions, with regard to the twelve kings of France who succeeded one another from Philip III, who ascended the throne in 1270, to Louis XII, who died in 1515. With an approximation of a few years, the reconquest of Cuzco therefore dates from 1285 and the capture of Tiahuanacu by Kari, eight years earlier, from 1277. If the number of sovereigns had been significantly lower, the thul Gnupa would not have been able to meet Apu Tampu. Both chronological data are therefore mutually confirmed. Needless to say, the unacceptable figures of some chroniclers who attribute to each reign an average duration ranging from thirty-six years (Garcilaso) to ninety-five (Sarmiento de Gamboa) only respond to the need to fill, with a dozen names, a period of four hundred and nine hundred years, according to their estimates, covering not only the New Empire but also the Old Empire, whose existence they were aware of but did not want to acknowledge or were unable to do so due to a lack of data.

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Let us close our parenthesis and return to Manco Cápac. Having barely settled in Cuzco, the jarl organised the territory that the propaganda of the priests and some military expeditions—we know of two of them, against the local lords Pinahua (Pinava) and Tocay, probably of Viking origin, since their names come, respectively, from binda, to tie, bind and vá, pain, danger ("he who dominates danger") and from thokka, to judge ("he who judges"), in Norse have submitted to his authority. The population is scattered: he regroups it into a hundred villages built around the four axes that constitute the pre-existing Royal Roads. At first, these were only hamlets of twenty-five to one hundred houses. But soon the prosperity that reigned in what was still only a lordship, whose border, at its furthest point, was about fifty kilometres from the capital, attracted Indians from neighbouring regions, and the villages grew to have between three hundred and one thousand inhabitants each. Wisely, the Inca, the Descendant par excellence, as Manco is called and as his successors will be called, does not go beyond that. Rather than conquering new lands, he devotes himself to restoring order and well-being in all fields. Son of the Sun, his power depends, of course, on the strength of arms, but also and above all on the divine nature of his person. Religion, therefore, is inseparable from politics, which it supports. Hence, Manco orders the destruction of tribal idols without hesitation and prohibits the sacrifices offered to them. He orders the construction of the Temple of the Sun in Cuzco, while priests catechise the villages. But he is fully aware that the indigenous people will only retain their faith in him if their living conditions are transformed. To this end, he encourages agriculture. He distributes the available land among the ayllu and orders the gathering of livestock that roams the countryside without owners. Irrigation channels are restored. Warehouses were built to store the harvests, which would be distributed to families as needed. At the same time, old craftsmen taught the men the art of construction and the forgotten techniques of metallurgy, pottery and leatherworking, while 'Queen Mama Occlo' showed the women how to spin and weave.

Once material prosperity has been restored, it is relatively easy to impose rules of life on the Indians. The Inca enacts some very simple laws, which he enforces with the utmost rigour: adultery, murder and theft are punishable by death. Every man must

marry, at the age of twenty-five, within the ayllu, and have only one wife. The different indigenous 'nations' are distinguished by external signs, but all are granted the privilege of imitating the Incas, in proportion to the services rendered. Like the Incas, the men wore their hair in a topknot, but of varying lengths, and stretched their ears, like the Incas but less so, replacing the ringrim (from ring, Norse for hoop), the gold or stone ring inserted into their earlobes, with pieces of various woods. Furthermore, on the eve of his death, Manco Cápac ennobled the curacas who had been loyal to him by naming them, as a hereditary title, 'Incas by privilege'. Some were surprised that the first sovereign had done so much in some twenty years and that, without experience, he had taken the necessary measures from the outset to organise what would later become the Inca empire but was still, as we have said, nothing more than a tiny lordship. They forgot – but this was unknown until now – that he was merely restoring the previous order, the destruction of which had only taken place a few years earlier. On the other hand, Garcilaso himself, eager to magnify the work of the founder of the dynasty, notes, however, that it is impossible to know to what extent Inca legislation is due to the latter or to his successors.

The fundamental law of what was to become the New Empire dates back, like many others, to the Old Empire: it is the law of blood, which absolutely separates the 'blood of the Sun' from 'human blood', whites from Indians. As depositaries of divine authority, the Incas, by virtue of their race, are the masters. All the highest offices, in all fields, are rightfully theirs. Only they can later become High Priests and bishops — this is the word used by Spanish chroniclers — viceroys, generals and field masters (colonels). Hence a somewhat pious caste system: on the one hand, the Incas of royal blood, who supposedly all descend from Manco Cápac and his sister; on the other, the Indians, whatever their rank. The Incas, by privilege, occupy an intermediate position from an honorary and, to a certain extent, functional point of view, but there is an unbridgeable gulf between them and the whites. Mestizos, even the children of sovereigns, are excluded from the aristocracy. The ruling family takes, it is said, an exceptional measure to guarantee the purity of its blood: the crown prince marries the eldest of his sisters and, if she is barren, the second, and so on, for only the legitimate child of a father and a mother can accede to the throne.

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mother of royal blood. But this is the case for all members of the white minority, and the words 'brother' and 'sister' seem to have had a much broader meaning in Peru than we give them today. This is how the god Viracocha, when appearing to the prince who would later take his name, says: "I am the son of the Sun and brother of the Inca Manco Cápac (...) therefore I am the brother of your father and of all of you". 'Brother' therefore simply means 'of the same blood', and perhaps the sovereign's incestuous marriage, although not inconceivable, given that history provides us with other examples, such as that of the Ptolemies in Egypt, was born of a misinterpretation by some of the Spanish chroniclers. In any case, only the male children of the emperor and the coya (from the Norse gydhja, priestess, which comes from godho, good) can ascend to the throne.

Those born of his countless concubines, some white and others daughters of curacas whom he sought to honour in a special way, were unequal. All were illegitimate, but the former were part of the ruling caste, with all the rights that corresponded to them, while the latter were mere humans with honours corresponding to their origin. For this reason, the sovereigns gladly give their mestizo daughters, but only them, in marriage to curacas of merit. In other words, white blood can improve the Indian race, but indigenous blood is never introduced into the solar minority, under penalty of exclusion of the offspring. The effectiveness of this segregation stems from the fact that it is based not only on genetic and cultural inequality and social hierarchy, but also on a difference of a religious nature: between the Children of the Sun and human beings there is a barrier that no one has the right to break down.

There are numerous accounts of the Incas belonging to the white race. Conquistador Pedro Pizarra sums them all up: 'The people of that kingdom of Peru were (...) copper-coloured, while among them the lords and ladies were whiter than the Spaniards. I saw in that country an Indian woman and a child who were no different from those who are white and blond. That people say that the latter are the children of the gods of Heaven." Garcilaso, who in 1560 was able to observe the mummies of three kings and two queens, rediscovered by the corregidor of Cuzco, Polo de Ondegardo, points out that the men had white hair, which never happens among Indians. One of them, Viracocha, whom Guarnan Poma depicts

as having a short beard and moustache, had "a head as white as snow". His wife had been called Mama Runtu, "Mother Egg", because she was "as white as an egg". The paintings in the church of Santa Ana in Cuzco show us Incas whose complexion appears much lighter than that of their subjects. The portraits of the twelve sovereigns with which Herrera illustrated his chronicle are of Europeans, and some, for this reason alone, questioned their authenticity, whereas they are the best proof of it. If they were the work of the historian or any other Spaniard, their author would certainly not have had the absurd idea of giving Indians the appearance of white people for no reason. And if they had been copied from paintings of the Inca period, the indigenous artist would obviously not have been able to depict Europeans without ever having seen white men.

Does this mean that we can be certain that the Incas were pure Nordics? Certainly not. Even in the Old Empire, there must have been some interbreeding, as always happens when two races, even if one is subordinate to the other, live together in harmony. But if this was the case, the implementation of the caste system had limited the consequences of the phenomenon: bastards did not belong to the aristocracy. No one knows, however, whether the rule was strictly enforced during the years of anarchy that followed the capture of Tiahuanacu, let alone during a reconquest that, as we shall see, lasted two hundred years. It is highly probable that Manco Cápac and his successors, eager above all to regroup as many Descendants as possible and to secure the support of local chiefs, were not very strict about the genealogy of each other, which was otherwise unverifiable, and perhaps it would have been better for them not to examine their own too severely, since we do not know the past of their lineage, which Guarnan Poma treats with contempt. We find certain indications of such laxity in the chronicles, and some of the Incas who appear in the drawings we have just mentioned clearly have indigenous features. If there had been no miscegenation, almost all the Incas would have been blond, like the woman and child who caught Pedro Pizarro's attention. It is true that, at the time of the Conquest, most of the members of the aristocracy had, as we shall see, been murdered on the orders of the mestizo usurper Atahualpa, who, out of resentment, must have been particularly cruel to individuals of Nordic type.

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In any case, the Incas were white, 'whiter than the Spaniards'. If there were any doubt as to their origin, the 'particular language' they spoke among themselves, according to Garcilaso, and which the Indians were forbidden to learn, would be enough to dispel it. The chronicler mentions, with regard to the titles and some of the names of the characters of the empire, that they make no sense in the general language—Quechua—but must have made sense in the language of the white aristocracy. Now, all these terms—we have already mentioned some of them: Inca, Ayar, Cápac, Coya, Palla, Auqui, Manco—are Norse. Furthermore, in 1871, the Argentine historian Vicente Fidel López published a surprising work in Paris, *Les Races aryennes du Pérou*. In it, he analysed Quechua from a philological point of view and found some 1,300 words of Sanskrit origin in that language, not without deducing from this, too quickly, that the people who spoke it were of Aryan race. This implies two errors characteristic of the time: at the end of the last century, it was still believed that Sanskrit was the mother tongue of all Indo-European languages, whereas we now know that it is only one of them, and language and race were often confused. The Quechua Indians are not Aryans, but Mongoloids, and their agglutinative language has no other connection with ours than the roots revealed by López, sometimes a little far-fetched, but often indisputable. These can only come from close contact with an Indo-European-speaking people, and, judging by his analysis, a Germanic one. Let us limit ourselves here to giving a few examples as evidence: kolli, hearth, ash, from the Norse kol, coal; huasi, house, from the Norse hus, idem; chupe, soup, from the Norse suppe, idem; hatun, large, from the Norse yótun, giant; marca, province, mark, from the Norse marka, idem; and the cry of joy, triumph and homage, hailli, identical to the German Heil. Such infiltration could not have occurred in the Tiahuanacu period, since the main Indian language of Collasuyu was Aymara. Originating in Chinchasuyu, the northern province, Quechua was adopted as the general language during the New Empire and, as such, imposed as the language of the state. Therefore, the Incas spoke a Germanic language. We know from the titles they bore that it was a Norse dialect. The linguistic affiliation between the men of Tiahuanacu and them confirms the historical data provided by tradition and iconography.

When Manco Cápac is "called by our Father the Sun," according to the established formula, he leaves his son a lordship in which the traditional order is restored, at least in essence. Theocratic power is solid. The agricultural and military communities—the ayllu—serve as a framework for the entire population, with their indigenous curaca. The white minority "of royal blood" occupies all positions of command in all fields. The heir to the throne, Sinchi Roca (sinchi is an adjective meaning "brave" but, taken as a noun, takes on the meaning of "general". The word comes from the Norse syna, to indicate and, by extension, to command, which has as its derivative syni, example. Roca is a deformation of the Scandinavian name Hróðgar, which has given Roger in French and Rogelio in Spanish), is thus in a position to undertake the reconquest. In the course of his first campaign, he penetrates Collasuyu. He obviously seeks to reconquer Tiahuanacu, but fails. He only advances a hundred kilometres to the south and fortifies the new frontier. Then, to the east, he reached the Callavaya River. It was his son, Lloque Yupanqui (lloque means "left-handed" in Quechua, and Yupanqui seems to be a contraction of yupa, justice, and anac, excellent, although it cannot be ruled out that this name, which several other emperors would bear, derives from the Norse banga, to strike, with the augmentative su). With eight or nine thousand men, he resumed the march southward and, after a tremendous battle, took the city of Ayavire and then Hatunkolla, the capital of the Aymara kingdom. From there, a second expedition allowed him to reach the eastern chain of the mountain range without much effort.

Tiahuanacu was conquered by the fourth Inca, Mayta Cápac (Mayta, which has no meaning in Quechua, comes from the Norse meidha, to wound, to harm), whose troops, coming from the already pacified lands west of Titicaca, crossed the Desaguadero River, south of the lake, on a raft bridge. The entire region was occupied after bloody battles. The army then marched westward, reaching the Pacific coast, and then eastward, reaching the valleys that descend into the eastern jungle. There, Mayta Cápac did not encounter civilised peoples, as in Colla-suyu, but savage tribes. The oath of allegiance of their chiefs is not a sufficient guarantee. The Inca settles Quichuas in the region, thus continuing the policy of military colonies of the Atumuruna. He then enters the Contisuyu, west of Cuzco. His son, Cápac Yupanqui, completes his work in that sector and descends towards the south, thus uniting the coastal territory with the already

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pacified provinces of Collasuyu. South of Cuzco, with the exception of the Charcas valley, only the eastern districts remain out of control, where the kings of Hatunkolla have retreated and whose descendants are fighting among themselves. One of them bore the title of Sapakhta and the other the name of his ancestor Kari, and they appealed to the Inca. Did the emperor manage to bring them to an agreement, or did he support one against the other? The chronicles contradict each other on this point. But in any case, Cápac Yupanqui imposed his authority on both of them.

The sixth sovereign, Inca Roca, had already led an expedition to Chinchasuyu as crown prince, which allowed him to control the course of the Apurimac River to the coast. As soon as he came to power, he restarted the campaign and invaded the territory of the Chancas, a particularly warlike Quechua-speaking Indian tribe, whom he subdued, according to Garcilaso, with nothing more than kind words and a display of his strength, which is not very convincing. He then sent his son, Yahuar Huacac ("he who sheds tears of blood": several contradictory legends attempt to explain this strange name) to conquer the Antisuyu, east of the Paucartampu River, the eastern border of the lands subject to Cuzco since Manco Cápac. A few years later, Yahuar Huacac assembled an army of thirty thousand men, marched on the valleys of the Charcas, in the eastern Andes, and occupied them without a fight.

This slow and gradual reconquest, which, at least for us, is becoming monotonous, is interrupted by the events that unfold during the reign of Yahuar Huacac. Not very warlike, he limits himself, in the military field, to sending his brother, Apu Mayta, to subdue some corners still out of control. He is afflicted by a serious problem: his eldest son, whose name has not been preserved, is so unruly that he has no choice but to exile him to the mountains. Three years later, the prince, despite being forbidden to do so, appeared before the emperor and told him a surprising story: a man with a long beard and dressed in a tunic that fell to his feet had appeared to him during his siesta; it was Viracocha, who instructed him to inform the Inca of the Chanca rebellion. Still angry with his son, Yahuar Huacac refuses to believe him and sends him away. He refuses to listen to his uncles and brothers, who doubt that the prince could have lied in such a way and thus committed a horrible sacrilege. But three months later, the news reaches Cuzco: the

Chancas are marching on the capital with forty thousand warriors. The Inca flees to Collasuyu.

Alerted, the crown prince, who will henceforth be called Viracocha Inca, rushes after his father and manages to catch up with him. He reproaches him for his cowardice and harangues the fugitives. Four thousand Incas of royal blood place themselves under his command. He immediately sets out on the road to Cuzco, stopping the Indians who are leaving the city and calling on the peasants of the region. He crosses the capital and advances along the royal road of Chinchasuyu, where the enemy is coming from. Another four thousand Incas join him, while twenty thousand warriors from Contisuyo come to his aid. The battle lasts a whole day. Five thousand Quechuas, held in reserve in the mountain passes, are the decisive factor in the victory when they attack the Chancas from the rear. Thirty thousand corpses, it is said, lie on the battlefield. Legend soon takes hold of the feat: the god Viracocha and his bearded men fought alongside the Incas. The prince pursues the fugitives, reoccupies the lands and installs solid garrisons there. He then returns to Cuzco on foot, like any other soldier, surrounded by his warriors. His father abdicates in his favour. Some old Incas will later say that Viracocha Inca was not the son of Yahuar Huacac by blood, which would explain why he had much more European features than the descendants of Manco Cápac.

Did he come from a purer lineage? This is nothing more than a rumour, perhaps born merely from a physical type that Mendel's laws are sufficient to explain if, as is likely, the Incas have some Indian blood in their veins. In this regard, it should be noted that the figure of 8,000 Incas of royal blood participating in the battle clearly shows that, contrary to legend, not all the Children of the Sun are descended from the four ayar and their 'sisters'. In about 150 years, those eight original progenitors could not have produced much more than 250 men and women. Evidently, numerous Viking survivors of the Old Empire had taken refuge in Paccari Tampu and Cuzco, not to mention those who had remained in the provinces, as Apu Tampu had done.

It was under Viracocha that Tucma (Tucumán), that is, the entire north-west of Argentina, as far south as Córdoba, voluntarily joined the Inca Empire. After him, the conquests continued

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. His son Titu Manco Cápac, who reigned under the name of Yupanqui Pachacutec (Yupanqui, the Reformer of the World), after an attempt at usurpation by his bastard half-brother Ureo, his father's favourite, occupied the territory of the Chancas on the coast and then advanced northwards into Chinchasuyu, which was soon completely subjugated. Finally, he turned against the kingdom of Chimor, whose sovereign, also a descendant of Vikings, accepted his authority after fierce fighting. The good Inca Yupanqui, tenth emperor of Cuzco, was more ambitious. The Mountain was in his power, but the Plain had not yet been recovered. He mounted an expedition to subdue it: he knew very well where he was going, Garcilaso tells us, "from certain relations that his ancestors and he had had, that in those wide and long regions there were many lands, some populated and some uninhabitable".

On the banks of the Marañón—the upper Amazon—Yupanqui orders the construction, using exceptionally light wood from the region, of rafts capable of carrying thirty to fifty men, plus provisions placed on a slightly raised platform. The "fleet", with ten thousand men, descends the river in search of Payití. Throughout its journey, it suffers attacks from fierce Indians, the Chunchu, and finally reaches the territory that tradition says belongs to the Musus. Only a thousand men remain, who, unable to retrace their steps, settle in the area, establishing good relations with its inhabitants, who give them their daughters in marriage. That this is not really the "empire" of the Musus, located much further north, is another matter that does not concern us here. The fact is that the Amazon route has proved impracticable. That leaves Peaviru, the southern route. It can only be reached, to the west of the already subjugated charcas, by crossing the rugged mountains and swamps inhabited by the Chiriguano, a savage Guaraní tribe that guards the entrance to the plains of Santa Cruz. Here too, Yupanqui fails: the Incas will never reach the Atlantic.

The emperor then turns his attention to Chile. Access is not easy. Via Tucumán, one must cross hills over 4,000 metres high; via Atacama, a desert some six hundred kilometres long, barely interrupted by the oasis of Copiapó halfway along. For reasons that escape us, the second route is chosen. Twenty-eight thousand men, in three waves, manage to overcome the obstacle,

thanks to the llamas that carried food and water and were eaten as they were unloaded. From battle to battle, the army reached the Maulli River (now Maulé), south of present-day Valparaíso, which became the southern border of the New Empire. It was probably already the border of the Old Empire, since it is at this point that the royal road that crosses the Tucumán and, through present-day Mendoza in Argentina, crosses the Andes, ends.

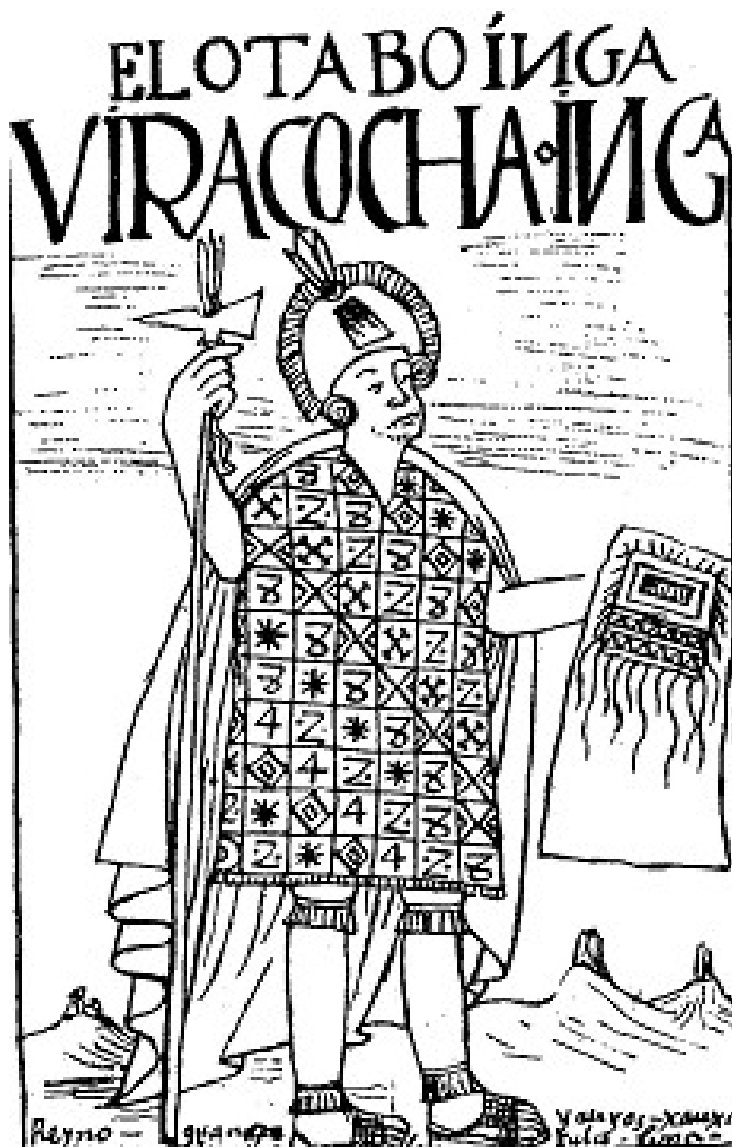
The eleventh sovereign, Tupac Inca Yupanqui (Tupac means 'the Brilliant' in Quechua) attempted to retake the Amazon route, with no more success than his father. He easily crushed the Huacrachucu ("Horned Ones" in Quechua) and entered the province of the Chachapoyas, where Takuilla, under the Old Empire, had built imposing fortresses that the inhabitants of the region used against his heirs. He subdues the province with great difficulty and, prudently, does not go any further. He believes, not without reason, that it would be easier to incorporate the kingdom of Quito, whose dynasty is of Viking origin but strongly mixed, into the empire. The crown prince, Huayna Cápac (Huayna: young man, in Quechua) takes command of the troops and, in a three-year campaign, subjugates the country. Later, he will fall in love with the daughter of its last king, take her as his concubine and have a son by her who will be the talk of the town. It was because of these wars in the north that Tupac Yupanqui undertook the great maritime expedition that, "in the footsteps of Viracocha" —we will talk about this in the next chapter— would take him to Polynesia. He ordered the construction of four hundred rafts and set sail with twenty thousand men. He lands in the Galapagos and then reaches the islands of Aguachumbi and Ninachumbi, from where he brings back, in addition to gold and silver objects, prisoners of the black race. These are the Gambier Islands: in Mangareva, a chief named Tupa is remembered, a red man who arrived from the east with a fleet of rafts.

Under Huayca Cápac, the empire is at its peak, more extensive in the mountains than that of Tiahuanacu, since it includes, apart from Kondanemarka, the two then allied but more independent kingdoms of Chimor and Quito. The emperor completes his territory by seizing some maritime valleys in the north, which the scyri had never been able to subdue. Eight years before his death, in 1517, the chasquis, the runners of the postal service, brought him news that made him tremble: a huge ship, manned by "strange people never before seen in that land", had sailed along the coasts of the

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Ecuador; it is that of Vasco Núñez de Balboa. Huayna Cápac is unaware of this, but he knows what to expect. It seems, in fact, that the Normans, who had been going to America since 1250 to load logs of Brazil wood, resumed contact with the Altiplano, directly this time, after the founding of the New Empire. They possessed an extraordinarily accurate map of Viking origin of the subcontinent, including the strait we call Magellan. In the 14th and 15th centuries, their ships were in no way inferior to those used by the Spanish during the 'Discovery' and the Conquest. What leads us to believe this is the existence, on a piece of fabric and on a keru—a cup decorated with a kind of cloisonné—of unmistakably European figures, one of whom is wearing a sueste, a hat characteristic of Atlantic sailors, and, on another keru, of Inca weapons inscribed on a modern French coat of arms, dating from after the 13th century. Through the Normans, Huayna Cápac was aware of events in Europe. On his deathbed, surrounded by his children, other relatives, his captains and the curacas of the region, he exclaimed: 'Many years ago, through a revelation from our Father the Sun, we feared that, after twelve kings and their children, new and unknown people would come to these parts and conquer and subject all our kingdoms and many others to their empire. I suspect that they will be those we know have been travelling along the coast of our sea; they will be brave people who will have an advantage over you in everything. He assured us that, a few years after I have left you, those new people will come and fulfil what our Father the Sun has told us, and they will conquer our empire and become its masters. I command you to obey them and serve them as men who will surpass you in everything; for their laws will be better than ours and their weapons more powerful and invincible than ours. It is likely that the Spanish adapted these words to suit their interests. But it is no less clear for that reason – their behaviour towards Pizarro's men proves it – that the Incas and the Indians were awaiting the return of Viracocha and his people. The history of the New Empire is far from being reduced to the account we have just given, as condensed as possible, of the reconquest of the territory of the Old Empire. It also and above all comprises the work of restoring the social order destroyed in 1277.

Emperor Viracocha. Note the small beard. (Drawing by Guarnan Poma de Ayala).



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The Festival of the Sun in Inca times. Note the representation of the Sun God, with beard and moustache. (Drawing by Guarnan Poma de Ayala).

By proclaiming himself the son of the Sun, Manco immediately places himself in the position of Viracocha: not that of the konr who, with great difficulty, undertakes the colonisation of the country, but that of the god whom the Indians have idealised. He is not his reincarnation, of course, but — as a divine figure — he assumes his representation. The powers attributed to him are thus as indisputable as his legitimacy. The son of the minor lord of Paccari Tampu, probably somewhat mixed race and therefore excluded from the succession of the sovereigns of Tiahuanacu from whom he was descended at best, would never have been anything but a usurper. The son of the Sun traces his lineage back to its origins, as they have been transfigured over the centuries. The priests who plotted this manoeuvre knew how to work.

As the representative of God, whose nature he shares, the Inca is absolute sovereign. His decisions are dictated by his father, the Sun, and no one can oppose him without committing sacrilege. This theocratic principle, however, clashes on the one hand with concrete realities and on the other with social norms inherited from the Vikings. The empire is neither a convent nor a barracks where uniformity reigns, but a mosaic of peoples as diverse as possible, each with their own beliefs, customs, way of life and authorities. The same structure, let alone the same rule, cannot be imposed on the Chimú fishermen of the coast, whose high culture dates back to before the Vikings, the Aymara shepherds who graze their herds of llamas in the frozen solitudes of the Puna, at 4,000 m. and above, the Quechua farmers in the mountains and the wild hunters in the eastern valleys of the Andes. Unity only makes sense on the basis of diversity which, once the antagonisms that arise from it have been overcome, becomes a factor of order and wealth. For this reason, the Inca respects particularities that he would otherwise be unable to suppress. Everywhere, he confirmed the powers of the curacas, whose authority, far from being diminished, was reinforced by the endorsement thus received. But, in return, the local chief swore allegiance to the sovereign. This, as we saw in the case of the Old Empire, was a mere transposition of European feudalism. There is only one exception to the system, but it is a significant one: the colonies of mitmac, or mitimaes, communities displaced from one point to another within the territory, either because their members are not trusted and are taken to safe regions, or, on the contrary, because they are Indians who are particularly loyal to those who, surrounded

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by whites, were settled in the border provinces or in the midst of troubling populations.

The rulers of Cuzco therefore limited themselves to returning to the structures created by their ancestors in Tiahuanacu. But with one difference: Viracocha was merely the *primus inter pares* of the Vikings. Undoubtedly, in the long run, his successors, like their cousins in Scandinavia, had managed to reinforce their authority. Manco does not need to impose his authority on the white people who gather around him. For them, who are clearly complicit in the mystification, he is the leader, not because he is descended from the Sun, but because he has created the conditions for a rebirth. The Indians, of course, are not asked for their opinion, as the state is organised on the basis of the law of blood and does not alter the natural structures of the population in any way. The guiding principle of the rediscovered order is the guarantee of indigenous freedoms by the absolute authority of the Incas. The white state joins the communities without touching their essence or ever depending on them. The emperor is surrounded by his closest relatives, who occupy the main positions in the government and the army. Four Inca viceroys represent him in the provinces. All senior officials are white, and the indigenous authorities are subject to them. The fiefdoms are in the hands of Incas or curacas, but all of them are subordinate to the Inca representatives of the central power. On the one hand, therefore, there is a customary organisation without change; on the other, a political superstructure that constitutes the monopoly of the ruling caste.

The feudal system, however, did not only offer advantages. Local autonomy allowed many things to be concealed, in particular many violations of the law. For this reason, the Incas superimposed a complementary, strictly centralised organisation on top of it. Indian heads of families of working age – between twenty-five and fifty years old – were grouped into decurias, under the command of one of their number. Five decuries formed a half-centuria; two half-centurias, a centuria; five centurias, a company; two companies, a village; and ten villages, a tribe whose chief was answerable only to the provincial governor, who in turn was subordinate only to one of the viceroys. The village and tribe chiefs almost always belong to the white aristocracy. Two points stand out in this scheme. First, the use of the decimal system, unknown in any other part of America, where counting is done by twenties, and replaced in Western Europe

Western Europe during the High Middle Ages by duodecimal calculation. Secondly, the pyramidal order that was added, as an imposition of the colonial state, to local community structures. Now, these two peculiarities existed, as we have seen, in the 10th century in the Nordic area, very precisely between the islands of Frisia and Oeland, that is, in Denmark and southern Sweden. It is therefore a Scandinavian heritage, and we know that the Old Empire had already adopted it.

In times of peace, the decurion has a dual role. On the one hand, he takes care of the needs of his men and their families and intervenes on behalf of the group before the authorities responsible for meeting those needs. On the other hand, he reports any crimes committed by his subordinates, depending on their severity, to one or other of his superiors, who act as judges. Within five days, the judge hearing the case either dismisses the case or applies the appropriate penalty, without being allowed to interpret the law. There are no courts of appeal, but every month the ordinary judges send a report on their sentences to their immediate superior, which is carefully examined, level by level, before being presented to the viceroy who, depending on the case, forwards it to the Supreme Council of the Inca, which thus acts, in the last resort, as a court of cassation. For conflicts between provinces, a judge of royal blood travels to the scene, hears the parties and pronounces the sentence, unless he considers the case serious enough to be submitted to the emperor in person. The laws are simple and few in number. Outside the criminal field, they concern almost exclusively family status and the rules of economic activity. For everything else, local customary law applies. In times of war, the decurions and their superiors, up to the rank of company commander, become non-commissioned officers and their men are mobilised under the command of their lord or curaca, but the various contingents are placed under the command of colonels and generals, all of royal blood. It seems that elite units, composed exclusively of whites, are garrisoned in Cuzco and other strategic points.

This dual hierarchy is also found in the religious sphere. In matters of belief, the Incas showed extreme tolerance, and the severity of Manco Cápac in tearing down the idols of his lordship, which was

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indispensable for imposing the cult of the Sun, it is not perpetuated. Human sacrifices are prohibited wherever they took place. But in the Pantheon of Cuzco, seventy-eight idols represent the multiform faith of the peoples incorporated into the empire. One of these local gods even enjoys a privileged position, and the emperor himself does not disdain to sometimes celebrate ritual sacrifices in his great temple on the coast. This is Pachacámac, the god of Fire of the Chimúes, the 'Animator of the Earth', the immanent Creator whose work is personified to this day among the Kollas of Bolivia by Pachamama, Mother Earth. Pachacámac is the ordering spirit through which chaos takes shape and endures. For pacha is both earth and time. Above him at the beginning, later confused with him, is Viracocha. An invisible and almighty god, he needs nothing and no one. For this reason, he is not worshipped, nor are temples dedicated to him. He is the creator of the Sun, his material expression. But he is also his son, incarnated to bring Revelation and Redemption to men. In this sense, he is vulnerable, and the forces of nature defeated him. Viracocha irresistibly brings to mind the Christian God, Creator and Redeemer, Father and Son of himself, immaterial and incarnate, almighty and crucified by the Sons of the Devil. The preaching of

Father Gnupa, moreover, has left many more traces: communion under both species during the festival of Intip Raymi, on the southern winter solstice, and under the species of bread during Uma Raymi, on the spring equinox in September; auricular confession; and even baptism, although we have no other reference to this than that of the future Inca emperor Roca, to whom his father, Cápac Yupanqui, administered the sacrament with water from Lake Titicaca, sanctified by "Thunupa". It should be noted that the celebration — on the day of Intip Raymi — of the birth of the New Fire made no sense at all on the first day of the southern winter. The South American Catholic Church today makes the same mistake during the Easter midnight mass. For celebrating the Resurrection of the God-Man as that of the Sun God makes sense in spring, when nature awakens and inaugurates a new cycle of life, or at the beginning of summer, but not in autumn or early winter, when night is replacing day and the earth is falling asleep. This shows that, in the case of Intip Raymi as in that of Easter, these are celebrations imported from Europe.

The worship of the Sun, characteristic of the Incas —Indians are not allowed to enter the temples dedicated to it, a paganism

pantheistic in the Scandinavian manner but influenced by Christianity, slowly imposes itself on the "savage" remnants of indigenous idolatry, to the greater benefit of the emperors who are finally—as in Rome—deified during their lifetime. Regardless of an initial moment, the clergy is very quickly incorporated into the state, that is, subjected to the sovereign. In this as in everything else, the Incas brought order. The church acquired strongly hierarchical structures. It was headed by a high priest, the Villac Urna, originally elected by a priestly assembly but soon appointed by the monarch. He had ten bishops at his command, who resided in the most important cities of the empire. These, in turn, had authority over the priests, who belonged to two main categories: those of the Sun, all Incas like the prelates themselves, and those of the local gods, who were indigenous. All practise divination by the entrails of the llama, in which, plausibly, the former believe no more than the haruspices of Rome, who predicted the future by those of the cock, and once a year, the emperor cures all diseases, like the king of France, on the day of his coronation, scrofula. This ecclesiastical structure is completed by the convents of women, in which the Virgins of the Sun are confined. They are responsible for preserving the sacred fire lit on Intip Raymi, preparing the communion bread and weaving the Inca's habits, each of them led by an abbess. Here, the influence of Christianity is very clear, for nothing was more foreign to the Vikings than organised virginity. In Peru, moreover, the white aristocracy has a keen interest in increasing the number of its descendants. Now, in Cuzco, all the nuns, mystical wives of the Sun, are legitimate daughters of Incas, and therefore of pure race. In the provinces, on the other hand, bastard daughters and daughters of curacas are admitted, and even commoners, provided they are beautiful. They are not consecrated to the Sun, but to the sovereign, who has some of them brought to him when he travels through his empire, sometimes giving them as wives to indigenous chiefs whom he wishes to honour. This is also a means of government.

The law of blood also forms the basis of the economic order. The Incas are exempt from all manual labour: they are all in the service of the State and, as we have seen, are reserved for high political, military and religious functions. The only producers are the Indians. They are therefore tied to the land. In each

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region, the land is divided into three parts of probably variable proportions, which we do not know. One is attributed to the Sun, that is, to the Church; another to the Inca, that is, to the state; the third to the ayllu, which distributes it each year among the families in proportion to the number of their members. The peasants first work the lands of the Sun and then those belonging to the elderly, widows, the sick and soldiers on campaign. Afterwards, they take care of their own plots, but mutual aid is the law and, in fact, ploughing, sowing and harvesting are done in common. Finally, they cultivate the Inca's land. The family has free disposal of the produce of their plot, and the markets allow for a certain amount of bartering. The harvests from the lands of the Sun and the Inca are used, in part, to ensure the subsistence of the clergy, the court and the officials. But most of them are stored in warehouses located in all the villages and all the tampus, intended to cover the unforeseen needs of the population, since no inhabitant of the empire can lack the essentials, and those of foreigners and travellers, who are housed free of charge in the *corpahuasi*. With their shares, the Church and the State also maintain their countless servants and the artisans responsible for the construction of temples and palaces, public works and metalwork. Indigenous women spin and weave wool and cotton supplied by their respective ayllu throughout the year. But they also receive raw materials from the herds of the Sun and the Inca, which they transform into clothing, a task to which they devote only two months a year.

For two months, the village craftsmen devote themselves to making metal or pottery objects for the Church or the State, and the young men who are assigned to work in the mines. Copper is used to produce everyday objects and weapons. Gold and silver have no commercial value, for the simple reason that there is no trade whatsoever in the empire. These precious metals, to which platinum, then unknown in Europe, should be added, are used only for the decoration of temples and palaces, as well as for personal adornment, according to strictly codified hierarchical rules. The "labour service" of women, local artisans and miners did not, therefore, imply any economic exploitation: it was a tax paid in labour by the ayllu and compensated by the distribution of food, clothing and everyday objects by the Church and the State to

workers and the needy. It is therefore reasonable to speak of socialism, as long as this word is given its proper meaning, which excludes all statism, that is, all capitalist hoarding by the ruling minority. Taxes, in fact, only serve to maintain civil servants and provide public services. Now, even apart from religion and war, these are considerable. Social assistance is the most important. Public works, including irrigation canals, come second. Education absorbs a significant part of the budget.

All the children of Incas and curacas go to school: initially only in the capital, starting with Inca Roca, and then in all the provinces, by order of Pachacutec. Pupils are taught catechism, astronomy, natural sciences, how to read quipos and, of course, morality and the art of war. The teachers were amantas, members of the corps of "philosophers and sages" maintained by the state. We have very little information about their knowledge, for the simple reason that the Spanish were unable to explain it, due to their lack of sufficient culture. Inca medicine, for example, was far superior to that practised in Europe during the Middle Ages, and we know this because traces of successful trepanations have been found on skeletons, not to mention the bronze surgical instruments that have survived to this day. Some poems have been preserved, as well as a drama, which demonstrate a valid literary level. The few solar observatories that the Spanish friars did not destroy are proof of constant research in the field of astronomy. The amauta know how to calculate solstices and equinoxes. For some time now, the solar year of 365 days and 6 hours, divided into twelve months of thirty days, plus the epagomenal days and, every four years, a day corresponding to the leap year, has replaced the lunar year of 348 days, divided into 12 months of twenty-nine days. There is no doubt that this change was due to the Vikings, as the Inca zodiac, inseparable from the solar year, is not only almost identical to that used in the European Middle Ages

—of its ten known signs, seven are identical, one is equivalent and two have the same meaning, although with a different symbol— but also corresponds to the northern sky, as we have already mentioned when discussing the New Fire festival.

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On the September equinox, which marks the beginning of spring in the southern hemisphere, Peru celebrates Urna Raymi, the festival of Huaraca, similar to the ceremony in which young Roman men received their toga virilis. Once they have completed their studies, adolescents, including the crown prince, take exams in science, grammar, gymnastics and tactics. Those belonging to royal families also undergo tests ranging from three days of fasting to combat with blunt weapons, during which they must demonstrate courage, self-control and endurance. Then, the Inca himself knighted them — this is the expression used by Garcilaso — with a ceremony that resembled, in every detail, that of medieval investiture. This was obviously a custom attributed to Father Gnupa and therefore inherited from the Ancient Empire.

Is it possible that such a highly developed culture could be transmitted solely by word of mouth? This is difficult to believe, especially in regard to astronomical knowledge, which requires complicated calculations. It is also legitimate to doubt that somewhat complex verbal messages could be transmitted from generation to generation over thousands of kilometres without the slightest distortion. However, it was long believed that the New Empire had remained faithful, until the end, to the prohibition of writing pronounced in Paccari Tampu. But this is not the case: on the one hand, missionaries at the time of the Conquest used a pre-existing ideographic system to teach the Indians catechism and prayers, thanks to which they wrote the *quellca rezapaliche* — 'religious texts on parchment' — whose use has not yet completely disappeared. On the other hand, the drawings of Guarnan Poma de Ayala show us, on the tunics and belts of the sovereigns, alphabet-like signs, some of which resemble runes, others Latin characters, and still others Arabic numerals. Was this merely a decorative reminiscence of the systems introduced during the time of the Ancient Empire by the Vikings and Father Gnupa, respectively? This is what we believed at first. Wrongly so. Recent research by William Burns Glynn has conclusively demonstrated that it was a true alphabetical script and, moreover, that it could be transmitted by quipu, through a numerical equivalence of letters. Thus, not only statistical data could be recorded, but also historical concepts and events.

Despite his obvious intention to magnify and embellish everything related to his maternal ancestors, there is one point on which the author of the Royal Commentaries has to acknowledge his inferiority: that of technology. He is astonished at the poverty of the tools available to craftsmen: no anvil, no hammer, no files, no chisels, no saws, no planes. The smelters work without bellows; the carpenters without nails; the stonecutters without chisels. Iron is known under the Incas, but it is not used: tools, surgical instruments and metal weapons are made of bronze. However, the goldsmith's work that remains from this period is incomparable, such as the double-sided woven pieces whose motifs are of extraordinary fineness, although in the latter case, this art was in decline, as it was lost shortly after the arrival of the Spanish. In all fields, the Incas limited themselves to reviving or copying the work of their ancestors, often at a lower technical level. The network of Royal Roads already existed; they repaired and extended it. They straightened the collapsed terraces. They reopened abandoned or covered irrigation canals. But when they wanted to build temples and palaces, they proved incapable of matching their masters, whose works, however, were in plain sight. Often built on foundations dating back to the time of Tiahuanacu, their buildings were generally made of adobe or, at best, small blocks barely larger than cobblestones. Once again, the final word belongs to Garcilaso: the men of the New Empire are "not very inventive". On the contrary, they are "great imitators". Nevertheless, their reconstruction is magnificent. Suddenly, everything falls apart.

Huayna Cápac was succeeded by his legitimate son Inti Cusi Huallpa, nicknamed Huascar – 'chain' – in memory of a thick gold chain two hundred metres long – it took two hundred men to lift it – made on the occasion of his birth. But his half-brother, Atahualpa, a mestizo and grandson of the last scyri on his mother's side, received the kingdom of Quito from his father as a dowry. He soon invaded the empire, attacked the Inca, defeated him and took him prisoner. He then proclaimed that he would restore the legitimate sovereign to the throne in a solemn ceremony and invited all the Incas of royal blood to attend the celebrations. Once they had gathered in Cuzco, he had them all beheaded, men, women and children alike. Very few managed to escape the

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massacre. No one can now claim the throne usurped by the mestizo, whom the law of blood keeps away from it. Atahualpa, however, does not dare to have the Inca executed: he fears a popular uprising. For the time being, he confines himself to putting him in prison.

If Pizarro's 128 men encounter only minimal resistance in Peru, it is not only because of their alleged kinship with the Atumaruna, nor because of their horses and cannons, but also and above all because they are facing Atahualpa. The conquistador has been widely criticised for his cruelty towards his adversary and, above all, for the methods he used to capture him. The former swineherd was not exactly gentle, and he would probably have acted in the same way if he had encountered Huascar. But the people of Peru saw in him the Son of the Sun who had come to avenge and restore the rights of the legitimate sovereign. They were certainly mistaken. Before his death, Atahualpa had had time to order the assassination of his half-brother. The Spanish, for their part, thought only of rape and plunder. In a few years, they destroyed one of the greatest civilisations in the history of the world. Willingly or by force, the palla and ñusta – the young women of the white aristocracy – who had escaped the massacre and had not managed to flee, became the concubines of their chiefs. Without women of their own race, the few surviving Inca children had to marry Indian women. Soon, all that remained of the Viking blood in Peru, in certain descendants of the conquistadors or in some indigenous people, was a few white skins, brown hair and blue eyes, untimely. Perhaps it is futile to wonder what would have become of the New Empire without the Conquest. However, it is safe to assume that, deprived of its ruling caste, it would have quickly returned to anarchy. This is not an excuse, of course, but everything seems to indicate that the Spanish did nothing more than destroy what was already doomed.

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VI THE SURVIVORS

Let us go back to the moment when the young Manco manages to escape from Tiahuanacu. Many Vikings, prisoners of Kari's men, are mercilessly slaughtered. But many others escape the massacre. Some of the latter, as we have seen, seek refuge in Paccari Tampu. Others, whom tradition unifies under the name of Viracocha — all white, for the Indians of the New Empire as for those of today, is a viracocha — regroup on the coast, gather the fugitives and drag along those who are isolated. They take the Camino Real that runs along the Pacific and cross provinces whose inhabitants, of a different race from those of the Altiplano, are not hostile. After a journey of several months, they reach the present-day region of Manta, in Ecuador, where their ancestors had landed in the year 1000. In Puerto Viejo, they build or commission the construction of a fleet of rafts and set sail for the islands of Polynesia, whose existence they must have known about, as Tupac Yupanqui would later know.

Let us leave aside this issue, which is beyond the scope of our study. Let us simply remember that the European discoverers were fortunate enough to find, in the eastern islands of Oceania, two juxtaposed races: one small in stature, brachycephalic, dark-skinned and with clearly Mongoloid features; the other tall, dolichocephalic, with white skin and European features, some of whose members were blond or red-haired and had blue eyes. The indigenous people called them arii or ariki (from the Norse harja, people, nation, in the ethnocultural sense of the latter word). On Easter Island, they had long, deformed ears, according to numerous iconographic testimonies, in the manner of the Tiahuanacotas. They all worshipped a god called Tiki or Titi, of whom they have left us many representations. Thor Heyerdahl proved that these white people came from South America and realised that they were men from Titicaca, survivors of the battle of the Island of the Sun. However, he was unable to establish the ethnic origin of the fugitives and even explicitly ruled out, in a few lines, the possibility that they were Vikings. To do so, he relied on an erroneous chronology that he believed he could calculate based on genealogical data from Easter Island, which led him to place the arrival of the "long-eared" people in the year 500. It is more likely that he misunderstood the indigenous people. Francis Mazière, whose wife was

Tahitian and spoke Polynesian, arrived at the correct date based on the same island traditions, but without drawing the obvious conclusion.

The group of Tiahuanacotas who left South America did not consist solely of men, since the race remained unmixed on the islands for at least a number of generations. But many women, whose husbands, fathers or brothers had been killed or were away from home, were left unprotected. Some, in all likelihood, became spoils of war for the victors. Others, however, managed to flee. They regrouped and retreated, armed, to Chungara, in the north of Collasuyu, in the province of the Canas, which borders the eastern chain of the Andes to the east. They must have been numerous, since Cieza de León speaks of several fortified villages where "they lived without their husbands, almost like Amazons". Kari pursued them to their refuges. They put up heroic resistance but were eventually taken prisoner or killed. This last point is not so certain. What is certain, since "their name has been erased", as Cieza de León adds, and no trace of them will remain in the region other than the fortifications they built, is that they disappear from the mountains. But, unless it is another group of the same origin, they are found again on the plain.

About 300 km north of Cuzco, in the Urubamba mountains, two tributaries of the Amazon have their headwaters: the Purús and the Juruá. These two rivers mark the boundaries of a huge expanse of jungle, still almost unexplored today: the "Land of the Amazons", according to the traditions collected by the Spanish and by La Condamine, who, in the 18th century, was the first scholar to penetrate the region. He tells us that, according to the indigenous people of the area, the cougnan taimé quima, the French spelling of the Guaraní word which in Brazil is now written cunhantensequima, the "women without husbands", travelled up the Cayamé River, which flows into the Amazon between Tefé and Coarí, and reached the mouth of the Cuchivara, now known as the Purús. There, they crossed the Great River and headed towards the Rio Negro, which joins the Amazon at Manaus. The Purús, which is navigable for three-quarters of its course, may have been an important communication route for the Vikings. This assumption is based on the fact that Guaraní tribes still live in the region today. The women who escaped from

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Tiahuanacu know that they will find a safe haven there, where they will be protected from persecution. But the equatorial jungle, with its hot and humid climate, is not a very comfortable habitat for white people. That is why the "Amazons" continue their journey. To the northeast of the point where they cross the Río Negro, the Tumuc-Humac mountains rise up, separating the Amazon Bay from what is now French Guiana. There they settled, west of the great rapids of the Oyapoc, west of the source of the Iripó or Arijo, which flows into the river-sea a little south of the Araguay River, in the upper Nhamundá, and near the headwaters of the Cachivero, a tributary of the Orinoco. The axis of their territory is the Nhamundá, which flows into the Amazon, a little above the island of Tupinambá, today Santa Rita.

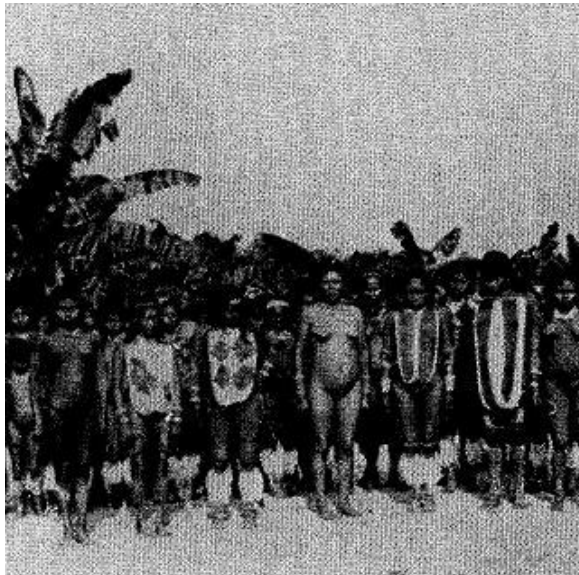
The information gathered by the Spanish in the 16th and 17th centuries about women without husbands is innumerable and consistent. All the Indians of the jungle, from Paraguay to the Orinoco, have heard of them. In the Amazon region, some tribes are subjugated by them and others maintain permanent or sporadic contact with them. However, the conquistadors only encountered them once. In 1542, Francisco de Orellana travelled down the river, which was unknown until then. On the island of Tupinambá, where he was camped, he was attacked by Indians led by ten or twelve very white, tall women with braided hair and buns. They were powerfully muscled and went "naked in leather", as Father Gaspar de Carvajal, chaplain of the expedition, put it. They carry bows and arrows and "fight like ten Indians". After the battle, the Spaniards interrogate the prisoners they have taken. Everything they say about the Amazons is confirmed by the survey carried out in the following century by order of the Royal Audience of Quito. Many other testimonies are added to this material, especially those collected by Father Cristóbal de Acuña, who was commissioned by the viceroy of Peru to accompany Portuguese captain-major Pedro de Teixeira, who had sailed up the river with forty-seven brigantines, back to Gran Pará (today, Belém).

The Indians say that women without husbands live in villages of stone houses with doors, linked by roads surrounded by low walls, with guard posts at regular intervals. In the "capital" there are five large temples and houses dedicated to the Sun, the caranain —the word actually means "house of the relatives of

the gentlemen", in Guaraní - covered from floor to mid-height with heavy painted panels adorned with numerous female idols and gold and silver objects used in the worship of the Sun. The tableware used by the "principal and well-educated ladies" is exclusively gold and silver, while the other women use wooden vessels, except for those used for cooking, which are made of clay. When they dress, they all wear the finest wool, as they have numerous llamas, alpacas and vicuñas. They wear a kind of sarong that covers them from the breasts down and capes tied at the front with cords. However, in everyday life and in combat, they go completely naked. No men live in their villages. However, once a year, they receive male visitors for a fortnight. They keep and raise the girls born from these unions according to their customs, but return the boys to their fathers when they reach the age of eight to ten. Some claim that they kill them at birth.

Without a doubt, many details about these women's way of life were altered by the Indians who feared them, for example, the one we just mentioned regarding the fate of male children. Or also because the memory of Tiahuanacu —stone houses, gold vessels, etc.— is mixed with the reality of the moment. But La Condamine is right when he writes: "All the Indians of South America, or most of them, are liars, gullible, passionate about the marvellous. But none of these peoples has ever heard of the Amazons of Diodorus of Sicily and Justin. However, the question of the Amazons already existed among these Indians of Central America before the arrival of the Spanish, and they are also mentioned among peoples who had never seen Europeans (...). Can we believe that these savages from distant regions agreed to imagine, without foundation, the same fact, and that such a fable was adopted so uniformly in Maynas, Pará, Cayenne and Venezuela by so many peoples who do not understand each other and have no communication between them? The Spanish, for their part, sometimes idealised their accounts, such as when they spoke of the removal of the right breast, which no Indian had ever mentioned.

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Above, Professor Mahieu in the Paraguayan Chaco, with a police officer and Maká Indians. Below, the daughters of the last Amazons, now completely Indian, with their "novice mistress", chosen, in keeping with tradition, from a tribe of white Cajabi Indians from the Amazon (photo by Silvino Barros Prado).

Professor de Mahlen with a Maká Indian woman in the Paraguayan Chaco.



But Father de Carvajal, an eyewitness and simple spokesperson for his fifty-seven companions in adventure, is completely reliable. However, no European saw the Amazons again until 1954. The Amazons, evidently unwilling to face the intruders' firearms again, avoided sailing on the Great River as much as possible and retreated to their mountains, well protected by the jungle and the rapids that cut across the rivers.

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the intruders' firearms, avoided sailing on the Great River as much as possible and retreated to their mountains, well protected by the jungle and the rapids that cut across the rivers leading to their refuge. Furthermore, until the "rubber era" at the end of the last century, the Spanish and Portuguese rarely visited the Amazon.

Women without husbands, however, are not completely isolated in their hideouts. Not only have they imposed their authority on local tribes, but they also benefit from the collaboration of the Amicuanes, a tribe of long-eared Indians who live very close to them, either because they followed them from Peru or because they received a distinction in recognition of their loyalty, which the Atumaruna granted, as the Incas would later do, to the indigenous people who had rendered them good services. The Amazons, however, have other neighbours who interest them much more, albeit only for biological purposes. On the other side of the Great River, opposite the mouth of the Nhamunda, live tall white men who come to join them once a year: the Guacarí or, more correctly, Vacarí, whose name comes from the Norse vaka, meaning guard. They are probably the remnants of the Guard of Tiahuanacu, composed entirely of Vikings. Did these men escort the fugitives on their migration, did they meet by chance in their neighbourhood, or were they part of the garrisons established on the banks of the river? The first of these hypotheses is the most plausible. In this case, the column of refugees would have included men and women of the white aristocracy and local Indians, which would explain how the difficult and dangerous journey through the jungle for about 1,500 km in a straight line could have been carried out without a hitch. In any case, the three groups separated, which seems normal for the Indians, but surprising for the whites.

Did the women want to remain relatively faithful to their dead or missing husbands, or had they already acquired—or still retained—lesbian customs? Were the men, perhaps few in number, afraid of being subjugated by their occasional partners? We do not know. What we do know is that warfare was not new to Nordic women. In Europe, they often accompanied the men of their clan to war and sometimes participated in combat. Scandinavian sagas are full of the heroic deeds of the Skjöld-Meyar, or Shield Maidens, who were often compared to the Amazons. The conquest and

domination of the immense empire of Tiahuanacu, incidentally, should not have dulled the manly virtues of the Viking women of America.

One fine day, however, the guacarí disappeared, without us knowing why. The women without husbands then turned to the Macuxí, a tribe of very fair-skinned Indians, one of whose tribes lives in the upper Cyapoc. They soon began to space out their extremely difficult journeys through a region dominated by the Emerillones, their enemies. Then their visits ceased. The Amazons had to content themselves with the Parintintin, the Baré, the Mundurucu, and any other Indians who were willing to lend themselves to a game on which the survival of a unique way of life depended. The race changed rapidly, and in a few generations, the Cunhantensequima became Indians. They even forget their language and adopt Guaraní, that of their neighbours. However, they try to preserve their traditions. Eduardo Barros Prado, one of the men of our time who knows the Amazon best, managed in 1954 to locate and reach the shores of Lake Jacicurá.

-Mirror of the Moon-, in upper Nhamundá, an Amazonian village. Warmly welcomed, he observed that children up to the age of eight were raised separately, under the authority of a woman belonging to the Cajabí tribe of "white Indians". He attended the purification ceremonies for nubile girls, during which the young women who were to participate for the first time in the mating festivals were covered by two priestesses dressed in long tunics made of tucum bark, almost white in colour, with geometric patterns sometimes reminiscent of the ornamentation on Arawak pottery, but also and above all the motifs of the textiles and sculptures of Tiahuanacu. Then came the parintintin. Barros Prado and his companions discreetly withdrew during the fifteen days of the priapée and returned just in time to participate in the farewell party for the men. The tradition was true, in its least tragic form: the Indians took away the Indian boys who were about to turn eight.

The Virgins of the Shield (virgins or not) and the Guards are not the only Vikings seeking refuge in the Amazon rainforest. Many others, alone or in groups, cross the eastern chain of the Andes and disappear into the Plains, where Kari's men cannot pursue them. Others, who form the cadres of the

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Arawak and Guaraní territorial units and, with no further contact with their capital, see their troops gradually disintegrate, are already there. All of them, in order to survive, have to adopt the indigenous way of life. Of course, they do not cease to preserve the characteristics of their race. But soon miscegenation begins to take place, all the more easily since white women, apart from the untouchable Amazons, must be very few in the jungle. The Indian women are not repulsive, and some are even pretty. As the cultural difference diminishes, the temptation becomes stronger. Some resist more than others. But in the long run, it seems that all succumb. Despite some testimonies that unfortunately come from incompetent observers, it is unlikely that pure Nordic groups still exist in the Amazon jungle today.

The "travellers" and missionaries who, in the last century, travelled through Guayana, in the geographical sense of the word, that is, the region between the Orinoco, the Atlantic and the Amazon, mention the presence there of "white Indians", often bearded: the Guainares, the Guarahibo, whom Father Gilii calls "Guaivi bianchi", the Waika (English spelling), the Guahibo and the Mariquitares. Alexander von Humboldt, who, with Bonpland, spent six years in the region in the early 19th century, writes on this subject: "The white Indians are said to be mestizos, the children of Indians and whites (post-Columbian). Now, I have seen thousands of mestizos; I can assure you that such a comparison is completely inaccurate." To this observation, which is more important than the subjective and incomplete descriptions left to us by authors with no training in anthropology, who were generally only able to observe a few individuals from each tribe, we can add a philological detail that is fundamental in this context: except for the Mariquitares, so poorly defined that we sometimes find it in the form of Maquiritares, the names of these "white Indians" all begin with guai (i separated from the a: guahi) or guar. In Spanish transcriptions of Amerindian languages, as we know, gu, hu and v express the same sound, poorly represented in English by w, and are used interchangeably. The very attenuated r of Guaraní often escapes Europeans, as we have just seen in guarahibo, which has become guahibo - clearly the same word - and Guaivi. Thus, we easily recognise in the names of the guainares (vahinares), the guarahibo (varahivo), the

guahibo (vahibo) and waika (vahica), the root vari, guardian, warrior, in Norse.

The case of the Waiwai of former British Guiana is even more significant. Mme. Coudreau, the French explorer who observed them at the end of the last century, writes: "They are the most beautiful Indian race I have ever seen (...). Their skin colour is a light yellow that is nothing like the reddish-brown of the other tribes. Blond-orange types with blue eyes are not uncommon among them." The American geologist William La Varre, who encountered some of them in 1933, speaks of men 1.83 m tall and women with pearly skin. The photos he took show us individuals who are clearly of mixed race, with a strong predominance of European features. One girl even has wavy hair, which never happens among Indians. Now, waiwai is the English form of huaihuai or Guaiguai, equivalent to vahi-vahi, that is, varivari. Perhaps the same root can be found in the name of the Oyaricoulets (pronounced Uaiariculé) of French Guiana, who, at the end of the last century, were described as tall men whose pale complexion, light eyes and blond hair and beards "made them resemble Dutchmen, except in their clothing".

The survey carried out in 1961 by Eduardo Barros Prado in the upper Acará, a tributary of the Canumá, one of whose branches flows into the Amazon at Nharríundá, provides us with several contemporary accounts of chance encounters between Brazilian Indians and whites with groups of white individuals, sometimes bearded and moustachioed, who live in the jungle in the indigenous manner and speak only Guarani. In 1973, a team from the Fundação Nacional do Índio (FUNAI), responsible for preceding the builders of the Trans-Amazonian Highway and pacifying the indigenous tribes in the area, came across a group of light brown-haired, perfectly white "Indians" in the vicinity of Altamira, in the lower Xingu, some of whom had blue eyes. Although not anthropologists in the scientific sense of the term, FUNAI officials know the Indians among whom they spend most of their lives very well, and a falsehood in an official report makes no sense.

The origin of these more or less mixed-race "white Indians" leaves no room for doubt. There are, of course, many ways to be white in the

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Amazon rainforest. Without mentioning albinos, who are generally—but not always—easy to recognise, there are numerous mestizos, the product of accidental unions between Indians and passing Europeans, and even pure whites who, for one reason or another, took refuge there and were adopted by the indigenous people. Even small isolated groups of forest dwellers may have received a genetic contribution capable of producing, from time to time, a blond, blue-eyed individual. But this is certainly not the case with the Arawaks—in terms of culture, but not race, of course—whose fair complexion and long beards are mentioned by Angelo Trevisano in a letter addressed to Isabella I of Castile and Ferdinand II of Aragon in 1502 or 1504. And the hypothesis must be rejected when it comes to tribes in which European characteristics are widespread and whose eventual miscegenation is therefore very distant. For the first groups of whites or Portuguese mestizos did not arrive in the Amazon until 1877, long after the encounter with "white Indians" by explorers and missionaries. It is significant, on the other hand, that these unusual tribes, whose more or less distorted names come from Old Norse, all speak Guaraní, that is, the language of the auxiliaries sent to the Amazon by the Vikings: the language that allowed the whites who formed the cadres of these indigenous troops to maintain friendly contacts with their former soldiers after the disintegration of their units.

In the Amazon rainforest, Viking officers were not very numerous, as the Guaraní garrisons practically only covered the large rivers. Further south, on the other hand, in Piauí, there was a sizeable white population. The work in the mines and metal smelting required technicians; the ports required civil servants, craftsmen and sailors; and the inland territories, which extended southwards to the present-day state of Minas Gerais, required administrators. The place of worship that we now call Sete Cidades had a permanent clergy and attracted large numbers of pilgrims, who left their mark on the Indian tribes of the region. Now, it is a fact that the inhabitants of Piauí are a truly strange breed. Except for a few mulattos and some Europeans or "white Brazilians," they are copper-skinned caboclos whose faces have the well-known characteristics of the northeastern mestizo: flat skull, strong brow ridges, low forehead, slightly protruding cheekbones, small eyes, and often somewhat oval-shaped. Many of them have

hair ranging from light brown to silvery blond, including golden blond. This is the case for 80 per cent of ten-year-old children. At fifteen, the proportion is still 50 per cent. There are also blond adults, especially among women. Light blue eyes are not uncommon, and some individuals have very distinctive dark blue eyes. However, there has never been any European immigration to the region, not even from Portugal. In 1762, the general census of the new captaincy of Piauí gave us the figure of 8,102 free residents (whites and subjugated Indians) and 4,644 black slaves. After 1825, there was a small influx of immigrants from Ceará (small because Piauí is even poorer than that state) and, just after the abolition of slavery, the arrival of a few thousand blacks from Maranhão. But this population influx was more than offset by constant emigration to the coast and the south.

If we apply the demographic growth rate of French Canadians—100 per cent in thirty years—to the 13,000 inhabitants registered in 1762, we arrive at a figure of 500,000 people for 1920. But Piauí is the poorest region in Brazil, and malnutrition is endemic there, even today. The race is prolific but weak, and infant mortality is rampant. The comparison is therefore only valid if these negative factors are taken into account and, being overly optimistic, we must divide the previous figure by three, which gives us 166,000 inhabitants. However, in the 1920 census, 738,740 people were registered, and this figure is well below the reality, as is always the case in Brazil, and even more so in a state that was then almost totally devoid of communication routes and where the Civil Registry itself is very subject to caution. Even accepting the census result as valid, based on our previous estimates, we find a population surplus of 572,140 individuals. To reach the 738,740 inhabitants of 1920, there should have been, in 1762, not 13,000 residents, but 57,626. Where does this enormous difference come from? Evidently from the indigenous people who were still savage in 1762. These were not pure Indians, as the Tapuia and Tupi of the region had black, straight hair. Blond hair and blue eyes certainly did not come from the Portuguese, who were very few in number and, with very few exceptions, did not have either of these characteristics. We must therefore admit the existence in the region,

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before the Conquest, which only began in 1661, of an indigenous population of Nordic race, or already heavily mixed with Nordics. We know where they came from.

In Piauí, the capture of Tiahuanacu did not have such brutal consequences as in the mountains and the Amazon rainforest. The Northeast Territory, which is enormous in size, is self-sufficient. It has abundant agricultural resources. Work in the mines and smelters continues as normal. The ships of the Temple arrive, as before, to load silver ingots, and those of the Norman shipowners, logs of Brazil wood. Local prosperity even increases, as goods from Europe remain in the same place, now more abundant since trade can only be carried out on a barter basis. In 1307, however, some thirty years after the battle of Titicaca, the Order of the Temple was dissolved and its ships disappeared from Brazilian waters. The mines were abandoned. The Tapuia, who had supplied the labour, returned to the wild. The Guaraní militias, now useless, gradually followed suit. The white men who ran the logging operations on the rocks of the Amazon and Marañón rivers abandoned one after another their unhealthy posts, where they were no longer relieved periodically as before, and returned to Piauí. They find their compatriots reduced to inaction and, like them, adapt to new living conditions that bring them closer to the indigenous people, with whom relations remain cordial. But many of the white men, sent to the plains on a temporary basis, had not brought their wives with them. As the Spanish would later do, they marry Indian women. Miscegenation, which had already been initiated by the pilgrims from Sete Cidades and passing sailors, quickly gained ground and then became the norm. The current population of Piauí was born, taking its colour and Mongoloid features from the Indians and its golden hair and blue eyes from the Vikings.

Let us return to the Mountain. Of the agricultural and military colonies with a strong white population established by Takuilla at certain strategic points, those on the eastern slope of the Andes remain. Solidly fortified, the province of Chachapoyas in the north resists the attacks of Kari's forces without major difficulties. One need only observe its inhabitants today to realise that the whites were not eliminated there. In the south, the situation is different. The colony is settled in the last foothills of the mountain range, in tropical valleys. Cut off from a nearby metropolis on which

they depended on for many things, the Vikings can only survive in close contact with indigenous people who, by their nature, are less distant from them than the Quichuas. The climate plays its part. In the early 19th century, when the naturalist Alcide d'Orbigny spent thirty years of his life in South America, there were five tribes in the region where the Beni, a tributary of the Madeira, rises. They were called Antisians and lived in the hot and humid jungle, numbering some 15,000 individuals. The colour of these Indians was much lighter than that of the indigenous people of the Altiplano. The Maropa and Apolista had a slightly sallow complexion. The Yuracaré, Mocetones and Tacana were almost completely white. They were tall—some reaching 1.76 m—and well-proportioned. The Yuracaré had almost European features, with only slightly prominent cheekbones. But their hair was black and straight. All were mestizos, with a predominance of white features, especially among the Yuracarés. It is therefore not surprising to learn that the name of the latter comes from the Quechua *yurac*, meaning white, and *ccari*, meaning warriors. They were descended from the Viking population of the colony, which had become mixed over time.

The Yuracaré, like the other Anti, have disappeared. But in the Bolivian province of Santa Cruz, between Beni and Paraguay, there remain some remnants of the Guarayo tribe, which also caught d'Orbigny's attention. At that time, its members had very fair skin, were relatively tall, with a maximum height of 1.73 m

m. They had an almost European appearance, black, straight hair and, most strikingly, in the case of the men, full, thick beards. Here too, we are dealing with mestizos. Their name leaves little doubt as to their white ancestors: Guarayo (Varayo) comes from the Norse *vari*. Further east lie the lands of the Guaraní, the auxiliaries whom the Vikings had entrusted with the custody of their communication routes to the Amazon, but whose centre was in Paraguay. This time we are no longer dealing with mestizos, but with unmixed Indians. It is not their blood, therefore, but merely their warrior virtues, that these effective and loyal allies of the men of Tiahuanacu owe their name to. For, as we have seen, Guaraní, whose original form is Guarini (Varini), also comes from *Vari*. On the contrary, it is a Quechua name that is given to the "white Indians" who still survive in Paraguay: the Guayakí. This is a very significant name, which is not their own, since they themselves, in their Guaraní-influenced dialect, whose origin has not yet been established,

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always refer to themselves as aché, from the Norse aga, to threaten, and agi, fear, dread. The word derives, in fact, from huailla, plain, and cquellu, whitish. (The double l and the y are pronounced the same way; the e and the i are the same vowel). It therefore means "whitish people of the plain".

In 1275, Paraguay was a centre of activity of prime importance for the Vikings of Tiahuanacu. As we have already seen, the permanent roads that connect the mountains with the Atlantic and the two great rivers, the Paraguay and the Paraná, which lead to the Río de la Plata, pass through there. Through the Peaviru in the north, the ore descends from the valleys of La Plata, and along its route is the Cerro Corá smelter, protected by an enormous fortress, the Itaguambypé. Along these roads, as in Peru, there must have been staging posts, probably made of wood, of which all that remains, in the Yvytyruzú mountains, is a "signpost" covered with runic inscriptions, on which a portolan chart is engraved. Paraguay is also the population centre of the Guaraní, where militiamen destined for territorial units throughout the plains are recruited and trained. The Vikings are numerous in the country and, as the climate is healthy and pleasant, they live there with their families. The town of Paraguay, now Asunción, has, as its name suggests, 'River of the Men of the Sea', a large white population.

Contrary to what was happening at the same time in Piauí, the fall of Tiahuanacu directly affected life in the region. Communications with the Mountain were cut off. The mineral no longer arrived. The Templar ships no longer had any reason to frequent the ports of Santos and Santa Catalina, and those ports themselves lost their raison d'être. The Guaraní Indians remained loyal, but returned to their ancestral activities. The others, for there were many tribes of different races, especially in the north, which only the Viking regime had kept at peace, resumed their predatory customs. The white people no longer had a role to play among the indigenous populations, and probably no longer felt safe. They regroup. Those in the south retreat to the Caaguazú mountain range and settle in what becomes the large village of Cerro Morotí, at the crossroads of several secondary branches of the Peaviru. Those in the north, more threatened by hostile Indians, abandon Ita-

guambypé, now indefensible without Guaraní auxiliaries, and take refuge further south. The Cerro Guazú massif offers them an impregnable position: a huge truncated cone with steep accesses, whose plateau, about 70 km in diameter, can only be reached by a few trails through the impenetrable jungle, and has a lagoon. They fortified the position. The inscriptions they left in the rock shelters that served as guard posts for the men in charge of guarding the entrances to the hill—the largest runic complex in the world, unrivalled even in Scandinavia—tell us about security measures, war and victory.

In both the North and the South, life is difficult. In Piauí, the descendants of the Vikings gradually adapted, thanks to intermarriage, and devoted themselves to agriculture. Today, they are peasants who live poorly, with a subsistence economy, and who no longer have anything in common with their Nordic ancestors except their blond hair and blue eyes. In Paraguay, on the other hand, they shut themselves off from the world. They adopted the way of life of the jungle Indians. They planted corn, of course, but hunting provided most of their food. Their cultural level declined from generation to generation, as evidenced by their pottery. We do not know how long those in the north resisted the adverse conditions in which they survived. We are, on the other hand, better informed about those in the south, whose inscriptions show us that they continued to speak Norse and use runes in the mid-15th century: a very distorted Norse, of course, and a runic script that had degenerated into nothing more than a set of symbolic signs. In 1457 —the last date they left us, engraved in the margin of an illegible inscription of incoherent appearance— they still used the Christian calendar brought from Tiahuanacu by Father Gnupa. They even maintained the Peaviru, at least in the vicinity of Cerro Morotí: two dates—1431 and 1433—on the "signboard" of Yvytyruzú, engraved next to a classical runic inscription that may be much older, provide us with proof of this. They had not yet become savages, therefore, when, in 1628, the Jesuits established a mission in San Joaquín, about twenty kilometres from their village.

The Vikings—let us give them this name one last time—did not make contact with the Spanish when they arrived in Paraguay,

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either because they did not want to or because they were unable to do so. They therefore lived apart from the conquistadors, who, for their part, limited themselves practically to occupying Asunción and sailing through Paraguay, through which they tried to reach the silver mines of Peru. The newcomers, for their part, heard talk of the white men of the jungle, but the descriptions given to them by the Indians were so horrific that they considered them to be a kind of monkey. When the Jesuits settled in Paraguay at the beginning of the 17th century, they quickly obtained more accurate information. They sought to subjugate these strange jungle dwellers as they had done with the Guaraní. The opportunity seemed ripe when they had to retreat, under pressure from the Portuguese bandeirantes, from their missions in Guayrá, where they had a well-trained and heavily armed militia. They settled in San Joaquín. But, however degenerate they may have been, the descendants of the Vikings were not submissive Indians. Rather than fall into slavery, when the pressure becomes unbearable, they prefer to burn their village and take refuge in the jungle: soon they are nothing more than Guayakí, as we know them today. To preserve their freedom, they have to adopt a nomadic lifestyle: they give up living under a roof and, in the long run, even wearing clothes. Under these conditions, life is extremely hard for northerners in the hot and humid climate of the tropical jungle. They degenerate. These men, who used to be 1.90 m tall and more, now average only 1.57 m, but they have retained the head and genital apparatus of their ancestors. They are dwarfs. All their characteristics, however, bring them closer to *Homo septentrionalis* than to the Guaraní, Quechua and Alpinas. But they still have abnormally developed chests, acquired in the Altiplano. Their dermatoglyphs — it is known that fingerprints allow races to be distinguished as well as individuals — would suffice to prove their Scandinavian origin. They give us a ratio of 2.66 to 1 between whorls and loops, compared to 2.64 in Norwegians, 2.23 in Danes, 2.24 on average in Europeans, and 1.16 in Amerindians.

Biological degeneration is not only manifested by reduced stature. Other symptoms are also noticeable in the Guayakí, such as flattening of the nasal septum, macrocephaly, and a phenomenon whose immediate cause remains unknown: the numerical imbalance between the sexes. Three males are born for every female. This has led, on the one hand, to the formation of polyandrous families, which are otherwise unstable, and, on the other hand, to the theft of

women and, as a consequence, miscegenation, which varies in degree depending on the band. Most Guayakí still have white skin—milky white in women—and European features. But some groups are already dark-skinned, and even among the white people, many have prominent cheekbones and slanted eyes. Light-coloured eyes have disappeared. The sometimes wavy hair of adults ranges from black to light brown and often has reddish highlights. Blond hair is no longer found, except very exceptionally in children. This mixing of races is recent, as evidenced by the cephalic index, which ranges from 76.7 to 86.7 in men and from 78.3 to 86.1 in women, indicating a mixture of two racial groups, one dolichocephalic and the other brachycephalic. However, the Indians, Guaraní and others, of Paraguay and the surrounding area, are strongly brachycephalic. Therefore, the primitive race of the Guayakí was pronounced dolichocephalic. The men have abundant hair, but in most cases, the forehead is very clear, with signs of baldness that is very noticeable in the occiput of half of the subjects. The hair has an ovoid section, characteristic of white races, and is not round like that of Mongoloids. Finally, the men have thick beards that cover the chin, upper lip and cheeks without interruption. Everything fits together. And any remaining doubts about the origin of the Guayakí disappear when it is verified that these "savages" still trace runes that they consider symbols of their race, even though they no longer know how to interpret them.

Until the end of the last century, the "white Indians" of Paraguay lived a difficult but free existence. This could not last. The Jesuits were no longer there, but the European and mestizo population was growing steadily. The ranches and mills advanced day by day into the jungle. Commercial hunters were destroying the fauna without consideration for any species. Every summer—the rainy season—the nomads, who until then had lived comfortably on meat and wild honey, began to experience hunger, which is a bad advisor. They began to steal cows and horses, which they cut up with their stone axes, and to plunder the fields of the Paraguayans. The latter were not very understanding when it came to defending the fruits of their labour. They mounted punitive expeditions, surrounded bands of Guayakí, killed the adults and took the children, whom they turned into slaves.

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When a conflict of this kind pits sedentary people against nomads, it is always the former who win in the long run. This is why, one fine day, a group of Guayakí surrendered. In Cerro Morotí, where their old village was located, the Paraguayan army reserved an area of 2,500 hectares of jungle for them, allowing them to come and go freely, and provided them with essential supplies. Other colonies of the same kind later emerged, organised by Catholic and Protestant missionaries. Today (1985), it is believed that only a few small groups of Guayakí remain 'outside the law'. All the others have what they need. They are relearning how to work the land. A school in Cerro Morotí teaches children to read and write Guaraní, Paraguay's second official language. The adults will die with a deep longing in their hearts for their lost independence. The young people will assimilate into the mestizo populations of the neighbourhood who, once they have overcome their fear and revulsion, will accept them, as white people, with particular pleasure.

In a few years, the last descendants of the Vikings of Tiahuanacu will have disappeared. Only the history and vestiges of a magnificent epic of men of our race will remain.

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HOWEVER, THE INFORMATION IN THIS BOOK CLEARLY SHOWS THAT WHITE PEOPLES INHABITED AMERICA

CENTURIES BEFORE OF THE SO-CALLED "DISCOVERY," AND THAT THESE PEOPLES BRING WITH THEM A WEALTH OF CULTURAL RICHNESS, SO VAST AND MYSTICAL THAT IT STILL SE CONSERVED IN THE ANDE, THE MYTHS, LEGENDS AND FOLKLORE

CLOSE OF ALL SAME AMERICAN PEOPLES. THE DEVIL-BOLIVIAN DEVIL, RIC AN

IRREFUTABLE PROOF OF THIS, AND HERE IS THE VISION OF "THE VIKING EMPIRE OF TIAHUNACU BY ERTE GRAN

ANTNOPOLOGO, ANQUEOLOGO, FLOLOGO INVESTIGADOR ARGENTINO DE ORIGEN FRANCÉS, PON JAKES DE MAHIEU, WHO COLLECTED INFORMATION IN A

NUMBER OF TRIPS TO PERU, BOLIVIA, PARAGUAY AND THE ARGENTINA, FOLLOWING IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF THE VIKINGS IN

AMERICA, AND THEIR EXTRAORDINARY LEGACY, THEIR HISTORY,

VICISSITUDES AND FINAL END AT THE HANDS OF A BABY

LUN DIAGUITA LED BY THE CHIEF "KABI", IN

THE 11TH CENTURY, WHICH DEVASTATED THE TERRITORY

TIAHUANACU.