

**Florencio Segura:**  
**Communicating Quechua Evangelical Theology  
Via Hymnody in Southern Peru**

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## Declaration

I declare that the PhD thesis entitled *Florencio Segura: Communicating Quechua Evangelical Theology Via Hymnody in Southern Peru* has been composed entirely by me, and is therefore my own work and not that of any other person.

The named thesis has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification.

Signed and dated:

## ABSTRACT

Florencio Segura, bilingual in Spanish and Quechua languages, belonged to the Andean culture of southern Peru spanning most of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. A convert to evangelical Christianity, Segura chose to identify with the Quechua world. The inculturation of the Bible into his Quechua milieu, interpreted from an evangelical perspective, was in large part due to his work. He used his own original hymns to teach the message in an oral culture, drawing on a rich legacy of traditions. He recognised that sung theology was the quickest way for the Quechua to incorporate a heart theology into their evangelical communities.

The thesis focuses on Segura and his hymnody. It examines the man in his culture, his appropriation of that culture and his dismissal of certain areas of it, his use of Quechua including his interpolation of Spanish, and his teaching methods. It is a thesis about missiological communication and the medium of hymns as interpreters in that process.

Chapter one examines how the Quechuas view their world in order to give the cultural framework for Segura's biblical interpretation via hymns. Chapter two reviews the historical framework that influenced Segura - particularly the role of evangelical missionaries and the reasons for his commitment to evangelical rather than Roman Catholic Christianity. Chapter three undertakes an examination of Segura's use of the biblical narrative, comparing and contrasting it with parallel literature in the Inca and Roman Catholic tradition and analysing the theology of the hymnody. The focus on the content of Segura's hymnody allows the conclusion to reflect on the theological significance of Segura's work and its implications for the continuing development of Andean hymnody.

[TEXT: approximately 100,000 words]

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AWT	<i>Allin Willaykunaq Takinkuna</i>
BFBS	British and Foreign Bible Society
CALA	<i>Comisión de Alfabetización y Literatura en Aymara</i>
CEMAA	<i>Centro Evangélico de Misiología Andino-Amazónica</i>
CENIP	<i>Centro de Investigaciones y Publicaciones</i>
CEP	<i>Centro de Estudios y Publicaciones</i>
CLADE	<i>Congreso Latinoamericano de Evangelización</i>
CLAI	<i>Consejo Latinoamericano de Iglesias</i>
CONAEIQP	<i>Comité Nacional Evangélico Interdenominacional Quechua del Perú</i>
CONAEQP	<i>Comité Nacional Evangélico Quechua del Perú</i>
CONEP	<i>Concilio Nacional Evangélico del Perú</i>
DST	<i>Diospa Siminmanta Takikuna</i>
EUSA	Evangelical Union of South America
FIEL	<i>Fraternidad Indígena Evangélica Latinoamericana</i>
FTL	<i>Fraternidad Teológica Latinoamericana</i>
HCE	<i>Himnos y Cánticos del Evangelio</i>
HCJB	<i>Hoy Cristo Jesús Bendice</i> (Radio from Quito, Ecuador)
HSL	Home Service League
IEP	<i>Iglesia Evangélica Peruana</i>
ITAT	<i>Iñiq T'aaq Akllasqa Takinkuna</i>
RBMU	Regions Beyond Missionary Union
RC	Roman Catholic
PUSEL	<i>Publicaciones Seminario Evangélico de Lima</i>
TAWA	<i>Tawantinsuyuman Alli Wuillacui Apajcuna</i> 'los que llevan el Evangelio a los cuatro puntos cardinales' (those who take the Gospel to the four cardinal points) <sup>1</sup>
UNMSM	<i>Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos</i>

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<sup>1</sup> Fernando Quicaña, 'El Evangelio y La Cultura Andina,' in *Todo el Evangelio para todos los Pueblos*, ed. Ediciones Puma del Centro de Investigaciones y Publicaciones (Lima, Peru: CONEP – PROMIES, FTL and Comité de Seguimiento – CLADE III – Peru, 1992), 55.

## LIST OF SIGNIFICANT QUECHUA ENCLITICS USED BY FLORENCIO SEGURA

I am indebted to Clodoaldo Soto Ruiz, *Quechua: Manual de Enseñanza* (Champaign, Illinois: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1993), 427-8.

### Nominal Suffixes:

- kuna** pluralizer
- nchik** first person plural possessive (inclusive)
- pa** possessive
- paq** for
- pi** in
- rayku** because of
- ta** indicates the direct and indirect object and is also used with adverbs
- wan** with, in the company of
- yku** first person plural possessive (exclusive)

### Verbal Suffixes:

- chka** continuous
- chun** imperative
- chi** cause or permission
- ku** reflexive
- mu** 'here' or 'there'
- naku** reciprocal action
- nchik** first person plural (inclusive) present tense
- niku** first person plural (exclusive) present tense
- pti** when, because – used to construct subordinate clauses
- stin** used to construct subordinate clauses - gerund
- yku** action realised with accompanying emotive nuance

## Ambivalent Suffixes:

<b>-á</b>	emphatic
<b>-ch/cha</b>	perhaps, maybe, who knows
<b>-iki</b>	obviously, for, because
<b>-m/-mi</b>	indicates assurance on the part of the speaker
<b>-ña</b>	now
<b>-pas</b>	also
<b>-puni</b>	without a doubt, definitely, precisely
<b>-qa</b>	signals the topic of discussion
<b>-raq</b>	still
<b>-taq</b>	contrastive – also used as connective to join sentences

## Derived Suffixes:

<b>-cha</b>	diminutive
<b>-na</b>	concretive
<b>-ntin</b>	inclusive
<b>-sapa</b>	multi-possessive
<b>-sqa</b>	perfective
<b>-y</b>	infinitive
<b>-yuq</b>	possessive

**-lla** appears more frequently and has numerous uses. The most common is to indicate ‘intimacy and identification to the word.’<sup>2</sup> It is also used to ‘express tenderness, pleading;...uniquely, only;...a relative attribute; sometimes it communicates threat;...with some forms of verbs it is equivalent to simply, merely....’<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> William Mitchell, ‘Himnos Sagrados de los Andes: The contours of Andean piety,’ presented at United Bible Societies’ Triennial Translation Workshop (Iguaçu, Brazil, 16-27 June 2003), 14.

<sup>3</sup> Jesús Lara, *Enciclopedia Boliviana: Diccionario Qhëshwa – Castellano, Castellano – Qhëshwa* (La Paz, Bolivia: Los Amigos del Libro, 1971), 152.

## SPANISH LOAN WORDS

**Proper names are always transcribed to their nearest Quechua equivalent:**

*Noé* ‘Noah’ becomes ***Nuwi***  
*Egipto* ‘Egypt’ becomes ***Igiptu***  
*Moisés* ‘Moses’ becomes ***Muysis***  
*Nicodemo* ‘Nicodemus’ becomes ***Nikudimu***  
*Zaqueo* ‘Zachaeus’ becomes ***Sakyu***  
*Goliat* ‘Goliath’ becomes ***Hulyat***  
*David* ‘David’ becomes ***Dabiy***  
*Belén* ‘Bethlehem’ becomes ***Bilim***  
*Judío* ‘Jew’ becomes ***Hudyu***  
*Simón* ‘Simon’ becomes ***Simun***

**Words used only once or twice because the referent did not exist in Quechua:**

<b><i>amigu</i></b> <i>amigo</i> ‘friend’	2
<b><i>animal</i></b> <i>animal</i> ‘animal’	2
<b><i>ayri</i></b> <i>aire</i> ‘air’	1
<b><i>bamilya</i></b> <i>familia</i> ‘family’	2
<b><i>Bibliya</i></b> <i>Biblia</i> ‘Bible’	2
<b><i>binagri</i></b> <i>vinagre</i> ‘vinegar’	1
<b><i>binu</i></b> <i>vino</i> ‘wine’	2
<b><i>Glurya</i></b> <i>Gloria</i> ‘Glory’ (i.e. Heaven)	1
<b><i>ispada</i></b> <i>espada</i> ‘sword’	2
<b><i>ispigu</i></b> <i>espejo</i> ‘mirror’	1
<b><i>klabu</i></b> <i>clavo</i> ‘nail’	1
<b><i>kuruna</i></b> <i>corona</i> ‘crown’	2
<b><i>lansa</i></b> <i>lanza</i> ‘spear’	1
<b><i>libru</i></b> <i>libro</i> ‘book’	2
<b><i>liyun</i></b> <i>león</i> ‘lion’	1
<b><i>mundu</i></b> <i>mundo</i> ‘world’	2
<b><i>riy</i></b> <i>rey</i> ‘king’	2
<b><i>santu</i></b> <i>santo</i> ‘saint’	2

**Other words used infrequently for varying reasons:**

<i>arka</i> arca ark	3
<i>abrasa</i> abrasar ‘to hug’	2
<i>admira</i> admirar ‘to admire’	1
<i>aparistin</i> apareciendo ‘appearing’	1
<i>bisyu</i> vicio ‘vice’	1
<i>brasu</i> brazo ‘arm’	1
<i>burla</i> burlar ‘to joke or make fun of’	1
<i>disabyastin</i> desafiando ‘challenging’	1
<i>disprisya</i> despreciar ‘to undervalue’	1
<i>Diyablu</i> Diablo ‘Devil’	3
<i>grosilla</i> grosería ‘crude language’	1
<i>ingaña</i> engañar ‘to deceive’	1
<i>Jesus</i> Jesús ‘Jesus’	2
<i>kumbiya</i> _ confiar ‘to trust’	1
<i>kundina</i> _ condenar ‘to condemn’	1
<i>kunsuyla</i> _ consolar ‘to console’	3
<i>kuyda</i> _ cuidar ‘to take care of’	4
<i>milagru</i> milagro ‘miracle’	1
<i>nasiy</i> nacer ‘to be born’	1
<i>nigay</i> negar ‘to deny’	1
<i>pisibri</i> pesebre ‘manger’	2
<i>pilya</i> pelea ‘fight’	1
<i>primyu</i> premio ‘prize’	2
<i>pruyba</i> prueba ‘trial’	1
<i>ruygay</i> rogar, orar ‘beg, plead, pray’	1
<i>sina</i> cena ‘main meal’	1
<i>Siñur</i> Señor ‘Lord’	2
<i>timpuy</i> tiempo ‘time’	1
<i>wirpu</i> cuerpo ‘body’	3



**More frequently used Spanish loans:**

<i>aduray</i> <i>adorar</i> ‘to worship’	17
<i>alabay</i> <i>alabar</i> ‘to praise’	6
<i>alma</i> <i>alma</i> ‘soul’	28
<i>angil</i> <i>angel</i> ‘angel’	5
<i>binsiy</i> <i>vencer</i> ‘to overcome’	6
<i>grasyas</i> <i>gracias</i> ‘thank you’	15
<i>Hisukristu</i> <i>Jesucristo</i> ‘Jesus Christ’	9
<i>Imbirnu</i> <i>infierno</i> ‘hell’	9
<i>Ispiritu</i> <i>Espíritu</i> ‘Spirit’	21
<i>Kristu</i> <i>Cristo</i> ‘Christ’	11
<i>krus</i> <i>cruz</i> ‘cross’	27
<i>Silu</i> <i>Cielo</i> ‘Heaven’	25
<i>sirbiy</i> <i>servir</i> ‘to serve’	18
<i>ubiga</i> <i>oveja</i> ‘sheep’	5

The most common Spanish loans:

<i>Hisus</i> <i>Jesús</i> ‘Jesus’	279
<i>salbay</i> <i>salvar</i> ‘to save’	150
<i>Yus</i> <i>Dios</i> ‘God’	135

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For ease of reference, Appendices 1 (translations of Segura's hymns and choruses), 2 (listing of each of the major Quechua terms used in the thesis and where they appear) and 3 (maps) have been put into a separate volume.

All English language Bible references are to the New International Version, Inclusive Language Edition, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1996.

## PREFACE

The making of a thesis may germinate for many years. Looking back, I wonder whether I would have been so interested in the Quechua of southern Peru if my parents had not taken me there when we lived in Lima in 1966. I long ago decided that the bright, cheerful *retama* flowers and the friendly children made Andahuaylas my favourite Peruvian town. Thank you.

Thank you also to Florencio Segura's family (including his wife and daughter now in Cuzco) and friends who were unstinting with their time and materials during my trips to Andahuaylas over the Christmas break 2001-02 and again during the Easter break of 2005. A special thank you to Isaias and Olga Calle, Oliver and their extended family and friends, who welcomed me into their homes and as part of their community on both trips.

Missionaries past and present of Latin Link and its predecessors, the Evangelical Union of South America and the Regions Beyond Missionary Union are owed a great debt of gratitude. They generously gave support and encouragement as well as books, tapes, magazines and of their time for interviews. Cherry Noble shared all her Quechua relationships with me, opening doors that only a trusted friend could, by taking me with her when she returned to Andahuaylas in 2001-02. Thank you.

The staff at New College have been very patient with me. Thank you to my supervisor Dr. Marcella Althaus-Reid who skilfully pointed me in the right direction time and time again. Professor David Kerr and Anne Fernon have always been there to answer my questions – thank you.

Libraries and their staff in Britain, Peru and the United States have made their contribution to this thesis. My gratitude goes to the University of Edinburgh libraries; the libraries of the Pontificia Universidad Católica, CEMAA and Latin Link field libraries in Lima; the library of the Andahuaylas Bible Institute in Talavera, and Dr. Robert Mitchell, who opened up his huge hymnbook collection for me at the Claremont College in California.

St. Dominic's, the 6<sup>th</sup> Form College where I work, kindly chose to fund part of my trip to Peru for research. Thank you to my colleagues, and especially Father Tom, who bore the brunt of the chaplaincy work, freeing me to concentrate. I am particularly grateful to Helena Tucker, who offered to read whatever I wrote and commented wisely.

Without my friends Martin and Helen Whittingham, who gave me a home in Edinburgh at the beginning, I could never have started – thank you. My parents, Kent and Beverly Herath, twice helped take care of my family to enable me to study. Thank you.

My husband John and my children Matthew and Kirstin hardly remember what it was like before the thesis. Without their love and encouragement I would not have enjoyed the process as much as I have – right to the end. Thank you – from the bottom of my heart!

## Appendix 3 : Maps

Maps used by kind permission of Latin Link

Map 1: South America



From *South America* Vol.13, No.10 (July-August 1933): 148.

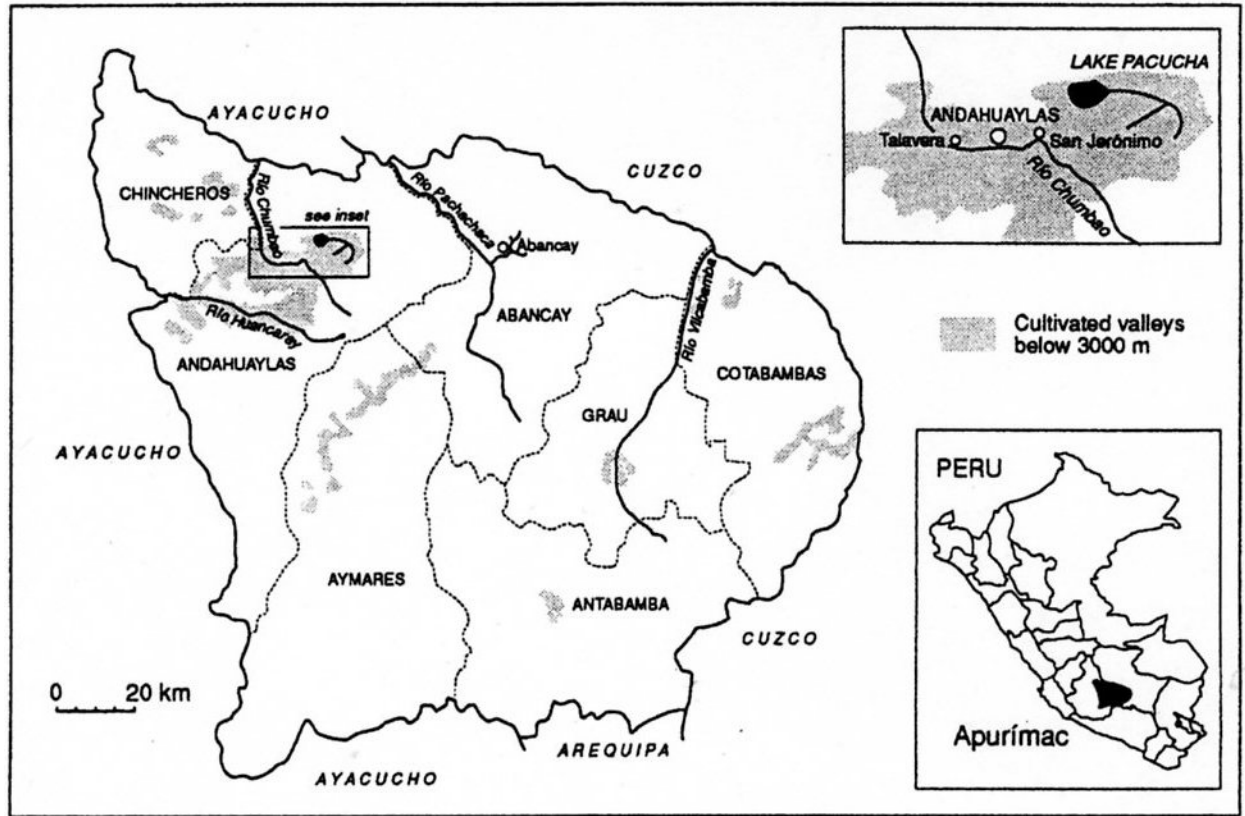
Map 2: Peru with limits of the Chanka confederation



From Enrique González Carré, *Los Señoríos Chankas* (Lima: Instituto Andino de Estudios Arqueológicos, 1992), 21.

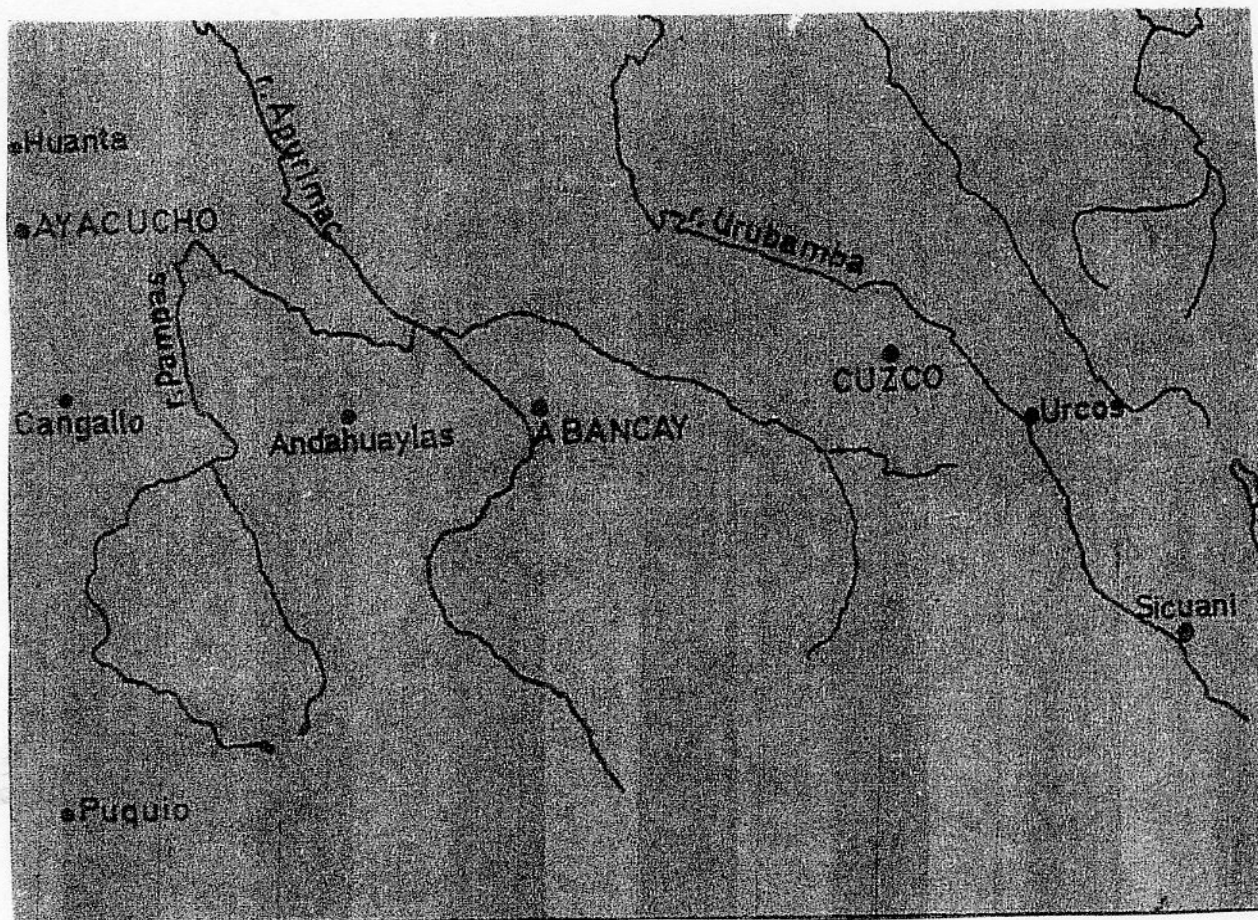


Map 3: The town and province of Andahuaylas, Apurimac, Peru



Original source unknown

Map 4: Andahuaylas in relation to important adjoining cities and towns



Gustavo Pons Muzzo, *Compendio de Historia del Perú* (Lima: Labrusa, 1983-84), 32.

# Florencio Segura: Communicating Quechua Evangelical Theology via Hymnody in Southern Peru

## INTRODUCTION

The arrival of Christianity in a non-Christian culture can produce a variety of interactions between the two, largely dependent on the vehicle for its transmission. In Peru, Christianity was introduced via Spanish colonial rule (1532-1821). This was not the first colonisation, however. The Inca Empire, the *Tawantinsuyu* - 'empire of the four corners of the world' - held together a varied array of different people groups, with Quechua the common language and retaining Andean values as a framework for agreed consensus. Later, the Spanish appropriated the vernacular with the purpose of evangelising the indigenous population of Peru. What developed was a hybrid of deep-seated indigenous beliefs and Spanish Roman Catholicism. British evangelical mission, which followed British industrialism to Peru, challenged that hybrid with a different form of Christianity, strong on the Bible as its normative text.

While there is no agreed definition of culture, it is clear that people groups employ aspects of culture to enhance their corporate identity, 'building group solidarity and incorporating new information as it comes into the culture.' A semiotic framework is one way of understanding culture:

First of all, culture is ideational – it provides systems or frameworks of meaning which serve both to interpret the world and to provide guidance for living in the world. Culture in this dimension embodies beliefs, values, attitudes, and rules for behavior. Second, culture is performance – rituals that bind a culture's members together to provide them with a participatory way of embodying and enacting their histories and values. Performance also encompasses embodied behaviors. Third, culture is material – the artefacts and symbolizations that become a source for identity: language, food, clothing, music, and the organization of space.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Robert J. Schreier, *The New Catholicity: Theology Between the Global and the Local* (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1997), 29-30. This semiotic system is 'based on the one developed by Jens Loenhoff'. R.S. Sugirtharajah, *The Bible and the Third World: Precolonial, Colonial and Postcolonial Encounters* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 182 also quotes these three dimensions of culture. Peter Schineller, S.J., *A Handbook on Inculturation* (Mahwah, New York: Paulist Press, 1990), 23 summarises culture as 'a set of symbols, stories, (myths) and norms for

This thesis explores how Florencio Segura (1912-2000) bridged the gap between the Quechua culture of his place and time and the Bible, through the medium of a Quechua hymnody, thus producing a Quechua evangelical theology – it is a ‘reflection...upon the gospel in light of...the circumstances’ of the Quechua people he knew. ‘Terms like “localization,” “contextualization,” “indigenization,” and “inculturation” of theology’ describe his efforts – all with slightly different nuances in meaning’.<sup>2</sup> For the purposes of this thesis, the term ‘inculturation’ will be used, since it has come to be more directly connected with mission in its incarnational sense. It is unclear when the term was first used, but it has found wide acceptance in Roman Catholic circles since Cardinal Sin of Manila first used it in 1977.<sup>3</sup> Inculturation has been described as:

...the incarnation of Christian life and of the Christian message in a particular cultural context, in such a way that this experience not only finds expression through elements proper to the culture in question, but becomes a principle that animates, directs and unifies the culture, transforming and remaking it so as to bring about “a new creation.”<sup>4</sup>

Segura’s hymnbook became one of two books (the Bible the other) that a Quechua evangelical family in southern Peru would have in their home, if they had any at all. His was the beginning of a burgeoning indigenous evangelical hymnody that strengthened Quechua evangelical identity, affecting their culture and their relationship with other cultures within the evangelical church in Peru. Segura’s hymnody exemplifies how the Bible can be interpreted from within the horizon of a non-biblical culture, be inculturated in that culture, and thus in turn can facilitate the transformation of a people’s worldview without moving outside the language and framework of values of the culture in question. Segura’s achievement makes it possible to reflect on the hermeneutical implications of the role of a contextualized hymnody in the task of Christian cultural transformation, thus adding to the study of ‘intercultural hermeneutics’, an area that is still in the stage of theory formation. These reflections would draw on at least four areas: historical studies, comparative

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conduct that orient a society or group cognitively, affectively, and behaviourally to the world in which it lives.’

<sup>2</sup> Robert J. Schreiter, *Constructing Local Theologies* (London: SCM, 1985), 1.

<sup>3</sup> Schineller, *Inculturation*, 21-2.

<sup>4</sup> Arrupe, “Letter to the Whole Society,” 2; quoted in Schineller, *Inculturation*, 6.

philosophical and theological studies – i.e. the study of systems of meaning, western philosophical hermeneutics and the social sciences.<sup>5</sup>

In biblical interpretation, the dialectical movement between biblical text and interpreter's context is a key issue. Both how hymns interpret the Bible and how the Bible influenced a different type of hymnody must necessarily take into consideration the colonial context in which the Bible was introduced to Peru. That introduction included catechisms and Roman Catholic<sup>6</sup> hymns in Quechua,<sup>7</sup> which were a result of the first Catholic missionaries' awareness that the Quechua would not be evangelised without recourse to their own artistic expression in music.<sup>8</sup> Catechisms and hymns presented a formulated theology before the Bible itself was available to indigenous evangelicals in any language, also influencing how evangelical hymns were later expressed.

The thesis focuses primarily on the theological analysis of Segura's hymnody both in terms of its congruence with Quechua core values and in terms of its Christian theological orthodoxy. The bridging of this gap is what the RC theologian Robert Schreiter calls 'intercultural communication competence.' To have that, one needs both 'effectiveness' - 'when the speaker feels that [the communication] has achieved its goal' and 'appropriateness' - 'when it is achieved without a violation of the hearer's cultural codes.' The thesis also has points of contact with the developing field of ethno-musicology and the history of mission.

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<sup>5</sup> Schreiter, *New Catholicity*, 30-3.

<sup>6</sup> Hereafter referred to as RC.

<sup>7</sup> Unless quoting from others or from hymns as written by their authors, the Quechua alphabet as officially standardized in 1985 will be used - see Clodoaldo Soto Ruiz, *Quechua: manual de enseñanza* (Quechua instruction manual), new and rev. ed., Serie: Lengua y Sociedad, 4 (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos and Champaign, Illinois: Center for Latin American and Caribbean Studies, 1993), 15. The spelling 'Quechua', is most frequently used for both people and language, though there are other not so common spellings that are sometimes closer to the Quechua phonemic system used for the official alphabet, such as 'kechwa' and Quichua.

<sup>8</sup> José María Arguedas 'Sobre la Poesía Quechua' (About Quechua poetry) in César Miró and Sebastián Salazar Bondy, eds., *Ollantay y Cantos y Narraciones Quechuas* (Ollantay and Quechua songs and narratives) (Lima: Ediciones PEISA, 1974), 69.

The geographical limits of this thesis comprise the modern Peruvian departments of Apurímac and Ayacucho, with occasional references to Cuzco and Puno.<sup>9</sup>

It remains to clarify terms of reference for this study, introducing Florencio Segura and offering a brief outline of how key terms and concepts will be used. All translations, both of Spanish and Quechua, are the author's own, unless specified.

## 1. Florencio Segura

Evangelical hymnody in Quechua was launched by an initial corpus of hymns called *Diospa Siminmanta Takikuna*<sup>10</sup> 'Songs from God's Word' written by Florencio Segura in the short space of two years, from 1944-1946. A Peruvian *mestizo*<sup>11</sup> from Andahuaylas in Apurímac, Segura wrote in Quechua for Quechua speakers within the *Iglesia Evangélica Peruana*.<sup>12</sup>

Segura's theology, expressed in his hymns, is a contextualized response to the theology of sacred hymns composed in the colonial milieus of the Inca and later Spanish empires. His is a theology that fits the relatively new classification of 'vernacular hermeneutics' as espoused by R.S. Sugirtharajah and Daniel Smith-Christopher, for example.<sup>13</sup> His hymns can also be interpreted as a response to

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<sup>9</sup> See Appendix 2 for maps of Peru.

<sup>10</sup> Hereafter referred to as DST.

<sup>11</sup> Keith E. Hamilton, *Church Growth in the High Andes* (Lucknow: Lucknow Publishing House, 1962), p.3 and G. Estuardo McIntosh, 'Términos Religiosos Quechuas de los Departamentos de Apurímac y San Martín Perú' (Quechua religious terms from the departments of Apurímac and San Martín in Peru) (Ph.D. diss., St Andrews University, Scotland, 1976), 3. From being a word used for mixed Spanish/Quechua race, associated with colour, it broadened to include all those who habitually used Spanish as their first language. According to Hamilton, the 1960 census in Peru 'simply mestizo-ized those "Indians" who dressed in western style, spoke the Spanish language, and became a mobile part of the labour force of the country.' Juan Víctor Núñez del Prado B. and Marco Bonino Nieves 'Una Celebración Mestiza del Cruz-Velakuy en el Cusco,' *Allpanchis* Vol.I (1969): 43-4 offer definitions of "*Indígena*" (indigenous), "*Cholo*" (between indigenous and mestizo) and "*Mestizo*" that agree with Hamilton's assessment.

<sup>12</sup> Peruvian Evangelical Church - hereafter referred to as IEP.

<sup>13</sup> R.S. Sugirtharajah, 'Vernacular Resurrections: An Introduction,' in *The Bible and Postcolonialism*, 2 ed. R.S. Sugirtharajah (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 11-12 comments that, 'At the risk of over generalizing, Third World biblical hermeneutics falls into two categories – liberation-focused and culture-sensitive....[the liberation theologians] Gutierrez, Boff and Sobrino fall largely within the Western academic syntax, which makes them easy to incorporate....The dominant presence of liberation theology has tended to overshadow and conceal context-sensitive vernacular texts, and *has also silenced the pioneering and often daring efforts of an earlier generation of theologians.* [italics mine] See also R.S. Sugirtharajah, *The Bible and the Third World: Precolonial, Colonial and Postcolonial Encounters* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 175-202 and

colonial structures and attitudes maintained by British missionaries and by the Spanish speaking IEP church. Contextualization is not a new concept. Achieving ‘prominence in 1957 when the Rockefeller Foundation gave three million dollars to establish a theological education fund to train leaders for churches in the third world’, it is ‘a word that...[takes] into account...[the] changing nature of culture....Literally the word means a “weaving together,” thus an interweaving of the gospel with every particular situation.’<sup>14</sup>

Most of Segura’s hymns were produced while working alongside Kenneth Case, a British missionary of the Evangelical Union of South America.<sup>15</sup> They were clearly an effort to get away from the hymnody available to evangelicals in Peru at that time, which was largely translation into Spanish of European hymns, sung to the original European music. Although small hymnbooks in Quechua had already been compiled, such as *Allin Willaykunaq Takinkuna* ‘Good News Songs’ (a new augmented edition of which was published in Arequipa in 1946 under the auspices of the EUSA missionary Len Herniman), these were translations from the Spanish into Quechua and still retained the old European tunes and thought patterns.

Segura and Case’s partnership began with a Bible translation project based in Andahuaylas (department of Apurimac). The hymns, however, were compiled, published and in general use in the Apurimac area in 1946,<sup>16</sup> well before the New Testament in the Ayacucho-Chanca dialect of Quechua, used in Apurimac and Ayacucho, came out in 1958.<sup>17</sup> Many of the hymns deal with specific Bible passages, and between them they identify Segura’s distinctive theology. His was a contextualised approach to the inculturation of the evangelical message of salvation through Jesus – ‘contextualised’ because it took into account the most appropriate

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Daniel Smith-Christopher, ed., *Text & Experience: Towards a Cultural Exegesis of the Bible* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995).

<sup>14</sup> Schineller, *Inculturation*, 19-20. Andrew Walls, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History* (London and New York: T&T Clark International, 1996), 3-7 describes how this process has functioned since the first Christian community was formed. Walls is cited in Stephen B. Bevans and Roger P. Schroeder, *Constants in Context* (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 2004), 32-3.

<sup>15</sup> Hereafter referred to as EUSA.

<sup>16</sup> Kenneth Case, Andahuaylas, Apurimac, Peru, circular to friends in Britain, 7 March 1946, original held by Frances Case, Southampton, United Kingdom.

way to reach Quechua people at that particular time<sup>18</sup> – ‘inculturation’ because Segura took the message and used a culturally acceptable medium (sung music) to convey Christian theology in a way that made it live in that culture.

Quechua oral culture, emphasising word with music as an accompaniment to most activities, has made hymnody the primary entrance into the world of worship of the Quechua evangelical community. That worship is evidence of the community's theology, and of the way the Bible as sacred text is understood and responded to. But theology is also about how the Bible is interpreted and used to legitimize sociopolitical projects, among other ideals. So no theology responds to the Bible in a vacuum. It is influenced by prior theologies and the contexts those theologies have served to create. The Quechua were no exception. Segura worked in a context where hymns had been used by both Inca and Spanish empires to communicate a religious framework for empire and where, in contrast, the Quechua evangelical church was small in numbers. Segura resisted the view of evangelical mission that the Bible in Quechua must be a priority for mission to the Quechua and responded in his own way, taking on board the oral nature of Quechua and putting the oral expression of theology in hymns first.

Segura responded to both colonial and imperial<sup>19</sup> efforts to evangelize, creating a theology which has influenced several generations of Quechua evangelicals and which has provided the springboard for further composition of Quechua hymns by many others – thus continuing the expression of a developing theology.

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<sup>17</sup> Kenneth Case, Andahuaylas, Apurímac, Peru, circular to friends in Britain, 6 September 1958, original held by Frances Case, Southampton, United Kingdom.

<sup>18</sup> Schineller, *Inculturation*, 19 comments that ‘A possible danger of this term is that it may overemphasize the present context to the detriment of continuity with the past.’ Contextualisation is about particularity.

<sup>19</sup> R.S. Sugirtharajah, *Postcolonial Criticism and Biblical Interpretation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 24. Sugirtharajah explains the distinction between colonialism and imperialism. Accordingly, the Inca and Spanish colonized, while British mission was part of an expression of empire via economic relationships with various Latin American countries around the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, including Peru.



## 2. Definitions of Terms

- **Quechua**

*Qheswa* or *Kechwa* are high mountain valleys between 2,200 and 3,900 metres above sea level.<sup>20</sup> What had been the referent for an ecological zone was first connected to the language of the indigenous peoples of the central Andes by the Dominican Domingo de Santo Tomás in 1551, at the time of the First Lima Council of the RC Church.<sup>21</sup> It was the language that the Incas appropriated as what they called the *runa simi* - literally 'the language of human kind,' or general tongue of the empire.<sup>22</sup> More than a trade language, it was one of the methods used to hold the empire together, while separate people groupings retained their own languages.<sup>23</sup> 'Quechua' is now equated not just with the language, but also with the people who speak it. William Mitchell, one of the translators of the Cuzco Quechua Bible, and an EUSA missionary in Cuzco before joining the Canadian Bible Society comments that what had been a 'language of power' became the 'language of solidarity' when the Spanish took over. This ensured its survival and expansion, not just because it was a useful *lingua franca* for the Spanish conquering and evangelizing in that area, but also as a form of resistance.<sup>24</sup> Quechua continued to develop as a language until the Spanish policy of Hispanicization began in 1634.<sup>25</sup>

Until 27 May 1975, with the promulgation of Law 21156, Quechua had been both legally and socially outlawed in Peru since after the rebellion of Tupac Amaru II in 1780. This rebellion coincided with war between Spain and England, and drew much

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<sup>20</sup> William Mitchell, 'The Appropriation of the Quechua Language by the Church and the Christianisation of Peru in the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries' (Ph.D. thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1991), 129-30. Mitchell's spelling (*qheswa*) coincides with Cuzco Quechua orthography. Also Sebastiano Sperandeo, *Claves para interpretar el Mundo Andino* (Clues for interpreting the Andean world) (Lima: Colibri, 2001), 142-3. The language spoken within a particular vertical space was also the name given to that space, so that people and place were indissolubly linked.

<sup>21</sup> Mitchell, *Quechua Language*, 89-136 offers a comprehensive review of the policy of the Roman Catholic church towards the Quechua language in the sixteenth century.

<sup>22</sup> Mitchell, *Quechua Language*, 7.

<sup>23</sup> Pedro de Cieza de León, *La Crónica del Perú* (Sevilla, Spain: n.p. known, 1553; reprint Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1941), 127-8 (page citations are to the reprint edition).

<sup>24</sup> Mitchell, *Quechua Language*, 135.

<sup>25</sup> Manuel J. Baquerizo, 'El quechua en el mundo andino de hoy,' *Allpanchis* Vol.XV No.17-18 (1981), 61-2; Stephen Clissold, *Latin America: A Cultural Outline* (New York: Harper and Row, 1965), 21.

moral, if not economic, strength from the possibility of English support.<sup>26</sup> Quechua now has an equal standing with Spanish as an official language,<sup>27</sup> but when Segura wrote his hymns it had lost any credibility as a viable language, making his commitment more significant.

Quechua has a variety of dialects, which the linguist Alfredo Torero has grouped in two families: Quechua I and Quechua II. Quechua I is spoken in the central area of the Peruvian Andes, mainly in the departments of Ancash, Huánuco, Pasco, Junín and the province of Cajatambo of the department of Lima. Quechua II is spread more widely, extending from the south of the country (including the province of Santiago del Estero in northern Argentina) to the north and as far as the south of Colombia.<sup>28</sup> Ayacucho-Chanca Quechua, the dialect used for DST, belongs to the Quechua II family.

- **Evangelical**

The word 'evangelical' is used in the broad sense employed in Latin America. It includes traditional Protestant denominations, those arising out of nineteenth century revivals leading to the work of 'independent faith missions' such as the EUSA and the Regions Beyond Missionary Union<sup>29</sup> (the first two British missions working in the south of Peru), and the more recent Pentecostal denominations.<sup>30</sup> Its broadness is useful, since there is considerable overlap between these three types of non-RC theological understandings in Latin America.

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<sup>26</sup> Carlos Daniel Valcárcel, *La Rebelión de Túpac Amaru* (Lima: PEISA, 1973), 48 and 57.

<sup>27</sup> Alberto Escobar, prologue to *Gramática Quechua Ayacucho-Chanca*, by Clodoaldo Soto Ruiz (Lima: Ministerio de Educación and Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1976), 11.

<sup>28</sup> Soto Ruiz, *Gramática Quechua*, 21-2. See Juan M. Ossio, *Los Indios del Perú* (Madrid: MAPFRE, 1992), 244-246 for a clear map and a chart of the distribution of languages throughout Peru.

<sup>29</sup> Hereafter referred to as the RBMU.

<sup>30</sup> Samuel Escobar, 'Identidad, Misión y Futuro del Protestantismo Latinoamericano,' *Boletín Teológico* no. 3 and 4 (1977): 2-3 defines three major types of 'evangelical' – 'classical Protestantism', 'evangelical Protestantism' and 'Pentecostal Protestantism'. José Míguez Bonino, *Faces of Latin American Protestantism* (Cambridge: Eerdmans, 1995), 27-8 concurs that 'in Latin America the term *evangélico* is used undifferentiatedly for all churches that originated directly or indirectly from the Reformation, and in many cases it is virtually synonymous with *Protestant*.' Dominique Motte, *¿Una Revolución Silenciosa?: el Impacto Social de las Nuevas Iglesias no Católicas del Perú*, Trabajos del Colegio Andino 21 (Cusco, Perú: Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos "Bartolomé de las Casas", 2001), 4-17 discusses a number of what he calls 'trilogies' – those of John Kessler (historico-theological), J.P. Bastian (historico-cultural), Samuel Escobar (historico-missiological, all of whom differ only in emphasis. He then compares with the RC anthropologist Manuel Marzal, who would argue that Pentecostals are not 'evangelical'.

There was an indigenous evangelical presence in the south of Peru, in Cuzco, as early as 1898, according to Thomas Wood's report to the missionary conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Concepción, Chile, 22-26 February 1898. These were described as 'little groups' and were the result of the visits of Bible Society colporteurs trained in Lima and Callao.<sup>31</sup>

The powerful socio-political and religious significance of Cuzco as the capital of the Inca empire - meaning 'navel' or 'centre' of the world in Quechua - and its consequent legitimization of the Spanish colonial regime were two of the factors which made the work of the first British evangelical missionaries especially difficult in that area.<sup>32</sup> John Jarrett and Frederick Peters, two RBMU missionaries, went to Cuzco in 1895. They taught English and 'Peters made contacts through his paintings and drawings', and they even joined British industry in the area by floating their own company in 1900,<sup>33</sup> but they were unable to organize an official evangelical congregation until 1903. This became the first Quechua evangelical work in the south of Peru, and was named the Inca Evangelical Society.<sup>34</sup>

- **Hymnody**

Hymnody is simply what people use as songs of praise to God,<sup>35</sup> in the context of a worshipping community. Just as the Old Testament Psalms were the hymnody of the Jewish people, every community that worships God in song will have its hymnody. The rationale behind the choosing or creating of a particular community's hymnody is complex and betrays a myriad of interrelationships – most especially a community's relationship with others around them and their view of and relationship with God. By its sheer existence, Quechua evangelical hymnody in the south of Peru is an act of resistance. Firstly, to Roman Catholicism with its associations to Spanish

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<sup>31</sup>John B.A. Kessler, Jr., *A Study of the Older Protestant Missions and Churches in Peru and Chile* (Goes, Netherlands: Oosterbaan & le Cointre N.C., 1967), 89-90.

<sup>32</sup>Kessler, *Older Protestant Missions*, 160. Also see Martha E. Newell, *For Christ and Cuzco* (London: RBMU, n.d.), 81.

<sup>33</sup>Kessler, *Older Protestant Missions*, 160-2.

<sup>34</sup>Kessler, *Older Protestant Missions*, 163.

<sup>35</sup> Alec Robertson, 'Hymns,' in *A Dictionary of Liturgy and Worship*, ed. J.G. Davies (London: SCM, 1972), 194: 'In his commentary on Ps.148.14, Augustine described a hymn as "the praise of God in song", adding that praise to God that is not sung is not a hymn.'

colonialism. Secondly, to the dominant Spanish of the coastal mestizo elements in the IEP. And finally to the tendency of British mission to decide what the priorities for mission among the Quechua should be. In addition to praise, Segura's hymnody was pedagogical and liturgical in other ways.

The IEP in southern Peru constitutes a broad community in the sense that it is gathered under the umbrella of a wider organization that gives them an evangelical identity - the denomination. Using the word 'community' highlights the fact that the *ayllu*,<sup>36</sup> as a Quechua community, is an aspect of Quechua life that runs as a consistent thread in the way that the Quechua organize themselves socially. Corporate identity, with its expressions of mutual cooperation such as *ayni* and *minka*,<sup>37</sup> accompanied by music, is in the essence of Quechua self-understanding, whether evangelical or otherwise.<sup>38</sup>

The Quechua communal framework extends to competition, which is therefore not between individuals, but rather between communities. This has been used to great advantage in Quechua evangelical music festivals.<sup>39</sup> At each festival, prizes are given to the group that performs the best new evangelical composition, and there are rigorous criteria for the selection made by a group of judges that often included Segura when he was alive.

Language and politics are two significant ways in which people relate to one another in communities, and both affect the way a people's religion is expressed and

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<sup>36</sup> This Quechua word can be translated as 'community'. John E. Kicza, glossary to *The Indian in Latin American History* (Delaware: A Scholarly Resources Inc. Imprint, 1993), 229: 'A Peruvian term for a kinship group and the land it controls.' Frank Salomon and George L. Urioste, glossary to *The Huarochiri Manuscript* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991), 255: 'Social group, often localized, self-defined as ancestor-focused kindred; scope of term varies.' José Carlos Mariátegui, glossary to *Seven Interpretive Essays on Peruvian Reality*, trans. Marjory Urquidi (Austin and London: University of Texas Press, 1971), 289: 'A group of related Quechua families; a "community".'

<sup>37</sup> W. Stanley Rycroft, glossary to *Indians in the High Andes* (New York: Committee of Cooperation in Latin America, 1946), 325: 'Aini-system of mutual exchange of assistance among Quechua Indians of South Peru.' 326: 'minga-collective work among Indian families.'

<sup>38</sup> Fernando Quicaña, 'El Evangelio y la Cultura Andina,' *Para todos los Pueblos*, Clade III: Documentos, Lima:PROMIES and FTL (1992), 56-9. Conversation with Isafas Calle in San Jerónimo, Andahuaylas (April 2005) agrees with this assessment.

<sup>39</sup> *Boletín CEMAA* (Lima, Perú), June 1983, 4-5 and 8-9. One of the specific aims leading to the First International Quechua Evangelical Music Festival held in Ayacucho from 14-18 August 1979 was to 'try to encourage the development of an autochthonous Quechua hymnody'.

understood.<sup>40</sup> The ways these two areas of life affect a people's faith structure are likely to be revealed in their hymns, if those songs are a faithful expression of a people's relationship with their God. The language factor becomes significant when major vocabulary choices take place in hymns within different contexts – whether Inca, colonial Spanish or evangelical. The interpretation of any text is affected by prior understandings of the semantic content of the vocabulary used, and Segura was well aware of that in his choice of vocabulary.

The factor of politics is important because the legitimating force of a particular interpretation, both in hymns as words and music, may reveal what political agenda/s are at the heart of a particular community. This is clearly José María Arguedas' view of Catholic hymns in Quechua – their intention is to transform the people in a particular way:

The ancient Peruvian was humble but happy, because he had no fear of destruction by poverty. The catholic hymns convert, or endeavour to convert him, into a being for which physical martyrdom must constitute the essence of life, a natural fact which is not only inevitable but necessary.<sup>41</sup>

Segura's intention through his hymnody is to convert the same people back to humble and happy within the context of an evangelical faith that emphasises a loving Father, Son (of the Father) and Holy Spirit.

Music has always been an integral part of Quechua life. It may be a solitary activity, as when a shepherd plays his *quena*<sup>42</sup> both to while away the time, and to express the sentiments which occupy him at any particular moment. More usually, it is an expression of community solidarity, and accompanies important activities such as sowing and harvesting. Singing is a necessary element in effective working in the fields, so a group of women may be set aside to provide the incentive for willing

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<sup>40</sup> Lamin Sanneh, *Religion and the Variety of Culture* (Valley Forge, Pennsylvania: Trinity Press, 1996), 1 contends that, 'In the West... a firm disavowal of the positive reciprocity of religion and culture persists. Western conceptions of culture have, in general, promoted distrust of religion. This is partly the consequence of the often justified critique of mission as cultural imperialism.' But this 'culture-religion dichotomy' is not evident in non-Western countries.

<sup>41</sup> Arguedas, *Ollantay*, 72.

<sup>42</sup> *Pequeño Larousse Ilustrado*, 1936 ed., 771: 'Peruvian indian flute.' The quena is made of bamboo. It is held as a recorder would be and has a number of holes in it which produce various notes when covered in different ways. The notes correspond roughly to the pentatonic scale rather than to our western scale.

labour by singing *qarawi* on the borders of the fields.<sup>43</sup> These songs are improvised to apply to each particular situation. The type of music played and/or sung corresponds to the activity that it accompanies.<sup>44</sup> Because of this, when Case began composing the music for Segura's hymns, he was careful to avoid any tunes, such as *huaynos*, which might be associated with village *fiesta*.<sup>45</sup> After Segura learned to compose music, he continued with the same policy, thus inventing a new genre of music that was both recognisably different and substantially similar to the genres already used by the Quechua for different events. This added to the culture already there by using the known pathways or codes of the culture to carry a different message with the purpose of transformation without entirely losing Quechua identity.<sup>46</sup>

There was an initial rejection of their cultural heritage in music by most evangelical Quechuas at the point of their conversion, which is one reason why Segura's contribution – changing the type of song used for worship, and using an original style of music – was so significant. Currently, Andean evangelical music groups proliferate. For the most part, these groups have distanced themselves from Segura's more sedate rhythms and now use other traditional forms of music with their own words applied to express worship. They are also one of the major forms that Quechua mission takes in other countries, as groups travel around Europe, for example, playing music and evangelizing in major centres of population. One group, 'Kerygma', started at the initiative of an overseas missionary organization called AMEN,<sup>47</sup> formed on 21 August 1946 by Juan Cueva as the 'Evangelical Missionary Society of Peru.' Cueva was a member of the IEP for 47 years, from 1937-1984, and

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<sup>43</sup> Clodoaldo Soto Ruiz, *Quechua: Manual de Enseñanza* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos and Champaign: Universidad de Illinois en Urbana, 1993), 91-2.

<sup>44</sup> Jesús Lara, *La Poesía Quechua* (Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1947), 29-32, pp.68-92.

<sup>45</sup> Spanish word for 'feast, holy day.' They are usually connected with the celebration of a village's saint's day.

<sup>46</sup> Schreiter, *New Catholicity*, 30 and on 34 he comments that 'Inasmuch as Christian faith is about conversion, one might expect that some of the cultural codes will be altered. Were that not the case, would Christian faith be any more than a vaneer sanctifying any and every cultural arrangement?'

<sup>47</sup> *Asociación Misionera Evangélica a las Naciones* (Evangelical Missionary Association to the Nations).

left the denomination with the blessing of his local church, which he himself had founded, to concentrate more fully on the work of AMEN and mission.<sup>48</sup>

Students of theology are becoming increasingly aware of the importance of hymnody as an expression of a people's beliefs about God and humanity.<sup>49</sup> This is especially true in non-literate cultures, where 'The Word of God must first become 'incarnated' in their own specific way of hearing and responding.'<sup>50</sup> The history and politics of mission in southern Peru and beyond have been well documented by people such as John Kessler, in his *A study of the older Protestant missions and churches in Peru and Chile*.<sup>51</sup> Where doctrinal issues arose in leadership, these have been explored, but a study of the theology developed among indigenous people in the IEP has been outside the scope of this kind of approach. Given the importance of music to the Quechua, and the fact that they sang hymns as part of a budding new oral tradition before they had their own Bible translation, the analysis of this evangelical community's theology in context should begin with its hymnody. The way the Bible is interpreted by them will necessarily be influenced by the prior interpretation made by Florencio Segura in his hymns.

### 3. Thesis Structure

The thesis is divided into three chapters and a conclusion. **Chapter 1** gives a general historical profile of the Quechua speaking peoples, emphasising the effects of conquest<sup>52</sup> and factors that make up their identity – that is, the 'building [of] group

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<sup>48</sup> Samuel Cueva C., *La Iglesia Local en Misión Transcultural* (The local church in transcultural mission) (Barcelona, Spain: Editorial CLIE, 1991), 23.

<sup>49</sup> See, for example, David Power, Mary Collins and Mellonee Burnim, *Concilium 202: Music and the Experience of God* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1989).

<sup>50</sup> Patrick A. Kalilombe, 'A Malawian Example: The Bible and Non-literate Communities,' in *Voices from the Margin: Interpreting the Bible in the Third World*, ed. R.S. Sugirtharajah (London: SPCK, 1991), 402. He is alluding particularly to the Bible in non-literate cultures, as was also the case with Segura. In Malawi too, 'the Bible needs to come to them in non-literate ways.' 402-5 explain in more detail how *hearing* and *seeing*, 'mnemonic devices like *repetition* or *variation*' and 'such tools as *acting*, *retelling* in their own words, or *responding* through gestures or emotion-filled expressions' are methods of 'assimilating knowledge and values' and thus influencing 'people's lives.'

<sup>51</sup> Kessler, a former EUSA missionary, published this, his doctoral thesis in 1967. His lengthy study only mentions Segura once, on page 188.

<sup>52</sup> Schreier, *New Catholicity*, 49-50, emphasizes assimilation of aspects of outside cultures as a strength: 'The influence of the integrated concept of culture can be seen in theology...Much of the pressure for developing contextual theologies has presumed the distinctiveness and relative boundedness of culture, implying thereby that distinctive theologies could be formed.' While it may be possible to retain core values, cultures are nevertheless constantly changing, and Schreier goes on

solidarity and incorporating [of] new information as it comes into the culture.’<sup>53</sup> These include a conceptual analysis of interpretative categories<sup>54</sup> that inform Andean religion and which are most relevant to an analysis of the theology in Quechua hymns. The primary objective of this chapter is to understand Quechua core values such as equilibrium, community and reciprocity, all of which are integrated with one another.<sup>55</sup> Major sources are available from the period of the Spanish conquest. These provide a description of the religious worldview of the indigenous people in southern Peru at that time. A comparison with contemporary understandings of the same categories establishes a basic core. Where changes have occurred, possible reasons for change in perspective (rural to urban movement for example) are outlined. The differences between core Andean values and religious overlay legitimising power are distinguished.

**Chapter 2** describes the growth of evangelical Christianity among the Quechua, emphasising the use of music in worship. This period coincides with economic growth and relationship with Peru via British investment in the region. The dynamic of any relationship is altered when a new element is added. Because of the importance placed on the Bible as authoritative 'word' within the Christian tradition (both Protestant and Roman Catholic), its entrance into Latin America, and more narrowly into Peru and later the southern Andean region, became the new element which either challenged or reinforced previous theological understanding. Segura, a true convert to evangelical Christianity, nevertheless resisted doing missionary evangelism in any other way than his own. Translation of the Bible and its colportage followed hymn singing as catalysts in the process that led to a new kind of community from the Quechua *ayllu* (although often people were converted in 'households') - worshipping Quechua evangelical churches.

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to comment, 'In "both-and" ways of thinking, knowledge is arrived at...by a careful ordering and balancing of things until nothing is left out. Wisdom is valued above analysis. Harmony is sought, rather than differentiation. Such ways of thinking are prevalent in many oral cultures.' The Andean approach fits this perspective.

<sup>53</sup> Schreiter, *New Catholicity*, 30.

<sup>54</sup> The *ideational* aspect of culture – Schreiter, *New Catholicity*, 29.

<sup>55</sup> Schreiter, *New Catholicity*, 50. These fit what Schreiter describes as 'scales,' following Geert Hofstede on 36-8. He names three scales: individualist/collectivist, low content/high content (that is cultures that require a long historical memory), and tolerance of ambiguity. Andean culture is collectivist, high content and low on tolerance of ambiguity.



The chapter continues with the story of the growth of an indigenous tradition in hymn writing, and the production and dispersal of the first Quechua hymns, particularly in the person of the first writer of Quechua evangelical hymns, Florencio Segura.

**Chapter 3** explores seven of the most common themes in Segura's hymnody, using the second edition of DST published in 1950.<sup>56</sup> Where possible, there is comparison with Inca and RC hymns and prayers in Quechua that highlight the distinctives of Segura's hymnody. The themes are chosen by frequency of occurrence in the hymnody as a whole, rather than beginning by superimposing a Western framework with its own most common theological terms. How theological categories identified in the hymns are understood by the singers is of particular interest, in order to document how Segura used hymns to either challenge or reinforce the framework of pre-evangelical Quechua society.

The **conclusion** summarises the theological impact of Segura's Quechua hymnody on the indigenous evangelical church and its mission. It highlights the continuing development of Andean hymnody, both Quechua and Aymara,<sup>57</sup> Evangelical and RC. Whether the worship expressed in the hymnody studied coincides with the way evangelical Quechuas understand and live their daily lives is the only way to ascertain whether the 'word' that is the Gospel in those hymns has communicated in such a way that it has become an integral part of their present society.

Segura's hymns and choruses in Quechua provided the first effective means of transmitting inculturated evangelical theology to the Quechua churches in southern Peru. How religious language has or has not been transformed in its meanings through Quechua hymnody since then is material for another thesis.

#### **4. Materials**

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<sup>56</sup> The first edition published in 1946 is not being used because to the author's best knowledge, there are no extant copies.

<sup>57</sup> The other major Andean culture and language, spreading across southern Peru and Bolivia.

- **Inca Empire/Spanish Conquest**

The alleged syncretism of the RC church in southern Peru, the evidence of the period of extirpation of idolatry in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, and the comments of a number of EUSA missionaries have all suggested that the basic world view of the Quechuas of southern Peru has not changed since records began. With this in mind, we begin with the earliest recorded findings about religion and its expression in the south of Peru. Although the Incas had a method of recording information on *quipus*, which could then be deciphered by any *quipu camayoc*, we have no way of knowing whether more than geographical and numerical data were stored on these series of knotted strings. Therefore the earliest known records with reference to religious beliefs and practices are those of the 16<sup>th</sup> century Spanish and Quechua chroniclers. These include prose observations, drawings and collections of Inca poetry, some of which would have been accompanied by music.

John Rowland Rowe's principal sources for this period have been adopted to form the basis of an analysis of Inca theology and how it accommodated Andean interpretative categories:<sup>58</sup>

- Pedro de Cieza de León was a military man who travelled with the 'conquistadores'<sup>59</sup> and wrote down firsthand accounts of what he saw and experienced. His *Crónica del Perú* has been published in two parts. The first is known simply as the *Crónica del Perú* and the second as *El Señorío de los Incas*.<sup>60</sup> They are both useful in that they describe religious ritual and what the indigenous people had to say about their religious beliefs. Part one was first published in 1553 and part two in 1880, although both were written in 1551.

- Bernabé Cobo, a Jesuit priest, wrote the *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*<sup>61</sup> around 1653. It is, according to Rowe, 'the best and most complete description of *Inca* culture in

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<sup>58</sup> John Rowland Rowe, 'Inca Culture at the Time of the Spanish Conquest,' in *Handbook of South American Indians*, ed. Julian H. Steward (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1946), 192-7. He is of the opinion that very few chroniclers were original, and that the three listed are the best.

<sup>59</sup>ie conquerors: the term most commonly used of Pizarro and his men.

<sup>60</sup> The rule of the Incas.

<sup>61</sup> History of the New World.

existence.<sup>62</sup> It includes detailed theological descriptions of the elements of the belief system within the Inca Empire.

- Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala's work is best represented by his pen and ink drawings. They are valuable descriptions of everyday life. His work has also been classified as representing indigenous resistance to the Spanish conquest.<sup>63</sup> *El primer nueva crónica y buen gobierno*<sup>64</sup> was found in the Royal Library in Copenhagen in 1908 and first published in 1936.<sup>65</sup>

- **Quechua Hymns and Mission**

Material for the growth of evangelical Christianity among the Quechua was gathered from the Latin Link and Centro Evangélico de Misiología Andino-Amazónica<sup>66</sup> archives and libraries, particularly from the *South America* magazines published by EUSA from 1912-1991, which were the EUSA means of communicating with supporters in Great Britain; from a number of published works in the fields of missionary history and music, the history of the IEP, and EUSA reports on the Quechua church in Peru.

Florencio Segura's story has been pieced together from an unpublished manuscript by Ken Case, Case's circulars, Segura's own autobiography and other materials in the Andahuaylas Bible Institute library in Talavera, and from interviews with EUSA missionaries who knew him and with his own family and friends, as well as *South America* magazines, the history of the IEP in Barrera 1993 and Kessler 1967, and interviews with associates at Radio Amauta in Ayacucho.

- **Quechua Literature**

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<sup>62</sup> Rowe, 'Inca Culture,' 194.

<sup>63</sup> Rolena Adorno, *Guaman Poma Literatura de Resistencia en el Perú Colonial* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991).

<sup>64</sup> The first new chronicle and good government.

<sup>65</sup> Sir Clements Markham, *The Incas of Peru* (London: Smith and Elder, 1910), 16 and John V. Murra, 'Waman Puma, etnógrafo del mundo andino,' in *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno* [1615], Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala, ed. John V. Murra and Rolena Adorno (Mexico City: Siglo Veintiuno, 1980), x.

<sup>66</sup> Evangelical centre for Andean and Amazonian missiology. Hereafter referred to as CEMAA.

James Higgins includes a section on Quechua literature in *A History of Peruvian Literature* (1987). Jesus Lara's *La poesía quechua*<sup>67</sup> (1947) is an investigation into the forms and content of traditional Quechua poetry and includes an appendix giving examples of poems from different eras, with Spanish translation. The Inca drama '*Ollantay*' has been translated numerous times. The more recent 1995 edition by PEISA (Lima) is the César Miró and Sebastián Salazar Bondy version, which includes '*Cantos y Narraciones Quechuas*'<sup>68</sup> selected and annotated by José María Arguedas.

Religious literature also forms part of the Quechua corpus. In Jorge Seibold's *La Sagrada Escritura*<sup>69</sup> (1993), there are sections on 'The "word" in the Inca culture' and 'The cultured word of the pre-colombian world as "Praeparatio evangelica".'<sup>70</sup> John Howland Rowe collected 'Eleven Inca Prayers from the Zithuwa Ritual,' published in the Kroeber Anthropological Society Papers in 1953. During the Spanish colonial period, many RC hymns were written in Quechua. These have also been collected, mainly by Father Jorge A. Lira, J.M.B. Farfán and José María Arguedas.

- **Hymns and Choruses**

To facilitate reference and preserve the flow of the thesis, Appendix 1 provides both interlinear and free translations of Segura's hymns and choruses in the 2<sup>nd</sup> edition of DST.

John Ritchie and Saul Barrera both briefly mention the importance of hymns to the Peruvian evangelical church, but for more extensive proof of the type of impact made by hymns, particularly theological and with its consequent praxis, one needs to

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<sup>67</sup> Quechua poetry.

<sup>68</sup> Quechua songs and narratives.

<sup>69</sup> The Sacred Scripture.

<sup>70</sup> Pablo Richard, 'Indigenous Biblical Hermeneutics: God's Revelation in Native Religions and the Bible (after 500 years of domination)' in *Text and Experience: Towards a Cultural Exegesis of the Bible*, ed. Daniel Smith-Christopher (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 261. Since Vatican II there has been encouragement 'for those who work amongst...non-Christian populations to "familiarize yourselves with their national and religious traditions; discover, with joy and respect, the seeds of the Word which are contained within them" (ad Gentes 11).'

sift through EUSA mission material and extrapolate from observation of church practice in interviews with both missionaries and Quechua church members.

For Segura's hymnody, the primary material is the many editions of the hymnbooks themselves, as well as conversations with informants in the Andahuaylas area. Books on Quechua poetry, hymns and other narratives by Arguedas and Lara, as well as articles found in the archives of the Catholic University in Lima, Peru and Stewart McIntosh's thesis *Religious Terms in the Departments of San Martín and Apurímac* provide invaluable comparative material.

There is a lacuna in the study of evangelical hymnody among the Quechua in all parts of the Quechua-speaking world, not only southern Peru. Numerous original hymnbooks are available in every Quechua dialect, of which Segura's *Diospa Siminmanta Takikuna* is the earliest and most extensive collection of Quechua hymns and choruses by one person.

- **Language**

To learn Ayacucho-Chanca Quechua, a course of materials (including textbook and cassette tapes) by Clodoaldo Soto Ruiz was purchased in Lima, Peru.

Quechua is an agglutinative language, adding suffixes to roots. Significant enclitics and all Spanish loan words used by Segura are listed at the beginning of this thesis. In the body of the thesis, Spanish words have been italicised, while all Quechua vocabulary is in italics and bold.

- **Indigenous Theology**

Since August 1979, when indigenous groups in Latin America met in Ayacucho and announced the 'Declaration of Ayacucho,'<sup>71</sup> there has been a concerted effort to formulate and publish indigenous evangelical theology. The edited collection of essays *Hacia una Teología Evangélica Indígena* (Towards an indigenous evangelical theology) and publications of the CLADE<sup>72</sup> conferences are two better known

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<sup>71</sup> Tito Paredes, *El Evangelio en Platos de Barro* (Lima: Ediciones Presencia, 1989), 67.

<sup>72</sup> Congreso Latinoamericano de Evangelización.

examples. There have been many changes in Quechua hymnody since Segura's hymnbook was pioneered - not necessarily informed by the development of Quechua theology.

Since the 1990s there has been a greater effort to understand the philosophical underpinnings of Quechua society, leading to books like Sebastiano Sperandeo's *Claves para Interpretar el Mundo Andino* (Clues for interpreting the Andean world), Mario Mejía Huamán's *La Cosmovisión Andina y las Categorías Quechuas como Fundamentos para una Filosofía Peruana y de América Andina* (The Andean world view and Quechua categories as foundations for a Peruvian and Andean American philosophy) and Domingo Llanque Chana's *Vida y Teología Andina* (Andean life and theology).

## 5. Methods

Florencio Segura, unlike Kenneth Case, does not fit the ethnomusicologist's profile of someone who encourages the development of indigenous hymnody from without. Case is an early example of a generally more recent trend in mission, as witnessed by the Summer Institute of Linguistics' Dianne Palmer-Quay's *Developing Indigenous Hymnody*. All the entries in her annotated bibliography are from the last quarter of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. A later appendix provides bibliography beginning in 1919, though most are from the latter half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. There is a marked preponderance of references to Africa and Asia, the section on Latin America noting only one book that refers to Peruvian indigenous music – the biography of Peruvian Quechua evangelist Romulo Sauñe – *One Bright Shining Path*.<sup>73</sup>

For this thesis, theological and hermeneutical methods are primary and historical, archival and literary methods are secondary, though all are equally necessary. The aim of researching a Quechua hymnody in the south of Peru could be narrowed to a historical discussion of the origins of the IEP in southern Peru as informed by its hymnody, such as James R. Krabill has done with *The Hymnody of the Harrist*

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<sup>73</sup> Dianne Palmer-Quay, *Developing Indigenous Hymnody: Key Resources for Cross-Cultural Workers* (Columbia, South Carolina: Dianne M. Palmer-Quay, 1999), 110. In her introductory essay (13) she makes passing reference to 'the Quechua in Peru.'

*Church Among the Dida of South-Central Ivory Coast (1913-1949): A Historico-Religious Study*. He uses the hymn corpus as his primary source for a study of the development of the Harrist Church. Another approach could be to discover non-Quechua influences latent in Segura's hymnody, such as influences Peter J. Wood has pointed out in *Hymns and Songs in the Anglican Church in North East Congo*. A third approach could be primarily analysing Segura as a practical theologian, describing the theology of the hymns as they stand, with reference to their use in preaching and evangelisation, like Bwalya Shimina Chuba's *African Culture and Christian Worship in Zambian Protestant Churches*. Such a description would suffer the limitation of removing the Quechua evangelical community from historic continuity with its culture, thus taking away deeper understandings of why they express themselves as they do. So theological and hermeneutical methods work together in seeking to understand how a people's changing self-understanding affects its communication of relationship with God.

It is in this context that the framework of inculturation has been chosen. Although it has not been defined and described until recently, it has been practiced since Christian mission began.<sup>74</sup> Like Segura, the constants of the Christian faith, 'which might be stated generally to be the constant of *Christology* and the constant of *ecclesiology*' (that is the person of Jesus and all that is associated with him in 'the Bible, the sacramental significance of Eucharist and baptism' and the importance of the Christian community)<sup>75</sup> were recognised and held to, while constantly being shaped by prior cultural assumptions and present transformation of those assumptions. Historical method and the use of archives and literature are essential in providing the raw material from which to correctly analyse the theological meaning of Florencio Segura's hymns.

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<sup>74</sup> Stephen B. Bevans and Roger P. Schroeder, *Constants in Context* (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 2004), 32-4. They cite Andrew Walls, who asks us to imagine 'a long-living scholar of religion from another planet who periodically receives grants to study Christianity.' This scholar turns up on planet earth in 37C.E., then at the Council of Nicea, some hundreds of years later when Irish monasticism is at its height, in the 1840s when English mission to Africa is in vogue, and finally in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, to visit the Africans converted through their work. The basic continuity is maintained by 'Christianity's *missionary* vision,' although it is constantly 'growing and changing and being transformed' in the process of responding to different contexts.

<sup>75</sup> Bevans and Schroeder, *Constants*, 33.

# Chapter 1 - The Quechuas in Their World: Understanding the cultural framework for Florencio Segura's biblical interpretation via hymns

Two major historical factors<sup>1</sup> contribute to the way the Quechua understand and incorporate fresh information into their Andean worldview. The first is their experience of successive conquests, to which they have responded with varying degrees of resistance. Pablo Richard lists five possible responses:

*Frontal assault:* with all available military strength against the invading armies.

*Passive resistance:* waiting in silence in order not to be killed (which did not mean backing down but hiding oneself).

*Alliance:* with the dominating forces to resolve inter-ethnic conflicts between dominant indigenous peoples and the dominated.

*Collective suicide.*

*Indigenous cultural and religious reformulation in the colonial systemic context:* dialogue to attain a vital synthesis, where the native cultural and religious tradition might be able to continue being itself without betraying its identity, and while assuming the religious and cultural values of the dominant Christianity. Not only was it concealed in part by an occidental and Christian overlay, but in addition was withheld from the conqueror: his ideological, cultural and religious weapons were appropriated by the conquered in order to demonstrate that they themselves were Indians, with their own traditions, who lived and expressed the gospel message more coherently than the European Christian conquistadors themselves.<sup>2</sup>

The second factor is the consequent development of a distinctive identity<sup>3</sup> as indigenous Quechuas, over and against the Spanish colonisers after their conquest

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<sup>1</sup> Robert J. Schreiter, *The New Catholicity* (New York: Orbis Books, 1997), 30 comments that 'historical studies' is one of 'at least four areas' that intercultural hermeneutics draws upon, after explaining on 29 that culture includes 'performance' of 'histories and values.' The other three areas are 'comparative philosophical and theological studies', 'Western philosophical hermeneutics' (especially its recent emphasis on 'conversation' as the precursor to a 'fusion of horizons', where a 'horizon' is a 'cultural boundary' that meets another 'cultural boundary' in that 'conversation' and its reflections on the 'stranger' or 'other' as a distance waiting to be crossed), and the 'social sciences', including 'indigenous psychologies', that is, 'psychological categories drawn from local cultures rather than imposed from outside'. He comments that 'theory formation in intercultural communication began only in the late 1980s' (31-32).

<sup>2</sup> Pablo Richard, 'Indigenous Biblical Hermeneutics: God's Revelation in Native religions and the Bible (after 500 years of domination),' in *Text and Experience: Towards a Cultural Exegesis of the Bible* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 268-9.

<sup>3</sup> Schreiter, *New Catholicity*, 30 believes that 'identity...involves building group solidarity and incorporating new information as it comes into the culture.' Various forms of resistance to outside control would then be a major aspect in identity formulation. In terms of the 'intercultural communication event' (34) where there are 'interlocutors (speaker and hearer),' 'the context' and 'the



and the neo-colonialism felt from Creoles and mestizos since the formation of the republic in 1821.

Both successive conquests and Quechua identity have to do with the interrelationship between land and people that permeates every part of life in the Andes. Writing in 1930, J. Uriel García, one of the foremost writers of indigenous life in Peru,<sup>4</sup> considered the land such an important aspect of what it meant to be Indian that he said that an “Indian” is not only that man with the bronze-coloured skin, large eyes, smooth and thick hair, but rather everyone who grows within at contact with the incentives offered by this great American nature and feels that his soul is rooted to the earth.<sup>5</sup> In other words, the land forms the people who depend on it – and the Andes Mountains help form the indigenous Quechua identity.<sup>6</sup> It is now more common and acceptable to call these same people *campesinos* (peasants or farmers),<sup>7</sup> but the connection with the earth is no less clear.

Conquests are bound up with land, because they break the hermetic circle formed by the horizon that surrounds people in any particular part of the Andes. The *apus*, local mountain peaks that were associated with local divinities, defined individual people groups’ borders – all this was disrupted when any empire broadened their horizons.<sup>8</sup>

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message,’ ‘the hearer (35)...is concerned with finding a place for that message within his or her own world in such a way as to enhance the hearer’s identity.’

<sup>4</sup> Emilia Romero de Valle, ed., *Diccionario Manual de Literatura Peruana y Materias Afines* (Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 1966), 135.

<sup>5</sup> J. Uriel García, *El Nuevo Indio* (Cuzco, Peru: H.G. Rozas, 1937), 6. See also Gabriel Escobar, *Organización Social y Cultural del Sur del Perú* Serie: Antropología Social, 7 (México: Instituto Indigenista Interamericano, 1967), 82-3: ‘The world is that part of nature with which people have contact and to which the group also belongs.’

<sup>6</sup> For Schreiter, *New Catholicity*, 29 - and used by R.S. Sugirtharajah, *The Bible and the Third World: Precolonial, Colonial and Postcolonial Encounters* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 182 - what the Andean people do with the land, which is how they organise space vertically in the mountains, is part of only one aspect of culture – the material, which includes ‘the artefacts and symbolizations that become a source for identity: language, food, clothing, music, and the organization of space.’ The other two aspects of culture are ‘ideational...systems or frameworks of meaning which serve both to interpret the world and to provide guidance for living in the world’ and ‘performance...rituals that bind a culture’s members together’.

<sup>7</sup> Max Peter Baumann, ‘Andean Music, Symbolic Dualism and Cosmology,’ in *Cosmología y Música en los Andes*, ed. Max Peter Baumann (Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert Verlag and Madrid: Iberoamericana, 1996), 15.

<sup>8</sup> García, *El Indio*, 17.

Quechua identity is also defined by land in that it holds the terms by which space is ordered. To a Quechua a particular altitude defines not only the type of land lived on, but also who s/he is. '*Kechwa*' is between 2,200-3,900 metres above sea level, while '*puna*' is over 3,900 metres above sea level, and there is an intermediate area known as '*suní*' that exists between 3,600 and 3,900 metres above sea level.<sup>9</sup>

The Quechua language has developed in response to conquests, first in its selection by the Inca Empire as the *lingua franca*, and then by its extension and use under the Spanish 'as the language of evangelisation'.<sup>10</sup> It has also served as a vehicle for uniting many disparate peoples under the umbrella of a general Quechua identity. During the Inca Empire, the ordering of space associated with land and the ordering of time associated with the telling of history were brought together in the *quipus* 'ancient Andean recording system' made up of thin woollen cords of different colours, with knots at significant intervals, attached to a larger cord and looking somewhat like a grass skirt.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Sebastiano Sperandeo, *Claves para interpretar el Mundo Andino*, Serie 'Raíces del presente', 2 (Lima: Colibrí, 2001), 142-78 identifies these and more.

<sup>10</sup> William Mitchell, 'The Appropriation of the Quechua Language by the Church and the Christianisation of Peru in the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries,' Ph.D. diss., University of Edinburgh, 1991, 97. Lamin Sanneh *Translating the Message: The Missionary Impact on Culture*, American Society of Missiology Series, No.13 (New York: Orbis Books, 1990), 90-1 quotes Toynbee 1956, 161 commenting on the zeal of RC missionaries in placing themselves on a 'collision course with the Spanish secular authorities' who had 'passed an injunction to impose the Castilian language on the Indians as the medium of religious instruction....The missionaries refused to cooperate.':

'...in the Viceroyalty of Peru, where a native *lingua franca* had already been put into currency by the Spanish conquerors' Inca predecessors. The missionaries in Peru reduced this Quichua *lingua franca* to writing in the Latin alphabet; in A.D. 1576 a chair of Quichua was founded at the University of Lima, where it was maintained until A.D. 1770; and in 1680 a knowledge of Quichua was made an obligatory qualification for any candidate for ordination in Peru to the Roman Catholic Christian priesthood.'

Manuel J. Baquerizo, 'El quechua en el mundo andino de hoy,' *Allpanchis*, Vol.XV, No.17-18 (1981): 61-2 is of the opinion that it was not primarily the need for 'an instrument for religious and political unity' nor the interest in 'preserving native values' that motivated the use of Quechua by the Spanish even beyond its previous borders within the Inca Empire. It was their need to communicate in order to use the people 'in the mines, farms and workshops'.

<sup>11</sup> Esteban and Nancy Hornberger, *Diccionario Tri-Lingüe Quechua de Cusco: Quechua, English, Castellano* (La Paz, Bolivia: Qoya Raymi, 1983), 89; María Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, *Historia del Tahuantinsuyu*, Serie: Historia Andina/13 (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1988), 299; Thomas Cummins, 'La representación en el siglo XVI: La imagen colonial del Inca,' in *Mito y simbolismo en los andes: La figura y la palabra*, Estudios y Debates Regionales Andinos 84, ed. Henrique Urbano (Cusco: Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos, April 1993), 102-13 which includes a picture of a *quipus* on 102 and two of Guamán Poma de Ayala's drawings from 1613, with *quipus* on 107-8. Rafael Emilio Housse, *Los Hijos del Sol: Los Quichuas del Perú* Colección Estrella (Santiago de Chile: Zig-Zag, 1946), 353-4 explains what the '15 different colours, each one for a determined order,' meant.

The *quipus* was a type of ideogram and one of two primary methods used to remember significant events or keep accounts. It served as a mnemonic device and is likely to have been unique in the world,<sup>12</sup> supporting an oral tradition. Cobo notes that ‘these memorials and registers conserved the memory of their acts and gave account of the receipt and expenditure of the stewards and accountants of the Inca.’<sup>13</sup> The other mnemonic device was words accompanied by music. Dutch sociologist Geert Hofstede’s ‘scales’ illustrate how ‘contexts and their codes operate.’ Three of these scales are the ‘individualist-collectivist’ (Andean people are collectivist), ‘low context-high context’ and a sliding scale of ‘tolerance of ambiguity.’ Low context frequently goes together with individualist and high context with collectivist. ‘High context cultures...require extensive knowledge of the historical background and ethos of the community in order to understand communications.’ Among other forms of communication are included ‘ideograms to convey meaning in writing, as in China and Japan.’<sup>14</sup>

The rationale behind hymns in Quechua has been influenced by conquest and changing identity, as well as being instrumental in influencing Quechua identity. Inca sacred hymns in Quechua legitimised Inca religion and Spanish colonial Quechua hymns added to the content of Inca sacred hymns to recontextualize religious categories in accord with Roman Catholic doctrines of Jesus Christ and Mary in particular.<sup>15</sup> Finally, Quechua evangelical hymns became a way of inculturating the Bible,<sup>16</sup> through particular interpretations of certain passages, where reading the

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<sup>12</sup> Juan de Arona, *Diccionario de Peruanismos*, Tomos I y II (Lima: PEISA, 1974), pp.338-9, Estuardo McIntosh, ‘El Evangelio y la Religión Popular en el Perú de Hoy,’ *Departamento de Misiología* (Lima: Seminario Evangélico, 1981), 2.

<sup>13</sup> Bernabé Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo* Tomo III, con notas y concordancias por Luis A. Pardo y Carlos A. Galimberti Miranda, biografía del Padre Bernabé Cobo por Luis A. Pardo, Libro Duodécimo (Cuzco, Peru: Publicaciones Pardo-Galimberti, 1956), 331. María Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, *Historia del Tahuantinsuyu*, Serie: Historia Andina/13 (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1988), 218 points out that it was also usual in the Andes to use the *quipu* as a way of accounting for ‘disposable human energy.’

<sup>14</sup> Schreiter, *New Catholicity*, 36-7.

<sup>15</sup> William Mitchell, ‘Himnos Sagrados de los Andes: The contours of Andean piety’ : Presented at UBS Triennial Translation Workshop (Iguaçu, Brazil, 16-27 June 2003), 8-12.

<sup>16</sup> Peter Schineller, *A Handbook on Inculturation* (Mahwah, New York: Paulist Press, 1990), 18-24 presents vocabulary to explain more fully the meaning of inculturation. Specifically, he contrasts contextualization, which ‘shows greater awareness of the particularity of contexts...[and] of the

Bible was impossible for most, and where for some who could read, it was a form of resistance to a neo-colonial Roman Catholicism that did not allow the Bible to be used except by the priest. For others, the Bible, along with the cross and the sword, has for too long been symbolic of the ‘conquest and colonization of America.’<sup>17</sup> In addition, within the IEP, where Spanish speaking Peruvians exercise more authority within the denomination as a whole than Quechua speakers, Quechua hymns as a mode of biblical interpretation vie both with the predominant Hispanic preaching approach and with the *caudillo*<sup>18</sup> style of leadership within the church. Neither of these fit the Quechua communal approach, in which teaching is more important than preaching, and decisions (even about meaning) are taken through consultation.<sup>19</sup> Hymns as an oral method of teaching preserving Quechua evangelical identity could thus be considered a threat to the status quo within the IEP.

The context in which Florencio Segura’s hymns were written includes more than the historical and geographical data about the area in which he lived. He was also responding to, and either affirming or endeavouring to change, the values and practices of the Quechua he related to. It is impossible to approximate Segura’s theology (see chapter 3) simply on the basis of his hymns without understanding this. For Segura, much of Quechua culture was inherently good. This responds to Pablo Richard’s contention that, ‘It is necessary to construct a new hermeneutical

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historical development and change that is ongoing in all contexts,’ with inculturation as a description of Christian mission in which ‘the Christian does not come empty-handed, but has a specific tradition to bring to the new situation.’ One is an awareness of what is already there, while the other is the acknowledgement of the insertion of something new that one is bringing to the context.

<sup>17</sup> Richard, ‘Indigenous Biblical Hermeneutics,’ 260 cites a popular Guatemalan saying: ‘When the Spaniards arrived, they told us to close our eyes and to pray. When we opened our eyes, we had their Bible and they had our land.’

<sup>18</sup> Meaning ‘chief, leader’ the connotations are of a single-handed direction by a person often put on a pedestal by his followers. The individualism of a caudillo is part of the Spanish legacy. See Don Ford, *Gifts and Leadership in the Peruvian Evangelical Church* EUSA Study Paper 14 (London: EUSA, 1976), 11.

<sup>19</sup> See Douglas Gifford and Pauline Hoggarth, *Carnival and Coca Leaf* (Edinburgh and London: Scottish Academic Press, 1976), 82-3 where it is clarified that ‘the law affecting the government of communities’ as ‘promulgated on February 17<sup>th</sup>, 1970 and published in ‘the *Estatuto de Comunidades Campesinas*, Lima 1973, especially pp. 13-28’ is encouraging a more traditional Quechua approach to government that permits communities ‘to make their own decisions.’ Also Marcelino Tapia, ‘Bases Hermenéuticas Bíblicas para una Teología Andina y la Misión,’ *Hacia una Teología Evangélica Indígena* (Lima: CEMAA, 1995), 99, where he maintains that the hermeneutical task belongs to the community: ‘The correct judgement, or at least the nearest to a historical reality is made by a community. In this understanding, it is also a community that can best discern and dialogue with the context of the Scriptures.’

instrument to interpret indigenous religious traditions. A primary element for that construction is the traditional and orthodox distinction between the Bible and the Word of God. The Bible is an instrument for the revelation of the Word of God. This Word of God is a reality much broader than the Bible: it is in the Bible, but also before and after it.’<sup>20</sup> So basic societal values and religious practices forming an integral part of Quechua lifestyle need to be outlined.

Segura was able, in a society whose values (part of what RC theologian Robert Schreiter calls the ‘ideational’ aspect of culture<sup>21</sup>) have remained unchanged for as long as records have been kept, to bridge the gap between the Bible and the Andean worldview. He did this by allowing that worldview to be the lens through which the Quechua understood the Bible.<sup>22</sup> That is why he considered his hymns to be more important than the translation of the Bible itself in the first instance. It allowed him to choose those stories and verses that would be most understood and amenable to the Quechua, a kind of portal into their own lives that would provide an interpretational bridge, and allow them to appropriate evangelical Christianity as their own. This chapter will explain important Quechua values and core concepts, in order to comprehend how Segura did this, as these are what inform Quechua perception of reality. At the same time, Segura challenged some deeply ingrained views that were not compatible with Christian belief as he understood it, by ignoring those topics and practices altogether. Uppermost is the *Pachamama*, and the associated veneration of the Virgin Mary. In Segura’s mind these were most closely associated with Roman Catholicism, towards which he had, for personal reasons, a deep antipathy, although he had many RC friends.

## 1.1 History

The Andes had seen at least two empires come and go before the Inca Empire extended itself more broadly than any had before. The Tiahuanaco is considered the

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<sup>20</sup> Richard, ‘Indigenous Biblical Hermeneutic,’ 263.

<sup>21</sup> Schreiter, *New Catholicity*, 29.

<sup>22</sup> Richard, ‘Indigenous Biblical Hermeneutics,’ 263 affirms the long tradition of what the Church Fathers called the ‘Spiritual Sense’ in that ‘the Bible does not exhaust the whole Word of God. The Bible certainly reveals the Word of God to us, but it also reveals where and how God has shown himself in all of humanity and where and how he reveals himself today in our history.’

oldest, beginning near the shores of Lake Titicaca, at about 4,000 metres above sea level, sometime in the first Christian centuries, and continuing until the 12<sup>th</sup> century. During the Inca Empire, the people of this area became known as the Collas, and spoke Aymara, a language they refused to give up in favour of Quechua, and still spoken in that area. The next major Andean empire was known as Wari, centred around a city by that name, at 3,000 metres above sea level and more, and covering the same core area that now speaks Ayacucho-Chanca Quechua. From around 600/700 A.D. to the 12<sup>th</sup> century, it extended itself as far as Cajamarca in the north and Cuzco in the south.<sup>23</sup>

But sometime in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, until the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup>, there were no Andean empires in the ascendancy. The Andes were populated by a great variety of ethnic groups – every valley and village or town had its own warrior leader, and there was constant war with neighbouring groups. When the Chancas<sup>24</sup> challenged the Incas and were beaten in 1438, the Incas were just one of many ethnic groupings.<sup>25</sup>

The Chancas were a loose confederation of related *ayllus*<sup>26</sup> spread out from the Rio Pampas to the north-west of the present department of Apurimac, and west towards Ayacucho and Huanta in the present department of Ayacucho.<sup>27</sup> They never formed

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<sup>23</sup> Gustavo Pons Muzzo, *Compendio de Historia del Perú* (Lima: Labrusa, 1983-4), 31-2.

<sup>24</sup> Also spelled Chanka.

<sup>25</sup> Rostworowski, *Tahuantinsuyu*, 51-2; R.T. Zuidema, 'Una Interpretación alterna de la Historia Incaica,' in *Ideología Messianica del Mundo Andino*, ed. Juan M. Ossio A. (Lima: Ignacio Prado Pastor, 1973), 17; and John Howland Rowe, *Inca Culture at the Time of the Spanish Conquest* Bulletin 143, Handbook of South American Indians, Vol. 2 (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1946), 203 quoting Sarmiento de Gamboa, 1906, ch.24.

<sup>26</sup> See Bernabé Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo* Tomo III, con notas y concordancias por Luis A. Pardo y Carlos A Galimberti Miranda, biografía del Padre Bernabé Cobo por Luis A. Pardo, Libro Undécimo (Cuzco, Peru: Publicaciones Pardo-Galimberti, 1956), 65-6. John E. Kicza, ed., *The Indian in Latin American History: Resistance, Resilience and Acculturation* (Wilmington, Delaware: Scholarly Resources, 1993), 229: 'A Peruvian term for a kinship group and the land it controls.' Frank Salomon and George L. Urioste, *The Huarochirí Manuscript* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991), 255: 'social group, often localized, self-defined as ancestor-focused kindred; scope of term varies.' José Carlos Mariátegui, *Seven Interpretive Essays on Peruvian Reality* (Austin and London: University of Texas Press, 1971), 289: 'A group of related Quechua families; a "community".'

<sup>27</sup> See maps in Appendix II. Enrique González Carré, *Los Señoríos Chankas* (Lima: Instituto Andino de Estudios Arqueológicos, 1992), 35-9 summarises study of the Chancas.

themselves into a cohesive unit, preferring to function as attackers and pillagers.<sup>28</sup> They were arguably the most aggressive, and certainly the last, tribe that the Incas conquered, and made the Andahuaylas valley in Apurimac their hub. Had the Incas not overcome them, it is likely that there would have been a Chanca Empire instead of an Inca Empire.<sup>29</sup> It is their descendants who first sang Segura's hymns.

Inca Yupanqui (1471-1493), the son of Inca Viracocha (1438-1471),<sup>30</sup> became Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui when he successfully beat back the Chancas.<sup>31</sup> Twice an army of Chancas attacked Cuzco. The successful squashing of Chanca efforts to take over the seat of empire gave Pachacuti the needed legitimisation to usurp his elder brother Inca Urco, who was the direct heir to the Inca dynasty.<sup>32</sup> This was viewed as so significant that it constituted the basis of the Inca measure of time. The Inca division of time was such that each 500 years was denoted as a *Pachacuti*. The supposed 1000 years of the Inca empire therefore comprised two *Pachacuti*, the first being the conquest of Cuzco by Manco Capac, the first Inca.<sup>33</sup> This accounting of time will be explained more fully under the conceptual analysis of time and space.

For the people of Andahuaylas today, the period of the Chanca confederation is the high point of their history, particularly the *sinchi* ('great warrior, political and military chief') called *Anku Aylo*. They still see themselves as the true descendants of the Chancas.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Rostworowski, *Tahuantinsuyu*, 46.

<sup>29</sup> Rostworowski, *Tahuantinsuyu*, 51-2.

<sup>30</sup> I am following the dates for Inca rule calculated by Zuidema, 'Una Interpretación,' 17.

<sup>31</sup> See account in R.T. Zuidema, 'Mito e historia en el antiguo Perú,' *Allpanchis* (Cusco) Vol. X (1977), 36-40.

<sup>32</sup> Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, *Historia de los Incas* Sección X, Historia y Arqueología, Biblioteca Emecé de Obras Universales (Buenos Aires: Emecé, 1942), 165-74. Rostworowski, *Tahuantinsuyu*, 54 compares all the accounts of the various chroniclers of these events, as part of her argument for the supreme importance of the victory over the Chancas as the definitive event in the beginning of Inca ascendancy in the region.

<sup>33</sup> Zuidema, 'Una Interpretación,' 15.

<sup>34</sup> Rómulo Tello Valdivia and others, *Sondor Raymi: La Epopeya Chanka* (Andahuaylas, Peru, n.d), 9.

## 1.2 Geography

The Pachachaca River, separating the province of Andahuaylas from the rest of the department of Apurimac, was the traditional border between the original Quechua people, whose 'territory then extended from Cotapampas to the border of Vilcas'<sup>35</sup> (in Cuzco) and the Chanca who lived to the west. Because the Chanca were a fierce people, who had warred against the Quechua since before the time of the Incas, the Quechua were not displeased to become subjects of the Incas, thereby benefiting from their protection.<sup>36</sup> These people were the original 'Quechuas' in that *Runa simi*<sup>37</sup> (now known as Quechua) was the language spoken in that area appropriated by the Incas. The Quechua provided a buffer for the Incas until they were taken over by the Chanca just before the Chancas attacked Cuzco and were repelled by the Inca's two sons Roca and Yupanqui. The story of the stones that arose and fought as warriors alongside the Incas against the Chancas<sup>38</sup> is indicative of the close affiliation with the land felt by Andean peoples.

The departments of Apurimac and Ayacucho have among the roughest Andean terrain in all of Peru, especially drawing a straight line across the Apurimac River from Andahuaylas to Machu Picchu, the last stronghold of the Incas, in the east.<sup>39</sup> The difficult terrain meant that its inhabitants were relatively isolated from the rest of the southern provinces. When Tupac Amaru II (José Gabriel Condorcanqui) unleashed his rebellion and marched on Cuzco in 1780-1, the men he gathered round

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<sup>35</sup> Rowe, *Inca Culture*, 204.

<sup>36</sup> See Pedro de Cieza de León, *La Crónica del Perú* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1941), 268-9 and *El Señorío de los Incas* Colección Crónicas de América 5 (Madrid: Información y Revistas, 1985), 122-3 and 138-9; Stewart McIntosh, *Términos Religiosos Quechuas de los Departamentos de Apurímac y San Martín Perú* (Quechua religious terms from the departments of Apurímac and San Martín, Perú) Disertación presentada para optar al título de Doctor en Filosofía por la Universidad de San Andrés, Escocia (Ph.D. diss., University of St Andrews, Scotland) (Lima: PUSEL, 1976), 4; and Rostworowski, *Tahuantinsuyu*, 46.

<sup>37</sup> Abdón Yaranga Valderrama, *Diccionario Quechua-Español Runa Simi – Español* (Lima: Biblioteca Nacional del Perú and Paris: Université de Paris VIII-Vincennes à Saint-Denis, 2003), 291. A literal translation is 'the language of humankind' – 'the Quechua language.'

<sup>38</sup> Cobo, *Nuevo Mundo*, Tomo III, Libro Duodécimo, 174-6. See also Rostworowski, *Tahuantinsuyu*, 131.

<sup>39</sup> See map in Appendix 2. Hiram Bingham, *Lost City of the Incas* (London: Phoenix House, 1951), 137-43 gives an account of 'The Discovery' of Machu Picchu in 1911 in an expedition led by Hiram Bingham. On a prior journey, Bingham had described the Andes surrounding the Apurimac River: 'We were about to discover what it means to go exploring in the wild region where the Incas were able to hide from the conquistadors in 1536.'



him came from the area to the south of the department of Cuzco and from Arequipa, rather than from more remote Apurimac and Ayacucho.<sup>40</sup>

### 1.3 Quechua Identity

Inca is not synonymous with ‘indigenous from southern Peru.’ The one is static, referring to a period of history in Latin America when a particular people group gathered an empire around them. The other is a history in movement, which can be followed from Inca times to the present, but which is difficult to document consistently because of lack of sources.<sup>41</sup> The Inca religion disappeared with its state, leaving only what had existed long before their empire was consolidated.<sup>42</sup> The genius of the Incas was that they appropriated and developed prior community values and used them to their own advantage. When their hegemony was destroyed, the way they had symbolically reinterpreted the indigenous spirituality of conquered communities went with it. But what had belonged to each independent community survived intact, asserting the corporate identities of each *ayllu*.

José Carlos Mariátegui, the eminent Peruvian Marxist, journalist and essay writer, said of the interrelationship between societal authority and religious authority in the Inca *Tawantinsuyu* that ‘State and church were absolutely inseparable; religion and politics recognized the same principles and the same authority. Religion functioned in terms of society.’<sup>43</sup>

Because of its identification with the social and political regime, the Inca religion could not outlive the Inca state. It had temporal rather than spiritual ends and cared more about the kingdom of earth than the kingdom of heaven. It was a social, not an individual, discipline. The blow that felled the pagan gods destroyed the theocracy. What survived of this religion in the Indian soul could not be a metaphysical concept, but agrarian rituals, incantations, and pantheism.<sup>44</sup>

While Mariátegui betrays his modernist Marxist roots in associating the kingdom of heaven with an individual discipline, it is nonetheless true that too close a religious

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<sup>40</sup> Carlos Daniel Valcárcel, *La Rebelión de Túpac Amaru* (Lima: PEISA, 1973), 62-76.

<sup>41</sup> García, *El Indio*, 76.

<sup>42</sup> Schreiter, *New Catholicity*, 30 – this is what has given Andean peoples their identity – ‘building group solidarity and incorporating new information as it comes into the culture.’

<sup>43</sup> Mariátegui, *Seven Essays*, 126.

<sup>44</sup> Mariátegui, *Seven Essays*, 126-7.

affiliation with a prevalent socio-political power spells doom for that religion when the power gets overthrown. Quechua life is communal – but in a microcosmic rather than macrocosmic sense. And the basic religiosity that underpins their communal living continues to find expression. This is essential to the ‘culture’ of Andean peoples.<sup>45</sup>

### 1.3.1 Language

The reasons why Quechua was chosen as the language of the Inca Empire can only be conjectured. One may be that the Quechua area, just west of Cuzco, was very near to the heart of the Inca Empire, and the people, though bordering the Chancas, the Incas’ nearest enemies, dreaded them, while welcoming the Incas. Welcoming allies was just what the Incas would have wanted to encourage, particularly from a people so close to them and whose mutual enemies were the Chancas.<sup>46</sup> Another reason may be the practical consideration of the use in administration of an already widely spoken language.<sup>47</sup> Yet another is the apparent ease with which the language could be learned.<sup>48</sup> All of these reasons fit the definition of language as ‘a verbal symbol of instrumental power, rather than the locus of things and classes. As such, no one linguistic maneuver is inherently superior to another, and all language use is conditioned by its special context.’<sup>49</sup> In other words, it is primarily functional.

Quechua has become the name of both a language and a people (the indigenous Andean population who speak the language). As the language chosen for the Inca Empire, it was more than a trade language - it was one of the methods used to hold the empire together, while separate people groupings retained their own languages.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> Sanneh, *Translating the Message*, 202: ‘Essentially culture is a human enterprise, and whether we are dealing with so-called high culture in architecture, the arts, literature, music, painting, poetry, and technology or with class, clothing, food, gender, language, and nationality or race, it is the human factor that all these have in common.’

<sup>46</sup> Gerardo Quintana, *Los Chankas* (Lima, Peru, 1976), 39-40 and 48-9 and Cieza de León, *El Señorío*, 122-3.

<sup>47</sup> Mitchell, ‘Quechua Language,’ 54-5.

<sup>48</sup> Cieza de León, *El Señorío*, 92.

<sup>49</sup> Sanneh, *Translating the Message*, 197.

<sup>50</sup> Cieza de León, *La Crónica*, 127-8 and *El Señorío*, 92. Cieza de León claims that there were so many different languages that we would not believe him if he told us how many. Cobo, *Nuevo Mundo*, Tomo III, Libro Undécimo, 64-9 and *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, Tomo IV con notas y concordancias por Luis A. Pardo y Carlos A Galimberti Miranda, biografía del Padre Bernabé Cobo por Luis A.

The Incas themselves also had their own distinctive language.<sup>51</sup> Language, via sacred hymns as well as general usage, became a tool to enable the Inca State and religion to cohere.

The conquest of Peru by the Spanish that began in 1525 did not mean the end of the use of Quechua language as a means of unifying the colonised area – in fact, it spread as the Spanish used it as a common form of communication, particularly in mission.<sup>52</sup> The Quechua language was entirely oral until the Spanish analysed its grammar and phonology in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Quechua was so important to the Spanish in their initial efforts to evangelize as part of their conquest, that the first book to be printed in Peru was a Quechua catechism.<sup>53</sup> Grammars in the language were also produced in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, and Viceroy Toledo (1569-81) made it a prerequisite for graduating from the University of San Marcos in Lima.<sup>54</sup> Finally, Roman Catholic missionaries realised that the Quechua people would never be converted without recourse to their artistic expression in music, and hymns in Quechua were written.<sup>55</sup>

Whether the hymns were written by Spanish Catholic clergy or by Quechua converts is unclear. Jesus Lara maintains that to ascribe them to the clergy would be ‘to accept a Catholic style miracle,’ and claims that the hymns are so like pre-Columbian sacred poetry that they must have been used by Quechua converts to contextualize Catholic doctrine from the very beginning. Arguedas reserves judgement on the authors/composers of the hymns but agrees that the content harks back to pre-Columbian belief – its aim being principally functional, that is, to teach Catholic

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Pardo, Libro Decimocuarto (Cuzco, Perú: Publicaciones Pardo-Galimberti, 1956), 178 concurs. See also Rostworowski, *Tahuantinsuyu*, 288.

<sup>51</sup> Mitchell, ‘Quechua Language,’ 92 cites chroniclers Martín de Murúa and Garcilaso de la Vega, quoting from Garcilaso de la Vega’s *Comentarios Reales* Vol.2, 88 that the Incas had ‘another language which they spoke amongst themselves.’

<sup>52</sup> See Mitchell, ‘Quechua Language,’ 97-135. Mitchell says that, ‘It was the decision by the church to adopt the *lengua general* as the language of evangelisation that saved it from further fragmentation and extended its area of influence.’ (97) Gifford and Hoggarth, *Carnival*, xi.

<sup>53</sup> José María Arguedas, Cesar Miró and Sebastián Salazar Bondy, *Ollantay y Cantos y Narraciones Quechuas* Biblioteca Peruana 54 (Lima: Ediciones PEISA, 1974), 69. The National Library in Lima, Peru has a collection of catechisms in Quechua - the first one dated 1584, although the 1854 is a reprint of one published in 1583.

<sup>54</sup> John A. Crow, *The Epic of Latin America* (New York: Doubleday, 1971), 287.

doctrine, so it would be natural for Segura to do the same for evangelical doctrine.<sup>56</sup> If the content is like that of Inca sacred poetry, and that was an expression of religious legitimisation of the Inca *Tawantinsuyu*, then it follows that if one imperial entity dies, so will the other (albeit in its Spanish colonial guise). The hymns, as part of that entity, will die with it. As Arguedas puts it, ‘Today these hymns are sung by less and less of the faithful, and with progressively less faith, despite the fact that the indigenous people are still the ones who best celebrate Catholic religious feasts. The period of Quechua Catholic religious poetry is finished and closed some time ago.’<sup>57</sup> The language lives on, and serves to unite people, whether in resistance to further efforts to colonise, or as an expression of corporate identity.

- **Quechua Language and the Bible**

Evangelical identity hinges around the centrality of the Bible as the authoritative word of God,<sup>58</sup> whereas for Roman Catholicism the Bible and tradition are equally important, and the Pope is God’s authoritative representative on earth. This is reinforced in Chapter II of The Documents of Vatican II, which finishes:

It is clear, therefore, that sacred tradition, sacred Scripture, and the teaching authority of the Church, in accord with God’s most wise design, are so linked and joined together that one cannot stand without the others, and that all together and each in its own way under the action of the one Holy Spirit contribute effectively to the salvation of souls.<sup>59</sup>

Given the primary importance given by evangelical mission to the Bible in its evangelisation, it is not surprising that parts of the Bible, and then its entirety in some dialects, have been interpreted in Quechua, firstly through a number of translations by both Western Quechua speakers and by indigenous Quechuas, and secondly via hymns, since it first became available in the form of the Gospel of John in the Cuzco

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<sup>55</sup> Arguedas, *Ollantay*, 69.

<sup>56</sup> José María Arguedas, ‘Los Himnos Quechuas Católicos Cuzqueños,’ *Folklore Americano* (Lima, Perú) Año III, No.3 (November 1955): 131.

<sup>57</sup> Arguedas, *Ollantay*, 72.

<sup>58</sup> The fact that various evangelical denominations have different interpretational approaches to the same Bible and could therefore be argued to have varying traditions themselves does not take away from the practical importance placed on the Bible, providing the rationale for Bible translation.

<sup>59</sup> Walter M. Abbott and Joseph Gallagher, eds., *The Documents of Vatican II* (The America Press/Geoffrey Chapman, 1966), 118. The complete chapter, Articles 7-10, 114-118, ‘The Transmission of Divine Revelation’ is of interest here.

dialect, translated by J.H. Gybbon-Spilsbury of the South American Missionary Society in 1880.<sup>60</sup>

By 1972 there were parts of the Bible in eight different dialects of Quechua. Of those, the Ayacucho (or Chanca or Andahuaylas) dialect had by far the greatest number of speakers, numbering about a million, the next common being highland Quechua from Ecuador, with about 500,000. Cuzco (classical) Quechua was only spoken by about 60,000.<sup>61</sup>

Of Bible translations and hymns as two modes of interpretation, the oral expression in hymns is more significant for the Apurimac area, since Quechua culture is still primarily oral and the main corpus of hymns written in the Ayacucho dialect by Florencio Segura was published before any section of the Bible, in 1946.<sup>62</sup> The Gospel of John was the first to be published, in 1954, the New Testament in 1958 and the Bible as a whole in 1987.<sup>63</sup> The Bible can be described as ‘canon’ in two ways: ‘passive,’ as in ‘books accepted by the Church as inspired’ and ‘active.’ The active view of canon goes back to the original meaning of canon as ‘measurement.’ ‘A meter, a liter, a kilo are all measurements or established canons used to measure or weigh things. In a similar manner the Bible is a canon, which is to say, a ‘measurement’ which ‘measures’ the Word of God. The Bible is the established criterion to discern God’s Word in history, in humanity and in the cosmos.’ Segura’s hymns express his understanding of what he read in the Spanish Bible, and his

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<sup>60</sup> Eugene Nida, ed., *The Book of a Thousand Tongues* (London: United Bible Societies, 1972), 362.

<sup>61</sup> Nida, *A Thousand Tongues*, 361-3. Pablo Richard, ‘1492: The Violence of God and the Future of Christianity,’ in *Concilium 6: 1492-1992 The Voice of the Victims*, ed. Leonardo Boff and Virgin Elizondo (London: SCM, 1990), 59-60 gives a more general idea of indigenous populations at the time of the conquest. ‘Modern studies calculate the indigenous population south of the Rio Grande (modern Latin America and the Caribbean) in 1492 at 100 million people. It is thus terrifying that the estimate of the indigenous population in 1570 is no more than 10-12 million.’ On 64 Richard cites current estimations of the indigenous population – ‘Today in Latin America and the Caribbean there are about fifty million indigenous people.’ Baquerizo, ‘El quechua,’ 67-9 gives figures for the number of Quechua speakers in Peru taken from a number of sources. ‘In 1940 the population of monolingual and bilingual Quechua speakers came to 2,444,123 and in 1972 to 3,026,066.’ In Apurímac, this category ‘made up 94.93% of the population of Apurímac.’

<sup>62</sup> Richard, *Indigenous Biblical Hermeneutics*, 265.

<sup>63</sup> Nida, *A Thousand Tongues*, 361 and see *Chuya Qellqa*, Biblia Quechua Ayacucho/Chanca (Lima: Sociedad Bíblica Peruana, 1987) The list of complete Bible translations in Lamin Sanneh, *Translating the Message: The Missionary Impact on Culture* American Society of Missiology Series, No.13 (New

attempt to ‘surrender to the terms of the receptor culture,’<sup>64</sup> before he and Kenneth Case ever finished the translation of the Ayacucho-Chanca Quechua New Testament in 1958.

Segura’s commitment to oral expression set Quechua evangelicals outside the struggles between two colonial powers – the predominant Spanish and the British economic power that began at the time of the republic and later coincided with the evangelicalism of the first RBMU and EUSA missionaries. It was an advantage for Segura that oral expression and therefore hymns were not valued by most missionaries nearly as much as Bible translation, because in that way hymns were able to retain more of their autochthonous nature. The African theologian Laurenti Magesa defines inculturation as, ‘An integration of the gospel and culture in Christian life that will arrest the dualism and constant oscillation from one set of values to another contradictory one [as]...what the contact between faith and culture entails. It begins to happen when the gospel discovers itself in a culture, accepting the elements that reveal the face of God already present, and rejecting those that do not.’ This is what Segura was able to do with his hymnody.

- **Oral Tradition**

The *quipus*, like any alphabetical<sup>65</sup> or pictorial record (hieroglyphics), needed to be interpreted. This was done by the *quipucamayoc*, who were specially trained ‘historians and accountants.’<sup>66</sup> The spacing and size of the knots on the strings hanging from the main string, and perhaps even the type of knot used communicated a particular message. Some *quipus* were certainly historical accounts – witness the record of a report being given to the governor Vaca de Castro by Peruvian

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York: Orbis Books, 1989; reprint 1990), 246-9 (page citations are to the reprint edition) includes no complete Bible in either Quechua or Aymara – it is an incomplete list in this regard at least.

<sup>64</sup> Sanneh, *Translating the Message*, 198-9 discusses the primacy in any translation of ‘The Factor of Reciprocity,’ insisting that, ‘It is hard to exaggerate the importance of “reciprocity” in determining what is or what is not a successful translation.’ He cites an example from Eugene A. Nida, *God’s Word in Man’s Language* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1952), 112-14, where an Aymara translation of the Gospels and Acts was very wooden, then native experts were allowed to do the job...and ‘because of the successful translation, “it is as though Jesus Christ were living in our villages”.’

<sup>65</sup> De Arona, *Peruanismos*, 339 quotes García, *Origin of the Indians of the New World* who says that the *quipus* worked ‘just like any alphabet.’

<sup>66</sup> Inca Garcilaso de la Vega in Arona, *Peruanismos*, 339.

*quipucamayoc* which was based on the interpretation of a *quipus*.<sup>67</sup> There is as yet no consensus as to how the system worked.<sup>68</sup>

Any oral system has to be understood in the context of the society it functions in. So the *quipus* might account for land and other possessions in an exact manner, but require a more nuanced interpretation when it comes to history, since there are always cultural norms to follow and Andean time and space have different norms from the European. It follows that any of the chroniclers' accounts of Chanca history (for instance) need to be corroborated, where possible, by archaeological data.

The advantage of music as oral tradition is that it blends notes and rhythm with word in such a way that mistakes are less likely to occur – any discrepancies are inserted, whether accidentally or wilfully, by the composer at the time. It also carries an affective weight that is less significant in most other methods of telling a story, lending itself to the maintenance of great individual or corporate feeling, such as the anger aroused by the elegy to *Atahualpa*:

*Umallantas wittunkuña*  
*Millay auka;*  
*Yawar mayus puriskanña*  
*ppalka ppalka.*

*Su amada cabeza ya la envuelve*  
*El horrendo enemigo;*  
*Y un río de sangre camina, se extiende*  
*En dos corrientes.*<sup>69</sup>

His beloved head is being wrapped  
By the horrendous enemy;  
And a river of blood walks, extends itself  
In two streams.

### 1.3.2 Values

To understand the values that govern Quechua lives, a distinction needs to be made between fundamental Andean values and worship and the religious overlay associated with any conquering people, such as the Incas and the Spanish. Although

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<sup>67</sup> Cieza de León, *El Señorío*, 54-5, 137.

<sup>68</sup> William Burns Glynn, *Decodificación de Quipus* (Lima, Peru: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano, 2002) provides bibliography on efforts to decode the *quipus* 1946-86. Ayacucho-Chanca Quechua appears on 157. A more recent publication is Frank Salomon, *The Cord Keepers* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2004).

the Incas were an Andean people themselves, and therefore held the same core values as other groups like the Collas to the east and the Canchis to the south, for example, they still had to ideologically reorganise their empire in such a way as to legitimise their rule. The same would have been the case if there had been a Chanca Empire instead of an Inca Empire – and given the constant battles between people groups in the Andes, one group was destined to be in the ascendancy. The advantage Andean people like the Incas had was that they understood the framework they were re-organising, and were able to formulate the reorganisation according to its own inner logic. Any European colonial power would come with an entirely alien perspective – at least where core values are concerned.

Gabriel Escobar, in his study of social and cultural organization in the south of Peru for the Interamerican Indigenist Institute, gives a definition of values that is particularly useful in the Andean context:

...the ideas and beliefs of individuals acquired in social life and that characterise the ways, means and ends of desirable and undesirable action. These ideas and beliefs can be explicit and they are always organised according to systems of individual conduct or in cultural systems that govern the social action of groups.<sup>70</sup>

It is essential to make a distinction between core values still persevering in Andean society in general and the religious overlay that any conquering people would have felt necessary.

- **Equilibrium**

Everything Andean people do is intended to have its cause and effect for the maintenance of the equilibrium that is valued above all other values. This equilibrium is what orders their world.<sup>71</sup> As an overarching principle it was respected by the Incas in the ordering of their empire and facilitated their rule of many different people groupings that also held the same value. Just as a vendor in a market must put the same amount of weight on the opposite tray of a scale to balance the two sides

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<sup>69</sup> One verse out of 24, translated into Spanish by Arguedas, in *Los Himnos Quechuas*, 154; Arguedas, Miró and Salazar Bondy, *Ollantay*, 83-6 and *Ollantay*, 1995, 71-6; and in Jesús Lara, *La Poesía Quechua* Colección Tierra Firme 30 (Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1947), 173-6.

<sup>70</sup> Escobar, *Organización Social y Cultural*, 81.

<sup>71</sup> See Juan M. Ossio A., ed., *Ideología Messiánica del Mundo Andino* (Lima: Ignacio Prado Pastor, 1973), xxii.



out and therefore clarify how much she is selling to you, every aspect of Andean life is symbolically ‘weighed on a scale’ and balanced with opposites, in order to achieve an equilibrium. This is a ‘both-and’ approach to thinking. There is consequently no dichotomy between an integrated concept of culture, in which contextual theologies develop within a presumably bounded and distinctive environment, and a globalized concept which exhibits ‘universalizing tendencies, be they modernizing, Westernizing, or colonizing in nature....In “both-and” ways of thinking, knowledge is arrived at...by a careful ordering and balancing of things until nothing is left out. Wisdom is valued above analysis. Harmony is sought, rather than differentiation.’<sup>72</sup>

Equilibrium is expressed in a pragmatic and practical way. Andeans believe that it needs to be maintained in relationship to the earth where they are placed, the crops it produces, and the community aspects of living that unite them in production which would otherwise be extremely hard because of the difficult Andean terrain. For crops to grow well, for example, there must be both sun and rain on the fertile earth. Ritual that includes music facilitates any communal activity. *Jaillis*<sup>73</sup> ‘songs of triumph’<sup>74</sup> or ‘sacred hymns’<sup>75</sup> ‘were sung during the tilling of the fields and breaking of the soil’ to encourage the much needed rain to come –

<i>Killa Quya Mama,</i>	Queen and Mother Moon,
<i>Yakuq sallayki,</i>	Give us your water as a cloudburst,
<i>Unuq sallayki,</i>	your flood of rain in streams,
<i>Aya uya waqaylli,</i>	Cry, ah!
<i>Aya uya puypulli.</i>	Let flow, ah! <sup>76</sup>

The moon is the feminine principle, while the sun is the masculine, exercising ‘complementary opposition’ to each other.<sup>77</sup> Every aspect of Andean life is concrete, and has some ethical value attached to it to strengthen community relationships.

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<sup>72</sup> Schreiter, *New Catholicity*, 49-50. He quotes Margaret S. Archer on what she calls “the myth of cultural integration,” which is what the plurality of contextual theologies is in danger of relying on.

<sup>73</sup> Also spelled *haylli*.

<sup>74</sup> De Arona, *Peruanismos*, 229-30.

<sup>75</sup> Lara, *La Poesía Quechua*, 70-6.

<sup>76</sup> Baumann, *Cosmología y Música*, 28.

<sup>77</sup> Mitchell, ‘Quechua Language,’ 46. See also Irene Silverblatt, *Moon, Sun, and Witches* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 41-4, which includes an explanation of this gender parallelism in the Inca Empire and Pachacuti Yamqui’s diagram of Inca cosmology (42).

- **Community Ayllu**

Interpreters of the Andean worldview such as J. Uriel García, writing before the great rural to urban migratory movements of the 20<sup>th</sup> century<sup>78</sup> maintained that the land forms the indigenous perception of life. Given more recent studies of what changes and what is retained in Andean culture when people move to the city from the mountains, or when socio-political and economic changes such as land reforms affect the way people relate to their environment, it is more correct to say that Andean core values facilitate a flexible approach to changes of place.<sup>79</sup> The important factor is that equilibrium is maintained. That is done in the context of the *ayllu* community.<sup>80</sup>

The strong links within Andean extended family networks that traditionally formed the *ayllu* have also adjusted to change, providing the structure within which other changes can safely take place.<sup>81</sup> Residents of the Mariano Melgar *pueblo joven* ‘shantytown’ in Lima – all of them from the Conima district near Puno – no longer practise the rites they practised in the mountains, because they are no longer deemed as necessary.

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<sup>78</sup> Norma Hinojosa, ‘Violencia y Desplazamiento en los Andes del Perú,’ in *Hacia una Teología Evangélica Indígena*, ed. Ediciones Puma del Centro de Investigaciones y Publicaciones (Lima, Peru: CEMAA, 1995), 37 distinguishes two types of migration – the traditional (motivated primarily by reasons such as ‘studies’ and ‘work’) that began and has continued since around 1940, and that caused during the period of activity of the Shining Path terrorist movement, beginning in 1980.

<sup>79</sup> See Manuel Marzal, *Los Caminos Religiosos de los Inmigrantes en la Gran Lima* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1988), pp.17-20; Escobar, *Organización Social y Cultural*, 48-50; and Thomas Turino, ‘From Essentialism to the Essential: Pragmatics and Meaning of Puneño *sikuri* Performance in Lima,’ in *Cosmología y Música en los Andes*, ed. Max Peter Baumann (Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert and Madrid: Iberoamericana, 1996), 469-82. Jurgen Golte, ‘Cultura y naturaleza andinas,’ *Allpanchis* (Cusco) Vol.XV, No.17-18 (1981): 127 describes some new applications of old *ayllu* values in an urban setting.

<sup>80</sup> Domingo Llanque Chana, ‘Valores culturales de los Aymaras,’ *Allpanchis Phuturinga* (Cuzco) Vol.I (1969): 126.

<sup>81</sup> Bernard Mishkin, ‘The Contemporary Quechua,’ Bulletin 143, *Handbook of South American Indians*, Vol. 2 (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1946): 441-3 was already of the opinion that the Quechua no longer necessarily think in family terms for the *ayllu*. 441: ‘Among the modern *Quechua*, the *ayllu*, as described by Saavedra, with the classic sib characteristics of descent from a common ancestor, unilaterality, exogamy, and totemism, is nowhere to be found....The community in most of Perú is composed of at least several extended family groups, each of which affirms its separate origin despite the fact that they have lived in close association for long periods.’ Fernando Quicaña, ‘El Desafío de Hacer Teología en el Contexto Andino,’ in *Hacia una Teología Evangélica Indígena*, ed. Ediciones Puma del Centro de Investigaciones y Publicaciones (Lima, Peru: CEMAA, 1995), 61, on the other hand, insists that the ‘*Ayllu* cannot exist without the land,’ although he does give it the broader definition of ‘a human grouping that lives in a determined territory; participates of common experiences and traditions, has its own customs and maintains the conscience of unity and solidarity with its *ayllu*.’

In Conima, the people depend on nature [*la naturaleza*] for their livelihoods, for their food. Here, we work for salaries, for money, therefore we no longer need these beliefs. Since they [people in Conima] depend on nature, if one year there is no rain, they carry water up the mountain, and it always rains; or if there is a flood, they do a ceremony to stop the rain. The *t'inka* and the *ch'alla* are like prayers. But we work for salaries and no longer need these things.<sup>82</sup>

Place rather than land regulates the customs of the people, as they pragmatically function in relationship with it. But the tight community structures and functions remain the same. This happens, as above, in the context of secular clubs like the *Centro Social Conima*, and also in the context of IEP congregations made up of people from Andean backgrounds, whether in the mountains or urban shantytowns.

Luis Minaya, an IEP pastor, describes IEP congregations as communities comparable to Quechua *ayllu*. So congregations are not motivated by a numerical concept of church growth.

Our congregations are small because we respect the traditional idea of *ayllu*, the Andean community. The *ayllu* is like a family, though it may have thirty to forty members. Our churches aren't based on the concept of numbers, where the individual gets lost. In our congregations all the people know each other. They share many things in common.<sup>83</sup>

The pastor is part of that community, not above it in status, and sharing in all the hardships experienced by the congregation.<sup>84</sup>

Laws within the *ayllu*, such as *Ama suwa* 'Do not rob', *Ama llulla* 'Do not lie' and *Ama qella* 'Do not be lazy' – sometimes called the 'trilogue'<sup>85</sup> – are meant to encourage the maintenance of trusting relationships within a smaller group of people. They are also easier to self-perpetuate, since it is difficult to hide misdemeanours in a

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<sup>82</sup> Turino, 'Sikuri Performance,' 477.

<sup>83</sup> Luis Minaya, 'Is Peru Turning Protestant?' in *The Peru Reader*, ed. Orin Starn, Carlos Iván Degregori and Robin Kirk (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1995), 474.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, 475-6.

<sup>85</sup> Fernando Quicaña, 'El Evangelio y la Cultura Andina,' in *Para todos los Pueblos Clade III: Documentos* (Lima: PROMIES and FTL, 1992), 60 and 'El Desafío,' 60 and 68-9. Quicaña's description of these categories (69) is positive, and could be more closely described by 'trust,' 'truth' and 'industry.' Mario Mejía Huamán, *La Cosmovisión Andina y las Categorías Quechuas como Fundamentos para una Filosofía Peruana y de América Andina* (Lima: Universidad Ricardo Palma, 1999), 59 includes two more Andean norms: *Ama sipiq* 'Do not kill' and *Ama wach'oq* 'Do not commit adultery,' which are sometimes added. He also comments that among the chroniclers Guamán Poma de Ayala is the only one that mentions these norms. This may mean that they developed within the RC context of the conquest, thus supporting the flexible nature of Andean values.

community where the code of reciprocal obligations means that people cannot hide from one another without being ostracised.<sup>86</sup> The purpose of the trilogy is to ensure the survival of the community as a whole, not to function as a control by dominant political forces.

- **Reciprocity**

Anything that is done as a joint effort by the community is called *ayni* ‘co-operative’<sup>87</sup> labour. So, for instance, when a couple gets married, the arch they pass under as they near their house is *ayni*. The people who make the arch and who loan money or ‘bring flowers, musical instruments, *chicha* [fermented drink made of corn] and liquor’ are also called *aynis*.<sup>88</sup> To loan or borrow something or to ‘work with reciprocal obligations’ is known as *aynikuy* or *ayninakuy*.<sup>89</sup> *Minka* is a ‘voluntary gathering of Quechuas to work on a communal project’, a ‘reciprocal arrangement.’<sup>90</sup> *Ayni* and *minka* are often mentioned together.

Without the reciprocal there is no relationship and therefore no community. The equilibrium is destroyed, and things only have value to the extent that they can be exchanged reciprocally.<sup>91</sup> True equality, within the context of limited goods available

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<sup>86</sup> Where responsibility is neglected or denied, the community ostracises the individual, specifically not allowing the person to take part in the festivals that are essential to Quechua identity. This results in “*Waqcha*” [also *wakcha*], which Sperandeo, *Claves para Interpretar*, 307, says ‘indicates even today the poor and the orphan. This underlines the fact that, in relationship with nature and in the work on the chakra (“chakra”), as much for production as for commercialisation, the intervention of the other is necessary. One can survive as an individual only to the extent that one is connected to a group.’

<sup>87</sup> See Quicaña, ‘El Evangelio,’ 58 and ‘El Desafío,’ 60 and Hornberger, *Diccionario*, 18. Julian H. Steward, ed., *Handbook of South American Indians* Vol.2, The Andean Civilizations. Smithsonian Institution Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 143 (Washington: U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1944), 975 defines it more fully as ‘Loan of objects or labor against equivalent return.’ Stanley W. Rycroft, ed., *Indians of the High Andes* (New York: Committee of Cooperation in Latin America, 1946), 325 calls it a ‘system of mutual exchange of assistance among Quechua Indians of South Peru.’

<sup>88</sup> Gifford and Hoggarth, *Carnival*, 44, 97.

<sup>89</sup> Hornberger, *Diccionario*, 18 and Jesús Lara, *Enciclopedia Boliviana: Diccionario Qhëshwa – Castellano, Castellano – Qhëshwa* (La Paz: Los Amigos del Libro, 1971), 72.

<sup>90</sup> Mariátegui, *Seven Essays*, 290 and Hornberger, *Diccionario*, 134. Rycroft, *Indians*, 326 calls it ‘collective work among Indian families’ and Steward, *South American Indians*, 977 uses the verb form *mingay/mincay*, defining it as ‘Form of voluntary substitute labor; also the mutual rendering of services in the form of collective labor.’ Variations in spelling include *mink’a*, *minga* or *minca*.

<sup>91</sup> Sperandeo, *Claves para interpretar*, 54-5.

to be shared by everyone, can only be experienced reciprocally.<sup>92</sup> The word *hucha*, translated ‘sin’, really means the non-fulfilment of reciprocal obligations that destroys equilibrium in community. As such, we will see that it is significant in formulating Segura’s theology (chapter 3).

### 1.3.3 Core Concepts

It is the foundational aspects of Quechua conceptualisation of their world that will now be outlined. These are equivalent to Jens Loenhoff’s ‘ideational’ dimension of culture.<sup>93</sup> Because the Inca Empire was essentially Andean, there is considerable overlap with general Quechua concepts.

- **Time and Space**

In the Andes even time functions within a reciprocal arrangement, in that it is predominately social. It ‘marks the rhythm of the cycles of agricultural production of material goods: it is perceived in the circularity and alternation of the great rhythms of day and night, summer and winter,’<sup>94</sup> and these are experienced as interactions with the *ayllu* as an integrated community. The Andean notion of time, associated with the cyclical nature of the agricultural year, is a continuous present. Time is celebrated in the repetition of particular celebrations for different periods of the year.<sup>95</sup> For the Quechua, the structure of these celebrations, and the stories recounted in some of them, live again in a continuous present. It is as if they were actually taking place, and not simply being re-enacted. The *Inti Raymi*<sup>96</sup> festival, which still takes place in Cuzco every year, associates the ritual with the reality it invokes, in a

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<sup>92</sup> Ingrid Bettin, ‘La Idea del Bien Limitado en el Pensamiento Andino,’ in *Cosmología y Música en los Andes*, ed. Max Peter Baumann (Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert and Madrid: Iberoamericana, 1996), 117-21.

<sup>93</sup> Quoted in Schreier, *New Catholicity*, 29. See full quote in thesis introduction.

<sup>94</sup> Sperandeo, *Claves para interpretar*, 101.

<sup>95</sup> Bernabé Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo* Tomo IV, con notas y concordancias por Luis A. Pardo y Carlos A Galimberti Miranda, biografía del Padre Bernabé Cobo por Luis A. Pardo, Libro Decimotercio (Cuzco, Peru: Publicaciones Pardo-Galimberti, 1956), 115-44 gives an account of the feasts pertaining to the 12 months of the year.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, 115-25. Raymi is the name of the first month of the year. It was called Capac-Raymi by the Incas, and was celebrated during a whole month, being the principal feast for the whole year. ‘Inti’ means sun in Quechua. The festival has developed into an expression of worship of the sun, whereas it had been an expression of the integration of the worship of the creator god Viracocha with that of all the deities of the Incas and the huacas of the ayllus integrated into the empire. Mary Cruickshank, interview by author, 24 October 1997, Hove, Sussex, United Kingdom, tape recording, author.

total correspondence. It is one of the ‘rituals that bind [the] culture’s members together to provide them with a participatory way of embodying and enacting their histories and values’ – the ‘performance’ aspect of culture.<sup>97</sup>

Time is an essential factor of how any account of history is understood. The 16<sup>th</sup> century chroniclers had difficulty interpreting information where Andean informants mixed ‘real time’ with ‘mythical time’ associated with accounts of origins.<sup>98</sup> If the present is all that is real, and the past is constantly reinterpreted in the light of that present, then what other cultures view as past will be reinterpreted in accordance with the present – ‘it is remodelled constantly...and therefore is not seen as something independent [from the present]’.<sup>99</sup> Cultures that value history as a linear cause and effect process which needs to be understood as consecutive will judge this approach as lacking in integrity, because it seems to skew the ‘facts’ of history.

On the other hand, events in the past can be meaningfully re-appropriated in the continual present - for example, the name *Tupac Amaru*, appropriated by a Quechua leader in symbolic connection with past resistance movements, is laden with associated meaning.<sup>100</sup> That meaning is not dependent on time for its associations. Its re-appropriation is a response to unacceptable situations. The struggle is the same. The name ensures solidarity with one’s ancestors - part of the integrated view of society held by the Quechuas. A particular view of time, in this instance, encourages a positive identity that ensures survival in the midst of dominant forces.

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<sup>97</sup> Jan Loenhoff’s second dimension of culture in a semiotic scheme, used by Schreiter, *New Catholicity*, 29.

<sup>98</sup> Sperandeo, *Claves para interpretar*, 102.

<sup>99</sup> Ossio, *Ideología Mesiánica*, xxiii. Guido Gerardo Delran C., ‘El sentido de la historia,’ *Allpanchis* (Cusco), Vol.VI (abril 1974): 16: ‘For the Quechua, the past is ahead, in front of us, to be seen and known....The future – unknown- is behind us.’

<sup>100</sup> See Karen Spalding, *Huarochiri: An Andean Society Under Inca and Spanish Rule* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1984), 246-8: Resistance movements among the Quechua are particularly prone to be strengthened by this view of history. Spalding describes the Taki Onqoy movement which swept the Andes in the 1560s in response to the plunder by the Spanish. ‘The Taki Onqoy movement drew upon traditional roots, modified and adjusted to a new situation.....Nathan Wachtel has proposed that the development of the Taki Onqoy in the 1560’s fits the cyclical vision of history contained in Andean tradition. Four creations and destructions of the world and its people had, according to tradition, preceded the Inca Empire. The Inca Empire formed the fifth cycle, whose end had begun

For history to step outside of the present in the Quechua world, it needs to experience a destruction of the present state of affairs, and a recreation in another mode. This ‘crisis’ that results in a reversal of the present unacceptable status of the Andean world, is a *pachacuti* ‘cataclysm, catastrophe of worldwide proportions,’<sup>101</sup> and the reversal of history that it brings about re-establishes a lost equilibrium. It has already been observed that a *pachacuti* defined a period of 500 years.<sup>102</sup> The two meanings connect in that they describe both what happens in time and with space, organising them in an integrated whole. For the western European, the linear process of history itself, when entered into with commitment, can transform the world. Liberation theology fits this European view of history and has had to be reinterpreted when Quechuas have endeavoured to apply it to their life contexts.<sup>103</sup>

*Pacha*, one of the terms used consistently by Segura in his hymns, means world and earth as well as space-time and nature. It is divided into three interconnected spaces – *kay pacha* ‘this space,’ *hanaq pacha* ‘the space above’ and *ukhu pacha* ‘the space below.’<sup>104</sup> Pablo Richard would include *pacha* in his ‘first ‘book’ of God,’ God’s self-revelation through his created cosmos.<sup>105</sup>

- **Unity**

The Quechua have difficulty with any concept of the ‘beyond’ because of the nature of reality as they perceive it. All of life, both what others would call the ‘here and now’ and the ‘beyond’ is unified for the Quechua. The metaphysical exists enmeshed with the material. There are not two (or more) separate existences, divided by time. Everything exists somewhere in the *pacha* ‘cosmos’ that integrates

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with the defeat of the Inca wak’as by the Christians and their gods. Now the mita, or turn, of the Christians was ending and “the wak’as would create another new world and other people.”

<sup>101</sup> Lara, *Enciclopedia Boliviana*, 188.

<sup>102</sup> Page 27 this chapter.

<sup>103</sup> Tapia, ‘Bases Hermenéuticas,’ 93-100 employs a hermeneutical circle to do this. R.S. Sugirtharajah, ed., *The Bible and Postcolonialism*, 2 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 12 comments, in the context of a reflection on ‘vernacular hermeneutics,’ that, ‘While espousing and retaining grass-roots interests, the theologies of Gutierrez, Boff and Sobrino fall largely within the Western academic syntax, which makes them easy to incorporate. Kosuke Koyama’s observation on the Kairos document is an apt one here. He says that the content and the method are so thoroughly Western that as a result the document is better known to Germans than to Zulus.’

<sup>104</sup> Huamán, *Cosmovisión Andina*, 65.

both time and space. That is why the Quechua cannot conceive of creation *ex nihilo*. ‘...no person or thing is born or appears without pre-existing already in this world, and conversely, nothing and nobody is lost completely and for ever, even though they may have disappeared from our eyes’.<sup>106</sup> So living beings have been generated - they ‘originate’ *paqariy* from a particular place called a *paqarina*.<sup>107</sup>

The Quechua moral code arose out of an acute metaphysical awareness of the unity of life – the concept that anything one person does affects the equilibrium of relationships with everyone and everything else, whether seen or unseen. When Mariátegui said, ‘The Quechua religion was a moral code rather than a metaphysical concept’,<sup>108</sup> he was making what for the Quechua is a false distinction between the material relationships from which he understands the moral code to spring, and the abstract understanding of a metaphysical reality that is unseen. His analysis betrays his own Platonic bias, where the realms of the real and the spiritual (or ideal) are incompatible.<sup>109</sup>

- **Dualism and Verticality**

To maintain the equilibrium that is their primary value, the Quechua function in a dualistic system of complementary opposites.<sup>110</sup> This is nothing like Platonic dualism, nor is it ‘a metaphysical system which holds that good and evil are the product of separate and equally ultimate first causes.’<sup>111</sup> Equilibrium is fragile, and of necessity one of two elements is always in the ascendancy – this is the vertical. This is how the circularity – the constant movement – of Andean dualism is expressed. There is always an alternating between two polar opposites.<sup>112</sup> In the sphere of time, the alternation comes about when the equilibrium of polar opposites

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<sup>105</sup> Richard, ‘Indigenous Biblical Hermeneutics,’ 263-4. He goes on to quote the Church Fathers Augustine and Caisano in defense of this ‘spiritual sense’ present in humanity and in history.

<sup>106</sup> Bettin, ‘Bien Limitado,’ 120 and see Huamán, *Cosmovisión Andina*, 95-6.

<sup>107</sup> Sperandeo, *Claves para interpretar*, 57 and 104.

<sup>108</sup> Mariátegui, *Seven Essays*, 126.

<sup>109</sup> See Huamán, *Cosmovisión Andina*, 66-8 for an analysis of *pacha* as both nature (everything that is real) and essence, expressed in the word *kay* (91-8).

<sup>110</sup> See Rostworowski, *Tahuantinsuyu*, 25; Sperandeo, *Claves para interpretar*, 105; Mitchell, ‘Quechua Language,’ 73.

<sup>111</sup> E.A. Livingstone, ed., *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (Oxford, London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), 161.



has been adversely affected to such an extent that a crisis (*pachacuti*) takes place and dramatically reverses the course of history. The current order of things then experiences a 'symmetrical inversion' that 'Guamán Poma associates with the indigenous peoples recovering their *hanan* position ('above' with respect to the Spanish) lost at the Conquest', for example.<sup>113</sup>

The centralised Inca government exercised dualism in the administration of power, both with its personnel and the ordering of space. Each *curacazgo* 'chiefdom' was divided into *hurin* 'below' and *hanan* 'above' or *ichoq* 'left' and *allauca* 'right'. Although one of the parts was necessarily subordinate to the other, the subordinate could be either *hanan* or *hurin*. Often the divisions were more complex, but always in multiples of two, so that a *curaca* 'chief' would have a subordinate. Areas were also divided in that way. For example, the *Tawantinsuyu* 'the whole of the four regions' – the name the Incas gave their empire<sup>114</sup> - was divided into *Chinchasuyu*, *Antisuyu*, *Kollasuyu* and *Cuntisuyu*<sup>115</sup> 'Northern', 'Eastern', 'Southern' and 'Western' regions.

Dualism served the value of equilibrium by the symmetrical ordering of all space, including the Inca capital, Cuzco, which was divided in two ways – *hanan* and *hurin* being primary and *ichoq* and *allauca* secondary. This divided the city into four quarters that were then allocated to three *ayllus* each.<sup>116</sup> Agricultural space was also organised vertically. In the Andes, the relative altitude of an area made all the difference to the types of plants and animals that could survive there.<sup>117</sup> Altitude was so important that even the people were identified by names associated with the name of their vertical area.

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<sup>112</sup> Sperandeo, *Claves para interpretar*, 56-7.

<sup>113</sup> Ossio, *Ideología Mesiánica*, xxiii. Also see drawing by Guamán Poma de Ayala in Nathan Wachtel, *Sociedad e Ideología: Ensayos de Historia y Antropología Andinas* (Lima: IEP, 1973), 210.

<sup>114</sup> Rostworowski, *Tahuantinsuyu*, 189-94.

<sup>115</sup> J. Uriel Garcia, *El Nuevo Indio* (Cuzco, Peru: H.G. Rozas, 1937), 31.

<sup>116</sup> Mitchell, 'Quechua Language,' 46-7.

<sup>117</sup> Sperandeo, *Claves para interpretar*, 278-84.

‘This cosmos’ *kay pacha* is the fulcrum where the dialectic of dualism is expressed in its broadest scale. *Hanaq pacha* (heaven) and *ukhu pacha* (hell)<sup>118</sup> are situated ‘with the Sun’ and in ‘the interior of the earth’, respectively. Together with *kay pacha* ‘this world’, they make up the cosmos, or *pacha*. *Kay pacha* is the intersection, or pivot, of the other two. Here there is a dualism of *hanaq pacha* and *ukhu pacha*, that expresses itself in the *kay pacha*, but all is a balanced unity of overall *pacha*, that includes both time and space.<sup>119</sup>

Mariátegui compared the religion of the *Tawantinsuyu* to the Graeco-Roman world of divine pantheons, where the divine and the human intersected, and the abode of the dead existed in another place, but nevertheless during the same time frame as earthly existence.<sup>120</sup> This overlooks the fact that while the Graeco-Roman world was divided between the thinking of its philosophers and the general populace that worshipped a plethora of gods, the Quechua communities, including the Incas when they were pre-eminent, have a unified approach in their understanding of *pacha*.

Segura, while respecting other Andean dualisms and their importance in maintaining equilibrium, challenged Andean verticality that led to the assumption that someone/something must always be in the ascendancy and so his hymns leave out *ukhu pacha* completely.

All nature is made up of male/female pairing, *Pachamama* ‘mother cosmos’ and *Pachatata* ‘father cosmos’ being the prime symbols of that pairing. They cannot exist apart from each other. Even the human body is constituted of opposites, where ‘the right side...is masculine, the left side is female. The front side of the body facing the sun is masculine, the back side in shadow is female; this applies correspondingly to the head and feet.’<sup>121</sup>

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<sup>118</sup> Quicaña, ‘El Evangelio,’ 61-62 calls them ‘*Hanaq Pacha* (the glory)’ and ‘*Uku Pacha* or *Supay Wasi* (hell)’ – literal translation: ‘house of the devil.’

<sup>119</sup> Baumann, ‘Andean Music,’ 25.

<sup>120</sup> Mariátegui, *Seven Essays*, 126.

<sup>121</sup> Baumann, ‘Andean Music,’ 22.

In Inca accounts of origins, men and women were created simultaneously, as brothers and sisters. Their different genders were associated with two parallel descent groups - the man descending from the sun, and the woman from the moon.<sup>122</sup> Both originated from the creative action of the androgynous deity *Viracocha*. Their link was not direct, however. Between the creator and men and women were other deities (Sun, Moon, Venus-Evening, Venus-Morning, Lord Earth and Mother Sea). The Incas, claiming origin from the gods themselves, were more closely positioned to *Viracocha* in the hierarchy. This parallel hierarchy meant that the man or woman in the *ayllu* needed to call on the mediatory function of the Incas in relation to their deities. While men and women ranked in hierarchies of equal and opposing interdependent forces, relieving them of the power struggles possible if rank includes gender as its basis, it did not place them in a closer relationship with their creator, *Viracocha*. Rather, the ranking specifically legitimised the rule of Inca males over the men and Inca females over the women. ‘The *Coya* (wife of the Inca), as daughter of the Moon and representative of all womankind, enjoyed the same relation to her divine mother that the Inca had with his father the Sun. Like gendered mirrors, the Inca worshipped the Sun assisted by the male high priests of the empire, as the *Coya* prayed to the Moon, accompanied by her “sorceresses,” or select priestesses.’<sup>123</sup>

- **Land, place or essence of being? - Pachamama**

*Pachamama*<sup>124</sup> is the Quechua name for the deified earth, but as such she is not simply the producer of food.<sup>125</sup> ‘Mother Earth is a typical Andean deity, whose worship was perhaps the most important in popular religion, more than the Sun or other Inca gods; therefore her cult is found intact from Ecuador to Argentina, long after the majority of the gods of the Inca pantheon have been forgotten.’<sup>126</sup> Rojas, in

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<sup>122</sup> Silverblatt, *Moon, Sun, and Witches*, 40-7 explains the dynamics of social relationships derived from the parallel hierarchies diagrammed by Pachacuti Yamqui.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, 54.

<sup>124</sup> Also *Pacha Mama*.

<sup>125</sup> Editor, ‘La Pachamama,’ *Allpanchis Phuturinga* (Cuzco), Vol.III (1971): 17-22.

<sup>126</sup> Alfred Metraux, ‘Religion and Chamanismo,’ *Handbook of South American Indians*, Bulletin 143, Vol.5 (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1946): 564; quoted in Juvenal Casaverde Rojas, ‘El Mundo Sobrenatural en una Comunidad,’ *Allpanchis Phuturinga* (Cuzco), Vol.II (1970): 149. Rycroft, *Indians*, 54-55 comments that the ‘Pacha mama or Mother Earth...is not the deification of the physical earth, but rather a spiritualized concept of the cosmic, creative principal. This mystic and sentimental agrarianism is diametrically opposed to the legal concept of land which European culture

his study of the community of Kuyo Grande, draws a distinction between the *Pachamama* and the *Pacha Tierra*, saying that they seem to be twin sisters - the *Pacha Tierra* being the malevolent sister. The distinction may be forced, however, since earlier he states that, 'The *Pachamama* is one being, but is considered as a multiple deity, in that all the places under the earth and on the surface of the earth that have names, are inhabited by the earth that carries the name of that place.'<sup>127</sup>

The *Pachamama*'s association with fertility is such that she is held responsible for human procreation. She is the biological mother, who, when joined with a woman, produces a child. The man becomes the father only in the legal sense. So the birth of Jesus, for instance, would fit into the Quechua cultural way of viewing pregnancy. 'For the indigenous andean people, the birth of Jesus Christ, as Saint Luke puts it, fits the predominant cultural norms perfectly: here is Saint Joseph, as the adoptive father, Mary the loving Mother, and...the cave.'<sup>128</sup>

*Pachamama*'s major attribute is her all-pervasiveness. She engenders all things, making them possible by her very being, so that she does not create by a word of power; rather, it is in her nature to make life possible. She is the essence of life, present in everything.<sup>129</sup> Land, on the other hand, is a transferable commodity. It is a separate, objectified feature of life, rather than that from which all life emanates. But since each *ayllu* associated itself with the land from which its members originated via their *paqarina* 'legendary or mythical place of origin of an *ayllu*,'<sup>130</sup> the link between *Pachamama* and the land was very strong. '...under the Incas the land

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has imposed on Peru.' See Silverblatt, *Moon, Sun, and Witches*, 20-31 for a detailed account of this female principal. Huamán, *Cosmovisión Andina*, 66-7 maintains that *pachamama* is 'everything that is found in reality, what the Greeks called physis....*pachamama* is not just any space in nature, it is that space which has been transformed by the presence and the work of man.'

<sup>127</sup>Casaverde Rojas, 'El Mundo Sobrenatural,' 150.

<sup>128</sup>Editor, 'La Pachamama,' *Allpanchis Phuturinga* (Cuzco), Vol.III (1971): 17-19 – the cave here symbolises *Pachamama*'s womb.

<sup>129</sup>Ibid., 17-22; Gifford and Hogarth, *Carnival*, xiii, xv, 9, 85, 93; Rycroft, *Indians*, 55, 126-7, 135; Rowe, *Inca Culture*, 295. Silverblatt, *Moon, Sun, and Witches*, 21, contrasts the *Pachamama* with the gods: 'Resembling her human counterparts, Pachamama embodied procreative forces, while the gods represented political ones. It was agreed that their interaction - the dialectic between female and male forces - was essential for the reproduction of social existence.'

<sup>130</sup>Steward, *South American Indians*, 977. See Rostworowski, *Tahuantinsuyu*, 45 for details of the Chanca *paqarina* at the lake of *Choclococha* and 31-2 for the best known legend of the Inca *paqarina* at Lake Titicaca and another of the Ayar brothers who appeared from a cave called Pacaritambo.

became theirs by right, in modern legal cant, of eminent domain, the people being “permitted” to enjoy its fruits.’ Any such appropriation of land divided the people from their ‘being’, taking away the major source of their identity. Receiving land became the acceptance of a gift from a greater to a lesser person or a reward for services rendered.<sup>131</sup>

*Pachamama* functioned in conjunction with the rain to ensure the earth’s fertility. ‘The Milky Way was a heavenly river from which he [the thunder, or weather god] drew the water for rain.’<sup>132</sup> In this way, *Pachamama* also had her partner in the necessary male/female duality of Andean equilibrium. *Pachamama* is also often paired with the male *Apus* ‘mountain spirits.’

Segura avoided all reference to *Pachamama*, focussing instead on God as creator. His avoidance of this vital aspect of Quechua self-understanding and the lack of any equivalent concept is the weakest aspect of his hymnodic contextualization, since it strikes at the heart of Quechua equilibrium expressed in its dialectical dualism.

### 1.3.4 Inca Religion

Inca religious practices coincided with those of other Andean nations, to best order their empire in a coherent way. Andean peoples have two ways of perceiving deity. The primary association is with land and water, which are basic to survival.<sup>133</sup> Alongside this primary association, some *ayllus* exercised a programme of expansion that eventually concluded in successful military campaigns being ascribed to the might of a creator God. The best-known names for this God are *Viracocha* ‘the creator god and civiliser of the Andean world’ or ‘the beginning of all the beginnings, the foundation of all things’<sup>134</sup> and *Pachacamac* ‘creator of the

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<sup>131</sup> Henry Van den Bergh, *The Incas and their Industries* (London: Routledge and Sons, 1934), 27-9.

<sup>132</sup> Rowe, *Inca Culture*, 294-5; Silverblatt, *Moon, Sun, and Witches*, 21-3; Cobo, *Nuevo Mundo III*, Libro Decimotercio, 368-70.

<sup>133</sup> Sperandeo, *Claves para interpretar*, 104-9.

<sup>134</sup> Also spelled *Huiracocha*, *Wiracocha*, *Wiraqocha* or even *Wiraqucha*, as in Valderrama *Diccionario Quechua-Español*, 392.

cosmos'<sup>135</sup> - the common factor being intervention in the affairs of people and nature.

- **Sun, Moon and Viracocha**

These three deities define the Inca religion superimposed on prior indigenous beliefs. 'Inca religion emphasized ritual and organisation rather than mysticism and spirituality...'<sup>136</sup> The Incas derived their own divinity from the sun and the moon. The way divinity was organised maintained that equilibrium dependent on opposing forces generating the energy necessary to sustain the cosmos. Pachacuti Yamqui, a 16<sup>th</sup> century Quechua, in a diagram of the central shrine of the *Coricancha*, the temple to the sun in Cuzco, demonstrates the androgynous deity *Viracocha* at the pinnacle, joining the parallel gender lines in her/his own being.<sup>137</sup> The chroniclers concur that the most important deity for the Incas was the creator God, *Viracocha*.<sup>138</sup> Myths tell that *Viracocha* did not remain distant from his creation. He 'appeared to be only an old man with a staff', travelling his domain, initially not making himself known, in order to check on the behaviour of the people.<sup>139</sup>

- **The Cosmos**

The Inca Empire was the cosmos. Cuzco, the 'navel' of the cosmos, was the centre towards which all creation was orientated. Like every other aspect of Inca life, the cosmos was well defined. There was no division between sacred and secular. All

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<sup>135</sup> Also spelled *Huiracocha*, *Wiracocha* or even *Wiraqocha*, among others and also *Pachacamaq*. See Pierre Duviols, 'Los nombres quechua de Viracocha, supuesto "Dios Creador" de los evangelizadores' (The Quechua names for Viracocha, supposed "Creator God" of the evangelisers), *Allpanchis* (Cusco), Vol. X (1977): 53-63 for more names; Huamán, *Cosmovisión Andina*, 77-84; Quicaña, 'El Desafío,' 63-6 and Quicaña, 'El Evangelio,' 61 (which only refers to *Pachacamaq* and not *Viracocha*); and Humberto Flores, 'Teología Evangélica Quechua,' in *Hacia una Teología Evangélica Indígena*, ed. Humberto Flores and others (Lima: CEMAA, 1995), 102.

<sup>136</sup> Rowe, *Inca Culture*, 293.

<sup>137</sup> Silverblatt, *Moon, Sun, and Witches*, 40-5.

<sup>138</sup> Duviols, 'Los nombres quechua de Viracocha,' 53-63, mentions Molina, Acosta, Cabello Valboa, Cobo, Betanzos and Polo de Ondegardo. While he agrees (see Silverblatt, *Moon, Sun, and Witches*, 41) that the function of Viracocha is to organise the world well, he is convinced that *Viracocha* as creator god was a category imposed by the chroniclers – that he was in fact a 'deified culture hero' and nothing more.

<sup>139</sup> Rowe, *Inca Culture*, 315-16.

space was sacred in that particular spirits (*huacas*<sup>140</sup>) were assigned to each area. These ancestor spirits, present before the Inca Empire, were appropriated as controls within the Inca organization of space. Like rays of the sun, 41 imaginary lines radiated out of the central temple in Cuzco, with *huacas* placed ‘on or near them.’ The system used by the Incas for ordering Cuzco was a ‘diametric dualism’ of ‘complementary oppositions,’ so that ‘the very structure of the city became a metaphor legitimating political power,’<sup>141</sup> expressing the perfection of equilibrium – the Andean peoples’ highest value.

- **Tripartity**

The dualism that ensured equilibrium in the Andes was joined in the Inca Empire with tripartite systems. One of these was a class system, with its associated political and economic overtones. There were three elements in Inca society: *Collana* ‘conquering Incas,’ *Payan* ‘mixed group’ and *Cayao* ‘non-Inca conquered peoples.’<sup>142</sup> Other classifications of three were *Allauca* ‘to the right,’ *Chauin* or *Chaupi* ‘in the centre’ and *Ichoc* ‘to the left’ and *Capac* ‘rich’ or ‘royal,’ *Hatun* ‘big’ or ‘numerous’ and *Huchuy* ‘small.’ Both dual and tripartite systems are irreducible, making them firmly fixed systems promoting a sense of security.<sup>143</sup> One must not read too much meaning into these systems, however, other than to acknowledge their usefulness in a society that found mathematical structuring the best way to order anything and anybody. Since by ordering everything a basic equilibrium could be maintained, these systems were very important. It is probable that the values they express were the main reason why the only accounting system held by the Incas was one ideal for mathematics – the *quipus*.

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<sup>140</sup>Mitchell, ‘Quechua Language,’ 40 defines *huaca* (also spelled *wak’a* or *guaca*) as ‘a term for the sacred which could apply to the being, its representation or manifestation, and to the shrine itself.’ Also see Huamán, *Cosmovisión Andina*, 79.

<sup>141</sup>Mitchell, ‘Quechua Language,’ 46-7.

<sup>142</sup> Mitchell, ‘Quechua Language,’ 47. R.T. Zuidema, ‘Mito e historia en el antiguo Perú,’ *Allpanchis* (Cusco), Vol. X (1977), 17 defines the same divisions as ‘first, principle, chief’, ‘second’ and ‘origin, basis.’

<sup>143</sup> Zuidema, ‘Mito e historia,’ 17-18.

- **Law**

The Inca claim to divinity made their government a theocracy. ‘The *Inca* Government was an unqualified despotism deriving its power in theory from the supernatural beings that watched over the Emperor, and in fact from the military force which he controlled.’<sup>144</sup> The fact of its despotism did not detract from its value as a unifying force, enabling groups that had lived in a state of continual war to establish relatively peaceful relationships under a more powerful state.

Three types of persons ensured that the Incas’ requirements were fulfilled: ‘the army, loyal *mitima*<sup>145</sup> colonists, and a group of inspectors or overseers called *tokoyrikoq* - a term translatable as “those who see all”.’<sup>146</sup>

Following are some of the penalties for disobedience to the Inca code - far more elaborate than the basic trilogy of the *ayllu*, but following its basic principles:

...for failing to perform work satisfactorily, lying to a census taker, moving the boundary markers delimiting state fields, traveling without permission, or not wearing clothing that allowed officials to identify an individual’s natal community involved corporal punishment; the guilty were beaten with a stone or flogged. Individuals who failed to meet their labour obligations to the state not only were tortured for the first offense but also had their labor assessments increased; those who committed this offense a second time were threatened with execution. Foot-dragging, misrepresentation, deception, false compliance, evasion, desertion...pilfering, and sabotage - which James Scott has called the “weapons of the weak” - were also punishable crimes under the imperial legal code. Death was the penalty for those who stole from the state, the imperial cult, or the fields of the Incas as well as for those who spoke against the Inca, had intercourse with the *aclla*,<sup>147</sup> or committed treason.<sup>148</sup>

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<sup>144</sup>Rowe, *Inca Culture*, 273.

<sup>145</sup>Also *mitaq* or *mitmaq* (singular) and *mitimae* (plural) - see Rostworowski, *Tahuantinsuyu*, 221-4 for a full description. Steward, ‘South American Indians,’ 977: ‘The class of colonists used by the *Inca* to consolidate their political territory.’ Kicza, *Resistance, Resilience and Acculturation*, 230: ‘Colonists from different ethnic groups under the Incas.’ Carleton Beals, *Nomads and Empire Builders: Native Peoples and Cultures of South America*, first paperbound edition (New York: The Citadel Press, 1965), 281: ‘Compulsory colonists of other areas under the Incas.’

<sup>146</sup> Thomas C. Patterson, ‘The Inca Empire and Its Subject Peoples,’ in *The Indian in Latin American History: Resistance, Resilience and Acculturation* Jaguar Books on Latin America, Number 1, ed. John E. Kicza (Wilmington, Delaware: Scholarly Resources Inc., 1993): 5.

<sup>147</sup> ‘Vestal virgins’ of the sun.

<sup>148</sup> Patterson, ‘The Inca Empire,’ 5.



Although the basis for behaviour was *Ama suwa*, *Ama llulla* and *Ama qella*, regardless of status, the nobility were ‘believed to go to heaven regardless of moral character,’<sup>149</sup> questioning any incentive the Inca rulers had for obedience to their own moral laws. Cobo confirms that ‘the nobles and people of quality, though they have depraved habits, are always good and it is impossible for them to be condemned, because hell was only for lower people without quality, like thieves and poor people...’<sup>150</sup> For vernacular hermeneutics such as Segura’s and more recently Fernando Quicaña’s, which ‘not only transformed the biblical faith...[but] has also enabled indigenous cultures to survive,’ it is in this area of moral ethics that the process of constructing a local Quechua theology gets most easily idealised. In its enthusiasm for finding ‘cultural elements’ that correspond to biblical faith, ‘vernacular hermeneutics tends to overuse the positive aspects of ancient cultures and, in doing so, is inclined to overlook their dehumanizing aspects.’<sup>151</sup>

- **Afterlife**

Rowe, on the basis of Cobo and Cieza, states categorically that, ‘The *Inca* did not believe in the resurrection of the body. A belief in reincarnation is mentioned for the *Cavina* people, near Cuzco, but not for the Inca proper, or for other peoples of Perú.’<sup>152</sup> General practice belied this, however, in that mummified bodies were presented with food and drink that the person had appreciated in life. It was expected that wherever the person was, the alimentary offerings would be consumed, and the bodies were spoken to as if the person’s presence were still real.<sup>153</sup>

Quicaña reinterprets the same information to prove that in fact the Incas did believe in bodily resurrection: ‘Our ancestors believed in the immortality of the soul and in the resurrection of bodies for the future life. As evidence or proof, they tried to preserve the bodies of the dead in the best possible way. When the Spanish opened the tombs and disturbed the bones of the dead in order to rob their treasures, the Quechuas begged that they not throw out the bones, so that they would be together at

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<sup>149</sup> Rowe, *Inca Culture*, 298.

<sup>150</sup> Cobo, *Nuevo Mundo* III, Libro Decimotercio, 355.

<sup>151</sup> R.S. Sugirtharajah, *Vernacular Hermeneutics* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 106-7.

<sup>152</sup> Rowe, *Inca Culture*, 298, Cobo, *Nuevo Mundo* III, Libro Decimotercio, 354-5.

the moment of resurrection.’<sup>154</sup> It is just as likely that the Incas, aware of the Spanish belief in bodily resurrection, and not wanting their bones disturbed, used *their* belief as incentive for leaving the bones in peace. Because the Andean traditionally lives in an attitude of continuous present, it is probable that they did not want the bones disturbed because of the life perceived to be in them at that present moment.<sup>155</sup>

#### 1.4 Andean Perspectives

The Quechua experience of religion is that it is associated with the power of a ruling hierarchy. Pre-Inca conquests, Inca, and later Spanish rule all imposed their own religious systems on the conquered peoples. The Incas strengthened their right to rule by allowing local *huacas*<sup>156</sup> privileged places in their pantheon of divinities in Cuzco, thus depriving people of their objects of worship in what was really a ‘divide and rule’ policy. *Huacas* were directly connected with myths of origin, and therefore provided a focus for each *ayllu*’s identity. One account says the creator made the nations from mud. People were created, along with their distinctive dress, language, song and food. They were then buried, so that they would come out in the place to which they would belong. The *huacas* were therefore both the place and the people who appeared at the place, thus constructing a nation. Images and statues of ancestors were later put at their purported place of first appearance. Divine

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<sup>153</sup> Cobo, *Nuevo Mundo* III, Libro Decimotercio, 354.

<sup>154</sup> Quicaña, ‘El Evangelio,’ 62.

<sup>155</sup> See Rosaleen Howard-Malverde, *The Speaking of History: ‘Willapaakushayki’ or Quechua Ways of Telling the Past* (London: Institute of Latin American Studies, 1990) for an account of how the present influences the past in the retelling of history for the Quechua. Page 2: ‘A number of writers, working within various disciplinary frameworks, when treating the matter of the meaning of discourse, converge on one point most strikingly. This concerns the key position of the here-and-now as a perspective from which to determine the intentions, motivations and strategies that underlie the constitution of discourse and infuse it with meaning. In their several ways, linguists (e.g. Benveniste, 1966; Jakobson, 1971; Lyons, 1982) and anthropologists (e.g. Hymes, 1981; Bauman, 1984; Sherzer and Urban, 1986; Basso, 1985) highlight the fact that discourse is tied to a subject whose product in speech or writing relates to a time, a place and a socio-political context whose specificities shape what is said and render it meaningful.’

<sup>156</sup> Beals, *Nomads and Empire Builders*, 278: ‘Any prehistoric archaeological object of a religious nature, or a temple.’ Rycroft, *Indians*, 325: ‘ancient Indian tomb in Peru.’ Kicza, *Resistance, Resilience and Acculturation*, 231: ‘A sacred site or object in the Andes.’ Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochiri*, 255: ‘a superhuman person; any place, object, image (etc.) embodying a superhuman person.’ Steward, *South American Indians*, 976: ‘(a) Pre-Conquest edifice or burial; (b) anything sacred.’ Arona 1974, pp.233-5 begins, ‘The meanings of this word in Quechua and its applications during the time of the Incas were infinite...’

communication with humans was not a strange concept to the Quechua, since their *huacas* were oracular in nature, communicating regularly through their priests.<sup>157</sup>

Since place and people were inextricably linked, when the Incas moved the statues to Cuzco, dividing the ancestral images from their place of worship, they were not only expressing respect for local divinities, but also affirming that their place was in submission to the Inca high deities of the sun and the moon. People were forced to centre their worship on Cuzco, and their corporate *ayllu* identities were weakened in the process.<sup>158</sup> It was impossible for conquered nations to resist what was presented as a privilege.

Later, Spanish Roman Catholicism destroyed the *huacas* in Cuzco and built churches on the sites of Inca temples, but this did not destroy indigenous beliefs, as evidenced by the myths of *Inkarri* (an amalgam of Inca+*Rey* 'king').<sup>159</sup> *Inkarri* is a character in what has come to be recognised as Andean messianic ideology.<sup>160</sup> *Inkarri* is not worshipped, but it is he who will come back to institute the final judgement. He has been killed, and only his head survives, but it is growing downwards to his feet, and when he is complete, he will return. Then a new order will be enforced, restoring the equilibrium lost with the chaos of the conquest.<sup>161</sup> The myth is reminiscent of events when Pizarro decapitated the Inca *Atahualpa* and had his head sent to Spain. The amalgam of indigenous and RC belief in this myth is recognisable. It also has the virtue of highlighting the indigenous capacity to reject colonial administrative excesses while appropriating some RC religious beliefs. More important to indigenous identity than how *Inkarri* is described is the theological significance of

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<sup>157</sup>Cobo, *Nuevo Mundo* III, Libro Decimotercio, 340. Also see Rostworowski, *Tahuantinsuyu*, 131.

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*, 346-7.

<sup>159</sup> Also spelled *Inkarriy*.

<sup>160</sup> Juan M. Ossio A., ed., *Ideología Mesiánica del Mundo Andino* (Messianic ideology of the Andean world) (Lima: Ignacio Prado Pastor, 1973).

<sup>161</sup> Three versions of the Inkari myth are collected by José María Arguedas and Josafat Roel Pineda in Ossio, *Ideología Mesiánica*, 219-31. See also Marcelo Dürst, *El Mito de Inkariy: Testimonio de la Ruptura ocasionada por la Invasión Europea* (The *Inkarriy* myth: testimony of the rupture caused by the European invasion), monograph (Lima: Seminario Evangélico, 1986).

its sense of order in time and space. *Inkarrí* would overturn the Spanish colonial rule to reinstate the benevolent rule of an Inca.<sup>162</sup>

The liberative overtones in this myth are obvious. So despite Spanish appropriation of the Quechua language to unify their colonial network, and the production of grammars, catechisms and sacred hymns in Quechua to aid evangelisation, syncretism such as that described by *Inkarrí* thrived. It was syncretism used to define the coming reinstatement of an indigenous order, and therefore subordinate to indigenous modes of thought.

The Quechua know that when religion is imposed by others, and associated with power, it is impermanent and incapable of retaining the order imposed when a greater power succeeds it. They understand this as the logical cosmological cause and effect resulting in a new equilibrium. There are then core interpretative categories the Quechua will use to understand and either accept or implicitly reject new teaching, such as that which evangelical mission brought with the Bible.

Thomas Garr, a Jesuit priest working for many years in Ayaviri near Lake Titicaca,<sup>163</sup> describes a four-fold approach to Quechua religion that he says both ‘supports the current cultural-familial situation and militates against any external change’. It is ‘naturalist because all the elements of nature take on religious meaning’. It is ‘mythical – not in the sense that it is opposed to the rational, but rather that it is a total experience....The *campesino*<sup>164</sup> does not separate his/her religious practices from daily life.’ It is ‘mechanical’ in that every action has an opposite and equal reaction in the ethical realm, so that everything that happens, be it ‘blessing or punishment’ comes as a result of ‘a person’s actions (interpreted retrospectively).’ It is ‘syncretistic in that it is a complete mix of Christian, pre-

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<sup>162</sup> Ossio, *Indios*, 189-91. Also see Onorio Ferrero, ‘Significado e Implicaciones Universales de un Mito Peruano,’ 415-38; Franklin Pease, ‘El Mito de Inkarrí y la Visión de los Vencidos,’ 439-58; Juan M. Ossio and Jorge Herrera Alfaro, ‘Versión del Mito de Inkarrí en el Pueblo de Andamarca,’ 461-71 and Raúl León Caparó, ‘Versión del Mito de Inkarrí en Qollana-Wasak,’ 473-7 in *Ideología Mesiánica del Mundo Andino*, 2d ed., ed. Juan M. Ossio A. (Lima, Peru: Ignacio Prado Pastor, 1973).

<sup>163</sup> See map in appendix.

<sup>164</sup> Peasant, farmer: in Peru it would be understood that this referred to the Quechua, and that is who Garr himself is indeed referring to.

colonial and natural elements.’ For Garr, the mix comprises the genuine religiosity of the Quechua: ‘The dispatch to the Pacha Mama is offered because the Christian God wants this and their sons are baptised so that the traditional spirits won’t punish them.’<sup>165</sup>

This amalgam is evidence that not much has changed in the way Quechuas view their world. Syncretism is defined as the ‘attempt to combine characteristic teachings, beliefs, or practices of differing systems of religion or philosophy.’<sup>166</sup> In the process, differing ideas surrender to whatever prior concepts form the system as a whole, and they are reinterpreted in that light. Garr considers that syncretism is as much Christian as it is founded on prior Quechua beliefs and practices. But when there are two different ways of interpreting the world, one will take precedence. The dispatch<sup>167</sup> (*q’oymi despacho* ‘burnt offering’) is now reinterpreted as an offering that God desires. The traditional spirits have always been blamed for punishment. Now baptism is added as a way to placate them. Thus core beliefs and associated practices are reinterpreted but not replaced. The question then becomes to what extent people’s core beliefs are ‘seeds of the Word which lie hidden...’<sup>168</sup>

The use of one language to unite disparate peoples, begun with the Inca Empire, has continued off and on to the present. More longstanding than language, however, have been the core values and concepts of the Andean peoples. Two evangelical Quechuas, Aurelio Flores and Saturnino Valeriano, from the departments of Cuzco and Puno respectively, helpfully recorded notes on some of the traditions of a Quechua *ayllu* in 1963.<sup>169</sup> These support the view that Quechua modes of thought

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<sup>165</sup> Thomas M. Garr, ‘La Familia Campesina y el Cosmos Sagrado,’ *Allpanchis Phuturinga* (Cusco), Vol.IV (1972): 15-16. See Manuel Marzal, ‘¿Puede un campesino cristiano ofrecer un “pago a la Tierra”?’ (Can a Christian peasant offer a ‘payment to the earth’?), *Allpanchis Phuturinga* (Cuzco), Vol.III (1971): 116-28.

<sup>166</sup> *The Collins Compact Dictionary* (Glasgow: HarperCollins, 1984), 497.

<sup>167</sup> Rojas, ‘El Mundo Sobrenatural,’ 226-31 describes what the bundle used for a burnt offering contains. Gifford and Hoggarth, *Carnival*, describe some of the contexts in which *despacho* is offered: for good crops (18-21), weddings (32-3), journeys (40), dowry arrangements (57), births (63), special feast days (85), healing ceremonies (89), and before work such as a harvest (93).

<sup>168</sup> Vatican II Decree *Ad Gentes* on the Mission Activity of the Church, 1965, 11.

<sup>169</sup> Translated in Gifford and Hoggarth, *Carnival*.

and practice have remained relatively unchanged<sup>170</sup> within legitimising religious frameworks of successive states. People's identity has remained corporate in the community called the *ayllu*, and veneration for the land and all creatures has been retained throughout.<sup>171</sup> Ancestors, present in the *huacas*, are not seen as 'other' - they are perceived as a present component of the *ayllu*, connecting each member as part of a whole. These two components of people and place are essential for meaning, ensuring the survival of a distinctive approach to life.<sup>172</sup>

People and place interweave to produce a theology appropriate to that context. This must be borne in mind, both for understanding theologies that develop out of that context and for formulating new approaches to Christian mission. The area between local theologies and expatriate Christian mission is what 'may create a [completely] new reality.' This is what Segura did with his hymnody. New meaning emerged 'out of the interaction' he experienced between evangelical mission and theology as he had already experienced it in his context. Fumitaka Matsuoka refers to this new reality as something that does 'not come together in the culture of each other, but in an interstitial zone created out of the liminal experience of both interlocutors interacting with each other. He suggests that it is perhaps in this specially created zone that intercultural communication takes place.' Such an understanding 'may be particularly helpful in encounters with highly incommensurate cultures, of cultures that have been damaged badly by outside invaders, and of cultures that maintain a kind of *disciplina arcana*.'<sup>173</sup>

To touch the Andean people deeply, it is necessary to go beyond superimposed religion, generally associated with power, to legends and traditions common to all, using them as tools for an understandable interpretation of the Bible. Segura was passionately committed to such an endeavour. 'The dominant presence of liberation theology has tended to overshadow and conceal context-sensitive vernacular texts,

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<sup>170</sup> Also the view of Huamán, *Cosmovisión Andina*, 84, who establishes this in order to support his project of a philosophical reflection based on the Andean worldview (85-136).

<sup>171</sup> The whole of *Allpanchis Phuturinga* (Cuzco), Vol.III (1971) is dedicated to the rites associated with this veneration.

<sup>172</sup> See Editor, 'Apuntes sobre la cosmovisión Andina,' *Allpanchis Phuturinga* (Cuzco), Vol.III (1971): 11-13.

and has also silenced the pioneering and often daring efforts of an earlier generation of theologians.’ - says Sugirtharajah.<sup>174</sup> Segura was one of those daring pioneer theologians. He used hermeneutical bridges, where one side consisted of the accrued body of knowledge giving meaning to life in his context, and the other of a biblical revelation so inclusive<sup>175</sup> that points of contact, based on prior Quechua ideological commitments, were guaranteed to emerge. Those points of contact can be seen in Segura’s hymns. His was an intuitive effort at vernacular hermeneutics, or inculturation.

It is important to distinguish between what is genuinely Andean and what has been added at different times - a disposable veneer.<sup>176</sup> If Evangelicals are to help formulate appropriate Andean Theology, that distinction must be respected. The theology must focus on a nuanced re-interpretation of the values already there – otherwise it is in danger of being discarded along with the superficial changes in culture that necessarily accompany the missionary from a different country. Encouraging the production of such Andean Theology is a specific aim of the CEMAA – *Centro Evangélico de Misiología Andino-Amazonica* ‘Evangelical Centre for Andean-Amazonian Missiology,’<sup>177</sup> FIEL – *Fraternidad Indígena Evangélica Latinoamericana* ‘Latinamerican Indigenous Evangelical Fraternity,’<sup>178</sup> CONAEIQP

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<sup>173</sup> Schreiter, *New Catholicity*, 40-1.

<sup>174</sup> Sugirtharajah, *Vernacular Hermeneutics*, 12.

<sup>175</sup> Like Richard ‘Indigenous Biblical Hermeneutics,’ where he unpacks the meaning of the Word of God. He says (264) that, ‘the cosmos, the native culture and religion, is the *first* ‘book’ of God. There the Indians discover the revelation of God and engage God in dialogue. The Bible is the *second* book of God, given to help us to decipher the first indigenous ‘book’ containing the revelation of God.’

<sup>176</sup> Richard, ‘Indigenous Biblical Hermeneutics,’ 269. The veneer is, in fact, one mode of indigenous resistance, where there is ‘dialogue’ in the form of ‘indigenous cultural and religious reformulation in the colonial systemic context...to attain a vital synthesis, where the native cultural and religious tradition might be able to continue being itself without betraying its identity, and while assuming the religious and cultural values of the dominant Christianity. Not only was it concealed in part by an occidental and Christian overlay, but in addition was withheld from the conqueror: his ideological, cultural and religious weapons were appropriated by the conquered in order to demonstrate that they themselves were Indians, with their own traditions, who lived and expressed the gospel message more coherently than the European Christian conquistadors themselves.’

<sup>177</sup> *Boletín CEMAA* (Lima, Peru: Centro Evangélico de Misiología Andino Amazonica, June 1983), 2 outlines both what the CEMAA is and what its objectives are.

<sup>178</sup> Rubén A. Paredes, ‘La Nueva Presencia Evangélica Indígena,’ *Misión* 10 (September 1984): 96-101 outlines the objectives of the FIEL, which was established in May 1981 at the ‘First Indigenous Congress of the Americas’ held at the University of Oklahoma, USA (99). See also Rubén Paredes, *El Evangelio en Platos de Barro* (Lima: Ediciones Presencia 1989), 73. Quicaña, ‘El Desafío,’ 86 erroneously dates the congress as 1982.

– *Comité Nacional Evangélico Interdenominacional Quechua del Perú* ‘National Evangelical Interdenominational Quechua Committee of Peru’<sup>179</sup> and its precursor, the *Comité Evangélico Quechua del Perú* ‘Evangelical Quechua Committee of Peru, for some time known as TAWA – *Asociación Tawantinsuyuyuman Allin Qillakuy Apačkuna*.<sup>180</sup> Each of these includes hymnody as part of their project. Chapter 3 will clarify ways in which Segura’s hymnody, by its integration of the Bible with Quechua culture, was in fact more than an incipient attempt at indigenous Andean evangelical theology – it was a method of catechesis.

Meanwhile, the following chapter recounts Quechua encounter with the Bible and its expression in hymns as Evangelical mission began in the Andes, continuing with particular emphasis on the influences that formed Florencio Segura and the history of his hymnody and its use. What is vital is that Segura, a committed evangelical convert, was aware of the foundational principles of Quechua identity. He used the language of the people and their emphasis on community, alongside their love of music as both a motivating factor in any activity and as a mnemonic device, to make evangelical Christianity the Quechuas’ own - in so doing successfully formulating a Quechua vernacular theology.

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<sup>179</sup> Fernando Quicaña, ‘Modelo de Misión Quechua,’ in *Consulta Nacional Sobre la Misión de la Iglesia* (Lima: CONEP, 28 Septiembre – 2 Octubre 1987): 134-6.

<sup>180</sup> Quicaña, ‘El Evangelio,’ 65 and ‘El Desafío,’ 84-5.



## Chapter 2 – Florencio Segura: The Development of Quechua Hymns in Evangelical Mission

Throughout succeeding chronological and overlapping stages (colportage, mission, consolidation, liberation theology and evangelical identity), Quechuas in southern Peru have interpreted the Bible from the context of their own core values and concepts, whether it was presented in teaching, preaching, singing or biblical narratives – or a mixture of any or all of these. These core values and concepts must be kept in mind when assessing Quechua response to Biblical teaching and later to Segura's hymns. They include the unity of life expressed in perfect equilibrium, the importance of place, the closeness of community and time/space *pacha* that unites all times and all places in the here-and-now.

Quechuas are born into a total way of life of a particular community. This makes commitment to it all-pervasive, invading the identity of the person and of the community lived in. To exchange one commitment for another entails a conviction that the new commitment makes more sense of one's totality of being than the previous one. When the community defines one's identity, the pressures to remain within that familiar way of life are enormous. To opt out alone is self-destructive. Where belief systems changed, evangelical Quechuas could find themselves ostracised by their communities because they did not always want to participate in community events, often resulting in split communities. This did not take away from the importance of community as a value. Rather, it contributed to them creating new types of community in the form of churches. Extended families were often the core of these new communities called church. Florencio Segura was one member of just such an extended family.

Quechua evangelical hymnody developed firstly under the auspices of evangelical British missionaries, then Quechuas themselves – specifically through the impetus of Florencio Segura, the first Andean evangelical to publish an original hymnbook in Quechua. His endeavour was inspired by his association with English EUSA missionary Kenneth Case, who composed variations on Quechua tunes in their

pentatonic scale and taught Segura how to do so. Segura was from Talavera, 2 1/2 miles from the town of Andahuaylas (capital of the province of Andahuaylas), in the department of Apurimac. Situated in south central Peru, it is surrounded by the larger departments of Cuzco to the east, Arequipa to the south and Ayacucho to the west. Segura was pure Andean, reflecting the influence of associated values in all his hymnody.

The importance of music in the daily lives of Quechua people has been indicated.<sup>1</sup> Now the focus will be on the production and use of Segura's hymnbook *Diospa Siminmanta Takikuna* 'Songs from God's Word' and the continuing development of a Quechua hymnody through Quechua evangelical music festivals. The influences that converged to encourage Segura to write hymns and choruses specifically in Quechua will be defined, particularly his partnership with Case. These were successfully disseminated over the south of Peru, principally in Apurímac, Puno and Cuzco, with the consequent flourishing of the composition of other Quechua hymns. There are now as many composers of hymns in the Quechua language, to autochthonous music, as there are indigenous music groups – a lasting tribute to Segura's work.

Segura converted to evangelical Christianity in 1937, through Alonso Hitchcock, a Presbyterian missionary from the United States.<sup>2</sup> But mission from the United States was only the most recent of Christian missionary movements, following those associated with the colonial powers of Spain and Britain. In Peru, the Spanish conquest brought principally Dominicans and Franciscans, catechisms in the

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<sup>1</sup> See Fernando Quicaña, *Historia y Organización de la Sociedad Quechua* (mimeographed copy by author, n.d.), 22-3 and Jesús Armando Cavero Carrasco, 'El Qarawi y su función social,' *Allpanchis* (Cuzco), Año XV, Vol.XXI, No.25 (1985): 240-67 for examples of how songs are used in different community activities.

<sup>2</sup> Kenneth Case, *The Great One Who Speaks* (typed unpublished manuscript: EUSA, n/d), 10; Florencio Segura and Inés Castro, 'Llegada de Don Florencio Segura G. y de Doña Inés Castro de Segura desde Ayacucho' (The arrival of Mr. Florencio Segura G. and of Mrs. Inés Castro from Ayacucho), *La Luz Andina* (Andean light), (1997): 2 and Florencio Segura, *Historia de la Obra Evangélica en Ayacucho, Huancavelica y Apurímac* (Talavera, Apurímac, Perú: published and printed by author: 1994), 1.

vernacular and Church Councils in Lima<sup>3</sup>, all aimed at evangelising the indigenous population in their own language, and from the beginning, music was an integral part of that evangelisation.<sup>4</sup>

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, British colonialism spread to Peru primarily via investment in the guano trade. From 1820-1890, Peru, rather than profiting from trade with Britain, became increasingly indebted to her. The repercussions remain to this day, preventing Peru's development in line with other countries.<sup>5</sup> In 1890, the Grace contract with Britain was signed and ratified by the Peruvian congress. 'In exchange for the cancellation of Peru's entire foreign debt (\$158 million),...British investors received ownership or long-term guardianship over many of the country's most important assets (railroads, guano, jungle lands).'<sup>6</sup>

British evangelical mission in Peru began when British business was well established in Peru, while government and religion were still united on a Roman Catholic foundation. But in 1915 legislation was passed allowing freedom of worship.<sup>7</sup> Mission in Britain in the 19<sup>th</sup> century had a legacy of liberative movements under William Wilberforce and Lord Shaftesbury for instance, but elsewhere in the world the modern missionary movement paralleled British colonial exploits, as Spanish

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<sup>3</sup> William Mitchell, 'The Appropriation of the Quechua Language by the Church and the Christianisation of Peru in the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries' (Ph.D. thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1991), 142-214.

<sup>4</sup> William Mitchell, 'Himnos Sagrados de los Andes: The contours of Andean piety': Presented at United Bible Societies' Triennial Translation Workshop in Iguazu, Brazil, 2003.

<sup>5</sup> Carlos Moreyra Palacios, *La Deuda Anglo-Peruana: 1922-1890* (Lima: Librería Studium, 1983), 7-10 and Luis Alberto Sánchez, *El Perú: Retrato de un País Adolescente* (Lima: PEISA, 1973), 153.

<sup>6</sup> David Scott Palmer, *Peru: The Authoritarian Tradition* (New York: Praeger, 1980), 59. See H.E.L. Mellersh, *Peru* (Chur, Switzerland: Plata, 1977), 90-1 and Selden Rodman, *The Peru Traveller* (London: Ward Lock, 1967), 72-3 for more extensive details.

<sup>7</sup> Manuel Marzal, *Los Caminos Religiosos de los Inmigrantes en la Gran Lima* (Lima: Pontífica Universidad Católica del Perú, 1988), 281. Marzal, a Jesuit social scientist, considers that the case of the Italian missionary Francisco Penzotti (1851-1925), which went to the Supreme Court after a nine month imprisonment, 'without doubt...contributed in creating a propitious climate for the constitutional amendment'. John B.A. Kessler, 'La Historia de la Iglesia en América Latina,' *Boletín Teológico* 1 and 2 (1979): 15-17 recounts a much weightier cause – that of the attack on the educational and medical work of the Seventh Day Adventists in Platería by 200 indians gathered by the RC Bishop of Puno. See *South America* Vols. XI and XII for later examples of 'persecution' from the evangelical missionary perspective.

mission had coincided with Spain's conquests.<sup>8</sup> In Latin America the emphasis of evangelical British mission and the language associated with it were strongly liberative - after all, evangelical mission was entering alien colonial territory.<sup>9</sup>

The rivalry between Spain and Britain had been felt in both economic and religious spheres since the 16<sup>th</sup> century Spanish conquest, religious reformation and counter-reformation in Europe and colonial British piracy spearheaded by Francis Drake.<sup>10</sup> But the greatest impetus for evangelical mission in Latin America came from a reaction to the 1910 Edinburgh Missionary Conference that concluded that Latin America was already evangelised. Those who differed from this consensus 'called a conference in New York in March of 1913, out of which came the Committee on Cooperation in Latin America. In 1916 the Congress on Christian Work in Latin America met in Panama,' to outline a strategy for evangelical mission in Latin America. The EUSA was prominent in these proceedings.<sup>11</sup>

Each missionary effort germinated in a seat of colonial power. The Spanish frustration with the difficulty in replacing indigenous worship with Catholicism is evidenced in the 17<sup>th</sup> century 'extirpation of idolatry' recorded in father Pablo José de Arriaga, *Extirpación de la idolatría del Perú* (The Eradication of Idolatry in

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<sup>8</sup> Pablo Richard, 'Indigenous Biblical Hermeneutics: God's Revelation in Native Religions and the Bible (after 500 years of domination),' in *Text and Experience: Towards a Cultural Exegesis of the Bible*, ed. Daniel Smith-Christopher (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 268-70 outlines five ways in which the European Church approached its mission in the context of and in relationship with empire - alongside five responses to the conquest by indigenous peoples. Only the fifth option in each case allowed for any possibility of inculturation, especially since the liminal space between the two cultures must operate primarily with the receiver's code of values in order to be truly inculturational - in this case, equilibrium being primary.

<sup>9</sup> See J. Jorge Klor de Alva, 'The Postcolonization of the (Latin) American Experience: A Reconsideration of "Colonialism," Postcolonialism," and "Mestizaje,"' in *After Colonialism*, ed. Gyan Prakash (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 266-9 for an analysis of the differences between empires before and after the Treaty of Paris in 1763.

<sup>10</sup> See Stewart McIntosh, 'La Historia Gris,' presentation to the *Facultad Evangélica 'Orlando E. Costas'* in Lima, 28 November 1990, 2d ed. (Lima: CEMAA-FE, 11 July 1991), 4-7 where he quotes Mendieta's (footnotes missing) interpretation legitimising Cortés' conquest of the Aztecs which includes a negative reference to the reformation occurring at the same time.

<sup>11</sup> See Deborah Herath Chapman, 'The Development of Evangelical Hermeneutics in Relation to the Church in Latin America' (M.A. diss., University of Brunel, 1993), 14 quoting J. Edwin Orr, *Evangelical Awakenings in Latin America* (Minneapolis: Bethany Fellowship, 1978), 74; Samuel Escobar, 'El Ecumenismo en Perspectiva Histórica,' *Misión* (Junio de 1985): 44-5 and W.H.T. Gairdner, *Edinburgh 1910: An Account and Interpretation of the World Missionary Conference* (Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1910) for more on the long-range repercussions of the proceedings.

Peru), Lima 1621.<sup>12</sup> The intention was to wipe out Quechua veneration of their *huacas*, which nevertheless continued to flourish under the guise of RC saints ‘and any Christian holiday became a time to celebrate the ancestors.’<sup>13</sup> In the integrated Quechua worldview, these continued to provide a unique socio-political as well as religious identity that the Spanish wished to destroy. An appreciation of the positive, religiously neutral or even potentially Christian values of Quechua society was not attempted at that time or by British mission until much later.<sup>14</sup> The two ‘individualisms’ of the Spanish<sup>15</sup> and of the British were unable to recognise the value of community living in the *ayllu*, for example, as being a value recognisable in the teaching of the Old and New Testaments. This made it difficult for the Quechua to make Christianity their own. It is now acknowledged that for a genuine inculturation to take place, especially when the speaker and hearer are from diametrically opposed cultures, ‘codes’ or ‘scales’ must be recognised and respected, in order to uphold the integrity of the ‘hearing community.’ The first scale is the individualist-collectivist continuum.<sup>16</sup>

Segura resisted attempts by missionaries to limit or define his evangelistic activities amongst the Quechua. Understanding British attitudes and approaches to mission clarifies both their influence on Segura and the reasons for his resistance. Specific emphasis on the Bible and hymn singing in mission (both at the core of Segura’s ministry later) is important, as Segura’s corpus of hymns was the primary way in

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<sup>12</sup> Jorge Seibold, *La Sagrada Escritura en la Evangelización de América Latina* (Buenos Aires: San Pablo, 1993), 165.

<sup>13</sup> Irene Silverblatt, ‘Becoming Indian in the Central Andes of Seventeenth-Century Peru,’ in *After Colonialism*, ed. Gyan Prakash (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 288. Also see José Carlos Mariátegui, *Seven Interpretive Essays on Peruvian Reality* (Austin and London: University of Texas Press, 1971), 134-6 and Tito Paredes, *El Evangelio en Platos de Barro* (Lima: Ediciones Presencia, 1989), 44. Quicaña ‘Historia y Organización,’ 56-7, contends that the Spanish extirpators succeeded in encouraging syncretism, making it more difficult to deal with genuine differences in religious belief, so that ‘when the Gospel is presented to the Quechua and Aymara they say, “We are Catholic since the time of our grandparents” when in reality they do not understand the doctrines of Catholic religion.’

<sup>14</sup> Richard, ‘Indigenous Biblical Hermeneutics,’ 261: What, since Vatican II, have been called the ‘seeds of the Word’ ... ‘contained’ in ‘national and religious traditions.’

<sup>15</sup> See John Mackay, *The Other Spanish Christ* (London: SCM, 1932), 4-12; Fernando Quicaña, ‘El Evangelio y la Cultura Andina,’ in *Para todos los Pueblos*, CLADE III: Documentos (Lima: PROMIES and FTL, 1992), 57; John Savage, *On Trek in the Andes* (London: EUSA, 1946), 77-8.

<sup>16</sup> Robert J. Schreiter, *The New Catholicity: Theology between the Global and the Local* (New York: Orbis, 1997), 35-7.

which Segura inculturated his Christian theology. The context in which the hymns were formed is essential to understanding how Segura's theology developed.

## 2.1 British Mission in Southern Peru

British evangelical missionaries initiating Bible-based work in Cuzco described it as 'bringing the light of the Gospel to the darkness of people who had been blinded by religious superstition both before and after the Spanish conquest.'<sup>17</sup> In 1909, Geraldine Guinness published the results of her travels in Peru and commented of the Cuzco area:

Day is at dawn on the Sierra of Peru. Ignorance as a dense mist hangs over the country; superstition, like a foul miasma, fills the valleys; Romish supremacy, a towering mountain-chain, looms black and mighty. But hilltops have caught the first beams of the Light of the East; over far-stretching mountain pampas the grey of liberty-love has begun to break. God grant that the contrasts of early dawn and lingering shadows may soon be lost in the full light of day!<sup>18</sup>

These sentiments echo the subjectivism of that period's hymnody, following the so-called '*second awakening* (which we can associate with names such as Lyman Beecher, Timothy Dwight, and above all, Charles Finney).'<sup>19</sup> It is true that the condition of the Quechua was generally one of destitution at that time, following the country's economic collapse in 1876 and the War of the Pacific, ended in 1883 - both of which left Peru in political and socio-economic turmoil.<sup>20</sup> But the actual relationship between Roman Catholicism and the indigenous populations was much more complex than most British missionaries wished to acknowledge. They seem to have been unaware of their own country's contribution in exacerbating that condition until somewhat later, when the British press itself highlighted the 'atrocities' perpetrated by the British "Peruvian Amazon Rubber Company" in Putumayo in the north of Peru.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> See *South America* Vol. IX, 26 and 142, for example.

<sup>18</sup> Geraldine Guinness, *Peru* (London: Morgan and Scott, 1909), 132. Also see Case, *Great One*, 1.

<sup>19</sup> José Míguez-Bonino, *Faces of Latin American Protestantism* (Cambridge: Eerdmans, 1995), 28-9.

<sup>20</sup> Benjamin Keen and Mark Wasserman, *A Short History of Latin America* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1984), 384-5 and see Manuel González Prada, 'Priests, Indians, Soldiers, and Heroes,' in *The Peru Reader*, ed. Orin Starn, Carlos Iván Degregori and Robin Kirk (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1995), 187-94.

The Quechua themselves had interpreted their condition as ‘in the darkness’ - on the underside of history, waiting for the next great reversal (*pachacuti*) to reinstate them in a favoured place.<sup>22</sup> Whether that outlook contributed to the way they presented themselves or not, British missionaries perceived the Quechua condition as caused by others and to be alleviated by what they considered to be a superior approach to life encapsulated in ‘the Gospel’ – evangelical Christianity as opposed to RC Christianity.

Beginning from the perspective of opposing empires, with vastly different colonial programmes, divided by at least three centuries of European socio-political and economic development, British mission could add a vastly different approach to what RC missiologists Stephen Bevans and Roger Schroeder have called the six constants of mission (adding four to Andrew Walls’ two – Jesus and the Church). For Bevans and Schroeder, the six are Jesus, the Church, eschatology, salvation, anthropology and culture. In contrasting RC and evangelical approaches to these six, they comment that where the meaning of the person of Jesus is concerned, evangelicals are exclusive, while RCs are inclusive. For RCs, salvation is possible only through the Church, the Church itself being a contrast, with RCs functioning by hierarchy while evangelicals function in a free association of church communities.<sup>23</sup> In eschatology, anthropology and culture, both approaches share the same general views. The main difference lies in the view of salvation, where what RCs call exclusivist is to do with salvation connected to the person of Jesus rather than the Church. If salvation is only through the Church, then RCs are also exclusive, albeit in a different area. It is interesting to note that each exclusivism opts for one of Walls’ two constants. This helps explain why for an evangelical like Walls, two constants are enough. Evangelical preaching of the Gospel centred on this difference in the view of salvation.

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<sup>21</sup> G.S., ‘Peruvian Atrocities,’ *The Neglected Continent* Vol. 2, No. 3 (September 1910): 58.

<sup>22</sup> Nathan Wachtel, ‘La Visión de los Vencidos: La Conquista Española en el Folklore Indígena,’ in *Teología Mesianica del Mundo Andino*, ed. Juan M. Ossio A. (Lima: Ignacio Prado Pastor, 1973), 37-81. Domingo Llanque-Chana, *Vida y Teología Andina* (Puno: Instituto de Estudios Aymaras and Cuzco: Centro Bartolomé de las Casas, 2004), 60-2. ‘Pachakuti’ can be either positive or negative, depending on the position of the subject prior to reversal.

<sup>23</sup> Stephen B. Bevans and Roger P. Schroeder, *Constants in Context* (New York: Orbis, 2004), 32-72 and see table on 341 for summary.

On 4 July 1895, John Jarrett and Frederick Peters, who had left the UK for Peru stirred by the story of the imprisonment of the Uruguayan Italian colporteur, Francisco Penzotti,<sup>24</sup> arrived in Cuzco.<sup>25</sup> Mr. and Mrs. Newell joined them on 9 December 1898.<sup>26</sup> They suffered threats and persecution such as no other evangelical missionaries in the country were to encounter and Newell died of typhoid.<sup>27</sup> Peru's political instability contributed to their difficulties. Liberal Andean elites were reticent to trust Europeans, whom they perceived as having interests more in keeping with the coastal elites, despite Newell and the others' evident alignment with the Peruvian *indigenista* movement in political philosophy and literature.<sup>28</sup> The RC authorities, on the other hand, did not appreciate their traditional religious hegemony being challenged, especially when Roman Catholicism in Peru was described as being 'in all its native mediaeval corruption and ignorance' and 'not as here [in Britain], in the search-light of Protestant civilisation, modified and Anglicised.'<sup>29</sup> While that comment was intended for the British public, the attitude it exemplified doubtless communicated in other ways.

Peru was experiencing a period of increased awareness of divisions between the coastal region and the southern Andes. The peripheries, which had largely been ignored, were achieving recognition, although the plight of the Quechua was still

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<sup>24</sup> Wenceslao Oscar Bahamonde, 'The Establishment of Evangelical Christianity in Peru 1822-1900' (Ph.D. thesis, Hartford Seminary, 1952), 89-115 and 147. RC persecution began in 1889 and that same year 'Penzotti and colporteurs Arancet and Illescas...imprisoned in Arequipa for selling Bibles and New Testaments.'

<sup>25</sup> John B.A. Kessler, Jr., *A Study of the Older Protestant Missions and Churches in Peru and Chile* (Goes, Netherlands: Oosterbaan & le Cointre N.V., 1967), 157 and 160. Mary Cruickshank, *The Sun Rises* (London: EUSA, n.d.), 21 incorrectly dates their arrival as 1896. Also see María Elvira Romero San Martín, 'El Protestantismo Anglosajón en el Perú 1822-1915' (Ph.D. thesis, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1974), 122-4.

<sup>26</sup> Martha E. Newell, *For Christ and Cuzco* (London: RBMU, n.d.), 70.

<sup>27</sup> Cruickshank, *Sun Rises*, 21.

<sup>28</sup> Stewart McIntosh, *The Life and Times of John Ritchie, Scotland and Peru, 1878-1952* (Tayport: MAC Research Monographs, 1988), 36 and see Keen and Wasserman, *A Short History*, 244-5, 385-6 and 389-90. Clorinda Matto de Turner was one of the better know writers supporting this movement.

<sup>29</sup> E.C. Millard and Lucy E. Guinness, *South America: The Neglected Continent* (London: E. Marlborough & Co., 1894), 144.



referred to as the ‘Indian problem.’<sup>30</sup> One factor was the development of the *segundo indigenismo* (the second indigenist movement),<sup>31</sup> which included the illustrious writer Manuel Gonzalez Prada (1848-1918) and his circle, to which the author Clorinda Matto de Turner, native of Cuzco, was initiated in 1887. The first indigenist movements in Peru were top down, and largely political. Another factor was the election of general Cáceres, a member of the ‘Andean elite,’ as president in 1886. His constitutional party introduced fiscal decentralisation and a return to personal contribution by the indigenous peoples. By 1892 there were problems between the constitutional party and its allies the civilists that resulted in the 1894 civil war. The civilists took Lima and brought down president Cáceres in January 1895, bringing to an end the period that later became known as that of ‘National Reconstruction.’ The summer of 1895 saw the period of anarchy that followed the civilist victory, during which Matto de Turner was forced to flee the country.<sup>32</sup> At the height of anarchy, the first British missionaries arrived in Cuzco. Their presence could well have been perceived as an additional threat to Cuzco’s stability – hence the repercussions.

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<sup>30</sup> José Carlos Mariátegui, *7 Ensayos de Interpretación de la Realidad Peruana* (Lima: Biblioteca Amauta, 1952), 35-48 entitled his famous essay ‘El Problema del Indio’. Also see Keen and Wasserman, *A Short History*, 386.

<sup>31</sup> Juan M. Ossio, *Los Indios del Perú* (Madrid: MAPFRE, 1992), 234-5. The first indigenist movement was a call primarily from the Andean provinces, at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, for the government to be true to its liberal sentiments, which had been voiced in favour of the indigenous peoples of Peru, to very little avail. This second indigenous movement was more influential, being closely associated with groups in the larger urban centres. While the first movement was profoundly political, the second had a wider influence which included the arts and social sciences as well as politics. The division between secular and sacred in evangelical mission meant that at this early stage there was limited reflection on what ‘indigenous’ might mean to mission - any ‘indigenous’ movement in Christian circles appeared later, as a precursor to ‘contextualization’, and now ‘inculturation’ – terms that have been used primarily in missiological and hermeneutical contexts. See E. Bolaji Idowu, ‘Indigenization,’ in *A Dictionary of Liturgy and Worship*, ed. J.G. Davies (London: SCM, 1972), 198-203 - 198 quotes Placide Tempels in *Bantu Philosophy* 1959, 18: ‘It has repeatedly been said that evangelization and catechetical work should be adapted...Adapted to what? We can build churches in native architecture, introduce African melodies into the liturgy, use styles of vestments borrowed from Mandarins or Bedouins, but real adaptation consists in the adaptation of our spirits to the spirits of these people.’ Peter Schineller, S.J., *A Handbook on Inculturation* (New York: Paulist Press, 1990), 16-17 explains that this ‘theology of adaptation...[has] been criticized as inadequate, in fact as a subtle form of imposition.’ It was further ‘called into question in 1974 in Rome at the International Synod on Evangelization.’ There, the African bishops espoused the ‘incarnation of the gospel.’

<sup>32</sup> Francesca Denegri, *El Abanico y la Cigarrera: la primera generación de mujeres ilustradas en el Perú* (Lima: IEP/Flora Tristán, 1996), 164-71. Also see Edilberto Marquez-Vega, *Is There a Peruvian Liturgy in the Evangelical Church?* (Tayport: Mac Research, 1995), 38-40.

### 2.1.1 Hymns Introduced

When a meeting was arranged with inhabitants of Cuzco in 1899, hymns in Spanish were included in the proceedings. Mrs. Newell remarked on the surprise expressed that the themes of a hymn were Christ and God, since the priests claimed that the evangelicals did not worship Christ.<sup>33</sup>

In February 1903 the first three converts in Cuzco were baptised, followed by fifty to sixty baptisms the next year. Despite these conversions, whose majority could speak Quechua well,<sup>34</sup> the Quechua people remained largely unreached. Their understandable suspicion of outsiders was such that it was difficult to communicate with them.<sup>35</sup> In any case, they were used to people speaking to them in their own language. The *mistis*, the white Andean population who had daily contact with them, all knew their language, traditions and customs.<sup>36</sup> After the Edinburgh 1910 conference, however, at a meeting at Keswick in 1911, the EUSA was formed on the basis of three previous missionary agencies, the South American Evangelical Mission, the South American section of the Regions Beyond Missionary Union, and the Help for Brazil Mission. Thereafter, a more concerted effort was made to reach the indigenous population, but it was still some time before the Quechua language was used.

The Urco farm, near Calca in the department of Cuzco, had been taken over by the RBMU in 1908, at the suggestion of an Australian agriculturist, Allan H. Job, and the purchase was completed in 1911.<sup>37</sup> Its purpose was ‘the evangelisation of the Inca Indians. Families of these people are being encouraged to settle on the Farm, and by means of School and Orphanage it is proposed to gather in the little ones and bring them up in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.’<sup>38</sup> The mission slipped into the mould of the large landowners, albeit magnanimous towards its tenants. It also imposed a western approach to education. The containment of

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<sup>33</sup> Letter published in Newell, *For Christ*, 87.

<sup>34</sup> Kessler, *Older Protestant Missions*, 163.

<sup>35</sup> Cruickshank, *Sun Rises*, 21.

<sup>36</sup> Denegri, *El Abanico*, 163.

<sup>37</sup> Kessler, *Older Protestant Missions*, 169.

Quechuas on land owned by others but rightfully theirs, begun with the Spanish *encomiendas*, remained unchallenged. With this project, British mission continued the legacy of Spanish colonialism.

It was now getting easier for British missionaries to live in the south of Peru, since secular forces were gaining prominence. 'In 1906, the President of Peru [José Pardo y Barreda (1904-8 and 1915-19)] came to Arequipa and was accorded a great reception. A large and enthusiastic Catholic deputation waited upon him with a lengthy petition asking for our expulsion. The President evaded the point as best he could...' <sup>39</sup> Even in 1988, the Jesuit social scientist Manuel Marzal commented that 'Protestantism has not developed in Peru until very recently for different reasons, above all the opposition of the Catholic Church and because of her privileged position in the Peruvian legal framework.'<sup>40</sup> The antagonism was often mutual, as happened in Segura's case. The work of evangelical nurses often softened people's attitudes to evangelical missionaries, however.<sup>41</sup> Among these were Ethel Pinn and Dorothy Michell, who would later exert such influence on Segura and his town of Talavera.<sup>42</sup>

In January 1912, Dr. Glennly began work among the Quechua, 'giving lantern exhibitions of the Life of Christ, etc.', while one of the employees at the mission house translated.<sup>43</sup> That same month, Mr. Austin (heading up the work in Cuzco) visited other Peruvian cities, observing that Sicuani, south of Cuzco, would 'form a

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<sup>38</sup> Rev. A. Stuart McNairn, 'The Romance of the Urco Farm,' *South America* Vol.I, No.1 (May 1912): 10.

<sup>39</sup> John L. Jarrett, 'Arequipa,' *The Neglected Continent* Vol.II, No.1 (December 1909): 15. See Selden Rodman, *The Peru Traveller* (London: Ward Lock, 1967), 75-6 for a breakdown of advances during his presidencies, including the greatest extension of education up to that time, and the constitutional amendment allowing freedom of worship.

<sup>40</sup> Manuel Marzal, *Los Caminos Religiosos de los Inmigrantes en la Gran Lima* (Lima: Pontífica Universidad Católica del Perú, 1988), 21.

<sup>41</sup> E.J.D. Hercus, 'A Three-Cornered Fight,' *South America* Vol.I, No.1 (May 1912): 18 and Rev. Charles Inwood, 'My Visit to Peru,' *South America* Vol.I, No.9 (January 1913): 204.

<sup>42</sup> See Ethel Pinn, 'Nursing in Cuzco,' *The Neglected Continent* Vol.II, No. 1 (December 1909): 17 and Case, *Great One*, 4-5 for descriptions of their nursing work in Talavera.

<sup>43</sup> E.C. Austin, 'Report of Work at Cuzco Station,' *South America* Vol.I, No.4 (August 1912): 88-9. The mission house was called 'Monjaspata' (Nun's Walk), wrongly translated as Monk's Walk in Vol.I, No.2, 33.

strategic centre for work' among the indigenous population.<sup>44</sup> The Rev. Charles Inwood, reporting on his 1912 visit to EUSA stations in his capacity as director of the mission, commented that to do more 'aggressive work amongst the Indians', someone with knowledge of Quechua was needed, no missionary having yet learned the language.<sup>45</sup> While Inwood was at the Urco farm for the Field Council in 1912, it was agreed to employ one of the 'native Christians who is equally familiar with Spanish and Quechua.' The urgency of this provision was heightened for the missionaries by the fact that at least two million of the population of Peru were speakers of Quechua only.<sup>46</sup> 17 years after evangelicals arrived in Cuzco, while decrying the 'ignorance' and 'superstition' there (in Guinness' words), no one had set aside the time required to learn the language of the people. It cannot have been their genuine priority, and yet for the Spanish, Quechua was considered essential to the successful assimilation of their conquest. While not ideal in terms of equality of relationship, this lack of language among evangelical missionaries made them more dependent on Quechua bilinguals, such as Case was on Segura, and probably hastened the development of a Quechua evangelical church that was genuinely autonomous and a hymnody that was entirely autochthonous.<sup>47</sup>

By 1 June 1913, when the first harvest festival service was held at Urco, Señor Arturo Cartagena<sup>48</sup> had been employed. The 7.30 AM service included a hymn sung in English by the missionaries – 'Come, ye thankful people, come.' They commented, '...we watched the Indians as they listened to the strange song; and as the dark faces lighted up we felt that they too were catching the spirit of what we sang.' This is probably a misinterpretation of the expression on their faces – curiosity at the strangeness is more likely. But the Urco missionaries were at least aware of

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<sup>44</sup> Austin, 'Cuzco Station,' *South America* Vol.I, No.4, 89.

<sup>45</sup> Inwood, 'My Visit,' *South America* Vol.I, No.9, 205.

<sup>46</sup> Inwood, 'My Visit,' *South America* Vol.I, No.9, 205.

<sup>47</sup> Such a process of working from within is now taken as a given by Christians of varying traditions. Indeed, Laurenti Magesa, *Anatomy of Inculturation: Transforming the Church in Africa* (New York: Orbis, 2004), 146 says: 'Pope Paul VI in *Evangelii Nuntiandi* (1975: nn.18-19) identifies the processes of evangelization and inculturation in their deepest meaning and implications by saying that if evangelization means anything, it must mean bringing the Good News into all the strata of human life and, through its influence, transforming humanity *from within* [italics mine] and making it new.'

<sup>48</sup> Arturo Cartagena, 'A Striking Testimony,' *South America* Vol.II, No.20 (December 1913): 188-9 for Cartagena's account of how he became a Protestant through his friend Ramon Villafuerte.

how strange their music was to the Quechuas. There followed hymns and reading in Spanish, and the prayers and address were in Quechua, by 'Brother Cartagena' – the 'story of redeeming love.' The address was what most interested the Quechua, demonstrating the importance of communication in the vernacular to arouse people's real interest.<sup>49</sup> By 1914, Señor Cartagena was preaching in Quechua three times a week to the Urco farm workers, and with much interest recorded, although no attendance figures were quoted.

The schoolwork begun at Urco in 1912-13 included, in addition to reading and writing, 'one or two simple hymns in Spanish,' along with a story from the Bible in simple language and the Lord's Prayer, but nothing in Quechua.<sup>50</sup> On 1 January 1913, the Sunday School in Cuzco held a New Year's festival where the children 'sang hymns used only in the Sunday School sessions' (in Spanish) to everyone present.<sup>51</sup> A Quechua servant boy went to Sunday School with his mistress where he quickly learned the hymns '...and often he could be heard singing in the home the hymns learnt in the Sunday School.'<sup>52</sup>

W.T.T. Millham, a missionary printer, describes how strange this new kind of worship was to Peruvians, including Quechuas:

In the first place, interest is awakened. To anyone entering one of our Mission Halls for the first time, everything is entirely new, indeed quite strange. The fact of meeting in such a place for religious worship – the form of the service – the hymns sung by the whole congregation and not by a select choir – the prayers being extempore and not read in an unknown tongue; the reading and exposition of the Scripture – all is new, strangely new.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> Edward M. Foster, 'Our First Harvest Festival,' *South America* Vol. II, No.18 (October 1913): 129. Rosa Trumper, 'Cuttings from our Correspondence from Cuzco,' *South America* Vol.II, No.22 (February 1914): 223-4 writes of the boys' class in Cuzco that 'they are keen...on learning hymns....Then the attention they give to Sr. Cartagena, when he explains the text to them in Quechua is really good.'

<sup>50</sup> Foster, 'Harvest Festival,' *South America* Vol.II, No.18, 129.

<sup>51</sup> E.C. Austin, 'Cuzco,' *South America* Vol.II, No.13 (May 1913): 19.

<sup>52</sup> Nurse Watkins, 'For the Children: One of Many Little Ones,' *South America* Vol.IV, No.3 (July 1915): 64.

<sup>53</sup> W.T.T. Millham, 'From Darkness into Light,' *South America* Vol.II, No.20 (December 1913): 185.

At its inception, it is clear that ‘strange’ was the most common response to evangelical worship.<sup>54</sup> The simplicity of the place of worship must have had varying responses. The Quechua had been Christianised for many years by the RC church, and western music was not entirely new to them. But here was a service in a vernacular language rather than the Latin mass, and active engagement in singing (a form more akin to the communal Andean approach to music) hymns that, although not pentatonic, had words that focussed less on their status as penitents than the RC hymns they were used to.<sup>55</sup>

### 2.1.2 Singing in Quechua

In 1915, Mr. Payne at the Urco farm wrote:

It would do your heart good to drop in and hear them singing in Quechua. They do not put half the heart into the singing in Spanish! There seems more spirit in the Quechua....As soon as the rains are over...we shall be able to start a systematic itinerating campaign, both in Spanish and Quechua....For the itinerating work, a small hand organ is needed.<sup>56</sup>

By this time, hymn singing in Quechua was well established, and although what was sung is not clear, it was important enough to be included as part of an itinerant campaign, necessitating an organ to facilitate it. The missionaries were those most likely to be teaching the songs, therefore - the use of Quechua instruments was not considered, since their use in *fiestas* marked them out as carnal instruments. In fact, Quechua music had always carried an element of resistance and therefore of threat to others, especially the *qarawi*, which, although it was used to accompany many different social activities, was specifically singled out during colonial days as ‘idolatry, because it “commemorated the ancient history of the Incas”.’<sup>57</sup> Quicaña records that as a consequence of the rebellion of Tupac Amaru in 1780, ‘the songs

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<sup>54</sup> Edward Schillebeeckx, ‘Foreward,’ in *Constructing Local Theologies* by Robert J. Schreier (London: SCM, 1985), ix comments that ‘theologizing today also has to deal with the problem of a “culture shock” and not merely with the analysis and comparison of theological concepts.’

<sup>55</sup> Andrew Wilson-Dickson, *A Brief History of Christian Music* (Oxford: Lion Publishing first ed., illustrated, 1992; Oxford: Lion Publishing, 1997), 347 (page citations are to the reprint edition).

<sup>56</sup> Thomas Payne, ‘The Latest from Urco,’ *South America* Vol.IV, No.1 (May 1915): 28. A full description of the hand organ and the way it was used is included.

<sup>57</sup> Carrasco, ‘El Qarawi,’ 239-40. The chronicler Guamán Poma de Ayala quoted in Enrique Pinilla, *La Música, Historia del Perú* Tomo IX (Lima, Perú: Editorial Juan Mejía Baca, 1980), 376-9 describes the *qarawi* (which has also been spelled *qarawiq*, *harahui*, *aravi*, *arawi*, *yarabi*, *arabiqui*, for example) as ‘a pitiful and sad song.’

and musical instruments of our ancestors were completely prohibited by a resolution passed by the inspector José Antonio Areche of Spain.’<sup>58</sup>

Welcoming Payne’s new wife in 1915, the children sang a Quechua hymn, as well as singing or reciting other hymns.<sup>59</sup> The Quechua tradition of accompanying activities with music was extended to the use of hymns by children as a welcome to Urco,<sup>60</sup> although the hymns were translations. The Quechua, being purpose-orientated in their use of music, immediately started applying the new hymns to specific contexts. Such a strong cultural bias has been interpreted as ‘an opposition to *mestizaje*, a desire for continuity or resistance to integration or adaptation to the hegemonic culture.’<sup>61</sup>

A 17 June 1915 letter to Payne from Justo el Llerena, a Peruvian ‘several days’ journey down the valley’ in Echarati, Santa Ana says that it is ‘with very great pleasure I have read your very impressive composition in Quechua “*Cconin, Christoman Sonccocta*” [‘my heart is warm to Christ’] upon which I congratulate you.’<sup>62</sup> This may have been a musical composition, since Len Herniman’s 1946 collection of Quechua hymns *Allin Willaykunaq Takinkuna* includes one of that title, no.33 *Qonin Kristoman Sonqoyta* - a translation of a Spanish hymn in *Nuevos Himnos Evangélicos* no.68. Or it could have been a tract. The following year Mr. T. Webster Smith (a EUSA missionary working in the central Peruvian Andes from his base in Huanuco) refers to ‘several hundreds of our first Quechua tract.’<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> Fernando Quicaña, *Música y Cultura Quechua* (Huancayo, Perú: CONAEQP, 1986), 12-13. He quotes the text of the resolution on page 13: ‘In the same way the trumpets and clarions that the Indians use in their activities are forbidden and confiscated;...they are not to announce the grief and lamentable memory of their ancestors,...the day or time of the conquest is considered by them to be fatal and by us to be happy, given that they were joined to the society of the Catholic Church and the grace of our kings.’

<sup>59</sup> Rosa Trumper, ‘Happy Days at “Urco”,’ *South America* Vol.IV, No.6 (October 1915): 111-12.

<sup>60</sup> There are further records of hymns sung by the children at Urco to welcome the newcomer in T. Webster Smith, ‘Impressions of “Urco”,’ *South America* Vol.VI, No.5 (September 1917): 55.

<sup>61</sup> Raúl Romero, ‘La Música Tradicional y Popular,’ in *La Música en el Perú* (Lima, Perú: Patronato Popular y Porvenir Pro Música Clásica, 1985), 231-2. See 231-246 for examples of music and instruments in context.

<sup>62</sup> Quoted by Mrs. T.E. Payne, ‘Life at Urco,’ *South America* Vol.IV, No.8 (December 1915): 143.

<sup>63</sup> T. Webster Smith, ‘Two Hundred Miles with Two Thousand Tracts,’ *South America* Vol.IV, No.11 (March 1916): 189.

In 1916 Smith's 'splendid unpaid helper' Señor Chocano wrote a tract that was 'a telling conversation between natives [Quechuas]' and became an effective communication tool. Like Case afterwards, with regard to Segura's Quechua hymns and translation work, Smith acknowledged that 'he himself could not have devised' such a tract. And like Case, he was carried away with enthusiasm over a project in Quechua that sidelined the Bible translation work he was engaged in with Chocano, who had already given him 'a complete translation of the Gospel of Matthew in the local dialect of Quechua' in 1915.<sup>64</sup> In both cases the enthusiasm was encouraged by Quechua response to the Gospel presented in a way that they could understand, and represented a practice that was ahead of theory. The fact that new converts were so willing to give their time with no remuneration reveals both their commitment to evangelical Christianity and their consequent desire to use their special capabilities to make it known. Both Webster Smith and Case allowed their national helpers to not only inspire them, but also to carry out work on their own initiative, making their efforts true inculturation.

In 1917, when a new station opened in Urubamba, the Paynes went with Llerena and Mesquita (another converted man), 'in order that we might have hymns and music.'<sup>65</sup> This comment makes it more likely that the composition previously referred to by Llerena was musical. The assumption here is that music was unlikely to play a part in the opening of the new station without their input. Since Quechua instruments were not encouraged and the Paynes considered music essential in Christian worship, they required the help of people more used to Western music and instruments.

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<sup>64</sup> Editor, 'Notes and Notices: Just in Time,' *South America* Vol.V, No.3 (August 1916): 56 and see T. Webster Smith, 'Huánuco: A New Peruvian Station,' *South America* Vol.IV, No.1 (May 1915): 30-1.

<sup>65</sup> Mrs. T. Payne, 'Urubamba,' *South America* Vol.VI, Nos.I and II (May/June 1917): 15. There are numerous passing references to Quechua hymns being sung, but whether they were translations from the Spanish or English, or original compositions in Quechua is unclear. Bishop Cabrera of the Spanish Reformed Church died in 1916, and mention is made of his hymns, 'which have made his name familiar in Latin America as well as Spain' (Editor, 'In Memoriam – Bishop Cabrera,' *South America* Vol.V, No.4 (August 1916): 78). Possibly some effort was made to translate his hymns from Spanish to Quechua, although it is more likely that EUSA missionaries in Urco and Cuzco would translate from their own mother tongue.



## 2.2 Peruvian Colporteurs and the Vernacular

Because of the liberators' anti-clerical position, and the connection of Baptist pastor James (*Diego*) Thomson's colportage activities with the Lancasterian school system, he was encouraged by the liberators in Argentina, Chile and Peru, from 1818-1824. Peru therefore had a history of colportage almost from its very beginnings with the British and Foreign Bible Society,<sup>66</sup> in 1804.<sup>67</sup> After Thomson left Peru in 1824, there was little colportage work until 1857, when the BFBS 'appointed A.J. Duffield as agent for the west coast'<sup>68</sup> [of South America]. The Negreiros church in Lima, opened on April 17, 1896,<sup>69</sup> became a centre for colportage, with Peruvians selling New Testaments, Bibles, Bible portions and books almost as soon as they were converted,<sup>70</sup> while RBMU missionary John Ritchie<sup>71</sup> encouraged men to use the sale of the Bible as an evangelistic tool.

In 1914 it was recorded that Señor Felipe Muñoz had travelled for eight years as colporteur throughout every department of Peru<sup>72</sup> and Señor Virgilio – a soldier discharged from the Peruvian army - traversed 'five of the...departments of Peru – Lima, Junin, Huanuco, Huancavelica and Ayacucho.'<sup>73</sup> These give some idea of how widely colporteurs travelled.<sup>74</sup> One advantage of the enthusiasm for colportage among Peruvian converts was that many of them spoke Quechua as well as Spanish, and all of them found opportunities for speaking to prospective buyers, while some were considered gifted preachers. The vernacular was most extensively used to communicate from the Bible in colportage. Smith recounts that two interested men, one of them Quechua:

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<sup>66</sup> Hereafter known as BFBS.

<sup>67</sup> R.S. Sugirtharajah, *The Bible and the Third World: Precolonial, Colonial and Postcolonial Encounters* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 142: BFBS centenary year 1903-1904.

<sup>68</sup> Kessler, *Older Protestant Missions*, 24-5.

<sup>69</sup> Kessler, *Older Protestant Missions*, 158.

<sup>70</sup> T. Webster Smith, "'I will not, but...went" – into Two Hundred Towns,' *South America* Vol.III, No.6 (October 1914): 130. Sugirtharajah, *The Bible*, 141 comments that, 'The beginning of the twentieth century marked the halcyon days of colportage, and since then the scale of recruitment has not surpassed those momentous figures. At that point the Bible Society had 1,200 colporteurs, more than half of them in India and China.'

<sup>71</sup> Kessler, *Older Protestant Missions*, 1 – Ritchie sailed for Peru in 1906.

<sup>72</sup> T. Webster Smith, 'An Elder of the Lima Church,' *South America* Vol.III, No.7 (November 1914): 150.

<sup>73</sup> Webster Smith, 'Two Hundred Towns,' 130-1.

...were delighted at the gift of a New Testament each, and of an illustrated "Scripture Portion", and bore away an assortment in the two languages, for their own reading, to give to others, and to read to the illiterate. We find this habit prevails in Peru, and it enhances the value of our Quechua translations. Indians ...are immediately on the *qui vive* if it be in Quechua.<sup>75</sup>

Even reading was a communitarian activity among the Quechua.<sup>76</sup> Segura, who was aware of this, later ensured that his hymnbook was available so that those who could read Quechua would share it with others.

John Savage, EUSA missionary and later General Secretary of the mission (1929-1952) in 1946 described a common progression used by colporteurs when invited into a home to communicate with members of the family:

Gaining a hearing, he will sit where they sit and read the Scriptures to them. He will comment as little as necessary, preferring to let God speak for Himself through the simple, clear reading of one passage after another. The first passage to be turned to will often be the 23<sup>rd</sup> Psalm. It speaks to them in familiar terms and makes them desire that its blessedness should be theirs, especially the part which speaks of fearing no evil when we walk through the valley of the shadow of death, and the end which speaks of dwelling in the house of the Lord for ever. This leads quite naturally to John 14, the reading of which chapter has often been the decisive factor in the sale of a Bible. When once hope has been awakened, a portion like Exodus 20 will be opened up, for the law is still a schoolmaster which brings men and women to Christ. Conviction of sin takes various forms, but it is most common to find that conviction of the sin of idolatry is the first symptom of spiritual awakening in Peru. After that, the evangelist will endeavour to turn their hearts and wills towards the living God and the Saviour Jesus Christ, using Luke 15 as the effective Scripture.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> Webster Smith, 'Two Hundred Towns,' 131.

<sup>75</sup> T. Webster Smith, 'Parlour-Guests and Patio-Guests,' *South America* Vol.V, No.12 (April 1917): 202. Also see Savage, *On Trek*, 33.

<sup>76</sup> Fernando Quicaña, 'El Evangelio y la Cultura Andina,' in *Para todos los Pueblos*, CLADE III: Documentos ((Lima: PROMIES and FTL, 1992), 58-9 defines the social aspects of Andean life as 'collective, communitarian and participative, functional and practical,' and that its basis in the *ayllu* means that this social organization is 'familial...egalitarian and without social class.' He contrasts this with both capitalism and communism.

<sup>77</sup> Savage, *On Trek*, 22. John Ritchie, *Indigenous Church Principles in Theory and Practice* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1946), 36 comments in the same vein. More generally, Sugirtharajah, *The Bible*, 156 quotes from *Building a City: A Popular Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society 1921-1922* (London: The Bible House, 1922), 69: 'The selection of texts reported by the colporteurs is interesting. They rarely mention those which deal with historical or doctrinal matters. The important ones for them are directly related to morality and ethics. Thus the sayings of Jesus and the ethical passages from the Hebrew Scriptures are given equal weight. Psalm 23, the Book of Proverbs and the Parable of the Prodigal Son are projected as having the same hermeneutical purchase. It is interesting to note what texts impressed particular people and attracted them to Christianity....'

Segura, an experienced colporteur, appreciated what worked well. So he used the Bible in his hymns to reach people on familiar terms. Twelve of the first 111 hymns and 22 of the first 101 choruses in *Diospa Siminmanta Takikuna* and *Allin Willaykunaq Takinkuna*<sup>78</sup> - the earliest composed - closely parallel Biblical narratives.

The ability to construct a Christian understanding on the foundations of the existing Quechua worldview holds the key to Segura's success. This is essential to genuine inculturation, in that it 'should occur naturally and spontaneously, wherever the gospel is lived and shared. It should not be something added on, something optional, something for the classroom or laboratory, but rather the ever-present attitude in all Christian life and mission. In the final analysis, therefore, inculturation refers to the correct way of living and sharing one's Christian faith in a particular context or culture.'<sup>79</sup> Inculturation as attitude puts life as mission ahead of critical, reflective study.

The subjects of preaching were an important element in the later choice of wording for Segura's hymns. In 1916, Smith (-1918) noted the subject of 'salvation by grace through faith, exemplified mainly by the Brazen Serpent healing.' The Peruvian preacher gave the illustration of the Inca king Atahualpa being doomed - no matter how much gold he gave the Spaniards, he would die. So it would be for anyone who did not trust in the blood of Christ for free pardon.<sup>80</sup> He was thus drawing on the *Inkarrí* myth – the best known and most widespread in Quechua oral tradition.<sup>81</sup> A

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<sup>78</sup> Hereafter referred to as AWT.

<sup>79</sup> Schineller, *Inculturation*, 12.

<sup>80</sup> T. Webster Smith, 'Blessing from Unburned Bibles,' *South America* Vol.V, No.4 (August 1916): 71.

<sup>81</sup> José María Arguedas, *Mitos Quechuas Post-hispánicos: El Mito de Inkarrí y las Tres Humanidades*, in *Teología Mesiánica del Mundo Andino*, Colección Biblioteca de Antropología, 2d ed. Juan M. Ossio A. (Lima: Ignacio Prado Pastor, 1973), 379-91 records three *Inkarrí* myths discovered in widely dispersed communities of the Andes in the 1950s and 60s. Franklin Pease, 'El Mito de Inkarrí y la Visión de los Vencidos,' in *Teología Mesiánica del Mundo Andino*, Colección Biblioteca de Antropología, 2d ed. Juan M. Ossio A. (Lima: Ignacio Prado Pastor, 1973), 443 writes: 'It is suggestive that an Indian chronicler such as Guamán Poma, who writes in the years immediately after 1613, gives us a version of the decapitated Inca (Atahualpa), and that there are also paintings that offer the same image in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. *Inkarrí* is the Inca and we have noted that he is not only a governor, but also a divine being that serves as a model for people (archetype). It is possible that the

hymn by Segura was also based on the brazen serpent passage in Numbers 21:1-9. It has been retained up to the current editions of both the Ayacucho/Chanca DST and the Cuzco ITAT, with only a few regional variations in spelling and wording.<sup>82</sup>

The following year Smith heard Llerena preach in both Spanish and Quechua at the Urco farm. The theme was abundant life, from “I am come that they might have life, and that they might have it more abundantly” (John 10:10). He used the illustration of ‘a small toad which had been sucked up by the automatic pump and had grown inside the pipe until the flow was almost stopped.’ The explanation was that likewise a very small thing in their lives could grow and hinder them from having abundant life.<sup>83</sup> The biblical theme of abundant life occurring in the context of the good shepherd and his flock makes sense to the Quechua, as they associate the well-being of their flocks with their own daily care for them. ‘They remain with the sheep all day, having their meals sent down to them, and then in the dusk of the evening you can picture Zenon and his companion toiling up the hill, sometimes with a little lamb in his arms, which has only been born that day and is too weak to climb the hill; at other times he may have to rescue a sheep who has turned off from the path and become entangled in the thorny bushes.’<sup>84</sup> The most enduring biblical theme for the Quechua is that of the Good Shepherd, based on Psalm 23 and John 10.

Savage commented in the same vein of an experience during his evangelistic travels in the Andes, near the gorge of the Apurímac River:

The picture which impressed them more than any other was that of the Good Shepherd carrying home the sheep which was found. Many of these shepherd Indians of the Peruvian highlands love their animals more than their own lives. They will risk going under the wheels of a train or a car trying to protect a sheep or llama. Let engine drivers and chauffeurs testify! So, to tell them that Christ loved them more than they could ever love a sheep was love indeed. How they understood about sheep straying and the Shepherd searching and suffering!<sup>85</sup>

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Inca is an archetype prior to the Tawantinsuyu, and this could explain its survival in Andean thinking up to the present...

<sup>82</sup> See hymn 8 in ITAT 11<sup>th</sup> edition 1998 and hymn 9 in DST 18<sup>th</sup> edition 1997.

<sup>83</sup> Webster Smith, ‘Impressions of “Urco”,’ 56-7.

<sup>84</sup> Mrs. T.E. Payne describing the daily life of two young shepherd boys on the Urco farm, in ‘Chats with the Children,’ *South America* Vol.VII, No.4 (April-June 1919): 51.

<sup>85</sup> Savage, *On Trek*, 8-9.

Most of the national colporteurs and evangelists had been shepherds themselves.<sup>86</sup> To identify with Jesus Christ, to understand Jesus' shepherd love, was to be drawn in to the centre of mission – to one of Walls' two constants, the person of Jesus – and from that starting point, drawing others into the church – Walls' second constant.

Segura wrote three 'shepherd' hymns for DST, two based on Psalm 23 and one on John 10. All three were in the Cuzco AWT, but when it was revised in 1986 and became ITAT only one based on Psalm 23 was retained (101 in DST and AWT and 178 in ITAT). The other two were omitted because they were not as popular by that time and therefore fell into disuse.<sup>87</sup> The revision coincided with the movement from rural to urban life that had accelerated throughout the country, due largely to the activities of the 'Shining Path' Maoist terrorist movement.<sup>88</sup> One consequence was fewer shepherds in the churches that used the most hymnbooks. Colportage became less important and less viable, for the same reasons.<sup>89</sup>

Colportage provided the means to place the Spanish Bible in the greatest possible number of homes, where anyone could have access to one. The next logical step was translation into the Quechua vernacular.

### **2.3 The Influence of Evangelical Missionaries**

In 1895 a Robert Arthington gave 350 pounds to the RBMU, expressly for starting work among the 'Inca Indians' in the Cuzco area and 'to try and translate the Bible into the Quechua language.'<sup>90</sup> This provided the impetus for Peters and Jarrett, learning Spanish while working in Callao and Lima, to move to Cuzco. But because

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<sup>86</sup> Savage, *On Trek*, 19 and 21.

<sup>87</sup> Ricardo Cahuana in Dr. Nat Davies' letter 15-4-99.

<sup>88</sup> Robin Kirk, 'Chaqwa,' in *The Peru Reader*, ed. Orin Starn, Carlos Iván Degregori and Robin Kirk (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1995), 354-67.

<sup>89</sup> Perhaps also because Quechua Christians had become more politically aware and therefore more nuanced in their political positions. Sugirtharajah, *The Bible*, 162-3 comments re colportage that, 'The Reports were scrupulous in maintaining the image of a colporteur as one above politics and controversy. ...[But] Though the Bible Society claimed neutrality, it was, however, severe against socialist teaching. It warned its readers: "On the continent of Europe, the weight of social hardships and miseries and the iron pressure of militarism have driven multitudes to enter the ranks of Socialism....A foreign Socialist is generally un-Christian, and often fiercely anti-Christian, confronting the Bible with scorn and blasphemy."

<sup>90</sup> Kessler, *Older Protestant Missions*, 160.

of the difficulties they encountered there, the translation into Quechua was shelved. The *South America* magazine records numerous efforts to translate the Bible into the vernacular.<sup>91</sup> Smith mentions that Chocano not only distributed ninety copies of *El Heraldo*<sup>92</sup> each month, but was also in the process of translating the ‘Testament’ (presumably the New Testament) into the local Quechua. Chocano had been converted through reading a ‘Testament’ borrowed from a friend who accompanied him on drinking bouts, and so was convinced of its value in changing people’s lives.<sup>93</sup> By 1915, Smith had received Chocano’s manuscript of the translation of the Gospel of Matthew for typing.<sup>94</sup>

Len and Edith Herniman, EUSA missionaries, moved to the village of Huantura in 1926, after a year in Sicuani, where they had started meetings.<sup>95</sup> They were among the first of a new generation of missionaries to Peru who wanted to get away from the practice of having missionary ‘bases’, following rather Roland Allen’s ‘indigenous principles’ and living among the Quechua people themselves.<sup>96</sup> The

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<sup>91</sup> These 20th century efforts were pre-dated by sporadic earlier efforts. Bahamonde, *Evangelical Christianity in Peru*, 31-2 records that James Thomson had the Gospel of Luke translated into Quechua by an educated layman. It should have been published in 1823, but the manuscript disappeared and is yet to resurface, if indeed it still exists. On page 40 Bahamonde tells us that Dr. Vicente Pazos Kanki, an Aymara and citizen of Bolivia who had spent years teaching at the university in Cuzco and was therefore equally skilled in Quechua, offered his translation services to the BFBS in 1829, to translate the Psalms into Quechua – a task he completed in 1831. José Toribio Medina, *Bibliografía de las Lenguas Quechua y Aymará* (New York: Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, 1930), entry 116 indicates that he was unaware of the translation of the Psalms - to his best knowledge, the first Quechua portion of the Bible to be published by the BFBS was a translation John’s gospel by the Rev. J.H.Gybbon-Spilsbury in 1880. Denegri, *El Abanico*, 163 tells us that Clorinda Matto de Turner, from her forced exile in Buenos Aires, translated both Luke and Acts into Quechua under the auspices of the Rev. Andrew Murray Milne, representing the American Bible Society. Both were published in 1901.

<sup>92</sup> Kessler, *Older Protestant Missions*, 167-8. *El Heraldo* was a monthly evangelistic periodical begun in 1911 and edited by Ritchie to (among other things) take full advantage of the provision of free postal service throughout Peru for periodicals.

<sup>93</sup> T. Webster Smith, ‘The Cry of Twenty-Seven,’ *South America* Vol.III, No.10 (February 1915): 199.

<sup>94</sup> T. Webster Smith, ‘Huánuco: A New Peruvian Station,’ *South America* Vol.IV, No.1 (May 1915): 30 and Rev. Stuart McNairn, ‘Amongst the Light Bearers,’ *South America* Vol.V, No.2 (June 1916): 43.

<sup>95</sup> Cruickshank, *Sun Rises*, 21 and Kessler, *Older Protestant Missions*, 187.

<sup>96</sup> Leslie Hoggarth, interview by author, 13 May 1999, telephone from London to St Andrews, Scotland, notes by author. Kessler, *Older Protestant Missions*, 188: indigenous principles were generally espoused by the EUSA Board in London beginning in 1930. Hans Kasdorf, ‘Indigenous Church Principles: A Survey of Origin and Development,’ in *Readings in Dynamic Indigeneity*, ed. Charles H. Kraft and Tom N. Wisley (Pasadena, California: William Carey Library, 1979), 71-86 outlines the development of ‘indigenous church principles’ since they ‘were articulated in the form in which they have come to us from Rufus Anderson (1796-1880), theoretician and administrator of the

culture and language in Huantura were purely Quechua. The Hernimans travelled from there, preaching via interpretation, while ‘they struggled to master the difficult language.’<sup>97</sup> One of the fruits of their labour was the first full translation of the New Testament in Cuzco Quechua, although this was not finished until 1942, after Herniman was loaned to the American Bible Society for two years to complete the task.<sup>98</sup> They also established a short term Bible School in 1931, to teach and train those who had ‘heard and received the Gospel.’<sup>99</sup>

About 100 miles south of Huantura, in Ayaviri (department of Puno), EUSA missionaries Alex and Maisie Jardine were approached by an ‘illiterate Christian father’<sup>100</sup> who wanted them to teach and take care of his two sons. One of those two brothers was Alejandro Mamani, soon joined by his school friend Saturnino Valeriano. In 1932 they went to Huantura to study at the Herniman's second Bible School. Becoming enthused about evangelising their own people, they began by travelling together to the Apurimac region to the west,<sup>101</sup> and returning to preach in their own region of Cuzco. So in 1933 the Quechua church in the south started growing, due to the preaching of its own evangelists.<sup>102</sup> A hymn by Alejandro Mamani, who had learned to play the mandolin alongside Maisie Jardine’s tuition in Sol-Fa, preceded the change from translated hymns to the Andahuaylas DST. It was about the judgement of the sheep and the goats (Matthew 25:31-end). The repeated refrain about the goats ‘forever burning’ was sung with vigour, rejoicing that the ‘goats’ that had caused them such pain and trouble would be cast into everlasting fire as punishment. The Gospel and politics mixed in this overt and in no way forgiving response to the treatment of the Quechua by colonial and neo-colonial powers. For

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American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) and his contemporary, Henry Venn (1796-1873), general secretary of the Scottish Missionary Society (SMS). Thus the Jesuits’ demands for accommodation in China and India under Matthew Ricci (1552-1610) and Roberto de Nobilli (1577-1656), Luther’s insistence on Germanization of the Germans during the Protestant Reformation, Paul’s policy of identification expressed in his writings (cf. I Cor. 9:19-20) – and even God’s act of the incarnation in His son – could be interpreted as examples of indigenous church principles in practice.’

<sup>97</sup>Cruickshank, *Sun Rises*, 21.

<sup>98</sup>Kessler, *Older Protestant Missions*, 188.

<sup>99</sup>Cruickshank, *Sun Rises*, 21 and see Savage, *On Trek*, 21.

<sup>100</sup> Cruickshank, *Sun Rises*, 21.

<sup>101</sup> See account in Case, *Great One*, 11-19 of two missionary journeys in Apurímac.

<sup>102</sup> Cruickshank, *Sun Rises*, 22.

many Quechua believers, a hymn like this was a first expression of their own faith. Hoggarth opined that it was not sound [theologically] to sing it with such rejoicing,<sup>103</sup> but it was part of the beginning of a truly ‘indigenous’<sup>104</sup> Quechua evangelical church.

### 2.3.1 Miss Pinn and Miss Michell

When Segura returned to Talavera for his mother’s funeral in March 1937, he discovered that Miss Pinn and Miss Michell had been working there as nurses with the EUSA since 1936 – Miss Pinn and Miss Michell. Previously they lived in Chincheros, thirty-five miles north of Talavera.<sup>105</sup> Their partnership started in Cuzco, where Miss Pinn arrived in 1906<sup>106</sup> and Miss Michell in August 1919, while Miss Pinn was on furlough.<sup>107</sup> She returned to join Miss Michell in November 1920.<sup>108</sup> Their nursing work was threefold - caring for patients in the Mission Clinic, outside in their own homes (maternity cases), and for ‘numerous minor ailments...in the consulting room.’<sup>109</sup> While nursing, they talked of their Christian faith. Miss

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<sup>103</sup> Hoggarth 13-5-99 and 28-10-97.

<sup>104</sup> Schineller, *Inculturation*, 18: ‘To be indigenous means to be a native, one who is born into a particular context or culture. This contrasts, therefore, with the outsider, the translator, or the adapter.’ RCs like Schineller, 6-7, use the incarnation to describe inculturation, thereby almost putting the sacred seal of approval on the term. Further, 18-24 define terms like indigenization and contextualization, giving the dangers of each in order to argue the superiority of the term ‘inculturation.’ He claims that, ‘One possible danger inherent in the term indigenization is that it might result in too static a view of culture,’ because those within a culture are not always aware of the changes occurring in their own culture. ‘...inculturation is an ongoing process.’

<sup>105</sup> Letter from Aparicia de Segura, the wife of Florencio Segura’s brother Teodosio Segura, to Frances Case, n.d., received 2-3-01. Also see E.K. Pinn and D. Michell, ‘Beginnings: A New Field,’ *South America* Vol.XV, No.7 (January-February 1937): 102; Guido Ortiz Segura, ‘Breve Reseña Histórica de la Evangelización y Formación de la Iglesia Evangélica Peruana en Talavera,’ *La Luz Andina* 60<sup>th</sup> Anniversary ed. (1997): 1; Florencio Segura, *Historia de la Obra Evangélica en Ayacucho, Huancavelica y Apurímac* (Talavera: published and printed by author, 1994), 9 and Case, *Great One*, 1-4.

<sup>106</sup> McIntosh, *Times of John Ritchie*, 12.

<sup>107</sup> Editor, ‘For Peru,’ *South America* Vol.VII, No.6 (October 1919): 74 and Dorothy Michell, ‘Home Service League Page,’ *South America* Vol.VII, No.8 (May 1920): 102.

<sup>108</sup> Editor, ‘Notes and Notices,’ *South America* Vol.VII, No.10 (October 1920): 129 and Dorothy Michell, ‘Nursing Work in Cuzco,’ *South America* Vol.VII, No.12 (April 1921): 170.

<sup>109</sup> Stuart McNairn, ‘Pressing Forward in Peru,’ *South America* Vol.VII, No.5 (July 1919): 63. See also Michell, ‘Nursing in Cuzco,’ 170; W.T.T. Millham, ‘Cuzco,’ *South America* Vol.VI, Nos. 1-2 (May/June 1917): 12; and Editor, ‘From our Prayer-Partners in Peru,’ *South America* Vol.VI, No3 (July 1917): 43: Miss Pinn constantly trained young girls as nurses, and at least one of them, Aurora, was baptised as an evangelical believer. She also developed a speciality in tooth extraction that many from varying backgrounds took advantage of – whether in prison or from well-to-do homes: Dorothy Michell, ‘To the Members of the H.S.L. [Home Service League],’ *South America* Vol.VIII, No.2 (March/April 1922): 22 and Rev. W.F. Jordan, ‘A Visitor in Cuzco,’ *South America* Vol.VIII, No.4



Michell recalls: 'Most will listen respectfully when I speak of the Lord Jesus, and a few show a real interest, and ask me questions about prayer, confession, forgiveness, and such subjects, showing that there is a desire in their hearts to know the Truth.'<sup>110</sup> The subjects that interested people are significant in terms of the subjects that later imbued Segura's hymns.<sup>111</sup>

In 1921, Misses Pinn and Michell wrote that 'the Indian work was being laid on' their hearts. They started a meeting in Quechua every Friday night, with 'a number of Indians working in the place here.' Miss Pinn commented, 'All I can manage to do is to help to sing their hymns, of which we have three or four translated.' 12-14 would come, Miss Michell would give the talk,<sup>112</sup> and Carmen, a girl studying nursing with them, translated into Quechua. This activity coincided with 'Indian risings in different parts of Peru.'<sup>113</sup>

The unsettled nature of that period meant that Quechua people were sending delegations to Cuzco. Under Leguía's presidency (1919-1930), a Bureau of Indian Affairs was set up (1920) in the Ministry of Development that encouraged Quechua aspirations, and 'he also appointed a commission of specialists in Indian affairs to study the causes of their growing unrest.'<sup>114</sup> These factors meant that in 1921 the meeting swelled to about 30 on one occasion, with people brought in by one of their members, and 75 extra people turned up another time. Miss Pinn wrote:

The Gospel means nothing to them because they know nothing about it, but news spreads quickly amongst the Indians, and as more arrive in Cuzco we expect they will be coming to learn a new hymn and hear a few words.<sup>115</sup>

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(July-September 1922): 61. Millham, 'Cuzco,' 12-13 commented on her 'untiring energy and spirit of self-sacrifice and readiness to serve another in need' which led to 'prejudice...broken down by means of the nursing work'. Miss Michell 'acquired...a reputation as an 'oculist', the result of having saved the sight of a number of babies whose eyes had become endangered through negligence.': W.T.T. Millham, 'In the Land of the Incas,' *South America* Vol.VII, No.9 (July 1920): 124.

<sup>110</sup> Michell, 'Home Service,' 102.

<sup>111</sup> Chapter 3 of this thesis.

<sup>112</sup> Ethel Pinn, "'We Must Do Something at Once!'" *South America* Vol.VIII, No.2 (March/April 1922): 19 and W.T.T. Millham, 'The Pleading Indians of Peru,' *South America* Vol.VIII, No.8 (March/April 1923): 120.

<sup>113</sup> Pinn, "'Do Something!'" 19.

<sup>114</sup> Keen and Wasserman, *A Short History*, 388.

<sup>115</sup> Pinn, "'Do Something!'" 20.

In Miss Michell's correspondence of that period, hymns are mentioned on numerous occasions. A club for street boys aged seven to fifteen included singing hymns – they had learned 'about six hymns and choruses' by 1922. In the prison, groups of 50 or more men also sang and listened respectfully to a 'Gospel talk.' The practical nearly always took precedence, however – 'This work in the prison is another instance of the way medical help opens the door for evangelistic work.'<sup>116</sup>

On October 25, 1923, Len Herniman and his fiancée Miss Solomon left the UK for Peru,<sup>117</sup> where Miss Solomon would work as a nurse at the Urco Farm until her marriage, and Herniman was 'appointed to Cuzco for the first few months, since he must get accustomed to Spanish before tackling Quechua in earnest.'<sup>118</sup> By July 1924, he had a small group of Quechua boys together for a class.<sup>119</sup> While Miss Michell was away on furlough (1924-25), Herniman and Miss Pinn continued what they called the 'Indian meeting,' which filled 'the largest of the Clinic rooms...every Friday evening.' They were still working via a translator at this stage.<sup>120</sup>

In March 1925, Herniman went with his helper and translator Farfán to Sicuani, about 100 miles Southeast of Cuzco. Not long after that, Herniman (by now married) records the structure of an outdoor meeting held four miles from his house. They took a portable organ with them in order to have music, and sang a Quechua hymn – *Hamuy Cristoman* Come to Christ – prayed in Quechua (including the Lord's Prayer), and before and after a sermon in Quechua by Farfán, sang more hymns in Quechua. After an address from Herniman, translated by Farfán, they finished with a final hymn in Quechua.<sup>121</sup>

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<sup>116</sup> Michell, 'To the H.S.L.' 20-2.

<sup>117</sup> Editor, 'Notes and Notices: For Peru,' *South America* Vol.VIII, No.11 (September/October 1923): 162 and Editor, 'Notes and Notices: Our Missionaries,' *South America* Vol.VIII, No.12 (November/December 1923): 178.

<sup>118</sup> Editor, 'For Peru,' 162.

<sup>119</sup> Editor, 'Arequipa, Cuzco and the Farm,' *South America* Vol.IX, No.4 (July/August 1924): 67.

<sup>120</sup> Editor, 'Concerning the Prayer Calendar,' *South America* Vol.IX, No.7 (January/February 1925): 114.

<sup>121</sup> Len Herniman, 'In Sicuani, Peru,' *South America* Vol.IX, No.10 (July/August 1925): 151-2.

Later, Herniman, Jardine and Farfán held a meeting in Combapata, about 25 miles from Sicuani. They sang ‘chorus after chorus, hymn after hymn, until the night air was pierced with “Scarlet, scarlet, though your sins be scarlet” – “Give your heart to Jesus” – “Jesus died for all the children” – “There is a fountain filled with blood” – and “More, more about Jesus”.’ All were sung in Quechua, repeated ‘until they impressed themselves upon the mind and heart.’<sup>122</sup> When a church building was opened in Combapata on Monday, 7 February 1927, the sign over the door said *Munaicunmanni Jesus Ricuita* ‘We would see Jesus,’ and translations of the hymns ‘Jesus loves me,’ ‘Jesus keep me near the Cross’ and ‘Come to Jesus’ were sung in Quechua, ending with ‘There is a fountain filled with blood.’ The reading, from John 12:12-21, was also done in Quechua.<sup>123</sup> The growth of EUSA Quechua work paralleled a new *indigenismo* represented by Luis E. Valcárcel, author of *Tempest in the Andes* (1927) and José Carlos Mariátegui, *Seven Interpretive Essays on Peruvian Reality* (1928). Both were Marxist and welcomed a revolution that would give the Quechua the opportunity to express their values of co-operation and community life in Peruvian society.<sup>124</sup> The context of that period doubtless contributed to greater Quechua openness to Evangelicalism.

In September 1927, Misses Pinn and Michell settled in Pitumarca, a village near Checacupe, about ten miles from Combapata and Huantura, where the Hernimans had their ‘Indian School.’ They were amazed to see nearly 200 people present at a service in Huantura and commented, ‘God has begun a work here such as we have never seen before.’ In Pitumarca, they soon had a Quechua meeting, where Bible reading, prayer and singing was all in Quechua.<sup>125</sup> By 1929, Mrs. Herniman wrote, ‘We have translated thirty hymns into their language, and they sing them to the tunes that we have here at home. Sometimes in the moonlight we can hear their voices from the cornfields singing, “There is a fountain filled with Blood,” instead of the old songs of drunkenness.’<sup>126</sup> In 1930, Herniman reported that the first seven

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<sup>122</sup> Len Herniman, ‘A Day in Combapata,’ *South America* Vol.X, No.2 (March/April 1926): 21.

<sup>123</sup> Len Herniman, ‘“The Crowning Day”,’ *South America* Vol.X, No.9 (May/June 1927): 138-9.

<sup>124</sup> Keen and Wasserman, *A Short History*, 389-90.

<sup>125</sup> Editor, ‘Beginning at Pitumarca,’ *South America* Vol.XI, No.1 (January/February 1928): 13-14.

<sup>126</sup> Len Herniman, ‘Our Life Amongst the Indians,’ *South America* Vol.XI, No.9 (May/June 1929): 134 and Len Herniman, ‘A Glad Day!’ *South America* Vol.XII, No.4 (July/August 1930): 51.

baptised in Huantura, along with a few others in other areas, were the first ‘pure-blooded Indians I know of in the sierra of Southern Peru who have truly found the Lord Jesus Christ, - and yet there are about three millions of them in Peru....’<sup>127</sup> In May 1930, Miss Michell gave up work in Peru for personal reasons, having just recovered from illness caused by a ‘serious attack of typhus fever’ caught from one of her patients in Pitumarca, and was evidently not expecting to return again (she returned in 1933).<sup>128</sup> Others then joined Miss Pinn until her furlough in 1932.

Stewart McNairn’s report, as General Secretary of the EUSA, of his visit to southern Peru in 1930 recounts that he was escorted to the mission house in Huantura ‘by an Indian band of flutes and drums,’<sup>129</sup> so some instruments were beginning to be used and accepted by evangelical missionaries and Quechuas.<sup>130</sup> Singing became part of any formal teaching programme organised by missionaries in Southern Peru.<sup>131</sup> In some cases a programme of music was the only way to attract people to church, while in other cases it was a method to help people remember messages that they would then teach to others going about their daily business or at home.<sup>132</sup> In 1933, the *South America* magazine reported that in Ayacucho there were no foreign missionaries, it being in the centre of two lines of advance (from the centre and from the south) that had 300 miles between them.<sup>133</sup> This was where Presbyterian missionary Alonso Hitchcock was to meet Segura just three years later, in 1936.

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<sup>127</sup> Herniman, ‘Glad Day!’ 53.

<sup>128</sup> Editor, ‘Notes and Notices,’ *South America* Vol.XII, No.2 (March/April 1930): 17; No.3 (May/June 1930): 35; and Editor, ‘Evangelism in South America,’ *South America* Vol.XII, No.5 (September/October 1930): 72.

<sup>129</sup> Romero, ‘Tradicional y Popular,’ 234-40. The instruments were probably the *tinya* (drum), the *pincullo* (flute) and the *sikuris* (pan pipes) that are always played in couples, one *siku* being the male and the other the female, and each playing their own part in the whole.

<sup>130</sup> Stuart McNairn, ‘Fresh Impressions of Peru: (3) In the Heart of the Indian Country.’ *South America* Vol.XII, No.2 (March/April 1930): 19.

<sup>131</sup> William Mitchell interview 8-11-03; Editor, ‘Notes and Notices,’ *South America* Vol.XII, No.9 (May/June 1931): 130 provides a picture of a singing lesson; and Alex Jardine, ‘An Indian Bible School,’ *South America* Vol.XIII, No.9 (May/June 1933): 140.

<sup>132</sup> Mrs. W.M. Montaña, ‘In the Peruvian Capital,’ *South America* Vol.XIV, No.2 (March/April 1934): 28 and Miss I. Elder, ‘Shepherd Songs: Peru,’ *South America* Vol.XIV, No.5 (September/October 1934): 76-7.

<sup>133</sup> J.A. Savage, ‘Centres of Witness in Peru,’ *South America* Vol.XIII, No.10 (July/August 1933): 153-4.

After Miss Pinn's furlough, Misses Pinn and Michell both sailed from Liverpool for Peru on 5 October 1933, to return to Pitumarca. There, they handed over some of their work to a Quechua speaker – 'As she is able to speak the language she will win their confidence.' This was their consistent attitude, with the aim of reaching more people.<sup>134</sup> In April 1934, that aim was exercised when they themselves went to Limatambo, about 60 miles from Cuzco, for two months, before moving on to Paucartambo.<sup>135</sup> This was a new approach. 'Abandoning the more conventional methods of approach, they...moved...from one country town to another, spending a few months in each.'<sup>136</sup> In May 1935 they moved to Chincheros, which is where they stayed until their definitive move to Talavera, 35 miles south of Chincheros, 'a long day's ride over the mountains', in 1936.<sup>137</sup>

Like John Ritchie, who resigned from the EUSA in 1929 partly because he could not accept that mission's change of method when it adopted Sidney W. J. Clark's 'indigenous church principles,'<sup>138</sup> Misses Pinn and Michell realised that such an approach was not amenable to the Quechua, who value loyalty and community spirit so highly. Clark's indigenous principles 'were easily stated in a cliché that has become famous: that of self-supporting, self-governing and self-propagating churches.' This led to the indigenous method 'where missionaries and mission-paid workers should carry out the preparatory evangelism,'<sup>139</sup> and, in the words of principle 2, 'that the foreign missionary should devote himself to pioneer evangelism, and neither he [note gender] nor any worker paid from mission funds

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<sup>134</sup> Editor, 'Notes and Notices,' *South America* Vol.XIII, No.12 (November/December 1933): 179 and Miss E.K. Pinn, 'Pitumarca Revisited,' *South America* Vol.XIV, No.2 (March/April 1934): 30.

<sup>135</sup> Miss Ethel Pinn, 'Gospel Visiting,' *South America* Vol.XIV, No.5 (September/October 1934): 78-9; Editor, 'Cuzco News,' *South America* Vol.XIV, No.6 (November/December 1934): 93 and E.K. Pinn, 'From the Peru Mail: Pioneer Difficulties,' *South America* Vol.XIV, No.6 (November/December 1934): 95.

<sup>136</sup> Editor, 'Peru: Village Work,' *South America* Vol.XIV, No.7 (January/February 1935): 110.

<sup>137</sup> Pinn and Michell, 'Beginnings,' 102. Also see Editor, 'In the Countryside,' *South America* Vol.XV, No.1 (January/February 1936): 13; Editor, 'Our Literary Hold-All,' *South America* Vol.XV, No.5 (September/October 1936): 79; and E.K. Pinn, 'Peru: Talavera,' *South America* Vol.XV, No.8 (March/April 1937): 120.

<sup>138</sup> Author of a 1913 paper entitled 'The Rural Church, an Indigenous Christianity,' - later shortened to 'The Indigenous Church'. See Ritchie, *Indigenous Church Principles*, 17-18 for a summary of Clark's three principles.

<sup>139</sup> McIntosh, *Times of John Ritchie*, 68.

should settle down to fulfil the pastoral duties for a congregation.’<sup>140</sup> Such a method fails to take seriously the Quechua cultural codes, such as that expressed in the individualist-collectivist spectrum, where Quechuas are collectivist and evangelical missionaries individualist. Codes must be inculcated by the ‘speaker’ rather than the ‘receiver’ if there is to be genuine intercultural communication.<sup>141</sup>

### 2.3.2 John Ritchie

Ritchie was a missionary with the RBMU and later the EUSA from 1905 to 1929.<sup>142</sup> His identity as a Scot, his involvement in the Panama Missionary Congress in 1916 and his part in the creation of the IEP all contributed to his approach to mission. These are set out in his work *Indigenous Church Principles in Theory and Practice*, published in 1946.

Ritchie went further than Clark’s indigenous vision, believing that to be ‘indigenous’ the church’s ‘mode and being of expression arises from its own nature and environment rather than arising out of ecclesiastical, theological and political conflicts of the Church in some other land.’ His views permitted a working together of the national church with missionaries in evangelism, training, administration and organisation, as long as ‘Nothing...[was] instituted on the mission field which could not be taken over, maintained and conducted by the native church’ (principle 5).<sup>143</sup> Ritchie’s openness to working together with others did not extend to women, however, whether British or otherwise. Ena Clark (later MacCrostie) was met by Ritchie in Callao in 1921 with the words, ‘Well, and what do you think you’ve come to do?’! In the event, she stayed until her death in 1982.<sup>144</sup> This contrasts with the influence of Misses Pinn and Michell on Segura and the Quechua church in

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<sup>140</sup> Quoted in Ritchie, *Indigenous Church Principles*, 18 - see 51 also. McIntosh, *Times of John Ritchie*, 71 comments: ‘The British mission [EUSA] officially adopted the indigenous church principles and instructed its missionaries in charge on the field that workers [both British and nationals] who were paid from mission funds must devote themselves exclusively to evangelism in places where no work existed. The national preachers therefore ceased visiting the [already established] congregations...’

<sup>141</sup> Schreiter, *New Catholicity*, 35-7.

<sup>142</sup> Eric North in Ritchie, *Indigenous Church Principles*, 5 specifies that Ritchie was in Perú from 1906-1929.

<sup>143</sup> Ritchie, *Indigenous Church Principles*, 26 and 86 - also quoted in McIntosh, *Times of John Ritchie*, 70-2.

Andahuaylas and the reverence they command even now, as a result. Andean gender parallelism, which is such an integral part of Andean structuring of society,<sup>145</sup> was entirely foreign to Ritchie, reinforcing the judgement that Ritchie, in his organisation of the IEP, was functioning primarily within coastal mestizo norms.<sup>146</sup>

Segura was driven by his sense of call to the Quechua people, in the Quechua language, at a time when Ritchie reflected that, ‘A great many bilingual persons in Cuzco prefer Spanish. There is a feeling among them of aversion to their native language....the printed page is useless among the Indians.... His work was bilingual, but only oral in Quechua [of Cartagena, a national working in Calca and Cuzco]. Stewart McIntosh, ex-RBMU missionary, notes that ‘Ritchie had observed the innate fear of the whites and mestizos of a take over by the Quechua.’<sup>147</sup>

### 2.3.3 Kenneth Case

When Case wrote his first circular letter to supporters from his home in Kenton, Middlesex, on 12 October 1939, prior to going out as a missionary for the first time, Great Britain had just entered the Second World War. There were difficulties to overcome before leaving to work with the EUSA in Peru, but these were surprisingly dealt with so quickly that he was able to leave Great Britain on a boat sailing 2 December.<sup>148</sup> By 15 January 1940 he had ‘arrived safely at Ayaviri [12,800 feet high], in southern Peru’ and was with Mr. and Mrs. Jardine, who had been working there since 1931.<sup>149</sup>

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<sup>144</sup> McIntosh, *Times of John Ritchie*, 39-40 and 51.

<sup>145</sup> See Alejandro Ortiz Rescaniere, *La Pareja y el Mito*, 3d ed. (Lima, Peru: Fondo Editorial de la Pontífica Universidad Católica del Perú, 2001), 143 for how this is worked out in the family context today.

<sup>146</sup> McIntosh, *Times of John Ritchie*, 37: ‘It was not that Ritchie did not share the vision for the Quechua Indian population, but he was more pragmatic in his approach to change. He realized that change would only come by action and not by mere romanticism. Change would have to come in the mestizo, in order that change would come in the Quechua.’

<sup>147</sup> McIntosh, *Times of John Ritchie*, 57.

<sup>148</sup> Kenneth Case, Harrow, Middlesex, United Kingdom, circular to friends in Britain, 25 November 1939, original held by Frances Case, Southampton, United Kingdom.

<sup>149</sup> Alex Jardine, *First the Blade...* (London: EUSA, n.d), p.5. Also Wilson-Dickson, *Brief History*, 352.

Case wanted to learn the languages of Peru - firstly Spanish, but more importantly, Quechua. He also had many opportunities as a competent musician who could play more than one instrument.<sup>150</sup> The first was in 1940, at a Bible School in Junín (14,000 feet) that he organised with John Savage. This small affair had 15 students. Case taught a course of musical instruction and hymns (which would have been in Spanish).<sup>151</sup>

Cases's first experience of music at a Quechua meeting was the day after he arrived in Ayaviri, 16 January 1940 - a Sunday:

They sang a special hymn and one of the Indians said a few words which Mr. Jardine translated for me. I replied, and sentence by sentence Mr. Jardine put it into Spanish and then the Indian into Quechua. Normally the services etc., are conducted in Spanish and all through an Indian interprets for those who are not bi-lingual. There is hardly a missionary who knows Quechua enough to speak in it. However, we sing in Quechua for we have a book of hymns and choruses in phonetic script.<sup>152</sup>

These were the translations from English to Spanish and/or Spanish to Quechua, sung to the original European tunes composed for them.<sup>153</sup> Case's opinion on the subject was formed within three years of his arrival: 'If they have as much difficulty in getting the hang of our music as I do of the Indian music, its no wonder the musical side of church life is such a dismal failure. I feel this problem will have to be faced.'<sup>154</sup> It is no wonder that Case was the person instrumental in Segura's lifelong passion for hymnody.

Case's primary interest was a good Quechua translation of the Bible, but he became interested in the production of hymns and choruses for the Quechua evangelical churches. Case forged a partnership with Segura that produced a New Testament in Ayacucho-Chanca Quechua (1946-1959). More rapidly (1944-46), they produced the

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<sup>150</sup> Editor, 'Mr. Kenneth Case, *South America* Vol.XVI, No.8 (March/April 1939): 132.

<sup>151</sup> Kenneth Case, Lima, Peru, circular to friends in Britain, 23 October 1940, original held by Frances Case, Southampton, United Kingdom.

<sup>152</sup> Kenneth Case, Ayaviri, Puno, Peru, circular to friends in Britain, 15 January 1940, original held by Frances Case, Southampton, United Kingdom.

<sup>153</sup> Kenneth Case, Andahuaylas, Apurímac, Peru, circular to friends in Britain, 7 June 1945, original held by Frances Case, Southampton, United Kingdom.

<sup>154</sup> Kenneth Case, Andahuaylas, Apurímac, Peru, circular to friends in Britain, 21 August 1943, original held by Frances Case, Southampton, United Kingdom. See also Wilson-Dickson, *Brief History*, 352 and Paredes, *Platos de Barro*, 70.



words and the music for the first major Quechua evangelical hymnbook in the south of Peru,<sup>155</sup> the already mentioned DST.

Missionaries and Quechua evangelists worked together to establish the Quechua church in the south, which did not join the IEP until 1955, and that with some misgivings.<sup>156</sup> The period between 1933-1960 was when the Quechua evangelical church experienced the biggest growth. This coincided with Jardine and Herniman's break with the 'established missionary set-up' by the concerted effort of living among the Quechua people. Herniman was in fact invited by the Quechua of Huantura to live in their community there. Until then, the traditional form had been established stations like the Urco Farm and Monjaspata in Cuzco.<sup>157</sup> It also coincided with the publication and use of Segura's hymnbook in the Quechua church.

### 2.3.4 Hymnbooks in Quechua

As well as Quechua translations of the four gospels and the above-mentioned tract, Chocano had by 1917 written seven hymns that were printed in 500 copies. They are described as sung to 'plaintive tunes, such as "knocking, knocking," that the Indian loves.'<sup>158</sup> Both the reference to 'plaintive' and tunes loved by the Indians indicate that the hymns were in Quechua. It is not clear how far these hymns travelled from their origin in the central Andes and there are now no known copies of that original edition.

The Hernimans moved to Arequipa in 1942, due to Evelyn Herniman's poor health, although Herniman was still working in Huantura in 1944. When his wife became ill Herniman began translation work. Before the Hernimans left Peru for good, in 1945, they and the people who worked with them compiled the first hymnbook in Quechua *Allin Willaykunaq Takinkuna* 'Good News Songs' – the fruit of some of the

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<sup>155</sup> Kessler, *Older Protestant Missions*, 188; Wilson-Dickson, *Brief History*, 352-3; and Leslie Hoggarth, interview, 13-5-1999.

<sup>156</sup> Cruickshank, *Sun Rises*, 22. She does not say what those misgivings were, but given the sentiments expressed about *mestizo* attitudes towards indigenous people in the church by Quicaña, 'Historia y Organización,' 43-5, it is likely that there was an inherent fear of becoming part of the same organization. In the event, being part of the wider church was felt to be more important.

<sup>157</sup> Hoggarth, interview, 13-5-1999.

<sup>158</sup> Editor, 'The Promise of Peru,' *South America* Vol.VI, Nos.1-2 (May/June 1917): 8.

translation work, and not to be confused with the first Cuzco hymnbook – an exact replica of DST.<sup>159</sup> The second edition of this hymnbook, published in Arequipa in 1946 ‘with the kind permission’ of Herniman, has 76 hymns, including one original in Quechua – the rest are translations generally attributed to the various hymnbooks they come from and including one to the tune of ‘Swanee River’ (12). The 113 choruses include seven originals in Quechua, and one sung to the tune ‘When Irish Eyes’ (59).<sup>160</sup> The new Quechua hymn in the pentatonic scale – *Maytam richkanki...* ‘Where are you going, my hard-hearted son?’ (76) - was added by Leslie Hoggarth. According to Hoggarth, this was the first hymn the Quechua genuinely took to, which is likely, because Segura incorporated it into his DST - otherwise his original composition.<sup>161</sup> Segura always referred to translated hymns as ‘telegrams’ because they did not flow smoothly,<sup>162</sup> so he would not have accepted anything that was not genuinely Quechua.

## 2.4 Oral Transmission

The Quechua accompany all their activities with music,<sup>163</sup> and evangelical worship is no exception. Despite the production of hymnbooks, hymns and choruses were passed on orally, poetry and music being the mnemonic devices used.<sup>164</sup> It is not clear how widely Herniman’s hymnbook was used. What is known is that because people had to learn everything by memory, some were not particularly pleased with new hymns in Quechua when DST first appeared. They had learned the old hymns, and even though they were strange to them (being translations to unfamiliar music),

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<sup>159</sup> Case, *Great One*, 21.

<sup>160</sup> AWT 1946 preface and 5-111.

<sup>161</sup> Leslie Hoggarth, interview by author, 13 May 1999, telephone from London to St Andrews, Scotland.

<sup>162</sup> Case, *Great One*, 33.

<sup>163</sup> See Romero, ‘Tradicional y Popular,’ 232-8 and Carrasco, ‘El Qarawi,’ 237-67 on the use of the *qarawi* specifically for a variety of ‘rites, ceremonies, festivities and/or special activities’ (237). Mario Mejía Huamán, *La Cosmovisión Andina y las Categorías Quechuas como Fundamentos para una Filosofía Peruana y de América Andina* (Lima: Universidad Ricardo Palma, 1999), 29, after a detailed explanation of the difference between Europeans and Andeans in their conception of work, concludes that ‘it cannot be taken in the sense of something painful and cursed, rather as an individually and collectively fulfilling activity. That is why any kind of work was, and still is today the basis for *fiesta*.’

<sup>164</sup> Romero, ‘Tradicional y Popular,’ 247 also attributes a mnemonic function to dances, which have spread away from their original context, both geographically and in terms of the purpose they were used for. He says that ‘for the mestizo contingent, [the dance] is one way of conserving in the collective memory the traditional indigenous customs that have disappeared irremediably’.

they became used to them. Also, because ‘the indigenous music is intimately linked to specific contexts, such as funerals, weddings, work on the land and celebrations,’<sup>165</sup> it is difficult to change what has habitually been associated with a particular activity with something else. The structure provided by particular music is perceived as united indissolubly with the purpose which it accompanies (a specific activity), serving as yet another mnemonic device.<sup>166</sup> They eventually became accustomed to the new DST hymns, until they took over, except for their favourite: ‘There is no sorrow there in my Father’s house, in heaven in that lovely place.’ The repeated ‘In God’s house there is only joy’ highlighted the sentiment of the hymn. Although it was in the western octave scale, it was a subject that held great meaning for them, whether because it touched their difficult lives or because it communicated perfect equilibrium (the fundamental principal of their whole cultural ethos), or both, so it stayed with them. That God loved them and had a place for them were both of major significance.<sup>167</sup>

Since the late 1970s, music festivals and competitions have become part of the Andean evangelical way of life, as they have been in the secular world (the La Candelaria festival in Puno began in 1967, for example). Both secular and religious festivals take place in public places such as stadiums or market places and are judged by a panel to choose a winner.<sup>168</sup> The traditional communal emphasis, which since

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<sup>165</sup> Romero, ‘Tradicional y Popular,’ 231.

<sup>166</sup> Peter Atkins, *Memory and Liturgy* (Aldershot, Hants: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2004), 18-19 notes that in ‘longer-term retention of memories...the important factor is constant recall. Repetition keeps open the superhighway.’ He lists four methods to encourage constant recall:

- ‘doing a summary review within ten minutes of first storing the information’
- ‘repeat the memory of the information’ in some way ‘within 24 hours’
- ‘If we can recall our experience, apply the learning, express its impact on us...within one week...then it is likely that we can retain the memory’
- ‘Within one month we need to have made choices of options for action if we are to retain the memory on a longer-term basis.’

<sup>167</sup> Leslie Hoggarth, interview by author, 13 May 1999, telephone from London to St Andrews, Scotland and Libro Llanque Chana, *Vida Andina*, 114-15 highlights that fundamental principal, listing the areas in which it is expressed: ‘on the divine plane...on the cosmic plane (the earth)...on the human plane, the family, neighbours...human actions that transform reality’. He lists the seven instances where harmonic order [equilibrium] have to take place: ‘with God...with the cosmos...with the past...with the present...with the future...with the family...with oneself.’

<sup>168</sup> Romero, ‘Tradicional y Popular,’ 251 comments that among the more recent changes to Andean music has been ‘the importance of the proliferation of contests and festivals that encourage competition between popular artists and that have as their consequence the search for originality, and the stylisation of traditional music and dances.’

the 1920s resulted in Bible conventions, has benefited the production of new Andean hymns and choruses. Initially these are passed on by ear, as one musician teaches another the music, and the words alone are written down.

Segura's work was written, although its primary transmission was oral.<sup>169</sup> This is helpful when studying the inculturation of the Bible and Christian theology in his hymns, because the written text can be referred to. The sources for his work parallel each area of the traditional tripartite model for oral transmission of history:

1. Segura's tapping into legends in his choice of biblical narratives to use parallels: 'Early, partly legendary history based on a combination of written records and oral tradition.'
2. His use of the Bible parallels: 'Middle period – derived largely from available written materials.'
3. Segura's contact with missionaries and other converts providing him with testimonies parallels: 'Recent and contemporary history – key informants and sometimes their own experience.'<sup>170</sup>

This model relies on a linear view of the development of history. Segura combined all three, using the more integrated Quechua approach to time.

The sources for Segura's hymns were Andean culture, the Bible together with missionary teaching and his own independent interpretation of the above. Additionally, his aims went beyond the transmission of biblical narratives via hymns. They are not translations. He used his society's traditions as a way into what he believed was the real truth of biblical record – that Jesus, in his own person, embodied the truth (e.g. chorus 45 from John 14:6). 'Truth' *ama llulla* is one of the highest values in Andean society, and means literally 'not lying'. So it cannot be said of Segura that in both oral materials and written sources 'truth is subordinated to purpose by reflecting the social, political and moral order of the day.'<sup>171</sup> That is so if truth is defined as narrowly as history when it is said that 'without precise

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<sup>169</sup> Case, *Great One*, 36-7 comments that often people would only memorise the first verse, so publishing a hymnbook would give them access to others.

<sup>170</sup> David Henige, *Oral Historiography* (London: Longman, 1982), 12-13. See Case, *Great One*, 14, 16, 18, 19, 20 and 30 for real-life accounts that the hymns resemble.

chronology there can be no history.’<sup>172</sup> For Segura, the social, political and moral order of the day were subordinated (and used) to reinforce his purpose of communicating a new ‘life’ *kawsay*, indeed a new ‘resurrection life’ *kawsariy* through belief in the truth that is a person. In theological parlance, the **incarnation** of Jesus is both the truth and the purpose, and Segura subordinated ‘the social, political and moral order of the day’ to it.

Segura succeeded in creating a new worldview that remained within the boundaries of the old Quechua terms of reference, and yet, because of the incarnation, guided them beyond – literally, when it refers to Jesus as *pusaq* ‘guide’. It is a concrete person, not an abstract idea, which transforms their world by accompanying them in it and then taking them beyond it. The way Segura combined and interpreted the dynamic of Andean tradition, Bible and missionary teaching in hymns was unique.

In Segura’s generation, memory was not neglected. That has happened more as literacy has improved and hymns have proliferated. Oral Quechua culture used the hymnbooks both as a tool for information retrieval, and as a record of true doctrine that could be referred to – more like a commentary on the Bible text. The oral was not undervalued because a written source was available, in contrast to western evangelical Christianity.<sup>173</sup>

Segura made two important choices in his Christian life. The first was to commit himself to work among the Quechua in their own language, ‘Whereas others of his class despised the language of a despised people and tried to forget they had ever

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<sup>171</sup> Henige, *Historiography*, 5.

<sup>172</sup> Lord Raglan in Henige, *Historiography*, 20.

<sup>173</sup> Stewart McIntosh, *Introducción a la Misiología Latinoamericana* (Lima: PUSEL, Publicaciones Seminario Evangélico de Lima, 1986), 69-70 comments that, ‘ In tribal situations, where people are illiterate, the person who remembers things and is able to tell them is respected, and becomes an elder. Among the Incas, it was also the *huillac uma* (the chief who speaks) who was considered the high priest, and the *quipucamayoc* (those who spoke by means of the mnemonic *quipu*) who controlled both history and religion. In contrast, the evangelical emphasis has always been the written word, the Sacred Scriptures, that is, the revelation in writing and in propositional form. This is not to suggest that we should distance ourselves from our biblical basis for truth, but perhaps we should put much more emphasis when evangelizing on the acts of God together with the propositions of God. The acts of God not only in the times of the Word, but also the acts of God today, in other words, a real and

known it.’<sup>174</sup> His was a consciously anti-colonial stance.<sup>175</sup> This was to take the ‘low’ element of a diglossic pair – in this case, that which was mostly spoken, instead of the ‘high,’ which was more valued and more generally used in writing.<sup>176</sup> Charles Ferguson, reassessing his 1959 conclusions in 1991, ‘emphasized that his work originally aimed at understanding the function of language at the *community* level,<sup>177</sup> [as much as the description] and that his choice of the terms ‘code’ and ‘variety’ had been intentionally ambiguous in order to be inclusive. He [then] identified nine factors in what might otherwise have been labelled ‘bilingual’ communities that became essential to a diagnosis of diglossia:

- the two codes had highly specialized *functions*;
- the more widely established code was more *prestigious*;
- the prestige code had a strong *literary heritage*;
- the non-prestige code became the *first acquired* language...;
- the prestige code was supported by formal study and *standardization*;
- the use and function of these codes was diachronically *stable*;
- the prestige code had a more highly developed *grammatical* structure;
- both codes shared most of the *lexicon*, but the prestige code was broader;
- the *phonology* of the prestige code was a subsystem of the derived code.<sup>178</sup>

In a study of the relationship between Spanish and Quechua, it was noted with a group of bilingual citizens of Ayacucho that while Spanish was the more prestigious

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truthful witness of what God says today, together with a constant speaking into every situation of life. This highlights the importance of testimony as a valid means to communicate the gospel.’

<sup>174</sup> Case, *Great One*, 10. See Abilio Vergara Figueros, ‘Valoración del quechua,’ *Runasimi* (Ayacucho), Boletín Informativo, Año 1, No.1 (1987): 6-9 for reasons people give for either using or not using the Quechua language.

<sup>175</sup> Klor de Alva, ‘Post colonization,’ 262, 264 and 267 for definitions of colonialism and neo-colonialism in the Latin American context.

<sup>176</sup> Stanley E. Porter, ed., *Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series* 193, Studies in New Testament Greek 6, (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 13-16 explains that, ‘The recent debate over the concept of diglossia dates very specifically from the inciting article by Charles Ferguson on ‘Diglossia’, which appeared in 1959.’ Jonathan M. Watt, ‘The Current Landscape of Diglossia Studies: The Diglossic Continuum in First-Century Palestine,’ in *Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series* 193, Studies in New Testament Greek, 6, ed. Stanley E. Porter (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 18-36 explains that while Ferguson began the debate describing ‘a particular form of bilingual community in which a special relationship existed between its primary languages, which he labelled simply the *high* and *low* “codes”,’ (18-19) the relationships between languages in any particular context can be much more complex. On 34 he outlines the real relationships in 1<sup>st</sup> century Palestine between six separate languages, divided into High, Low and Tertiary categories. Watt 32 explains that ‘a T (tertiary) category is vital for isolating the specifically diglossic relationship of the genetically related (sister) languages, Hebrew and Aramaic.’

<sup>177</sup> Watt 2000, p.24 cites Ferguson’s definition of a ‘*speech community*’. It is ‘a social group sharing features of language structure, use, and attitudes that function as a sociolinguistic unit for the operation of linguistic variation and/or change; it may be monolingual or multilingual’.

<sup>178</sup> Ferguson in Watt, ‘Current Landscape,’ 20-1.

language, when they spoke in Quechua they were ‘graded higher on the affective scale (ugly/pretty, strong/weak, etc.), while in Spanish they were graded higher on the scale of institutional reference (upper class/lower class, worker/boss, etc.).’<sup>179</sup> By using Quechua as the language of religion, both oral and written, Segura was both challenging deeply rooted prejudices about the value of Quechua<sup>180</sup> and using a means of communication that stood to touch people more deeply and was therefore more likely to result in transformed lives.

Segura’s second choice was to prioritise work on the (usually oral) transmission of hymns rather than on the translation of the Bible. He intuitively understood the function of language as a mould expressing three aspects of human reality – the cosmos, time and space – and knew that he would not be able to inculcate his evangelical beliefs without communicating in Quechua, with the accompanying world view and cultural values that entailed. African theologian Laurenti Magesa agrees with the intuitive nature of the inculturation process that Segura experienced. ‘When we talk about the process of inculturation, we must always keep in mind that it is first of all and fundamentally an intuitive process of finding one’s faith and religious identity in the context of one’s cultural world. At the very least, it is not as logical as it is often made out to be....faced with so much choice in political, economic and cultural values, a person or a whole people can acquire imperceptibly

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<sup>179</sup> Susana de los Heros, ‘Estigmatización del castellano andino en Lima,’ *Alma Máter* (Lima, Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos) 9 (Diciembre 1994): 52.

<sup>180</sup> Clodoaldo Soto Ruiz, ‘Apuntes Sobre Prejuicios Lingüísticos,’ *Runasimi* (Ayacucho) Boletín Informativo, Año 1, No.1 (Enero 1987): 11-15 lists five major prejudices:

1. That Quechua is a ‘dialect’ and therefore not a proper language. Soto Ruiz argues that this is a misuse of a technical term, and that only a dead language has no continually developing variations (genuine dialects).
2. Quechua does not have any writing. Besides not being true, writing is only a graphic representation of a language, and while a language can exist without writing, writing cannot exist without a language.
3. Quechua is hispanicized. In fact, the converse is also true – Andean Spanish uses Quechua words. There is no ‘pure’ language, because language is relational.
4. Quechua is very diverse. Alfredo Torero, who has studied this aspect of Quechua, says that there are 37 different varieties. But this is normal for a living language – writing being one factor that stabilizes any language.
5. Speaking Quechua results in bad Spanish. It is true that people who speak Spanish as a second language may not speak it as well as their Quechua mother tongue, but this is largely due to bad educational practices.

various sub-identities, and they can identify themselves differently at different times.’<sup>181</sup>

Segura was effectively responding to what theologian Beatriz Melano Couch has described in her analysis of the process of diglossia: ‘At a linguistic level, the historical phenomenon of colonialism produced a linguistic destructuralization; this happens when contradictions are created in the social system. There is a kind of linguistic estrangement, since the language is reinterpreted from the outside in agreement with graeco-latin or romantic grammatical moulds, different in their structure from the dominated language. That is how indigenous languages are emptied and remoulded. Everything that was not already there within the structure or mould of the colonizer remained outside, in the majority of cases, lost.’<sup>182</sup> Segura was pre-empting the task of biblical interpretation that necessarily had to take place to inculcate the belief and practice of the Christian life for the Quechua. Whether oral traditions are true or not is another matter - if people define the way they live on the basis of those traditions, they have transforming power. ‘When we reinterpret or translate a language without understanding the deeper levels of its ethical-mythical nucleus, we empty a language of not only its semantic content, but also of the structure of those semantics within a syntax and a praxis.’<sup>183</sup>

Segura’s method can be placed in the tradition of Quechua oral education that was part of the Inca Empire. *Runasimi* ‘the speech of the people,’ that came to be known as Quechua, was the vehicle for education, because of its widespread use. Education then was based on mythical traditions, and had practical, moral and religious implications,<sup>184</sup> just as Segura’s hymns have these implications. They teach how one should behave, what the basis is for requiring such behaviour, what the implications are for not adhering to it, and how to worship God – Father, Son and Holy Spirit.

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<sup>181</sup> Magesa, *Anatomy of Inculturation*, 153.

<sup>182</sup> Beatriz Melano Couch, ‘¿Cultura de la Pobreza o Cultura de Dependencia?’ in *Los Pobres: Encuentro y Compromiso*, ed. Lee Brummel, Roberto E. Ríos and Carlos A Valle (Buenos Aires: La Aurora, 1978), 205.

<sup>183</sup> Ibid.

<sup>184</sup> Seibold, *La Sagrada Escritura*, 131. *Runasimi* is a common alternative spelling of *runa simi*.



The Inca Empire had centres of learning for the young, called *yachayhuasikuna* ‘houses of knowledge.’ Both teachers *amauta* and poets *haravicu* worked there, using an oral tradition that employed poetry ‘to give form to the substance of what was being taught, by means of rhythm, metric forms and rhyme so that the content could be retained more effectively.’ The *amautas* taught religion, moral law, government, military arts, astronomy, practical knowledge and the arts.<sup>185</sup> Segura built on this Quechua tradition. He also used his poetry as a method of giving form to substance in a way that was familiar. He spent much of his time teaching both the Bible (his own interpretation)<sup>186</sup> and his hymns at conventions throughout the Apurímac region. Being literate, he used writing as one of his mnemonic tools. He could be said to be both an *amauta* and a *haravicu*.

Quechua people have specific names for different types of songs - words and music integrating as one. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to judge how each of the hymns and choruses Segura wrote would be classified musically. Case endeavoured to provide a varied but recognisably Quechua accompaniment to Segura’s poetry.<sup>187</sup> Segura himself simply called them songs *takikuna*, and as the more technical definition of that word communicates, his hymns and choruses were ‘mainly on the subject of love’ (for Jesus) but with ‘the widest possible variety of topics’ (arranged according to practical purpose).<sup>188</sup>

The Quechua have a rich variety of types of verse, all of them sung. Some of the more common are:

- *jailli* sacred hymn or agricultural song (with religious overtones) – rhythmic songs of triumph
- *arawi* lyric poetry (*arawiy* means ‘to make verses’)
- *wawaki* love song in dialogue between a group of women and a group of men - sung next to their plots of land under the full moon.
- *taki* mainly on the subject of love, but has the widest possible variety of topics

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<sup>185</sup> Seibold, *La Sagrada Escritura*, 132.

<sup>186</sup> It is beyond the scope of this thesis to discuss the many commentaries on biblical passages written by Segura in the Quechua language.

<sup>187</sup> Case, *Great One*, 33-4.

<sup>188</sup> Jesús Lara, *La Poesía Quechua*, Colección Tierra Firme 30 (Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1947), 84-5.

- *wayñu* ‘the most complete lyric expression of the Quechua indian...less subjective than the *arawi*. It was an interpretation of the surrounding environment [nature].’
- *qhashwa* the expression of joy. It is sung and danced alternately with the *wawaki*.
- *aranway* humorous poetry, somewhat like a fable in that people were often replaced with animals.
- *wanka* elegy in which the dead might be likened to ‘a corpulent tree giving generous shade, the way of life, the waterfall that lulls with the sweetness of its song.’

Two others are the *samakueka* and *qhaluyo*, which, along with the *wayñu* and the *qhashwa* are also danced to.<sup>189</sup> Certain areas favour particular musical expressions, the *wayñu* being more usual in Huancavelica and Ayacucho, whereas Cuzco favours the *arawi* and Bolivia the *carnavalito*. This is apparent in later hymns and choruses from those areas, using those musical forms for evangelical music festivals.<sup>190</sup>

It is widely considered that Segura and Case created an entirely new genre of music using the pentatonic scale. It is emphatically certain, from comments of missionaries and Quechua believers, that the *huayno* (more common spelling of *wayñu*) was never used by them as the basis for an evangelical hymn or chorus. Segura himself ensured that the music was sung slowly, communicating reverence for God in this fusion of word and music. He used the highly developed tradition of oral transmission – developing it for his own ends. Segura’s hymnbook has always been known as *Diospa Siminmanta Takikuna*<sup>191</sup> ‘Songs from God’s Word.’

## 2.5 Florencio Segura’s Quechua Hymns

The most significant influences on Segura’s capacity to produce a Quechua hymnody were:

- Segura’s status in society and specifically within his family and his church;
- his relationships with missionaries, particularly those of the EUSA and the American Presbyterians in Ayacucho;

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<sup>189</sup> Lara, *La Poesía Quechua*, 70-91 details the peculiarities of each type. Examples of each are found in an appendix 157-86. Also see Seibold, *La Sagrada Escritura*, 132-4. I have used Lara’s Quechua spelling.

<sup>190</sup> Fernando Quicaña, interview by author, 19 December 2001, Huanta, Ayacucho, Peru, tape recording, author.

<sup>191</sup> *-kuna* is a pluralizer.

- his own role as an evangelist/preacher who realised that an illiterate people would grasp Bible stories more easily via the oral mode of song;
- the advantage Segura had of being thoroughly bilingual; and
- his own commitment to the Quechua people, and the motivation that gave him.

Segura's life as a composer and disseminator of Quechua hymns can be divided into three periods:

- Association with Kenneth Case in Talavera/Andahuaylas: 1943-1960;
- Daily programmes on Radio Amauta, a radio station run by the American Presbyterian mission in Huanta: 1962-1983;
- Quechua music festivals. This latter caused Segura to reassess his views on what constituted 'good' evangelical music: 1979 - his death in 2000 at the age of 88 (according to his wife, who dates his birth as 1912).<sup>192</sup>

The contention that hymnody was of primary importance to the Quechua evangelical church is central to this chapter and indeed this thesis. It became the means by which beliefs could be expressed in the context of worship that was culturally accessible. Sung worship also defined a theology that gave Quechua evangelicals a new sense of identity.

Segura was an opportunist in spreading the Gospel. He used every means available to develop his own gifts, and worked tirelessly on every area he felt was going to bear fruit. His enthusiasm for hymns and choruses as one of the primary ways to achieve that goal never waned. His association with Case was of great value in giving him the musical tools to continue to produce music to the words he would later write. To that extent he was dependent on Case, just as Case was dependent on him for translation. His own sense of calling meant that he himself did not feel dependent on missionaries however, but rather believed in partnership. His role in family, society and church (particularly in relationship to missionaries and leadership of the church) gave him a powerful identity, which meant that he was respected and listened to.

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<sup>192</sup> Ines Castro de Segura, interview by author, 1 January 2002, Cuzco, Peru, tape recording, author; and Cherry Noble, interview by author, 3 April 2001, Mold, Flintshire, Wales, tape recording, author.

How he became a Christian and grew in his faith are important, particularly his appreciation of the input of the Misses Pinn and Michell. These ‘accidents’ of history and his travels throughout southern Peru contributed to a much greater dissemination of his hymns and choruses than might otherwise have been possible, contributing to a unifying theology in the development of the Quechua church. The Quechua learned their theology via a combination of teaching reinforced by hymns and choruses that they could sing at any time once they had learned them, much in the tradition of the Inca *yachayhuasikuna*.

Segura regularly wrote poetry in Spanish before Case appeared on the scene, but their work together provided the catalyst for him to write his first poem in Quechua in 1945. It was ‘the testimony of a lost soul, an unbeliever, one who had rejected Christ and already saw and felt his condemnation and eternal punishment.’ Case immediately put sad, plaintive music to it and the Quechua believers tried it out on the Sunday and ‘they would not stop singing it!’ (Hymn 1 in DST).<sup>193</sup>

Segura’s position in family and society enabled him to build a life’s focus on hymns as part of his Christian ministry. He was born into a large family from Talavera. It is not clear whether he was the eldest or the second of five children, with two younger sisters and two brothers – at least one younger. In mixed Andean families such as his, the older brother became the head of the family. If he was younger it explains how he was free to follow his own inclinations without the weight of family responsibility. If he was the eldest, it makes more sense of his definitive return to Talavera when his mother died.<sup>194</sup> Most of the family became evangelical Christians<sup>195</sup> in the 1930s and suffered even stoning for their faith, giving them the seal of credibility.<sup>196</sup> Teodosio,

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<sup>193</sup> Case, *Great One*, 35. Hereafter ‘hymns’ will be designated H. and ‘choruses’ Ch.

<sup>194</sup> Cherry Noble, interview by author, 3 April 2001, Mold, Flintshire, Wales, tape recording, author. Derek Hill, ‘Andahuaylas Revisited,’ *South America* Vol.XXIX, No.7 (July-September 1966): 101 has Florencio as the oldest.

<sup>195</sup> Don Ford, *Gifts and Leadership in the Peruvian Evangelical Church* EUSA Study Paper 14 (London: EUSA, 1976), 16 re communalism as ‘Perhaps the most obvious characteristic of a Quechua community....Frequently conversion to Jesus Christ is a matter for the family unit to decide. After hearing the Gospel, thinking and discussing it together, it is not unusual for an entire family to commit itself to the Lord. This communal decision is not less binding nor less personal because it is arrived at together.’

<sup>196</sup> Segura, *Historia de la Obra*, 13 and Case, *Great One*, 11.

the older of Segura's brothers, was converted later<sup>197</sup> and became a prominent and quite wealthy businessman, freeing Florencio from any wider familial financial responsibility.<sup>198</sup> This helped him enormously.

Segura became a barber in Lima and established himself in Ayacucho, where he married his wife Inés<sup>199</sup> and met Alonso Hitchcock, who had moved there with his family in 1936, after some time in the Amazonian jungle area. He was associated with the Independent Board for Presbyterian Foreign Mission, and had arrived in Peru in 1936, before being assigned to work in Ayacucho, in co-operation with the IEP.<sup>200</sup> Segura comments that he 'always came to be served in the barbershop and he always invited me to his house to show me the Bible.'<sup>201</sup> Hitchcock shared 'the gospel with much love' with Segura, 'and the Holy Spirit worked in his [Segura's] heart and he was saved and bought a Bible which he started to study when he was with a fervent desire to know more of the Word of God.' Hitchcock answered all of Segura's questions 'with much love about the love of God, and no longer able to resist the immense Love that God' had for him, he 'surrendered to Him' his live 'and from that date God came and lived in' his heart.<sup>202</sup>

Segura dates his conversion as 23 February 1937 - his birthday. He and a friend went to Hitchcock's house, where he 'bought the Bible,' and 'reading and visiting' was converted. Never naturally trusting, Segura doubted that this Bible was the true word of God, because it had only cost him 75 centavos.<sup>203</sup> His friend's uncle being a RC canon, they borrowed his Bible (in Latin and Spanish) to make a comparison at

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<sup>197</sup> Frances Case, Southampton to author, London, 21 November 2005 thinks it was probably in the fifties – she remembers Segura referring to his '*pobre hermano borracho*' poor drunken brother. At conversion, 'He left his "woman", taking his son Josué with him, and later married Aparicia, who worked in the Clinic.'

<sup>198</sup> Cherry Noble, interview by author, 3 April 2001, Mold, Flintshire, Wales, tape recording, author and Hilda Briscoe, interview by author, 30 April 2001, Ramsgate, Kent, tape recording, author.

<sup>199</sup> Case, *Great One*, 9-10.

<sup>200</sup> Kessler, *Older Protestant Missions*, 206. Marzal, *Los Caminos Religiosos*, 278 says the Presbyterians from the U.S. first arrived in 1937.

<sup>201</sup> Segura, *Historia de la Obra*, 1.

<sup>202</sup> Excerpt from a letter received by Frances Case (Kenneth Case's widow) in March 2001, in which Aparicia, the widow of Florencio's brother Teodosio, cites a testimony published in Segura, *La Luz*, 2.

<sup>203</sup> Segura, *Historia de la Obra*, 7-8. Segura, *La Luz*, 2 quotes the price at 25 centavos – not much, whatever the effects of Segura's memory.

length, which convinced them that it was the genuine article. Thus began Segura's long career in biblical interpretation and commentary.

Segura claims to have been the first evangelical in Ayacucho. He also says he already had a high view of the Bible and believed it to be the Word of God (in 1920 and 1922, colporteurs had given out New Testaments to people in Talavera, Andahuaylas and San Jerónimo – among them to his uncle Victor Segura).<sup>204</sup> Perhaps to lend legitimacy to Hitchcock's ministry, Segura offers the information that another missionary, a Mr. Ames from Arequipa, although married to a native of Ayacucho, never had a single convert.<sup>205</sup>

In March 1937, when his mother died, Segura took advantage of the family occasion in Talavera to share with them the 'Word of God.'<sup>206</sup> Returning to Ayacucho, a number of others were 'converted,' including Segura's mother-in-law, and worship services began in Hitchcock's house. All this happened quickly, because Segura and his wife Inés left Ayacucho with their daughter Angélica and his younger brother Manuel (like a son to him) on 29 April and were back in Talavera by 3 May 1937 – and that on horseback. This return was due to his sense of responsibility towards his younger siblings, who had been left orphaned with no one to care for them.<sup>207</sup> There, Segura met Misses Pinn and Michell and helped them establish the first Evangelical Group,<sup>208</sup> but not before having ascertained from Hitchcock in Ayacucho that their work was valid. Hitchcock gave him a letter of recommendation and they were thrilled because they 'could count on the help of a brother who was still in the enthusiastic flush of his first love' (for Christ). It was seen as an answer to their prayers for someone from Talavera to help with the evangelisation.<sup>209</sup> The history of the formation of the church in Talavera<sup>210</sup> describes how the missionaries shared 'biblical teachings with their older patients when they came to receive medical

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<sup>204</sup> Segura, *Historia de la Obra*, 1 and 7-8; Segura, *La Luz*, 2.

<sup>205</sup> Segura, *Historia de la Obra*, 1.

<sup>206</sup> Segura, *La Luz*, 2.

<sup>207</sup> Segura, *Historia de la Obra*, 8 and Segura, *La Luz*, 2.

<sup>208</sup> Segura, *Historia de la Obra*, 1 and 3, Case, *Great One*, 10.

<sup>209</sup> Aparicia Segura to Frances Case received March 2001; Segura, *La Luz*, 2-4; and Segura, *Historia de la Obra*, 9.

<sup>210</sup> For the 60<sup>th</sup> anniversary magazine *La Luz Andina: 1937-1997*.

attention' but that 'later when the Evangelical Church began to be a reality, they were treated very badly and insulted with the worst of expressions, even being called demons and that they had the tail hidden underneath their skirts.'<sup>211</sup> These were details that the missionaries themselves never mentioned in what was published about their work.

In fact, when Segura preached against Catholicism to a gathering of 'neighbours and others,' just a few days after arriving in Talavera (May 1937), he was 'corrected' by the missionaries. They recommended that he stick solely to the 'Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ.' This despite the reason for Segura's antipathy being his hate for one of the priests who had poisoned his uncle Victor Segura via a young man who was in love with one of his daughters.<sup>212</sup> They then made sure that he was helped in acquiring more knowledge of the 'Word of God' by giving him many books to read.<sup>213</sup> Soon Segura was conducting a weekly service in San Jeronimo (about 2 miles the other side of Andahuaylas from Talavera, on the same road).<sup>214</sup> He showed his organisational streak by quickly forming 'a Committee of interested ones' for that service, and he also ensured that 'often their service [was] all in Quechua.'<sup>215</sup> Segura's appreciation of the importance of the vernacular and his use of it without translation were reinforced by Miss Pinn and Miss Michell.

At one of several conventions held in San Jeronimo, near the end of 1937, Segura was baptised along with his wife, Miss Eulogia Gutiérrez and Silvio Luján, all four of whom 'became the first council in Talavera.' The baptism took place in the pool at Pacha-pukyu, just outside of Talavera, where many more baptisms have taken place since.<sup>216</sup>

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<sup>211</sup> Editor, 'Breve Reseña Histórica de la Evangelización y formación de la Iglesia Evangélica Peruana en Talavera,' *La Luz Andina* (1997): 1 and Case, *Great One*, 5.

<sup>212</sup> Case, *Great One* 9 says it was Segura's father who died in this way.

<sup>213</sup> Segura, *Historia de la Obra*, 9 and Segura, *La Luz*, 4.

<sup>214</sup> E.K. Pinn and D. Michell, 'Within and Without,' *South America* Vol. XVI, No.1 (January/February 1938): 9.

<sup>215</sup> E.K. Pinn and D. Michell, 'Talavera,' *South America* Vol. XVI, No.2 (March/April 1938): 25 and Case, *Great One*, 10.

<sup>216</sup> Segura, *Historia de la Obra*, 3 and Segura, *La Luz*, 5.

Later, Segura held ‘preparation classes for the Christians in San Jeronimo and Talavera.’<sup>217</sup> Segura records that although there were many ‘persecutions and insults,’ the work spread to adjoining areas, such as Pakucha, Anqupaqcha, and Argama, among others. In fact, Segura was sure that ‘the Lord added many more to the Church that should be saved’ because of the attacks suffered.<sup>218</sup> Two EUSA missionaries, Alex Jardine and Bill Speed, came to train the leaders, and Saturnino Valeriano and Alejandro Mamani helped to spread the work to Qaqyabamba, Andarapa and beyond.<sup>219</sup>

Just before their furlough in 1939, Misses Pinn and Michell reported that

Sr.<sup>220</sup> Segura is still our great standby, and we continually thank God for him. He bears a fine witness in his business as a barber, in Andahuaylas, and all his spare time is given to the Lord’s work in the three villages, to Bible Study, or to Quechua translation work. He takes a weekly study class in San Jeronimo, walking the four miles there and back; and most Sundays comes down to Talavera, often taking the evening service, either in Spanish or Quechua.... Let us remember Sr. Segura in prayer, as he is left with the care of all this district.<sup>221</sup>

Segura had already assumed the task of translating into Quechua (although what he was translating is not clear, the primacy of the Bible for evangelicals makes it the most likely text) before Case arrived in Andahuaylas and took Segura on as his chief Bible translator. This is particularly important, because it could be thought, reading Case’s circulars, that the Bible translation project was solely at his and other missionaries’ instigation.

By the time Misses Pinn and Michell returned in 1940, Segura had established himself as a leader in the nascent Quechua evangelical church in Andahuaylas, and had independently made choices as to the best programme to follow in continuing the evangelisation of that region. Segura comments that Misses Pinn and Michell ‘helped us very much to grow in our spiritual lives, even giving us various evangelical

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<sup>217</sup> Editor, ‘Our Literary Hold-All,’ *South America*, Vol. XVI, No.5 (September/October 1938): 80.

<sup>218</sup> Segura, *La Luz*, 5-6. Among other actions, fermented urine was thrown on believers from people’s doors, and human excrement was rubbed on the door of the place where they gathered.

<sup>219</sup> Segura, *Historia de la Obra*, 3

<sup>220</sup> Abbreviation for *Señor* i.e. the equivalent of Mr. in English.

<sup>221</sup> E.K. Pinn and D. Michell, ‘Talavera,’ *South America*, Vol. XVI, No.8 (March/April 1939): 127.



books.<sup>222</sup> Case considered the ‘initial phase of the work’ – evangelism – completed at this time.<sup>223</sup>

In 1940 Segura sold his barbershop and went back to Ayacucho at Hitchcock’s request, in order to help him, Homer Emerson (another Presbyterian missionary) and Case<sup>224</sup> to learn Quechua.<sup>225</sup> Not to be contained, Segura visited people in their homes, and the family of one businessman was converted. He and Hitchcock also travelled – once in the district of Concepción and *Suqus Winchus*, where some were converted, and a longer trip to the Province of Cangallo and Victor Fajardo, as far as *Pillpi-chaka* and Santa Inés in Huancavelica.<sup>226</sup>

Segura’s incredible enthusiasm was triggered by a letter received from Hitchcock before returning to Ayacucho that urged him to dedicate himself completely to the ‘Work of the Lord.’ Segura says:

I prayed much, in the nights I would see in visions a multitude of peasants, all of them Quechua, given over to all types of vices, like coca,<sup>227</sup> drink and other vices. I despised [*despreciar* literally, ‘to take away worth, lower the price of’] the peasants, because I took them as lost, ignorant, backward people that did not even know Spanish, because of these ideas I had prohibited Quechua from being spoken in my house and obliged them to speak only Spanish, but praying to the Lord I felt in my heart compassion for the peasants I felt that the Lord was calling me to evangelical work among them only then did the desire come to my mind and my heart to speak Quechua, later I decided on the call of the Lord and I surrendered myself to serve him.<sup>228</sup>

Segura’s commitment to work among the Quechua was radically different from what would have been expected in Peruvian society at the time, where ‘indians’ were considered brutes, ignorant, not educated, and without culture. By contrast, to speak

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<sup>222</sup> Segura, *Historia de la Obra*, 3.

<sup>223</sup> Case, *Great One*, 21.

<sup>224</sup> Known in Spanish as Jorge Case.

<sup>225</sup> Case, *Great One*, 22.

<sup>226</sup> Segura, *Historia de la Obra*, .2.

<sup>227</sup> See Starn, Degregori and Kirk, *Peru Reader*, 385-7 for a summary of the use of coca. Its use was a privileged under the Incas, but then became integral to Andean traditional religion. It was often used as payment for labour. Although a mild stimulant, it is also a source of calories and other dietary requirements.

<sup>228</sup> Segura, *Historia de la Obra*, 14.

Spanish was to be educated.<sup>229</sup> The first missionaries that he worked with closely in Talavera – Miss Ethel Pinn and Miss Dorothy Michell, also informed his choice.

### 2.5.1 1943-1960: Partnership with Kenneth Case

In December 1943, Case calls Segura ‘the leading man’ on the committee towards future possibilities for the Bible School in Andahuaylas. Segura had spent 1940-41 in Ayacucho, but his wife was growing increasingly restless because their income was not what the barbershop had provided. So they returned to Talavera. No sooner had Segura set up his business again than he came down with pleurisy, and nearly died.<sup>230</sup> This was a turning point, interpreted as the ‘Lord’s whip, for having stepped back from his call.’<sup>231</sup> Segura records:

I prayed to the Lord begging for mercy and promising that if he healed me I would dedicate my life only to the service of the Gospel. I was ill for a year and a half with *empyema* at the base of the right lung...I had to sell everything that I had in the barbershop, until one day we were left with nothing to eat...<sup>232</sup>

Segura’s illness lasted from 1942-44. Through Misses Pinn and Michell, now in Abancay, after a series of treatments proved inadequate, and at great cost, Segura was treated with some of the first supplies of penicillin to reach Peru, and was consequently saved.<sup>233</sup> The development and provision of antibiotics was one of the positive outcomes of a war that otherwise prevented people becoming missionaries

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<sup>229</sup> Hoggarth interview 28 October 97.

<sup>230</sup> Kenneth Case, Andahuaylas, Apurímac, Peru, circular to friends in Britain, 22 December 1943, original held by Frances Case, Southampton, United Kingdom and Case, *Great One*, 30-1.

<sup>231</sup> Stewart McIntosh, conversation with author, 2 July 2004, Tayport, Scotland, notes taken, author: For the Andean, everything happens for a reason and therefore has a meaning. Illness was often seen as a ‘castigo de Dios’ (punishment of God). This arises out of the Andean value of reciprocity, which means that ‘grace’ is not a concrete concept, and therefore does not exist with the Quechua. Illness would be interpreted as loss of ‘anima’ i.e. soul. It would require an intermediary between God and the Devil for the soul of the person – something would have to be given in exchange. There needs to be a specialist as intermediary, with ‘vara’ (influence) with God or the Devil, so Jesus Christ was either ‘witch’ or ‘saint’. The same could be said of Misses Pinn and Michell. Missionaries, the Virgin Mary, pastors – all are intermediaries in the religious sense. And an offering is needed, like the ‘despacho’ that is regularly given to the Pachamama. Segura’s offering was the rest of his life.

<sup>232</sup> Segura, *Historia de la Obra*, 15.

<sup>233</sup> *Ibid.*, 15-16; Kenneth Case, Andahuaylas, Apurímac, Peru, circular to friends in Britain, 7 June 1945, original held by Frances Case, Southampton, United Kingdom; and Case, *Great One*, 31.

for the EUSA's work in Peru. This, at a time when the work was developing and missionaries already there were stretched beyond their capacities.<sup>234</sup>

Segura kept his word, and when he was well, dedicated himself to preaching the gospel, leaving his wife in charge of a small business in his shop.<sup>235</sup> After Segura's recovery Case began working with him (although seven months later, in July 1944, he was 'still too weak to work'<sup>236</sup>), firstly on the Quechua language, then on hymns and choruses in Quechua, and finally on Bible translation. Segura wanted the 50 *soles* per month that Case paid him for teaching Quechua to be held by Case until he had amassed enough to buy some land. But 'he did not want to, he told me that the money was not meant to create a capital, later Mr Case was a bit hard, but the Lord gave me the humility and patience to endure.'<sup>237</sup> This was the first indication of discrepancies arising out of their different worldviews. For Segura the focus was on land/place, while for Case it was about capital.

Case described Segura as 'the quiet solid sort' and commented that 'the deep waters he has passed through [his illness] have enriched his spiritual discernment considerably. I personally thank God for the fellowship we enjoy for I can share experiences with him on equal terms, whereas the others are but children in faith.'<sup>238</sup> Case may have interpreted the freedom he felt as equality, but it is clear from Segura's responses to Case in relationship to money that he chafed under what he perceived as an unequal relationship where he had to struggle for equality. Nevertheless, an indication of their developing relationship was Segura's invitation to Case to come to a birthday lunch (7 September 1947) and stay with him and his family in Talavera (along with Dr. and Mrs. Milnes and Mrs. Thompson, all of whom were involved in medical work with the EUSA) until he found a home of his

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<sup>234</sup> Kenneth Case, Andahuaylas, Apurímac, Peru, circular to friends in Britain, 3 July 1944, original held by Frances Case, Southampton, United Kingdom.

<sup>235</sup> Segura, *Historia de la Obra*, 16.

<sup>236</sup> Case, 'Circular', 3 July 1944.

<sup>237</sup> Segura, *Historia de la Obra*, 16.

<sup>238</sup> Case, 'Circular', 7 June 1945, also copied into Case, *Great One*, 31, insert A.

own on his return from furlough in September 1949. This necessitated the Segura family vacating four out of five of their rooms.<sup>239</sup>

The sense of being on equal terms was marred by money to finance Segura's work when Case arranged payment by the American Bible Society in response to Segura's announcement that he had 'to go back into business and make enough money to clear himself.'<sup>240</sup> An agreement was made so that Segura could continue as chief translator, and 'receive an allowance for three weeks' work each month, the local funds to pay the other week so that he could continue local work, visiting and preaching, etc.'<sup>241</sup> Such an agreement meant that Segura's visiting and preaching were extremely limited, given the amount of time needed to get to some of the more remote areas he travelled to.<sup>242</sup>

Dependence on funding, which at the same time permitted control over Segura's use of time, swayed the balance of power towards Case, and Segura never accepted the terms of the agreement, although he acceded to them. He preferred financing himself with his barbershop, rather than be beholden for money, and equated that input with permission for the donor to control the direction of whatever project they were funding. His basic lack of trust in *gringos* (those of European background, including North Americans) was manifested in his unease during the development of the Andahuaylas Bible Institute, as recently as the 1980s.<sup>243</sup> This did not, however,

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<sup>239</sup> Kenneth Case, Andahuaylas, Apurímac, Peru, circulars to friends in Britain, 8 September 1947, 10 September 1949 and 30 November 1949, originals held by Frances Case, Southampton, United Kingdom.

<sup>240</sup> He had been spending too much time on the unpaid work of Bible translation, and it is unclear whether he really wanted to do that in any case, although he does not seem to have ever confronted Case to that effect.

<sup>241</sup> Kenneth Case, Andahuaylas, Apurímac, Peru, circular to friends in Britain, 28 December 1951, original held by Frances Case, Southampton, United Kingdom and Case, *Great One*, 50. Stewart McIntosh, conversation with author, 2 July 2004, Tayport, Scotland, notes taken, author, contrasts the IEP rules for preachers – they had to be away 28 days per month – 'Never underestimate the cost of discipleship to the first itinerant preachers.'

<sup>242</sup> See Case, *Great One*, 48-9 for Case's account of one 5 week trip, and Florencio Segura, 'A Convert on the Trail,' *South America* Vol.XXI, No.8 (October-December 1950): 116-19 for Segura's account of a six week trip .

<sup>243</sup> Noble, interview, 3 April 2001.

extend to Misses Pinn and Michell who continued to be revered by all evangelicals in the Andahuaylas area, including those who never knew them personally.<sup>244</sup>

Segura was not dependent on Case for his ministry. In 1949, when Case was on furlough, he received a letter from Segura in which he reported that during a convention in Andahuaylas 24 had been converted and 16 baptised.<sup>245</sup> Segura's sister and her husband also hosted 'a miniature "Keswick"' in their home. 'Believers...arrived from as far as five days' journey, some on foot, some on horseback. All bring contributions for the family pot – meat, potatoes, or maize.' Nellie Thompson, still staying at Segura's house, wrote: 'My heart thrilled to see Sr. Florencio sitting on the edge of a table with a big crowd of Indians gathered round him, singing Quechua hymns to Inca tunes. He is certainly God's gift to this region, a humble man and full of the Spirit, with a real love for souls. The believers seem to look to him as their spiritual father.'<sup>246</sup> In fact, until the day he died, Quechua evangelicals would travel great distances to see Segura and benefit from his wisdom.<sup>247</sup>

That same year, Segura gave his home and back yard for a Saturday evening Christmas production. For this 'special' occasion, a choir was rehearsed and sang Christmas hymns.<sup>248</sup> It is unclear from Case's letters or mission publications whether these were anything other than translated hymns, although Segura had already composed two Christmas hymns (60 and 71 in 2<sup>nd</sup> edition of DST, but already in the 1<sup>st</sup> edition published in 1946<sup>249</sup>) which were still being sung traditionally at Christmas in 2001.<sup>250</sup>

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<sup>244</sup> Noble, interview, 3 April 2001 and my own experience speaking with evangelicals in Talavera/Andahuaylas/San Jeronimo in 2001-02.

<sup>245</sup> Kenneth Case, Kenton, Middlesex, United Kingdom, circular to friends in Britain, 12 November 1948, original held by Frances Case, Southampton, United Kingdom.

<sup>246</sup> Nellie Thompson, 'A Rough Start,' *South America* Vol.XXI, No.4 (October-December 1949): 58.

<sup>247</sup> Noble, interview, 3 April 2001.

<sup>248</sup> Kenneth Case, Andahuaylas, Apurímac, Peru, circular to friends in Britain, 25 February 1950, original held by Frances Case, Southampton, United Kingdom.

<sup>249</sup> Kenneth Case, Andahuaylas, Apurímac, Peru, circular to friends in Britain, 7 March 1946, original held by Frances Case, Southampton, United Kingdom.

<sup>250</sup> Author's Christmas visit to home for the elderly in Andahuaylas.

Segura increasingly visited outlying areas. While Case was away in 1950, he travelled for six weeks, reporting 'blessing, interest and growth' in what Case called 'these isolated and primitive churches.' Case had travelled up from Cuzco to Naranjal during this time, and the area that Segura visited was to the west of Naranjal and reached by travelling east from Andahuaylas. The trip across the intervening section being extremely difficult, it was seldom attempted. Travellers preferred to go back to Andahuaylas via Cuzco, even though it meant two sides of a triangle instead of one.<sup>251</sup> This particular trip was reported by Segura in the *South America* magazine for October-December 1950, where he mentions how 'groups of brethren....sing the Quechua hymns with great joy' and 'some 200 being present' [at the convention in Wischingay<sup>252</sup>] 'We rejoiced to be together and feed on His word, and sing the Quechua hymns.'<sup>253</sup>

Segura's later account says simply, 'By the grace of the Lord I made a tour towards Cuzco, I arrived at Inkawasi...there the gospel grew and we did many conventions, the word advanced to Qarqu, San Martín, Warankalki, Lukmawayqu, up to Osambre, where the landowner Abel Berg was converted with his family. Once I took Kenneth Case to Osambre and he came back with warts.'<sup>254</sup> What Case had was in fact 'small pox through sleeping on skins in an Indian hut where someone had died of it.'<sup>255</sup>

The hymns that Segura and Case developed together were tried out regularly on trips such as the aforementioned. There were two typical scenarios. In one, people in a village would gather in the host's home round a fire after the meal and listen to the hymns being sung, before being given a gospel message. The responses varied tremendously, from 'rapt attention' to 'polite indifference' to 'open laughter.'<sup>256</sup> In

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<sup>251</sup> Kenneth Case, Andahuaylas, Apurímac, Peru, circular to friends in Britain, 8 August 1950, original held by Frances Case, Southampton, United Kingdom.

<sup>252</sup> Also spelled Vischingay.

<sup>253</sup> Segura, 'A Convert,' 119. Segura's report was translated by Mrs. Thompson, a nurse working with the EUSA in Talavera.

<sup>254</sup> Segura, *Historia de la Obra*, 4.

<sup>255</sup> Frances Case, written comments on chapter 2, 21 November 2005.

<sup>256</sup> Kenneth Case, Andahuaylas, Apurímac, Peru, circular to friends in Britain, 3 September 1951, original held by Frances Case, Southampton, United Kingdom. This commentary makes one wonder what the meaning was of the 'lighting up' of people's faces at the harvest festival service at Urco on 1 June 1913 (page 70 this chapter).

the other, Quechua evangelicals attending conventions or Bible schools, or simply meeting together with others on their travels, would learn the hymns and then sing them as flowed easiest for them. Case made adjustments to tunes – presumably because people made changes to them according to what seemed ‘right’ to them to sing. In 1951 there were already nearly 200 tunes.<sup>257</sup> Case also mentions that in a Bible School held in Talavera, ‘the other hours are filled with learning and correcting hymns’ (among other things). Unfortunately we can only surmise whether the corrections were musical or theological (the words) or both.<sup>258</sup>

- **Segura’s Development as Musician**

In June 1945, Case explained how he identified the scale used by the Quechua:

At first it was incomprehensible, but by taking down sundry songs I have heard round here and analyzing them I have found the scale. No wonder they can’t sing our music! Theirs proceeds by tones and tones and halves from one note to its octave in six notes inclusively. They cannot sing semi-tones to save their lives.<sup>259</sup>

Case had discovered that Quechua music was based on a pentatonic scale. Later, he found that a pentatonic major scale could be used, although the minor was preferred.<sup>260</sup>

Concurrently, Case began teaching Segura to measure musical lines and beats. Inspired, he started writing hymns that he and Case then revised to even poetry, which would fit tunes that Case wrote down. Case’s comment that ‘trying to write tunes on the Indian scale to fit the new hymns... [is] practically impossible I fear, as I am not an Indian, but it’s an experiment anyway’<sup>261</sup> was belied by the response the new hymns and choruses received when they were tried out - he was surprised that

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<sup>257</sup> Kenneth Case, Andahuaylas, Apurímac, Peru, circular to friends in Britain, 8 May 1951, original held by Frances Case, Southampton, United Kingdom.

<sup>258</sup> Kenneth Case, Andahuaylas, Apurímac, Peru, circular to friends in Britain, 26 July 1952, original held by Frances Case, Southampton, United Kingdom.

<sup>259</sup> Kenneth Case, Andahuaylas, Apurímac, Peru, circular to friends in Britain, 7 June 1945, original held by Frances Case, Southampton, United Kingdom.

<sup>260</sup> Case, *Great One*, 36. Frances Case, 21 November 2005: ‘Ken had realized that the music is pentatonic and [that he] had a gift to compose. Played to Dorothy Michell, who recognized it as Quechua – out of this came the idea of hymns, *netamente* [thoroughly] Quechua.’

<sup>261</sup> Case, ‘Circular’, 7-6-1945.

‘Several of them “took” immediately and the believers seem to like them very much.’<sup>262</sup>

By June 1945, Segura and Case had composed about 20 hymns and over 20 choruses, trying some out at a convention that month. In 1946 Case had to travel and left Segura with responsibility for the work in Andahuaylas. The new hymns continued to be sung with great enthusiasm, and Segura taught the evangelical Quechuas in the district more of them.<sup>263</sup> In September 1946, Case wrote that ‘now Florencio himself is beginning to compose music and his latest effort is not at all bad...he is showing gift which is just what we want.’<sup>264</sup> This comment reflects the influence of Ritchie’s ‘indigenous principles’ on the perspective of at least some of the EUSA missionaries at the time. While the assumption that British missionaries were educationally more advanced and therefore had more to offer shines through, there was also a strong commitment to passing on that knowledge so that evangelical Christianity could be owned and communicated by nationals in their own culture and language. The following quote explains why Case in particular believed the indigenization of music to be so important:

The hymns and choruses used in the Indian work are all translations of Spanish hymns which are practically all translations of English ones. The tunes are all the good old favourites you all chant two times one day in seven. But it was never more obvious that this will not do. Far from inspiring the participants and attracting the neighbours, the musical side of our programme is just one pain in the neck; for them a grim do or die struggle to moan out bad Quechua to "Christian" tunes, and for me a form of exquisite torture. The accent falls all wrong and the music is impossible for them to grasp. For a long time I have prayed and worked on this problem and am convinced that the Quechua must improve and that we must use their form of music.<sup>265</sup>

Compare Segura’s description of the same period:

In those days Mr Case also suggested that I write poetry in Quechua so that he could give it music; since he had already translated some Spanish hymns to Quechua....Mr Case had already noted that the Quechua could not learn Spanish tunes well, that the scansion fell badly, out of its accent, then the

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<sup>262</sup> Kenneth Case, Andahuaylas, Apurímac, Peru, circular to friends in Britain, 7 September 1945, original held by Frances Case, Southampton, United Kingdom.

<sup>263</sup> Kenneth Case, Andahuaylas, Apurímac, Peru, circular to friends in Britain, 7 September 1946, original held by Frances Case, Southampton, United Kingdom.

<sup>264</sup> Case, ‘Circular’, 7-9-1946.

<sup>265</sup> Case, ‘Circular’, 7-6-1945.



Lord inspired me with words and with the tune in order to create the composition, and Mr Case would write the notes on the staff. The first Quechua hymn that we sang was the number 3 [*Ancha sumaq Hisusnillayqa* My Jesus is very beautiful], which when the congregation heard it they cried with joy because they were hearing it in their own language and in their own Quechua key; these hymns were one of the factors in the growth of the Evangelical Work among the Quechua people and many learned to read in their language.<sup>266</sup>

It seems that Segura created both the lyrics and many of the tunes for the hymns.<sup>267</sup> Case and Segura both participated in the musical production in a variety of ways. Segura's record of singing tunes that Case wrote down, and Case's statement that he himself wrote tunes to the Quechua scale indicate that the music was a joint effort.

In July 1947, Case recorded that 'Florencio Segura has written a hymn, tune and all.' This was Segura's first ever complete hymn, and there would be many more through the years. 'Its incredible that a fellow with an ear like a mud wall and a voice like a cornflake could by sheer perseverance learn to read and now to write music. I only had to prove his time a bit...' said Case.<sup>268</sup> This forthright comment reveals much about both Case and Segura<sup>269</sup> and in no way detracts from the far more valuable work that Segura accomplished in establishing and communicating a Quechua evangelical theology via his lyrics.

- **Bible Translation**

After the first edition of DST was published in 1946, Segura and Case 'got down to serious translation work.' Case described their team as, 'Segura, my hymn-book partner is chief translator, and I am chief critic.' They started with Luke, using the following procedure: Segura made an initial translation, which was then compared by Case against 'various English, Spanish and Quechua versions, looking up the

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<sup>266</sup> Segura, *Historia de la Obra*, 17. Frances Case, 21 November 2005 comments that, 'They tried out hymns as soon as [they] had words and tune and they were used to conversions quite early – a real breakthrough in Apurímac.'

<sup>267</sup> Case, *Great One*, 35 records Case's account: 'Ken wrote tune after tune and then had to reject some as being slightly similar to something already written. Some local tunes were adapted, though usually changed beyond recognition; a brother came and sang in a cracked voice some pentatonic tunes he knew and all were taken down and rehashed or ideas got out of them.'

<sup>268</sup> Kenneth Case, Andahuaylas, Apurímac, Peru, circular to friends in Britain, 24 July 1947, original held by Frances Case, Southampton, United Kingdom.

<sup>269</sup> In every interview with former colleagues, and others who knew him, it was commented that Case was a perfectionist.

Greek meaning of all key words.’<sup>270</sup> Because Segura was chief translator, he worked with Case extensively on the meaning of words. This exercise inevitably carried over into his hymn-writing, so that Bible translation and hymns and choruses ended up having a standardised vocabulary with standardised meanings to words.

Hymns were never uppermost in Case’s mind. After his first furlough, the tasks that he defined for his next period in Peru excluded hymn production - ‘translation, literacy, church development, training of leadership and the building up spiritually, mentally and socially of a Christian people.’<sup>271</sup> Presumably he expected Segura to continue in association with him, as chief translator – which, indeed, he did. The lack of missionaries, blamed partly on the legacy of WWII Europe, meant that in some instances nationals were depended on because missionaries were not available. So when Case had a bad bout of flu early in 1947, and seeing that the planned Bible School might have to be cancelled because of his illness and lack of personnel, he carried on regardless, ‘with the sterling help of Segura and [Juan] Ortiz (the other preacher).’<sup>272</sup>

- **Quechua Hymns and Choruses in Peru**

Saúl Barrera’s official history of the IEP<sup>273</sup> includes a chapter called ‘Hymnology in the IEP.’ There, the account of the official hymnbooks of the IEP includes a hymnbook used between 1919 and 1930 – the fruits of a commission for all the Spanish speaking churches, which met in Mexico. None of the four hymnbooks mentioned is the product of Peruvian writing and composition, although one of them – *Himnos y Cánticos del Evangelio* (Gospel hymns and choruses)<sup>274</sup> – became the official hymnbook of the IEP.

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<sup>270</sup> Kenneth Case, Andahuaylas, Apurímac, Peru, circular to friends in Britain, 7 December 1946, original held by Frances Case, Southampton, United Kingdom.

<sup>271</sup> Kenneth Case, Kenton, Middlesex, United Kingdom, circular to friends in Britain, 30 June 1949, original held by Frances Case, Southampton, United Kingdom.

<sup>272</sup> Kenneth Case, Andahuaylas, Apurímac, Peru, circular to friends in Britain, 15 April 1947, original held by Frances Case, Southampton, United Kingdom.

<sup>273</sup> Saúl Barrera C., *Origins and Development of the Peruvian Evangelical Church* (Lima: CEDEPP and CBT, 1993).

<sup>274</sup> Hereafter referred to as HCE.

Barrera's testimony about the 'hymnbook of the Quechua churches' is contradictory. He claims that 'the hymnbook is based on HCE with regard to word, but they have been adjusted and corrected by recognised authorities and critics of Quechua, such as Mr. Florencio Segura, to whose corrections he has given his own "indigenous" music.'<sup>275</sup> One wonders whether Barrera is endeavouring to say that the content was contextualized, or whether it is an effort to bring the Quechua evangelical community more strongly under the jurisdiction of the Spanish-speaking wing of the IEP that used the HCE.<sup>276</sup>

The production of hymns and choruses for the Quechua church was something that Case and Segura both felt was indispensable. Its importance became clearer as time progressed.<sup>277</sup> One senses an element of impatience combined with pleasure in Case's comment (September 1945) that 'this work occupies nearly all my time at present and other pressing jobs remain in inactive suspension. After all, you try and compose a brand new hymn-book and see how fast you get on!'<sup>278</sup> By December 1945, the hymns occupied nearly all of Case's time, his desk cluttered with 'Quechua hymns and Inca tunes.'<sup>279</sup> In 1951 the clutter was more varied: 'Quechua dictionary, Greek lexicon, English and Spanish New Testaments, Bible commentaries, reference books, manuscript copies of Indian music, correspondence official and personal, Bible notes, sermon outlines, Sunday School lessons...'<sup>280</sup>

The Quechua were always fascinated by the written word, and would sit for hours listening to someone who could read – one can imagine this same scenario during the Inca Empire, when the *quipucamayocs* deciphered the *quipus* publicly. When the hymns and choruses were compiled and printed into hymnbooks they were therefore quickly disposed of. By May 1951, Case reported that 'The hymn-book is well into

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<sup>275</sup> Barrera, *Orígenes y Desarrollo*, 242.

<sup>276</sup> Frances Case, Southampton to author, London, 21 November 2005 comments that, 'In my opinion Saul Barrera was not very sympathetic to missionaries, and in any case I don't know that he had much interest in the Quechua church – he was a Limeño, though I don't know his place of birth.'

<sup>277</sup> Case, *Great One*, 34.

<sup>278</sup> Case, 'Circular,' 7-9-1945.

<sup>279</sup> Kenneth Case, Andahuaylas, Apurímac, Peru, circular to friends in Britain, 7 December 1945, original held by Frances Case, Southampton, United Kingdom.

<sup>280</sup> Case, 'Circular,' 8-5-1951.

circulation and is a great blessing.’ At the same time, he realised that he would have to rewrite the music copy again, since his copy was ‘dog-eared and out of date with changes in order and some tunes.’ The ‘nearly 200 tunes’ all had to be done by hand.<sup>281</sup> The Quechua evangelicals enjoyed singing these new tunes, but they got naturally adjusted in the process of using them congregationally, and Case had to go along with these adjustments and write them into the music himself - Quechua communitarian preference taking precedence over the rights of the original author/s. The primary forum for the learning of hymns and choruses was the regular Quechua evangelical convention.

- **Conventions**

In the Andes of southern Peru, where villages were small and scattered, the problem of how to effectively teach new evangelical Christians was solved by holding conventions. These gatherings fit in well with the Quechua community spirit that led to *fiestas* ‘feast days’ becoming important gatherings in the context of Andean Catholicism,<sup>282</sup> later encouraging the music festivals that are so popular today. For the missionaries they were an effective replacement for the ‘drinking and debauchery’<sup>283</sup> of feast days, providing the opportunity for people to get together to celebrate their evangelical faith and learn more about the Bible, as well as adding

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<sup>281</sup> Ibid.

<sup>282</sup> See Elizabeth den Otter, ‘Sacred Time and Space: The Festival of Saint Elizabeth of Huaylas’ in *Cosmología y Música en los Andes*, ed. Max Peter Baumann (Madrid: Iberoamericana, 1996), 323-32. She claims that ‘A festival...is an expression of order as well as chaos. Order in as far as the community is represented and *communitas* is experienced...’ (328). Thomas Garr, *Cristianismo y Religión Quechua en la Prelatura de Ayaviri* (Cusco: Instituto de Pastoral andina, 1972), Chapter IV ‘Religious *Fiestas*’, 69-89, begins: ‘The *fiesta* in honour of a saint is one of the most Christian aspects of all the syncretistic religiosity of the peasant. It is the only occasion in which all the people of the town join for a reason that to all appearances is religious.’ See Juan Victor Nuñez del Prado and Marco Bonino Nieves, ‘Una Celebración Mestiza del Cruz-Velakuy en el Cuzco’ in *Allpanchis* Vol. I (1969): 43-60, which concludes that ‘more than for religious reasons, it obeys requirements of a social order’ (58). Also see Manuel Marzal, *El Mundo Religioso de Urcos* (Cusco: Instituto de Pastoral Andina, 1971) Chapter 8 ‘The Religious *Fiestas*’ 153-90; Mery Alinda Sánchez Gamarra, ‘Fiesta de San Isidro, patrón de los agricultores’ in *Allpanchis* Vol.III (1971): 87-98, and Equipo de Agentes Pastorales, ‘Orientaciones para una Pastoral Popular’ in *Allpanchis* Vol. V (1973): 185-216, which has a section specifically on *Fiestas* (195-202). Here *Fiestas* are divided into three types according to aims: Religious, Civic-religious and Civic (195-6). Among the positive values of the *fiesta* named on 197-8 are its expression of group identity (thus valuing their culture), the community spirit inherent, the diversionary change from daily activities and opportunities for evangelisation.

<sup>283</sup> Garr, *Cristianismo y Religión*, 83 argues that this problem, at least in 1972 when he was writing, was not as great as some made it out to be.

new hymns to their repertoire.<sup>284</sup> Conventions were the ideal environment for Segura to teach new hymns and preach.

Conventions were held in each of an area's villages in turn, over a long weekend, and took place every few months. Special speakers and 'native evangelists and preachers' were invited.<sup>285</sup> Misses Pinn and Michell organized the first convention in Talavera in 1937.<sup>286</sup> Case took part in conventions all over the south of Peru, in places such as Marangani in company with Mr. Jardine (26-4-1940) and Huantura where Leslie Hoggarth worked (5-8-1940) and in the Central Andes outside Lima with John Savage (23-10-1940) before settling in Andahuaylas.

A considerable portion of Segura's memoirs on 'The history of the evangelical work in Ayacucho, Huancavelica and Apurimac' is about conventions.<sup>287</sup> He was thrilled when the translation of the New Testament was completed and he could get out again. Like a politician who keeps in touch with his constituency, he realised that in order for Quechua believers to continue growing in their evangelical faith, they would need regular nurturing, and the privilege of seeing and hearing him in person. Conventions gathered new communities that replaced familial *ayllus* and RC *fiestas*, and included new leaders to guide them. Segura understood the dynamics of Quechua community and accepted his calling to be an important guide for these new evangelical communities. The difficulties of being different from others in the traditional Quechua community were partially surmounted by this new community, as well as by personal conversion. This was particularly important in an oral tradition, where community could not be artificially created via the reading of books and the writing and receiving of letters, for example. The actual contact with like-minded people was essential in promoting the new evangelical community.

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<sup>284</sup> Cherry Noble, interview by author, 3 April 2001, Mold, Flintshire, Wales, tape recording, author.

<sup>285</sup> Kenneth Case, Lima, Peru, circular to friends in Britain, 26 April 1940, original held by Frances Case, Southampton, United Kingdom and see Alex Jardine, *First the Blade...* (London: EUSA, n.d.), 28.

<sup>286</sup> E.K. Pinn and D. Michell, 'Within and Without,' *South America* Vol. XVI, No.1 (January/February 1938): 7.

<sup>287</sup> Segura, *Historia de la Obra*, 17-19.

Firstly Segura went to Ocobamba, Ongoy, Cabracancha, Tuqsu and Maramara. Many were converted, and ‘the first church was established in Comunpampa’, where later the first convention was held for that area.<sup>288</sup> Later, Segura went to the area around Vischingay and Huancarama, where ‘more than 300 people’ were converted at one convention. At one of the various conventions that were held in Tarapampa, a significant resistance to Peruvian neo-colonial power took place. ‘The landowner of Palmira, Julia Aranibar, came with her minions to throw out all of the people at the convention since these Aranibar held the people of those parts as vassals, but the Lord gave power to the brothers to resist them and they paid no attention to them, so that they went back crying.’<sup>289</sup>

Segura saw no discrepancy between evangelical Christianity and resistance to the neo-colonial alliance of powerful landowners and Andean Roman Catholicism of that period. He chose to work in Quechua believing that its revaluation by use in the transmission of the Word of God, whether orally via singing, preaching and teaching, or written via the translation of the Bible, would also revalue Quechua culture. This would consequently return to the Quechua people what they had lost in their subjection to Spanish colonialism and later Creole neo-colonialism, with its use of Spanish as the new language of empire.<sup>290</sup> He understood that by losing their language, the Quechua would lose all sense of unique identity, by losing all that their language alone could express, particularly in terms of the structuring of the cosmos: time and space.<sup>291</sup> These are primary areas that Segura’s hymnody addresses. Here,

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<sup>288</sup> Segura, *Historia de la Obra*, 17.

<sup>289</sup> Ibid. Unfortunately, Segura gives no dates for these conventions.

<sup>290</sup> John A. Crow, *The Epic of Latin America* (New York: Doubleday, 1971), 407: An edict was pronounced on 18 May 1781, after the failed rebellion of Túpac Amaru II, which, as well as passing sentence on him and his followers as to how they would be executed, ‘provided that all Inca and cacique [chieftain] dresses should be prohibited, all pictures of the Incas destroyed, the presentation of Quichua dramas forbidden, the musical instruments of the Indians burned; all signs of mourning for the Incas, the use of all national costumes by the Indians, and the use of the Quichua language should be prohibited.’ See Alberto Flores Galindo, ‘The Rebellion of Túpac Amaru,’ in *The Peru Reader*, ed. Orin Starn, Carlos Iván Degregori and Robin Kirk (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1995), 147: ‘More than a hundred Indian rebellions rocked the Andes of Peru and Bolivia between 1720 and 1790.’

<sup>291</sup> See Huamán, *Cosmovisión Andina*, 18-24, where he links language with worldview, including two aspects of language characteristic of Quechua: its onomatopoeic and its agglutinative nature, which makes it capable of endless expanding of meanings and Melano Couch, ‘Cultura de Pobreza?’ 204-5 for her analysis of the process of *diglossia* – the imbalance of power between one language and another.

Segura was practicing both ‘vernacular hermeneutics’ and ‘liberation-focused hermeneutics’ at the same time, daring to become one of ‘the pioneering and often daring efforts of an earlier generation of theologians.’<sup>292</sup> Segura’s Quechua theology is a key effort at ‘the indigenization of biblical interpretation.’<sup>293</sup>

Segura was an authoritative speaker, known for his wisdom and his capacity to put poetry to music so that people would always go away with not just the memory of what they had heard, but the capacity to repeat it in a way that would extend the message even further. In this, Quechua society was much like society in the biblical world – writings were intended to be read out loud (or sung out loud), and were written with that in mind.<sup>294</sup> Segura’s farsightedness meant that he not only recognised this but also used and developed it.

In Segura’s opinion, the future of conventions was dependent on the continuing strength of key believers. Segura compares the area around ‘Chulizama, Qatqa as far as Chiara, where there were some believers, later because of lack of teaching they disappeared [i.e. they no longer considered themselves believers]’ with Argama, where a couple converted through the ministry of Misses Pinn and Michell always visited people and ‘where there were various conventions and many people were converted.’<sup>295</sup> A similar case was that of Andarapa, where a schoolboy named Hilario Leguía was converted and ‘remained faithful until his death, in this place we held various conventions with the conversion of various souls, until a church was formed, which was pastored by the brother Hilario when he died the brothers disappeared, only the family of the brother Hilario remained faithful.’<sup>296</sup> Conventions were important for consolidating dispersed believers, and providing a forum where they would receive teaching.

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<sup>292</sup> R.S. Sugirtharajah, ed., *Vernacular Hermeneutics* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 11-12.

<sup>293</sup> Sugirtharajah, *Vernacular Hermeneutics*, 94. ‘What vernacular hermeneutics tries to do is to erase the painful memory of...degradation and effacement...of one’s culture...and to make a fresh start by returning to one’s roots. Impelled by a variety of cultural and political forces, it is an attempt to go ‘home’. It is a call to self-awareness, and aimed at creating an awakening among people to their indigenous literary, cultural and religious heritage.’

<sup>294</sup> See Harold Coward, *Scripture in the World Religions* 2d ed. (Oxford: Oneworld, 2000), 35-50.

<sup>295</sup> Segura, *Historia de la Obra*, 18.

<sup>296</sup> *Ibid.*

The time and place of a convention was usually decided on at the previous convention. Conventions included:

- Baptisms
- Dedication of children of believers
- Lord's Supper
- Organising of a Church Council (if there was not one already)
- Learning of new hymns
- Testifying
- Preaching from the Bible

Intensive baptismal classes ('instruction meetings') took place before a convention started. In 1950, the Qarqu convention gathered 60 people together, despite a false rumour that the convention was for 'preparations for the destruction of the RC church and images,' indicating the recurring problems evangelicals faced. The authorities investigating allegations made by the local schoolmistress soon dispelled the rumour. That same year, 200 gathered in Wischingay, and when the convention was over 'Hymns of farewell were sung far into the night.'<sup>297</sup>

A number of conventions were held in Qaqyabamba, and around 1948 this gave birth to Segura's Rural Quechua Institute where young people were trained.<sup>298</sup> The first Annual Preachers' Convention [of the IEP] had been held in Lima in July 1941, with the aim of encouraging national preachers to dedicate their time and energy to serving their own people.<sup>299</sup> This and the Bible Schools/Institutes in Huantura (begun in 1930 by Herniman) and in Sicuani (1950-56 under the Jardines and then again from 1962)<sup>300</sup> had set a precedent that Segura was eager to follow. He was aware that theological training was necessary to continue preparing people to serve

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<sup>297</sup> Segura, 'A Convert,' 118-19.

<sup>298</sup> Segura, *Historia de la Obra*, 19.

<sup>299</sup> Kenneth Case, Huancayo, Peru, circular to friends in Britain, 27 August 1941, original held by Frances Case, Southampton, United Kingdom.

<sup>300</sup> See Leslie Hoggarth, 'The Sicuani Bible Institute,' *South America* Vol.XXVIII, No.1 (January-March 1963): 5 for a short history. Don Ford, 'Sicuani: What a Year!' *South America* Vol.XXXI, No.2, (April-June 1969): 24 has it re-opening in 1963. 1962 may not have been taken into account, because in that year the institute was held in the Hoggarths' home.



their own, and to take over when others were no longer able to travel as widely as was necessary in the Andean rural setting.

At Huantura, Quechua was used only for singing hymns and choruses, due to limitations of the missionaries involved. The syllabus followed was taught in Spanish, not the attendants' first language. At a later 'Indian Bible School,' Jardine describes sending out the 17 Quechua students 'from five different districts' (aged 17-37), in threes, to evangelise the surrounding areas. 'It meant hard work and suffering for some; rivers had to be crossed on foot and some of the highest mountains to be climbed. Obviously the Indian is the best one to evangelize his own people. He knows their language and their weaknesses as well as their vices.'<sup>301</sup>

The Quechua language was essential to clear communication with Quechuas, but difficulties presented themselves to people coming from literate countries where the basis for education was the written word. Firstly, there was no consistent orthography, and secondly, Quechua had not as yet been employed for education.

- **A Written Quechua Language**

Since the first attempt at a Quechua orthography was published in the work *Arte, y Vocabulario en la Lengua General del Peru Llamada Quichua, y en la Lengua Española* (Art and vocabulary in the common language of Peru called Quichua, and in the Spanish language) by the Spanish author Antonio Ricardo in Lima in 1586, numerous systems had been used. In 1934, *South America* quoted the American Bible Society report: "Little real progress has been made in the matter of the translation of the New Testament in Quechua that will be usable in all parts of the Quechua-speaking Peru and Bolivia; but much has been done in an effort to work out a system of orthography" (which now converts *Quechua* into *Keshwa*).<sup>302</sup>

The Society, wishing to standardise the orthography so that the Quechua could learn to read and the Bible could be translated and used more widely, planned the Cuzco

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<sup>301</sup> Mr. A. Jardine, 'An Indian Bible School,' *South America* Vol.XIII, No.9 (May-June 1933): 140.

<sup>302</sup> John Savage, 'Cuzco News,' *South America*, Vol.XIV, No.6 (November/December 1934): 94.

Quechua Conference in 1944 for those involved in analysing Quechua. Over 20 delegates were invited to come to Cuzco from Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia and Argentina – all countries where Quechua was still widely spoken among the indigenous population of ‘about five million speakers.’<sup>303</sup> One of the decisions would be an answer to the question, ‘which dialects vary enough to demand different translations?’<sup>304</sup> 16 delegates turned up, from Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia, to a conference lasting ‘seven working days.’ Agreement was reached on orthography, and a resolution adopted that each major dialect would need its own translation of the Bible. Kenneth Case was invited to be a member of the Continuation Committee, which then ‘organized a Quechua Fellowship’ of which it acted as the executive. In this way, ‘a wider interest in the language’ could be promoted and further work on Quechua and its dialects continued.<sup>305</sup> The Ayacucho dialect, used in the area where Segura and Case worked, was the second largest, ‘with 866,000 who speak it and the largest in the number who cannot speak Spanish, being 707,000.’<sup>306</sup> The area in which it is spoken also constitutes the roughest mountain terrain in Peru.

The decision on orthography taken at the Cuzco Quechua Conference was problematic, since it did not take into consideration seriously enough the regional differences in language or the writing of ‘Spanish loan words, of which Quechua is irremediably full.’<sup>307</sup> The government subsequently published an official orthography which generally favoured the decision made at the Bible Society conference. Consequently, Quechua writing was mixed with the writing of Spanish, which had its own orthography, rather than writing Spanish loan words as they are pronounced in Quechua, with the Quechua orthography. This was unfair and confusing to the Quechuas.<sup>308</sup>

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<sup>303</sup> John Ritchie, *The Gospel in the High Andes* (Detroit, Michigan: Rev. Charles W. Anderson, n.d.), 3 tells us that, ‘Thanks to a carefully prepared census taken in 1940 it is known that there are over 3,000,000 Indians in Peru besides as many more near-Indian mestizos.’

<sup>304</sup> Case, ‘Circular,’ 22-12-1943.

<sup>305</sup> Kenneth Case, Andahuaylas, Apurímac, Peru, circular to friends in Britain, 11 April 1944, original held by Frances Case, Southampton, United Kingdom.

<sup>306</sup> Case, ‘Circular,’ 22-12-1943.

<sup>307</sup> Case, ‘Circular,’ 7-12-1946.

<sup>308</sup> *Ibid.*

There were two other possibilities. One was ‘transliterating as far as possible Quechua letters, only importing non-Quechua letters necessary to preserve correct Spanish pronunciation’ thus ‘mixing two language phonetic patterns.’ Again, this was confusing for the Quechuas. The third possibility, preferred by Case and Segura, was ‘modifying all loans to both pronunciation and spelling according as the Indian really uses them.’<sup>309</sup> This method was used for DST when it was first published.

- **Quechua in Education**

Case felt strongly about the use of Quechua for education in the first instance, because a genuinely autochthonous church should be able to communicate its own theology in its own language. Case agreed with Ritchie that:

“Indigenous” should express the conception of a Christian Church which sustains its own life, rather than pays its own expenses or exists without any; whose mode and being of expression arises from its own nature and environment rather than arising out of ecclesiastical, theological and political conflicts of the Church in some other land; and whose development corresponds to the response of its peoples’ soul to the impact of divine grace, rather than to the distorting influences of a worldly and sometimes mercenary nature, foreign both to the soul of the people and to the grace of God.<sup>310</sup>

So when Case was ‘invited [in July 1944] to a regional meeting of the school teachers, to give a lecture on Quechua orthography, and practical suggestions on the use of Quechua instead of Spanish as the medium of teaching’ he gladly accepted. At the December meeting a committee was formed with Case as technical advisor, and a petition drawn up for the Ministry of Education, requesting that a pilot scheme be set up with their financial help, to produce all ‘teaching and books, etc.’ in Quechua.<sup>311</sup>

Case continued voicing his concern that ‘no dialect area has anything like a proper literature programme in Quechua and we in this dialect have less than everyone else.’ His particular area of concern was Bible translation.<sup>312</sup> Quechua literature has since developed two streams – one written and one oral. The written (erudite) stream is

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<sup>309</sup> Ibid.

<sup>310</sup> Ritchie, *Indigenous Church Principles*, 26 and quoted in McIntosh, *Times of John Ritchie*, 70-1.

<sup>311</sup> Kenneth Case, Andahuaylas, Apurímac, Peru, circular to friends in Britain, 16 February 1945, original held by Frances Case, Southampton, United Kingdom.

monopolised by ‘academics, religious and students of the Quechua language’, and has become more prolific with the development of a recognised orthography. Quechua oral literature, which includes ‘stories, riddles, anecdotes, jokes, insults and popular poetry’, continues to be more popular, however, even among more educated people in towns.<sup>313</sup> Segura’s Quechua hymnody fits in this tradition.

- **The First Hymnbook**

The extent to which Case was aware of the need for inculturation of the Gospel is indicated in his comments about the kind of words and music that the Quechua responded to. It is clear that he thought this kind of approach indispensable, and was pleased with the results of his and Segura’s efforts:

I don’t doubt if you heard them [the favorite Quechuan hymns] you would say “distinctly queer” and if you knew what the words meant you would remark “most unorthodox”. All I can reply is that they are not meant for the Saxon race and what few Saxons have to use these hymns will just have to start thinking Indian....once they get a tune they sing with great gusto if it sounds like Inca music and these new hymns do.<sup>314</sup>

By December 1945, Segura and Case had about 50 hymns and 50 choruses, and were planning ‘for about eighty-five of each, covering mostly all the topics you could wish for.’<sup>315</sup> The topics selected were those they considered important to achieve their aim of inculturating the Gospel. The planning of the hymnody communicates an aspect of their characters that Segura and Case had in common: they were systematic people. Segura’s whole family bore this trait – his brother Teodosio advertising *orden*,

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<sup>312</sup> Kenneth Case, Andahuaylas, Apurímac, Peru, circular to friends in Britain, 7 June 1946, original held by Frances Case, Southampton, United Kingdom.

<sup>313</sup> René Farfán Barrios in Faustino Espinoza Navarro, *Qheswa Simi: Temas del Mundo Quechua*, with a prologue by Dr. René Farfán Barrios (Cuzco: Eirene, 1992), 2-3.

<sup>314</sup> Case, ‘Circular,’ 7-9-1945. Case demonstrates clear awareness of the need for what Schreiter calls ‘intercultural communication competence.’ See Schreiter, *New Catholicity*, 33-5: There are two components to that competence: effectiveness, that is, ‘when the speaker feels that it [the communication] has achieved its goal’ and appropriateness, that is, ‘when it is achieved without a violation of the hearer’s cultural codes.’ In an intercultural communication event such as the singing of Segura’s hymns, ‘The speaker [Segura] is concerned with getting a message across the cultural boundary with integrity and lodging it in the world of the hearer in such a way that it will be understood....The hearer [or receiver]...is concerned with finding a place for that message within his or her own world in such a way as to enhance the hearer’s identity.’ Case was aware that the ‘receiver’ orientation was more important in the first instance, and that to bridge the communications gap, the speaker needs to make the prior commitment to understand the receiver’s culture and therefore to speak in such a way that the receiver understands the message appropriately.

<sup>315</sup> Case, ‘Circular,’ 7-12-1945.

*método y systema* order, method and system on a plaque that hung in his place of business.<sup>316</sup>

As soon as missionaries started using the new hymns and choruses, there was judgement passed on their content. This was mostly positive, but at a convention held in October 1945, ‘The only one of the new hymns so far which was considered not too good by a missionary, proved to be the one they couldn’t stop singing all the Convention, and they still keep on. You cannot guess beforehand which ones will “take” best.’<sup>317</sup> Unfortunately, Case does not say which hymn this was.

All of the national itinerant preachers began using the hymns and choruses produced by Segura and Case. Since Segura was virtually indispensable to the translation task (‘I can’t do much on the translation with him away’ confessed Case), Case decided to accompany Segura on one of his preaching trips – ‘a long trip on horse-back.’<sup>318</sup> They left on 14 May 1951, and covered 270 miles in five weeks, ‘visiting the most distant and isolated groups and believers.’ It was in writing about this experience that we have been given a description of one of the contexts in which Quechua hymns were disseminated.<sup>319</sup>

By March 1946, Segura and Case were ready to publish the first edition of their Quechua hymnbook.<sup>320</sup> The problem was that available printing presses were tied up publishing political propaganda.<sup>321</sup> Nevertheless, in June 1946, the first hymnbook was printed. It had taken about a year to get to this point, and the amount of work put in was prodigious, yet Case underrated it by calling it ‘well over a year’s solid grind’. His impatience to see the end result is revealed in his description of the process:

But I am utterly weary of all this miserable side of it – the lost days and weeks, the constant going to the printers to supervise the obtuse numskull I had to work with, proof-reading with scores of mistakes, the fear of paper

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<sup>316</sup> Stewart McIntosh, conversation with author, 2 July 2004, Tayport, Scotland, notes taken, author.

<sup>317</sup> Case, ‘Circular,’ 7-12-1945.

<sup>318</sup> Case, ‘Circular,’ 8-5-1951.

<sup>319</sup> Account in Case, *Great One*, 48-9.

<sup>320</sup> Case, ‘Circular,’ 7-3-1946 and Case, *Great one*, 36-7. Since normally only the first verse was memorised, people were not getting the full theological message of a hymn.

<sup>321</sup> Case, ‘Circular,’ 7-12-1945.

shortage and a host of other worries. Yes, I am weary in every sense, but I prefer to think of all the 600 copies bright and shining upon my shelves, going forth in batches to the brethren who have almost given up hope of singing from a book, and leading their heartfelt expressions of praise and spiritual experience, in their own language and to a music they can appreciate (even if you wouldn't!). A few days more and the hope deferred will be realized, the bill paid and the 85 hymns and 91 choruses in circulation.<sup>322</sup>

Clearly Case was convinced of Segura's ability to capture in Quechua their own 'expressions of praise and spiritual experience'. The widespread acceptance of their work confirmed that Segura's lyrics were faithful to Quechua experience.

**Diospa Siminmanta Takikuna** 'Songs from God's Word' is the title that remains to this day, although it has been augmented several times. It reveals Segura and Case's emphasis on communicating in song what could be read about in the Bible. The front cover boasts a Quechua man 'singing from a book. Then inside comes the list of subjects with the hymn numbers arranged in sections so that all those of each subject come together.'<sup>323</sup> 50 subject areas were included, of which the major ones were (with times occurring in parentheses):

Encouragement (18)	<u>In Case's 6-1946 circular as:</u> For the help of believers
Consecration (17)	About following God in love
General evangelization (22)	For speaking of the Gospel
Evangelization invitation (18)	For calling sinners
The sinner's prayer for evangelization (8)	
Exhortation (18)	
Invitation to the sinner (18)	For telling about life in Christ
Worship and Praise (9)	To worship God
Believer's prayers (29)	Prayers of the believer
Sinner's prayers (8)	Prayers of the sinner
Testimony (40)	
Special occasions (27)	For special meetings

Case translated the subject titles into English himself and included one in his newsletter that was not as representative as the others, i.e. 'For children' (4).<sup>324</sup>

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<sup>322</sup> Case, 'Circular,' 7-6-1946. Frances Case comments in 21-11-05 that it was 'not surprising [that Case was so weary], as Ken left UK in December 1939 [and his] first furlough was summer 1948!'

<sup>323</sup> Case, 'Circular,' 7-6-1946.

<sup>324</sup> Ibid.

In July 1947, Case reported that the first edition of the hymnbook was ‘fast running out’. By this time there were other new hymns for the prospective 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, including the first hymn that Segura wrote in its entirety - lyrics and music. The hymns were a successful evangelistic tool. ‘One of the preachers said the new work and converts were mostly through interest aroused by some of these hymns.’<sup>325</sup>

- **The Second Edition**

Yet again, Case was frustrated in his plan to focus on translation and literacy. In November 1949, he records that,

The first urgent and pressing need was for new Quechua hymn-books. The stock was right out and new converts clamouring for copies. It seems almost impossible to find a printer and the political upheaval of last year [1948<sup>326</sup>] meant the confiscation of numerous presses. So I sent a wire to the American Presbyterians over 200 miles away with whom we work together in language questions – could they get out a temporary hymn-book on their duplicator if I came over and helped. The reply was yes, so I went and in about nine days we got out a book with thirty hymns and twenty five choruses, those being the better known ones. It isn’t very great and the covers are made of old American war propaganda posters with pictures of generals and guns and things. However, the outside is white and the inside of each cover only portrays a bit of a general’s face or the top of a tank or something.<sup>327</sup>

This temporary edition is perhaps the most significant, in that it chose those hymns that most captured the imagination of the Quechua. Unfortunately there are no known copies still in circulation.

In November 1950, the 2<sup>nd</sup> edition was finally at the press. This time, the American Pentecostals in Lima offered their linotype machine for printing. Delivery was promised for the end of September, but difficulties arose since coastal typesetters did not speak Quechua, and had ‘to work letter by letter’. Even were it familiar as a spoken language, Quechua was ‘still practically an unwritten language and therefore unfamiliar to typesetters’, in any case. Case could not afford the cost of the printing,

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<sup>325</sup> Case, ‘Circular,’ 24-7-1947.

<sup>326</sup> See Keen and Wasserman, *A Short History*, 390-3. The Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana APRA, part of the National Democratic Front that won the 1945 elections with José Luis Bustamante, ‘increasingly resorted to violence’ (392) when Bustamante refused to become a figurehead for their leader Raúl Haya de la Torre. Additionally, there was a post-WWII economic crisis. In October 1948 Bustamante was forcibly replaced by General Manuel A. Odría.

<sup>327</sup> Kenneth Case, Andahuaylas, Apurímac, Peru, circular to friends in Britain, 30 November 1949, original held by Frances Case, Southampton, United Kingdom.

but since the Presbyterians in Huanta were using the same book, he contacted them, receiving a share of the payment from them.<sup>328</sup>

The hymn-books did not arrive until three months after the promised date - late December 1950. Case puts it... 'only three months after the promised date' and describes them as 'quite well got up, in two qualities of paper, to suit all pockets, and clear printing. The only snag is printer's errors<sup>329</sup> of which there must be at least a dozen. It just seems impossible to get a perfect job done.'<sup>330</sup> This is the hymnbook that has been used for chapter 3 of this thesis.

### • **Theological Approaches**

During Segura and Case's partnership, Case taught a Bible class to a group of mostly adolescent men. His comments indicate the way that he approached the Bible, an approach that clearly influenced Segura's hymnody. 'In our Classes last year we started at the Creation and got as far as the judges. The types proved to be splendid illustrations of the Gospel, as we tried to find "Christ in all the Scriptures". Now this year we are studying the Life of Christ...'<sup>331</sup> To help in this study, Case wrote 'a concise and simple Life of Christ' in Quechua, his first effort in that language, translated from the copy he had previously written in Spanish. He hoped to expand on the original, and also complete a 'book of Bible stories simply told, with a touch of interpretation woven in to clarify and teach.' In all his hopes for the production of Bible lessons, tracts, pamphlets, reading charts and 'primers to teach more people to read,' Case expressed his dependence on nationals for 'all translation and composition,' Segura being his primary helper.<sup>332</sup> This work informed the theology of Segura's hymns. So although Segura's focus was 'Jesus,' the incarnated Christ, he also found Jesus 'in all the Scriptures' in his hymns, for example. He often finished

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<sup>328</sup> Kenneth Case, Andahuaylas, Apurímac, Peru, circular to friends in Britain, 8 November 1950, original held by Frances Case, Southampton, United Kingdom.

<sup>329</sup> Pointed out in appendix 1.

<sup>330</sup> Kenneth Case, Andahuaylas, Apurímac, Peru, circular to friends in Britain, 8 February 1951, original held by Frances Case, Southampton, United Kingdom. Case's perfectionism, allied with an inclination to be a workaholic, made him a hard taskmaster.

<sup>331</sup> Case, 'Circular,' 11-4-1944.

<sup>332</sup> Case, 'Circular,' 7-6-1946.



hymns by drawing attention to the way in which Jesus perfectly fulfils the lesson being drawn out (e.g. H.8 from Genesis 6 about the flood).

By the choice of words for their evangelical hymns and choruses, Segura and Case were hoping ‘that in time Christian experience’ would build ‘into the word its full meaning.’<sup>333</sup> They trusted that any residual meaning which did not fit what they were trying to communicate in the evangelical Christian context would be lost. The word *kutipay* ‘to do again,’<sup>334</sup> for example, directly connected with the second harvest of corn, was chosen to describe Jesus’ Second Coming. It was associated with a ritual that included the *t’inqasqa* (the ‘sacrificial’ act of ceremonial flicking of liquid) and the burial of an offering to *Pachamama*.<sup>335</sup> This expectation may have been optimistic, given the human propensity for imaging whatever comes up first in an individual’s mind when a particular word is spoken – but there is more likely to be consistency within a collectivist culture, especially since ‘the programming of our minds, the establishment of our perceptions, is constituted not only by events and experiences but by relationships.’<sup>336</sup>

Case’s assessment ‘that it isn’t like working in an established language full of rich spiritual terminology like English’ betrays his preconception that ‘spirituality’ is inherent to languages that have developed within a Christian consensus over a period of time. He limits spirituality to ‘what happened with English from the Reformation onwards’ and maintains that ‘it must happen to every language spoken by believers.’<sup>337</sup> That may be one reason why it never occurred to him to consider whether what he and Segura were doing bordered on syncretism – he did not recognise the spirituality that was already there. That made his and Segura’s task

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<sup>333</sup> Ibid.

<sup>334</sup> Abdón Yaranga Valderrama, *Diccionario Quechua-Español Runa Simi – Español* (Lima: Biblioteca Nacional del Peru and Paris: Université de Paris VIII-Vincennes à Saint-Denis, 2003), 136.

<sup>335</sup> See Luis Dalle, ‘Kutipay o segundo aporque del maíz,’ *Allpanchis* Vol. III (1971): 59-65.

<sup>336</sup> Andrew Walls, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History* (London/New York: T&T Clark and Orbis Books, 1996; Continuum, 2004), 45. He gives the example of C.S.Lewis’ and his father’s conversation about a particular church: ‘A certain church in Belfast has both a Greek inscription over the door and a curious tower. “That church is a great landmark,” said I, “I can pick it out from all sorts of places – even from the top of Cave Hill.” “Such nonsense,” said my father, “how could you make out Greek letters three or four miles away?” The mistake, of course, is not asking the question of what a statement might mean to the other person.

easier, because he was not troubled with the spectre of too much residual meaning creeping in with some of the words Segura chose. It also meant that he gave Segura considerable freedom in his choice of vocabulary.

Words are capable of having additional meaning attached to them, but they do not necessarily lose all the meanings they previously carried, nor should they necessarily. That is why the choice of words is so important and an ideal word builds on previous understandings.<sup>338</sup> Many Quechua words were already laden with spiritual overtones acquired from pre-Inca through to Inca Empire and the Spanish conquest with its overlay of Catholicism as practised within that context, even after Peru gained its independence. Despite their use in the context of evangelical Christianity, the likelihood is that previous understandings would be carried over to a certain extent. This would not mean a necessary diminishing in the value of the word as a ‘spiritual’ symbol – it might even retain valuable nuances as well as bring new and valid meanings to that word, which are discovered in one cultural context and not in another. This is particularly probable given that Case comments that ‘As often as not no word exists for the idea required, and then comes the fun of making one up from what there is that would suggest something near the thought.’<sup>339</sup> The fact that they seem to have found words that were ‘near the thought’ indicates that some words were capable of being laden with further meaning. Because Bible translation came after the composition of hymns, many of which were taken directly from biblical

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<sup>337</sup> Case, ‘Circular,’ 7-6-1946.

<sup>338</sup> See Jaime Regan, ‘Reflexión Pastoral Sobre los Ritos Indígenas,’ *Allpachis* Vol. III (1971): 202-13. He suggests that there are numerous Quechua agricultural rites that can be used in RC catechesis, by making connections and thus making new meanings comprehensible. Because the Quechua are so concrete, the rite should be associated with the change of meaning, with the addition of a scenario such as the Jews use when the youngest child asks what different aspects of the Passover mean. For Baptism, he gives the examples of:

- the Aymara *Wilancha* or blood ritual, in which llama blood is thrown on the door, walls and the materials for making a new roof (this could be connected with the Passover, and from there to Jesus’ sacrifice),
- the *Señalakuy*, in which animals are marked as belonging to a community or individual (here the connection is with the sign of the cross at baptism, which denotes belonging to the community of believers in Jesus), and
- the *Miska*, an agricultural rite where various libations are offered for a good crop (the connection here is with the waters of baptism, through which Christ gives abundant life that ‘makes us rebirth as members of the Christian community’).

<sup>339</sup> Case, ‘Circular,’ 7-6-1946.

themes, it was inevitable that certain words were already acquiring a particular meaning among Quechua believers as the hymns and choruses were sung.

As the adolescents of Case's Bible Class began to take on regular responsibility for running the group, they were encouraged to be regular in their Bible reading and prayer by new Monday and Thursday meetings for those who had professed conversion, as well as the 'Saturday afternoon general class.' Case led on Monday and let them take turns on Thursdays. The idea was to choose a Bible passage and explain what they could, then get comments from the others. Case exclaimed that 'they do choose some strange passages!' - giving the example of II Timothy 2:20<sup>340</sup> - 'In a large house there are articles not only of gold and silver, but also of wood and clay; some are for noble purposes and some for ignoble.' Such a passage would be easy for the Quechua to visualise, the house being a place large enough for many believers, and the articles of wood and clay being the materials used in a peasant household, whereas gold was the element used for religious purposes during the Inca empire. Wood and clay are familiar, everyday images - fitting to the concrete Quechua way of conceptualizing reality.<sup>341</sup> Tito Paredes, one of the founding members of the CEMAA and the FIEL has entitled his two books *El Evangelio en Platos de Barro* (The Gospel in clay plates) and *El Evangelio: un tesoro en vasijas de barro* (The Gospel: a treasure in pots of clay), so that well-loved image carries on today. It was this resonance with the Quechua mindset that Segura understood and tapped into so well.

In the second stage of Bible translation, Segura's drafted translations of verses were carefully perused to ensure that the meaning of each verse was retained in the Quechua. Case confesses that this is where 'often we jam because there is no word for the concept and we have to invent one, or borrow from Spanish.'<sup>342</sup> But through Romanist influence many theological words in Spanish have twisted meanings, so

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<sup>340</sup> Case, 'Circular,' 7-12-1946.

<sup>341</sup> McIntosh, conversation, 2-7-04 comments that 'grace' does not exist for the Quechua, since it is not a concrete concept, and in any case, the value of reciprocity prevents it being understood.

<sup>342</sup> See chapter 3 for further development.

we can't use them.'<sup>343</sup> It is difficult to know, without having an idea of the words Case was referring to, whether it was a question of the actual meanings possible for those words being unsuitable, or whether the Quechua understanding of those words was considered flawed because of their own personal experience as part of a Roman Catholic society. The difficulty lay in Case's point of view. His focus was primarily on translating Western theological ideas.<sup>344</sup>

One of the major difficulties that Segura and Case found in their translation was that whereas the Greek starts many verses with the word 'and', 'there is no word for "and" in Quechua! You join things up with different suffixes according as they are nouns, adjectives, verbs, phrases or what, and you just can't slip in those convenient little "ands".'<sup>345</sup> 'Then Quechua is frightfully exacting and won't permit ambiguity of any kind.' Case gives the example of Luke 6.17, where it must be clear whether the phrases 'to hear him' and 'to be healed' refer to the same group or different groups of people – 'Quechua must be precise.'<sup>346</sup> This is a linguistic result of the importance placed on the *ayllu* community – one is either 'in' or 'out' in terms of belonging in any relationship, so the inclusive and exclusive suffixes are extremely important.

Setting up a policy for translation work into what came to be known as the Ayacucho-Chanca dialect, fell to a committee made up of Case, Segura, Homer Emerson (working with the Presbyterians in Huanta) and two of his national language helpers.<sup>347</sup> The committee spent two weeks standardising 'all the hard words and theological terms' they had encountered, as well as equivalents for weight measures and coinage. Luke's Gospel was refined with the Greek, and some work on

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<sup>343</sup> Case, 'Circular,' 7-12-1946.

<sup>344</sup> Walls, *The Missionary Movement*, 43-4 uses the analogy of a play on a huge stage, which is in fact, the drama of life... 'though everyone in the audience sees the same play and hears the same words, they have different views of the conjunction of word and action, according to their seat in the theatre.' Any one person sees only one part of it completely – humility accepts the partiality of our understanding, even while endeavouring to stretch it by relationship with other cultures. The Western weakness is pointed out by Japanese theologian Koyama, quoted in Sugirtharajah, *Vernacular Hermeneutics*, 97: 'religious images...[in other spiritualities are] either ignored or subordinated to the images imported from the West.'

<sup>345</sup> Case, 'Circular,' 7-12-1946.

<sup>346</sup> Ibid.

the Huanta translation of John's Gospel revealed much more work and revision was needed— a frustration because Homer Emerson was leaving for an extended period due to his wife's ill-health, and neither Segura nor Case had much time to give to the translation, 'with so many other things to see to.'<sup>348</sup>

Translation honed Segura's skills in interpretation, ensuring that his hymns were theologically astute. This was vital, since the hymns and not the translation of the Bible came to be used most widely. Herniman's AWT had been used as the Cuzco hymnbook, and a number of hymns from Andahuaylas' DST were added to the repertoire bit by bit, but when the southern churches joined the IEP, and sometime between 1955-1960 (according to Ricardo Cahuana, one of the leading members of the Cuzco Quechua Commission),<sup>349</sup> the first new edition of AWT, which became the hymnbook for the Cuzco area, was published.<sup>350</sup> The first printing of this Cuzco AWT was paid for by Leslie Hoggarth, who recouped his money as copies were sold.<sup>351</sup> It borrowed 94 of its first 96 hymns and 92 of its first 93 choruses from DST. Hymns 96-121 were compiled from elsewhere, including translations (112-119) from Spanish hymnbooks such as Himnos y Coros 'Hymns and Choruses' and Himnos de Gloria 'Hymns of Glory.' 112-114 and 116-117 were borrowed from translations previously published, with Herniman's permission. Choruses 92, 93 and 95-101 were new to AWT.

AWT was reprinted 15 times. When the hymnbook became ITAT in 1986, at least 141 of the hymns that had been sung since the 1950s were left out. Ricardo Cahuana says that this is 'because the tunes weren't popular,' but Nat Davies (Latin Link missionary in Cuzco, who worked there previously with EUSA) comments, 'I have my doubts about how wide the consultation process was.'<sup>352</sup> ITAT has had 11

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<sup>347</sup> Case, 'Circular,' 8-2-1951.

<sup>348</sup> Ibid.

<sup>349</sup> Letter from EUSA missionary Dr. Nat Davies, to author, 15 April 1999.

<sup>350</sup> According to Ricardo Cahuana, a member of the Cuzco Quechua commission, in *ibid.* See Bill Mitchell, 'Quechua Translators,' *South America Now* (October-December 1977): 5 for more about Cahuana.

<sup>351</sup> Hoggarth, interview, 13-5-99.

<sup>352</sup> Davies, letter, 15-4-99.

reprints since 1986, the only adjustment being that hymns 181-195 were added and have been included since edition 8.<sup>353</sup>

Case recorded the Quechua pentatonic music, to accompany the words of the hymns and choruses, with the European musical notation system.<sup>354</sup> In the 1960s, Robert Nybakken, a missionary working with Radio Amauta, decided to add harmony to the music of DST, which had been recorded with melody alone. Unfortunately, since the harmony was composed according to western rules of musical harmonisation, the result detracts from the genuine indigenous sound and is practically useless.<sup>355</sup> It reflects western individualism, where each person has a different line to sing, a separate contribution to make towards the sound. Quechua parts duplicate the melody on a different base, 'freely and flexibly'. This is one of the distinctives of Quechua sound, the other being their preference for high, sharp sounds.<sup>356</sup> It has therefore become more common to record Quechua music simply with the melody, leaving Quechua musicians to add parts as they like.<sup>357</sup>

Segura's hymns have more teaching content than any that have been written since. The importance of hymns in the area of transmission of theology was noted, and no course of study in a Quechua Bible school was without a course on music.<sup>358</sup>

### **2.5.2 1962-1983: Florencio Segura at Radio Amauta**

In 1960, Ken Case and his wife Frances moved to Cuzco, having completed the New Testament in 1958. The partnership with Segura was over. From 1962 to 1983, Segura worked with Radio Amauta, the North American Presbyterian radio station, which broadcast several hours each day from Huanta.<sup>359</sup> He was hired to be their

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<sup>353</sup>Ibid.

<sup>354</sup> Wilson-Dickson, *Brief History*, 353. See 5<sup>th</sup> edition of DST, which has the accompanying music composed by Case.

<sup>355</sup> Interview with Frances Case, interview by author, 13 February 2001, Southampton, United Kingdom, tape recording, author. See 5<sup>th</sup> edition of DST music.

<sup>356</sup> See Romero, 'Tradicional y Popular,' 233-5.

<sup>357</sup> See first edition of AWT, September 1981, with music included. The melodies are those recorded by Case.

<sup>358</sup> Hoggarth, interview, 28-10-97.

<sup>359</sup> Don Ford, "'By all means...'" *South America*, Vol. XXVIII, No.8 (1964): 122.

Quechua language broadcaster, so he sold off all his barbershop equipment and rented out his house in Talavera.

Segura's daily broadcast included hymns and choruses from DST and a commentary on a Bible passage, all in Quechua. His commentary was sometimes described as preaching – especially evangelistic.<sup>360</sup> Simply by hearing the broadcast, people were converted. Segura cites two examples – one a family from the department of Huancavelica and another from Cuzco who came the whole way to Huanta in order to 'give themselves to the Lord'. Churches were formed afterwards. Segura rightly claimed that much more happened because of the radio work, but (in 1994) he no longer remembered many details. His attitude was that of acknowledging the work as 'God's, who does everything by his Spirit, taking his own as instruments. His name be Glorified.'<sup>361</sup>

Conventions also received people converted through 'the Gospel on the radio.' In 1979, 'Two tired dusty figures arrived at a mountain convention – they had never met other Christians before as there is no road or means of communication to their community (they first heard the Gospel on the radio and then got hold of a New Testament). They were thrilled to realise that they weren't "isolated" Christians but members of God's family, with large numbers of "brothers" and "sisters".'<sup>362</sup>

The years that Segura spent with Radio Amauta coincided with the general flourishing of radio as Quechua people bought what became the ubiquitous transistor.<sup>363</sup> In 1962, Saturnino Valeriano, with EUSA's David and Netta Milnes, began a programme on the local Sicuani radio south of Cuzco, transmitting in Quechua, and there was a radio station in Andahuaylas, too – apparently acquired by

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<sup>360</sup> Briscoe, interview, 30-4-01.

<sup>361</sup> Segura, *Historia de la Obra*, 6.

<sup>362</sup> Anthea Harrison, 'Doing Yourself out of a job,' *South America NOW* (January-March 1979): 4.

<sup>363</sup> Don Ford, "'By all means...",' *South America*, Vol.XXVIII, No.8 (1964): 122-3 and see picture on 127 showing Quechuas gathered round a transistor radio.

Segura. One of the radio stations was called 'Mount Sinai.'<sup>364</sup> The list of radio stations heard in Peru in 1966 included four evangelical stations –

- HCJB Quito (Ecuador)
- Transworld Radio (USA)
- Cruz del Sur (Canadian Baptists of Bolivia)
- Radio del Pacífico (Lima, Peru)

Additionally, time was bought for evangelical programmes in the south of Peru on –

- Radio Sicuani (three-quarter hour programmes weekly)
- Radio Continental (Arequipa – one-quarter hour programme weekly by IEP Arequipa)
- Radio Salcantay (Cuzco – one-quarter hour programme weekly by IEP Cuzco)
- Radio Tawantinsuyo (Cuzco – one-quarter hour programme weekly by the Assemblies of God)

Radio Amauta was the major evangelical station in south central Peru.

Vicente Saico, who worked with Segura for many years at Radio Amauta comments, '*Amauta* means 'teacher' in Quechua, so it had to be in Quechua!' He is convinced that Segura's gifts were teaching, composing hymns and translating. He knew the Quechua language well, and was known to have a special calling for the Quechua.<sup>365</sup> Segura's post was salaried, giving him a financial security associated with the type of work he loved – Bible study, preaching and music.<sup>366</sup> His main message was one of repentance. The music Segura used always accompanied and reinforced the message of his preaching.<sup>367</sup>

Segura pre-recorded all his hymns and choruses on the old reel-to-reel system; he and his wife singing while he played the concertina (musical instrument with bellows

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<sup>364</sup> Briscoe, interview, 30-4-01; Vicente Saico, interview by author, 20 December 2001, Huanta, Ayacucho, Peru, tape recording, author; David Milnes, 'Peru,' *South America*, Vol. XXVIII, No.8 (October-December 1964): 118; Netta Milnes, 'Reached by radio,' *South America NOW* (July-September 1977): 14; and Bill and Alice Mitchell, 'Isaías – Pastor in the Andes,' *South America NOW* (April-June 1978): 8.

<sup>365</sup> Saico, interview, 20-12-01.

<sup>366</sup> Briscoe, interview, 30-4-01.

<sup>367</sup> Saico, interview, 20-12-01.



and keys),<sup>368</sup> and they are still used today. He also translated the news into Quechua daily and gave out news items for families who wanted to contact their loved ones. He would insert Bible verses in the middle of the news (of more interest to urban Quechuas). It was well known that people would sing along with the radio. Segura also used the radio to teach musical notation – ‘how to read the musical staff.’<sup>369</sup> Undoubtedly, given the proliferation of transistor radios during the period Segura was with Radio Amauta, this contributed to the numerous new compositions that would inspire the evangelical music festivals when they began in 1979.<sup>370</sup> What was said about Saturnino Valeriano’s preaching on Radio Sicuani could well have been said of Segura: ‘He is so greatly loved and respected that they all listen in hushed silence, in an attitude of thoughtful worship. When the hymn begins they all join in, for God has put a new song in their hearts.’<sup>371</sup>

Segura’s method for teaching hymns during this period was to get as many hymnbooks sold as possible. He would then teach the hymns via the radio, and people would record his music on cassette and listen to it over and over until they learned it.<sup>372</sup> This oral method is the same as that used during conventions, except that by referring back to Segura, the original, consistently, there were less accidental variations in the production of the hymns.

Saico commented that one of Segura’s primary concerns was not to practice *plagio* ‘plagiarism.’ For him that meant taking musical forms from secular music for his hymns and choruses. Instead, ‘he composed with all reverence.’ Saico confirms that this was also a concern of the RC church – ‘it prohibited plagiarism, because it was

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<sup>368</sup> Frances Case, letter, 21-11-05: ‘Ken took the concertina to Peru and used it, later gave it to Florencio. A few years ago [just before he died] he wrote asking if I could obtain another, as the old one gave out some time ago. I investigated, very few around, and expensive, others there advised he probably would not use it much, and it proved true.’

<sup>369</sup> Saico, interview, 20-12-01.

<sup>370</sup> Editor, *Boletín CEMAA* (Lima, Peru: Centro Evangélico de Misiología Andino Amazónica, June 1983), 5. Quicaña, interview, 19-12-01 says they began in 1978 – he may be referring to a meeting in Huancayo in 1978 where decisions were made that gave rise to the First International Festival of Quechua Evangelical Music in Ayacucho in 1979.

<sup>371</sup> Don Ford, ‘“Waves of Blessing”,’ *South America*, Vol.XXIX, No.5 (January-March 1966): 70.

<sup>372</sup> Saico, interview, 20-12-01.

not sacred music – not appropriate.’<sup>373</sup> Plagiarism, defined in this way, had a strong negative value attached to it.<sup>374</sup>

There were not any particular favourite topics for the Bible messages – Segura made sure that many topics were covered. A typical week might be:

Monday, Wednesday and Friday: 6-7pm evangelisation slot, with 15-20 minutes of message

Sunday morning: evangelisation, but also consecration

Because the Quechua get up early and go to bed early, the times when Segura was on the air coincided with the beginning and ending of their day. At one time he was on the air daily from 6-7:30am and 5-6:30pm.<sup>375</sup>

This stage in Segura’s life was more settled. Going by a 1912 birth date, Segura was 50 when he went to Huanta, and he stayed with Radio Amauta until he was 71. His influence was widespread, because of the radio’s extension, and contributed to DST’s use in the Cuzco AWT, with no changes, until 1986. His programme transmitted well into the Cuzco area.<sup>376</sup> ‘There were 100 receivers with keys for only HCJB [*Hoy Cristo Jesús Bendice* Today Jesus Christ Blesses – an evangelical radio station transmitting out of Quito, Ecuador] and Radio Amauta, functioning from 1965 until the receivers broke down.’<sup>377</sup> These were used to help lead churches and Sunday schools as far afield as Lima, Ica, Huancavelica, Huamanga, Ayacucho, Huancayo, Apurimac and Cuzco (along the right side of the Apurimac River), although the influence was felt mainly in the south-central region of the country.

Despite working with a Presbyterian radio station, Segura always considered himself a member of the IEP. After about five years, he started an IEP church in his own home in Huanta. This was Segura’s own decision, and not driven by any IEP

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<sup>373</sup> Ibid.

<sup>374</sup> Quicaña, *Música y Cultura*, 15 agrees, but with a slightly different nuance: ‘in some cases they are imitating or copying the melodies of songs that are already distorted (ruined) by plagiarising mestizos for their carnal delights.’

<sup>375</sup> Saico, interview, 20-12-01.

<sup>376</sup> Briscoe, interview, 30-4-01.

<sup>377</sup> Saico, interview, 20-12-01.

policy.<sup>378</sup> The IEP was considered the first and only genuinely autochthonous denomination, and Segura consistently resisted outside influences - more prevalent in evangelical denominations from outside the country. There were less foreign missionaries with the IEP, and in 1969, three leaders of the IEP were invited to actively participate in the EUSA field meetings that made decisions on mission policy in Peru.<sup>379</sup>

Saico describes Segura as ‘uncomplicated, humble, sincere, with a unique personality and a faith that was very open and forthcoming.’<sup>380</sup> There is no doubt that he was driven to ceaselessly use every opportunity available to him to reach the Quechua that he felt called to serve.

### **2.5.3 1979- 2000: Florencio Segura and Quechua Evangelical Music Festivals**

Saico believes that Segura retired from Radio Amauta in 1983 for reasons of health.<sup>381</sup> This is unlikely because he lived an active life for 17 more years. Others believe he returned to Talavera because the situation was getting increasingly difficult in Ayacucho,<sup>382</sup> the centre for Shining Path activities since its inception in 1970 under the leadership of Abimael Guzmán, a philosophy professor at the university. 1980 inaugurated the terrorism inspired by that group, which quickly escalated.<sup>383</sup> The reasons were probably mixed.<sup>384</sup> Segura was at least 71 years old and very likely wanted to go home and take part in developments musically in Apurímac. The first evangelical music festival in that region had taken place in Argama, only half an hours’ drive away from Andahuaylas, in September 1981, the second in Ancoppaqcha in 1982 and the third in Talavera in 1983. There is no doubt that Segura always felt a responsibility for correct doctrine in the production of hymns and worship songs. Given that around 1,000 new Quechua hymns were

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<sup>378</sup> Ibid.

<sup>379</sup> Stuart Harrison, ‘The Year in Peru: Interim Field Chairman’s Report,’ *South America* Vol.XXXI, No.3 (July-September 1969): 43.

<sup>380</sup> Saico, interview, 20-12-01.

<sup>381</sup> Ibid.

<sup>382</sup> Noble, interview, 3-4-01.

<sup>383</sup> Starn, Degregori and Kirk, *Peru Reader*, 305.

written in Peru and Bolivia in the period between 1950-1980, compared with only about 100 in Spanish for that same period,<sup>385</sup> if that was Segura's main concern, it was an impossible task.

After returning to Talavera in 1983, Segura played an important role in the development of regional music festivals, both as consultant and as the most venerated judge on the panel of judges. The CEMAA had already involved him in discussions for the first international Quechua evangelical music festival in Ayacucho in 1979<sup>386</sup> while he was still with radio Amauta, and the radio itself was extremely supportive of the new movement.<sup>387</sup> Fernando Quicaña, who was to become an internationally known Quechua theologian, and founder of TAWA, was instrumental in their inception in Apurímac, after being invited by RBMU missionary Cherry Noble to help initiate a literacy programme in the Andahuaylas area.<sup>388</sup>

Change in government policy contributed to a greater openness among the Quechua that in turn gave impetus to the development of Quechua evangelical groups and music.<sup>389</sup> General and President Juan Velasco Alvarado (3 October 1968-August 1975) and his Revolutionary Government of the Armed Forces of Peru announced agrarian reform laws on 24 June 1969 that divided huge haciendas in the Andes into smaller entities, 76% of which were turned into co-operative enterprises (fitting the way a Quechua *ayllu* community functioned admirably).<sup>390</sup> On 8 February 1973, bylaws for bilingual education were published that reinforced the trends already

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<sup>384</sup> Frances Case, letter, 21-11-05 thinks 'probably his wife wanted to get back home to Talavera.'

<sup>385</sup> Stewart McIntosh, *La Música en la Iglesia Evangélica* (Lima: PUSEL, 1981), 31.

<sup>386</sup> Paredes, *Platos de Barro*, 67. The complete title given was *Festival Internacional de Música Evangélica y Encuentro de Líderes Quechuas de Ecuador, Perú y Bolivia* (International Festival of Evangelical Music and Meeting of Quechua Leaders from Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia).

<sup>387</sup> Quicaña, interview, 19-12-01. By 2001, there had been 12 national festivals and 6 international, as well as numberless regional festivals.

<sup>388</sup> Noble, interview, 3-4-2001.

<sup>389</sup> Paredes, *Platos de Barro*, 93. See also Tito Paredes, *El Evangelio: un tesoro en vasijas de barro* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Kairós, 2000), 179: 'As a result of the disappearance of the *haciendas* [with the Agrarian Reform], the peasant began to have more liberty of movement... Equally, the Gospel could be preached in many communities where it had previously been restricted because the *hacienda* owner and the local priest opposed it.'

<sup>390</sup> Keen and Wasserman, *A Short History*, 381 and 395-400.

encouraged by the law, thus making Quechua equality ‘a basis for national solidarity.’<sup>391</sup> Outlawed since 1781, Quechua once again became an official language. These bylaws encouraged the work of literacy in Quechua that Hilda Briscoe, a EUSA missionary in Sicuani, carried out from 1973<sup>392</sup> and that begun by Cherry Noble and Quicaña in Apurímac.<sup>393</sup>

Literacy work and music festivals developed simultaneously. On Segura’s return to Talavera the principal of *ayni* ‘reciprocal aid’ came into play, as he felt owed something for all that he had done in the past, and that he should be listened to more. Quicaña’s way did not seem right to him at the beginning.<sup>394</sup> Segura ‘was coming “home”, and his only mistake was not realizing that the church on the ground in Apurímac had moved on during his 21 years’ absence.’<sup>395</sup> This is a common mistake in any kind of theology, but contextual theologies are perhaps not so aware of it happening to them – being local, they don’t expect the differences between theology in one place and another to also happen on a time line, within the same geographical boundaries. This is one of the dangers ‘inherent in the term indigenization...it might result in too static a view of culture. That is, those within the culture surely know it best, from inside, but they may not be sufficiently aware of the ongoing changes in the culture that are effected by modernization, technology, education, et al....inculturation is an ongoing process.’<sup>396</sup> To be fair to Segura, he did adjust his thinking as time went on. Quicaña, Marcelino Tomayconza in Cuzco (musician originally from Puno, who adapted Segura’s music), Tito Paredes (Presbyterian sociologist involved with literacy work and director of CEMAA) and others respected him so highly that by dint of involving him in their work they partially won him over. Segura was never comfortable with the beat of the music played at the festivals, however.<sup>397</sup>

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<sup>391</sup> Abraham F. Lowenthal, *The Peruvian Experiment* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), 279.

<sup>392</sup> Stuart Harrison, ‘Peru,’ *South America NOW* (January-March 1973): 7 and David Jones, ‘Peru,’ *South America NOW* (January-March 1976): 4.

<sup>393</sup> Noble, interview, 3-4-2001.

<sup>394</sup> Ibid.

<sup>395</sup> Letter from Cherry Noble, Mold, Flintshire, Wales, to author, 17 May 2006.

<sup>396</sup> Schineller, *Inculturation*, 18-19.

<sup>397</sup> Noble, interview, 3-4-2001 and Saico, interview, 20-12-01.

Segura was not the only person concerned about the quality of hymns. At the Sicuani Bible Institute in 1982, two full days were spent on 'Musical theory, Biblical perspective on music, Quechua poetry, composition content....In the small group sessions ideas were developed on the characteristics of a good Quechua hymn. The criteria were used later in the course to evaluate the presentations of the different musical groups who were there.' This first workshop was in response to the needs of a growing Quechua church with many new musicians and groups facing all the temptations that public performance brings.<sup>398</sup> Quicaña believed that the reason why missionaries and mestizos were so against the Quechua developing their own traditional style of evangelical music was because all they had experienced was Quechua music 'plagiarised' by mestizos, used to express and encourage carnal sentiments and make money. What happens next is that the Quechua in turn copies these mestizo compositions: 'Our brothers, Quechua composers, are making a mistake, in some cases they are imitating or copying the melodies of the songs that are already distorted (ruined) by mestizo plagiarists for their carnal delights.' Quicaña then goes on to say that no one 'should imitate or copy these songs by changing the words, because they are already dedicated to carnal delight.'<sup>399</sup> This explains more clearly the attitude that he reprimands when he says that, 'Our mestizo brothers criticise us saying: "When the Quechua express their songs of worship to God in their vernacular music 'it is sin' and 'they could remember their previous life,' 'the drunks could dance in the door of the church.' With these and other admonishments they have tried to distance us from our own music, of our culture, with this attitude they are committing ETHNOCIDE, that is, they are destroying our own autochthonous music; that attitude is sin...because if homicide is sin, then equally ethnocide is sin.'<sup>400</sup> These are strong words, expressing the enormous value that Quicaña places on 'original' Quechua music.

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<sup>398</sup> Bill and Alice Mitchell, 'Sing a New Song,' *South America NOW* (July-September 1982): 8-9.

<sup>399</sup> Quicaña, *Música y Cultura*, 15. See Paredes, *Platos de Barro*, 70-2 and Paredes, *El Evangelio*, 185-7 specifically on the prohibition of the use of the *huayno* for evangelical hymnody.

<sup>400</sup> Fernando Quicaña, *El Evangelio y la Cultura Quechua: Una Visión Quechua del Evangelio en los Andes Peruanos* (Huancayo, Peru, 1989), 31. Also quoted in Paredes, *Platos de Barro*, 71 and Paredes, *El Evangelio*, 186. Quicaña explains it more circumspectly in *Historia y organización*, 20.

The suffering brought on by the Shining Path, particularly in Ayacucho and Apurímac, was instrumental in the development of evangelical music festivals. Music was a great inspirer of community fervour and faith, uniting Quechua evangelicals. The 80s were a period of renewed growth for the church, not seen since conventions in the 40s and 50s. That period had been one of changes with the ‘expansion of rural education, extension of highways, increased commercialization and dramatic increases in the rate of migration to provincial and national capitals [that] continually eroded the basis of the *gamonal* [‘local politico, may be also a landowner with political power’, ‘an *hacendado*, *latifundista*, cacique, or other member of the provincial “establishment”’<sup>401</sup>] dominance in the Sierra.’<sup>402</sup> Those changes coincided with vigorous evangelising by highly committed evangelicals like Segura, Valeriano and Mamani. The 80s was the decade of hymns born out of suffering in the context of a stronger Quechua identity encouraged by the reforms of the prior Velasco government.<sup>403</sup>

Writing in 1994, Segura commented that:

At the present time, the work is somewhat stagnated, especially in the Province of Andahuaylas, only programmes for Radio Andahuaylas are being helped. On the other hand, many spiritual celebrations, conventions, Festivals and Bible Studies are taking place. In almost all of the Quechua churches musical groups have been formed, and in every spiritual celebration people are given over to profane music, with *huaynos* that are the practice of worldly people, that is why non-converted people criticise saying that the evangelicals are like us, and they start to dance when they hear, these groups are encouraging a rejection of the Word of God, that is why when they are preached to the majority of the brothers who attend fall asleep, while when the group plays they are awake and happy, and the majority of the time in the worship service is taken by the musical groups. God permit that there should be a new revival.<sup>404</sup>

Saico agrees with Segura’s assessment, commenting that ‘now the hymns are no longer biblical – they are composing supposed hymns out of superstitions. The church should analyse...but they do not have that vision to analyse. Hymns now have commercial character – they are no longer spiritual. People think that all of their

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<sup>401</sup> W. Stanley Rycroft, ed., *Indians of the High Andes*, (New York: Committee of Cooperation in Latin America, 1946), 325 and Mariátegui, *Seven Essays*, 289.

<sup>402</sup> Lowenthal, *Experiment*, 183.

<sup>403</sup> Quicaña, interview, 19-12-01 and Saico, interview, 20-12-01.

<sup>404</sup> Segura, *Historia de la Obra*, 4-5.

visions are from the Lord, but that is not so.’ Saico identifies this trend as prevalent since 1997.<sup>405</sup>

Towards the end of his life, Segura felt marginalised, and although he does not specify by whom, it is probable that he meant by missionaries, who were outsiders and would not necessarily understand the reasoning behind his actions. The examples he gives begin with his time at Radio Amauta in the 1960s. In Huanta, during the translation of the Ayacucho-Chanca Quechua Bible, *Chuya Qellqa*, he contributed to the establishment of the IEP church. This led to one missionary labelling him as someone who would not fulfil his commitments. The truth is that Segura’s priorities were always different, primarily focussed on the conversion of the Quechua people via preaching and singing in the vernacular, with Bible translation work coming behind.<sup>406</sup> This caused friction with missionaries who often had different plans for him. In Andahuaylas, he claims that people interpreted his visits to the new churches there as an effort to ‘lord it over them.’<sup>407</sup> That reaction would have been a response to someone who had been away from his own region for 21 years and was no longer perceived as essentially IEP – he had been working for a Presbyterian radio station. Finally, the younger generation also marginalised him to some extent, because they equated his hymns with what they interpreted as the ignorance of their parents, who could not speak Spanish.<sup>408</sup>

Segura’s distrust of *gringos* developed after the departure of Misses Pinn and Michell. This was manifested in the Bible Institute in Talavera in the 1980s, and also in negotiations for the development of a home for the elderly, called a ‘refuge.’ He

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<sup>405</sup> Saico, interview, 20-12-01. Quicaña, interview, 19-12-01 agrees and maintains that Quechua doctrine needs to be defined, because much is unclear. For example, the church ‘Dios es Amor,’ which is drawing many Quechua people, does not speak of salvation so much as it does of healing. Quicaña says, ‘The condition for salvation is healing. This is a grave danger.’

<sup>406</sup> Quicaña, interview, 19-12-01 comments that the *Testamento Rojo* ‘Red Testament,’ that is the New Testament translated by Segura and Case (‘red’ because of its cover), was too literal and therefore not clearly understood by the Quechua. Segura would have been aware of this difficulty, which would make him reticent to put too much effort into something that might not have the results he desired.

<sup>407</sup> Segura, *Historia de la Obra*, 5. From his own commentary it is obvious that Segura was entirely aware of how people perceived him at that time.

<sup>408</sup> Dennis Smith, interview by author, 23 May 2001, Banbury, Oxfordshire, United Kingdom, tape recording, author.



equated money and the channel through which it came with control that he was reluctant to accede to.<sup>409</sup> Segura claimed that the missionaries, who he felt did not want him to participate in the Bible Institute in Talavera, held him in little esteem. Neither did the South Central Synod of the IEP request his attendance at conventions or Bible Studies. He complained that even the church that he was a member of would not let him preach, which was why he was visiting churches further afield. Given that Segura was in his 80s already, it is amazing that he was able to get around in that way. At no time did he seem aware that his age might prevent him playing an active role in the development of the church.<sup>410</sup>

Segura would have liked his work to be more widely acknowledged, and was 'peeved' when a new hymnbook came out that did not figure his work, just as he also suffered because his hymns were no longer as popular as they had been.<sup>411</sup> But it is also true that his temperament was such that he tended to look on the negative rather than the positive. He was described as withdrawn, introverted, even diffident, and yet an effective missionary because of his thorough transculturisation.<sup>412</sup> '...he was more Quechua than Spanish in his behaviour, thinking and manners, very reserved and correct.'<sup>413</sup> He has been called a kind of 'guru' to his people,<sup>414</sup> a father-in-God figure,<sup>415</sup> a 'bishop'/leading pastor<sup>416</sup> and most certainly a 'workaholic.'<sup>417</sup> The highest accolade is that of 'apostle to the Quechuas,' and he is remembered as such at a convention held every year in his honour by Radio Amauta, now under the direction of Fernando Quicaña, who concurs with that assessment.<sup>418</sup> We turn now to only one of the areas that Segura worked so hard on – the first autochthonous

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<sup>409</sup> Noble, interview, 3-4-2001.

<sup>410</sup> Segura, *Historia de la Obra*, 5-6.

<sup>411</sup> Frances Case, interview, 13-2-2001 and Smith, interview, 23-5-2001.

<sup>412</sup> Smith, interview, 23-5-2001. The term 'transcultural' is used by Peruvian missionaries to other countries, to mean cross-cultural. See Samuel Cueva, *La Iglesia Local en Misión Transcultural* (The local church in transcultural mission) (Barcelona, Spain: Editorial CLIE, 1991). I am of the opinion that 'inculturation' is more correct. In the end, Segura was really more Quechua – he genuinely incarnated the Quechua essence of being.

<sup>413</sup> Frances Case, letter, 21-11-05.

<sup>414</sup> Noble, interview, 3-4-2001.

<sup>415</sup> Smith, interview, 23-5-2001.

<sup>416</sup> Frances Case, interview, 13-2-2001.

<sup>417</sup> Noble, interview, 3-4-2001.

<sup>418</sup> Quicaña, interview, 19-12-01.

Quechua evangelical hymnbook – in an effort to understand its unique evangelical theology.

## 2.6 Florencio Segura's Contextualized Theology

Cultures are not necessarily limited by lack of a written language when producing literature. Indeed, the *amautas* of the Inca Empire were responsible for an extensive corpus of literature, and a system of education that ensured its perpetuation in oral tradition. Their responsibilities included the recording of major historical events and personages, elegies on occasions of socio-political importance, and the composition of hymns to the gods.<sup>419</sup>

In contrast to western society, which places great importance on individual recognition for artistic expression, the *amautas* were anonymous men who submitted their gifts to the Incas for the benefit of the community as a whole. The expression of differences of opinion, with competing schools of thought, such as was prevalent in Greek culture with the Aristotelians, Stoics and Platonists, for example, and has been integral to western education ever since, was not given public approval. Segura has not only been acknowledged as an *amauta*,<sup>420</sup> he also fits the profile in that he submitted his gifts for the benefit of the Quechua evangelical church. His struggle with the changing nature of Quechua society arose partly because he was on the sharp edge between oral tradition and literacy, shaking the equilibrium so important to him and his culture. The *amautas* of Quechua oral tradition, like the learned of other oral societies, endeavoured to pass on their traditions unchanged. Literacy permits a plethora of interpretations that are no longer the domain of the specialist.

Most of the literature composed during the Inca Empire and recorded by *quipucamayocs* was destroyed at the conquest. The Spanish did not understand the *quipus* system, but they knew that important information was kept on *quipus*, and sought to eradicate the memories by destroying them. They considered such a memory bank subversive in its recall of a historic identity rooted in a more glorious

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<sup>419</sup> James Higgins, *A History of Peruvian Literature* (Liverpool: Francis Cairns, 1987), 1-2.

<sup>420</sup> Saico, interview, 20-12-01.

past.<sup>421</sup> What remained were a number of texts recorded by Spanish chroniclers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The code for deciphering the *quipus* system has never been broken, so those that survived cannot be ‘read.’<sup>422</sup> Hymns and prayers that have survived via the chroniclers' pens express, at the very least, what the official line of theological thought was during the latter years of the Inca Empire.

### 2.6.1 Identity

Segura's identity cannot be divorced from the identity of the Andean community he grew up in.<sup>423</sup> Mestizos in the Peruvian Andes invariably suffer from a split identity. In the dynamics of race and class power, they are caught in the middle. They can either side with what in effect are the remnants of Spanish colonial presence, or with the remnants of a conquered indigenous people. Sebastiano Sperandeo, Italian anthropologist and student of the Andean world maintains that this kind of choice has been going on since the 16<sup>th</sup> century:

Garcilaso de la Vega and Blas Valera, sons of conquistadors and Inca women who belonged to the nobility...were both considered inferior since they were mestizos, despite Garcilaso maintaining that he descended from Huascar's family and was accepted as noble, while Blas Valera was a Jesuit priest. It should not surprise us to know therefore, that they were concerned to exalt the merits of their ancestors, adopting the logic of their conquerors and opposing superiority to inferiority. In that way they idealized the Inca State.<sup>424</sup>

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<sup>421</sup> Gustavo Gutiérrez, *Entre las calandrias* (Lima: Centro de Estudios y Publicaciones, 1990), 39, commenting on the central theme of José María Arguedas' *Ríos Profundos*. Atkins, *Memory*, 74: a New Zealander, he reinforces this in the context of ‘the indigenous peoples of New Zealand,’ saying that, ‘Corporate memory is essential to our sense of identity...rituals of welcome and response establish the right of the local people to live in this place, and the ‘mana’ (sense of value and respect) of the visitors....The stories about these people and these places are repeated frequently in speech and in song. ‘I am’ because ‘I belong’ is the principle of the culture. As an elder it is my duty to learn and pass on these stories and songs because if the corporate memory ceases, I and my clan cease to be....As the language is the medium by which these stories and songs are embodied in the corporate memory, so the language becomes a vital part of the community's identity.’ *Quipus*, like mathematics, used a symbolic system – just as any language does - so contributing to a strong sense of identity.

<sup>422</sup> New efforts are still being made to do so - for example: William Burns Glynn, *Decodificación de Quipus* (no stated publisher), 2002 and Frank Salomon, *The Cord Keepers* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2004).

<sup>423</sup> Robert J. Schreiter, *Constructing Local Theologies* (London: SCM, 1985), 12-16 identifies ‘identity and continuity’ as the primary issues of ethnographic approaches to contextual theology, compared to liberation models that focus ‘on social change and discontinuity.’

<sup>424</sup> Sebastiano Sperandeo *Claves Para Interpretar el Mundo Andino* (Clues for interpreting the Andean world), Serie ‘Raíces del presente,’ 2 (Lima: Colibrí, 2001), 262-3.

José María Arguedas and Segura also understood the need for this choice, but in their case it was not the Inca State that was idealised. Although not indigenous himself, Arguedas's experience of being raised in Quechua society gave him an insider's disposition to side with those he loved. He was indigenous on the inside. Segura, from a more humble background to Arguedas' (whose mother was mestizo and father white<sup>425</sup>), was not as torn and therefore found the choice to side with those lacking in power less agonizing. He also found in his new faith and calling that equilibrium so necessary for the Quechua. Arguedas argues that, 'The Andean man has not achieved the equilibrium between his necessity for wholeness of expression and Spanish as the language he is obligated to speak. And there is now an anxiety, a kind of desperation in the mestizos to dominate that language.'<sup>426</sup> Segura's calling released him from that anxiety.

Segura became one of the most respected leaders of the IEP in southern Peru. He was widely known as an itinerant preacher. In March 1969, he outlined a development plan for the Quechua church (within the wider IEP) at a preachers' retreat held on the Urco Farm. The plan included a programme for adult literacy, Quechua Bible Institutes (outlining courses to be taught), Quechua evangelical literature, radio programmes and community health, particularly for the remoter mountain areas.<sup>427</sup> There was no mention of the continuing use of hymnody as a vehicle for the communication and interpretation of biblical material, despite the fact that it was so significant for the churches.

There are several reasons why Segura might have left hymnody out. The first is that its use in Quechua churches was well established, so that any need in that area was not perceived as urgent. Secondly, the retreat included missionaries and non-Quechua members of the IEP. Segura highlighted those areas that could use help from specialists in literacy, theology, publishing, radio and health. Thirdly, and

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<sup>425</sup> Marcin Mróz, 'José María Arguedas como representante de la cultura quechua. Análisis de la novella El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo,' *Allpanchis* (Cusco) Vol.XV, No.17-18 (1981): 133.

<sup>426</sup> José María Arguedas, *Indios, Mestizos y Señores*, 3<sup>era</sup> ed. Colección Etnología y Antropología (Lima: Editorial Horizonte, Octubre 1989), 26.

<sup>427</sup> Donald Ford, *Whither the Quechua Church?* EUSA Study Paper double number No.2 (London: EUSA, n.d.), 10.

possibly most importantly, Quechua hymnody was the area Segura had pioneered, and which was most genuinely contextualized. Accounts from missionaries, family and other Quechua musicians confirm that Segura had such a strong sense of ownership of his hymnody and of its special task of communicating biblical theology that it was with great difficulty that he ever gave his blessing to changes – in music, words or instruments. In order to maintain doctrinal purity, this ‘patriarch’ of Quechua evangelical hymnody expected to be consulted by other musicians. Two weaknesses of the ‘ethnographic’ approach to contextual theology identified by RC theologian Robert Schreiter are evident here: ‘...in its concern with identity and stability, [it] can often overlook the conflictual factors in its environment for the sake of maintaining harmony and peace.’<sup>428</sup> This would be particularly strong in the Quechua environment, where equilibrium is valued so highly. Secondly, ‘in its close analysis of traditional factors shaping the life of a culture, the ethnographic approach can become prey to a cultural romanticism, unable to see the sin in its own historical experience.’<sup>429</sup>

The 1969 plan was important not only for the Quechua preachers present, as an initiative which came from one of their own, but also for the missionaries who were able to respond to ideas now coming from without their own number. The August 1969 General Assembly of the IEP accepted the plan with very few modifications, and the challenge was then to implement it.<sup>430</sup> And yet, at grass roots level, the more obvious effects were from the hymns that continued to be widely used during this same time period. Segura composed and published most of his hymns and choruses before the time of greatest political and social change in Peru. In 1968 the country was the least developed of all of the larger Latin American countries, and poverty was most intense among the lower 25% of the population, which received only 3% of the nation’s income. This group was concentrated in the indigenous areas of Peru known as the *mancha india* (the Indian stain) that comprised the provinces of Ancash, Apurimac, Ayacucho, Huancavelica, Cuzco and Puno. It was the poorest people in these areas that used Segura’s hymns in Quechua evangelical worship.

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<sup>428</sup> Schreiter, *Local Theologies*, 14.

<sup>429</sup> Ibid.

<sup>430</sup> Ford, *Whither the Quechua Church?*, 10.

More than half of them spoke no Spanish at that time.<sup>431</sup> It was with these people in mind that Segura chose the Biblical passages that many of his hymns are based on, and developed the theology that imbues all his hymnody.

Culture and language provide the boundaries within which theological categories are understood. Those boundaries define presuppositions and vice versa, in a dialectical relationship.<sup>432</sup> This approach ‘denies that there is some universal unmediated human experience which exists apart from human language and culture. Rather, it stresses that the heart of religion lies in living within a specific historical religious tradition, and interiorizing its ideas and values.’<sup>433</sup> This does not mean that new beliefs cannot be appropriated, but it does mean that they are understood within a system that already exists, so there will be a negotiation taking place that alters both the belief entering an established system, and the system itself.

In his comments on the deficiencies of inculturation, theologian Lucien Legrand argues against ‘its one-sided dependence on “missionary” situations,’ commenting that ‘the problem of culture has to be viewed in a *deeper* and *wider* perspective than that of the “mission” to the “field afar”.’ By ‘deeper’ he means that ‘if the encounter with culture is the responsibility of the local Church, it has to surge from inside the local church.’ Legrand’s comments match what Segura himself was accomplishing over five decades earlier. And yet Segura would have said that what he was doing was also called ‘mission.’ By ‘wider,’ Legrand means that the churches in the West need inculturation as a process in the midst of their own “faith crisis”.’ He is really saying that there is more to inculturation than finding a perfect formula for a culture ‘over there’ that has been artificially frozen in time – such a culture does not exist. ‘Culture’ is everywhere, and ‘culture’ is constantly changing, which is why Andrew Wall’s insistence on the primacy of relationships in forming identity is so important: ‘The best clue to our identity is *to whom* we think we belong and *who* we think belongs to us. The influences which have made us what we are and determine our

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<sup>431</sup> Lowenthan, *Experiment*, 23.

<sup>432</sup> I am using dialectical in the way described by Schreier, *Local Theologies*, 20: ‘Dialectic is to be understood as a continuing attention to first one factor, and then another, leading to an ever-expanding awareness of the role and interaction of each of these factors.’

perceptions have themselves been mediated through relationships, some close and primary (family, teachers, intimate friends); others secondary but equally important – clan, tribe, race, nation, class, group. These relationships in one sense actually *constitute* the self. We can only identify the self by establishing its relationships to others.<sup>434</sup>

Consequently, one definitive systematic Christian theology is impossible in a world of diverse cultures. It is one reason why it is now possible to speak of Christian ‘theologies’<sup>435</sup> in the plural. This must be an *a priori* acknowledgement if genuine communication is to take place. If God is too big to be contained within one system, the dialogue between ‘theologies’ and the effort to understand by listening and exposing ourselves to different sets of cultural boundaries will enrich our overall view of God. As Schreiter puts it, ‘Being a theologian is a gift, requiring a sensitivity to the context, an extraordinary capacity to listen, and an immersion in the Scriptures and the experience of other churches.’<sup>436</sup>

Theology’s renewed interest in God as trinity betrays the awareness of a need to move away from excessively individualistic approaches to Christian faith,<sup>437</sup> just as there is a new awareness of the role of community in developing theologies. Whatever system of religious beliefs the Quechua had experienced, what always remained was a core of community social values that emphasised reciprocity as essential to maintaining the equilibrium of life. Ethics is one of the expressions of a system contained within a particular community. This is not surprising, since theology provides the rationale for practice. Indeed, Walls would say that ‘theology is about testing your actions by Scripture.’<sup>438</sup> The primary values of the Quechua are community and relationship orientated so both their theology and practice will be

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<sup>433</sup> Alister E. McGrath, *Christian Theology: An Introduction*, 2d ed. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994), 120.

<sup>434</sup> Walls, *Missionary Movement*, 45.

<sup>435</sup> Known as ‘local theologies’ (see Schreiter, *Local Theologies*), or contextual theologies.

<sup>436</sup> Schreiter, *Local Theologies*, 17-18.

<sup>437</sup> See Roger E. Olson and Christopher Hall, *The Trinity* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), 95-115; John D. Zizioulas, *Being as Communion* (Crestwood, New York: St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 1997), 112-14 in particular; and Colin E. Gunton, *The One, the Three and the Many* (Cambridge: University Press, 1993), 214-31.

<sup>438</sup> Walls, *Missionary Movement*, 10.

influenced by those values. Since hymnody is necessarily part of corporate expression in worship, its very existence supports the value of community – everyone sings the same songs.

Valuing diversity, both in the environment and in human cultures is important for the survival of all the riches of God’s creation. The admission that we can only understand so much of God’s revelation (and that within our own context) should encourage an attitude of humility. It requires a new openness to what theologies arising out of other contexts and their communities can teach as they challenge western theological assumptions and yet remain true to the constants of any local Christian theology – gospel and church (Schreiter) or Jesus and church (Walls). In Schreiter’s words: ‘The gospel without church does not come to its full realization; the church without gospel is a dead letter. Without church there is no integral incarnation of the gospel.’<sup>439</sup> That incarnation by means of the Christian community in a particular culture is what inculturation is all about.

### **2.6.2 Authority**

For the IEP, authority is associated with the Bible as the word of God - however that is understood to function.<sup>440</sup> Segura’s hymns raise two questions. The first is whether authority (attributed to a text that purports to give guidance from God on how to live life) is important. There is no doubt that Segura was confident of his calling to expound the word of God in the best means available to him, to the Quechua people. Case described him as a poet. As theologian, ‘The poet has the task of capturing those symbols and metaphors which best give expression to the experience of the community.’<sup>441</sup> Hymns were his primary method, viewed as authoritative because of their relationship with the word of God. That extended authority was important in legitimising what Segura affirmed about God’s relationship with people, in the Quechua world. Authority as the Bible’s right to communicate truths about God’s

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<sup>439</sup> Schreiter, *Local Theologies*, 20-1.

<sup>440</sup> See James Montgomery Boice, *Foundations of the Christian Faith* (Downers Grove: IVP, 1986), 37-89 and John Barton, ‘Authority of Scripture,’ in *A Dictionary of Biblical Interpretation*, ed. R.J. Coggins and J.L. Houlden (London: SCM, 1990), 69-72 for article on the perceived effects of biblical criticism on biblical authority.

<sup>441</sup> Schreiter, *Local Theologies*, 19.



relationship with people was primary - authority in terms of rules for living, secondary. Consequently, ‘forgetting’ *qunqaptinmi* God brings down the greatest judgement, such as the flood described in H.8 – it is the root of all other ‘sin’ *hucha*. This is not surprising in an oral culture, where memory, and all the mnemonic techniques for sharpening memory, were seen as crucial for maintaining relationships on every level.<sup>442</sup> If, as New Zealand’s retired bishop Peter Atkins claims, ‘As an elder it is my duty to learn and pass on these stories and songs because if the corporate memory ceases, I and my clan cease to be. I am nobody unless I know my place in the pattern of relationships to people and the land,’<sup>443</sup> then the inability to remember becomes tantamount to murder.

The second question is whether any such authority resides in a text (either the Bible or Segura’s hymns) or in a person (God in Christ as portrayed by Segura’s hymns and as taught by him in word and/or example). The biblical text has necessarily been the subject of translation, a task that Walls calls ‘impossible. Exact transmission of meaning from one linguistic medium to another is continually hampered not only by structural and cultural difference; the words of the receptor language are pre-loaded, and the old cargo drags the new into areas uncharted in the source language.’ But he then goes on to say that nevertheless, ‘Christian faith rests on a divine act of translation: “the Word became flesh, and dwelt among us” (John 1:14).’<sup>444</sup> Ultimately, any authority resides in a person – Jesus – and any derived authority comes from him, through the church’s incarnation of the Christian faith.

Segura exemplified the value of unstinting work on behalf of the Quechua in Apurímac and Ayacucho. If authority is dependent on a fixed, trustworthy tradition, incarnated in a person and passed on by the church – two constants - his hymns were the best means of ensuring that tradition, since they would be passed on unchanged in an oral tradition. His method was true to his culture. Textual authority was not an issue in the way that it is for western evangelicalism. This leads to another question -

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<sup>442</sup> Atkins, *Memory*, xiii: ‘Once I enter into worship I remember who I am and to whom I am related. The basis of worship is the relationship between us and God, and this relationship is re-enacted and further developed every time we remember God.’

<sup>443</sup> Atkins, *Memory*, 74.

in oral culture such as the Andean, is the Bible in the first instance another ‘religious’ overlay, whereas music and story are integral to their everyday lives? If that is so, it seems that Segura recognised it, because although he did Bible translation into Quechua, it was never his priority. The Bible and the hymnbook were important almost as ‘totem’ to illiterate Quechuas – to be kept in the house as protective talismans<sup>445</sup> - while hymns, sung in the context of gatherings of believers, were viewed as essential to the maintenance of a strong evangelical Quechua faith. But hymns also found varied acceptance by the believing community, thus shaping and reinforcing their theology, and Segura as theologian was to some extent circumscribed by the community response to his hymns. To this extent, ‘the community is a key source for theology’s development and expressions.’<sup>446</sup>

Segura’s initial theological formation was limited to British and American missionaries. He had access to the Bible in Spanish, and was working on the Ayacucho Chanca Quechua translation of the Bible when he compiled his hymnody. These limitations in training, coming before seminaries and institutes were well established in the Andes, made it easier for him to discern cultural ways of bridging the gap between the Bible, together with evangelical Christianity, and Quechua religiosity. It is clear that for him, his work had sacred connotations. As the first Quechua evangelical theologian, he laid the foundations for others.

The type of literature available and the subjects taught in an early Bible School hint at the foundations of Segura’s hymnody. In June 1926, Mr. and Mrs. C.A. Patton (EUSA missionaries recently transferred to Cuzco) and Mr. Jardine took a three week trip to Abancay that included a stop beyond in Andahuaylas. They had no indication that any evangelical missionary had been there before them. In a town

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<sup>444</sup> Walls, *Missionary Movement*, 26.

<sup>445</sup> Sugirtharajah, *The Bible*, 158-9 gives a number of examples of how, ‘The Bible is frequently sought after by people for purposes other than reading only....Colporteurs’ stories contain instances of peoples’ attachment to a Bible or a Gospel portion as an object rather than for the meaning of its content....it was purchased by large numbers of people who saw it more as a numinous artefact to be revered....The Bible was revered as a sacred object which protected people....It had a powerful talismatic [talismanic] effect on the imagination of the buyer because it had considerable meaning beyond the benefits of practical reading. The Book thus served as a fetishized commodity which brought good luck or warded off evil.’

<sup>446</sup> Schreiter, *Local Theologies*, 16-17.

beyond Andahuaylas (Talavera or San Jerónimo, depending on which direction they were travelling) they were approached while sitting on a park bench. They sang choruses, and drawing quite a crowd, spoke and finished by giving out and selling literature at the end. Their list of sales for the trip is instructive:

388 New Testaments  
101 “The Way to God” – Moody  
67 “All of Grace” – Spurgeon  
145 “Traveller’s Guides”  
30 Anti-Catholic books  
6 Bibles, all we had in stock  
868 Portions sold and distributed.  
3,000 Tracts distributed.<sup>447</sup>

It may be that this was when Segura’s Uncle Víctor Segura received a New Testament, although Segura dates it as earlier. Segura begins his history of the evangelical church in Andahuaylas with his own account of just such an event: ‘...I found out from reliable people in the District of Talavera that in the years 1920 and 1922, some people passed through the district and gave away New Testaments in Talavera, Andahuaylas and San Jerónimo....They were foreign evangelical missionaries, one of the people to receive a New Testament was my uncle Victor Segura. These missionaries got as far as Cuzco, where they established themselves to do the Evangelical Task.’<sup>448</sup>

The initial group of 19 men at the Huantura Bible School in 1930 attended lessons (‘dealt with, very simply’) described by Herniman as follows:

‘Our Bible’  
‘The Books of the Old and New Testaments’  
‘The Fourth Gospel’  
‘The Second Coming of our Lord’  
‘The Holy Spirit’  
‘The Apocalypse’  
‘St. Paul’s Missionary Journeys’  
‘The Missionary Enterprise’  
‘The Tabernacle’  
‘Genesis in Outline’  
‘The Parables of our Lord’ (chosen)

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<sup>447</sup> Alex Jardine and Mrs. C.A. Patton, ‘Into the Regions Beyond: Abancay, Peru.’ *South America*, Vol.X, No.8 (March/April 1927): 119-122.

<sup>448</sup> Segura, *Historia de la Obra*, 7.

### 2.6.3 The Hymnbook

Segura used Quechua for his hymns, except for 65 Spanish loan words. Only a few are theologically significant,<sup>450</sup> indicating his desire to distance himself and those singing his hymns from Quechua or RC concepts associated with certain words. He always used Quechua spelling (to communicate the Quechua pronunciation of the word), preferring to appropriate the word as part of Quechua vocabulary. Unlike areas such as Cajamarca where through no conscious choice of their own, Spanish replaced Quechua and impoverished the latter,<sup>451</sup> Segura chose his use of Spanish. Segura’s language enabled values in Quechua society that gave them their unique identity to be retained.<sup>452</sup>

There are three main reasons for the use of Spanish in Segura’s hymns. One was to intensify meaning (RC hymns did the same). It serves to accentuate the emotional state of the Quechua, as in Farfán’s hymn number 3, where he uses the Spanish *perdon* ‘forgive’ repeatedly:

*Jisus, panpachaway*  
*Apu, perdonaway,*  
*Taytay, panpachaway.*  
*¡Pirdun, hamuy, pirdun!*

Jesus, forgive me,  
Lord, forgive me,  
My Father, forgive me.  
Forgive, come forgive!<sup>453</sup>

The pleading connects with the feeling of powerlessness of the Quechua in the face of Hispanic colonialism.

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<sup>449</sup> Len Herniman, ‘A Bible School at Huantura, Peru,’ *South America*, Vol.XII, No.9 (May/June 1931): 136.

<sup>450</sup> See *Hisus* and *salbay* in chapter 3, for example.

<sup>451</sup> Manuel J. Baquerizo, ‘El quechua en el mundo andino de hoy,’ *Allpanchis* (Cusco) Vol.XV, No.17-18 (1981): 72.

<sup>452</sup> See Baquerizo, ‘El quechua,’ 72: ‘Quechua words are replaced by Spanish terms, first in technical language, then in public administration, afterwards in social and family relations, and, finally, in the area of the spiritual.’

Secondly, Segura desired to get away from the association of meaning that Quechuas gave certain words, in order to transform their worldview. The choice of a particular word rather than another could be difficult. Language is always changing, as meanings change alongside changes in religious and socio-political environment. A word like *Apu* was not generally acceptable to Segura (although significantly, he used it three times), but was used 40 years later in the ITAT revision to mean ‘Lord’ (cf. Psalm 23 and Hs.95 and 178 for example), indicating that the word association may have changed by that time. ITAT’s zeal to be purely Quechua did not extend to changing all of Segura’s Spanish loans. Like Segura, *hanaq pacha* was sometimes used to refer to heaven, but Segura’s *siluman* was simply corrected to the Spanish spelling and retained as *cieloman*.

Segura accepted that there was no way to avoid constant relationship with Spanish, but he used Spanish words in the way he wanted to. Segura always transcribed proper names to the closest Quechua equivalent ( *Noé* ‘Noah’ *Nuwi*, for example). Many words are used once or twice, and are names of objects non-existent in Quechua society before the Spanish (*vinagre* ‘vinegar’ *binagri*, for example). *Hisus* (*Jesús* ‘Jesus’) is the most common name of all, appearing at least 279 times, more than twice as often as *Yus* (*Dios* ‘God’), which appears 135 times (Segura links the word most commonly with *Tayta* ‘Father, Sir, priest’ – Father in this case). In Hs.14 and 54, unaccountably, *Hisus* becomes *Jesús*, the Spanish. *Salbay* (*salvar* ‘to save’) and forms with that root are second in frequency with at least 150 occurrences.

The frequency of *Hisus* and *Salbay* indicate that Segura was less interested in the creator God that the RCs focussed on when they first evangelised.<sup>454</sup> He was interested in the incarnation of a Saviour. This fits Andean traditional accounts of Viracocha the creator ‘and his “sons” or manifestations’ wandering about his domain, where they were ‘...not always accepted’ and ‘...even suffered at the hands

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<sup>453</sup> José María Arguedas, ‘Los Himnos Quechuas Católicos Cuzqueños,’ *Folklore Americano* (Lima, Peru) Año III, No.3 (Noviembre 1955): 143.

<sup>454</sup> See Pierre Duviols, ‘Los nombres quechua de viracocha, supuesto “Dios Creador” de los evangelizadores,’ *Allpanchis* Vol.X (1977): 53-63.

of recalcitrant groups, before bringing down judgment on them,<sup>455</sup> and of the Inca being the son of the Sun – i.e. a deity.

The third reason flows from the second – Segura appropriated Spanish words and made them conform to Quechua norms in order to hand the power inherent in language to Quechua. It is inevitable that where two languages cohabit, there will be *diglossia*, or precedence given to one. Segura's choice ensured that Quechua was perceived as valuable, thus conferring value on the people who speak it.<sup>456</sup>

So the use of Quechua where a Spanish loan might appear to be more theologically correct is also significant – *hucha*, for example. Segura maintains that what people need saving from - the rationale for Jesus' incarnation, death and resurrection - is *hucha*. Despite the fact that *hucha* means 'duty, debt, obligation, what should be done and, in the case of it not being done, the fault, the unfulfilled obligation, the unpaid debt,'<sup>457</sup> in other words, entirely external works, Segura chose to use this Quechua word exclusively, instead of Spanish *pecado* 'sin'. There had never before been any indication that there was a possibility of release from the guilt of unfulfilled obligation called *hucha*, despite confession and penitence being common both before<sup>458</sup> and after the conquest.

Some Quechua religious terms are conspicuous in their absence. For example, while *pacha*, *kay pacha* and *hanaq pacha* are frequently used, *ukhu pacha* does not appear at all. Instead, the word *imbirnu* (*infierno* 'hell') is used nine times. *Pachamama* does not feature at all, whether positively or negatively.

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<sup>455</sup> Mitchell, 'Quechua Language,' 49-50.

<sup>456</sup> See Baquerizo, 'El quechua, 74 for an example of *diglossia* taken from the work on Quechua of Cochabamba, Bolivia by Xavier Albó: '...the situation of Quechua in Cochabamba continues to be that of an oppressed language, the result of being the spoken expression of a culture which is also oppressed and, therefore, partially atrophied and conditioned to the minority but dominant culture.'

<sup>457</sup> Anne Marie Hocquenghem, 'Relación entre mito, rito, canto y baile e imagen: afirmación de la identidad, legitimación del poder y perpetuación del orden,' in *Cosmología y Música en los Andes*, ed. Max Peter Baumann (Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert Verlag and Madrid: Iberoamericana, 1996), 143-4 and see Sabine Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz, 'La comunicación con los dioses: sacrificios y danzas en la época prehispánica según las "Tradiciones de Huarochirí," in *Cosmología y Música en los Andes*, ed. Max Peter Baumann (Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert Verlag and Madrid: Iberoamericana, 1996), 177.

<sup>458</sup> Bernabé Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo* Tomo IV, Libro Decimotercio (Cuzco, Peru: Publicaciones Pardo-Galimberti, 1956), 111-14.

Quechua is an agglutinative language, requiring the use of enclitics added to words to clarify meaning. Quechua employs only suffixes, not only for grammatical purposes, but also to communicate emotion and urgency, for example.<sup>459</sup> *-lla-* is particularly important, as an intensifier of emotional intimacy and association with the object it is attached too (*Jesuslláy* ‘my dear Jesus’, for example).<sup>460</sup> This enclitic is more frequent than any word in the hymnbook, indicating the passion associated with Quechua evangelical worship.

The first (1946) edition of Segura’s hymnbook has so far been unobtainable, but we know that it had 85 hymns and 91 choruses.<sup>461</sup> The second edition (1950) has 96 hymns and 93 choruses. By 1997, when Segura’s health was failing, there were 182 hymns and 107 choruses, some of them the work of either Mateo Naveros Waman or Segura’s nephew, Saúl Ortiz Segura. To analyse them all would be prohibitive, so the selection of hymns and choruses is taken from those published in the second edition. These have the additional benefit of having been composed during a known period of six years, most of them between 1944-46.

Segura’s DST contains 10 hymns (five from the OT and five from the NT) and 19 choruses (16 from the NT) directly attributed to Bible passages, the choice of passages significant in themselves. Choruses are easier to learn, and Segura used them to challenge deeply entrenched religious views or emotional responses. The choruses are more evangelistic, gospel-style songs. The theology evident in this selection of hymns and choruses will be drawn out to indicate how it functioned either to reinforce traditional Quechua values and practices or challenge them. Unlike RC hymns, which are recognised as having catechetical properties<sup>462</sup> yet do not attribute their content to any particular Bible passage, Segura consciously included the passage he was drawing from with the title each time. The parallels drawn with prior Inca and RC hymns flow out of this selection.

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<sup>459</sup> A list of enclitics used by Segura is found at the front of the appendices.

<sup>460</sup> See Mitchell, ‘Himnos Sagrados,’ 12 and 14 and Mroz, ‘José María Arguedas,’ 137.

<sup>461</sup> Case, ‘Circular,’ 7-6-1946.

<sup>462</sup> Arguedas, ‘Los Himnos Quechuas,’ 133.

Segura's hymns were borrowed by the Cuzco synod of the IEP almost in their entirety to begin with, under the name *Allin Willaykunaq Takinkuna*<sup>463</sup> ('good news songs') and later the Cuzco Quechua Commission made some changes to them, as well as editing out a large number of them and adding some of their own, for a new 1986 hymnbook entitled *Iñiq T'aqaq Akllasqa Takinkuna*<sup>464</sup> ('chosen songs for the believer'). Where these changes are significant, they are mentioned.

Limitations of space curtail extensive quoting of hymns. Where it is particularly significant, the original Quechua will be shown either in the text or in the footnotes. An appendix including simple interlinear and freer translations to facilitate comprehension is provided should any reader wish to peruse Segura's hymns and choruses in more detail.

Segura used the Bible in a distinctive way. By setting portions of the Bible that he himself had translated to music, or synthesising Bible stories so that aspects significant to a Quechua worldview were highlighted, he gave a new definition to what was considered a hymn or gospel song. Generally, 'the hymn is addressed to God in prayer, praise, adoration or worship. The gospel song is addressed to people, presenting some phase of God's plan of salvation as outlined in the gospel, with admonition, warning, testimony and expressions of joy because of salvation.'<sup>465</sup> According to this definition, none of the ten songs in Segura's hymnbook taken directly from the Bible can be construed as hymns. Seven of them tell a story taken from the biblical narrative: The Creation, The Flood, The Bronze Serpent, David and Goliath, The Lost (Prodigal) Son, Zacchaeus and Nicodemus. In each instance, Segura's aim was to contextualize the Bible in such a way that it was understood within the Quechua culture of his day. Five of these, because of the content, and particularly due to Segura's emphasis in the last verse, can, however, be considered

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<sup>463</sup> Hereafter referred to as AWT.

<sup>464</sup> Hereafter referred to as ITAT.

<sup>465</sup> Homer A. Rodeheaver, *Hymnal Handbook for Standard Hymns and Gospel Songs* (New York: AMS, 1975), v.



Gospel Songs: The Flood, The Bronze Serpent, The Lost Son, Zacchaeus and Nicodemus.

Segura frequently drew on Quechua parallelism by pairing opposites in his hymns, thus reinforcing the equilibrium necessary for the Quechua to feel secure in their world.<sup>466</sup> He also chose to make significant omissions, such as the 'Fall' (Genesis 3), and minor contributions, such as to Mary (Jesus' mother), instead of the priority given to her in RC hymnody.

For the purposes of this thesis, all of Segura's longer works will be called hymns, since he classified them as such. Shorter one-verse songs will be referred to as choruses for the same reason.

All of the choruses taken from the New Testament are really gospel songs:

Matthew 7:7-8 (Ask and it will be given to you...)

Matthew 11:28 (Come to me...)

John 3:16 (God loved all people...)

John 8:12 (I am the light of the world)

John 11:25 (I am the resurrection and the life)

John 14:6 (I am the way...) The hymnbook mistakenly references it as John 14:7

John 14:6 (I am the truth...)

Acts 16:30-31 (What must I do to be saved?)

II Corinthians 5:21 (God made him who had no sin to be sin for us...)

I Thessalonians 4:17 (Jesus' return) - if the eternity in the passage is interpreted as salvation through Jesus

I Timothy 2:5 (There is one God and one mediator...)

I John 1:8-9 (If we claim to be without sin we deceive ourselves)

I John 2:1 (If anyone sins, Jesus speaks on our behalf)

The clearest repetition of the same message is the parallel between the Bronze Serpent and John 3:16. Matthew 11:28 (Come to me...), while not overtly about

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<sup>466</sup> See Franklin Pease, 'Continuidad y resistencia de lo andino,' *Allpanchis* (Cusco) Vol.XV, No.17-18 (1981): 112-13; Irene Silverblatt, *Moon, Sun, and Witches* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 20-62 on gender parallelism; Sperandeo, *Claves Para Interpretar*, 53-75 and 132-3.

salvation, fits the category of Gospel Songs best. Finally, there are three passages translated and put to song that are clear challenges to people about their attitudes to God, and how they live their daily lives in relationship to others: Joshua 24:15 (Choose today...), Isaiah 41:10 (Do not be fearful...) and Isaiah 41:13 ( I am God your Father...). For reasons of space, choruses will not always be analysed individually.

Hymns and choruses where the intended message includes some aspect of Christian doctrine usually have parallels in RC hymnody. In most cases, Segura has used the Bible to communicate a very different message. The most obvious parallels are with:

‘Creation’	H.59
‘Come to me...’	Ch.10
‘I am the way...’	Ch.2
‘The Lost Son’	H.11
‘The Sheep know his voice’	H.45
‘The Lord is My Shepherd’	H.58
‘Who shall separate us from the love of Christ?’	H.91
‘What must I do to be saved?’	Ch.8
‘There is one God and one mediator’	Ch.25
‘Do not be afraid of what you will suffer’	Ch.48
‘Jesus’ return’	Ch.51

Both passages from Isaiah with the message ‘Do not fear....’ Chs.54 and 56

Some hymns particularly evoke Quechua oral tradition: ‘Creation,’ ‘The Flood’ and ‘The Bronze Serpent.’ Many of the hymns fit Quechua culture because of their interest in stories - ‘all that is marvellous, supernatural, heroism, superstition, magic or the monstrous-...all that transports his imagination to a world of mystery.’<sup>467</sup> ‘The Flood,’ ‘The Bronze Serpent,’ ‘David and Goliath’ (hero), ‘The Prodigal Son,’ Zacchaeus and ‘Nicodemus’ all fit this narrative category. Given that so many of Segura’s directly biblical hymns are in fact stories put to song, one could call them sacred ballads. It was not unusual for stories to have a religious aim, what was

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<sup>467</sup> Rafael Emilio Housse, *Los Hijos del Sol: Los Quichuas del Perú* Colección Estrella (Santiago de Chile: Zig-Zag, 1946), 381.

unusual was for them to be put to music as song.<sup>468</sup> Many of Segura's other hymns, like similar RC hymns,<sup>469</sup> communicate the same human spirit of the Psalmist in praise to God, and as such fit the category of genuine hymns.

On the page prior to the Quechua contents page is found the Lord's Prayer in Quechua. It is called *Yuswan Rimanapaq* 'In order to speak with God' – it has a clear purpose. The inclusion of *hanaq pacha* for 'heaven' and *kay pacha* for 'this world' or 'earth' is very Quechua. *Hucha* is used for 'sin' or 'trespass,' but it should be noted that just as in the Spanish *Padre Nuestro* 'Our Father,' there is a close association between the sin (that we forgive) and the person (who sins) in this version – *Pampachawayku huchaykuta ñuqaykuman huchallikuqta pampachasqaykupi hina* 'you forgive us our (exclusive) sin like we (exclusive) forgive the sinner.' The first person plural exclusive indicates that this is a prayer limited to the community of believers. *Hucha* is external, but here the sin and sinner are inextricably linked.

The hymnbook contains two tables of contents, each very different from the other. The Spanish contents, after the Quechua, is much more detailed and is done according to the topic that a hymn/hymns deal with. The Quechua contents, on the other hand, is divided into sections that are to be used for specific occasions, with a particular purpose in mind. The Quechua would always ask the question: What do you sing it for? That is, what occasion is this meant to accompany? Andean singing is always meant to accompany particular events, or even more – to be an integral part of another activity - and Segura's hymns are no different with respect to the important activities in the evangelical community's priority list. The Spanish headings will be referred to when they are significant in discussing the theology expressed in different sections of the Quechua hymnbook.

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<sup>468</sup> See Arguedas, 'Los Himnos Quechuas,' 155-8. The 'Stories of the Condemned' which were shared orally had in his judgement the same aim as the hymns – to instil fear of God in their audience.

<sup>469</sup> Arguedas, 'Los Himnos Quechuas,' 138-41.

The contents is called *Takikunapa Rakikuynin* ‘Distribution of Songs,’ with a subtitle *Sapa Rikchaq Huñunakuypaq* ‘For Each Type Gathered.’ Below that is added the overall purpose of the whole hymnbook – *Allin willakuymanta willanapaq* ‘In order to tell/account for a good confession.’ The confession is the confession of the Christian faith – what many would call ‘witnessing.’ There are ten overall categories of hymns to clarify the content of the ‘good confession,’ and they are all described as being ‘for’ something – they have a purpose stated – except for two sections that are actual sung prayers: *Huchasapa mañakuyninkuna* ‘Sinners’ requests’ and *Iñiqpa mañakuyninkuna* ‘Believer’s requests.’ The ordering is simple, with songs of the same kind grouped together, unless they were added later (perhaps after the first edition). Segura’s ordering of topics has a pedagogical rationale, reflecting the way he chose to construct a coherent theology. The hymnbook starts with foundational narratives focussed on the Bible which are then followed by context specific examples of God’s call (taken literally in most cases as God calling in an audible voice) and hymns as prayers, for example.

Hymn 96 is missing in both Quechua and Spanish contents, though not in the corpus of the hymnbook. As the last of the hymns, it was new to the second edition and probably composed just before the hymnbook was published. The Quechua contents of ITAT (H.54) has placed it under the heading *Yupaychay* ‘to worship.’

*Takikuna Yupaynin* ‘Inventory of Songs’ or index, is at the back of the hymnbook and arranges the hymns and choruses all together alphabetically.

The following table indicates the meaning of each section’s heading, how many hymns and choruses are in each section, and what their ranking is in terms of frequency. There is a build-up to the section *Kristupi kawsaymanta willanapaq* ‘For telling of life in Christ’ which has the largest number of hymns/choruses by far than any other section. This is the core of the message that Segura wanted people to grasp and pass on to others in song.

<b>Title of Section</b>	<b>Hymn and Chorus Numbers</b>	<b>Totals of Hymns/Choruses</b>	<b>Ranking</b>
<i>Willanallapaq</i> For telling only	<b>H. 1-12</b> <b>Ch. 1-10</b>	<b>12 10 (22)</b>	<b>4</b>
<i>Qayanapaq</i> For call	<b>H. 13-22</b> <b>Ch. 11-18</b>	<b>10 8 (18)</b>	<b>6</b>
<i>Huchasapap mañakuyninkuna</i> Sinner's requests	<b>H. 23-26</b> <b>Ch. 19-22</b>	<b>4 4 (8)</b>	<b>9</b>
<i>Kristupi kawsaymanta willanapaq</i> For telling of life in Christ	<b>H. 27-42, 90-92</b> <b>Ch. 23-42, 92</b>	<b>19 18 (37)</b>	<b>1</b>
<i>Iñiqkuna yanapanapaq</i> For help/protection of believers	<b>H. 43-46, 86</b> <b>Ch. 43-56</b>	<b>5 14 (19)</b>	<b>5</b>
<i>Yus aduranapaq</i> For worshipping God	<b>H. 47-60, 88-89</b> <b>(96)</b> <b>Ch. 57-67</b>	<b>17 11 (28)</b>	<b>3</b>
<i>Iñiqpa mañakuyninkuna</i> Believer's requests	<b>H. 61-68, 93-95</b> <b>Ch. 68-85</b>	<b>11 18 (29)</b>	<b>2</b>
<i>Yusllapaq kawsapuymanta</i> Of resurrection life for God	<b>H. 69-72, 87</b> <b>Ch. 86-91, 93</b>	<b>5 7 (12)</b>	<b>7</b>
<i>Riqsisqa huñunakuykunapaq</i> For gatherings of those who know (believers)	<b>H. 73-81</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>8</b>
<i>Wawakunapaq</i> For babies/children	<b>H. 82-85</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>10</b>

On the last page is an acknowledgement that ‘these songs have been done in the speech of Apurimac, Ayacucho and Huancavelica, for singing by all believers in the Lord Jesus Christ that God is “sticking together” (*pupaychaspanku*).’<sup>470</sup> The unity of

<sup>470</sup> Jesús Lara, *Enciclopedia Boliviana: Diccionario Qhëshwa – Castellano, Castellano – Qhëshwa* (La Paz: Los Amigos del Libro, 1971), 201.

this new community was important to Segura. Below that is a space for writing the owner's name: 'This book *Yuspa Siminmanta captakikuna* is in this writing's name:' and for designating the town the person is from: *Llaqtaymi* 'my town.' Discrepancies and mistakes in editing are evident here. The front cover of the whole hymnbook has changed Segura's *Yus* to the Spanish *Dios*. Given that this is its only occurrence, it is likely that the change was made at the printers – Segura would have been consistent in this at least. The book's title on the last page must have already gone through some editing, and the typist included the editorial *cap* denoting that the first letter of the word *takikuna* needed capitalising as part of the word itself.

Segura's hymns and choruses are systematic in the way they approach the development of evangelical faith in the Andes. He saw them as necessary components for achieving a mature, integrated faith in community. They take what is already on offer culturally and linguistically in order to create a coherent system. Because Quechua culture is concrete and understands theology via images, Segura's most prevalent images, described for example in the names given to Jesus, such as *Pusaq* 'guide' and *Michiq* 'shepherd,' provide a way in to the Andean world of evangelical faith. If Roman Catholicism can be said to have inculturated Christianity by its appropriation of the saints as *Apus* and the Virgin Mary as *Pachamama*, Segura did not bother to openly challenge it. Instead, he focussed on creating a new evangelical Christian inculturation, with the image of *kancha* 'light' describing the main element of the new world view with Jesus defining the movement of believers together within it.

Segura's biblical choruses are not meant as worship directly to God/Jesus. They are meant to voice God's sentiments, so that those hearing will respond. There is no known parallel in RC hymnody. The next chapter will focus on key theological themes that arise from Segura's hymnody. These themes give an insight into how he understood, communicated and applied his new evangelical Christian faith commitment in the context of a worshipping Quechua evangelical community.

## Chapter 3

### Key themes and Issues of Interpretation in Florencio Segura's Hymnody

Florencio Segura's evangelical theology was influenced by his Andean background, the input of EUSA missionaries in particular, his reaction to Roman Catholicism arising from his family's experiences and his own unique commitment to an 'option for the Quechua.'<sup>1</sup> This chapter will explore seven of the most common themes used in his hymnody and reflect on issues affecting the choices he made, which influenced how his theology was formulated. Segura's themes are necessarily expressed in a concrete way, since 'the Quechua language does not lend itself to abstract expression of terms. There are no formal equivalents for "justification" and "sanctification",' for example.<sup>2</sup> Some of the issues (Quechua presuppositions about space and time, for example) arise out of the context of Andean society and culture itself, others (such as veneration of a female deity) out of Quechua relationship with other, dominant, societies and cultures. In the former, Segura endeavoured to accommodate his theology to Quechua constructs, specifically re-affirming Quechua values and most core concepts,<sup>3</sup> and in the latter he responded by ignoring female deity, specifically *Pachamama* and Mary.

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<sup>1</sup> José Luis González, 'Cristo Cotidiano del Creyente,' *IV Encuentro Ecueménico de Cultura Andina y Teología* (24-29 Octubre 1994): 8-10 explains how the incarnation, when perceived as the life of Christ identifying with the poor, gives a stronger sense of Christian identity to the Quechua, giving meaning to his/her suffering. He supports this with examples from Andean 'collective memory,' paralleling 'christian tradition' with 'Andean mythology'. Segura modeled Christ's commitment with his own.

<sup>2</sup> Estuardo McIntosh, 'El Otro Cristianismo Andino,' *Misión*, Número 10, Vol.3, No.3 (Septiembre de 1984): 104. Marcelino Tapia, 'Teología bíblica, teología andina,' *CLADE III: Tercer Congreso Latinoamericano de Evangelización* (Buenos Aires: FTL, 1993): 579 defines Andean theology as: 'The reflection that is not given as an abstract or rational speculation about God, but rather as a lived and existential meaning of the dynamic and vital operation of God in his entire creation and, particularly, in the history of human beings, the height of creation. This existential reflection of God committed with his creation is millennial in the Andean culture.'

<sup>3</sup> See chapter 1, which differentiates between values and core concepts and religion. Segura retained all values and most core concepts – the distinct exception being *pachamama*.

Segura builds up a body of belief that starts with the first section of hymns as foundational in that it draws most heavily on Quechua traditions, and adds to that with each succeeding section.

### 3.1 General Contents – A Review of Each Section

- **For Telling *Willanallapaq* – Hymns 1-12 and Choruses 1-10**

The Spanish title for this section is ‘General Evangelisation.’ It articulates what Segura thought important for people to know about the Christian faith. ‘For telling’ particularly contributes to understanding the person of Jesus. *Hucha*, *pacha*, *Hisus* and *salbay* are the main theological terms in this section. Five hymns (8-12) are dealt with – Noah’s Ark, the Bronze Serpent, Nicodemus, the Prodigal Son and Zaccheus.

- **For Call *Qayanapaq* – Hymns 13-22 and Choruses 11-18**

Segura’s purpose here is to explain what people’s response should be, in order to receive everything God gives in Jesus. The Spanish contents puts this section under two general rubrics – ‘Evangelisation Invitation’ and ‘Invitation to the Sinner.’ Its aim is more specific than the introductory section ‘For Telling.’ Additionally, two choruses appear in the Spanish contents as ‘Door’ (Chs.11 and 18<sup>4</sup>).

The distinctive feature of this section is the call from Jesus to ‘Come’ to him. The description is concrete – he is the way (*ñan* ‘road’ or ‘path’) and the entrance (*punku* ‘door’) to life. The movement in these hymns is towards Jesus, in response to his invitation (in the imperative). One invitation is to *chimpamuy* ‘cross over.’ This is made most often to more than the individual, and the resulting picture is: ‘You, he and I together - we will be happy’ (H.13 refrain).

To ‘call’ the Quechua, Segura focussed on the ‘blood’ *yawar* ‘washing’ *mayllay* the person of their *hucha*. *Pacha* is not mentioned overtly, but the sense is of movement in one integrated place. A contrast is made between the relationship with God the Father, through Jesus and the gift of his Spirit that places people, in love, with eternal

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<sup>4</sup> Hereafter hymns will be referred to as H. with number and choruses by Ch. with number.



life and the negation of that relationship that results in burning in hell and consorting with the devil. All are part of one pervasive reality.

- **Sinner's Prayers *Huchasapap mañakuyninkuna* – Hymns 23-26 and Choruses 19-22**

The word that Segura uses to translate the English for 'prayers' is the ultimate in reciprocity. *Mañakuyninkuna* literally means 'his/her borrowings' from *mañakuy* 'ask for, borrow.' In other words, things that the person is asking for on loan, or put another way, 'requests.' Since genuine relationship is always reciprocal for the Quechua, to use this word communicates the sinner's potential for a real relationship with God – prior to him/her becoming a believer, as indicated by there being a separate section called *Iñiqpa mañakuyninkuna* 'believer's prayers.' The kinds of prayers are entirely different, demonstrating the change in relationship brought about by belief in Jesus. There are also nearly four times as many prayers for the believer as for the sinner. In order to facilitate the contrast, the section on 'believer's prayers' will be inserted directly after this one. While one could call what takes place in each of these hymns a 'transaction,' (and the reciprocity described is by way of a transaction) the word is insufficient to describe the emotional ties of the relationship.

These sung prayers are not requests as such (bidding prayers). They express the situation a sinner finds himself/herself in when s/he comes to Jesus. The person's heart (usually) is offered in exchange for the gift of God's action on behalf of and dealing with the sin of that heart (the core of the person's being). It is a reciprocal arrangement that results in relationship with God being restored. The choruses are similar. They are invitations for Jesus to 'come' – the gift being the heart. A gift must receive an equal amount in return to maintain the equilibrium of relationship. That is justice. So the sinner asks for a return for his/her gift.

The Spanish calls this section 'Evangelisation – Sinner's Prayer.' It is evangelisation in that those listening are expected to identify with the sentiments expressed and do the same. Music is a community affair accompanying a particular activity, and with the singing of a prayer would be the expectation that the accompanying action that is

described in the singing would also take place. These hymns and choruses speak directly to God, without the need of an intermediary and with the purpose of being overheard.

- **Believer's Prayers *Iñiqpa mañakuyninkuna* – Hymns 61-68 and 93-95 and Choruses 68-85**

With a total of 29 hymns and choruses, this is the 2<sup>nd</sup> most numerous section. There are considerably fewer hymns (the equivalent of extended prayers) than there are in the section 'For worshipping God,' which has 27 compositions, 17 of them hymns. There are only 11 hymns in 'Believer's Prayers.' The Spanish contents adds the title 'Consecration' to Hs.93-95.

The transaction described in 'Sinner's Prayers' having been made, it no longer features in 'Believer's Prayers.' Here is a strong sense of God's greatness and people's weakness and consequent need for God to work in their lives to continue overcoming *hucha*. The vocabulary reflects this – *sunqu* 'heart' or essence of one's being, needs to be closely connected to God. It needs continued cleansing. *Kamaq* 'Creator' appears frequently in this section, often associated with *Hisus* 'Jesus.' Most occurrences were changed to *Señor* when the hymns and choruses were recorded by Segura and his wife for radio, and all were changed in the Cuzco hymnbook from its inception as AWT. Words from the root *salbay* (*salvar* 'to save'), especially 'my Saviour' are also frequent – the salvation work has taken place, and now that it has been received and the singers are believers, Jesus is Saviour.

- **For Telling of Life in Christ *Kristupi kawsaymanta willanapaq* - Hymns 27-42 and 90-92 and Choruses 23-42 and 92**

The 20 choruses, more than in any other section of the hymnbook, added to the hymns, make this section the most numerous of all. Together with the first two sections of the hymnbook, these hymns and choruses are for evangelisation. Here the emphasis is personal and the first person use fits with what the Spanish contents has called this section - *Testimonio* 'Testimony.' Calling God 'my Shepherd' *Michiqniymi* in H.27 is also a personal touch. Hs.34 and 41 are about the Bible.

There is no mention of the Holy Spirit in this section. They are first hand accounts of what it is like living as a Quechua Christian. The hymns are primarily about life, but in each instance that life is dependent on what Jesus has done on behalf of the sinner now turned believer – explained with variations in each hymn. Because these hymns are in the first person and carry much of Segura’s own personal testimony in them, in the analysis it is appropriate to use his name.

- **For Help/Protection of Believers *lñiqkuna yanapanapaq* - Hymns 43-46 and 86 and Choruses 43-56**

The Spanish contents entitles this section ‘Exhortation.’ It includes ‘The Good Shepherd’ – H.45 from John 10:14-16, the story of David and Goliath – H.46 from I Samuel 17:20-51 and H.86, based on Paul’s description of Jesus’ return in I Thessalonians 4:13ff. and Matthew 24 (especially vv.40-41). There are only five hymns, making the wide variety more noticeable, the common message being that God cares so much for his people that in all circumstances they need not fear, knowing they will be secure in him and will live with him forever. There are 14 choruses, 10 based on Bible passages. All the hymns in this section highlight the unity of God’s people, both with the use of ‘flock’ language and the 1<sup>st</sup> person plural inclusive *-nchik*. The help/protection that God offers his people is with the purpose of leading them all (together) to heaven. Segura expands the horizons of the protection that Quechua people habitually expected from their tutelary spirits, however they were represented.<sup>5</sup>

- **For Worshipping God *Yus Aduranapaq* - Hymns 47-60, 88-89 and 96 and Choruses 57-67**

These hymns and choruses most clarify what God is like. Except for H.96, all are classified in the Spanish contents under ‘Special Occasions.’ They are for believers to use for different purposes, and a wide variety of topics are dealt with. Segura has

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<sup>5</sup> See Domingo Llanque Chana, ‘Los Pueblos Andinos: Sus Ritos y su Vivencia de Cristo,’ mimeographed copy, n.d. (latest bibliography 1994), 2-4, held by Roberto Quispe, Lima, Peru re the cross as protection in RC Andean Christianity. It symbolises (for example) Christ’s presence as ‘the protective force that defends from all evils and assures life; protects the fields from frost, drought; protects from illness, hunger, unemployment; assures production and subsistence; blesses all the

used the Spanish *adorar* ‘to worship’ instead of Quechua *yupaychay* ‘honour, give homage to.’<sup>6</sup> With 27 hymns and choruses, this is the 3<sup>rd</sup> most numerous section. Only Hs.55 (Bible, Word of God) and 58 (The Good Shepherd) have a separate title in the Spanish, but each hymn is almost unique in its subject matter, however interrelated.

- **Of Resurrection Life for God *Yusllapaq kawsapuymanta* - Hymns 69-72 and 87 and Choruses 86-91 and 93**

The Spanish entitles this section ‘Consecration,’ in other words, it tells about what it means to live for God. Additionally, H.69 is under ‘Service,’ Hs.70 and 72 ‘Crucifixion’ and H.71 ‘Christmas.’

- **For gatherings of those who know (i.e. believers) *Riqsisqa huñunakuykunapaq* - Hymns 73-81**

These hymns are for believers to use for the primary events of a congregation’s life together, the *-naku-* in the title *Riqsisqa huñu-naku-ykunapaq* emphasising the reciprocal nature of such gatherings, not only in relationship to Jesus but also in relationship with each other. In Spanish they are categorised simply as ‘Praise and Worship.’ They include the two sacraments that all Christians would agree to – the Last Supper/Communion/Eucharist and baptism. ‘Those who know’ (believers) give to and receive from Jesus in the context of all these major events. There are no choruses for this set of topics and none of them are in the category of ‘simple’ praise – except for the refrain of Eucharist H.74, which could be used on its own.

- **For Babies/Children *Wawakunapaq* - Hymns 82-85**

Hs.82-84 are classified under ‘Dedications’ in Spanish, meaning that they are used when children are ‘dedicated’ to God in a Christian ceremony. It is significant that there is only one hymn (H.76) for baptism. If children are dedicated then ‘adults’ are baptised, so dedications are evidently just as important as baptisms if not more so.

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materials used by the poor for their work....’ It is also put on houses to ‘protect against evil spirits, family adversities, unhappiness and disease.’

<sup>6</sup> Jesús Lara, *Enciclopedia Boliviana: Diccionario Qhëshwa – Castellano, Castellano – Qhëshwa* (La Paz, Bolivia: Los Amigos del Libro, 1971), 331.

H.85 is a reassurance that all children will be saved – a preoccupation that concerns people from any culture.

### **3.2 Seven Key Themes in Florencio Segura's Theology**

The use of music, and specifically sacred hymns, in worship was not new to Quechua people – it did not arrive with the advent of evangelical Christianity. In order to specify what was unique about Florencio Segura's hymnody there needs to be a comparison with prior hymns where possible. The comparison will focus on hymns dealing with the same subject matter as the biblical hymns chosen from Segura's repertoire. For the purposes of this comparison, a number of Inca sacred hymns and Roman Catholic hymns in Quechua have been chosen. In each case, it is clear that the hymns were efforts to mould the Quechua people's theological mindset.

Seven themes chosen from Segura's evangelical theology as expressed in his hymns will be analysed:

- ***Hisus*** – Who is Jesus?
- The Trinity
- ***Hucha Sin***
- Equilibrium
- ***Salbay*** To Save
- ***Pacha*** The Cosmos
- Incarnation

#### **3.2.1 *Hisus* – Who is Jesus?**

God the father is 'unique' ***chullallam*** (Ch.25). And Jesus is from God, for everyone, implying that he too is unique. The concept of mediator is not alluded to in any way, despite Ch.25 purportedly being based on the passage in I Timothy 2:5 that defines Jesus specifically as mediator between God and people. The uniqueness is inherent in God's person, and that unique God gave Jesus – God's consequent relationship with people through Jesus becoming part of his uniqueness.

Segura chose four of the ‘I am...’ sayings in the gospel of John for four choruses describing Jesus. Far from the dominant RC depiction of Jesus as the man on the cross, these use language familiar to the Quechua, especially in view of their dualistic ordering of reality. The light (contrast with darkness), the resurrection and the life (compare with death and destruction), the truth (a primary value – untruth being abhorrent) and the way (familiar through established Inca roads over difficult terrain). Starting with ‘I am the way’ *Ñuqam kani Ñan* as Ch.2, Segura came back to Jesus’ other three sayings later, putting them together in Chs.45-47.

Ch.46 ‘I am the light of this world’ *Ñuqam kay pachap Kanchaynin kani* in DST and AWT, does not appear in any ITAT. The Quechua dualistic understanding of the world means that those who are on the underside of life at any one point are living in the shadows - *tinieblas* in Spanish.<sup>7</sup> There are always two polarities, and traditionally since the Conquest, the Quechua have been living on the underside, walking in darkness until *Inkarri* comes. For them to accept Jesus’ saying ‘I am the light of the world’ would require a change of mind. The Spanish had Jesus too, and the Quechua had accepted the light as being with the Spanish at that moment. Such an approach would fit their worldview more closely – a worldview that Segura challenges in Jesus as the ‘light.’ The ‘light’ is a thread that runs through other themes chosen for this chapter. It is a basic ‘element’ of life as it is lived in Jesus that Segura insists must inform the way anything else is seen and understood. In fact, without it, nothing else is seen and understood clearly at all, and people are lost.

*Sumaq* can mean both ‘beautiful’ and ‘good’<sup>8</sup> and is the most frequent adjective used to describe Jesus. H.3 begins ‘my very beautiful/good Jesus’... *Sumaq* is expressive

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<sup>7</sup> Alejandro Ortiz Rescaniere, *La Pareja y el Mito*, 2d ed. (Lima, Perú: Fondo Editorial de la Pontífica Universidad Católica del Perú, 2001), 47 quotes myths that describe *gentiles* as the rulers of a world of shadows. Mario Morvelí Salas, *Gentil Andino y Gentil en la Biblia* (Cusco: Iglesia Evangélica Peruana, 1984), 1-3 defines *gentil* as a nomenclature that did not exist before the ‘Spanish invasion’ of 1532, referring to the bones of ancestors found in caves where they went to hide from a flood of fire (interpreted by some as the light of day).

<sup>8</sup> Lara, *Enciclopedia Boliviana*, 264; Clodoaldo Soto Ruiz, *Quechua: Manual de Enseñanza Serie Lengua y Sociedad 4* (Lima: IEP Ediciones, 1993), 440; and Esteban and Nancy Hornberger, *Diccionario Tri-Lingüe Quechua de Cusco: Quechua, English, Castellano* (La Paz, Bolivia: Qoya Raymi, 1983), 239.

of the loving sentiments called out by Jesus' action on behalf of believers, rather than a statement about any physical beauty.

- **Creator**

Segura develops the person of Jesus throughout the hymnbook by building on the first section 'For Telling,' where Jesus is called *Kamaq* (H.3vv.2-4). This is Quechua for 'creator,'<sup>9</sup> as well as meaning 'ruler, he who rules and orders. The one who governs.'<sup>10</sup> When the hymn was recorded for Radio Amauta, Segura changed *Kamaq* to *Hisus*. In more recent editions, *Señor* 'Lord' has been used instead of *Kamaq*. Although the word's meaning is correctly attributed to Jesus as God as Segura portrayed him, church leaders were wary on the one hand of any connection with the ancient coastal creator God called *Pachacamac*, literally 'cosmos creator'<sup>11</sup> and on the other hand could not conceive of Jesus as creator, because of their inherently hierarchical view of the trinity – despite biblical precedent for Jesus as creator (e.g., John 1 and Colossians 1:15-17).<sup>12</sup> Segura intended Jesus' power and authority to be recognised, because it forms the basis for obedience to Jesus' later commands in the section 'For Call.'

Abdon Yaranga Valderrama is convinced that the *supay*, generally known as the 'devil,'<sup>13</sup> is actually a *Viracocha*, or creator. His scheme is taken from early Spanish lexicologists and chroniclers, Andean creation mythology and oral literature and current religious interpretation.<sup>14</sup> He describes four creators, three of whom become submerged in the Pacific Ocean, and one, the *Tawa Pakaq* or 'fourth in one or creator,' who becomes submerged in Lake Titicaca, and who later appears to recreate

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<sup>9</sup>Hornberger, *Diccionario*, 76.

<sup>10</sup>Lara, *Enciclopedia Boliviana*, 125.

<sup>11</sup> See Mario Mejía Huamán, *La Cosmovisión Andina y las Categorías Quechuas como Fundamentos para una Filosofía Peruana y de América Andina* (Lima: Universidad Ricardo Palma, 1999), 80-4 where he explains the confusion that exists about the meaning of *kamaq* among chroniclers and historians of pre-colombian times. He concludes that '*kamaq* means creator', and that '*Wiracocha* or *Pachakamaq* are names that correspond to the same god, with the difference that *Wiracocha* is a proper name, whereas *Pachakamaq* is the name that comes from this god's creative will.'

<sup>12</sup> Conversation with Isaías Calle, Andahuaylas, Apurímac, Peru, April 2005. '*Kamaq* is exclusively the name of the Inca creator. *Unanchaq* and not *kamaq* is what is usually used for "creator".'

<sup>13</sup> Hornberger, *Diccionario*, 240.

<sup>14</sup> Abdón Yaranga Valderrama, 'Significados del Término "Supay" en la Religión Andina,' *Revista de Indias* No.172, Vol.XLIII (Distribución de Publicaciones del CSIC, 1983): 797.

the Andean world after destroying it by ‘the falling of fire in the form of rain’ for making fun of him by calling him *supay*. For Valderrama this is the Quechua *supay*. *Pachacamac* (*Kamaq* ‘creator’) would then be the first, the original creator of the world.<sup>15</sup> *Kamaq* is one of the terms used most frequently throughout Segura’s hymnbook as a proper name for Jesus.

- **Saviour**

In ‘For Telling’ Jesus is most closely associated with *salbay* ‘to save’ and words from that root. Segura avoided the closest Quechua equivalent *qespiy*, meaning ‘to save oneself by fleeing’ or ‘to save, to liberate,’<sup>16</sup> among other things. He preferred to use a word without such entrenched meanings in order to emphasise Jesus’ unique accomplishment on people’s behalf, rather than focusing on their own ‘fleeing’ from danger to safety, for example. The ITAT later changed all Spanish *salbay* loans to *qespiy* and its associated vocabulary. There is a dual movement in Segura’s ‘salvation’ – it is not only *from* something, it is also salvation *to* something else, which is also guaranteed. This is inherent in Jesus being the ‘way.’

The first chorus of H.3 clarifies that anyone who does not accompany Jesus in this world will not be taken by/with him on his return (the topic of the hymn). There is an overlap of worlds, the significant concordance being relationship with Jesus. After describing the disintegration of the world at Jesus’ return, the second chorus calls ‘my dear people’ (i.e. Segura’s) to ‘listen’ to the message - ‘only believe and he will receive you’ and ‘my beloved Jesus will save you from this’ (the *pachacuti*-type disaster described). Segura was pre-millennial in his views, using that conviction in

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 804-5.

<sup>16</sup> Lara, *Enciclopedia Boliviana*, 237. Abdón Yaranga Valderrama, *Diccionario Quechua-Español Runa Simi-Español* (Lima: Biblioteca Nacional del Peru and Paris: Université de Paris VIII-Vincennes à Saint-Denis, 2003), 266-7 includes a total of five variations of meaning for the verb. Calle, Andahuaylas, 2005: ‘Florencio Segura always commented that *qespiy* was incorrect when he worked with people on recordings. He said it meant various things that were unacceptable in the context of salvation through Jesus. It meant to ‘go up’, such as going up a tree, and when you reached the top, you were saved. It also meant when a woman gave birth, and it was said that ‘she has been saved’ *qespirukunmi*. Even the imperative ‘save me!’ *qespitchikway* was not acceptable to Segura. Younger musicians respected Segura’s views, albeit not always understanding the reasons behind the strength of his opinions. Calle himself changed *qespiy* to *salbay* in some of his compositions in *Cantad Alegres a Dios: Antología de Coros Evangélicos*, Andahuaylas 1990 (Lima: Librería Alborada, Abril de



his evangelisation, adjuring people to make a choice that would save them from the disaster described, which would take place in *kay pacha*.

- **Powerful Lord**

Segura builds up to the acknowledgement that Jesus is powerful Lord – both his name *Kamaq* (creator) and his actions on people’s behalf (saviour) express this power. The impossibility of people freeing themselves in any way is paralleled by Jesus’ power to free in each specific instance in H.4. The chorus reminds people that belonging to Jesus appropriates the power – he ‘died, so without a doubt he bought you.’ The reciprocal obligation is to believe that he did that – then ‘he saves you.’ Jesus did it and they must believe it, otherwise there is no salvation. The final verse is significant because it ascribes forgiveness to Jesus: ‘my beautiful/good Jesus will forgive you.’ Jesus himself forgives here – there is no mention of God the Father. Ch.9 reinforces this distinctive of Segura’s theology - ‘so that you can be forgiven by Jesus.’

- **Teacher**

Jesus is also a teacher. ‘We know without a doubt that you have come to teach us about God with your wonderful miracles’ is Segura’s interpretation of Nicodemus’ assessment in H.10, taken from John 3.1-7. But Jesus knows the question behind the statement is ‘Is there anything more to Jesus than that?’ and comments that unless people are born again they cannot enter heaven.

*Sumaq milagrullaykikunawan* ‘with your beautiful miracles’ (*milagro* ‘miracle,’ directly from the Spanish and with no equivalent in Quechua other than *ancha hatun ruway* meaning ‘very big deed’), becomes *milagrota sumaqta ruwaspa/n* ‘doing a beautiful miracle’ in AWT/ITAT. DST gives the impression that the miracles themselves are part of Jesus’ teaching, while AWT/ITAT emphasises that the miracles go along with the teaching, but are not a part of it. DST communicates an attribute that arises out of Jesus’ character as a person, and as such integral to him.

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1990). Nos.167,173, 176 and 181 use *salbay* exclusively, 167 uses both, and 174 and 178 use only *qespiy*.

So Segura's approach is more concrete – the Quechua learns from what s/he sees as much as from what s/he hears. This reflects a difference in theology about the Word of God. Nicodemus' argument that no one could do the miracles without being from God and it is that which validates Jesus' teaching is lost in both cases.

Segura borrows Jesus' teaching of Nicodemus to teach his own important points. Firstly, he uses the Spanish loan *nasiy* in *musuqmanta nasispankupunim* 'only being born again.' He thus avoids *paqariy* 'be born, appear from, originate'<sup>17</sup> associated with the appearance of Andean *ayllus* at places of origin, called *paqarina*,<sup>18</sup> and revered as such. Segura is both clarifying the inclusive nature of this birth – it goes beyond just one *ayllu* in that it is for everyone – and 'the origin of all things in God' - a point that had concerned the first RC theologians after the conquest (Adam and Eve were the 'parents of all human beings').<sup>19</sup> Secondly, this birthing image is not a passage into this world, as in physical birth or place of origin, but rather into 'heaven' *silu cielo* ('sky or heaven'). There is a break with *kay pacha* – an entirely separate reality, so Segura has not used *hanaq pacha*. This is significant because the tripartite Quechua *pacha* overlaps, existing concurrently. Segura does not negate *pacha*, however - rather, he develops a new existence within it. V.5 contrasts the life of the flesh with the life of the Spirit that comes from new birth. This is the first mention of the Spirit in Segura's hymnbook, where it appears 21 times.

Jesus is the means to the goal of the new birth as the passage to heaven. Jesus is the one to believe in and to confess sins to (H.10v.6). There is a direct parallel with

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<sup>17</sup> Hornberger, *Diccionario*, 154. Valderrama, *Diccionario Quechua-Español*, 207-8 includes 'to dawn,' as when the sun comes up. Calle, Andahuaylas, 2005: '*Paqariy* is for something that comes out of the earth. It is not usually used of physical birth in terms of giving birth – that is *wachay* or *wachakuy*.' See Valderrama, *Diccionario Quechua-Español*, 368 for *wachay* and *wachakuy*.

<sup>18</sup> Julian H. Steward, ed., *Handbook of South American Indians* Vol.2, The Andean Civilizations, Smithsonian Institution Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 143 (Washington: U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1944): 977 and Mario Polia Meconi, *La Cosmovisión Religiosa Andina en los Documentos Inéditos del Archivo Romano de la Compañía de Jesús (1581-1752)* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1999): 182: *Pacarina* 'means literally "place of origin" (of a clan or of an ethnic group). The term is applied to places, caves, mountains, lakes, springs, trees, bodies of ancestors.'

Romans 10:10 here – believe in your heart and confess with your lips – this is the two-fold step to take to be born again into the realm of heaven or to ‘be saved,’ as Romans puts it. The difference is that confession in Segura’s hymn is of *hucha*, whereas in Romans both the belief and the confession are directly linked to Jesus’ own person.

- **The Way**

‘Way’ and ‘door’ also describe Jesus as the means to the goal in Chs.2 and 3. The Spanish contents calls both choruses ‘The Way of Life.’ From John 14:6, attributed to 14.7 in the hymnbook, Jesus says (Ch.2), ‘I am the way (path/road).’ Segura develops the image further with the familiar activity of walking in the mountains. Jesus is the path so that every believer can be ‘holy for his/her walk [journey].’ He is also the path to heaven (*silu cielo* again). In Segura’s church in Talavera, there has traditionally been a picture on the wall famous in Quechua churches as a favoured depiction of ‘The Two Roads.’ Concrete imagery is important for teaching biblical theology so that Andean people can grasp it. Ch.3 elaborates the image with the ‘one door opened.’ Everyone who acknowledges his or her sin enters through that door and from there the way begins from the cross of Christ. This chorus is a good overall description of what is painted in the above-mentioned picture, reinforcing the teaching.<sup>20</sup>

In Ch.2 Jesus says ‘I am the Path...so that I myself will go to heaven.’ What was *silumampas* in DST n.d. and *cielomampas* in DST’97 was changed to *gloriamampas* in AWT/ITAT – *silu-* ‘sky’, *cielo-* ‘sky’ and *gloria-* ‘glory’ all from Spanish referring to heaven. The closest Quechua terminology would be *hanaq pacha*, but here Segura separates the place where God dwells from the place/time Quechua inhabit – *pacha* - which includes *hanaq pacha*. Segura’s hymnody is confusing in

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<sup>19</sup> William Mitchell, ‘The Appropriation of the Quechua Language by the Church and the Christianisation of Peru in the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries’ (Ph.D. diss., University of Edinburgh, 1991), 162.

<sup>20</sup> Interestingly, sometime between 2002 and 2005 the picture was taken away. Instead, the only picture retained in the church is of the open Bible with mountains behind it. This shifts the focus away from the ‘way’ as a person to the ‘word’ as a book - from ongoing relationship to knowledge as of first importance.

this regard, because he uses *hanaq pacha* more frequently. In the Bible passage there is no reference to heaven in any case. There, Jesus is ‘the way’ to the Father. The person of the Father has been exchanged for the place understood as the Father’s abode, reinforcing Quechua emphasis on place as identity forming. The change is also significant because personal relationship with the Father is absent (and not necessarily understood implicitly). The relationship is with Jesus, because of the accompanying on His ‘way.’ The word ‘know’ (as in John 14.7) is used in the Bible to denote close relationship. DST, AWT and ITAT all use ‘for all who believe’ *iñiqniypaq* from ‘to believe’ *iñiy* (more of an intellectual exercise) rather than to ‘know’ as the Bible does. ‘Know’ in Quechua would be *yachay* (to know, learn) or *reqsiy* (to know, meet, get to know), the better option being *reqsiy*.

In John, Jesus comments that He is the way to the Father because in knowing him they know the Father. The way is relational. That is, it is dependent on knowing Jesus. In contrast, the chorus emphasises that Jesus makes people ‘clean’ for heaven, and that is what makes him the ‘way.’ The reference to ‘clean, pure, clear’ *chuya* emphasises the importance of a moral ‘way’ to ‘glory’ not mentioned in the biblical account, but fitting the Quechua emphasis on moral works. To be clean is equated with being whole for the Quechua. It is about retaining one’s identity, not in the sense of asking, ‘Who am I?’ but rather, ‘What world do I belong to?’ Jesus gives that wholeness of identity, which is necessarily connected with a place – ‘glory.’<sup>21</sup>

- **God’s Love**

Jesus is also God’s love. That love is expressed in Jesus’ purpose (Ch.1) - to save everyone from sin. The reciprocal response is to give your heart and believe in Jesus to be saved (Ch.4). People cannot save themselves (Ch.5), but Jesus has saved/washed – all people need to do is believe (Ch.6). Ch.8 repeats ‘believe in Jesus Christ’ (imperative) twice before including the heart as the seat of belief in order to

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<sup>21</sup> See Gustavo Gutiérrez, *Entre las calandrias* (Lima: Centro de Estudios y Publicaciones, 1990): 41-2, where he gives an example from José María Arguedas’ book *Ríos Profundos*: (to the director of the school, who is questioning Ernesto in an insinuating manner about “opa Marcelina”) “Padrecito (...) don’t make me filthy”; in other words, don’t try to destroy my identity, don’t alienate me, don’t take me out of myself, of my world, don’t introduce me in yours, plagued by suspicions and evil.’

be saved. So believing and giving the heart (that is, one's whole being) should be one and the same action – precisely what Segura is pointing out.<sup>22</sup>

People are incapable of giving themselves to another when their hearts are full of fear. Three Bible-based choruses in DST deal with fear. Ch.56 *Ama manchakuychu* 'do not fear' (Isaiah 41:10), Ch.54 *Ñuqa Yus Taytaykim* 'I am God your Father' (Isaiah 41:13) and Ch.48 *Ama manchakuychu wawqillay* 'do not fear my brother [of a man]' (Revelation 2:10). The motivation for not fearing in Ch.48 is the 'crown of life' received by the faithful. God's presence is assumed, and they are to look beyond temporal sufferings.

Father Jorge Lira maintains that the Spanish intention was to oppress the Quechua,<sup>23</sup> so it is no surprise that RC hymns give almost exactly the opposite message from these three choruses. In *Diosnillay* 'My God,' the person speaking to God says, 'I am pained, my God, in my many pains because I have offended you without fear of you.'<sup>24</sup> In *Kunan P'unchay* 'The Present,' God is speaking to the person, saying that he obviously has no sense because he does not consider his sin. V.2 then puts the responsibility for holding on to God on the person: 'Where are you going with delirious heart? You are running to your death. Reach out your hand and hold on to me.'<sup>25</sup> By comparison, the use of *hapiqniki* 'grasper/taker hold of' in Ch.54, referring to God as the initiator of the action of grasping hold of a person, emphasises that such attributes are an integral part of God's character, rather than something which he may or may not choose to do – He is the one who is there and holds on to the believer. The addition of *-puni-* 'absolutely' emphasises the strength of God's commitment to help.

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<sup>22</sup> Calle, Andahuaylas, 2005: Segura wanted to make this point because 'people often "believe" but don't give their hearts. Everyone believes in God in the Quechua world.'

<sup>23</sup> José María Arguedas, 'Los Himnos Quechuas Católicos Cuzqueños,' *Folklore Americano* (Lima, Perú) Año III, No. 3 (Noviembre 1955): 167-9.

<sup>24</sup> *Diosnillay, llakikunin ancha llakiyniywan qanta mana mancharispa q'esachasqaymanta.*

<sup>25</sup> *Maytan rinki musphaq sunqo, wañuyniykimanmi phawaskanki; makiykita haywarimuspa ñuqamanta hap'ipakuway.*

Segura follows the Bible closely in these choruses. But he uses *taytaykim* '[your] father (of man or woman), Sir, title of respect'<sup>26</sup> instead of 'Lord' as in the biblical reference (Ch.54), and instead of *yayaykin* '[your] father, Lord, Sir, priest'<sup>27</sup> as changed in AWT and ITAT. Despite an overlap in meaning, *yayaykin* is a clearer reference to the 'Father' as God, since it is not as common as *taytay*, used to address older males in general. Segura's use of *taytay* for 'Father' increases the intimacy, while *yayay* creates distance.<sup>28</sup> This ability to use language with theological precision whilst shaping conceptual understanding is a key feature of Segura's work.

Ch.26 *Yumpa-yumpaytam kuyarqa* 'he loved so very much' is based on John 3:16. Segura's *kay pachata* 'this world' was changed by AWT to *lliu runata* 'all people' or 'every person/human being' and retained by ITAT as *lliw runata*. The change makes the emphasis more individual, not so fitting with Quechua culture. Another disadvantage is that it prevents thinking in terms of God loving the whole of creation, even though the emendation gets away from the focus of God's love being on only one part of the cosmos, *kay pacha*, and not on *hanaq pacha* and/or *ukhu pacha* as well. A further weakness in using *runa* is that although it means 'human being,' in the Quechua mind it is the label for Quechua people particularly – thus *runasimi* 'the language of humankind' is the Quechua name for the Quechua language. So H.8, The Flood, more effectively communicates what it means for God to love the whole world, since it describes God's reticence to destroy animals as well.

*Kuyay churinta* 'his beloved son [of the father]' in DST Ch.26 became *sapay churinta* 'his only son [of the Father]' in AWT and *sapan churinta* in ITAT. The idea of deity engendering sons was familiar, since the legitimisation of the Inca Empire was built on the Incas being sons of the *Inti* 'sun.' What was unique was having only one son. The Bible reinforces that with 'one and only.' Segura left out the uniqueness of the son, but added that the Son was loved, something the biblical reference assumes. It might seem unthinkable for an only son to be unloved, but here

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<sup>26</sup> Valderrama, *Diccionario Quechua-Español*, 335.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 400.

Segura was describing a God with strong loving emotions, both towards all of his creation and towards Jesus.

### 3.2.1.1 Jesus' Authoritative Word

'For call,' entitled in Spanish 'Evangelisation Invitation' or 'Invitation to the Sinner,' depends on Jesus' authoritative position to command a variety of responses. The most common are 'come' *hamuy* (Hs.13, 15-21 and Ch.17) and 'come to me' *hamuway* (Hs.17,21). These also appear as communal commands *hamullaychik/hamullawaychik* (Hs.15,16), as does 'let's go!' *haku hikin* – referring to going together to Jesus (H.14). This is because Jesus is the 'door' *Punku* that must be entered to find life (Ch.14). It is he who gives the Holy Spirit (H.16), and people receive it as a gift, although sometimes they are 'being found by' the Spirit (H.22).

Other commands are:

<i>Yuyay</i>	Remember!	H.13
<i>Yaykuykamuy</i>	Come in!	H.13
<i>Yaykuychik</i>	Come in! (pl.)	H.16
<i>Uyariy</i>	Listen!	Hs.13,18
<i>Uyariychik</i>	Listen! (pl.)	H.22
<i>Kichariykullay</i>	Open!	H.13
<i>Kichaykuway</i>	Open to me!	Ch.15
<i>Kichariykuy</i>	Open!	Ch.16
<i>Chaskiy</i>	Receive!	H.13,Ch.18
<i>Chaskiykuychik</i>	Receive/accept! (pl.)	H.22
<i>Asuykaykamuy</i>	Approach!	H.13
<i>Asuykamuychik</i>	Approach! (pl.)	H.16
<i>Anchuykamuy</i>	<i>Anchuykamuy</i> – may be a misspelling of <i>asuykamuy</i> , judging from AWT, or a Spanish loan from <i>ancho</i> 'wide' meant to mean 'Stretch out!', since it is used in conjunction with <i>Hatariy</i> 'Get up!'. H.19	
<i>Utqaykamullaychik</i>	Hurry up! (pl.)	H.15

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<sup>28</sup> See William Mitchell, 'Himnos Sagrados de los Andes: The contours of Andean piety,' paper presented at United Bible Societies' Triennial Translation Workshop in Iguazu, Brazil, 16-27 June 2003, 14.

<i>Utqamuy</i>	Hurry up!	H.17
<i>Ama suyaychu</i>	Do not wait!	H.16
<i>Utqayman</i>	Hurry up!	H.16
<i>Chimpakaykamuy</i>	Cross! (in this direction)	H.16
<i>Chimpamuy</i>	Cross over!	H.18
<i>Puriychik</i>	Walk! (pl.)	H.16
<i>Maskay</i>	Look for!	H.17
<i>Apamuy</i>	Bring!	H.19
<i>Ama waqallaychu</i>	Do not cry!	H.19
<i>Hatariy</i>	Get up!	H.19
<i>Wischukuykuy</i>	Throw yourself on (to)!	H.20
<i>Willakuykuy</i>	Confess!	H.20
<i>Iñiykamuguay</i>	Believe in me!	H.21
<i>Iñiy</i>	Believe!	H.21,Ch.18
<i>Ama manchakuychu</i>	Do not be afraid!	H.22

Segura explains the reason for the command in each case. They are set in the context of Jesus' kindness/compassion, so the response that a command expects is for the good of the person and/or the community.

To 'come' or 'come in here' is to a concrete, safe place – 'the light will be in God's house.' This Jesus who is already 'with us in this existence' will also be with us in God's house, if 'you and he and I' respond. 'Remember' (that the Saviour gives sad hearts rest and desires our good), 'hear' (his word), 'open' (your heart), 'receive' (for life eternal), and 'approach' all reinforce 'Come!' as incentives to respond (H.13).

Segura says 'let's go to Jesus!' because he died on the cross, sprinkling his blood and is the sin washer. If a person knows their 'sins' and comes to Jesus believing everything about him in his/her heart, those 'very same sins will be washed' (H.14v.1). Going to Jesus is equated with going to eternal life – they co-exist. Jesus loves us – he is 'our soul's lover' *almallanchik kuyaqman* (*alma* 'soul') and so he does not leave us alone – he is the one who speaks to us, saying 'come!' (H.14v.2) so



that he can act ‘to save/secure/protect you’ and ‘washing the heart to make it clean/pure’ (H.14v.3).

Jesus’ blood sprinkled from the cross where he died is what washes sin away from the heart. Two images coincide in H.14 – that of ‘sprinkling with hand-fulls of water’ *chaqchuy*,<sup>29</sup> which is reminiscent of offerings sprinkled to the *Pachamama* when pleading for a good harvest, and that of ‘blood’ *yawar*, reminiscent of the *Yawar Fiesta Fiesta de la Sangre* ‘Celebration of Blood.’ Segura highlights Jesus’ generosity with the use of *chaqchuy* instead of *ch’allay*,<sup>30</sup> which is more symbolic, while also challenging the prevalent association with the veneration of Jesus’ cross as a protective talisman<sup>31</sup> rather than worship of Jesus.<sup>32</sup>

*Yawar Fiesta* was common when Segura wrote his hymns, although more prevalent in the central sierra than in the south.<sup>33</sup> It was a rite practised by *ayllus* - by definition a community event.<sup>34</sup> It symbolically re-enacted the struggle between two peoples – the Hispanic and the Quechua. Looking like a bull fight, the added element of a wild condor brought unscathed to the ring to ride a wild bull pestered in turn by the young men of the *ayllus*, made it much more than that. The condor (representing the Quechua people) sheds the bull’s blood by being forced to ride on its back and hold on with its claws while balancing with its outspread wings. The blood shed on the ground is seen as the blood of the dominant Spanish feeding the land that is still held by the Quechua. That land, owned in community, ‘has a double significance [for

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<sup>29</sup> Calle, Andahuaylas, 2005. ‘It is like water thrown down when one sweeps, so that the dust will not come up.’

<sup>30</sup> Lara, *Enciclopedia Boliviana*, 91: ‘to sprinkle, sprinkle with holy water’; Hornberger, *Diccionario*, 39: ‘Sprinkle, using fingers, with a liquid, often as part of ceremony, splatter, splash.’

<sup>31</sup> Calle, Andahuaylas, 2005: ‘There are crosses on top of the houses for protection. This is the way Quechua people think – many bring crosses and pictures to have them blessed.’

<sup>32</sup> See Llanque Chana, ‘Los Pueblos Andinos,’ 12 for a description: ‘This ritual is carried out in all agricultural and livestock activities such as plowing for seeding, sowing, carnival, buying and selling of livestock, marking of livestock, etc.; it is also carried out for all significant events of the vital human cycle, such as marriage, death of a family member, construction and roofing of a home or building; community venues, be they private or public; ...etc.’ See also Thomas M. Garr, *Cristianismo y Religión Quechua en la Prelatura de Ayaviri* (Cusco: Instituto de Pastoral Andina, 1972), 151.

<sup>33</sup> See description by Alex. Jardine, ‘An Open Door in Abancay, Peru.’ *South America* Vol.XI, No.6 (November-December 1928): 91-2.

<sup>34</sup> Carlos Vidales, ‘Lucha intercultural y ambivalencia en la “Fiesta de la Sangre”,’ [www.psiconet.com/acheronta/acheronta6/yawar.html](http://www.psiconet.com/acheronta/acheronta6/yawar.html), *Acheronta* No.6 (Diciembre 1997, 4 pages): 1.

them]: they possess the economic base for their reproduction and survival and they also possess the live contact with the Supreme Mother, the *Pacha Mama*, source of all consolation and of all joy for the men of the Quechua world.’<sup>35</sup> The celebration of *Yawar Fiesta* settles Quechua communities’ accounts with the Hispanic coloniser, so maintaining equilibrium.

José María Arguedas’ novel *Yawar Fiesta* describes a variant, from Puquío, of the same celebration. There is a struggle between the people from Lima, local ‘principals’ (both Hispanic) and the Quechua *ayllus*, because inevitably one of the young men will be killed in the arena. ‘The indians of Puquío, whatever happens, have determination,’<sup>36</sup> say the Hispanics. But to see what they interpret as the indian destroying himself legitimises what they perceive as their superior place in society. They do not understand the identity-forming rationale of the bullfight. Or that dying is equated with winning because of the power of the blood on the earth.

Segura’s Jesus is the one who has died in just such a noble struggle between good and evil, shedding blood that has unique power to transform the heart by washing it, because it is not understood as a symbolic gesture but rather as a real action. The *haku hikin* ‘Let’s go!’ makes it an offering for the community to celebrate by appropriating it together.

Jesus’ power to deal with *hucha* contrasts with people’s powerlessness. His death, the gift of his life, and being wounded and mistreated (H.15v.1) are not passive acceptances of what he is powerless to change. Jesus’ power to forgive follows from his death and his bloodletting. He not only ‘makes my heart clean’ but he also ‘gives me joy’ (H.15v.2). These are sufficient reasons for the commands to ‘Come!’ *hamullaychik* and ‘Hurry up!’ *Utqaykamullaychik* (H.15v.3) addressed to the rest of the community.

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid., 2.

<sup>36</sup> José María Arguedas, *Yawar Fiesta: Fiesta de sangre* Narrativa Contemporánea 3 (Lima: Editorial Horizonte, propiedad de Sybila de Arguedas, Junio de 1988), 32.

The commands allow for parallel reciprocal movement, because those responding will always receive something in return. Jesus says, ‘Sinners come to me for your salvation’ because he wants ‘to give [people] eternal life’ (H.16v.1). The call is urgent – ‘Do not wait, hurry up to come!’ because Jesus says ‘I give my Spirit.’ Jesus commands, ‘Cross in this direction to me now!’...‘For your strength to find’ (H.16 refrain). The Spirit and strength are parallel notions connected to one another. This is a different type of strength from that they would receive chewing on the coca leaf to energise them for their work and dull their hunger.<sup>37</sup>

Jesus’ names in ‘For Call’ reinforce his identity and add to what has already been explained in ‘For Telling’:

Saviour	Hs.13,15,17,20,21
Forgiver	H.15
Life giver	H.15
Lover	H.15,17
Door	H.16
Way	H.16
Sin returner	H.17

Saviour is most common, building on Jesus’ power as Lord and his relationship with God the Father. He is the Saviour because when people respond to his commands, he is the one who forgives, gives life, loves and is the door and the way to a transformed life (H.16).

Jesus gives rest and joy, in response to ‘come to me!’ and ‘approach!’ (H.16v.2). As ‘door’ Jesus says ‘Come!’, then ‘Come in!’ *yaykuychik*. Jesus makes the ‘black hearts’ of those who enter ‘shine’ (H.16v.3). As ‘way’ Jesus says ‘walk by me only.’ In consequence, ‘Forgiving your sin – I will make you clean.’ (H.16v.4). Every response to a command has a positive consequence.

The refrains of Hs.17 and 18 have 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> lines that simply say ‘Come, come!’ Come because ‘Jesus is calling you...Jesus saves you.’ (H.17). This is developed to

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<sup>37</sup> See Garr, *Cristianismo y Religión*, 189 for an explanation of how this works.

‘Rest he gives to you...you will find life with Jesus’ (H.18). Both hymns could have been fused into one with two refrains and 7 verses, except that Segura followed a convention limiting verses for easy memorisation.<sup>38</sup> H.17 finishes ‘Surely with love he says to you “I will receive you, come to me”.’

H.18 begins and ends with verses adjuring the sinner to ‘cross over’ *chimpamuy*, and is more complex about what it means that Jesus has dealt with sin. Segura used *chimpamuy* regularly when preaching to describe the movement between two totally different worlds. He said a deep chasm had to be crossed, and that once crossed there was no return. He asserted that people were then governed by a new Lord and lived a totally different life where they could no longer sin. This assertion of sinlessness led to increased legalism both in Segura’s life and among those Segura taught.<sup>39</sup> He did, however, challenge Quechua popular religion, which says that after death, ‘The soul must progress along a narrow road, full of thorns, and later cross the river Jordan...finally it must present itself to God, who will judge all the acts of the person’s life.’<sup>40</sup> Segura’s hymnody depicts Jesus calling people to ‘cross over’ now. This movement towards God, allowing for judgement to be taken by Jesus on the cross, happens in the present. Using concrete images,<sup>41</sup> Segura draws a different picture of people’s journey to God.

H.17v.1’s assurance that with Jesus ‘you will find eternal joy,’ continues with ‘Hurry up! Hurry up!’ to ‘receive the beautiful Saviour.’ The movement progresses towards God the Father. The sinner (v.1) receives the Saviour, and the Father receives the Saviour (v.3) – Jesus is the go-between. Jesus loves and gives life (v.2), but tells the sinner to ‘look to save your soul.’<sup>42</sup> Since the Father accepts Jesus, He accepts the

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<sup>38</sup> Calle, Andahuaylas, 2005: ‘Very few people can read in Quechua, and those who do prefer to read in Spanish and then translate. Even if people had the hymnbook, nobody read it – “they learned things by heart” *se aprendía de corazón sonqo* – the same in Quechua. But they still liked to know the numbers of the hymns. And they have good memories.’

<sup>39</sup> Calle, Andahuaylas, 2005.

<sup>40</sup> Summary by Manuel M. Marzal, *El Mundo Religioso de Urcos* (Cusco: Instituto de Pastoral Andina, 1971), 84. He recounts three versions on 84-5.

<sup>41</sup> See later section **3.2.6 Pacha**.

<sup>42</sup> Calle, Andahuaylas, 2005: Segura always said that one should never replace the proper name of Jesus *Hisus* with ‘he’ *paymi*, a pronoun – but in H.17v.2 Segura himself has done just that.

sinner too – Jesus makes the introductions in v.3.<sup>43</sup> The Father’s love for Jesus overcomes his abhorrence of sin.

H.18’s refrain echoes Matthew 11:28 ‘Come...and I will give you rest.’ – ‘Rest he gives you...life you will find.’ V.1 urges the ‘sad of heart’ to ‘cross over.’ The barrier of *hucha* must be overcome – ‘sin’s pressing down.’ Segura’s Jesus commands people to ‘Listen!’ to God’s saying, which ‘you know’ (referring to the refrain). V.2 is more threatening. Without Jesus, we are ‘in sin’ and ‘with the devil’ and therefore:

- ‘for fire’ *ninapaq*<sup>44</sup>
- ‘separated from God’ *wischusqam Yusmanta*

There are negative consequences to not responding to the commands in this section. This is like H.5v.4, which claims that a person not given to Jesus is singing for the devil. The Quechua dualistic view of reality is evident in Segura’s black and white approach to sin/darkness/death v.s. Jesus/light/life.

The Saviour, normally identified as Jesus, pleads in H.21’s refrain, ‘My son, my son, come to me – eternal life is your gift; believe in me.’ There will be no eternal life unless the ‘son’ believes in the Saviour – the question arises whether the Saviour is Jesus or God the Father or both, since the person addressed is called ‘my son.’ This interpenetration of the Father and Jesus will be dealt with further in discussion of the Trinity.

In H.20 Jesus acts for his people – the verbs are not in the imperative, and the direction of movement is reversed, thus establishing equilibrium in the rhythm of the

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<sup>43</sup> See Estuardo McIntosh, ‘El Otro Cristianismo Andino,’ *Misión* Número 10, Volumen 3, No.3 (Septiembre de 1984): 105 re the necessity of an intermediary in order to re-establish the ‘equilibrium of *ayni* with God.’ Also Estuardo McIntosh, ‘Alcanzando a los Practicantes de la Religión Tradicional’ (Reaching the practitioners of traditional religion), in *La Evangelización entre las Religiones Tradicionales en América Latina y El Caribe* (Thailand: Documento de Pattaya, 1980), 16 re the function of ‘the *pongo*, the *paqo*, *layqa*, etc. or the priest and...the pastor (!)’ as intermediaries and Llanque Chana, ‘Los Pueblos Andinos,’ 7-9 where he mentions ‘the saving mediation of a resurrected Christ,’ the reciprocity of Mary and Jesus in mediation and the obligation that Quechua people in general have ‘to exercise the role of intermediaries in solidarity with the community by means of fulfilling certain duties of service’ (also part of *ayni*).

<sup>44</sup> See also *nina para* in 3.2.5 To Save *Salbay*.

hymnody itself. He is ‘coming’ (v.1), ‘looking for all the lost’ (v.2), and ‘calling’ (v.3). ‘Jesus is coming’ is associated with a reminder that ‘he suffered for you,’ ‘sprinkling his blood’ is connected with ‘he died’ (v.1). Jesus operates on sinners’ behalf in the present, because of his action in the past – both are one and the same. V.2 explains that the lost are the ‘sinners, whom he is calling from his heart.’ Jesus is also calling those who are his beloved – those who have already received him he strengthens for sustaining life (v.3).

The refrain is the expected response – ‘throw yourself onto the Saviour.’ For salvation, the coming one must be ‘confessed.’ The Quechua would understand this reciprocal response without which there is no salvation. Segura saw no need to distance himself from *ayni* in his depiction of salvation, despite the tendency to legalism that this reinforced. V.4 explains the two-fold nature of salvation – cleansing now and taking/guiding later. Giving your heart ‘he makes you clean.’ And ‘returning he himself will take/guide you.’

H.21vv.2 and 3 are personal testimony. ‘Jesus took my sin, dying crucified for me, because he chose to do that I am living.’ Segura highlights Jesus’ own love for the sinner with ‘he chose.’ God the Father did not force Jesus to die for people. There is a cause and effect – because of what Jesus did, I am living, says Segura. Like H.20, all that is listed in v.2 happens in the present because of Jesus’ past actions:

- ‘Now he washes my sin,
- he whitens my heart,
- from hell blazing with flame he saves me’ v.3.

The response elicited appears in v.4: ‘Jesus loves people [plural], believe in him,

- he receives you,
- now come he saves you.

Isn’t he loving?’ Both Hs.20 and 21 draw time into a present whole<sup>45</sup> and establish the loving reciprocal relationship with Jesus that the Quechua would understand.

‘For Worshipping God’ returns to the question of Jesus’ identity. So in H.51, Jesus who is ‘my Saviour’ and ‘my guide each day’ is not exclusive – he is for everyone ‘for confessor’ (v.1). The refrain gives proper names for Jesus that communicate his attributes and relationship to believers – intimately personalised:

‘My Jesus,  
my Saviour, you are for me,  
my Strength,  
my Protector,  
my Beloved,  
my Guide, your kindness/mercy is forever....  
my giver of all,  
my beautiful helper...  
the kind/compassionate one’(v.2).

‘My Jesus’ is ‘my heart’s completer/fulfiller...  
bread for my soul...my feeder...  
in sadness my heart rejoicer’(v.3).

V.4 is more relational. ‘My Jesus is very kind/merciful – surely he will love, [therefore] I will confess [everything] to him, my Jesus helps me.’ The enthusiasm in this description of Jesus is meant to convince others that this Saviour is also for them – ‘for confessor.’ Jesus can be trusted. The chroniclers recorded confession as the most sought after sacrament for the Quechua due to their familiarity with it as a public ritual, important because it strengthened bonds in the *ayllu*, since sin for them was of a social nature.<sup>46</sup> This has died out in Andean Roman Catholicism, where most people confess yearly (on Good Friday) at most, and that privately to a priest.<sup>47</sup> Segura restores to confession its prior familiarity by making it accessible again.

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<sup>45</sup> See discussion 3.2.6 *Pacha* for further understanding of Quechua time/space.

<sup>46</sup> Bernabé Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo* Tomo IV, con notas y concordancias por Luis A. Pardo y Carlos A. Galimberti Miranda, Biografía del Padre Bernabé Cobo por Luis A. Pardo, Libro Decimotercio (Cuzco, Perú: Publicaciones Pardo-Galimberti, 1956 [1636 and 1892-3]), 111-14; Francisco Guerra, *The Pre-Columbian Mind* (London: Seminar Press, 1971), 192-4 and 234.

<sup>47</sup> See Marzal, *El Mundo Religioso*, 209-11 for example. Douglas Gifford and Pauline Hoggarth, *Carnival and Coca Leaf* (Edinburgh and London: Scottish Academic Press, 1976): 39, 43 and 79 communicate the lack of preparation for confession that most couples have before marriage and their view of what it achieves.

### 3.2.1.2 The Heart

The choruses in 'For Call' are personal – about 'me.' They go beyond Jesus' power and commands legitimised by that power. The heart *sonqo* is prominent, and is where Jesus' presence is evident. Ch.19 invites Jesus to 'come into my heart' – into 'the inner parts [profound] come into the middle.'<sup>48</sup> Ch.20 is a transaction in 3 steps:

1. Jesus you have been my Saviour
2. With all my heart I bow to your creed [sinner's gift]
3. Now you receive me [the sinner].

The heart is a gift given to Jesus. In return 'you wash me my beautiful Jesus' (Ch.22).

'For telling of life in Christ' continues with the believer's heart. H.35 consists of a series of questions about the heart to which the answer is always 'Jesus.' Jesus remains 'in the [believer's] heart' no matter what happens – but that is conditional on the believer telling/asking/confessing his/her predicament.

- When the heart is sad, Jesus 'will remove it' – he is the 'one who inhabits my heart' (v.1).
- When afraid, Jesus is the 'living being in my heart' who will 'get rid of' the fear (v.2).
- Jesus 'will wash [the heart]'...when sin in the heart is confessed (v.3).
- Sadness, fear and sin are all in the heart, but Jesus is there too.

V.4's conclusion is that 'Jesus is in my heart...now I do not sorrow or lack, he will remain there forever.' Jesus becomes united with the person's essence of being, creating a new identity that cannot permanently embrace any other state of being.

Chs.11 and 15, both from Revelation 3.20, appear in the section 'For Call.' Ch.11 additionally has the Spanish title 'Door.' There is no reference to 'knocking' as in the biblical passage, because in the Andes that would not generally happen. A person would shout for whoever was there and then wait to be seen to – a parallel with the 'voice' that is in the biblical passage. So in both of these choruses, Jesus (who is

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<sup>48</sup> In Quechua, the 'heart' is 'the essential being' of the person, according to Stewart McIntosh, conversation with author, 2 July 2004, Tayport, Scotland, notes taken, author.



understood) is standing by the entrance ‘waiting.’ In both cases he is waiting ‘at your heart(’s door).’ There is no forcing – unlike Quechua experience of both pre-Hispanic and Hispanic religion. The loving nature of the call - in both cases referring to the person as ‘my dearly beloved’ - means that the call is almost irresistible, which is exactly what is meant. A door is an entrance into a new space. It is like the openings through which the originators of Andean peoples appeared – *paqarinas*. Jesus is standing at the opening to that new space, the heart, waiting to go in and originate something new.

Jesus’ presence inspires the believer’s love – from the heart. ‘My Jesus is with me each day, when I work, when I walk, in my house, on the mountain with me; I love him with all my heart.’(Ch.36) The imagery is similar to Deuteronomy 6:7b – ‘Talk about them [these commandments] when you sit at home and when you walk along the road, when you lie down and when you get up.’ It is a technique for communicating ‘everywhere’ while applying it to a familiar way of life that earths the practicalities more.

In ‘Believer’s Prayers,’ the believer’s response to all Jesus has done in Ch.78 is, ‘Let (imperative) my heart be only for you to sit.’ In other words, come live in my heart – stay there.

### **3.2.1.3 Praise/Worship of Jesus v.s. Mary (the missing female)**

A matrix of the main theological terms used by Segura shows not only what sections of the hymnbook they were associated with in the worship of Quechua evangelicals, but also some significant gaps - the main one being the near non-existence of the feminine.

Agricultural rites like that for ‘mother earth’ included aspersion - *chaqchuy* in Segura’s vocabulary. Segura was not averse to using familiar concepts to bridge the gap with evangelical Christianity, when he did not think there was any danger of

misunderstanding and consequent heresy.<sup>49</sup> The female, so integral to the Andean worldview, is present in only two hymns, as ‘mama’ - H.84 in ‘For Children,’ and H.60, a Christmas hymn, where there is a brief mention of Jesus’ mother. In both of these, the referent is ‘mother.’ Deity is always male.

The reciprocity and literary parallelism that flows through Segura’s hymns only incidentally extends to the gender parallelism that was central to Andean cosmogony at the time of the conquest, where the world was interpreted through ‘symbols of gender.’ This pervaded all social connections.<sup>50</sup> So it is no surprise that when Catholicism was introduced, Mary played a significant role in worship. Father Jorge Lira’s collection of hymns published in 1960 has one volume dedicated to Jesus and another to Mary. ‘Lira has twice as many hymns to Mary as he does hymns to Jesus...’ She is usually addressed as ‘mother.’ Many of the attributes that Segura ascribes to Jesus come directly from those that had been Mary’s in RC hymnody. She is beautiful *sumaq*, pure *llump’aq* and she ‘loves...guides...shepherds...listens...suffers...and she saves,’ among other activities. In the hymn ‘Oh, Mary!’ the believer pleads for Mary to ‘Help...guide...to our heavenly home.’<sup>51</sup> Guiding to heaven is a function Segura limits to Jesus.

Romans 8.35-39 ‘Who shall separate us from the love of God?’ DST91 appears in AWT, was removed at the Quechua revision to ITAT, then reinstated in the new revised and augmented version of ITAT as 202 out of 205 hymns. This in itself makes it unique. The Bible passage is an exhortation from one person to a group of others, enumerating many circumstances, none of which can separate a believer from the love of God in Christ Jesus. Segura’s hymn is tenuously based on this passage, in that although there is a recital of the negative circumstances a Quechua might experience, in each case the narrator parallels the experience with Jesus’ immediate personal response – the emphasis being less on the circumstances than the response. Segura uses the nomenclature *Hisus* throughout, naming familiar circumstances –

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<sup>49</sup> See Manuel M. Marzal, ‘Puede un Campesino Cristiano Ofrecer un “Pago a la Tierra”?’ (Can a Christian peasant offer a “payment to the earth”?) *Allpanchis* Vol. III (1971): 116-28 for a Roman Catholic approach to the same phenomenon.

<sup>50</sup> See Irene Silverblatt, *Moon, Sun, and Witches* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 40-66.

<sup>51</sup> Mitchell, ‘Himnos Sagrados,’ 1, 9-10, 27.

grief, scarcity, pain, hatred, and admonishment - further personalizing the hymn. *Hamuy* 'come' is reminiscent of Lira's hymn *Apu Yaya Jesucristo* 'Great Father Jesus Christ' (another instance of interpenetration of the Father with the Son), except that in Segura's hymn Jesus says 'come' in order to receive succour, while in Lira's Jesus Christ is requesting the sinner to 'come back.'<sup>52</sup> There is no distance and separation because of sin in Segura's hymn, such as that described in *Huchapi qhospaq* 'Wallowing in sin' in Father Lira's collection - 'Only from a distance will I pray to you.'<sup>53</sup>

In RC hymns the closing of the distance between people and God was attributed to Mary - caring, saving, holding in arms, consoling, strengthening, and healing. In Lira's hymns *Sonqollaypa kusin* 'My heart's joy' and *Mamáy, wakcha wawaykita* 'Mother, your poor child...', the believer declares, 'I hope in you for my salvation' and 'I hope in you to save me from my sin' of Mary. In *Ñust'allaytan* 'My dear princess,' she is 'gently calming my sorrow.' In *Reqsikuniñan* 'I realise now...', Mary is the mother who is requested to 'give strength to me,' since there is a distance created because 'I have angered God.' In *Alaw, niway!* 'Feel for me!' she is asked to 'Enfold me in your hand, help and protect.'<sup>54</sup> In contrast, Segura's worship of Jesus is integrated with 'For Worshipping God.' 'We will worship' Jesus because he is 'our Saviour, our sin forgiver, our raiser, our guide in all' (Ch.59). The worship is personal as well as corporate:

- 'Only you are my Jesus, rescuing me from death, my Saviour, forgiving my sin, the one who strengthens me...' (Ch.61)
- '...you always love me, my Jesus, now you wash my sin, now I will go to heaven, because of that my heart is happy my Creator.' (Ch.63)

Ch.65 sings of a unique relationship:

- 'Only you are my Jesus, only you are the one who guides me each day, the one who loves me for ever....'

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<sup>52</sup> Ibid., 14.

<sup>53</sup> See *ibid.*, 15.

<sup>54</sup> See *ibid.*, 21, 25, 22, and 26.

‘Believer’s Prayers’ continues naming the praises of Jesus, in the 1<sup>st</sup> person, for all that he does after salvation. Jesus is forever ‘my Guide’ (H.63v.1). The Saviour gives ‘strength, rest for my soul’ and is ‘my Comforter’ (v.2). *Kancharikuqlláy* ‘my dear Illuminator’ expresses how important the light (as protection) is for the Quechua. The same one is ‘my Sustaining Life’ *Kawsachikuqlláy*. The believer pleads, ‘make me clean/holy’ (v.3). In v.4 the believer bows in reverence approaching Jesus to request, ‘establish me more and more, my good Creator.’ The refrain is unusual because it starts with *Kristu* ‘Christ’ twice, which only appears 11 times in the hymnbook. It finishes with ‘Forever my Beloved.’ The hymn’s focus is on the eternal existence of Jesus as both Christ and Creator rather than on his incarnation - a more common theme. But the litany of names emphasises the concrete nature of that existence.<sup>55</sup>

In H.64 Segura creates an alternative world view to the traditional Quechua, albeit using Quechua vocabulary to do so. The hymn bemoans the believer’s weakness and questions whether s/he will ‘go back’ *¿Qipamanchum kutirikusaq?* or ‘go forward’ *Ñawpaqmanchum* (v.2). The *ñaupas* ‘ancient people’ lived before the flood, and their remains are found in caves,<sup>56</sup> so ‘going forward’ (from *ñawpaqmanchum*) is indicative of the Quechua vision of time, where what is in front of one’s vision is what has already happened (our ‘past’). It is all that can be clearly seen as part of a previous existence, before the crossing of the chasm *chimpanmuy* and the entrance into a new world. This is new in Segura, because the Quechua vision would have the past interpenetrate with the present, and be the only way that a possible future could be intimated, where there is always danger of slippage into a former state i.e. what is

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<sup>55</sup> Names are always capitalised. See Mario Mejía Huamán, *La Cosmovisión Andina y las Categorías Quechuas como Fundamentos para una Filosofía Peruana y de América Andina* (Lima: Universidad Ricardo Palma, 1999), 101 where he explains the importance of naming: ‘We maintain that in the primitive sense of *suti* [‘name’] it can be argued that in Andean thinking simply by naming something, one is affirming its existence, whether it be *real* or *ideal*; additionally, the naming would make it not only true but evident.’

<sup>56</sup> Mario Morveli Salas, *Gentil Andino y Gentil en la Biblia* (Cusco: Iglesia Evangélica Peruana, 1984), 1-3. See Henrique Urbano, ‘Las tres edades del mundo. La idea de utopía y de historia en los Andes,’ in *Mito y Simbolismo en los Andes*, ed. Henrique Urbano (Cusco: Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos ‘Bartolomé de las Casas’, 1993), 287-9: ‘*ñauipa* is synonymous with *gentil*, *machu*, *vicha*.’

before the vision.<sup>57</sup> Segura relegates the Quechua interpenetration of time and space to the concept of two worlds that are completely separate from one another, where a decision to go backwards or forwards has little to do with time – rather, it has to do with God’s will being existence in one world rather than another. This is a hymn about God’s will being God’s way/path in His world and the inability to do God’s will on one’s own (v.1 and chorus). The believer’s confusion about going forward or backward is resolved by calling on the Saviour, praying in her/his heart on the basis of the just price of his blood (v.3) – that relationship with the Saviour is what firmly places the believer in the ‘new world.’<sup>58</sup>

Closely associated to the above is the chorus based on Joshua 24:15, where people are adjured to choose whom they will worship, a decision which affects not only the individual but also their whole household. *Kunanpuni akllaykukuy* ‘choose now,’ (Ch.7), is so similar to a plaque that evangelical Christians of Segura’s time often had in their homes that one wonders if Case had one in his home. It even leaves out the missing portion of the verse in the middle (‘whether the gods your forefathers served beyond the River, or the gods of the Amorites, in whose land you are living’) in the same way. One significant difference is the addition of *chiqap* ‘truth’ or ‘real’ in Segura’s chorus, lacking in both Bible and plaque. There, God is simply referred to as ‘the Lord.’ To say that this God was the God of truth was to make an important ethical statement that called to mind the three moral laws paramount in Quechua society: *Ama suwa* ‘don’t rob’ (set in the overall context of loyalty to others), *Ama llulla* ‘don’t lie’ and *Ama qella* ‘don’t be lazy.’<sup>59</sup> This emphasises the element of trust in the relationship of a people with their God – He is truth.

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<sup>57</sup> See Guido Gerardo Delrán C., ‘El sentido de la historia,’ *Allpanchis* (Cusco), Vol. VI (abril 1974): 16-18 for a discussion of *ñaupas* and time/space.

<sup>58</sup> Calle, Andahuaylas, 2005. This follows Calle’s own teaching: ‘I used to live in another society, with a certain way of living, laws and norms and ways of thinking. That was one world. But the believer has crossed *chimpanuy* to the other world, the ‘New World’ where there are other laws, a new language, a new way of thinking and new customs.’

<sup>59</sup> Fernando Quicaña, ‘El Evangelio y la Cultura Andina,’ in *Para todos los Pueblos*, CLADE III: Documentos (Lima: PROMIES and FTL, 1992), 60 and 149 and Tapia, ‘Teología Bíblica,’ 575 and 580-1, where he claims that the Incas had a pentologue that included ‘you will not step on the head of your brother’ and ‘you will not exploit’ – commands that were ‘eliminated by the Spanish.’

Ch.8 from Acts 16:30-31 parallels Ch.7, in that both Bible passages answer the question of what one must do to be saved, and both refer to ‘household.’ Segura uses the Quechua *churi* ‘son of the father’ to translate the Old Testament ‘household.’ The importance of the *ayllu* ‘Andean community, clan, extended family’<sup>60</sup> begs the question as to why Segura did not use the term *ayllu* to denote ‘household,’ which for the Israelites of the Old Testament would have included the extended family of a leader like Joshua. The Cuzco AWT changed Segura’s *churi* to *wawa*, which means ‘son or daughter of the mother,’ or ‘baby, child’ in general. The use of either *churi* or *wawa* weakens the original biblical sense.

Here Segura was influenced by British mission’s individualistic modern culture where it was often said that ‘God has no grandchildren’ (only children). While the character of the God communicated by evangelical missionaries may have seemed preferable to the RC God with its associations to shame and guilt, an evangelical position naturally caused a rupture in Andean communities. The non-conformist tendency to divide into different denominations has also been decried – when a community divides into rival religious groups, ‘the non-believing Quechua or Aymara interprets the Gospel as something negative...for the community and for its religiosity.’<sup>61</sup> In *Chuya Qellqa*, the Ayacucho-Chanca version of the Bible, the translators resorted to the Spanish *familia* ‘family.’ Although broader than one’s own children, it is still not as close to the biblical notion of extended family as *ayllu* would be.

*Akllakuykuy* ‘choose’ - The Quechua people had never had a choice of this nature presented to them. From the time they were born their *apus* and *huacas* were there – part of the landscape of the territory inhabited by their *ayllu*. Under the Incas, they were constrained to worship Inca deities, and later the Spanish God. Decisions, especially about whom they would serve, were unfamiliar – they served those that were in authority over them. Segura might seem to be offering a new kind of freedom, but by saying that he and his ‘son’ would serve the true God, he is, because

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<sup>60</sup> Hornberger, *Diccionario*, 18.

<sup>61</sup> Quicaña, ‘El Evangelio,’ 63.

of the very nature of Quechua society, forcing a choice. It is a society where unity is of paramount importance, and where reciprocity (*ayni* and *minka*) in labour reinforces that unity, so for those he was close to, this was a call to remain united by making the same choice he had made. This is in fact what happened in Segura's own family.

Of all the words for 'serve' in Quechua – *yanakuy*, *k'askakuy*, *yanapay*, *hayway*, *yanay*, none were chosen by Segura. This could be because the Spanish-rooted *sirbina/servina*, associated with a life of service to colonial authorities, made more of an impact. More likely, Segura wanted to associate it with *servinakuy* (sometimes known as *warmichakuy*), the Quechua common law marriage, which was a union as binding as any marriage.<sup>62</sup> That would place God's service within a relationship of committed union. There was no getting away from service and union to some deity, even if one chose to abstain from choice. *Chuya Qellqa* chose to use the Spanish-rooted *adoranaykichikta/adorasaqku* from 'to worship,' again avoiding the Quechua words – *yupaychay*, *much'ay*, *hap'ipakuy* and *huñunaykukuy*. In both there is a reticence to use the language of service and worship that is available in Quechua itself.

#### 3.2.1.4 Crucifixion

The paradox of Jesus' eternal life is that he died first. H.56 is about eternal life and how it is gained. The argument is that Jesus lives (v.1) therefore I live (v.4), and vv.2-3 explain how this happens. 'With your heart loving me, you died suffering, on the cross that should have been mine [as if the person themselves had died – replacement], so that I would be saved' (v.2). Segura follows the classic RC and evangelical model of substitutionary atonement. 'Surely with your death on my behalf I find eternal life, also happiness for my heart so that I can rejoice.' Jesus' life and death are both on behalf of the believer, and both are done in love, but life

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<sup>62</sup> See Oscar Núñez del Prado C., 'El Hombre y la Familia: Su Matrimonio y Organización Político-Social en Q'ero,' *Allpanchis* (Cuzco), Vol.I (1969): 16-22 and Garr, *Cristianismo y Religión*, 121-30 for a discussion of *servinakuy*. Núñez del Prado, 21, defines it as 'a natural contract of mutual services between a man and a woman, prior to the church sacrament of marriage.' Also Gifford and Hoggarth, *Carnival*, 31, 94-6 and Ortiz Rescaniere, *La Pareja*, 153-6: '...*servinakuy* is the search for equilibrium...in the development of the socialisation or domestication of the couple.'

overcomes death (v.3). The results of what Jesus has done are all for ‘me.’ Segura describes life as more than the absence of death; it is a quality of life that includes happiness and pleasure.

The section ‘Of Resurrection Life for God’ explains the paradox of death producing life. H.72 describes the process leading up to crucifixion, so it precedes H.70, describing Jesus’ death on the cross. H.72 generally follows the accounts of the soldiers mocking Jesus and the crucifixion in Matthew 27:27-40 and Mark 15:16-30. V.1 begins with the crown of thorns being ‘put on my Jesus’ head’ and ‘making fun of’ *burlakustin* (Spanish *burlarse*), thus associating the negative with Spanish rather than Quechua culture. The next line refers to *grosilla* (Spanish *grosella* ‘currant’), the colour of the garment that the soldiers put on Jesus ‘for their laughs.’

The refrain repeats, ‘My Jesus (twice), we know you as our purchaser; my Saviour (twice), we receive you for our Creator/Lord.’ This is reciprocal – Jesus purchases us so we belong to him, and we receive him, so he is ours. V.2 continues with the unpleasant treatment of Jesus. “‘Here he is – the Jewish King”, so saying...kneeling...spitting...they wounded him on the head to make him suffer.’ Segura uses Spanish for ‘Jew’ *Hudyu Judio* and ‘rod’ *bara vara*. V.3 ‘...continually falling...they made one named Simon carry the cross...they placed him between two robbers to kill him.’ V.4 ‘When he said “I am thirsty” they gave him vinegar [*Binagri vinagre*] mixed with gall...because of his death on the cross saying “It is finished,” we saved believers *enter here* [italics mine] in order to live.’ Segura’s description is meant to enable people to picture the cross placed immediately within the entrance that leads to life.

The brilliance of the light *kanchaq* emanating from Jesus in H.70 is like the light of the gold glittering in the *Qorikancha* (literally ‘court of gold’ – the central court where the *huacas* were displayed in Cuzco. ‘Remembering the death on the cross of my beautiful shining Jesus, I also see the work of my hands as the most useless (v.1).’ The message is Paul’s in Philippians 3:8 – ‘I consider everything a loss compared to the surpassing greatness of knowing Christ Jesus my Lord, for whose



sake I have lost all things. I consider them rubbish...’ The hymn ends in the same manner: ‘If I possessed all the world to give it to Jesus that would also be useless. That’s why I only give my soul *alma* (from Spanish *alma*).’ This image is the closest description to grace that Segura gives – there is no more room for reciprocity here because nothing the believer can give is good enough. Here Segura departs from the Quechua world view. The soul is given – this is more than the Quechua *sonqo* or essence of being – it is what makes it possible to live in the light of Jesus’ presence rather than in the darkness of *hucha* sin.

Segura’s graphic descriptions in vv.3-4 begin with ‘Just look!

...at his tender chest, his feet and his hands, still wounded by the spear and the nail – his blood is bubbling up.

...at the tenderness running from his wound – where else can I find such love?’

It is as if Jesus’ suffering were taking place this very moment, in an eternal present. Segura’s response to the cross makes sense of the Spanish title for ‘Of Resurrection Life for God’ being ‘Consecration.’

Consecration is a constant living with Jesus’ presence as defined in Chs.89 and 90 – ‘I live only with Jesus, be it in my house, on the way – no matter where I am I always walk with him.’ ‘I want to walk with Jesus, I want to live with Jesus, I want to die with Jesus, I want to tell everyone.’ Segura gave his long life telling others about Jesus, so these choruses are very personal.

V.1 of H.82 in ‘For Children’ *Wawakunapaq* is similar to the English chorus ‘Jesus loves me, this I know, for the Bible tells me so’ – ‘Jesus himself loves me, with his mouth/word he speaks to me.’ Segura’s version is richer in imagery – ‘He loves me, he guides me, he nurtures me and he saves me’ (chorus). The last half of v.1 says, ‘Children, let’s all go to Jesus’ – it is less patronising than the English parallel ‘little ones to him belong, they are weak but he is strong.’ Andean children all have adult responsibilities from an early age, both taking care of siblings and livestock. H.83v.3 includes one of three references to *Apu* originally ‘God, Lord, mountain spirit,’ here

meaning ‘rich.’<sup>63</sup> When praises are sung ‘in Jesus’ beautiful presence,’ the *Apu* as well as the ‘poor/orphans’ *wakcha* join the child, that is, everyone from the least to the greatest.<sup>64</sup> ‘Come all of you, believers to the Saviour, only Jesus loves you (plural), he gives you life’ v.4. Children are saved on the same basis as adults, and are loved in the same way. Both hymns are sung when dedicating children (rather than baptism, in Segura’s tradition).

### 3.2.2 The Trinity

The Trinity of Father (God), Son (Jesus) and Holy Spirit first appear explicitly together in H.22 in ‘For Call.’ Segura is not confused about overlaps between persons of the Trinity – he simply describes them and accepts them. This is consistent with both the biblical approach and the Quechua triune *pacha*<sup>65</sup> that makes the concept of three-in-one particularly accessible to them. It is one of Segura’s particular theological strengths, on a continent where churches have been accused of being ‘without theology,’ and where Argentine theologian José Míguez Bonino pleads ‘for a trinitarian perspective that will broaden, enrich, and deepen the Christological, soteriological, and pneumatological understanding which is at the very root of our Latin American Protestant tradition.’<sup>66</sup>

Jesus looks for sinners in H.20v.2. In H.22v.1 the Holy Spirit *Chuya Ispiritum* does the same – ‘looking for people in this world...’ V.2 explains the reason for the Holy Spirit’s activity: God *Yusmi* is the one who ‘loving with all his heart sent his only son, his beloved Jesus, in order to die on the cross for Him (the Father).’<sup>67</sup> Already the three persons have appeared. The refrain adjures people to ‘Listen! Listen! He wants to forgive your sin.’ It is unclear who is forgiving, but it is obvious that all three persons work closely together, because in v.3 the Holy Spirit is doing the

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<sup>63</sup> See Marzal, *El Mundo Religioso*, 250-3.

<sup>64</sup> *Wakcha* is poor because it describes the outcast, solitary person. For the compulsorily community-orientated Quechua, this is the worst kind of poverty.

<sup>65</sup> See later *pacha* section.

<sup>66</sup> José Míguez Bonino, *Faces of Latin American Protestantism* 1993 Carnahan Lectures, originally published as *Rostros del Protestantismo Latinoamericano* (Grand Rapids, Michigan and Cambridge, UK: William B. Eerdmans, 1995, this translation 1997), 111-12.

<sup>67</sup> See John 3:16 parallel, except Segura specifies that the son was Jesus, that he was beloved, and that the gift included dying on the cross.

saving that is usually ascribed to Jesus – ‘the Holy Spirit is saving’ *Chuya Ispiritum salbachkan*. ‘Receive! Receive Jesus with your heart’ finishes the refrain.

The Holy Spirit saves from hell, from ‘ugly/dirty/hideous/dreadful’ *millay* sin in order to go to heaven (v.3), but Jesus is the only way to get there (v.4). In v.1 the Spirit gives eternal life, but in v.4 it is Jesus who gives eternal life. In the refrain of H.21 the gift of eternal life comes from the Saviour – and, since the Saviour calls the person ‘My son/daughter’ *Churilláy*, it is impossible to say whether it is the Son Jesus or God the Father who is referred to as Saviour. In H.22v.4 Jesus is the guide (with love) ‘so that you get to God.’ So the functions of Jesus and the Spirit overlap, and there are overlaps between the Saviour and God the Father (if other hymns are considered), while the function of being the ‘way’ (via the cross) is distinctive to Jesus.

The Holy Spirit pleads with every doubter (literally ‘those in two minds’ *iskayrayaqkunata*) ‘with those who want to give their heart so that they can receive at once’ H.22v.5 – the relational initiative comes through the person’s response. V.6 begins and ends with ‘Do not be afraid’ *Ama manchakuychu*<sup>68</sup> - encouraging people to be unafraid of the Devil’s (*Diyablu diablo*) messengers (people) and of what they say.

Jesus speaks directly in Chs.11,13-15 of ‘For Call’. Chs.11 and 14 are entitled ‘Door’ in Spanish, because Jesus is standing at ‘your heart’s door’ in Ch.11 and in Ch.14 he says ‘I am the Door.’ Both are associated with entrance rather than exit. In Ch.11 we know the speaker is Jesus because Segura has indicated that the chorus is from Revelation 3.20.<sup>69</sup> Segura interprets Jesus as the heart’s door, adding ‘waiting, waiting’ to communicate Jesus’ patience and an address to the person as ‘beloved.’

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<sup>68</sup> *Mancharisqa* ‘fright’ is a well-known condition in the Andes that manifests itself in a gastro-intestinal illness. It comes about when contact has been made with a *chullpa* ‘mummy or sarcophagus,’ thus confirming that for the Quechua every illness has a religious or supernatural basis. See Garr, *Cristianismo y Religión*, 154-5. Marzal, *El Mundo Religioso*, 268 describes it as a condition where, because of a fright suffered, ‘the “soul” temporarily leaves the person and it has to be recuperated, otherwise death can occur immediately.’

<sup>69</sup> ‘Here I am! I stand at the door and knock. If anyone hears my voice and opens the door, I will come in and eat with them and they with me.’

Ch.14 comments that by going through the door (not specified, but assumed to be Jesus) the person will find life.

Chs.16-18 is an urgent summons. Ch.16 urges the person to ‘Open your heart (imperative)’ so that Jesus can enter – and here Jesus is specified. The entrance is there for all for eternity. Ch.17 begins with questions: ‘Why don’t you receive? Why don’t you believe? When Jesus is calling, when he is saying, “Come!”.’ Ch.18 identifies the Saviour: ‘Surely Jesus is the Saviour, he saves you.’ But ‘your sin knowing, to believe in him...to receive the very same Jesus’ is what is necessary for ‘this beloved’ to be saved. Segura is anxious that people receive Jesus and thus fulfill reciprocal obligation to him. There is no salvation without that.

H.92 in ‘For Telling of Life in Christ’ goes from the general to the personal in alternate lines of all but the final verse, the refrain being simply: ‘I love you my God, my most precious Father.’

- ‘God takes care of this world and heaven’ ... ‘he takes cares of me’ (v.1).
- ‘He rules the wind, lake, rain’ ... ‘he rules me’ (v.1).

God also takes care of all growing things (v.2). As in creation (H.59), Segura uses vocabulary familiar to the Quechua:

- ‘He who makes luxuriating grass, flowers grow’ ... ‘takes care of me’ (v.2).
- ‘He who makes night and day appear’ ... ‘sustains me with life’ (v.2).
- ‘He who makes the...tree produce’ ... ‘makes me productive’ (v.3).
- ‘He who feeds the condor’ ... ‘feeds me’ (v.3).
- ‘He who makes the sun and moon shine’ ... ‘makes me shine’ (v.4).
- ‘He protects every bird’ ... ‘he protects me’ (v.4).

To cap it all, after this litany of creation, v.5 refers to God as Saviour – ‘When the Son of my Saviour God returns...’ Jesus is never mentioned by name. This hymn is about God the Father’s care as creator, so Jesus’ return becomes part of God’s caring plan for creation. The overall message is that now God cares in every way, and at the end I will be with him forever.

Ch.52 in 'For Help/Protection of Believers' is a Trinitarian chorus. Help comes from drawing near to God - 'Let us approach our God.' 'Only to the cross of Christ' identifies God as Christ. 'With love he will give us his Spirit' - the Spirit is the Spirit of Christ, identifying God, Christ and the Spirit as one. All this leads to 'for our (inclusive) prayer' *mañakunanchikpaq*, which is the reason for the giving of the Spirit. The Spirit and prayer go together. That is what makes it possible for the requests associated with prayer (hence the same verb in Quechua) to be according to the will of God – His Spirit is involved in the process. The reciprocity of relationship is involved in prayer itself.

Occasionally Segura attributes the actions of one person of the Trinity to one of the other persons. Usually Jesus is said to save – in Chs.64 and 73 it is God the Father. 'Now you save me, God my Father, now you save me, my God; my Raiser, my Guard....' This is another indication of Segura's understanding of the intimate relationship between Father and Son. 'With Christ's death, with Christ's blood, you saved me my God; please strengthen me my Creator.'

God is known by what he does in H.47 of 'For Worshipping God.' Each verse begins 'We will praise our God,' followed by reasons why - each verse also focussing on one person of the Trinity. V.1 revolves around Jesus. God, 'seeing us in sin and greatly loving us' gave Jesus; receives a response from believers 'with celestial songs, with our joyful songs.' 'Let's all unite for our God' finishes the verse. Unity is important, and singing creates the right atmosphere for it in response to God's love. V.2 is about God. He is 'our heart's softener' and 'the one who gives us rest.' He loves by giving his son - 'with him he saves us and with him he strengthens us - with our most beautiful Jesus.' So Segura joins God with Jesus. V.3 continues with what God does 'with his strong Spirit because of Jesus' name.' 'He fills us to overflowing, joy to our hearts; only he nurtures us.' The Spirit is thus joined to Jesus and God. The final line expands on the first in each verse – 'Let us praise our beautiful God.'

*Chuyam kanki* 'you are holy' is repeated 11 times in H.49 – on its own and once alongside 'my beloved, my God,' once with 'my Father,' and four times with 'my

God.’ There are five verses, each with four lines. ‘My God’ *Yusnilláy* is the address in the first line of each verse. V.1 begins and ends with *chuyam kanki*, as a response to - ‘I adore you...from the heart I say, you are holy....’ V.2 ends with the Trinity - ‘in your three names my only Creator’ as a response to ‘He adores you – your chosen in your presence.’ V.3 recognises *chuyam kanki* as the worship in heaven, including ‘the angels rejoicing.’ V.4 associates *chuyam kanki* with salvation. God ‘loves much...sentencing he speaks only once, I know you even more, my Creator.’ This is a reference to Jesus as the one sentenced for sin and therefore punished, and of how that reveals God’s character to the believer. V.5 finishes with the glories of holiness shown in creation. ‘I see that [you are holy] in what you make, in sun, moon, stars, vegetation, tree – in everything there is my Father.’ ITAT changed the final ‘my Father’ to *Kamaqlláy* ‘my Creator’ – usually Segura’s *Kamaq* was changed to *Señor* in ITAT. Segura’s message was that this same holy Creator is also Father – he uses one or the other in every other verse, interchangeably.

The Quechua trilogy also facilitates the acceptance of a God who is three in one. Two choruses in ‘For Help/Protection of Believers’ are about ‘truth,’ referring indirectly to one of the three prohibitions in the Quechua trilogy – *Ama llulla* ‘do not lie/cheat.’ In Ch.45 (‘Truth’ in Spanish contents), attributed to John 14:6, Segura rewords the biblical verse, attributing his words to Jesus. ‘I am the truth, people in this world lie. Believing in me you will learn to speak truth.’ Segura suggests that the only way to fulfil the Quechua command is to believe in Jesus. The *supay* was the great deceiver, so although he is not named, he would be recognised. Ch.49 is from I John 1:8-9.<sup>70</sup> Segura’s equivalence is close – ‘Saying “I am not a sinner,” we are deceiving ourselves, when we confess our sin to God because of Jesus he will forgive us.’ Segura’s insertion of Jesus clarifies that as far as he is concerned, God can only forgive ‘because of Jesus.’ Segura neglects God’s two character traits mentioned in the biblical passage – faithful and just. Jesus personifies that faithfulness and justice.

In H.10v.3, Segura’s hymn about Nicodemus, *chiqallapuni* ‘surely in truth’ becomes *cheqaqta, cheqaqta* ‘truth, truth’ in AWT/ITAT. Both put more emphasis

on the aspect of truth than the biblical account does by either repetition or maximisation. This is not surprising, given the value placed on not lying in Quechua society.

### **3.2.2.1 Worship the Living God**

Worshipping God is a trinitarian activity that flows smoothly from one person to another. H.50 tells the story of God's relationship with people in three stages, as a basis for worshipping him. The whole begins 'We will worship the living God', and each verse ends with similar calls to worship:

- v.1 'Only let us worship God.'
- v.2 'Only let us remember God.'
- v.3 'Let us worship in Jesus'.

God is worshipped in v.1 because 'he fills us with his love, he gives you (pl.) back his truth'. So 'everyone will sing and worship the true God.' Why? Because 'in this world everything will wilt and disappear like the flowers'. V.2 expands on sin's effect on God's relationship with people. '[God] he cared for this world, sin took over, he was saddened from his heart...people that lived started forgetting their maker, so they were condemned to hell'. The first step in worship is to remember God, the first step towards condemnation is forgetting him – Segura's message is that forgetting God leads to sin.

V.3 provides God's solution. 'He [God] sent his son...to destroy death...to save by rising to life'. This is the choice people face when presented with the son – either death or life. 'We will sing for God [on his behalf]'. 'With his hand he leads us, only he nurtures us, lovingly night and day - in Jesus we will worship.' Worship happens because people believe that God sent his son. Singing on God's behalf is about singing the message so that others will know and also believe. That is what Segura intended through his hymns.

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<sup>70</sup> 'If we claim to be without sin, we deceive ourselves and the truth is not in us. If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just and will forgive us our sins and purify us from all unrighteousness.'

Unity in worship is the topic of H.96, but the enclitic *-yku-* clarifies that the corporate unity is exclusive of non-believers:

Our (exclusive) Jesus	<i>Hisusnillayku</i>
fill our meeting	<i>Huñuyniykuman huntariykamuy</i>
the power of your resurrection,	<i>Kawsariynikipa atiyinillanta,</i>
from our heart our worship	<i>Sunquykumanta adurayniyku</i>
so that everything is holy.	<i>Lliw chuya kanampaq.</i>

Segura has made this hymn choppy, so for purposes of comprehension, lines 2-3, 4-5 and 6-7 have been joined together.

V.2 continues with the Spirit's power to strengthen. 'Blow to our heart your strong Spirit of truth, to vanish fear and sadness in our soul.' Here the truth is associated with the Spirit, just as it is with Jesus in ch.45. V.3 pictures a corporate journey where the motivation to deny sin and keep going is Jesus' return. 'In our road strengthen us, also denying our flesh, so that we can wait for the light of the day of your return.'

- **Creation**

There are two creation hymns in the section 'For Worshipping God', when most hymns are one of a kind within a wide range of topics for worship. H.59 is based on Genesis 1:1-31 and is the only one that appears in the Spanish contents under the title 'creation', however. The other is H.89.

H.59, *Qallariynimpim Yus unancharqa* (In the beginning God created...), has many antecedents in both Inca and RC hymns and prayers. Both José María Arguedas and Jesús Lara have published Pachacuti's record of an Inca hymn to the creator. Juan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti was a 16<sup>th</sup> century Quechua from the Lake Titicaca area who was a self-confessed Christian. He was the only chronicler to record a number of pre-Columbian hymns in Quechua, probably in order to support his accounts, which endeavour to show that God was with the Quechua people from the beginning of creation – 'and later [God] created the first man Adam, Eve, his wife [sic], and image, progenitor of human beings, whose descendents we, the people of the



Tauantinsuyo, are, like the other nations which are filling all the universe.’<sup>71</sup> Other versions of the hymn, handed down by the chroniclers Cristóbal de Molina and Guamán Poma de Ayala confirm the reliability of Pachacuti’s record.<sup>72</sup>

Arguedas’ first spoken language was Quechua, enabling him to reconstitute hymns taken down word for word with no regard for poetics, into what was presumably their original structure. He analysed the hymns transcribed by Pachacuti as follows:

- First he read them over and over until what seemed the natural rhythm came through, in order to structure the verses line by line in the way they were originally meant to be.
- Next he took the words as recorded by Pachacuti and arranged them in accordance with the alphabet agreed at the First Congress of Peruvianists, including word breaks that had not been observed.
- Finally he did a poetic translation with the expressed intention of interpreting the meaning of the hymns without dispensing with the ‘original’s semantic orbit of terms.’<sup>73</sup>

John Howland Rowe’s study of ‘Eleven Inca Prayers from the Zithuwa Ritual’ is also of interest since the Inca creator God, *Wiraqocha*,<sup>74</sup> appears in nine out of the 11 prayers.<sup>75</sup> The RC hymn dealing with creation is one that was collected by Padre Jorge A. Lira. It is not only the oldest hymn in his collection, it is also the one that in content most closely resembles the Inca hymn chosen.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> Jeffrey Klaiber, ‘La utopía cristiana y andina: teología e historia en tres cronistas peruanos,’ in *Evangelización y Teología en el Perú: Luces y sombras en el siglo XVI*, Colección CEP 115, ed. Nguyen Thai-Hop (Lima, Perú: Instituto Bartolomé de Las Casas and Centro de Estudios y Publicaciones, Noviembre 1991), 233-5: translation of a quote he used is mine.

<sup>72</sup> Arguedas, ‘Los Himnos Quechuas,’ 123 and José María Arguedas, translator, César Miró and Sebastián Salazar Bondy, eds., *Ollantay y Cantos y Narraciones Quechuas* (Lima: Ediciones PEISA, 1974), 79-82.

<sup>73</sup> Arguedas, ‘Los Himnos Quechuas,’ 122-3.

<sup>74</sup> His spelling.

<sup>75</sup> John Howland Rowe, ‘Eleven Inca Prayers from the Zithuwa Ritual,’ *Kroeber Anthropological Society Papers* (Berkeley), Numbers 8 and 9 (1953), 82-99.

<sup>76</sup> Arguedas, ‘Los Himnos Quechuas,’ 131-3, Miró, *Ollantay*, 89-90.

The most obvious difference between Segura's hymn and both Inca and RC hymns is that it is a narrative poem in the 3<sup>rd</sup> person – it follows the Bible. The Inca hymn addresses God directly - ¡*Ah, Wiragocha tiqsi qhapaq!* (All powerful Lord!) – as does the RC hymn – *Kkhapakk Wiñay* (Ever living one). They read like Psalms of worship, and that direct address is echoed in all of the Zithuwa prayers.

Although Segura's hymn and *Kkhapakk Wiñay* both resemble the biblical narrative in content, they have different aims - Segura's were pedagogical as well as liturgical. Segura limits his narrative to biblical parallels in Genesis and is descriptive in style, although his hymn is not a translation. The rhythm of the biblical narrative is lost. The regular action of God that 'separated' to create appears only twice with the verb *rakirqan* ('divided up') in verses 2 and 3. The repeated 'And God said...' of the biblical account is left out. An account of creation at God's word is replaced by a description of creation that is limited to those creation events most meaningful to the people singing/hearing the hymn. The biblical emphasis on creation at God's spoken command is not as significant as the ordering and controlling of creation. This is comforting to Andean people who feel that their destiny is dealt out at random by powerful spirits who are outside any moral or just system – witness the common saying *jinachá Kanan Karga* – 'that is the way it will have to be.'<sup>77</sup>

It was important to emphasize God's creative prerogative. He is the creator and sustainer, and 'if all natural and spiritual forces are under his control, there is no need to offer sacrifices to the spirits and the earth, the mountains or the rivers.'<sup>78</sup> The animistic world of the Chankas, where local *huacas* were of equal importance was mirrored in the democratic way they functioned. Unlike the Incas, they had no hierarchy of gods paralleled by a hierarchy of priests legitimizing a powerful imperial structure.<sup>79</sup> Not surprisingly, it was the Inca hierarchical structure that the Spanish conquest was at first most intent on destroying, only to discover later that the

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<sup>77</sup> Humberto Flores, 'Teología Evangélica Quechua,' in *Hacia una Teología Evangélica Indígena*, ed. Humberto Flores and others (Lima: CEMAA, 1995), 102.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, 103.

local *huacas* were far more resistant ‘to campaigns of preaching and persecution and in many areas have survived in recognizable form to the present day, accommodating themselves to an overlay of Catholic ritual as they accepted the imposition of Pachakuti’s cult of the Creator five hundred years ago.’<sup>80</sup>

The RC hymn begins with an example of how to approach the creator God in worship. After enumerating the aspects of creation which God should be praised for, the hymn goes on to instruct the singer about doctrines relating to the ‘Christian heaven and the biblical man, the fall of man and his redemption, the dogma of the Virgin,’ as well as about ‘Jesus God the son of the All-powerful Father, Being God as You yourself are, became man.’<sup>81</sup> The Spanish immediately perceived the importance of Quechua and produced Quechua catechisms - José Toribio Medina, in his *Bibliografía de las lenguas Quechua y Aymará*<sup>82</sup> records 31 editions of catechisms between 1584 and 1891, and indicates that a prior one was published in 1583. They also realised that the importance of music in the Quechuas’ daily lives made it the ideal form for conveying those same catechetical truths. Segura’s pedagogical approach to hymnody follows in the same tradition.

- **Sun and Moon**

All three hymns refer to the sun and moon as created entities. The Inca hymn comments that ‘the sun, the moon...are not meaningless, they move by order...they arrive to the already pre-ordained.’<sup>83</sup> This is probably a very late hymn, from a period of Inca rule when official worship was increasingly focussed on the creator *Wiraqocha*. The vanquishing of the Chankas by the Inca Pachacuti (1438-1471) was the trigger for elevating *Wiraqocha* from ‘a culture hero in Inca mythology to the

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<sup>79</sup> Enrique González Carré, *Los Señoríos Chankas* (Lima: Instituto Andino de Estudios Arqueológicos, 1992), 37, 79-81.

<sup>80</sup> Rowe, ‘Inca Prayers,’ 82.

<sup>81</sup> Arguedas, ‘Los Himnos Quechuas,’ 133.

<sup>82</sup> *Bibliography of the Quechua and Aymara Languages* - published 1930, the year Medina died.

<sup>83</sup> Arguedas, ‘Los Himnos Quechua,’ 125-6: *Inti-qa killa-qa...mana-n yanqa-chu, kama-chi-sqa-n puri-n...tupu-sqa-man-mi chaya-n*

status of a high god directing the universe.’<sup>84</sup> Before this time, the sun and the moon were the divine entities primarily worshipped – the sun originating the Inca masculine line, and the moon the feminine.<sup>85</sup>

By contrast, Andean local communities structured their worship around the earth mother (*Pachamama*) and the thunder that provided rain to fertilize the earth (*Illapa*).<sup>86</sup> None of the hymns mention either of these more local yet more widespread objects of worship, but the 9<sup>th</sup> prayer does. It is the shortest, and refers to the Inca king as *Pachamama*’s child. Molina comments that the local *huacas* were manifestations of the Creator.<sup>87</sup> It is more likely that the Inca chose to interpret them as such, in the effort to incorporate them to the Inca pantheon. *Pachamama*, being female, was different. Perhaps there was little awareness of the threat *huacas* might pose to either Inca sovereignty or Christian evangelization. Or because their power was immanent rather than transcendent, it was never linked to political legitimization of an organized state – a much more ambitious project.

Lira’s RC hymn also mentions the creator as ‘the maker of the sun and beautifier of the moon – even the stars...everything that can be counted is differentiated by you.’<sup>88</sup> The creator’s name in Quechua (*Wiraqocha*) is absent, however, as it also is in Segura’s hymn. Both intended to clarify that the sun and moon were created, and refused any Quechua terminology, since *Wiraqocha* was considered an Inca deity and therefore associated with an imperial regime which neither the Spanish nor later the Chankas wanted to acknowledge. Instead, Segura used the Spanish name for God – *Dios* – spelled *Yus*. Segura was following the biblical narrative, so there was no danger of linkage with either Spanish or Inca rule, since the Bible was not associated

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<sup>84</sup> Rowe, ‘Inca Prayers,’ 82 and see R.T. Zuidema, ‘Una Interpretación alterna de la Historia Incaica,’ in *Ideología Messiánica del Mundo Andino*, ed. Juan M. Ossio A. (Lima: Ignacio Prado Pastor, 1973), 17.

<sup>85</sup> Silverblatt, *Moon, Sun and Witches*, 44.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, 21-2.

<sup>87</sup> Rowe, ‘Inca Prayers,’ 88 and 92-3.

<sup>88</sup> Arguedas, ‘Los Himnos Quechuas,’ 132: *Kkan Inti rurakken, killata sumakkchakk kkoyllurkunatapas...Ima yupanata, tukuyta rekksinki*

with Roman Catholicism.<sup>89</sup> Evangelical missionaries were clearly of the mind that Roman Catholicism in Peru had enslaved the Quechua<sup>90</sup> – and Segura concurred, partly because he himself suffered being hit on the head with a stone by a *beata* (name given to devout RC women) while preaching in Talavera.<sup>91</sup>

The Bible does not refer to the sun and the moon or to Venus, but rather to the ‘greater’ and ‘lesser’ light and the ‘stars,’ so it is significant that in verses 3 and 4 Segura purposely uses the names for sun (*inti*), moon (*killa*), and Venus (*qoyllur*) that were used by the Incas for their divinities. In an Andean world where RCs like José de Arriaga documented Quechua syncretism in his 17<sup>th</sup> century *Extirpación de las Idolatrías*,<sup>92</sup> and where many believe nothing has changed since,<sup>93</sup> Segura wanted to reiterate the created nature of the sun, moon and Venus.

#### • Male and Female

In Genesis 1:27-30 Segura found support for the egalitarian and reciprocal nature of male/female relationships in the Andes. Whereas some stages in the biblical account of creation are not mentioned in Segura’s hymn, the creation of male and female is, with striking emphasis on ‘without doubt identical to himself’ referring to them both. The RC hymn, in contrast, calls God ‘Father,’ and later the ‘only creator of man,’ with no reference to woman at all. Nor does it refer to creation in God’s image, and in the doctrinal verses, it is man who falls and is redeemed (Segura omits the ‘Fall’

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<sup>89</sup> Jeffrey Klaiber, ‘Religión y justicia en Túpac Amaru,’ *Allpanchis* (Cuzco), Vol.XVI, No.19 (1982): 185 confirms that ‘the Bible did not have the same significance for faith as in the Protestant world.’ Contrast this with the openness of some clergy in Lima to the sale of the Bible by James Thomson in 1822: Juan C. Varetto, *Diego Thomson* (Buenos Aires: Imprenta Evangélica, 1918), 53-9.

<sup>90</sup> See Geraldine Guinness, *Peru* (London: Morgan and Scott, 1909), 241-50.

<sup>91</sup> Florencio Segura, *Historia de la Obra Evangélica en Ayacucho, Huancavelica y Apurímac* (Talavera: published and printed by author, 1994), 13 gives a full account of the incident. Florencio Segura and Inés Castro de Segura, ‘Llegada de Don Florencio Segura G. y de Doña Inés Castro de Segura desde Ayacucho,’ *La Luz Andina* (Talavera-Andahuaylas: Revista IEP, 1997), 6: ‘...one Sunday three of us went out to preach to the main square, where we were attacked and I was hit on the forehead with a rock and as a consequence of the wound the blood started coming with force so that it stained my clothes...’

<sup>92</sup> González Carré, *Los Chankas*, 77 and Joaquín García, ‘Los agustinos y la evangelización en el Perú,’ in *Evangelización y Teología en el Perú: Luces y sombras en el siglo XVI*, Colección CEP 115, ed. Nguyen Thai-Hop (Lima, Perú: Instituto Bartolomé de Las Casas and Centro de Estudios y Publicaciones, Noviembre 1991), 122-5.

<sup>93</sup> Flores, ‘Teología Evangélica Quechua,’ 107 and 119. See also Leslie Hoggarth, interview by author, 28 October 1997, St Andrews, Scotland, tape recording, author.

altogether). The only female is the Virgin Mary, and she is above all the angels and more beautiful than the sun, which would have communicated to the Quechua that she was divine and not human in any case. Both the Inca hymn and the Prayers from the Zithuwa Ritual (first prayer), on the other hand, have *Wiraqocha* declaring, before anything else, ‘let this one be man, let this one be woman.’<sup>94</sup>

Although Segura indicates that his hymn is based on Genesis 1:1-31, lines 1-2 of verse 5 jump to the creation of people as related in Genesis 2 – ‘from the ground alone.’ Neither Inca nor RC hymns include any method or material for God’s creation, but given the importance in Andean worship of *Pachamama*, it is significant that Segura maintains the close connection Quechuas have with the ground, while at the same time highlighting its subordination to God as something to be used in forming human beings.

- **Time**

Neither the Inca, RC or Segura’s hymn refer to time, that is the biblical ‘days’ (six days in 1:5b, 8b, 13, 19, 23, 31b) in which God created, as a framework. Segura did follow the biblical sequence, except where he amalgamated vv.3-5 and 16, to put sun and moon and days and nights together, but did not seem to see any significance, theological or otherwise, which would demand an inclusion of this framework in his hymn. This despite the fact that he was aware of the hymn’s didactic importance for people who did not yet have the Bible in their own language. In fact, evangelical Quechuas do not distinguish the Sunday on which they worship in their churches as a Sabbath day in the sense of making it a day of rest and therefore different from every other day. Every day is a day in which work is to be done.<sup>95</sup>

- **Speech**

DST n.d. and ’97 use the verb *unancharqa* from *unanchay* ‘to create.’ AWT and ITAT changed that to *kamarirqan* from *kamariy* ‘to prepare.’ The Cuzco editions focus more on intention, giving the impression that form was latent before creation,

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<sup>94</sup> Arguedas, ‘Los Himnos Quechuas,’ 124: *kay qari ka-chun, kay warmi ka-chun*

emphasising the volitional aspect of God's creative activity. Because God planned it, or decided it would be, it was. God's plans are not thwarted. The biblical account puts more emphasis on God's speech in creation - an outward manifestation of what has already been either planned or decided, highlighting the communicative nature of the biblical model for God. Pachacuti's Inca hymn goes further and describes God's speech in the creation of man and woman as not only 'saying' *ñispa*, but also 'ordering' *kamaspa*. That they should 'be' is a command. Verse 6 of the RC hymn also mentions God's word *kachun niranki* 'you said they should be.'

God's 'naming' (1:5a, 8a, 10a in Genesis 1), which functions to relate God to his creation more intimately, is missing in Segura – the hymn simply explains what he did. The naming is probably assumed, whereas the RC hymn, which does not follow the biblical account as closely, has God naming (or more specifically 'accounting for them by name' *yupaspa*) the sun, moon and stars, which is more than the Bible itself does, indicating God's control over these creations. They are not divinities.

Pachacuti's hymn is an expression of the author's longing to know the God who is creator, so although various aspects of creation are noted, they are there to describe the kind of God this composer is crying out to and wanting to be with 'for eternity' - *wiñaypas*. This person wants God to speak with him/her – *rimayña* 'Now speak!' Speech here is in the context of a desired relationship, and naming is not mentioned at all. Relationship is more important than ordering creation.

- **Land**

Every verse in Segura's hymn mentions the 'earth' *pacha* or the 'ground' *allpa* that God gave to the Quechua people. The biblical account is universal, while Segura makes the creation more culturally specific to them as agricultural people. V.3 'luxuriating grass/forage,' has no direct parallel in the biblical text - it refers to what is needed to feed animals in the high Andes. Segura limits the water creatures to 'fish' for the same reason. In v.4, 'animal to walk' 'he caused to originate'

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<sup>95</sup> Isaías Calle, interview by author, tape recording and notes, Andahuaylas, Apurímac, Perú, 4 January 2002.

*paqarichirqa* from *allpa* ‘the ground.’ In the Andes it is difficult to travel, and always preferable to have an animal, such as a llama, to carry one’s load. God’s creation of such animals is evidence of his care for human beings. That the ground was ‘beautiful’ (not in the biblical text) adds the dimension of Quechua affinity with their land. The Quechua never forgot to whom land belonged. By means of their *quipus*, a record was kept of exactly what transactions had taken place, whether legal or illegal. Segura’s emphasis puts *pacha* firmly outside the realm of divinity.

V.1 line 3 of H.59 *Ruyrunkamallam allpa kallarqa* ‘the earth was round’ was changed to *lliw kay pachaqa hallp’an kallarqan* ‘all this world was his ground’ in AWT/ITAT, since the information that the earth was round was an authorial insertion and the Cuzco commission was intent on faithfulness to the biblical account.

In contrast to the narrative of H.59, H.89 is a paean of praise to God for all he has created:

I worship you my God,  
I praise you my Father,  
I love you from my heart,  
In my Jesus’ name.

Jesus is brought into this creation hymn, as the ‘way’ to the Father, even in worship. This is important, because when Jesus comes again, the same creation will be hugely affected (see H.3).

Vv.2-4 contrast the small and close with the big and far away in the all-encompassing worship of the creation for its creator. V.2 begins with the ‘very beautiful little turtledove.’ God made ‘its wings for flying here and there, singing sweetly.’ Segura comments to God that ‘this is for your worship.’

V.3 describes the ‘very black mountain’ and the ‘running river’ that God made – ‘making just what you want, so that all will praise you.’ In v.4 it is ‘the sun, the star, the wind, and the frost.’ The frost and freezing winds are associated with “spirits” of



powers of nature’ that are damaging<sup>96</sup> – here they are ‘demythologised’ and assume their role as part of God’s creation. Given that forgetting God is the *hucha* with most serious consequences,<sup>97</sup> Segura points out that none of God’s creation fails in that way.

- **God’s Care of Creation**

H.88 ‘For Worshipping God’ praises God for being carer of creation and of ‘me.’ To sing and to live are conterminus, as are the other terms in each of Segura’s parallels in v.1: ‘He released me from death, He turns my heart inside out.’ – Death exists on the underside of reality, so release is equated with an inversion of the heart like the turning upside down of a *Pachacuti* in one’s own life. ‘He lifts up the poor *wakchakuna*, and destroys the bad person;’ is similar to Mary’s Magnificat (Luke 1.52). ‘I will sing to my Father, to the one who will save me only with Jesus.’ The Father is praised as Saviour.

V.2 begins with the stars, both *chaska* and *quyllur*, virtually interchangeable terms. ‘He has counted all the stars’ (*quyllurkuna*), ‘and he has known the comets’ (*chaskakuna*). Parallelism highlights the knowledge only available to the creator, and allows Segura to refer obliquely to one of the more famous sanctuaries in the south of Peru – the *Qoyllur Rit’i* (snow star)<sup>98</sup> – emphasising that stars are not divine but created - ‘My God has power, his wisdom is eternal.’ His care for ‘me’ is displayed in the agricultural sphere - ‘He covers with his cloud, he makes his beautiful rain come, he makes his grass luxuriant, he alone permits its life to appear.’ Everything originates with God.

The pastoral sphere of Andean life is included in God’s care (v.3). ‘The vicuña finds grass and the birds good food, they always walk happily, filled up they swoop around.’ Finally, God’s own response is communicated – ‘God rejoices in his

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<sup>96</sup> Carlos Flores Lizana, *El Taytacha Qoyllur Rit’i* (Sicuni: IPA, 1997), 97.

<sup>97</sup> See Segura’s Genesis 6 account in H.8.

<sup>98</sup> See Flores Lizana, *El Taytacha* for an account of the sanctuary and of its significance for RC Quechua pilgrims today.

creation, with those who hope only from his hand, I love my dear Father, the one who cares for me daily.’

### 3.2.2.2 Jesus has done it all

*Hisus* ‘Jesus’ is most commonly used in Segura’s hymnbook for the 2<sup>nd</sup> person of the Trinity, not ‘Christ’ as is prevalent in the Spanish IEP hymnbook.

Three choruses explain the interrelationship between God, people, sin and Jesus. Each gives only a part of the message. Ch.27 (II Corinthians 5:21) is part of the hymnbook’s section ‘For telling of life in Christ,’ while the other two are consecutive and appear in the section ‘For the help/protection of believers.’

The message believers are to share about their life in Christ is that ‘Jesus did not know sin, but he made him sin. He suffered loving us; he died so that we would be reconciled with God.’ (Ch.27) There is no exchange in Segura’s rendition of the biblical verse, which simply says Jesus became sin so that in him people could become God’s righteousness. Instead Segura’s chorus refers back to II Corinthians 5:20 in reference to reconciliation – a more relational term and to vv.14-15, explaining the meaning of Jesus’ death. One of Father Lira’s hymns expresses almost the same sentiments, but is more clearly substitutionary atonement - ‘Christ suffers in our place, with his death we live, he receives our debt, he sweeps away our sin.’<sup>99</sup>

Ch.49 (I John 1:8-9) does not use the Quechua *llulla* ‘lie’ to say that the truth is not in people who say they are not sinners. It is replaced with the Spanish loan *ingañay engañar* ‘to cheat, deceive, fool.’ Segura inserts the additional ‘because of Jesus’ as the reason God can forgive when someone confesses. Ch.50 (I John 2:1) is also about confession. Hence their selection for the section on ‘help for believers.’ The result of confession is forgiveness – Jesus is protection against the consequences of sin.

H.48 explains why ‘we submit only to You saying Father God.’ V.1 begins ‘We come in our Jesus’ name Father God saying...’ They can call God ‘Father’ because

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<sup>99</sup> Mitchell. ‘Himnos Sagrados,’ 16.

‘Our Saviour has saved us from death with his blood and has also washed our hearts, and with your son’s name Father God we speak to you.’ The open way to speak to God as Father is through Jesus. He is the necessary intermediary.<sup>100</sup> V.2 is about the past, describing movement from rejection by separation from God to return to God and how that is effected. ‘We were distanced from you with our sin,’ but ‘soon listening to your beloved word, at our Jesus’ foot’ is how they find out that Jesus suffered on the cross to forgive, so that ‘finding forgiveness we returned to you [God the Father].’ God is the one who rejects because of sin, but he is also the one who provides Jesus for forgiveness and makes it possible for people to make the choice to return (if they listen).

V.3 takes place ‘today/now.’ ‘Everyone is saying Father God only because of our Jesus.’ Father God is repeated at the end of the verse, as the final line of the hymn, because what Jesus has done makes it possible to call God ‘Father.’ The response is singing ‘in our hearts with joy, with love, your word receiving.’ All has been gifted by the Father, so submission is the natural response.

Ch.92, included in ‘For telling of Life in Christ,’ is about the protection that God offers. ‘My ever living God hears me immediately, though in this world those that hate me seek to kill me, he himself hides me with his wing.’ This protection is personal and intimate, not dependent on rituals and talismans - Segura makes a clear break from the usual Quechua order.

### **3.2.2.3 Holy Spirit**

H.65 appears under both ‘Revival’ *Avivamiento* and ‘Holy Spirit’ in the Spanish contents, while Ch.81 comes under ‘Holy Spirit.’ The believer pleads with Jesus in all three verses and the refrain of H.65 to ‘reanimate us!’ (imperative).<sup>101</sup> The purpose for that is service, and the method is by the Spirit. The refrain says simply,

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<sup>100</sup> See Ortiz Rescaniere, *La Pareja*, 50-2 for clarification of how mediation works.

<sup>101</sup> Betsy Wrisley, ‘Interpretaciones Populares de “Espíritu Santo” en Bolivia,’ *Allpanchis* (Cusco), Vol.V (1973): 159-66 discusses the difficulties associated with the word ‘spirit,’ even when combined with ‘holy,’ in the context of Bolivian Quechua. She concludes that ‘at least as a description, of the Holy Spirit...**sonqochaj** (the one who enthuses, the consoler) could be used. Or to indicate the spirit

‘Reanimate us with your Spirit so that we can serve you.’ V.1 gives a reason why this is needed – ‘our (exclusive) cold heart.’ V.2 describes people waiting for Jesus’ Spirit – ‘like the flowers wait for rain.’ V.3 adds other factors that reanimate – Jesus’ ‘love’ and his ‘beautiful word.’ ‘Lifting our (exclusive) hearts’ is the response of the whole being.

Life and Spirit go together in the believer in Ch.81. It is the ‘Spirit of the Living God.’ That Spirit is requested to ‘enter me’ (imperative) - ‘to my heart.’ The next line has recently been associated with the ‘Toronto Blessing’ – ‘More, more and even more Spirit of God.’<sup>102</sup> The believer consistently speaks directly to the Spirit – ‘fill me’ ... ‘wake my soul, revive my heart.’

Believers can speak to every person of the triune God. This communication is the essence of relationship and integral to Segura’s development of a theology of the Trinity as interpenetration.<sup>103</sup> By addressing God as Trinity, Segura was challenging a weakness in Andean conceptions of the Christian God, ultimately describing God in a way more in keeping with their own world view, where space and time are consistently tripartite.<sup>104</sup>

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that gives us life, **kawsayninchej** (our life) could be used, etc.’ Segura is using a similar method here by ascribing the capacity to reanimate to the Holy Spirit.

<sup>102</sup> *Aswan, aswan, astawan Yuspa Ispiritun*. See songs like ‘More Love, More Power’ 1987 by Jude Del Hierro, published by Mercy/Vineyard, the movement that birthed the ‘Toronto Blessing.’

<sup>103</sup> Note that the Quechua adaptation of *El Corazón del Hombre* (The heart of man) called **Runapa Sonqonmanta** includes an adapted illustration of the heart of man with a triangle in the middle indicating the infilling of the triune God, named as Father, Son and Holy Spirit (**Tayta, Churi, Chuya Espiritu**). The triangle is named ‘trinity,’ literally ‘God in three names’ **Kimsan Sutipi Dios**. None of the ten original drawings includes the trinity.

<sup>104</sup> See Marzal, *El Mundo Religioso*, 99-102. On p.99 he comments: ‘...that God [the Andean image of the Christian God] has little to do with the Holy Trinity and even with Jesus Christ, centre of Christian revelation. Many informants demonstrate scarce knowledge of the mystery of the divine Trinity, and some even confuse it with the Most Holy Virgin, mother of Jesus. Those who do not associate the idea of God with the Jesus Christ of the gospel are also numerous.’ More recently, Domingo Llanque Chana (quoted in Mario Mejía Huamán, *La Cosmovisión Andina y las Categorías Quechuas como Fundamentos para una Filosofía Peruana y de América Andina* (Lima: Universidad Ricardo Palma, 1999), 117) has explained how this is addressed in the Aymara culture of the Andes: ‘For the Aymara the universe is explained in three spaces...called Pacha....Alax Pacha....is the place where God Awki (Father God) God Yuqa (God son) and God Holy Spirit [no Aymara name] live.’ Also see Mario Morvelí Salas, *Reflexiones para el Estudio de la Teología Cristiana Andina* (Sicuani, Perú: Misión Urbano-Rural Sur Andina Perú, 1996), 34 and *Religiosidad Popular y Evangelismo*

### 3.2.3 Sin *Hucha*<sup>105</sup>

Segura uses no other word for sin. *Hucha* ‘guilt, crime’<sup>106</sup> is a concept that encapsulates both the failure in responsibility of obligation to community and the contagion of guilt. Either way, *hucha* is a relational term that entails rituals to redress the balance in the *ayllu* community damaged by actions with social repercussions. Illness is associated with *hucha*, as a consequence of guilt. ‘In effect, the Andean concept of “guilt” arises out of an organic vision of society by which the guilty person involves everyone in his/her social grouping in the consequences of that guilt.’<sup>107</sup> The unity of *pacha* means that some of those consequences are interpreted into natural disasters, for example. Associated with *hucha* as a ‘basic norm of social ethics’ was the necessity of truthful confession of guilt in order to release the community of the consequences.<sup>108</sup> All of these elements are included in Segura’s hymnody, with no challenge to Quechua conceptualisation of sin.

But to define *hucha* as ‘sin, blame, guilt, fault, crime, delinquency, transgression, offence,’<sup>109</sup> would not be sufficient to understand what is meant by the word. For the Quechua, sin is also about ‘things that have not been done - injustice, but not impiety.’<sup>110</sup> This fits in with Segura’s definition of sin in Noah’s day as the act of ‘not remembering’ (*qonqaqtinmi* from *qonqay*) God and contrasts with the biblical account in Genesis 6:5 - ‘The Lord saw how great the wickedness of the human race had become on the earth, and that every inclination of the thoughts of their hearts was only evil all the time.’ And 6:11 and 13 – ‘...the earth was corrupt...and was full

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(Escuela Misiológica Latinoamericana: Producciones Decamen, n.d. (sometime after 1989, judging from the ‘Notes’), 13.

<sup>105</sup> *Hucha* appears in the plural as *huchakuna* only once, in H.67. It is a state of being rather than any individual failure/s.

<sup>106</sup> Lara, *Enciclopedia Boliviana*, 118.

<sup>107</sup> Meconi, *La Cosmovisión Religiosa*, 130-1.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid.

<sup>109</sup> Hornberger, *Diccionario*, .65; Lara, *Enciclopedia Boliviana*, 118; and Rafael Aguilar Paez, *Gramática Quechua y Vocabularios* (Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 1970), 152.

<sup>110</sup> Estuardo McIntosh, ‘El Otro Cristianismo Andino – Una Analisis de la Religión Quechua,’ *Ensayos Ocasionales* (Lima: Seminario Evangélico, 1980), 4; *El otro cristianismo andino: Un analisis de la religion quechua* Serie: Reflexiones! (Lima: Instituto Bíblico de Lima e IEP, Ediciones ‘La Casona,’ Julio, 1992), 4; and ‘El Otro Cristianismo Andino,’ *Misión* Número 10, Volumen 3, No.3 (Septiembre de 1984): 104.

of violence....I am going to put an end to all people, for the earth is filled with violence...’

God’s response is also contextualized. While the Bible has (6:6) ‘The Lord...grieved that he had made human beings...and his heart was filled with pain,’ Segura’s God is *piñakuspan* (from *piñakuy* ‘to get angry, irate, annoyed’<sup>111</sup>). This is the way God is portrayed in a RC Quechua hymn like ‘*Apu Yaya*,’ which Arguedas has compared with Psalms 6 and 50, and which Lira considers the official hymn of the indigenous Quechua faith.<sup>112</sup>

With my sins, like the infinite sand,  
I aroused your ire, oh my God!....  
Don’t give me your fury, Lord,  
Don’t be offended  
Weeping over my sins  
To your feet I have come.<sup>113</sup>

*Hucha* is waste of resources and distancing from a loving father and his associated community of workers (*ayllu*) described in H.11 (Prodigal Son from Luke 15). The elder brother is not included in the hymn - his responsible attitude would be considered exemplary. Cheating people out of what is theirs, thereby creating an imbalance of wealth is also *hucha* (H.12 - Zacchaeus the tax collector).

*Hucha* appears in 5 out of 10 choruses in ‘For Telling,’ together describing the steps in a process. Ch.1 refers to *huchayaq* the ‘guilty,’ ‘culpable.’ Jesus came to save all these. The first step is to recognise your *hucha*. ‘There is one way to go to God, to return from *hucha*’ (Ch.3) – it is ‘at Christ’s cross’ (at the junction of the two paths). Ch.9 also has people returning (as from one way to another) from the pain of their sin ‘in order to be forgiven by Jesus’ (at the cross).

For Segura, while sins are outward, a contributing factor in the life of *hucha* is a ‘stony heart’ *rumi sunqu* (Hs.2, 4, 5 and 7), because it prevents relationship. So the

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<sup>111</sup> Valderrama, *Diccionario Quechua-Español*, 222.

<sup>112</sup> Arguedas, ‘Los Himnos Quechuas,’ 142.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, 178-9.

whole person needs to be guarded in relationship with God.<sup>114</sup> Segura's choice of biblical accounts both fits the Quechua culture and gives the opportunity to introduce Jesus' relationship to *hucha*. This foundation is built on with further hymns describing 'travelling' to 'heaven' *hanaq pacha* with Jesus as guide, because of what He has done.

The hymnbook begins 'I sinner walked' (H.1v.1), describing it as a state of forever 'tripping.' 'Walked' clarifies this as habitual action and not static condition. The sinner does not know God (v.1), and there are consequences for this state that serve as a judgement – firstly that 'without receiving the Saviour' (v.1) a person has no 'guide' to heaven, which is the only way to get there, and secondly that there will be burning in hell.

Hell is described, and sometimes named - as *imbirnu* Spanish *infierno* (9 times), but never as *ukhu pacha*.<sup>115</sup> The sufferer asks, 'What is this burning?...endless burning' (refrain of H.1). Segura uses biblical imagery (lake of fire from Revelation 21:8) and RC vocabulary to highlight the contrast between the fate of the saved and 'not saved.' In H.5v.3 *imbirnu* it is paralleled with the eye – 'Will your eye continue to hate so that you go to hell?' and H.7 repeats the refrain, 'He will throw the sinner to the lake of burning fire, all who are not saved will burn forever,' and includes, 'Has your eye become dark so it no longer sees?' (H.7v.3 - see Luke 11:33-36).<sup>116</sup> The

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<sup>114</sup> Cobo, *Nuevo Mundo* IV, 111, writing in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, commented that the Quechua 'never paid attention to inner works, such as desires and disordered affections, nor did they confess them, acknowledging them as sins.' The outward sins he mentions are 'killing someone without being at war, or violently or with spells or poisons; stealing; negligence of the veneration of their *huacas* and places of worship; to forget a feast day or not keep it in all solemnity; to speak badly of the Inca and not do his will.' They believed that if anything negative occurred it was directly connectly with a commensurate sin committed. See Marzal, *El Mundo Religioso*, 211-12 for a summary of his findings of what are considered the most serious sins. Garr, *Cristianismo y Religión*, 190-3 also comments on the consistency of Quechua morality over centuries.

<sup>115</sup> This will be discussed further in **3.2.6 Pacha**. The Spanish pictured hell as a violent place, and in that sense exceedingly worse than the Quechua *ukhu pacha*, which simply meant 'the inner world' of the cosmos or the 'inner being' of the person (Huamán, *Cosmovisión Andina*, 115-19). Guerra, *The Mind*, 273 records that there was no 'eternal damnation, or hell, and the consequences of this lack of moral deterrent had to be compensated in customary law with extreme severity in the punishment of transgressors.'

<sup>116</sup> See William Mitchell, 'The Andean Lenten Veil: a Quechua visualization of lectionary readings,' *Bulletin of the Scottish Institute of Missionary Studies* New Series 8-9 (1992-93): 114, where the Bible is described as 'a new light and new eye....The Scriptures are like a pair of glasses for us through

stony heart also leads to the fire and hell - ‘Will your heart continue like the stone that does not soften?’(H.5v.3) and ‘Has your heart become like stone so that it is no longer aware?’(H.7v.3). Money contributes to a stony heart, as people call money their God and plead, “*Salbaykuway*” ‘Save me’ to it. Segura realised that idolatry needed to be described in a concrete way to be understood. He also considered the understanding of its consequences to be foundational to the abhorrence of *hucha* that he wanted to foster, so many of the references are in the first section of the hymnbook.

*Maytam richkanki* ‘Where are you going?’ (H.2) is probably the best known and is certainly the earliest hymn in Segura’s hymnbook. It appeared separately as the final hymn (H.76) in the Arequipa Quechua hymnbook *Allin Willaykunaq Takinkuna*, published in July 1946 by Len Herniman. It had the distinction of being the only hymn that was not a translation by Herniman (called the ‘author’ in the flyleaf) of hymns from Spanish hymnbooks such as *Himnos y Coros* and *Nuevos Himnos Evangélicos* to name but two. It refers to hell as the place where *hucha* inevitably takes one – ‘with your sin you will be in hell’ (v.2).

The following diagram contrasts the types of *hucha* described in ‘For Telling’ with the corresponding value that they negate:<sup>117</sup>

<i>Hucha</i>	Value
Drinking (H.5v.2)	Fulfilling of obligations to family
Wandering (H.5v.2)	<i>wasikita</i> ‘house’ and <i>ayllu</i>
Forgetting Jesus = singing for the ‘devil’ <i>supay</i> (H.5v.4)	Remembering God
Danger of with : Pride (H.7v1) (thinking you are unique)	Community <i>ayllu</i>

which we see and understand the world in a new way. God’s word is always before our eyes, and since we have new eyes we have become aware that God is amongst us.’

<sup>117</sup> See Domingo Llanque Chana, ‘Los Valores Culturales de los Aymaras,’ *Allpanchis Phuturinga* (Cuzco) Vol.I (1969): 123-33.



Money (H.7v.2) (to buy salvation=idolatry)	Remembering God
Forgetting God (H.8)	Remembering God
Moaning against God (H.9)	Trust in true God - remembering
Waste of resources (H.11)	<i>Ayllu</i> , generosity
Distancing from loving father and his associated community of workers (H.11)	Family, <i>ayllu</i> , work
Cheating people (H.12)	<i>Ayllu</i> , generosity, reciprocity
Imbalance of wealth (H.12)	Order, equilibrium

Since every activity is accompanied by appropriate singing, the devil also has his music. The use of *supay* places the life of *hucha* squarely in the domain of the *supay* who inhabits the ‘underworld’ *ukhu pacha*. This is not a choice that can be avoided, because if Jesus is not served in ‘this world’ *kay pacha*, then the way to God the Father’s domain in ‘heaven’ *hanaq pacha* is closed. Each place has its community of inhabitants that observe the values of that place. The *hucha* people ‘live in’ – drink, debt, stony heart and dry eyes constitute a way of life that deserves hell (H.5). A negative balance due to *hucha* in the person’s *winta cuenta* ‘account’ needs to be rectified if a person is to go to heaven (H.5 refrain).

H.5’s refrain is a warning to *wawqilláy* ‘my dear brother’ to ‘look at the one who is buried, to the one who dies each day’ because ‘your death is coming, you will have to give account to God.’ There are three references to the sin of forgetting:

- ‘Until when will you live in sin forgetting God the Father?’ (v.1)
- ‘Are you wandering here and there forgetting your home?’ (v.2)
- ‘Until when will you forget Jesus...?’ (v.4)

V.4 makes the sinner’s response to death explicit – not to forget Jesus. Otherwise, you are always singing for [the benefit of *-pu-*] the devil.’ Without a positive movement in Jesus’ direction, a person’s activity is orientated to the *supay*,

understood as the Antichrist, the ‘return to chaos’ - an entirely RC presentation. And chaos represents ‘the total inversion of social, religious and moral values.’<sup>118</sup> To sing for the devil is equivalent to serving him in his activity – promoting chaos.

There are rewards for the believer, however. H.6v.1 and chorus is tearful intercessory prayer begging the unbeliever to come to the Saviour, before describing in concrete terms (vv.2-4) what ‘heaven’ *silu cielo* is like. In heaven the Father is making a ‘beautiful shining crown’ (v.2). Each person will have ‘white clothing’ (v.3). ‘Everyone clean i.e. all the saints *chuyakunapas* (a description of people’s condition after *hucha* has been washed away by Jesus) will be happy and all the angels will sing’ (v.4). While Segura often used *hanaq pacha* interchangeably with *silu*, this particular description would not have been equated with *hanaq pacha* – hence the use of *silu*. Segura was an opportunist when it came to choice of RC vocabulary.

#### • The Flood

‘When people lived in sin...’(H.8), is a concise summary in three verses of the biblical account of the flood in Genesis 6-8, using familiar Quechua terminology, with an additional final verse interpreting God’s nature as unchanging in application to today’s Quechuas. The Andean unchanging ‘ground of being,’ *Pachamama* ‘mother earth’ and the local *huacas* (deities represented by stones or statues, memorials of ancestors saved from the flood on their own high peaks) are challenged by Segura, reinforcing the evangelical view of God as a God who is the same for everyone. ‘The person who gives herself/himself to God with all her/his heart...who believes only in Jesus’ will be saved from the fire, like Noah was from the flood (v.4). The flood is not a subject of known Inca or RC hymns or prayers, but the choice of topic is familiar to Andean society, a number of chroniclers having recorded oral accounts of a flood.

Segura’s hymn follows a common Andean structure. The first three verses tell the story of Noah - God’s judgement on sin by means of a flood which destroys all people (*runakuna* ‘people’ is inclusive), and the saving of Noah, his family and

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<sup>118</sup> Valderrama, ‘Significados de “Supay”,’ 821.

animals via the ark, because Noah's heart was open to God. The fourth and final verse proclaims that this will all happen again - *chaynataqmi* 'and so in the same way' God will destroy this world, burning it with fire because of sin. Arguedas and Lara both quote a Quechua hymn '*Runa Kamaj*' from the Vásquez collection in which after enumerating the ways in which creation worships the creator (11 verses), the final verse begins *sonqoypas kikin* 'so also my heart.' Segura's description of God's judgement and '*Runa Kamaj*'s' of creation's praise are both followed by an application to the contemporary person or persons – in the same way God will judge, in the same way I will praise.<sup>119</sup>

Accounts of floods and other cataclysmic occurrences are not uncommon in ancient cultures. Pre-Colombian religious accounts recorded by Spanish chroniclers tell of a world made by the creator god (*Viracocha* or *Pachacamac*<sup>120</sup>) before there was a flood, and one created afterwards. The first was a world of relative darkness, and the second included creation of lights in the sky, particularly the sun and the moon. Common features in different areas point to survivors who were used to populate the New World then created. The survivors were usually saved because of the presence of high peaks associated with guardian spirits (*Apus* 'God, Lord, mountain spirit, Supreme being'<sup>121</sup>) of particular areas, which enabled them to hide above the flood.<sup>122</sup> In one case, a flood of fire is described. The important factor, however, is that a New World was created. In Kuyo Grande, at least three separate versions of a destroying flood and subsequent re-creation have been recorded, the first one being after the destruction of beings called *Machus* 'old men,'<sup>123</sup> all indicating that the creator god is not always happy with the behaviour of the beings that he creates.<sup>124</sup> The negative effects of destruction brought on by human behaviour are therefore felt

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<sup>119</sup> Arguedas, 'Los Himnos Quechuas,' 140-1 and Jesús Lara, *La Poesía Quechua* Tierra Firme 30 (Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1947), 117, 159-60.

<sup>120</sup> Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, *Historia de los Incas* (Buenos Aires: Emecé Editores, 1947 [1572]), 101. Henry Van Den Bergh, *The Incas and their Industries* (London: Routledge and Sons, 1934), 32 and Ortiz Rescaniere, *La Pareja*, 48-50 explain that Pachacamac was the name given to the creator by the coastal peoples.

<sup>121</sup> Hornberger, *Diccionario*, 10.

<sup>122</sup> Cobo, *Nuevo Mundo* III, 344-51 and Sarmiento de Gamboa, *Los Incas*, 102-5.

<sup>123</sup> Lara, *Enciclopedia Boliviana*, 164. Morveli Salas, *Gentil Andino*, 2 names them *ñaupa machu*. With the coming of the Spanish they became known as *gentiles*.

by all of creation, not just the people themselves. Segura tapped into pre-existing collective tradition, drawing attention to a new dividing line between those that would be saved and those that would not be. Despite their sins, people could still survive the judgement to come – the line would be drawn between believers and non-believers.

The legend recounting the provenance of the Incas is connected with the post flood creation of sun and moon. Survivors were usually said to appear from a cave or cleft in the ground at some high altitude. *Manco Capac* and *Mama Oqlyo*<sup>125</sup> were two of eight brothers and sisters who emerged from three caves in a hill ‘about 18 miles (30 km.) southeast of Cuzco in the modern province of Paruro,’ in one account.<sup>126</sup> In another, *Manco Capac* and *Mama Oqlyo* were born of the sun and the moon respectively, and appeared from an island in Lake Titicaca.<sup>127</sup> It is probable that the tradition of parallel hierarchies proper to the Inca social structure was developed on the basis of this account of origin.<sup>128</sup>

With six variations, Cobo’s description of the origins of the Incas after the flood is the most complete.<sup>129</sup> He claims that the Incas used their status as beings chosen to be spared from the flood, and who were therefore the progenitors of all, as a way to legitimize their rule and demand submission from others. He explains how *huacas* proliferated and were used as a form of resistance to Inca rule, by minimizing the uniqueness of the Incas.<sup>130</sup> There is no looking beyond the judgement to future rule of ‘survivors’ in Segura’s hymn. Noah was saved, not to rule, but rather, on the basis of his relationship with God, simply to continue to live, and such will be the result in the coming judgement. The hymn is a much more egalitarian account, giving value to anyone who believes in God. By avoiding battles for legitimisation, Segura

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<sup>124</sup> Juvenal Casaverde Rojas, ‘El Mundo Sobrenatural en una Comunidad,’ *Allpachis Phuturinga* (Cuzco), Vol.II (1970):150-6.

<sup>125</sup>Also ‘*Occllo*’ or ‘*Occllo*’.

<sup>126</sup> Rowe, *Inca Culture*, 316-17 and Cobo, *Nuevo Mundo III*, 144-5. Van den Bergh, *The Incas*, 15 calls this account the one intended for the ears of the people, with the purpose of subduing them.

<sup>127</sup>Van den Bergh, *The Incas*, 16 and Cobo, *Nuevo Mundo III*, 143-4.

<sup>128</sup>Silverblatt, *Moon, Sun, and Witches*, 41-4.

<sup>129</sup> Cobo, *Nuevo Mundo III*, 143-9.

<sup>130</sup> Cobo, *Nuevo Mundo III*, 143, 351-2.

effectively resists any ideology of power, associating the power to destroy life with the converse power to bestow it as God's – and thus giving the same value to ordinary Quechuas that they would have given to the survivors in the legends they knew.

Spanish colonisers viewed Inca imperial rule as an imposition and consequently considered accounts supporting their hegemony to have little credibility.<sup>131</sup> It is difficult to be absolutely certain that flood accounts are pre-Columbian and not influenced by Christianity, due to the lack of written accounts and our sole dependence on the chroniclers of the Spanish conquest. But Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa's assertion that he was 'obliged to write what they said, and not what he understood by it,' his own judgement of one of the accounts as being 'this ridiculous fable' and the early date of his history (1572) all lend weight to the probability that a flood of some kind was indeed part of Andean collective memory and not invented primarily to legitimize in the face of competing Spanish colonial power.

Identification with those who were spared at the flood confirms positive association with the creator-destroyer-recreator. Segura's hymn changes the referents in agreement with the Bible. His parallel between Noah's times and our times asserts that just as God destroyed sinful people who forgot Him then, so he will destroy by fire those whose hearts are not given to God – believing in Jesus. The destruction is water in one instance and fire in the other, but in both cases it is God who will save. Belief in Jesus is like Noah's ark – it is the 'place' to be saved from calamity, and as such a concrete reality. The flood is not a way to recreate and thereby legitimize new power structures. Rather, it confirms that God is relational and expects to be remembered – 'they forgot their God' (v.1).

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<sup>131</sup> Sarmiento de Gamboa, *Los Incas*, 30. Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa's avowed purpose in recording the *Historia de los Incas* was to 'find out, through a great number of witnesses, the principle elders and those with the most authority in the realm [of the Incas], "the terrible, ancient and horrendous tyranny of the Incas, tyrants that were in this kingdom of Peru, and in particular the chiefs of its towns, in order to undeceive everyone in the world who thinks that these said Incas were legitimate kings and the chiefs natural lords of this land".'

Segura's use of *tukuy* 'to finish, put an end to'<sup>132</sup> in verse 2, describing the fate avoided by the animals taken two by two into the ark, puts the destruction of the flood in a different order from the verb *wañuy* 'to die' (ITAT replacement). To die is part of the usual order of things, but putting an end to something, destruction (or, in other words, uncreation) and later recreation<sup>133</sup> comes about in response to a world that is not functioning the way it ought to be. The introduction of a new world order was not a new concept to Quechua people, and would have provided a framework for understanding this hymn. Segura's flood hymn not only emphasises major threads in indigenous Andean conceptions of the world, it also re-interprets what is seen as 'the major task of the Christian God – to bless the good and punish the bad'<sup>134</sup> by clarifying that forgetting God is the kernel of what requires cataclysmic intervention.

In contrast, Noah had a 'heart towards God.' He is compared with those who forget God. In Quechua, *yuyariy* 'to remember' actually means 'to have something or someone present'<sup>135</sup> and to forget is to 'not have someone/thing present.' People cannot expect to forget God in this world (i.e. not see that he is present/acknowledge his presence) and be saved from burning.

- **To Wash *mayllay***

'How will I wash my sin? Jesus Christ will wash it.'(Ch.6). The verb *mayllay* 'to wash non-absorbent materials,' is another of Segura's repeated images associated with *hucha* (e.g. H.4v.4 – 'Jesus will wash you with the precious blood of his good and loving heart').<sup>136</sup> Segura does not believe *hucha* has soaked into the fabric of a person's being, and therefore needs soaking out again, dissolving and washing away. It is superficial and not an integral part of being, fitting *hucha* as external actions

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<sup>132</sup> Valderrama, *Diccionario Quechua-Español*, 347. Note that as an adjective the word means 'all'.

<sup>133</sup> See David J.A. Clines, *The Theme of the Pentateuch* JSOT Supplement 10 (1978): 73-6 for a review of the theme of creation-uncreation-recreation in Genesis 1-11.

<sup>134</sup> Garr, *Cristianismo y Religión*, 94.

<sup>135</sup> Domingo Llanque Chana, 'Vivencias Aymaras de Cristo,' *IV Encuentro Ecueménico de Cultura Andina y Teología* (24-29 Octubre 1994): 4.

<sup>136</sup> Míguez Bonino, *Latin American Protestantism*, 122 maintains that 'in the Latin American Protestant tradition...Jesus Christ is almost exclusively seen as the One who came to "cleanse us" of the stain of sin by means of his atoning sacrifice, as our hymnology centered on the theme of "blood" that "washes away our sin," as "the price" paid for our benefit, attests.' This is only one of Segura's many themes, his theology being more skewed in favour of expressions of relationship.

rather than internal intentions. So *hucha* is not part of what it means to be human after the Fall, to be born in ‘original sin’ – it is associated with a way of life that can be changed. The washing is of sin attached to the person. Jesus washes so that the material (human beings) can be seen in all its beauty after the removal of *hucha*. As something that can be washed off the surface of a person’s being, Segura’s theology encourages a high view of God’s creation of human beings in his own image (Gen.1, see Segura’s H.59) while maintaining the integrity of the need for a Saviour in Christian theology.

H.21 in ‘For Call’ associates *hucha* with Jesus’ crucifixion and death - ‘my Jesus took my sin, dying crucified for me’ (v.2). The result is life, but the converse is not true – *hucha* does not equate with death as final destruction. The transference is ‘from burning hell’ *Rawrachkaq imbirnumantam* to life (v.3). Jesus washes sin now for people who have made that transference: ‘He...whitens my heart’ (v.3) is possible because of Jesus’ death (v.2). The refrain repeats ‘I will give you eternal life.’ Dying is not nothing for the Quechua, it is another existence, and it all happens now. When *hucha* is washed or taken, there is eternal life, joy, and ‘heaven’ *silu/hanaq pacha*. When *hucha* is carried by one’s own self, there is *nina* ‘fire,’ *rawray* ‘burn with flame’ and *diyablu/supay* ‘the devil.’

No hymn describes *hucha* in the context of the ‘Fall’ (Genesis 3). *Diyablu diablo* ‘devil’ appears 3 times and *supay* ‘devil’ twice, leaving any association of *hucha* with the devil underdeveloped. The Quechua *supay* is not held responsible in any way for people’s wrongdoing. While it has changed in meaning to be virtually equivalent to *Diyablu*, *supay* was originally morally neutral. In order to mean anything positive or negative, prefixes were added, e.g. *allicupa* ‘good angel’ and *manaallicupay* ‘bad angel.’ The ‘dichotomy between good and evil...did not exist.’<sup>137</sup> *Supay* could be associated with either.

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<sup>137</sup> Domingo Santo Tomás in his Quechua lexicon of 1560 quoted in Irene Silverblatt, ‘Dioses y diablos: Idolatrías y evangelización,’ *Allpanchis* (Cusco), Vol.XVI, No.19 (1982): 42.

The Spanish chroniclers all associated *supay* with the devil.<sup>138</sup> Spanish interpretations of the Fall justified thinking of women as witches. In a culture that valued the feminine (*Pachamama* and later the Virgin Mary), and where responsibility for *hucha* was placed squarely on the perpetrator, the Fall was not understood. There is no equivalent narrative in Quechua culture that Segura could have drawn on, and he did not choose to add his own. The serpent also had mixed meanings, none of them as negative as in Genesis 3.<sup>139</sup> It was a positive chthonic symbol, and could also represent lightning as the means of uniting *hanaq pacha* with *kay pacha*.<sup>140</sup>

- **The Trinity's Relationship to *Hucha***

Jesus gives the Holy Spirit (refrain of H.16 in 'For Call'). H.22 clarifies the Holy Spirit's task in relationship to *hucha*. The Trinity is involved in release from *hucha*. V.1 – the Holy Spirit is looking for sinners. V.2 is like John 3:16 – 'God...sent his son...for dying...on behalf of others.' In v.3 the Holy Spirit is saving from hell and sin, 'in order to go to heaven.' V.4 proclaims that Jesus is the only way. So, the Holy Spirit saves by looking for people, but the gift of eternal life comes from Jesus, the guide to God, who is awaiting people's arrival in heaven. In v.5 the Holy Spirit is pleading. Segura challenges belief in Mary pleading with her son Jesus. This would associate the Holy Spirit with the feminine. Also, this is not pleading with God on behalf of others, rather, the Holy Spirit pleads with doubters (double-minded) to make up their minds.

### 3.2.3.1 Jesus' 'blood' *yawar*

'For Call' develops the link between *hucha* and Jesus via his blood *yawar*. The heart (essence of being) is like a house that is full of all sorts of creatures depicting

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<sup>138</sup> Cobo, *Nuevo Mundo* IV, 166. See Casaverde Rojas, 'El Mundo Sobrenatural,' 172-5 who also cites D. Diego Gonzales Holguín, Domingo de Santo Tomás and Jorge A. Lira (172).

<sup>139</sup> Valderrama, 'Significados de "Supay",' 809 describes one of the incarnations of the *supay* in contemporary oral tradition. He appears 'in the form of a serpent, *Wataq*, that becomes a "thin, fine, tall and vigorous youth" and "that has amorous liaisons with the young shepherdesses".'

<sup>140</sup> Meconi, *La Cosmovisión Religiosa*, 159 and 184: 'A serpent with two heads (anfesibena) called *Amaru* was the symbol of the rainbow and of lightning.' Sebastiano Sperandeo, *Claves para interpretar el Mundo Andino* Serie 'Raíces del presente,' 2 (Lima: Colibrí, 2001), 108: 'Streams dammed up with stones divide the water via underground canals, "male canals" that unite with "female canals" thanks to the action of serpents that are believed to perforate the rocks.'



different vices.<sup>141</sup> These must be washed away and replaced with virtues. Jesus' blood does the washing, associated with forgiveness, so Jesus is called *pampachaqniy* 'my forgiver.' His washing cleans people to the core of their being, where actions wait to spring, in the heart - 'he purifies my heart' (H.15v.2).

'The one who died on the cross shedding *chaqchuspan* his blood, the one who washes from sin' (H.14v.1). Segura always uses the verb *chaqchuy* 'to sprinkle with handfuls of water'<sup>142</sup> rather than *t'inkay*, the ritual flicking of liquid to give thanks to *pachamama* and the mountain spirits when arriving safely at a mountain pass.<sup>143</sup> *Hucha* is a communal concept of sin just as the blood in Arguedas' book *Yawar Fiesta*, associated with sacrifice and with interrelationships of *ayllus*, is a communal symbol.<sup>144</sup> Forgiveness is an action of Jesus' that re-establishes equilibrium so that other relationships can be rekindled. When *hucha* is attached to a person s/he is unable to live, so Segura says, 'Let's go to the very same Jesus, to the one who lives forever' (H.14v.2). 'Come...to the one who alone gives me life' finishes the refrain of H.15. This hymn makes the association of Jesus' death with Jesus' forgiveness and equates washing with forgiving as one and the same action - 'Dying, he lovingly forgives me with his very own blood, he purifies my heart' (v.2). With the heart's *hucha* washed away, the person is able to receive what Jesus gives - 'He gives me joy' (v.2).

The Spanish title for H.23 in 'Sinner's Prayers' is Holy Spirit *Espíritu Santo*, although there is no mention of the Spirit, nor is there any obvious connection. This may be a typographical error, or misreading of handwriting. Given the content, the more likely name is 'Holy Blood' *Sangre Santa*, because the word *chuyay* primarily

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<sup>141</sup> See Juan Gossner, *El Corazón del Hombre* (Lima: Librería 'El Inca', 1996): The heart is the temple of God or workshop of Satan, 'Represented allegorically in 10 graphic illustrations explained by John Gossner.' First published in 1732, this 1996 edition is based on the 1812 edition. It has been adapted to Ayacucho-Chanca Quechua in at least two editions by Walter Parado P., with n.d., limiting the illustrations to eight, and changing each one to inculturate it. The Quechua illustrations parallel Segura's hymns closely.

<sup>142</sup> Hornberger, *Diccionario*, 40. Lara, *Enciclopedia Boliviana*, 90: 'sprinkle, half wet.'

<sup>143</sup> McIntosh, conversation, 2 July 2004. See Marzal, *El Mundo Religioso*, 275-6 and 287: *T'inkakuy* is the sprinkling of the livestock in a ritual called *t'inka*.

means ‘clean, pure, clear’ and has come to mean ‘holy.’ This hymn is Segura’s apologetic to convince non-believing Quechuas of the validity of Jesus as their object of worship. The chorus says, ‘Just as I am I come, take hold of my heart my most precious Jesus.’ Jesus, for the dreadful heart of the sinner, ‘your all-powerful holy blood sprinkling’ is followed by, ‘you tell me: “Come, come”, my child (of father).’ (v.1). Jesus’ prior gift to the sinner is the blood needed to wash the heart. The gift to Jesus in return is the person’s heart.

Vv.2-3 detail the state of the heart to be washed with Jesus’ blood:

The soul accompanies the heart in its darkness of sin (v.2)

The heart is laden with sadness, instability, fear and hardness (v.3)

The sinner (‘poor/orphan, blind/illiterate, lazy/idle’) sings that s/he will find everything in Jesus – ‘*Apu*,<sup>145</sup> skills, alertness, health and life’ (v.4). *Wakcha* arises from the *ayllu* mentality of the Quechua, its meaning understood in that context. To become evangelical was to be *wakcha* (orphaned), because it meant a separation from the *ayllu* that was in effect a form of de-humanisation, since to be human was to belong to a larger community. It was a solitary state of being in which ordinary human links were severed, much like excommunication, and a Quechua became a non-person.<sup>146</sup> So to say that Jesus was now the person’s *Apu* was to acknowledge a new identity, with a new guardian spirit and a new *ayllu* with those who also acknowledged Jesus as their *Apu* – thus being *wakcha* was resolved.

This is the first of three times that Segura uses the word *Apu*, thus challenging people’s adherence to their ancestral *Apu* by calling them to a better one that would by implication provide them with a new evangelical community *ayllu*. It was

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<sup>144</sup> Meconi, *La Cosmovisión Religiosa*, 130. ‘In effect, the Andean concept of “guilt” proceeds from an organic vision of society by which the guilty involves all of the social context to which s/he belongs in the consequences of that guilt.’

<sup>145</sup> As well as meaning ‘the great snowcapped mountains’ and ‘their guardian spirits,’ as an adjective, *apu* can mean ‘rich, powerful’ (Valderrama, *Diccionario Quechua-Español*, 15). This was the preferred meaning given to it by those who verified the translation of this hymn in Andahuaylas, April 2005. But it makes more sense of the parallelism with *wakcha* (‘poor, orphan’) to include both meanings of both words.

<sup>146</sup> McIntosh, conversation, 2 July 2004. Sperandeo, *Claves para Interpretar*, 307: ‘Even today, “waqcha” indicates the poor and orphaned. This highlights the fact that, in relations with nature and in

immediately changed in the Cuzco hymnbook, prior to the commission's revision, because of its associations with regional *huacas* and mountain spirits – evidence that Segura's reasons for using the word were not understood. For Segura it did not follow that calling Jesus '*Apu*' diminished who he was. The appellation draws Jesus nearer, making him more personal – he is my guardian spirit, my Lord, my Supreme Being.

For Segura, v.5 'soul and body I believe in you' (in other words, with everything) is evidence of the transaction made - the living 'creed' 'faith' or 'belief' *iñiy* is exchanged for all that Jesus will do:

- 'receive me,
- forgive me,
- wash me,
- purify me,
- cure me,
- strengthen me.'

The transaction described in this hymn arises out of the invitation made by Jesus in v.1. His initiative shows that he is the greater of the two parties in the transaction.<sup>147</sup>

### 3.2.3.2 Rest *samay* from Sin

Ch.10 'Come to me' (Matthew 11.28) in 'For Telling' has been retained in all DST, AWT and ITATs. It reflects the preoccupation with *hucha* that the Quechua has imbibed. Rather than transfer the meaning of the biblical text literally as 'tired and burdened,' Segura skips to the next part of the passage to interpret 'rest for your souls' in the context of a weariness of spirit that occurs only when one is carrying about a consciousness of undealt-with wrong. But another reason for this reference to *hucha* is that the Quechua have heard so much about it in church, in hymns and from doctrine taught that they have become 'completely fed up' with it for that reason. There is no escape from the reminder that they have sinned. This is, in fact, the reason why they are crushed with sorrow. The two halves are parallels repeating the same thing in different ways.

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the work of the farm "chakra," as much for production as for commercialisation, the intervention of the other is necessary. One can survive on one's own to the extent to which one is linked to a group.'

<sup>147</sup> Similar to suzerainty treaties in Old Testament covenant terms.

Come to me  
Completely fed up with sin  
To those crushed by sorrow  
I will give rest.

The focus on *hucha* deprives the chorus of the original Biblical imagery – imagery that Andean people well understand, as agricultural people who are prone to carry heavy loads on their own backs. Segura compacted the three verses that comprise Jesus’ full message into one verse, and chose to communicate a different message – one that was no less likely to be understood. When Jesus says we are to be yoked with him (‘take my yoke upon you’), the implications are that he will help carry the load. This load could be interpreted as anything difficult that life brings our way, but Segura has chosen to interpret it as the burden of *hucha*. Work is a value so inherent to Quechua integrity that rest as from labour is unimaginable. ‘Work,’ although negative for Spanish<sup>148</sup> is positive for Quechua and explains *samay* ‘rest’ as not from work but from sin.<sup>149</sup> Segura’s use of this imagery as a metaphor for the way sin as sorrow/misfortune ‘held down/pressed down/depressed’ *ñitisqankuna* makes it clear that sin itself is a burden that can be released by Jesus.

Those not yet clean of *hucha* are *huchayuqkuna* ‘sinners’ or ‘guilty ones’ (H.16 ‘For Call’). Jesus’ gifts to the sinner who comes to him for salvation are *samay* ‘rest’ and *kusiy* ‘joy,’ the refrain clarifying that this is because ‘the Spirit is my gift’ to the cleansed sinner. ‘Spirit’ is always *Ispiritu Espiritu*, because Segura did not want people to confuse the Holy Spirit with the spirits i.e. souls of human beings who were acknowledged to wander the *pacha* and were called *nunakuna*. While insisting on the importance of the incarnation of Jesus as an expression of God’s immense kindness/compassion, Segura also insisted that the spirit of Jesus was different from other spirits. The Holy Spirit *Chuya Ispiritum* was unique and one with Jesus, doing the same work.

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<sup>148</sup> See John Mackay, *The Other Spanish Christ* (London: Student Christian Movement Press, 1932), 7.

<sup>149</sup> Witness the working tools buried with children so that they can work when they get to paradise in Marzal, *El Mundo Religioso*, 87-8. See Huamán, *Cosmovisión Andina*, 25-32. Gifford and Hoggarth, *Carnival*, 79 connect confession with rest, when a couple go to confession saying, ‘Let us give up our sins. On their way back from the village they will say, *I feel all unburdened*. The woman replies, *We have got rid of all our sins.*’ See also Llanque Chana, ‘Los Pueblos Andinos,’ 9.

1<sup>st</sup> person speech from Jesus is common in ‘For Call,’ accentuating his authority, and all of H.16 is done that way. V.4 concludes, ‘Forgiving your (pl.) sin I will make you (pl.) clean/holy.’ The Trinity appears in H.16 by implication. Jesus has already said that he gives the Spirit, and now he says that he forgives, an action usually attributed to the Father. The other two persons of the trinity are here connected with Jesus in a way that draws attention to the incarnation. In RC practice of confession/absolution, many believed that the priest was doing the forgiving, taking their sins on himself.<sup>150</sup> While distancing himself from that practice, Segura wanted to emphasise the incarnation of Jesus, acknowledging him not only as Saviour but also as forgiver. This person who forgives is then someone who knows what it is like to be human, to struggle with temptation and to overcome it. That ‘living in our flesh’ was what was most prone to bring out a response in the Quechua.<sup>151</sup>

The ‘sad of heart’ are told ‘to cross over’ in H.18v.1. Again, *hucha* is ‘pressing down/depressing’ *ñitisqan*. The refrain urges the sinner to come because ‘He will give you rest *samay*’ and because ‘you will find life with Jesus’ - reminiscent of Ch.10 (Matthew 11:28). V.2 continues with the consequences of refusing Jesus’ *samay* and life. ‘Fire’ *nina* is one, but more important is the declaration that ‘you are separated from God because you have been with the devil.’ This understanding of rest contrasts with Quechua *apachitas* ‘altars of stone on the high paths of the mountains’<sup>152</sup> that were objects of worship thought to relieve physical tiredness with its accompanying loss of breath – to ‘rest’ is to recover that breath in high altitudes. The *apachitas* were also asked, in prayer, for protection from malignant forces on the way.<sup>153</sup> This was primarily because of the ‘malignant winds’ *wayra*<sup>154</sup> that were

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<sup>150</sup> Gifford and Hoggarth, *Carnival*, 79, for example.

<sup>151</sup> See Mark 2:7 and Luke 5:21 – ‘Who can forgive sins but God alone?’

Also Matthew 9:6, Mark 2:10 and Luke 5:24 - ‘But so that you may know that the Son of Man has authority on earth to forgive sins...’

<sup>152</sup> Lara, *Enciclopedia Boliviana*, 64. Also Meconi, *La Cosmovisión Religiosa*, 172.

<sup>153</sup> Estuardo McIntosh, *Terminos Religiosos Quechuas de los Departamentos de Apurímac y San Martín Peru* (Quechua religious terms from the departments of Apurímac and San Martín, Perú), Disertación presentada para optar al título de Doctor en Filosofía por la Universidad de San Andrés, Escocia (Ph.D. diss., University of St Andrews, Scotland) (Lima: PUSEL, 1976): 9-15.

<sup>154</sup> Marzal, *El Mundo Religioso*, 266 comments that one of the most feared of the illnesses brought about by malignant winds is the *s’oqa wayra*. ‘For the majority of the interviewed, the *s’oqa wayra* is

prevalent in the heights, and because many of the openings to the *ukhu pacha* were through caverns high in the mountains.<sup>155</sup>

Jesus' *samay* is different. It cannot be received without letting him deal with *hucha* first. H.18v.3 explains with two images:

- 'Jesus' sprinkled blood' will wash your heart
- His dying and burial 'will bury your sin' (the sin attaches to Jesus instead of to the believer, who is thus relieved of his/her load).

*Chimpamuy* 'cross over,' repeated in first and last verses, in conjunction with the refrain's repeated 'come' *hamukuy* forms the central idea of the hymn. One cannot lay down one's load and find rest remaining in the same place. 'Come' requires a movement towards God that implies 'crossing over' into the place where Jesus releases from the burden of *hucha* and gives the *samay* synonymous with life.

The final line in H.18v.4 describes 'looking at his cross' as the focus towards which the sinner crosses. S/he is to 'fearlessly' cross over into God's realm by believing in Jesus, bringing her/his 'sinful heart' with her/him. It should be noted that when a Quechua evangelical speaks of a movement from one realm to another, there is no mention of repentance and conversion. The same is true of Segura's hymns. Instead, the Quechua will say '*he entrado en el evangelio*' i.e., 'I have come into the Gospel' – as if coming through a door into a different place.<sup>156</sup> This is consistent with Segura's concrete descriptions of the process. H.19 follows H.18 in the progression of ideas, beginning in the chorus with, 'With your sin come! Bring your sin.' There is pictured here a load that presumably could be 'left behind' and not dealt with. The tense is imperative. Jesus washes, but only if we bring him our washing. The washing away of *hucha* is an integral part of salvation.

H.26v.2 in 'Sinner's Prayers' explains what the sinner understands from God's word, 'Continually in my ear *rinri* God's word is telling me: "The person who is a sinner

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the illness produced by the *machus*, the ancient inhabitants of the land, that now live in the "*ch'ullpas*"...

<sup>155</sup> McIntosh, conversation, 2 July 2004.

will be flung into hell.” So where will I find “rest” (*hawkayayta* meaning ‘rite, ritual, recreation, relaxation’<sup>157</sup> – tranquillity - instead of *samay*, which is connected with breath and therefore with tiredness from exertion<sup>158</sup>) for my soul? God’s word tells me: “You will find it only in Jesus”.’ God’s word is persistent – *sapa ratum* ‘continually.’ The ‘sinner person’ *huchasapa runam* finds no rest, even after death.<sup>159</sup> It is not surprising then that happiness and rest are nearly synonymous (Chs.35,39,41). Happiness is also linked with being loved by Jesus and hearing his word, that is, his personal communication with Segura, in Ch.31.

The journey in H.28 ‘For Telling of Life in Christ’ begins with looking for the ‘good life’ (line 1) and ends with finding rest (last line). ‘A lying shepherd’ led the person astray until s/he was ‘soaked in sin.’ Line 1 of the refrain also begins with life - the ‘living God’ who says “I will give you rest” *samayta* – from *hucha*, not from activity. The person replies, ‘Give me [rest] with Jesus.’ In sin, ‘I was in confusion,’ ‘afraid of death,’ ‘pained in joy’ and ‘I was miserable’ (v.2). In that state, no rest is found and the result is death (in contrast to life) – v.3. But line 4 declares Jesus’ final word - ‘You will live’ *Kawsankim* (and therefore find rest).

### 3.2.3.3 Confession of Sin

Confession was an integral part of pre-Colombian religion, closely connected with healing – since every disease, death or misfortune was due to sins committed, vocal confession and sacrifice (some kind of penance) were necessary.<sup>160</sup> Most of the

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<sup>156</sup> McIntosh, ‘El Otro Cristianismo,’ 104 and Flores, ‘Teología Evangélica Quechua,’ 116 – ‘*He entrado al camino del evangelio*’ (I have entered the way of the Gospel) *Yaykupuni evangelioman...*

<sup>157</sup> Hornberger, *Diccionario*, 60. Quechua popular religion is essentially rites and rituals that maintain life’s equilibrium – without them, there is ‘dis-ease’ – a sense that things are not quite as they should be. See Sperandeo, *Claves para Interpretar*, 335-54. Llanque Chana, ‘Los Pueblos Andinos,’ 4: ‘the rite of forgiveness consists of two parts: the petition to God and the ancestral protective spirits for forgiveness and reconciliation between the two parties.’

<sup>158</sup> Hornberger, *Diccionario*, 224.

<sup>159</sup> Garr, *Cristianismo y Religión*, 114-16.

<sup>160</sup> Hispanic chroniclers Polo de Ondegardo and José de Acosta and half Quechua chronicler Inca Garcilaso de la Vega quoted in Guerra, *The Mind*, 104, 146 and 165. See José Carlos Mariátegui, *Seven Interpretive Essays on Peruvian Reality* (Austin and London: University of Texas Press, 1971), 189 where he explains Garcilaso as ‘the meeting ground of two cultures and two eras.’

chroniclers from the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries make some mention of the ritual surrounding confession. It was also one of the RC sacraments. But there were distinct differences between them.

In the Andes there were *Ychuris* ‘confessors’ for the populace, but during the Inca Empire, the Inca himself confessed only to the sun, following his own ritual. *Ychuris* could be male or female. There were numerous activities that required confession: ‘killing somebody other than in war,...robbery...taking somebody else’s wife,...giving herbs, or witchcraft to harm’<sup>161</sup> - but after the Spanish arrived others were added. These were ‘such as taking willingly their children to be baptized, and going often to doctrine and the Church, and having served diligently the fathers at the doctrine and the Christians.’ These were punished severely.<sup>162</sup> Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, born to a Conquistador and an Inca princess in 1539, maintains that there were no secret confessions, contrary to other chroniclers, but that informants said there were to please the Spanish, who practiced private confession with the priest.

Cobo recounts that confession of sin was universally accepted and one of the best received religious ceremonies of the peoples of the Inca Empire. They confessed everything they took to be sin - entirely outward faults, with no consideration for intentions or motivations. Confessors were appointed, and were usually the sorcerers and witchdoctors associated with the local *huaca* or shrine. After hearing a confession they were to ascertain whether it was truthful and appoint some sort of penitence for the fault/s confessed, the most common being a fast from the use of salt and chili.<sup>163</sup> The confessors were not perceived as taking the sin on themselves – they served as facilitators – mediators, in fact. This was so deeply ingrained that Segura also wrote a chorus in response to that prevalent view, taken from I Timothy 2:5 - ‘For there is one God and one mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus.’ He was responding both to Quechua tradition and RC overlay with its many mediators.

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<sup>161</sup> José de Acosta in Guerra, *The Mind*, 147.

<sup>162</sup> Hispanic chronicler Sarmiento de Gamboa in Guerra, *The Mind*, 130.



Segura's H.9 'Brazen Serpent,' based on Numbers 21.1-9, does not give a detailed account of confession - simply, 'recognizing their sins they cried out to God' (v.2). Their sin is something they have done, and not simply thought<sup>164</sup> – they have questioned God wrongly: 'Why have you brought us to the desert, hungry and thirsty, to wander in suffering and die here?' Sarmiento de Gamboa, one of the chroniclers published in 1572, makes a comment strikingly like this verse. Among the penances meted out by the *Ychuri* were 'long fasts, walking through the deserts without food or drink...' <sup>165</sup> The Quechua would question why the Israelites were subjected to what appeared to be a penance for sin. Segura is doing something quite complex with this hymn. The questioning itself is what is sinful. The difficulties in the desert were not a consequence of sin, contrary to what a Quechua would expect.

The punishment is death by poisonous snakes' bites (v.2). This is implicit in the lifting of the 'snake' *machaqway* when everyone was dying, because of the association with healing by a like image. God is using a creature that resides in the *ukhu pacha* to reverse the thinking of the hymn singers, rather than to bring about a reversal of history (see **3.2.6 Pacha**). The punishment is the worst possible sort – a painful death. Only a grave crime would merit death for the Quechua.<sup>166</sup> The message is that speaking against God is just such a crime. But when the people recognize their sin, they do not look for a confessor, they immediately cry out to God. Here is reinforcement that people have no one else with power such as God's to turn to. And it is God who provides the sacrifice that they need to depend on. This is a theological lesson – God is real, and he may use what seems like magical means to express his power over death.<sup>167</sup>

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<sup>163</sup> Cobo, *Nuevo Mundo* IV, 111-13.

<sup>164</sup> José de Acosta in Guerra, *The Mind*, 147: this fits Quechua categories for serious crimes – they must be acted out and not simply intended.

<sup>165</sup> Sarmiento de Gamboa in Guerra, *The Mind*, 130.

<sup>166</sup> Hispanic chronicler Cristobal de Molina in Guerra, *The Mind*, 142.

<sup>167</sup> See Edgardo Cayón Armelia, 'El hombre y los animals en la cultura quechua,' *Allpanchis Phuturinga* (Cuzco), Vol.III (1971): 144: 'Only in communities with strong influence of catechism and evangelism are they [snakes] associated with the devil, although they are generally related to witchcraft, in which they are utilised. The head and tail are taken in a bag as protection and so that people, without knowing it, will be afraid of the person carrying the snake, this is due to their propensity for appearing when least expected, causing fright, and it is thought that carrying them gives the same result....The snake, in real life as well as in dreams, indicates separation, *raki* 'bad omen',

*Carnival and Coca Leaf*<sup>168</sup> demonstrates the ‘Quechua tradition as it concerned marriage, birth, death and other events in the life of a community’<sup>169</sup> and includes confession in the RC context. The freedom of having lost a burden is a great relief.

Good Friday is approaching and Don Juan and his wife go to the village to make their confession and take Communion. They wear their best clothes and the thought in their minds is, *Let us give up our sins*. On their way back from the village they will say, *I feel all unburdened*. The woman replies, *We have got rid of all our sins*. Don Juan answers, *They say that when we make our confession we get rid of our sins onto the priest*. The woman replies, *If that is so, think how many people’s sins he must be carrying!* Don Juan says to her, *They say it’s not like that. They say that at every mass when he eats the Host the sins disappear*.<sup>170</sup>

Such a view means that only the priest can find ‘rest’ in direct connection with the Host, representing the body of Jesus Christ. The priest’s ‘magical’ connection with the Host as remover of sins is already a step removed from a relationship with Jesus as living, incarnate God, made present now by his Spirit. That others need the priest as intermediary, removes them even further. The encounter with Nicodemus (H.10) is about the Spirit and being born again, becoming a new person, whereas confession is an ongoing, repeated activity. The two are, however, united in one event in H.10v.6 – ‘Telling Him your sin, so that you will be born anew.’

Segura has placed confession in ‘For Help/Protection of Believers.’ H.43 is entitled ‘Encouragement’ in the Spanish contents, but the refrain indicates that it is about the believer’s need to confess in order to receive God’s help. V.1 describes the results of not confessing to God – ‘sadness’ and ‘heart hardening.’ Segura also uses these to describe the condition of those who have not yet ‘crossed over.’ Confession and ‘crossing over’ necessarily go together. It is the same as new birth into a new reality – it cannot happen without confession. The refrain is similar to the evangelical song

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and if it comes between two people one of them will die. In dreams it symbolises the wind, or an illness caused by it.’

<sup>168</sup> A document compiled in 1963 from Aurelio Flores (from the area around Cuzco) and Saturnino Valeriano (from near Ayaviri in Puno), two evangelical Quechua informants who had worked on a translation of the New Testament in Quechua with Leslie Hoggarth, a EUSA missionary in Huantura (SE of Cuzco).

<sup>169</sup> Gifford and Hoggarth, *Carnival*, xii-xiii.

<sup>170</sup> *Ibid.*, 79.

in English by Charles Crozat Converse (1832-1918) ‘What a Friend we have in Jesus’:

What a Friend we have in Jesus,  
All our sins and griefs to bear,  
What a privilege to carry,  
Everything to God in prayer.

Compare with Segura’s Quechua:

Jesus is the beloved friend,  
The one who died because of us;  
Approaching him to confess,  
Pray to him on your knees.

In Segura, Jesus’ death is named, and its connection to the human condition emphasised – humans are culpable, hence the need for confession. There is no indication that Segura knew the hymn in translation, so it may be the factor of common evangelical language.

V.2 continues with reference to the continued possibility of the promiscuous life for the believer – ‘Do you live like someone who falls in sin, saying “I will fall”?’ The verb *wichiy* means ‘to fall’ as in ‘*huchaman wichiy* – to fall in sin,’<sup>171</sup> but it can also refer to ‘to copulate standing up,’ a position that would lend itself to falling. ‘Perhaps because people hate you you wander with a sad heart?’ expresses the bitterness/anger associated with the grief of not belonging. V.3 ‘Do you cry when your brothers (of a man) walk in sin? Not being able to express it are you sad of heart?’

V.4 is the antidote to the person’s condition in vv.2-3:

Our Jesus gives you  
Wisdom when you tell him;  
He himself fills you  
If you ask Him with all your heart.

Confession, as in the refrain, and prayer, as in v.4 are Segura’s sure advice to the believer who wants to resist *hucha*. The relationship with Jesus of communicating all that is in the person’s *sonqo* (essence of being) – especially temptations to wrong attitudes and actions – is essential. Segura emphasises this message in Ch.50 from I

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<sup>171</sup> Valderrama, *Diccionario Quechua-Español*, 389.

John 2:1<sup>172</sup> - ‘You will not fall (*urmay*<sup>173</sup>) to sin, but if you are someone who falls (*urmay*), then you need to confess to the very same Jesus so that He will forgive you.’

### 3.2.3.4 Sanctification

Hs.61 and 62 in ‘Believer’s Prayers’ both appear under ‘Sanctification’ in Spanish, and 62 also comes under two other categories ‘Consecration’ and ‘Service.’

In each verse of H.61, the believer bemoans his/her weakness by describing the sins that different parts of the body are prone to – one part per verse.

- the eyes ‘like to see the bad,’ and always wants to see more (v.1)
- the mouth still says ‘sharp and bitter things,’ speaking too much (v.2)
- the hand ‘is given to doing bad,’ creating confusion (v.3)
- the heart overall ‘desires all types of sin’ (v.4)

Each verse also gives a different name to Jesus:

- my Jesus *Hisusnilláy* (v.1)
- my Creator *Kamaqlláy* (v.2)
- my Saviour *Salbakuqlláy* (v.3)
- my Forgiver *Pampachaqlláy* (v.4).

Note again the identification of Jesus with forgiveness. The chorus is a plea (imperative) for the Saviour (line 4) Jesus (line 1) to make each part clean (‘Make clean’ *chuyayachiy*), naming them specifically, as in each verse. H.61 is a confession and plea for continued cleansing, given the body’s propensity for sin, described in concrete terms.

H.62 is the believer’s plea for Jesus to do everything necessary so that s/he can live according to Jesus’ will – line 2 of each verse being ‘make me live for what you desire.’ It is a very personal reminder of how Jesus helps his servant. The ultimate reason for the transformation desired is so that the believer can bring ‘light to

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<sup>172</sup> ‘My dear children, I write this to you so that you will not sin. But if anybody does sin, we have one who speaks to the Father in our defence – Jesus Christ, the Righteous One.’

everyone with' his/her 'works' and 'testify to' Jesus' 'name alone.' This is why the hymn is also classified under service and consecration – in Quechua *mink'a* 'reciprocity,'<sup>174</sup> sanctification is for the purpose of service. Each verse gives an example of the sanctifying action desired from Jesus:

- 'My Jesus' - 'make me live for what you desire' (v.1)
- 'My Creator' - 'wash this heart of mine' (v.2)
- 'My Lover' - 'cure my wound, take away my pain, secure me for your service' (v.3)
- 'My Jesus' - 'guiding my soul' (v.4)

### 3.2.4 Equilibrium

The verb *kuskachay/kuskachakuy* 'balance' also means 'level, judge, decide impartially.'<sup>175</sup> Equilibrium, expressed as the balancing together of all that inhabits the *pacha*, is the most important Quechua foundational principle, from which all others flow. Reciprocity as *ayni* and *mink'a* and all their associated activities are a means of maintaining equilibrium. *Kuska* 'together' highlights the importance of *ayllu* life in the practice of those activities that bring equilibrium to Quechua existence. Quechua equilibrium in relation to nature and people is what guarantees the possibility of existence at all.

While Segura's hymnody is permeated with references that arise out of this desire to maintain equilibrium, the hymns that reflect it most clearly are those that testify to a reciprocal transaction, including the basis for consecration and the sacraments. There are a few hymns, however, that appear to challenge Quechua equilibrium by weighing giving heavily on God's part, thus describing grace as unmerited favour.<sup>176</sup>

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<sup>173</sup> Valderrama, *Diccionario Quechua-Español*, 362.

<sup>174</sup> *Ibid.*, 166.

<sup>175</sup> Hornberger, *Diccionario*, 85. See also Valderrama, *Diccionario Quechua-Español*, 134.

<sup>176</sup> See Sperandio, *Claves para Interpretar*, 291-7. He describes the dangers involved in receiving a gift (293): 'The gift, an asymmetrical relationship par excellence, is, in fact, no more than the beginning of a relationship of reciprocity between two individuals (or groups), that can be analysed within the perspective of an interchange that is differentiated within time – not simultaneous. Accepting gifts means committing oneself to correspond, possibly to a superior degree. So the gift is also, to a certain extent, a "danger", an obligation, a "tie". The gift is a poison...' He explains the repercussions of unequal gifting (296): '...gifting also means "dominating";...it can assume the significance of accepting considering oneself inferior – it can be a ratification of

Segura stretches the Quechua conceptual framework by thus communicating that there is more to life than equilibrium. In fact, there is a quality of life that is superior, which he describes as ‘to live freely’ *kawsariy*.<sup>177</sup>

H.11 *Ancha kuyakuq allin taytapam* ‘a very loving good father,’ otherwise known as ‘The Prodigal (lost) Son’ from Luke 15, summarises the major points of the parable, leaving out the older brother completely. It highlights the father’s capacity for giving. Although there is no mention of Jesus, it prepares the way for the eventual acceptance of God’s gift of Jesus – a theme that appears more in ‘For telling of life in Christ.’

Segura’s interpretation of the biblical sense in H.11v.6 has the father himself portrayed as the one giving the just price for his son’s acknowledged sin. This is the undoubted meaning behind the response to the son’s confession on his return home - ‘he (the father) gave him everything he lacked, and received him joyfully.’ What he had most need of was forgiveness, which is understood to have been given. It is an automatic response to repentance. There is no need to beat one’s breast as the repentant does in hymn number 3 in Farfán’s collection:

A thousand times already  
I have beaten my breast  
I have cried to my Father  
so that he will forgive me.<sup>178</sup>

Not all RC hymns are so harsh on a prodigal begging for forgiveness. Farfán’s collection includes a *harawi* that has little connection with religion, except for allusions in its subject matter and the fact that it was included in a ‘Notebook of Verses for the Lord and for the Virgin.’ Arguedas believes that this *harawi* is pre-hispanic, but that it was included because of its theme of searching for a lost son, so

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submission: receiving means accepting, showing oneself obligated in relationship with another, and paying that debt in terms of humility and courtesy.’

<sup>177</sup> Valderrama, *Diccionario Quechua-Español*, 115 – ‘to resuscitate, to live, to free oneself (as from illness or danger), to come to oneself (after having been unconscious).’

<sup>178</sup> Arguedas, ‘Los Himnos Quechuas,’ 143:

*Waranqa kutiñan  
sonqoyta takani  
taytayta waqani  
panpachawananpaq.*

like the biblical searching for the lost sheep. The tenor of the verses is completely different from the RC hymn about the lost sheep, which again attributes the fault to the sheep, beginning: ‘Sheep of little faith - now I speak with you.’<sup>179</sup> The Incaic *harawi* tells the story of a distraught mother searching (and suffering) everywhere in search of her son, and in no way attributing blame when she finds him.<sup>180</sup> The compassion associated with Jesus in search of the lost sheep is found only in the pre-hispanic verses, which were later added to a collection on that topic.

A further example of the prodigal son in the Lira collection details the father’s suffering, heaping the guilt on the son in such a way that he comes to the conclusion that ‘it would have been better if I had never existed, to abandon you and make you cry so much, I gave you a thousand sufferings.’<sup>181</sup> Segura’s version parallels the Bible much more closely, emphasising the son’s awareness of his father’s love. There is no loading of guilt, only acceptance, and Segura does not need to go into the older brother’s response to communicate that. Since *hucha* is wrong action and the older brother was doing everything correctly, to complicate the account with issues of inner struggles would only confuse people and risk being misunderstood.

After losing his inheritance the son reasons, ‘Now my father’s men are full while I alone am dying of hunger’ (v.4). Thus begins the glimmer of a realisation that perhaps the type of relationship that he has with his father might make a difference to the values that the father would otherwise hold – in other words, there is a higher value associated with relationship that involves giving more than the other person deserves in the balance of things. This is Segura’s challenge to Quechua reciprocity. But it is dependent on a decision to return to the father (who is always waiting) and on real repentance – ‘Recognising his great sin he said, “I have sinned – now I do not deserve for you to call me son”.’ (v.6). Returning to the father with nothing to give and everything to receive is the first step in re-establishing relationship, which is what the father really wants.

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<sup>179</sup> Ibid., 143 and 230: *Pisi sonqo ubija/kunami qanwan rimani*

<sup>180</sup> Ibid., 144-6 and 231-2.

<sup>181</sup> *Ama kaymanchu karkkan, kkan sakkerinaypakkkka, kkanta wakkaykachispa Ñak’arichinaypakkkka.*

The father's love is expressed in his response – he runs out to greet his son before he has reached him, with arms open, hugging and kissing him (v.5). To the father, the son's expression of 'lack' *pisiq*<sup>182</sup> was a gift. It freed the father to give in return and the son to receive from the father. Segura has transformed this parable so that it is acceptable to the Quechua insistence on equilibrium. It remains a reciprocal arrangement, but one with a difference. Viewing 'lack' as a (humble) gift that needs to be brought to God the Father is extremely liberating for a people that are often burdened by demands that they cannot meet because of their material poverty.

The prodigal son takes his fair share and wastes it (*hucha*) while Zacchaeus the tax collector (H.12 in 'For Telling') takes more than his fair share in the first place (*hucha*). For the Quechua, an imbalance of this sort brings unrest, uneasiness. Zacchaeus was 'not finding rest' (v.1). And yet Jesus says he is coming with Zacchaeus 'so that I can rest in your house' (v.2). Those were the words of acceptance that Zacchaeus needed to hear to settle his dis-ease and respond in extreme generosity.

DST12 did not survive the revision to ITAT. It is a good story, but perhaps not as believable as some of the other biblical stories Segura incorporated into his hymnbook. He had written five successive hymns from the Bible (DST8-12). Zacchaeus was preceded by the prodigal son (DST11), and was itself the last of this mini-series. Whereas the Bible begins by describing Zacchaeus as a chief tax collector who was wealthy, Segura says that he was 'living completely in sin,' thus associating wealth with sin. None of the people Segura lived among would have identified with a wealthy man. The fact that the people call Zacchaeus a sinner later, in Luke 19:7, is irrelevant, since an anomaly still remains with Segura's v.3, where Zacchaeus says 'if I have cheated anyone I will give them four times more.' Such a response goes against the Quechua value of reciprocity called *ayni*.<sup>183</sup> It is

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<sup>182</sup> Valderrama, *Diccionario Quechua-Español*, 225.

<sup>183</sup> McIntosh, 'El Otro Cristianismo,' 104-6 explains how for him *ayni* is the vital core of Quechua religion. 'When there is *ayni*, then the person lives "in peace" and there is no "rage" on the part of the spirits; the person is "joyful, happy" (*kusikuspa*) and his/her fields and animals flourish, his/her health



inconceivable for someone to reciprocate with much more than what was taken in the first place – equilibrium is destroyed. A hymn that could not be useful to help Quechua believers know how to live their lives, i.e. a concrete application to their own experience, could not survive, no matter how good the story.

V.4, the final verse, also has its difficulties: ‘Jesus, observing all that was given back, said to everyone, “This very day this salvation has come to this house; because I have looked for those who walk in the lost way.”’ While everyone in the community that Zacchaeus was responsible for would benefit from his good action, and such a result fits the logic of community inherent in the Quechua *ayllu*,<sup>184</sup> it also appears to be legitimising the buying of salvation by the amount given – this would be a misunderstanding of what Segura was endeavouring to teach in his hymns.

### 3.2.4.1 Reciprocity

Reciprocity between the testifier and Jesus is core to Hs.31-33 in ‘For Telling of Life in Christ.’ The chorus of H.31 explains that Jesus died on the cross because he is ‘my great lover’ and he ‘has saved me so that I will love Him forever.’ Jesus desires reciprocal response. Vvs.1-3 explain why Jesus is the great lover:

‘Jesus found me – distanced from God my Father’ (v.1).

‘Even though I lack everything he is more than enough for me’ (v.2).

‘I receive from him so that this soul of mine is fed’ (v.3).

In H.32 two interrelated areas are covered – eternal life and Jesus’ return. The reciprocity is found in Jesus’ gift and the believer’s response on Jesus’ return. ‘Jesus died for me on the cross so that I would not die’ (v.1) is Jesus’ gift. V.2 expands with, ‘My Jesus has been raised to life, overcoming death so that I will live forever, saying “Live only with me.”’ Just as Jesus died for the testifier, in v.3 he has returned to God ‘because of me’ *Ñuqaraykum* and ‘takes me up’ *wicharipuwan* with him. The final line tells us that Jesus went ‘to intercede with my Father.’ V.4’s description

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is stable, and there is no plague or death.’ McIntosh notes that, ‘This element is found in the majority of testimonies of people who have an experience of salvation en Christ – “...Now we live joyfully, happily with the Lord”.’

of meeting Jesus ‘in the clouds’ when he ‘comes back’ is a paraphrase of I Thessalonians 4:17. The believer responds, ‘When he says to me, “Let’s go!” then I will fly to heaven.’ V.5 answers the implied question, ‘What shall I do in return?’ – ‘I will go with my heart overflowing with happiness – leaving non-believers I will disappear.’ Jesus’ gift demands everything from the believer – ‘my life, my soul, my all’ in the words of the hymn by Isaac Watts (1674-1748).<sup>185</sup>

H.33 is entirely Jesus centred. The refrain echoes Matthew 6:26 about the lack of concern the birds of the air display – the Father feeds them nevertheless:

I will be happy of heart  
Singing more and more  
If he takes care of the birds  
He will surely take care of me.

V.1 begins: ‘Why be sad about...this world’ *Kay pachapi*, where there is suffering, crying, living in pain and solitude consuming the heart? The answer is that because Jesus lives for me ‘I will never suffer.’

In v.2 Jesus speaks through his word – ‘when I see his scripture.’ Unique in the hymnbook, this gives an insight into the authority that Segura placed on the Bible, and specifically on the printed word. It is there to be seen with our own eyes (even though most people were illiterate), and that makes it concrete and therefore real. Having made this claim for the written word, Segura follows with a command from that word, equivalent to ‘Do not worry.’ in Matthew 6:25. ‘He says to me, “Do not be sad!”’ Segura comments, ‘When I obey what he has said he gets rid of my pain.’ To obey authority is to maintain equilibrium. The response is then expanded - since Jesus ‘gets rid of my pain,’ seeing him [in his scripture], ‘I follow Him, only Him, even though falling.’ V.3 draws on the imagery of sin ‘surrounding’ or ‘besieging.’ The testimony is that when (not ‘if’) this happens ‘I hang on to him, when I suffer I draw near to him.’ Even when his/her faith is weak, the believer approaches Jesus,

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<sup>184</sup> Mario Morvelí Salas, *Reflexiones para el Estudio de la Teología Cristiana Andina* (Sicuni, Perú: Misión Urbano-Rural Sur Andina Perú, 1996): 36.

<sup>185</sup> Albert Edward Bailey, *The Gospel in Hymns* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1950), 44-9: ‘When I survey the wondrous cross,’ written in 1707 and inspired by Galatians 6:14.

because he died and loves him/her and ‘then and there he lifts me.’ Jesus’ power, presence and compassion demand the response in v.2.

The believer’s life of service is guaranteed God’s help and reward in Chs.48 and 53-56 ‘For Help/Protection of Believers.’ Ch.48 is based on Revelation 2:10 – ‘Do not be afraid....’<sup>186</sup> Segura’s point is similar, though more personal by inclusion of ‘my brother’ *wawqilláy*. ‘Do not be afraid’ *Ama manchakuychu*, for the Quechua would mean to refuse to be upset by circumstances, in other words, to be at peace.

‘...’susto” [fright]...is an apprehension, a “finding oneself uneasy” in relation to things, that arises in relation to every verification of the existence of non-domesticated and wild elements, a reality that is perceived by the Andean person as an irregularity that questions his/her “project” of reciprocity.’<sup>187</sup>

The circumstances described are also different – ‘Whether in tears or in sadness, whether ill or already dying, stand firm like the rock until death, you will receive the crown of eternal life.’<sup>188</sup> The Bible passage refers to trials in the future, whereas Segura’s is in the familiar present.

Service is telling others of Jesus’ love so that they will be saved, in Ch.53 entitled ‘Service’ in Spanish. It begins dramatically with ‘Listen (plural imperative) to the clamour of the sinners! – “We want to see Jesus!”’ To see Jesus is not enough. Segura says two things need to happen, and believers need to communicate them: ‘We will say, “Draw near to Jesus only” in order to see him, and...”Believe with all your heart!’ in order to be saved.’ Ch.54 follows Isaiah 41:13 – ‘For I am the Lord, your God, who takes hold of your right hand and says to you, do not fear; I will help you.’ Segura calls God ‘the Father’ instead of Lord, accentuating the protective nature of relationship with believers. The focus is on God’s help in service, just as

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<sup>186</sup> ‘Do not be afraid....the devil will put some of you in prison to test you, and you will suffer persecution....Be faithful, even to the point of death, and I will give you the crown of life.’

<sup>187</sup> Sperandeo, *Claves para Interpretar*, 346.

<sup>188</sup> The crown became important to the Quechua – witness its inclusion in the adapted 6<sup>th</sup> illustration of *Runapa Sonqomanta* (The heart of man), whereas it is missing in the Spanish edition of Juan Gossner’s original.

the hands ‘express the active awareness on the part of each member [of the community] who shoulders his/her responsibility....’<sup>189</sup>

Ch.55 is attributed to Matthew 7:7-8.<sup>190</sup> Segura uses *mañay* ‘lend, loan’ and *mañakuy* ‘ask, borrow’<sup>191</sup> for ‘pray’ – all are relational, and relationship is always reciprocal. ‘Pray [imperative] and he will surely give to you [plural].’ This image taken from *mañay* is associated with land, where reciprocity assured the “social” control of the challenges thrown up by the “natural” limits of a difficult land.<sup>192</sup> Instead of knocking, Segura uses the culturally familiar calling – ‘call and he will surely open for you.’

The enthusiastic refrain of H.69 ‘Of Resurrection Life for God’ responds:

The turtledoves always sing,  
At dawn,  
The trees always move  
When the wind begins to blow.

The believer’s response to the thrill of life in Jesus is also inevitable. ITAT37 has entitled it *Diospa Simin Qelqa* ‘God’s Written Word,’ but there is only one reference in v.1 that could be construed as that, unless creation or the song itself is interpreted as ‘God’s Word.’ V.1 reveals Segura the preacher and composer of songs - ‘Will I not tell of Jesus’ word? Will I not sing to him of his loving name?’ Here in his hymnody, Segura states his intention of using his songs as Jesus’ word – the sung scriptures for the Quechua.

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<sup>189</sup> William Mitchell, ‘The Andean Lenten Veil: a Quechua visualization of lectionary readings,’ *Bulletin of the Scottish Institute of Missionary Studies* New Series 8-9 (1992-93): 114.

<sup>190</sup> ‘Ask and it will be given to you; seek and you will find; knock and the door will be opened to you. For everyone who asks receives; everyone who seeks finds; and to everyone who knocks, the door will be opened.’

<sup>191</sup> Hornberger, *Diccionario*, 125.

<sup>192</sup> Sperandeo, *Claves para Interpretar*, 302-3. He also provides a specific definition of *mañay* that explains how the land contributes to Quechua social relationships (302): ‘In general, the community’s lands were divided into a certain number of sectors, bearing in mind ecological conditions and the rotating cycles of the crops. Therefore, each family had the “right to ask for” (“*mañay*”) an access to the lands in each sector, favouring in this way the effort of each “*ayllu*” and ethnic group to maintain control of the greatest possible number of ecological floors. This ecological control also responded to the ideal of local self-sufficiency, which is the basic objective of the economic organisation of the communities. “*Mañay*” is the other face of “love and affection”, the claiming of a right that cannot be denied (in the same way that “love and affection” is the offering that cannot be refused).’

Segura's argument is that every action has an equal and complementary response in whatever it touches, so the same is natural when Jesus has been so kind. Segura describes the 'wind' *wayra* simply as part of the cause and effect of creation – thus demystifying its associations with illness in bad winds such as the *sullu wayra*, *qhayqa wayra*, *machu wayra* and *soq'a wayra*.<sup>193</sup> The reciprocal response continues in v.2: 'Will I not with my mouth confess? Being saved with Jesus, will I have heartfelt love?' It is not enough to 'tell' – Segura must 'be' different from within – from his heart, changed because of Jesus' saving. V.3 expands the refrain, paralleling nature's cause and effect with that of human beings in a Psalm-like response to God. Just as 'The turtledoves always sing beautifully, I will also sing to him' and 'the trees also talk about God, I will also testify.' The Quechua affinity towards all creation is used here to 'shame' human beings into responding to God in their own way, just as creation does. The loving response is the believer's 'service.'

#### 3.2.4.2 Marriage

God's 'arrangement or ordering' *allirimay*<sup>194</sup> appears in both marriage Hs.77 and 78, thus acknowledging the need for God (by his spirit in H.78) to be the one in charge in the marriage, because he best maintains equilibrium.

H.77 is a prayer request - the men in the congregation address God on behalf of their 'brother' *wawqi* (brother of a male) who is getting married. It begins, 'Receive us Lord Jesus! Our prayer – those gathering in your presence for our dear brother' (v.1). 'Let your arrangement/order *allirimaychayniki* be in them' - that is, that they will live God's way. 'Let your spirit of power be established in their hearts' – that is, let balance be maintained *takyachun* (v.2). The joining of male and female in marriage is the best possible model of that highest value of equilibrium that needs to be achieved. 'Let him always be with you, each day of his life, only until they come

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<sup>193</sup> Hornberger, *Diccionario*, 293; McIntosh, conversation, 2 July 2004; and see Marzal, *El Mundo Religioso*, 266-8.

<sup>194</sup> Ortiz Rescaniere, *La Pareja*, 146-58 describes the ordered cycle that maintains the best possible equilibrium in life-long marriage: 'This cycle – of solitude, poverty, dependance, domestication, autonomy, economic and social wealth, and reversion of the same terms (except domestication) is perceived clearly by Andean people as an ideal.'

when you call to your heaven' (v.3).<sup>195</sup> The goal is the arrival in heaven of both of the partners in the marriage. While the prominent role of singing in the ceremony of marriage is assigned to the men, Segura still appropriates the Quechua *ayllu*'s gender parallelism - a major factor in social equilibrium.<sup>196</sup>

H.78 is a mixture of thanksgiving (v.1), prayer (v.2) and advice to the couple (v.3). Again, the men sing, this time about *wawqillanchikkuna* 'our brothers/siblings.' 'God be thanked in Jesus' beautiful name for having brought them together, because our dear brothers are reciprocally *kuyayka-naku-span* loving each other from their hearts' (v.1). The prayer is 'Now let God be arranging/ordering *allirimaychaspa* in his beloved children with his living Spirit so that they can live in reciprocal love *kuya-naku-yllapi*.' (v.2). V.3 is similar to traditional Christian marriage vows, except that it is sung on the couple's behalf by the *ayllu*, emphasising communal participation.<sup>197</sup>

H.84 in 'For Babies/Children' communicates Segura's certainty that people can learn to love God from the example of a beloved mother. The Quechua image of the child attached to its mother via the symbolic placenta of the *lliklla* 'woman's shawl' reinforces this view. The two are one, otherwise the equilibrium of the marriage relationship would be disrupted.<sup>198</sup> This is a corporate hymn. V.1 responds to God in thanks 'with our greatly loving heart – the one who cares for us night and day more than our beloved mother.' V.2 is a plea: 'Our very powerful God, put much more love in our hearts, just like in our mother, obeying his rule as our worship here.' The final verse acknowledges God's understanding of the parent/child relationship. It was 'with your only child's blood, with all your love, because you saved our dear mother,

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<sup>195</sup> DST n.d. has no division between vv.2 and 3 – another probable printer's error.

<sup>196</sup> See Silverblatt, *Moon, Sun, and Witches*, 221-3 and see Sperandeo, *Claves para Interpretar*, 309-11 for the extent of the spheres of reciprocity in marriage.

<sup>197</sup> 'May God remember them in sadness and in joy, also in great need – drawing near to Jesus in order to serve our precious God.'

<sup>198</sup> Sperandeo, *Claves para Interpretar*, 309: 'The mother-child relationship constitutes the limits of generalised reciprocity, where there is, in effect, a flow of goods and energy transmitted in a unidirectional form from mother to child. The highly individualised character of this relationship finds its visible expression in the very form in which the children, placed in an "ajayo" or woman's shawl ("lliklla" or "llijlla") that is considered like a second placenta, receive vital energy remaining in

that we now pray your precious order/arrangement<sup>199</sup> for our beloved mother.’ Loving God as a result of family modeling corresponds with *hucha* being surface wrong and not part of the essence of one’s being, reinforcing Segura’s exclusion of original sin from his hymnody. It also highlights the real respect that Segura had for godly mothers – something he does not connect with the worship of Mary, however.

### 3.2.4.3 Consecration

The Spanish heading ‘Consecration’ is the largest subsection in ‘Believer’s Prayers,’ and includes all hymns and choruses in ‘Of Resurrection Life for God.’ Consecration often means ‘overcoming.’ Consecration is a gift described – a response to God’s giving and therefore reciprocal. It is the most personal of Segura’s hymnodic themes.

H.66 is very like H.62 (also ‘Sanctification’ and ‘Service’ in the Spanish contents). Each verse begins addressing Jesus with a different name, reinforced by repetition: ‘my Saviour,’ ‘my Creator,’ ‘my beloved’ *Kuyaqnilláy* (unique to H.66) and ‘my Jesus.’ The hymn begins with worship: ‘I throw myself at your feet’ – ‘I only want to obey you, in you I find my strength, also the only guide for my soul.’<sup>200</sup> V.2 continues with confession. The believer tells everything, asking to be heard and washed with the creator’s blood. V.3 reiterates the central theme in ‘Sinner’s Prayers’ – the gift of the person’s heart to be transformed. The believer prays: ‘let your Spirit fill me,<sup>201</sup> and now let my soul be only for you’ (imperative). The Spirit’s gifts are joy and rest - rest from the burden of sin. ‘Only you have been my Saviour – I love you from my heart.’ (v.4). These four verses – worship, confession, response and resulting peace to live out the rest of life form the building blocks and movement of any church’s basic liturgy.

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contact with the mother’s back, via a communication that is mechanical and temperature gauged at the same time.’

<sup>199</sup> Segura’s sister Emilia Segura, checking translation of DST, Talavera, Apurímac, Perú, March/April 2005 translates *allirimaychaynikita* in this context as ‘mercy.’

<sup>200</sup> The soul is the living being that journeys on in whichever part of the *pacha* it happens to be. See Marzal, *El Mundo Religioso*, 84-5.

<sup>201</sup> McIntosh, conversation, 2 July 2004. This is a challenge to Quechua beliefs about the spirits of the dead that live on. People who die have to be taken care of properly, otherwise the spirit will come back to the body, and the person will end up in a zombie-like state.

Many of Segura's later hymns have no refrain - they are narrative progressions. H.87vv.1-4 recount all that the believer gives to Jesus, ending with v.5, which tells of the motivation - the final prize received from Jesus – which is then also given to Him. The hymn begins and ends 'at your feet' (of Jesus). Each verse begins and ends with a name for Jesus:

- Jesus – Creator (v.1)
- Saviour – Rescuer (v.2)
- Enlightener – Washer (v.3)
- Beloved – Creator (v.4)
- Jesus – Saviour (v.5)

In v.1 Segura bows *kumuykuni* before Jesus in order to give his life, referring to him finally as 'my Creator.' This is a proper exchange. In v.2 Segura says, 'to your presence [my Saviour] I come to give you what you gave me.' This time it is to give his heart to 'my Rescuer from death.' Service as a 'pastor' is the response in v.3. 'Be it night or day my Enlightener *Kanchaqláy* these I want, to be only in your light *kanchayllaykipiña*, working for others night and day, to still serve you with my strength, washer of my sins.' The testimony of Segura's wife and daughter is that he did just that – worked night and day on behalf of other believers.<sup>202</sup> In v.4 Segura tells of how Jesus is his life, because he is 'all the truth.' V.5 ends with Segura at Jesus' feet again 'for you too my dear Jesus, I want to receive your most precious prize, and receiving it with joy, to place it at your feet, my Saviour.'

Major areas of difficulty in a Quechua believer's life are outlined in H.93 - the forces of nature on the mountain, in the river, and when the cold wind is roaring are overcome because God enables, secures and defends (v.1). Relational difficulties such as people hating the believer are overcome despite sorrowing and crying because God consoles and 'causes them [the voices of those who hate] to quiet/cease' *upallachin* (v.2). The struggle with *hucha* (v.3) is described with the verb *muyuy* – *millay hucha muyuwastin* 'dreadful sin surrounding me.' 'Only my God permits me victory when my faith is weak' says the believer. V.4 describes the

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<sup>202</sup> Segura's wife, Inés Castro de Segura and daughter, Angélica Segura, interview by author, 1 January 2002, Cuzco, Peru, tape recording and notes, author.



continuing reciprocal relationship between believer and God. ‘He cares for me forever – again I give my heart to him, to do with as he pleases.’ The response to God’s care is to want to serve. Each line of the chorus gives a different name for God:

‘I love my God,  
I worship my Father,  
I praise my Saviour,  
My Rescuer from death.’

H.94 expands on H.93v.4. V.1 begins with another affirmation of Jesus as ‘creator of everything,’ interpenetrating the persons of the Trinity. V.2 names Jesus as ‘my Rescuer’ *Urquqlláy*. ‘To you I bring my disgusting unknown heart, daily in two minds’ to be overcome by *Urquq*’s power, making the heart ‘truly firm’ *chiqap sayaqta*. The response is in service (v.3) and in worship (v.4) – ‘I give you all my soul’ (v.3). Elsewhere, the heart, in whatever state it is in, is considered the gift. By his vocabulary and use of Quechua values, Segura is creating Quechua evangelical theology. Segura challenges the RC interpretation of belief and works joining in justification, as too human-centred, because for him the works result from the prior giving of the person to God (whether described as ‘heart’ or ‘soul’) that occurs simultaneously with, and is an integral part of, belief. What is important is relationship, defined by reciprocity. So belief and gift equal justification and works. Both sides must balance in the equation, but people cannot ‘work’ properly unless they have gifted to God their imperfect parts to be transformed. The believer continues: ‘May my eye and my mouth be only for you, may my hand and my foot do for you – may all that you have given me serve you only in what you want.’ These are gifts to serve Jesus. So the traditional evangelical interpretation that faith/belief equals justification plus works is also not sufficient for Segura.<sup>203</sup>

The believer is in the depths of despair, yet trusting in Jesus in H.95, as the refrain repeats in answer to the questions ‘where will I go?’, ‘to whom will I speak?’, ‘to the river, to the cliff?’, ‘to the saint, to the mountain wind?’, ‘to the sinner?’, ‘to the wise, to the *apu* (mountain spirit)?’:

No, no! Only to you;  
Jesus you love me,  
You wash my sin,  
You strengthen my soul,  
That is why I hold fast to you.

V.2 is about the need for confession when sin ‘surrounds me’ *muyullawaptinri*. But ‘To whom can I speak?’ ‘How to overcome it?’ asks Segura. The saints and the mountain spirits are suggested, without any real hope, although in Quechua popular religion the saints are resorted to as ‘a mechanism for security and a solution to immediate problems’ as well as because they “are miraculous and grant favours”.<sup>204</sup> But Segura considered the saints to be simply statues.<sup>205</sup> He describes ‘when grief overcomes me’ and ‘when death surrounds me’ (*muyullawaptinri* again) and wonders ‘How can I ignore it?’ ‘My Jesus, to whom will I go? To the sinner?’ (v.3). V.4 describes the loss of strength associated with depression, and despair of regaining it again, and the longing for someone to speak to is repeated – ‘My Jesus, to whom will I speak? To the wise, to the *Apu*?’ The temptation to return to the old ways of mountain spirits and oracles is overwhelming.<sup>206</sup>

H.95 was probably written to describe Segura’s own experience, much as the Psalmist described his. The sense of no hope and no one to turn to is mitigated by the refrain.

#### 3.2.4.4 Sacraments and Celebrations

These are symbolic rituals that define the equilibrium maintained because of relationship with Jesus. The most basic is giving thanks for a meal in Ch.67 ‘For Worshipping God’ (‘Thanks for Food’ in Spanish).

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<sup>203</sup> See James Montgomery Boice, *Foundations of the Christian Faith* (Downers Grove: IVP, 1986), 424-30.

<sup>204</sup> Marzal, *El Mundo Religioso*, 117.

<sup>205</sup> Calle, Andahuaylas, April 2005.

<sup>206</sup> See McIntosh, *Términos Religiosos*, 11-16 re *apachita* as the stones denoting the top of the mountain, where thanks is given for strength. Jesus replaces the *apachita*.

- **Eucharist**

Ch.43 in ‘For Help/Protection of Believers’ is coached as Jesus’ own words: ‘I am the Bread of Life [proper name] my beloved child (of the father), eat me my dear saved one [limited to those who are saved], always rising each day to approach me in prayer.’ Jesus’ interpenetration with the Father is evident in his address to the believer as ‘my beloved son.’

Hs.73-75 (*Santa Cena* Holy Supper in Spanish) in ‘For Gatherings’ are for the Eucharist, but ITAT has retained only H.73 – significantly, the only hymn without the verb *chaqchuy* ‘to sprinkle with hand-fulls of water.’ Sprinkling was too closely associated with both Quechua and RC ritual. It also contains numerous Spanish loans – *sina cena* supper, *Salbaq Salvador* Saviour (ITAT changes this to Jesus or *qespiq* Saviour), *binu vino* wine, *wirpu cuerpo* body, *krus cruz* cross, and *alma alma* soul.

The first person plural (exclusive) denotes receiving communion as an *ayllu* action limited to the community of believers (v.1). The believers’ unity is expressed by this meal – ‘We are at your meal of one heart my dear Creator.’ They are one because they have each appropriated what it remembers - that the Creator *Kamaqlláy* died in their place.<sup>207</sup> For this reason they are ‘all at your feet my Jesus.’ Segura emphasises ‘all’ by the repetition of ‘all of us (exclusive)’ *llapaykum*. Vv.2-3 describe reciprocal relationship. The Lord’s gift is his own body and blood remembered with bread and wine. The Lord is called *Mayllaqlláy* ‘my Washer/Cleaner’– this washing/cleaning associated with the gifts of body and blood to ‘us’ (exclusive) i.e. the corporate gathering (v.2). In exchange, the people give ‘our heart’ (exclusive) *sunquykuta*, expressed at the end of v.3, after a further explanation of the giving of the Lord’s body and blood: ‘Because you have died on the cross we live, my dear Saviour; and also through your blood we know you my dear Creator; we give you [repeated] our heart my dear Jesus.’ Segura’s theology of the Eucharist is more than simply remembering – there is a real intimacy of relationship (‘we know you’ *riqsiykiku*) that takes place.

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<sup>207</sup> See 3.2.1: The word *Kamaq*, as well as meaning ‘creator,’ means he who ‘governs, orders, rules.’

*Mañaykiku* ‘we ask you’ (v.4) reinforces the reciprocal nature of the relationship. ‘From you only all of us ask [pray]...your ordering/arrangement for our soul my dear Guide.’ Prayer presupposes continued relationship, because a return/response needs to be made sometime. Segura mixes individual with corporate saying *Pusaqlláy* ‘my Guide’ (capitalised) and *quwayku* ‘give us (exclusive)’ in the same sentence, for example. Segura often interpenetrates singular and plural, thus revealing the role of leadership that he held, both as teacher/preacher and hymnwriter.

H.74 is entirely communal. The chorus refers to redemption. ‘In our (inclusive) purchase/replacement Jesus died *rantillanchikpim*.’<sup>208</sup> This was ‘for our eternal life.’ He also ‘sprinkled *chaqchuykullarqa* his blood.’ Bearing in mind that forgetting is serious *hucha* lends weight to the subsequent command, ‘Let’s remember him!’ Each action has its purpose on ‘our’ behalf. The verses focus on the gathering together of believers (‘he gathers us’ i.e. communion *huñuykuwanchik*) in v.1, the Saviour’s ‘word’ (v.2) and the result of freedom from ‘eternal death’ being the ‘worship’ of the gathered believers (v.3). Together they communicate that Jesus, the Saviour, gathers all believers, by his word, so that they can be saved.

The Eucharist remembers the giving of the Saviour’s ‘bread of life with his blood.’ The real and the symbolic are brought together in this phrase. The ‘wine’ would not have been alcoholic wine, both because of problems with drink that some believers struggled with and because of the cost. But the remembering is nevertheless a direct association with Jesus’ blood. The bread is bread – a symbol of the Saviour’s body. Jesus speaks, and that is the call that gathers people. He is ‘also washing our heart,’ so that it is possible to approach him (v.2). ‘When we were on our way to eternal death Jesus saved us.’ Worshipping in Jesus’ presence is the final goal. This is unique - the only one that people can adore is Jesus, if they want to escape eternal death (v.3). *Qespiy* would have been appropriate here, because people are saved in fleeing from ‘eternal death’ as much as to Jesus.

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<sup>208</sup> Valderrama, *Diccionario Quechua-Español*, 280: *rantiy* - buy, sell, barter, exchange.

H.75 begins with reference to the Father (v.1) and continues with Jesus (vv.1-4), also called *Kamaqláy* ‘my dear Creator’ (vv.1,3,4) along with a plea for the Holy Spirit to strengthen (v.4) arising from the Eucharist’s commemorative action (v.3). Just as the singular is recognised within the plural whole of community, so the three persons of the Trinity are recognised in the remembering of Jesus with bread and wine (v.3). Here Segura explicitly names the parallels between ‘your bread’ and ‘your body’ and ‘your blood in the wine.’

The Eucharist is the remembering of how ‘You died in our (exclusive) place suffering my dear Saviour, you sprinkled your blood for us (exclusive) my dear Jesus.’ (v.2). Segura’s theology is clearer here. The Holy Spirit (v.4) is what strengthens the believer, not the imbibing of the real ‘presence’ in the body and blood of Jesus. The bread and wine are memorials of the actual event that constituted the transaction *rantiy* on behalf of all those ‘being...saved’ (v.1). ‘In your bread we (exclusive) remember your body now (appropriating the past to the present in its efficacy) my dear Creator, all of us (exclusive) also [remember] your blood in the wine my dear Saviour’ (v.3). V.4 connects the giving of the Holy Spirit to the preceding remembrance – ‘Give us (exclusive imperative) strength to our (exclusive) heart for our (exclusive) soul, with your precious Holy Spirit.’ This is reciprocity. The people remember the Lord, and all he has already done, by giving their worship in this way, and they receive the Holy Spirit in return.

- **Baptism**

A general first person singular testimony for use at baptism is offered in H.76. The chorus emphasises that Jesus ‘saves me from death.’ ‘He takes me from my going to hell and leads me to heaven – my Jesus recues me.’ The verses provide the explanation. V.1 - ‘Living only in sin, I was unwise.’ *Yachaq* ‘knower’ means more than the English ‘believer,’ which could be construed as primarily intellectual assent, while ‘to know’ *yachay* implies to know about life – practical wisdom.<sup>209</sup> The verse continues ‘guided by the blind I had gone to hell.’

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<sup>209</sup> Huamán, *Cosmovisión Andina*, 113: *Yachay* is about ‘how to say or do things,’ and as such, practical knowledge or wisdom. *Yuyay* is connected with reasoning. Quechua *paqo* (or *altomesayoj*), for example, is a ‘knower.’ Garr, *Cristianismo y Religión*, 19 explains that the *paqo* is one of the four

V.2 is reminiscent of Romans 6, a passage often used in association with baptism by full immersion - ‘With the burial of water I tell/advise everyone about my belief in my Jesus, he alone has saved me.’ Baptism is a graphic way of describing dying and rising to life. The result of being saved from death is that everyone gets told about it. V.3 continues that theme: ‘Dying because of my sin’ is contrasted with ‘...finally finding rest I am living only with him.’ The Spirit continues to make the person clean (from sin) in v.4. ‘Only his blood saves me (present tense), I will follow only Him’ – ‘I will follow’ *qatisaq* from *qatiy* means ‘follow, adhere to, as in religion.’<sup>210</sup> In doing that, ‘now he gives me his Spirit to make me clean.’ *Mayllay* washes *hucha*, but the Holy Spirit perpetuates that cleanliness from within.

- **Dedications and Prayer for Children**

H.68 comes under two headings. ‘Dedications’ makes it clear, when put together with ‘Prayer for Children,’ that children were not baptised. The first person plural of the parents’ prayer is exclusive. V.1 is parents begging ‘Father God,’ on the basis of being ‘your saved ones’ to ‘put our child in order on our behalf *allirimaychaykapullawayku*.’ The parents remind God that they are saved, so they can speak directly to God for their son. The refrain is: ‘Because of Jesus our Saviour hear us!’ V.2’s prayer is that God would guide every type of person (‘all’ is repeated twice for emphasis, with *llapa* and *tukuy*) that exists with his love, so that they would come to know God. The parents know that each child is different, but they want God to treat each one equally. Finally, v.3 requests God to both ‘enlighten the tender heart of the baby *wawa* with your Spirit’ and to ‘save it for your Heaven!’

### 3.2.5 To Save *Salbay*

Segura always uses the Spanish loan *salbay salvar* ‘to save.’ The difference in nuance apparent in the choice of a Spanish-rooted word over a Quechua can be either positive or negative, and both depend on the worldview associated with a language.

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classifications of practitioners of traditional Andean rites. He ‘can speak with the traditional deities.’ The other three are ‘the *qhawaj* or diviner, the *jampej* or healer, and the *layka* or witch.’ All of them are men.

<sup>210</sup> Hornberger, *Diccionario*, 183. Also Valderrama, *Diccionario Quechua-Español*, 255.

Arguedas reflects on the use of Spanish in *Jisus panpachaway* ‘Jesus forgive me,’ a RC hymn from the Farfán collection which he considers autochthonous on the basis of structure and language, and concludes that

More than a premeditated intention...we find here the fruits, the live consequences of previous teaching, of the long psychological process that the Indian has suffered under the influence of oral, musical and poetic preaching, along with the difficult parallel influence of their social and economic situation, which is one of unceasing ruin and humiliation.<sup>211</sup>

So the author’s intent in what Arguedas calls ‘hymns, apparently more free from the direct influence of the Bible,’ becomes one of instilling guilt and fear. The repeated use of the Spanish-rooted word *pirdun* ‘forgive,’ serves to express even more strongly than the Quechua *panpachay* (‘level the ground, overcome difficulties, clean one’s conscience, to level/demolish’<sup>212</sup>) the state that the Quechuas have been reduced to, by relating it to the colonial power that reduced them to that state. The word accentuates a state that has been created by the people who use that language - ‘the mixed or mestizo term’ thus provides the interpretive power.<sup>213</sup>

In Segura’s H.8 The Flood on the other hand, the use of the Spanish *salbu/salba* accentuates a different emphasis from the Quechua *qespiy*. In Molina’s 11 prayers, *Qasi* ‘peace’ (spelt *casi*) and/or *qespi* ‘safety’ appear in every one except the third, which is a prayer to the *huacas*.<sup>214</sup> *Qespi* is left out of prayer 5, which is a prayer for the crops, and *casi* is left out of prayer 10, which is a prayer for all the Incas. Generally, however, they come together. These prayers must be placed in the context of constant war, which was the state of the Inca Empire even after the Chancas were defeated in 1438.<sup>215</sup> *Qespiy* appears in the following phrases:

- Prayer 1: ‘...thou hast made and established mankind, may I live **peacefully and safely.**’  
Prayer 2: ‘Let the people and the land be **peaceful and safe.**’  
Prayer 4: ‘...let the people...whom thou hast made and established, endure in **peace and safety** with their children...’

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<sup>211</sup> Arguedas, ‘Los Himnos Quechuas,’ 143-4.

<sup>212</sup> Lara, *Enciclopedia Boliviana*, 191.

<sup>213</sup> Arguedas, ‘Los Himnos Quechuas,’ 143-4.

<sup>214</sup> Alternative spellings are *guacas* and *wak’as*.

<sup>215</sup> See Patterson, ‘The Inca Empire,’ 1-20, especially 8-15 and María Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, *Historia del Tahuantinsuyu* Serie: Historia Andina/13 (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1988), 51-2.

- Prayer 6: ‘Oh Lord...who maketh the Sun, thy son, to move in **peace and safety...**’  
‘Peacefully, safely, Sun, shine on and illumine the Incas, the people...’
- Prayer 7: ‘...guard...the Inca thou hast created in **peace and safety.**’
- Prayer 8: ‘Oh Lord,...let the Inca king...protect the people and lead them by the hand in **peace and safety.**’
- Prayer 9: ‘Earth Mother, take the Inca king...and lead him by the hand in **peace and safety.**’
- Prayer 10: ‘Let there be happiness and **safety...**’
- Prayer 11: ‘May I live long in **peace and safety...**’<sup>216</sup>

It is evident that the safety referred to in these prayers is that of ongoing daily preservation, and not safety from an imminent catastrophe such as a flood of fire or water. In Segura’s hymn, the *pacha* as the Quechua know it will be destroyed, so there will be no peace or safety, but there will be inclusive saving from the fire for everyone who trusts Jesus. Theologically, Segura is placing this salvation into a different category from the familiar *quespiy* by using a new vocabulary.<sup>217</sup> The Old Testament offers the account of Noah - Segura uses the story as a bridge to understanding God’s relationship to sinners both then and now. His message is that God will destroy sin/sinners, so people must believe and not forget God in Jesus, because that is the way to be saved, that is, to be cleared of the sin that God will destroy. Segura’s salvation is cosmic in its effects, releasing people from inevitable destruction in *kay pacha*.

‘For Telling’ introduces *Salbay salvar* ‘to save’ - the root for both noun and verb forms, which is most often used of Jesus, but also of Father and God as Saviour (*salbaq* or *salbakuq*). Some form is used in every hymn in ‘For Telling’ except H.10 (new birth) and H.11 (prodigal son). Quechua cannot conceive of an action without a concrete purpose. The purpose of being saved is intimate relationship with the Saviour.

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<sup>216</sup> Rowe, ‘Inca Prayers,’ 87-94.

<sup>217</sup> Calle, interview, 4 January 2002 says that for Segura, salvation was like ‘going up a ladder to arrive there.’ Calle himself would define it as ‘to release from something, to put in a free place.’



- **The Saviour deals with *hucha***

H.1 is a first person testimony - the overall theme separation from intimate relationship with God. There are two reasons why the *huchasapam* 'sinner' is 'crushed/defeated' (v.1). S/he walks without:

- Knowing God<sup>218</sup>
- Receiving the Saviour

Segura starts the hymnbook with the problems preventing people from receiving release from the practice and the consequences of *hucha*.

V.2 concedes that:

- 'Even hearing his word I did not want to obey.'
- 'Even seeing the Saviour for myself I closed my eyes to him.'

The chorus equates the Saviour with both Father and God – *Taytalláy* and *Yusnilláy* - who are asked in turn, 'What is this burning?' 'What is this pain?' thus describing the consequences of *hucha*. V.3 explains that the initiative in salvation comes from God, who begs the sinner, 'Only open your heart so that entering we can live together [co-habit].' But even then the sinner disobeyed – 'I distanced myself to suffer need here.' There is no happy resolution in this hymn. The interpenetration God desires only occurs in intimate relationship between two willing parties – that is what this salvation is all about.

The Saviour's response comes immediately - H.2v.3 – 'I am your Saviour'. But the Saviour is clearly also God the Father – 'Where are you going stony-hearted child (of the father), you are forgetting me child with a forgetful heart.' Both *sonqo* (essence of being) and the great *hucha* of forgetting launch this best-known Quechua hymn. It emphasises that to be saved from hell 'with your sin' (v.2) requires returning to the Saviour who is 'always here' (v.3). The Saviour (v.4) specifies that close relationship entails:

- 'believing in me'
- 'give me your heart'
- 'observe my...path/way'

Vv.5-6 describes the response from God. ‘If you give it to me [your heart] I will give you strength,’ ‘If you ask it of me I will wash you [make you holy].’ At the end the Saviour will return to ‘raise you to live forever.’ The reciprocal movement develops a positive relationship between human beings and their Saviour.

H.3 continues the progression. H.2v.6 portrays the positive side of the Saviour’s return. H.3 finishes by making explicit who this Saviour will be – ‘My beloved Jesus will save you from this.’ ‘This’ is the horror of judgement for those Jesus does not take on his return. At the destruction of creation, ‘all people will cry, everyone will run away.’

H.4 is more explicit. The refrain introduces the idea of purchase *rantikipipuni* ‘without a doubt in exchange for you.’ Jesus has already purchased people with his death, and believing in him he saves. Vv.1-3 describe the benefits of salvation, all of which occur in the present:

- Ability to overcome temptations and dreadful vices
- Release from sins (described as being tied as with rope and bound with sadness)
- Softening of heart
- Being picked up when fallen.

V.4 introduces salvation as Jesus’ forgiveness and the washing off of *hucha* with Jesus’ blood.

- **About the not saved**

There are three uses of the root *salbay* in H.7. Firstly, there is the fate of those ‘not saved’ *mana salbu*, who, the refrain repeats, ‘will burn forever.’ So *hucha* is just as easily dispensed with after it is too late to be ‘saved’ – ‘He will throw the sinner to the lake of burning fire.’ But then the person who has carried *hucha* and not been ‘saved’ has become inextricably enmeshed with the *hucha* and it is all one fate. Secondly, there is the cry in v.2 of ‘the person who gives money’ (in vain, for masses to be said in church, for example<sup>219</sup>), saying “‘Save me, please *salbaykuway*”,’ to a

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<sup>218</sup> *Riqsiy* as in ‘to know’ someone – to have met them – not *yachay*.

<sup>219</sup> Emilia Segura, interview by author, Talavera, Apurímac, Peru, April 2005.

god who cannot save. Finally, vv.2-3 clarify that if a person continues ‘doing sin’ then s/he is guilty and there is no salvation, though the person say, “It is not sin.” and ‘seeing the Saviour *Salbakuqta* say, “It is in vain”.’ What heaven will be like (H.6) stands in immediate contrast.<sup>220</sup> The refrain tells with longing of the anguished prayers offered for another person. The hymn begins ‘My Saviour is guiding me....’ It is clear that the ‘saved’ person longs for the sinner to have the same assurance of heaven that s/he has just described in vv.2-3.

Segura’s concept of space and time in salvation are a conflagration of Quechua and RC concepts. Quechua time and space are integrated, so that *ukhu pacha* is related to the past in that it is the place of origin, but also to the future (connected to the past) in that it is where re-creation also takes place. Segura ignored *ukhu pacha*. He incorporated hell, not instead of *ukhu pacha*, but as a place that, like *Silu*, was in the future. So although he functioned more in a continuous present, consequences for actions were ultimately ‘placed’ in the future – but in a future that co-exists with the present, because it exists in a place that is part of the integrated *pacha*.<sup>221</sup> Segura’s naming was meant to define different kinds of places from those traditionally recognised as *pacha*.

- **God always saves**

Hs.8, 9 and 12 reveal the character of God as unchanging, regardless of external circumstances, and especially in the context of judgement for sin. God is always a God who saves, though this is dependent on people’s attitude and relationship to him. Noah’s ‘heart toward God’ (H.8v.2) enables him to see what is happening around him – ‘people in sin,’ and the consequences of it, so he builds an ark in which later ‘entering they would be saved’ (v.2). V.3 confirms that all who entered the ark were saved. V.4 adds that just as God saved people from the cataclysm of the flood, he will do the same through Jesus at the end when ‘God will finish this world’ and will burn its sin with ‘fire’ *nina* and ‘flame’ *rapuy*.

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<sup>220</sup> See section 3.2.3 *Hucha*.

<sup>221</sup> See section 3.2.6 *Pacha* for more detail.

Segura does not distance himself from pre-columbian or RC descriptions of how the world will end. The cataclysm to terminate all ages of the world will be '*iskay inti, nina para* (two suns, "rain of fire") in other words, of fire.'<sup>222</sup> Segura's emphasis is on salvation from fire through Jesus. In precolumbian thinking Andean cyclical time contributed to the hope of re-creation after cataclysmic destruction. The linear view of time introduced by the conquest meant that the judgement to come was much more drastic because it was final. 'It no longer has to do with a cosmic regeneration that implies, with it, the regeneration of all of the human race, this is a final judgement, of a selection; only those chosen, the good, will be saved due to their faithfulness to God against the devil.'<sup>223</sup>

Segura communicates that it has always been God who destroyed, then re-created, so God has always been in control. On the other hand, people have always been able to choose to have hearts towards God to be saved from cataclysmic destruction. H.8v.4: 'Every heart given to God will be like Noah's ark, only those who believe in Jesus will be saved from burning.'

In *Egiptomanta horqokamusqan* 'he himself took out of Egypt' (H.9 Brazen Serpent) Segura most clearly draws on messianic ideology already present in the Andean world. The choice of Numbers 21:1-9 and his method of connecting the healing of Israel to what 'the Son of Man' has done for people by his death on the cross (being 'lifted up') is used by Jesus in conversation with Nicodemus as recorded in John's gospel (John 3:14-18). Jesus quotes Numbers, saying that just as 'Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of Man be lifted up, that everyone who believes in him may have eternal life' (vv.14-15). Segura makes explicit the connection (H.9v.4) between the bronze serpent healing and healing of sin, which Jesus alludes to with Nicodemus. Telling the story is an opportunity to focus on concrete factors important to Andean life – food and drink – and the effects

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<sup>222</sup> Valderrama, 'Significados de "Supay",' 819.

<sup>223</sup> Ibid., 820.

of their lack. It is likely that Segura picked up on the emphasis on ‘types’ in evangelical teaching at the time.<sup>224</sup>

Two prayers in the ‘Eleven Inca Prayers from the Zithuwa Ritual’ mention food and drink. In the 4<sup>th</sup> prayer, the ‘Lord’ is requested to: ‘...let the people...walking in the straight road, let them not think on temptation; long years let them live; without interruption, without breaking, let them continue to eat, let them continue to drink.’ ‘Walking in the straight road’ is associated with eating, drinking and living long years. By having all these commodities provided, temptation would be avoided.<sup>225</sup> Segura’s hymn also starts with food and drink. The Israelites, taken out of Egypt, question God’s wisdom: ‘Why have you brought us to this desert of hunger, of thirst, suffering as we walk, only to die here?’ Later in the hymn (v.2), but only after the punishment of being bitten by poisonous snakes, they recognize their sin. Their hunger and thirst had tempted them to speak badly of their God.

The 5<sup>th</sup> Inca prayer is a prayer for the crops. ‘Oh Lord,...thou who maketh and establisheth, saying: “In this lower world let them eat, let them drink,” increase the food of those whom thou hast established, those whom thou hast created. Thou who commandeth and multiplieth, saying: “Let there be potatoes, maize, and all sorts of food,” so that they shall not suffer and, not suffering, do thy will;...’<sup>226</sup> It has already been commented that *hucha* ‘sin’ is perceived as not doing what one ought to do. In this prayer, suffering for lack of food is clearly seen as the source of the temptation to not do God’s will, i.e. to sin. Segura’s hymn follows the same pattern.

In the RC hymn *Apu Yaya* ‘Powerful Lord’ are woven threads that appear in several of Segura’s hymns. ‘Extending your arms...you were nailed to the cross’ is similar to H.9v.4, except that in Segura’s hymn Jesus is not addressed directly. Rather, Segura recounts what God has done, the focus being the lifting of God’s beloved son on the cross, so that everyone can look at him and be saved. The emphasis on the suffering of the cross paralleling the suffering of the Quechua is lacking. Instead, there is

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<sup>224</sup> See account of Case’s Bible studies in chapter 2.

<sup>225</sup> Rowe, ‘Inca Prayers,’ 89.

identification with the OT people of God and with what Arguedas calls ‘a magical relation between God and man’<sup>227</sup> in which God lifts up the element (whether it be a serpent or Jesus) that is to bring healing and/or salvation to his people – recognized as those who ‘looked at what God had given’ (H.9v.3).

In the RC hymn *Jesus ruraqey* ‘Jesus, my maker,’ the first verse is a direct address to Jesus, followed by five verses explicitly referring to Jesus as the purveyor of much needed food and drink. The tone is begging and pleading. There is no reference to temptation or sin because of lack of food or drink. While the structure of this hymn follows Spanish mystical tradition of the 17<sup>th</sup> century in its litany of repetition, one has to agree with Arguedas that, ‘The sensation of hunger and thirst, and of misery, that this hymn interprets is more real than mystical.’<sup>228</sup> The hungry Quechua is begging to be fed and watered.

Whereas the RC hymns have retreated from the categories used in Inca prayers current to Andean religion, Segura has returned to them in his hymn. Rowe believes that, ‘The Spanish missionaries seem to have deliberately avoided the terms current in the native religion and many of them were lost with the conversion of the Inca nobility to Catholicism.’ Segura’s hymns identify areas in which Andean thought patterns have not changed. *Jesus ruraqey* uses a formal autochthonous structure that Segura has also used in his work. It is the content that disturbs, because it highlights the cruel state of the indigenous people that did not exist before the conquest.<sup>229</sup> Even more disturbing is the fact that that state is not questioned.

It is with the Inca prayers that Segura has more in common. Segura acknowledges Quechua hunger and thirst, but connects with it as the root of sin because it causes people to question what God is doing in their lives, thus providing temptation to sin. ‘The Bronze Serpent’ also has more in common with the tone of Inca hymns, known to be victorious *jailli* – sacred songs of praise to a powerful creator.

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<sup>226</sup> Ibid., 90.

<sup>227</sup> Arguedas, ‘Los Himnos Quechuas,’ 135.

<sup>228</sup> Ibid., 137.

<sup>229</sup> Ibid.

Healing was and is an important aspect of Quechua religious belief. Thomas Garr recounts an interesting parallel to people being healed by looking at an image of the precise creature that had inflicted the damage in the first place. ‘If one has looked at a rainbow and consequently has stomach pains, the witch doctor burns a *llijlla* (woman’s shawl) rag of the same colours as the rainbow, which is then mixed with wine for the sick person to drink.’<sup>230</sup> The concept of being healed by a likeness to that which did the damage in the first place is not unfamiliar to the Quechua worldview.

A similar parallel is that between Jesus as the image of God, his incarnation on earth, and the healing that comes from being connected (by confession) with him through whom the judgement will come. Both healing and eventual punishment have the same source, because of the power inherent in that person. Whether a person is healed or judged then depends on the relationship between a person and the ‘image’ – similarly, the serpent and the rainbow<sup>231</sup> offer both punishment and healing, although under different guises (Jesus himself offers both in the same person). Segura’s ownership of both the Quechua mindset and of an evangelical faith with strong emphasis on the Bible, gave him the capacity to see parallels between Quechua life and biblical narrative that resulted in hymns that brought the two together effectively.

H.9 draws a similar parallel between God’s nature in the Old Testament and now. Those who trusted and therefore looked towards God’s provision of a snake on a stick did not die when bitten by snakes. In the same way now, ‘God sent His beloved son, who was raised on the cross, so that looking at it with all their heart they would

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<sup>230</sup> Garr, *Cristianismo y Religión*, 156.

<sup>231</sup> See Quicaña, ‘El Evangelio,’ 55: The rainbow that was the official flag of the Tawantinsuyu, thus representing the power of the united Inca Empire, is now being resurrected as the official flag of the Quechua evangelical movement called TAWA: *Tawantinsuyuman Alli Wuillacui Apajcuna* i.e., ‘Those who take the Gospel to the four cardinal points.’ The new use for the flag claims the power of Jesus, and its capacity to unite in an evangelical Quechua faith which remains true to what was good within the old Tawantinsuyu – particularly its moral code. Biblically it is also a reminder that God is faithful to His promises (see Genesis 9:12-17). These connections promote resistance to the prevalent mestizo perspective on evangelical faith in Peru.

be saved' (v.4). Now people need salvation because they are 'suffering in a dead world.'

H.12 simply assumes that God is the same now. In v.4 Jesus says, 'This very day this salvation has come to his (Zacchaeus') house; because I have looked for those wandering in the way of perdition.' The initiative was Jesus' because Zacchaeus was 'lost' and therefore did not know how to find the way, and all of those who lived with Zacchaeus were included in the salvation. Another reason why this hymn was removed from the Cuzco ITAT at its reorganization could have been that the notion of a whole community and not just individuals believing in Jesus for salvation was problematic given the teaching that Quechua pastors were receiving through the Sicuani institute, where individual faith was emphasised.

Ch.1, resembling John 3:16, claims that Jesus came so that all the guilty (sinners) could be saved i.e. everyone. Chs.2 and 3 connect Jesus' person with his action, and both are entitled 'The Way of Life' in the Spanish contents. Jesus is the way (ch.2) and ch.3 describes the steps on the route:

1. Turn back from sin
2. Go through the open door
3. Begin from the cross of Christ.

These 3 steps describe what is portrayed in the picture of 'the two ways.'

Ch.47 'For Help/Protection of Believers,' 'Life' in Spanish, resembles John 11:25.<sup>232</sup> Segura has distilled it to 'I am the Life [proper name], and also the Resurrection [proper name]; the one who believes in me will always rise wherever s/he dies.' Segura often uses *uqariy* 'to lift' for resurrection as in rising from the dead, but here it is *kawsariy* 'to resuscitate, to live' instead.<sup>233</sup> The place where a person died in Quechua culture could make all the difference to what they expected to happen to them afterwards. Here Segura gives the assurance that in relationship with Jesus that is irrelevant – salvation is always the same.

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<sup>232</sup> 'Jesus said to her, "I am the resurrection and the life. Those who believe in me will live, even though they die; and whoever lives and believes in me will never die. do you believe this?"'

<sup>233</sup> Valderrama, *Diccionario Quechua-Español*, 115. Quicaña, 'El Evangelio,' 62 uses *kawsarimuy* for resurrection. The suffix *-mu-* indicates movement 'here' or 'there' in direction of the speaker.



- **Thank you - Grasyas**

Chs.57, 60 and 66 in 'For Worshipping God' all thank God for salvation with the Spanish *gracias grasyas* because there is no word for thank you in Quechua. Ch.57 begins 'thank you thank you to our (inclusive) only God.' Normally, generosity was assumed, and reciprocity demanded that the same degree of generosity be returned.<sup>234</sup> Second, 'my beloved brother' *kuyay wawqilláy* is addressed. This is a corporate thank-you. God is 'our (inclusive) forgiver of sins.' Calling someone 'brother' was to acknowledge membership of the same *ayllu*. Segura was reassuring people of their belonging in allegiance to a new evangelical *ayllu*. Chs.60 and 66 are similar but entirely personal.

### **3.2.6 Pacha**

The Quechua world is integrated – one and interconnected.<sup>235</sup> *Pacha*, which in H.8 could be translated as 'earth,' to fit the original Genesis account of the flood, is really a much broader concept – 'place, time, era, earth, world,'<sup>236</sup> or 'space/time, nature.'<sup>237</sup> What we call the heavens, the earth and hell are all one *pacha*. But even that description is too simplistic, because there are no real parallels with our (divided) concepts. For the Quechua there is the 'world above or outside' – *hanaq pacha*, 'the world we live in,' or 'this world' – *kay pacha*, and 'the world below (under the earth) or inner world' – *ukhu pacha*, and all are one *pacha*.<sup>238</sup> The *ukhu pacha* is not only the interior of the whole cosmos, but also the inner world of the

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<sup>234</sup> Carlos Flores Lizana, 'Vivencias Quechuas de Dios,' *IV Encuentro Ecuménico de Cultura Andina y Teología* (24-29 Octubre 1994): 4 comments that 'The sense of gratitude for God's unconditional love is not understood or felt sufficiently, with God it seems to me that they maintain a kind of equilibrium, of harmony that is somewhat fragile.'

<sup>235</sup> McIntosh, 'El Otro Cristianismo,' 104. Garr, *Cristianismo y Religión*, 178 quotes Valcárcel 1959, 139-40: 'The contact between the world above and the world of the earth was accomplished by the lightning, frequently depicted as a snake. And the contact between the world below and this earth is by the caves and springs.'

<sup>236</sup> Hornberger, *Diccionario*, 151.

<sup>237</sup> Huamán, *Cosmovisión Andina*, 65.

<sup>238</sup> McIntosh, 'El Otro Cristianismo,' 1980 and 1992, 4 and Huamán, *Cosmovisión Andina*, 115. For a fuller treatment of *hanaq pacha*, see McIntosh, *Términos Religiosos*, 70-4.

human being.<sup>239</sup> The *pacha* is cyclical time and space. So when Segura says, ‘when people forgot God in this world,’<sup>240</sup> he is referring to the time as well as the space.

Segura never uses the Quechua *ukhu pacha* for hell, though it can be translated ‘abyss, hell,’<sup>241</sup> preferring *imbirnu infierno*. The legacy of pre-columbian thinking, where it was conceived of as the ‘subterranean world on whose roads the dead were believed to wander’<sup>242</sup> was too strong, and Segura stayed firmly within both RC and evangelical tradition in Latin America, where hell was for the destruction of both sin and sinner in fire. He sometimes uses *hanaq pacha* interchangeably with *silu cielo* ‘heaven.’

Time as *pacha* enables an overlap in tripartite space. Quechua time is cyclical.<sup>243</sup> The Quechua conception of time and space as equally concrete entities means that the future is more nebulous than the past, however. The Quechua looks out at the past as a panorama where actions took place.<sup>244</sup> EUSA missionary Leslie Hoggarth described the Quechua understanding of time as of a person standing at the back of the caboose on the end of a train, the past receding in front of them and the future to their backs, completely unknown.<sup>245</sup>

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<sup>239</sup> Garr, *Cristianismo y Religión*, 178. Huamán, *Cosmovisión Andina*, 115 notes that ‘*ukhu pacha* (the world inside) does not only refer to the interior of the cosmos or planet, but also to the inner world of human beings, their conscience, their being in itself.’ Fernando Quicaña, ‘Modelo de Misión Quechua,’ in *Consulta Nacional Sobre la Misión de la Iglesia* (Lima: CONEP, 28 Septiembre – 2 Octubre 1987), 130 claims that the worldview, in terms of division of space, of the Andean person has not changed since before the conquest. ‘*Hanaq Pacha* (glory) is the dwelling of good people. They are rewarded for their virtues and for having fulfilled the Three Commandments, “Ama Suwa, Ama Llulla, Ama Qella”. There they live a peaceful life, free from work and troubles....*Kay Pacha*, (this life) is the dwelling of people and animals. In her the plants grow and the terrestrial spirits move. *Kay pacha* was governed by the Inka, “son of the Sun”....*Uku Pacha* or *Supay Wasi* (hell), is the dwelling of the bad, of the disobedient to the Three Commandments. There there is pain, troubles, and suffering without ceasing.’

<sup>240</sup> *Yusnintapas kaypachapi qunqaptinmi* (note that he converts *kaypachapi* into a single word, reinforcing the unity of the term – it is usually written as two words)

<sup>241</sup> Hornberger, *Diccionario*, 268.

<sup>242</sup> Lara, *Enciclopedia Boliviana*, 295.

<sup>243</sup> Marzal, *El Mundo Religioso*, 62.

<sup>244</sup> Estuardo McIntosh, ‘Alcanzando a los Practicantes de la Religión Tradicional’ (Reaching the practitioners of traditional religion), in *La Evangelización entre las Religiones Tradicionales en América Latina y El Caribe* Documento de Pattaya (Thailand 1980), 15.

<sup>245</sup> Hoggarth, interview, 28 October 1997. Huamán, *Cosmovisión Andina*, 118 agrees: ‘In the Andean concept of time, one needs to place people as if walking with their backs to the future, but always seeing before them what is lived.’

So the Quechua look backwards, recognising and reorganising their past, understanding possible futures in the light of that past, but not on the basis of any vision of change that they themselves have any power to formulate or put into practice. This has implications for all of Segura's hymnody, as he interpreted the Bible in the light of *pacha*. Segura challenged *pacha* by:

- dispensing with *ukhu pacha*, redefining it as *imbirnu*
- drawing people's attention to the return of Jesus, thus extrapolating a future from the past incarnation of Christ on the basis of the biblical text.

The unity of *pacha* is reinforced by high mountains as the point of intersection between *hanaq pacha* and *ukhu pacha*. By climbing to the highest point in their locality and hiding in caves, people were both above 'this world' and underground, in 'the world below.' This is the origin of the *huacas*<sup>246</sup> and the *pacarinas* (places where those saved from the flood appeared from underground). The Andean flood accounts resulted in belief in 'multiple human origins...with its complicating ancillary proposition that the progenitor of any species may unaccountably occur in another realm of nature' [Quechua *pacha*]. Pablo José de Arriaga, sent to Peru in the 17<sup>th</sup> century to report on idolatry, considered this to be 'the most objectionable heresy the Christians felt it necessary to combat.'<sup>247</sup>

Segura combats this 'heresy' by focusing on the ark – it is through a man's effort in obedience to God that human beings are saved from the flood - not by climbing up out of the way of the rising waters. Segura's God is not distant - he relates to human beings. The mountains of Ararat that the ark was grounded on (Genesis 8:4) are not mentioned at all – in any case, they are not what saved Noah and his family. The inclusion of animals would have impacted the Quechua, who love their domestic animals as 'members of the family,' and depend on animals for carrying and for

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<sup>246</sup> Cobo, *Nuevo Mundo* III, 350-2, 374-5 and IV, 12-68, 107-10; Huamán, *Cosmovisión Andina*, 115.

<sup>247</sup> George Kubler, 'The Quechua in the Colonial World,' *Handbook of South American Indians* Bulletin 143, Vol.2, 331-410 pls.85-92 (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1946), 397 and see Cobo, *Nuevo Mundo* III, 346.

food.<sup>248</sup> All who have translated Segura's hymn<sup>249</sup> took *qanchis bamilyantin* to mean 'seven families,' rather than 'the seven in his family,' indicating that this is the way Quechua evangelicals would understand that phrase. It is likely that the structure of Quechua society, with two parallel and equal male and female lines<sup>250</sup> caused Segura to interpret each individual in the account as the originator of a separate family.

There is for Segura both a moral element and a choice in being saved from the flood, as well as a reinforcement of the uniqueness of human origins after the flood. This is evident in that in Segura's creation hymn, there is no naming of the first human beings (Adam and Eve), whereas in the destruction/recreation brought about by the flood, Noah is named. Post flood origins are more concrete. Noah was a good man, so God spoke to him and told him what was going to happen (v.2). There was communication between the creator God and a human being, on the basis of the man's acknowledgement of God (he did not forget God like the others in v.1). Then there was a choice to believe and build the ark, rather than fleeing to the mountains for safety as the waters rose. Noah knows what God will do from the beginning. This kind of relationship with God was new to Quechuas, although it is known that they had oracles to ask about stolen or lost items and about the future or happenings in remote and distant parts – oracles that the Spanish considered the voice of the devil *supay*.<sup>251</sup> For the Quechua, the divine is also considered to be 'close,' but that closeness is not the otherness of a distinct *person* that can communicate reciprocally – it is a closeness associated with the sacralization of nature inherent in the *pachamama* 'mother-nature' and the *apus* that inhabit the highest mountains.<sup>252</sup>

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<sup>248</sup> Editor, 'Culto a los animals,' *Allpanchis Phuturinga* (Cuzco), Vol.III (1971): 133 and see Cayón Armelia, 'El hombre y los animals,' 135-62.

<sup>249</sup> See Appendix 1 and also Alfredo Allcahuamán Oscoo, interview by author, 3 January 2002, San Jerónimo, Apurímac, Perú, notes by author and Guido Ortiz, one of Segura's nephews, who translated the hymn in his own writing, given to author at interview by author, 30 December 2001, Talavera, Apurímac, Perú, author.

<sup>250</sup> See Pachacuti Yamqui's diagram in Silverblatt, *Moon, Sun, and Witches*, 42-3.

<sup>251</sup> Cobo, *Nuevo Mundo* IV, 95 and 166-70.

<sup>252</sup> Huamán, *Cosmovisión Andina*, 66-7; Marzal, *El Mundo Religioso*, 108; Llanque Chana, 'Los Pueblos Andinos, 2; and Garr, *Cristianismo y Religión*, 137-8.

Segura's *kaypachata* (v.4) will be destroyed by fire as God's judgement on sin, but those who believe in Jesus will be saved *from* the fire. There is a parallel with being saved from the waters in Noah's case, but no indication that people will be saved *in order to* go somewhere else. Compare this with the RC 'The Final Judgement' collected by Lira,<sup>253</sup> where after thirteen verses of vivid description of the horrors of God's judgement by fire, the invitation is to 'Weep, oh man! Suffer, oh heart! And thus weeping, in waves, in waves, mollify Jesus, win his love, softly approach his arms.'<sup>254</sup> The result is that only in Jesus is there hope and joy, but there is no mention of guaranteed safety from the cataclysmic fire, although in both cases the 'saving' is a concrete, this worldly reality.

Note the root *pacha* in *pachacuti*. Juan Ossio defines it as 'a cataclysm unchained by extra-human forces.'<sup>255</sup> But a *pachacuti* is also a division of time that lasts 500 years. It is combined with a cataclysm that brings about an abrupt change in the world order.<sup>256</sup> The 500 years are calculated at the end, however, rather than the beginning, because rather than being an exact calculation of time, the *pachacuti* is a way of ordering reality. One of Guaman Poma de Ayala's drawings depicts the inversion of the world at the coming of the Spanish - considered a *pachacuti*.<sup>257</sup> The flood was also a *pachacuti* – *uno yaco pachacuti* – *uno* and *yaco* are synonyms for water, thus reinforcing the watery nature of the flood as cataclysm.<sup>258</sup> In Inca history, there were two *pachacutis*, 'the conquest of Cuzco by Manco Capac and the defense of the city by Pachacuti against the Chanca.'<sup>259</sup> In fact, Inca Yupanqui gained his title of Pachacuti (1438-1463) because of his victory over the Chanca.<sup>260</sup> Despite Segura's awareness of the cataclysmic nature of the flood he describes, he never alludes to it as a *pachacuti*. Neither does he endeavour to give the events a time frame, albeit

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<sup>253</sup> Arguedas, 'Los Himnos Quechuas,' 144.

<sup>254</sup> Translation in James Higgins, *A History of Peruvian Literature* (Liverpool: Francis Cairns, 1987), 9.

<sup>255</sup> Juan M. Ossio A., 'Introducción,' *Ideología Mesiánica del Mundo Andino* 2d ed., ed. Juan M. Ossio A. (Lima: Ignacio Prado Pastor, 1973), xxii.

<sup>256</sup> Zuidema, 'Una Interpretación,' 12.

<sup>257</sup> Juan M. Ossio A., 'Guamán Poma: Nueva Cronica o Carta al Rey. Un Intento de Aproximación a las Categorías del Pensamiento del Mundo Andino,' in *Ideología Mesiánica del Mundo Andino* 2d ed., (Lima: Ignacio Prado Pastor, 1973), 157 and Zuidema, 'Una Interpretación,' 16-17.

<sup>258</sup> Zuidema, 'Una Interpretación,' 14 and Sarmiento de Gamboa, *Los Incas*, 102.

<sup>259</sup> Zuidema, 'Una Interpretación,' 15.

retrospectively. What he considers important is the theology about God he is communicating – when people sin by forgetting God, they are punished. When people turn to God and believe in Jesus, they are saved. The central idea is not the cataclysm itself, with an effort to order reality around it, but rather what, theologically, causes a cataclysm in the first place and how to be saved from that eventuality.

For Segura the word *chimpamuy* ‘cross over’ is one that describes the movement between *kay pacha* and *hanaq pacha*. It is not used for crossing between *kay pacha* and *imbirnu*. In fact, Segura’s descriptions seem to postulate a bi-partite rather than a tri-partite *pacha*, where *kay pacha* and *hanaq pacha* are separate but connected by Jesus as the concrete ‘way,’ while *imbirnu* is a consequence of *hucha*, automatically present in *key pacha* – this could be construed as Segura’s reading on original sin. The ‘crossing over’ is done from the moment a person deals with *hucha* by confessing Jesus as Saviour. Then the person will go to *hanaq pacha*, but not before. That is when the ‘path’ is decided, the direction is taken – it is the turning point.<sup>261</sup> *Kay pacha* then becomes the place of decision, whereby either *chimpamuy* takes place or the person automatically goes to *imbirnu*.

H.1 does not mention hell, but it does refer to ‘burning’ and ‘hurting’ in the present tense. H.2v.2 comments that forgetting relationship with the father (implicit in *churi*) in v.1 means that the person will be ‘in hell’ *imbirnu* with their ‘sin’ if they ‘carry on like that’ (v.2). There is always movement on the way, and no rest. V.4 advises the person to ‘observe my dear path.’ This describes a world in which paths lead from one part of *pacha* to another.

Death takes place in *pacha*, and given that it takes place ‘now’ *kunampas*, it means *kay pacha* according to H.9v.4 (Bronze Serpent). *Pacha* is integrated, but within that

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<sup>260</sup> Rowe, *Inca Culture*, 204-5.

<sup>261</sup> McIntosh, conversation, 2 July 2004: In parts of southern Peru, the cosmos includes a river that must be crossed in order to reach *hanaq pacha*, and a ‘guide’ *pusaq* to take the person across. This is also *chimpamuy*, but it means that there is a boundary that needs to be breached before entrance is made into *hanaq pacha*, while the contact with *ukhu pacha* is through openings in the earth’s surface.

whole there can be death or life now – dependent on appropriating God’s gift. This is not individual appropriation, it is visible in the snake and in Jesus, God’s ‘beloved child (of the father) raised on the cross for all believers.’

‘God’s beloved children’ (H.46) is the story of David and Goliath from I Samuel 17:20-51. There is no natural parallel with RC hymns, because it does not obviously deal with doctrinal matters. Nor is there a parallel with Quechua religious tradition. Rather, it is a Bible story chosen to teach theology in the context of a Quechua worldview. Here, a comparison with ITAT25 highlights how Quechua Segura was in some ways, and changes in DST itself reveal the revision he himself made as he heard the hymn sung by Quechuas at their conventions. The contents of ITAT incorrectly calls this hymn ‘*Danielmanta*’ (about Daniel) - it should be ‘*Davidmanta*’ (about David).

Segura’s vocabulary is concrete. He calls the Israelites’ enemies the Devil’s *diyablupa* (DST46n.d.), or Satan’s *satanaspa* (DST46’97) people, whereas ITAT calls them ‘non-believers’ *mana Iñiqkunaq*. The responsibility that Segura placed on the Devil or Satan, that is, the evil one, was transferred to people themselves. This theological reinterpretation on the part of the editors of ITAT emphasises personal responsibility for actions, while at the same time de-emphasising the importance placed on spirits which the Quechua people lived with daily.<sup>262</sup>

The Bible does not associate the Philistines (unnamed by Segura) with Satan, so this is his own inclusion. The Quechua would undoubtedly understand this more easily, since every place (and the people of that place) has its *huacas*, or deities. Segura’s approach also has the benefit of limiting the enemy to those who follow a particular deity or angel– which would be more true to the original, where only the Philistines were at war with Israel. Segura’s use of the Spanish-rooted *Diyablu/Satanas* also contrasts with Quechua *supay*, now commonly used for the devil. The nuances of

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<sup>262</sup> Fernando Quicaña, ‘El Desafío de Hacer Teología en el Contexto Andino,’ in *Hacia una Teología Evangélica Indígena* (Lima: CEMAA, 1995), 52-3 makes parallel lists of what he calls the ‘commandments’ of the Kingdom of God vs. the Kingdom of Satan. The two balance each other out, as one is the direct opposite of the other.

meaning for *supay* would take singers too far into an Andean religious mode that Segura hoped to transform, while Spanish would naturally be associated with an enemy.

The exact size of Goliath is another instance of Segura's concreteness. Goliath measures 'seven elbows,' whereas ITAT simply says that he was 'very big.' Given that the biblical account says that he was six cubits and a span, the emphasis on Goliath's size, in exact measurements, would be more impressive than a generalised observation. In verse 1, both DSTn.d. *pilyanampaq* and DST'97 *peleanampaq* use the Spanish-rooted 'pelear' (fight). That has been changed in ITAT to *tupananpaq* (meet). It weakens Goliath's threat. Since the Bible also uses the verb 'fight,' in conjunction with 'kill,' the change is incomprehensible, since several words for 'fight' exist in Cuzco Quechua. DSTn.d. *disprisyaspan* and DST'97 *despresiaspan* in verse 3 are from the Spanish root 'despreciar' (to scorn, put down or undervalue). In ITAT that was changed to *pisichaspa*, which means the same thing in Quechua.

The language issue had become important with Presidents Juan Velasco Alvarado (October 1968 in a coup that toppled President Fernando Belaunde Terry through to 29 August 1975) and General Francisco Morales Bermudez (through to 1980). Their government 'values of nationalism and solidarity'<sup>263</sup> gave impetus to the officialization of the Quechua language and the implementation of a bilingual education system for the benefit of Peru's indigenous population, particularly the Aymara and the Quechua.<sup>264</sup> This new emphasis on the dignity of the indigenous people of Peru was reflected in the insistence on purity in the Quechua language, including the standardisation of spelling in 1973.<sup>265</sup>

*Urkumpiraq* in DSTn.d. and DST'97 has as its root the word *urqu* or *orqo* (The meaning of this root is either 'male (animal)' which is an adjective, or 'hill,

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<sup>263</sup> Abraham F. Lowenthal, *The Peruvian Experiment* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), 15.

<sup>264</sup> See José Matos Mar, *Desborde Popular y Crisis del Estado Perú* Problema 21 (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1984), 38 and Lowenthal, *Experiment*, 14-15.

<sup>265</sup> Lowenthal, *Experiment*, 279.



mountain’ – a noun. It also means ‘forehead.’<sup>266</sup> It may be that Segura was using a play on words here. As the Quechua people associated mountains and hills with deities, so Goliath was successfully toppled from his association with deity by the stone embedded in his forehead – this is a battle that includes the spirits and their control over people.

DSTn.d. and DST’97 *kuchuykurqa* in the final line of the hymn comes from the root *kuchuy* meaning ‘to cut in general,’ with any instrument.<sup>267</sup> ITAT changed the word to *qhorurqorqan* from *qhoruy* meaning ‘to decapitate, behead’ in Cuzco Quechua, but meaning ‘to castrate’ in Ayacucho-Chanca.<sup>268</sup> Both were clearly done with Goliath’s sword. Here the significant connection is with *Tupac Amaru*, making it all the more interesting that Segura did not use ‘decapitate’ – instead saying of David, ‘he himself also cut his neck’ - this despite decapitation being the Bible’s version of events. Oral tradition has continued speculating about what happened to the head of the last Inca after he was decapitated in the square in Cuzco in 1575. For the Inca Empire that was the final blow as it fought to resist extinction. For Goliath, decapitation was also the final blow. This hymn also parallels the hymn to Atahualpa, who was executed by strangulation by Pizarro in Cajamarca in 1533.<sup>269</sup> That hymn speaks of his head as if it were separate from his body: ‘His beloved head is already being wrapped by the awful enemy...’<sup>270</sup> In every case, the separating of the head from the body denotes victory, and that makes David a hero, while it makes the Spanish greatly feared. The converse is also true. When the head of the last Inca king in the *Inkarrí* myth is joined to his body once again, there will be a return to the old order of Quechua precedence in the Andes.

Assuming that DST is arranged in chronological order of composition (and there is no other obvious order followed), *Nikudimu sutiuyuq siñurmi* ‘a man [not just any man - *siñur* from *señor* is a title of respect] named Nicodemus’ (H.10) is the first

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<sup>266</sup> Valderrama, *Diccionario Quechua-Español*, 362-3. The word can be spelled *urku* or *urqu*.

<sup>267</sup> *Ibid.*, 128.

<sup>268</sup> *Ibid.*, 274.

<sup>269</sup> John A. Crow, *The Epic of Latin America*, (New York: Doubleday, 1971), 100-1.

<sup>270</sup> José María Arguedas, César Miró and Sebastián Salazar Bondy, eds., *Ollantay y Cantos y Narraciones Quechuas* Biblioteca Peruana 54 (Lima: Ediciones PEISA, 1974), 83 and 1995, 71.

bible-based hymn from the New Testament, following two Old Testament hymns, The Flood (H.8) and The Bronze Serpent (H.9). It communicates Segura's evangelical message of new birth as the way to heaven *siluman*, the new birth equating with belief in Jesus and confession to him, thus having him only as mediator with God.<sup>271</sup> Interceding, one of the major roles traditionally ascribed to Mary in Andean Catholicism,<sup>272</sup> is transferred to Jesus. The roles of other intermediaries, such as the *paqo* 'healer', *altomesayoq* ('the specialist with the most prestige and who has all of the powers') and *pampamesayoq* (general name for the rest, such as *layqa* 'sorcerer', *hanpeq* 'healer' and *watoq* 'fortune-teller'),<sup>273</sup> are also automatically transferred to him.

Even in the manner of retelling this story, Segura is inculturating. V.1 has an authorial insertion not found in the biblical account – Nicodemus came at night because he was afraid – 'being afraid of the people he gently knocked at the door.' He knocked, rather than the usual Quechua shout, because he did not want to be heard. Fear was ever present for the Quechua. 'Fright' *mancharisqa* is one of the consequences of a rupture of *ayni* – reciprocity. 'It is a separation of a person's spirit from his/her body, caused by the spirits. This imbalance of *ayni* requires propitiation to the spirits by the person. This propitiation is often effected with the help of an intermediary.'<sup>274</sup> Nicodemus was obviously perturbed, and the Quechua would deduce that he went at night because it had something to do with his spirit – so he was visiting a specialist who would be able to help him in his disturbed state and set things right.<sup>275</sup> It would not surprise them that even a prominent man like Nicodemus was afraid.

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<sup>271</sup> Juan B.A. Kessler, *Historia de la Evangelización en el Perú* (Lima: El Inca, n.d.), 18 comments that, 'The triple emphasis of the *Evangelicals* on new birth, the authority of the Word of God and the centrality of the cross, appears in the dialogue that Jesus had with Nicodemus in John 3:1-15.... This triple emphasis ... explains that their principal preoccupation should have been evangelisation: how they themselves would enter the kingdom of God and how to help others to do the same.'

<sup>272</sup> See Mitchell, 'Himnos Sagrados,' 10.

<sup>273</sup> See Marzal, *El Mundo Religioso*, 257 and Garr, *Cristianismo y Religión*, 169-71.

<sup>274</sup> McIntosh, 'El Otro Cristianismo,' 1984, 104. Also see Marzal, *El Mundo Religioso*, 268-70.

Sperandeo, *Claves para Interpretar*, 346 comments that, 'With "fright", the subject finds him/herself face to face with the non-confessed and inconfessable part of his/her being and history.'

<sup>275</sup> See Marzal, *El Mundo Religioso*, 269.

Jesus' first comment to Nicodemus is that 'I tell you truly; it is only by being born anew that people (plural) will enter heaven *silu*' (v.3). Segura is pointing out a difference between his Christian theology and the general Andean view of provenance. Perhaps that is why he has chosen to use *silu* (*cielo* 'heaven') and *nasiy* (*nacer* 'to be born') in this case. To appear from *ukhu pacha* to *kay pacha* at a *paqarina* 'the totemic origin of a lineage'<sup>276</sup> was normal. And the verb 'to be born' is consequently *paqariy* in Quechua.<sup>277</sup> The birth that Segura claims from Jesus is from *kay pacha* to *silu*. Whereas the birth at a *paqarina* is into existence in the fleshly body, the birth of the spirit is 'to heaven' *siluman* (v.5). Each is as concrete as the other and happens at the intersection with *kay pacha*, but they mean different things.

Again, Segura uses the last verse of his hymn to bridge the gap between the past in the biblical story and the present people he wants to transform via the singing of his hymn, as they apply (in this case) the new birth to themselves. So in v.6 he interprets Jesus' conversation with Nicodemus as having a threefold application to today:

- believe in Jesus,
- confess your sins and
- you will be born again.

Three aspects of Segura's distinctive Quechua theology appear in H.10. Firstly, in every hymnbook v.6 connects 'being born again' with confession of sins to Jesus, weakening RC confession to the priest, to Mary and/or the saints, whereas the biblical account makes no reference to sin or confession. Secondly, there is the fact that confession is considered necessary because *hucha* is responsible for rupture of *ayni* - what Nicodemus was disturbed about. Finally, this new birth is by the Spirit (v.5). Since there is no such thing as creation *ex nihilo* for the Quechua,<sup>278</sup> it would not be difficult to conceive of a new birth from pre-existent Spirit.

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<sup>276</sup> Lara, *Enciclopedia Boliviana*, 192.

<sup>277</sup> Valderrama, *Diccionario Quechua-Español*, 208.

<sup>278</sup> Sperandeo, *Claves para Interpretar*, 341 and Huamán, *Cosmovisión Andina*, 82.

With Hs.9 and 10, Segura has taken two connected passages used to legitimate the widespread use of the cross as a symbol in Andean RC tradition,<sup>279</sup> and has explained them differently. The Brazen Serpent is referred to in vv.14-15 of John 3, but instead Segura chooses to focus on the beginning of the passage and contrasts the image of life in birth (H.10) with the gift of life in the face of death in Numbers 21 (H.9).

H.18v.2 clarifies the separation of place and experience between God and the devil, but that they do co-exist in *pacha*. The ‘crossing over’ in v.1 is achieved by listening to God’s word, i.e. the refrain paraphrasing Matthew 11:28, and acting on it. People will then find rest and live, because listening is automatically associated with response - it is not passive. In v.4 ‘crossing over’ is towards Jesus by believing, ‘no longer fearing.’<sup>280</sup>

- **Jesus as Lifegiver/Giver of Eternal Life**

In ‘For Call’ Jesus appears as the one who gives life through his own death in Hs.15,17,18,20,21 and Ch.14. Segura uses the verb *chaskiy* ‘to receive or accept’<sup>281</sup> in Hs.13,17,20,21 and 22, but in fact, the Quechua always say they have ‘come in to the Gospel’ ‘*entrado en el Evangelio*,’<sup>282</sup> which is their response to Jesus’ call to ‘come,’ repeated in all but one of the hymns in ‘For Call’- and that because H.14 says ‘Let’s go!’ instead. ‘*Entrado*’ takes the emphasis away from the receipt of Jesus as a gift from God. Instead, it becomes transference from one concrete place to another – it is a different metaphor, connected with place as much as relationship and could be paralleled by the concept of the Kingdom of God. Jesus ‘gave his life’ in H.15v.1, for example, but the response in that instance is to ‘Come to my Saviour’ (refrain). Segura’s use of *chaskiy* is the clearest example of a sustained western evangelical approach on Segura’s part, and may indicate the influence of Case, who,

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<sup>279</sup> See Llanque Chana, ‘Los Pueblos Andinos,’ 2-4. Under ‘With the cross we are born and with the cross we die,’ he explains that, ‘The cross dominates the collective and individual life cycle from birth to death. The cross baptizes...protects...blesses in matrimony...heals...balances equilibrium...prepares for death...accompanies the dead....’

<sup>280</sup> See explanation of Quechua ‘fear’ on 260.

<sup>281</sup> Valderrama, *Diccionario Quechua-Español*, 40.

<sup>282</sup> McIntosh 1980, ‘Alcanzando a los Practicantes,’ 16: ‘Work has its religious aspect, as does illness, journeys and relationships. Consequently, becoming a Christian will affect all aspects of his/her life forever, and the use of the phrase ‘to come in to the Gospel’ means more than ‘to receive Christ’...’

being a perfectionist could be fairly pedantic about exact translations – which unfortunately might not carry meaning across cultures.

Jesus' gift of eternal life appears in:

- H.13v.4 'Receive eternal life,'
- H.14v.2 'Let's go to Jesus, to the one who lives forever [eternally],'
- H.16v.1 '...to give you eternal life.'
- H.21refrain 'I will give you eternal life;'
- H.22vv.1...4 '...to give them eternal life...' 'He is the only one who gives eternal life.'

These references guarantee no fear of the unknown in the passage from *kay pacha* to *hanaq pacha*. Since for the Quechua no one ever disappears completely, eternal life means a quality of existence associated with *hanaq pacha*. This contrasts with the spirits of the dead traditionally wandering the *ukhu pacha* - especially when associated with 'God's shining house' (H.13refrain) as the place of relationship with him. Instead of fear there will be 'eternal joy' (H.17v.1) when people are saved by Jesus.

- **Welcome**

H.79 expresses the joy of welcoming someone into the gathering of believers. The first line of v.1 clarifies that this welcome is for 'in this world' *kaypachapi* – 'Once again in this world we see each other (inclusive).' 'Now we embrace each together (inclusive) gathered together as one' (v.1) expresses the importance of unity. It is an emotional moment – 'Our heart burning with immense happiness/contentment/pleasure' (v.1). V.2 contains reassurance of God's continued goodness on the person welcomed – 'God will bring you back here with no problem.' V.3 is a corporate commitment – 'Let's live like this, with holy love, let's serve our God with all our heart, when Jesus calls us (inclusive) and until our departure' (inclusive). Just as the beginning focusses on *kaypachapi*, the end communicates a departure from this world.

- **Farewell**

There is no reassurance that people will see each other again in this life in the farewell H.80. The chorus is about finally being together in heaven – ‘We will see each other *riku-naku-sun* as one in heart at the feet of our Saviour, we will all remain in that precious gathering forever.’ The reciprocal (*-naku-*), corporate and inclusive nature of the final reunion is of supreme value to the Quechua – as important as its eternal nature in the presence of the Saviour.

Vv.1-3 are blessings on the traveller that God may be with him/her in all circumstances. Each first and fourth line reiterate God’s presence - ‘our God be with you.’ V.1’s blessing is for guidance: ‘his word for your heart, so that you walk in his way.’ V.2’s is ‘his teaching [*Yachachiy* – also ‘wisdom for living’] for your good, his love forever.’ V.3’s is for God’s presence ‘on the mountain peak and in the frost - wherever you are’ and reassures the person that when outside circumstances such as bad weather (frost/freezing wind *qasapiñapas*) assail him/her in the mountains, God is with him/her – ‘let it be so’ *kachun* (like ‘Amen’) is the prayer of farewell.

- **Burial**

The Spanish contents classifies H.81 under both ‘burial’ and ‘death.’ While many hymns refer to Jesus’ Second Coming (as v.4 does here), this hymn is uniquely for burial. As with marriage hymns, the men do the singing, but here a footnote clarifies that they can sing of either *wawqi* ‘brother of a male’ or *pani* ‘sister of a male.’ Death is ‘going’ *ripukuchkan* ‘to live with our (inclusive) Father.’ The dead person ‘is entering to live in God’s house right now’ (v.1). This is in marked contrast to traditional belief, where ‘the soul of the dead has to wander eight days on the earth before being freed from his/her mortality, and only then does it go before God to be judged.’<sup>283</sup> The immediacy of the transition to God’s house means that rituals associated with the eight days were dispensed with – these included drunken grieving. V.2 explains that going away is, in fact, ‘leaving this world.’ That is great assurance, because it was believed that often the souls of the bad traditionally

remained linked with their mortality and wandered the earth (often bothering their relatives) until they had been sufficiently castigated.<sup>284</sup> Here, it is ‘to Jesus’ that ‘s/he goes,’ and ‘leaving his/her loved ones, s/he disappears/vanishes.’ Jesus and God the Father are resident together. V.3 clarifies that those who are saved *salbu* ‘will follow’ when God says ‘Come!’ The saved ‘will live when the body dies.’ For those who have died first, there is Jesus’ Second Coming in v.4. ‘Together we will “edge the second time” *kutipamusun*’ uses the agricultural picture and language of the second harvest to describe this event that includes both the living and the dead (in body). ‘When our Jesus comes, we will return together; we - the holy/clean ones alone – will come here to reign.’

### 3.2.6.1 Jesus’ Return to *kay pacha*

The description of Jesus’ return in H.3 is similar to Matthew 24:29, but more detailed. Given that the future is impossible to imagine for the Quechua,<sup>285</sup> it is not surprising that Segura accentuates the immediacy of Jesus’ return by using the agricultural image of a second harvest (*kutipay*), which also happens to have ritual connotations.<sup>286</sup> ‘Now quickly he will “edge the second time,” here and there (*-mu-*),’<sup>287</sup> in other words, he will return soon to gather in his harvest of believers, in v.1. The future comes from behind, and ‘it is very nearly upon us’ would be the sense. The first refrain questions those who will stay in *kay pacha* when Jesus comes about what they will say when the world is destroyed in the manner described. What is not seen or known is often what is most feared, so Segura reassuringly adds that believers are received by Jesus, making the closeness of the encounter positive because in his love Jesus saves them from what is happening to *kay pacha* (final refrain). Vv.2-4 all begin with ‘when my Creator returns.’ The immediate return is an impetus for people to respond to Jesus’ offer to save them.

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<sup>283</sup> Garr, *Cristianismo y Religión*, 114. Also see Gifford and Hoggarth, *Carnival*, 75-9 and Diego Irrarazaval, ‘Arte de Muerte y Vida,’ *Allpanchis* (Cuzco), Año XXVI, No.43/44 (1994): 529-45, especially 541.

<sup>284</sup> Garr, *Cristianismo y Religión*, 114-15.

<sup>285</sup> Huamán, *Cosmovisión Andina*, 118: ‘the future is considered as the unknown; one can only approach it via divination.’

<sup>286</sup> See Luis Dalle, ‘Kutipay o segundo aporque del maíz,’ *Allpanchis* (Cuzco), Vol. III (1971): 59-65.

‘With sin you will be in hell,’ but trusting Jesus means accepting His guidance on the path on the one hand, and expecting his return on the other. The Spanish contents puts three hymns and two choruses in the category *Segunda Venida* ‘Second Coming,’ but H.3 most clearly describes the effects on creation of Jesus’ return.<sup>288</sup> ‘The sun and the moon...will fall from the sky’ (v.1). ‘The mountains will crumble, the cliffs will be rent asunder’ (v.2). ‘The stars will fall, the stones will crash together, the lands will open.’ The conclusion makes explicit that Jesus saves people from this very concrete cataclysmic disaster – ‘My loving Jesus saves you from this.’ It is a disaster of the same magnitude as the flood of water in H.8 or the ‘flood of fire’ *nina para* associated with another Quechua tradition.<sup>289</sup> The idea of another humanity before the current one also exists, as does the opinion that this humanity will definitely perish.<sup>290</sup>

Ch.51 ‘For Help/Protection of Believers’ is entitled ‘Second Coming’ in Spanish. It is about the coming of Jesus, attributed to I Thessalonians 4:17, although vv.15-16 are obviously also referred to. The chorus begins with ‘When the Creator Jesus returns [his second cultivation/harvest *kutipamuptinmi*]’ Segura interjects (line 2) ‘to those saved’ to clarify that it is only for those who follow Jesus. The main points are that Jesus:

- will return
- will raise both the dead and alive
- will be met in the clouds
- takes those saved to be with him forever.

The chorus is very much a static narration. Sounds that announce the Lord’s coming – the ‘loud command,’ the ‘voice of the archangel’ and the ‘trumpet call of God’ –

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<sup>287</sup> *Utqaymanñam kutipamunqa* Lara, *Enciclopedia Boliviana*, 302 - The word *utqay* can be translated as ‘quickly, hurriedly.’

<sup>288</sup> Segura’s emphasis on creation reflects Quechua preoccupation with the life inherent in everything made, but it neglects expression of ‘the redemption of the totality of creation – of which Romans 8 also speaks’ in the words of Míguez Bonino, *Latin American Protestantism*, 126, who regrets the weakness in this area of Latin American theology.

<sup>289</sup> Casaverde Rojas, ‘El Mundo Sobrenatural,’ 151.

<sup>290</sup> Guido Gerardo Delran C., ‘El sentido de la historia,’ *Allpanchis* (Cusco), Vol. VI (abril 1974): 14-15.



are absent. Just as in creation, God spoke and it was and then he ‘called’ things by name, so at Jesus’ coming, commands/announcements/a voice is heard. Segura has missed the communicating word in both the Genesis 1 hymn and this chorus, preferring to tell the story as a simple accounting of facts. Compare this with the hymn from the Farfán collection about the judgement, which is influenced by a clever selection from biblical literature, with what Arguedas calls the ‘aim of causing underestimation of earthly life and of instilling terror towards God.’<sup>291</sup>

H.67 in ‘Believer’s Prayers’ has three verses, each ending with an imperative – Guide us! Raise us! Come soon! V.1 describes the longing for the Second Coming of Jesus – ‘Come back now!’ *Kutipamuyña*. The singers don’t know how they can remain any longer, with all the ‘sins surrounding us.’ The ‘way’ to heaven necessitates a guide, and the only appropriate guide is Jesus. Hence the plea ‘Guide us!’ Jesus is the ‘powerful Saviour’ (v.2) who will hurry here and there gathering those whom he has bought with his blood – ‘just prices.’ Believers are now ‘suffering’ on Jesus’ behalf, living as ‘hated ones.’ So they plead, ‘Hurry up, now!’ - ‘Raise us!’ *Uqariwayku* is their deepest desire. V.3 is anxious pleading for Jesus to remember and return, due to fear of Satan, referred to as *supay* – ‘Cause us to escape from Satan to heaven!’ The Holy Spirit tells them “Now he will return.” Because of that assurance, they have the boldness to say, “Come soon.”

Quechua evangelical theologian Humberto Flores includes the Second Coming as an integral part of his description of Quechua Evangelical Theology, under the heading ‘Humanity,’ with its subheading ‘Following the Master.’ Part of following for the Quechua is the concrete guidance of Jesus on the way, including to heaven, which ultimately includes the gathering of all believers, dead and alive when he returns. This is one of the gains of having ‘entered the way of the Gospel.’ So what was initially evangelical missionary teaching has become an integral part of Quechua evangelical devotion, with many hymns dedicated to the topic.<sup>292</sup>

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<sup>291</sup> Arguedas, ‘Los Himnos Quechuas,’ 144.

<sup>292</sup> Flores, ‘Teología Evangélica Quechua,’ 116-18.

H.86 in ‘For Help/Protection of Believers,’ entitled ‘Second Coming’ in Spanish, begins (v.1) with a paraphrase of Jesus’ words recorded in Matthew 24:40-41.<sup>293</sup> Segura writes that ‘Our Saviour returning in this way, he will find us, some working, others sleeping.’ He highlights the ordinariness of events leading up to Jesus’ return. V.2 develops the gathering together at the Second Coming. The angels (an interpolation of Segura’s) hear God’s word and gather people ‘from this side and that side, from above and from below’ (those who have already died and those who are still alive). By naming two parts of space in this way, Segura was obeying the norms of Quechua duality, which contribute to life’s equilibrium. The next phrase indicates that the gathering is reserved specifically for ‘all his people’ – ‘he will gather us together with love.’ V.3 is based on I Thessalonians 4:16b-17.<sup>294</sup> Segura begins with ‘our brothers will rise from death,’ then adds ‘and quickly also those of us that live in this world lifted all together, we will go into the clouds.’ V.4 enumerates the results on arrival in heaven:

- Suffering will be finished
- All darkness will disappear
- Only Jesus will ‘light up’ *kanchan* everything
- We will see God
- We will worship only him

V.5 tells people how they should live while they wait for these things to happen:

- ‘with holy hearts,
- guarding ourselves from the devil,
- serving only our Father by day or by night, so that we will receive our prize.’

This is couched in familiar transactional terms – people serve in return for the prize described in this hymn.

H.53v.3 is a statement of intimacy with Jesus, because he is the one that can be trusted, since it is ‘he who separates from death.’ Once again, the hymn ends with

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<sup>293</sup> ‘Two men will be in the field; one will be taken and the other left. Two women will be grinding with a hand mill; one will be taken and the other left.’

<sup>294</sup> ‘...the dead in Christ will rise first. After that, we who are still alive and are left will be caught up together with them in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air.’

Jesus' return (v.4). This is always the positive climax of worship. 'We are all waiting for the coming of our (inclusive) Jesus, that is why we are happy worshipping with our heart.' Jesus' return is not primarily a non-contextual hope for the future. Like *Inkarri*, it is about the return of a real person, held in history and tradition. Jesus' incarnation makes possible the defining of his return. His first coming is what governs all future possibilities.

### 3.2.6.2 Hell *Ukhu Pacha*, *Imbirnu*

*Ukhu pacha* is that part of the Quechua tripartite cosmos where preparation is made for all the great reversals that overturn the *kay pacha* and transform it into a different world altogether. A Quechua suffering hunger and want would expect salvation to be prepared in the *ukhu pacha*. It is in this context that Andean religious sensibilities could be said to be 'Messianic.' Andean thinking patterns have developed in such a way that to order reality there must be a disjunction between the world of colonisers and their own. Hope resides in the reversal of fortunes brought about by the next *pachacuti* – equivalent to destruction of the present world order. Whereas other societies with important indigenous populations at the time of the conquest, such as Mexico and Guatemala, mixed with their conquerors to create something new, Andean thinking retained its dualistic mode.<sup>295</sup> Anyone who is not with the Quechua is against them. A *mestizo* is caught in between. As in Arguedas' book *El Zorro de Arriba y el Zorro de Abajo* (The fox from above and the fox from below), there is a world above (*hanan*) and a world below (*hurin*).<sup>296</sup> Most mixed people side with the order that is presently in power – that descended from the Spanish – and since the liberation leading to the Latin American republics in the 19<sup>th</sup> century was not a grass roots indigenous movement, but rather one of the Latin American intelligentsia associated with Europe and the revolutionary thinking there at that time,<sup>297</sup> power is still associated with Spanish colonialism.

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<sup>295</sup> Ossio, 'Introducción,' xiv-xv.

<sup>296</sup> Arguedas 1971.

<sup>297</sup> See Benjamin Keen and Mark Wasserman, *A Short History of Latin America* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1984), 146-7.

*Inkarrí* is a character in what has come to be recognized as Andean messianic ideology.<sup>298</sup> Since the Spanish conquest it has been a major recurring symbol of salvation to come from below, with various permutations. The word comes from an amalgam of *Inca* (Quechua) and *rey* (Spanish for 'king'). *Inkarrí* will return to institute the final judgement. He has been killed, and only his head survives, but it is growing downwards to his feet, and when he is complete, he will come to judge. Then a new order will be restored.<sup>299</sup> The myth is reminiscent of events when the last Inca *Tupac Amaru* was decapitated and his head sent to Spain.<sup>300</sup> The mixture of indigenous and Catholic belief is recognisable. It also has the virtue of highlighting the indigenous capacity to reject colonial administrative excesses while appropriating some Catholic religious beliefs. More important to indigenous identity than how God is described is their sense of order in time and space. As discussed in chapter 1, the way Quechuas order time and space has theological significance. *Inkarrí* would overturn the Spanish colonial rule to reinstate the benevolent rule of an Inca.<sup>301</sup> Segura hymnody reflects the effort to make the connection between Andean messianic ideology and biblical messianic theology. 'The Bronze Serpent' hymn, for example, reminded the faithful that their salvation would come from below (the resurrection), and reverse their present state.

*Imbirnu* is completely different from *Ukhu Pacha*, although the two are sometimes linked because of their associations with a world 'below.' If there is any salvation

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<sup>298</sup> Juan M. Ossio A., the Peruvian anthropologist, has edited a book in Spanish called *Messianic Ideology of the Andean World*, 1973. Marcel Dürst, former RBMU missionary in Andahuaylas, has gathered research published by others on 17 different *Inkarrí* myths. His collection is held in the Instituto Bíblico de Andahuaylas, in Talavera. See Malgorzata Oleszkiewicz, 'El Ciclo de la Muerte de Atahualpa (The cycle of the death of Atahualpa),' *Allpanchis* (Cuzco), Año XXIII, No. 39 (1992): 185-220, which connects *Inkarrí* directly with Atahualpa.

<sup>299</sup> Three versions of the *Inkarrí* myth are collected in Ossio, *Ideología Mesiánica*, 219-31.

<sup>300</sup> Nathan Wachtel, 'Rebeliones y Milenarismo,' in *Ideología Mesiánica del Mundo Andino*, ed. Juan M. Ossio A. (Lima: Ignacio Prado Pastor, 1973), 123-4.

<sup>301</sup> Juan M. Ossio A., *Los Indios del Perú* (Madrid: MAPFRE, 1992), 189-91. Also see Onorio Ferrero, 'Significado e Implicaciones Universales de un Mito Peruano,' 415-38; Franklin Pease G.Y., 'El Mito de *Inkarrí* y la Visión de los Vencidos,' 439-58; Juan M. Ossio and Jorge Herrera Alfaro, 'Versión del Mito de *Inkarrí* en el Pueblo de Andamarca (Ayacucho-Perú),' 461-71; and Raúl León Caparó, 'Versión del Mito de *Inkarrí* en Qollana-Wasak,' 473-7 - all in *Ideología Mesiánica del Mundo Andino*, ed. Juan M. Ossio A. (Lima: Ignacio Prado Pastor, 1973). The myth has been consistently reinterpreted up to the present day, with the inclusion of ages of the world in the 18<sup>th</sup> century - the third age being that of the Holy Spirit. The Israelites of the New Universal Covenant are an indigenous movement based on these premises - See Kenneth David Scott Eunson, *Los Israelitas del Nuevo Pacto Universal: Una Historia* (Lima: Ediciones PUSEL, 1990).

prepared in *imbirnu* it is in the sense that anything that is *hucha* will be destroyed there. *Kaypacha* is stormy because of people's sin in H.8v.1. 'This world' is never totally destroyed, but soon 'God will finish' sin by burning it all up. So God destroys *hucha*, and those who err by forgetting God (by implication) will also be destroyed. The word 'hell' is not used. Instead, there are descriptions - 'with fire' and 'from the flame' (H.8v.4).

H.21v.1 is about release from going 'to hell' *imbirnuman*. This is possible because Jesus died. V.3 is more descriptive - 'from burning hell.' That is what 'he saves me' from. H.22v.3, on the other hand, contrasts 'from their fire of hell' and 'to heaven,' specifying that Jesus is the only way (v.4) to God in heaven. Hs.18,21 and 22 all describe *imbirnu* as fire and flame, and the place where *supay/diyablu* resides. But like God in heaven, the sphere of the devil's actions spreads beyond hell into *kay pacha*. H.22v.6 makes the devil personal by assigning people to him who speak for him.

Do not be afraid of people,  
The Devil's messengers,  
It's all hot air  
Do not fear now.

### 3.2.6.3 Heaven *Hanaq Pacha*

Hs.36-38 in 'For Telling of Life in Christ' are classified 'Heaven' in Spanish. Hs.37-38 are also under 'Burial' and 'Death' in Spanish, although the only indication that H.37 is about death comes in v.1 - 'I am going off to heaven.'

The imperative 'Think!' *Yuyaychik* in the first line of each verse of H.36 is a call to picture heaven. It is 'a beautiful city' where 'all who believe in Jesus will go to live together with Jesus forever' (v.1). There they will be 'happy in Jesus' presence, where all the angels are, to sing right there, with all heart.' Segura used *angil angel* 'angel' because he wanted to avoid Quechua evangelicals confusing angels with the spirits of the dead or the *supay* system. In v.3 believers are to think about 'living in the light, walking in the light of Jesus, in the city sparkling with gold, in a beautiful shining house.' V.4 reminds believers of 'the love in heaven,' where they will not be sad or cry or suffer for all eternity. The refrain sings: 'In heaven, in heaven, where

there are no dead people...to live forever with Jesus.’ The core reminder is of the difference between life and death. The hymn always uses the Spanish *silu cielo* ‘sky or heaven’ rather than *hanaq pacha*. The impression is of great light and freedom, which comes from being within the safe boundaries of the enclosure of heaven with a Saviour who loves them. Safety is of greater value than unobstructed freedom. The safety implied by that enclosure is a reminder of the prominent place safety had in the Prayers from the Inca Zithuwa ritual - the common factor being environment rather than religion.<sup>302</sup>

H.37, in contrast, uses only *hanaq pacha*. Segura tends to *pacha* vocabulary when he is describing Jesus as the ‘guide’ on the ‘way,’ where Jesus connects the cosmos in that capacity. He uses *silu* to name a place described - it is more static language. But he also makes it clear that the two are interchangeable when he describes *hanaq pacha* in the same way that he does *silu* – *silu* is a real, concrete place that exists in the cosmos that they already know. Here he pictures the journey to heaven and what it will be like when he gets there. ‘I am going off to heaven to live forever with Jesus’ (v.1). Jesus dying on the cross ‘opens’ the way to journey there. The refrain repeats the end result – ‘I am going off to heaven to live forever with Jesus.’ Vv.2,3 are very like the description of *silu* in H.36. V.2 describes a person’s condition in heaven – no death or sadness, pain or crying – ‘my soul will find eternal contentment with my beloved Jesus.’ V.3 describes the place – ‘Entering that shining city, I will be in splendour; together with the saints [Segura means all who believe in Jesus] I will sing forever for my Jesus.’ Jesus is the beginning and the end of the journey. He initiates the journey by opening the way dying on the cross, and he is there at the centre of the city that is heaven.

The believer’s death is in response to God’s call (H.38 chorus) – ‘When he calls my name, when he says to me, “Come child”, then I will go away to my God, to my beloved.’ *Churi* ‘child of the father,’ clarifies that Segura is referring to a call from God the Father. The use of the person’s name indicates intimate knowledge of the person by God. H.38 begins, ‘With my death when Jesus calls I will go.’ Unlike the

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<sup>302</sup> Inca Prayers from the Zithuwa Ritual in section **3.2.5 To Save Salbay**.

chorus, here Jesus calls – Jesus and God the Father are equated as one in will by the identical action of calling the believer at death. The response is ‘with joy I will see his face’ - ‘because I have been saved I will go [journey] to heaven *hanaqpachamanqa* to live forever with my Jesus.’ The content of v.2 is almost identical to that of H.36v.4 and H.37v.2 – there will be no death in God’s house, no pain, no crying, and no sadness. V.3 describes life in the meantime – ‘Telling my fellow human beings about Jesus I still find joy and sadness.’ Life in *kay pacha* is mixed, but ‘When he calls me to heaven I will be happy in the presence of my Jesus.’

A relationship with Jesus, after the release from *hucha* that he enables, ends in heaven (H.39). The relationship includes a journey. That journey starts in v.1 - ‘Jesus’ tender word tells us with love: “Hearing - receive me and give me your heart!” This is the response required to Jesus’ initiative in speaking first in his word and offering the gift of himself. V.2 explains what happens when the heart is given to Jesus. ‘Jesus carried our heavy sin in his arm; lovingly he carried our load in order to give us eternal life.’ The uneven exchange is obvious here – We do nothing, he does it all, and yet we get eternal life. Occasionally Segura lays aside overt reciprocity to wonder at Jesus’ generosity. Segura mixes his metaphors. In v.3 he tells us “‘He washes your sin” – so his word says.’ In response, ‘we will hold on to our Saviour Jesus more and more’ (v.3). The final step is Jesus’ return, to lovingly lead us ‘to his house in heaven.’ There ‘he will give us eternal life’ (v.4).

Jesus’ eternal existence and unchanging nature is described in Ch.29, partly explaining Segura’s consistent use of *Kamaq* – ‘My Jesus has always been the same, also today and also forever the same.’ Ch.30 Line 2 - ‘in heaven’ *Hanaq pachapi*, ‘in beautiful place’ *sumaq pachapi* - imagines heaven to be a new mode of existence, with the word *pacha*, since *pacha* embraces everything.

#### **3.2.6.4 The Sheep and their Shepherd**

Three of Segura’s hymns can be joined under this heading: Psalm 23 (H58) – The Lord’s My Shepherd, The Lost (prodigal) Son from Luke 15:11-32 (H11) that closely follows the biblical account of the lost sheep in the same chapter, and The

Good Shepherd from John 10:14-16 (H45). Psalm 23 and John 10:14-16 were dropped in the Cuzco Quechua Commission revision. The expanded DST added another Psalm 23 hymn (101 in DST and AWT) which was also dropped in ITAT.

The metaphor of God as Shepherd and human beings as his sheep was one that Quechuas easily identified with and was already widely used by colporteurs (see chapter 2). Quechua shepherds identified with the shepherd as loving. This was empowering, and very different from the identification with the sheep that they had been encouraged to appropriate as their own through RC hymns. Father Jorge Lira's collection includes a hymn, number 27 in Arguedas' ordering, called 'The Lost Sheep.' In it, the sheep (clearly depicting a person) is running away from its shepherd and his love. It is chasing pleasures, not realising what afflictions it will suffer lost and far away from him. The shepherd begs the wild sheep to return to its loving shepherd, instead of loving its hater, and then ends with a threat:

In the trance of your death  
You will look for me and not find me;  
In the judgement that awaits you  
I will no longer call you mine...<sup>303</sup>

In the end, it is fear of judgement that is called upon as the motivation for turning to God as Shepherd.

The Farfán collection emphasises even more acutely the sense of blame and guilt that will be judged. Arguedas argues that the author's intent in these hymns, 'that seem more free of direct influence of the Bible' is to instil guilt and fear. Sadly, Arguedas considers these to be the most genuinely autochthonous, judging from the language used and the structure of the verses.

It's my fault, my father, yes;  
it's my fault, my lover;  
it's my fault, my saviour;  
I abandoned you, yes.<sup>304</sup>

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<sup>303</sup> Arguedas, 'Los Himnos Quechuas,' 209-10:

*Pissi sonkko k'ita uwissa,  
Maytan purinki musphaspa  
Hampullawayña kunallan,  
Munakukkniykikk makinman.*

<sup>304</sup> Ibid., 142-3: *Huchaymi, taytay arí;  
huchaymi, munakoqllay;*



These words echo Psalms 6 and 50, the major difference being that in the Psalms God's mercy is depended on and called upon when the Psalmist becomes aware of his sin – because he knows that only God can erase it, once confessed.

The first evangelical Quechua evangelists often used Psalm 23 as the first Bible passage they shared with others, ending with Luke 15. The Psalm was intended to increase their desire for what it described as the blessedness of belonging to the Shepherd-God.<sup>305</sup> So the beginning and end of the most common evangelistic approach took into account the Quechua experience of shepherding, and the sentiments that it engendered. It is no surprise that it is the original hymns based on these two important passages in the evangelistic message that have been retained in all the editions of the Quechua hymnbooks Segura's work appears in. They were part of a 'formula' that worked, and Segura certainly considered his hymns as evangelistic tools.

The original DST used Psalm 23 for only one of its hymns, whereas when RC hymns became obviously Bible-based, they most resembled the Psalms. God as creator was praised for different aspects of his creation in hymns that echo Psalms 147 and 148. Psalm 23 is much more intimate in its approach. Segura wanted to reinforce the closeness of God's presence to a people who needed to know God was with them in all circumstances, because those circumstances of death and enmity were so often a part of their lives.<sup>306</sup>

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*huchaymi, qespichiqlay;  
saqerikusqaykim, arí.*

<sup>305</sup> John Savage, *On Trek in the Andes* (London: EUSA, 1946), 22.

<sup>306</sup> There is disagreement as to whether God was perceived as close or distant by the Quechua. Marzal, *El Mundo Religioso*, 108-12 surveys the answers to a questionnaire, coming to the conclusion that on the whole, God is close for the Quechua. Carlos Flores Lizana S.J., 'Vivencias Quechuas de Dios,' *IV Encuentro Ecuménico de Cultura Andina y Teología* (24-29 Octubre 1994): 3 agrees. McIntosh, 'El Otro Cristianismo,' 1984, 105: 'God the Father of Jesus Christ is understood in their system as a distant God for some, present for others, capricious and almost unknown for the majority. Marcelino Tapia, 'Bases Hermenéuticas Bíblicas para una Teología Andina y la Misión,' *Hacia una Teología Evangélica Indígena* (Lima: CEMAA, 1995), 95, quotes a fragment of a 'haili (sacred hymn), sung by the indigenous chronicler of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Sallkamayhua, and dedicated to the supreme God' as support for his argument that the Quechua 'live their religious experience with their whole existence. They live in open dialogue with God; for them God is in the family, in work, the land (pachamama), the rain, the thunder, the stars, the rivers, etc. They live a faith open to all the activities of human existence.' For him, God is in creation, and that is a close relationship. The quote, in fact,

Segura's Psalm 23 H.58 is the closest to a classical hymn of all his biblical hymns. He makes it more personal by having the singer address God directly, praising him, instead of telling someone else about God's nature and care. While obviously based on Psalm 23, he chooses to add and leave out details in accordance with the Quechuas' own experience of shepherding in the high Andes. There are shades of the lost sheep in v.2 'you drive me, my Shepherd, stopping [repeated twice] at the place where I sleep.' V.3 interprets the 'valley of the shadow of death' as 'darkness' in general - *tutayaymanta*, and then goes on to pray, 'Guard me from the Devil *Supay* forever and ever, my eternal Protector.' Just as the domain of the triune God is the light, the domain of the Devil is the darkness – hence the parallelism in this verse.

*Supay* has been recognised as the devil since the 16<sup>th</sup> century, and currently is represented in a number of ways – as a 'naked human being who defecates gold and silver,' as 'a darkly-coloured woman with huge breasts who deceives men,' as a 'serpent who changes into a slender, fine, tall and vigorous young man,' as a 'person who frequently causes snows, sleets and hurricane winds,' as a 'feline with either four eyes or two heads who later is transformed into a person,' or 'antichrist' in general, represented in *fiestas* by either a single person or a group.<sup>307</sup> The Quechua *supay* is very different from the evangelical 'devil.' Segura had to make a choice here. He was aware of how people feared the mysterious *supay*, and he wanted them to apply this hymn, and later Psalm 23, to themselves, within their own frame of reference. He wanted them to understand that to 'dwell in the house of the Lord forever'<sup>308</sup> was equivalent to never having to deal with the devil as they envisaged it – forever and ever.

'All the lost' *chinkasqata* are equated with 'sinners/guilty ones' *huchayuqkunata* in H.20v.2 'For Call.' This alludes to people as lost sheep. Jesus is looking for them, and the task is full of emotion: 'with all his heart he is calling' (v.2). 'When you give

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contradicts what he says, because it is a gathering of praise to God from all creation, to which is added human praise at the end – God is separate from creation, and all creation worships Him.

<sup>307</sup> Valderrama, *Diccionario Quechua-Español*, 809-10.

<sup>308</sup> *Tayta Diosqa ñoqallaytam wiña-wiñaypaq wasillanpiña kawsachikuwanqa* in *Chuya Qellqa*, Biblia Quechua Ayacucho/Chanca (Lima: Sociedad Bíblica Peruana, 1987).

him your heart; he will make you clean; returning, he himself will guide you.’ (v.4). Jesus does not simply clean and then leave people – he stays with them as guide (the lost in v.2, by implication, are lost because they do not have a guide). Jesus’ guiding is described in Ch.82: ‘Now take/guide me my dear Jesus to the place where you want to save me.’ Here salvation is in the context of a continued service for Jesus wherever the believer is ‘placed’ – more like sanctification. This is clearer from the plea that follows: ‘Teach me to say what is – to speak without fear, and when I speak of you so that the hard-hearted will also believe.’ In other words, part of guidance is teaching believers what to say to non-believers. ‘Take/guide me now my dear Jesus,’ finishes the chorus. This is a more abstract sense of guiding than is usual in Segura’s Quechua imagery.

‘Way of Death’ is Spanish for H.24 ‘Sinner’s Prayers’ and H.30 ‘For Telling of Life in Christ.’ The Quechua must walk to get anywhere, so ‘walking/travelling’ is a common image in Segura’s hymns. Taking the wrong road in the Andes could be difficult and even life threatening. H.24vv.1-3 all include ‘walking in error’ *pantayllapi purispaymi* (5<sup>th</sup> line), after a progression described in the first four lines of each verse. V.1 – ‘Walking clumsily on the way, I fall my dear Creator; following/adhering to the way of sin, I am suffering here.’ V.2 – ‘Fearing death I call you; looking for the one who saves me, I come near to you.’ V.3 – ‘With your death on the cross make us one; with your sprinkled blood forgive me.’ The movement ‘coming’ flows in both directions in the last three lines of each verse. V.1 and 3 are ‘My Jesus I come’ and v.2 ‘My Jesus you come.’ In every instance, after the initial movement, it is Jesus who is requested to respond. V.1 – ‘Seeing me like this, lift me!’ V.2 – ‘Listening to me, set me on my feet!’ V.3 – ‘Seeing me, receive me!’

H.27v.1 ‘For Telling of Life in Christ’ begins with the Shepherd finding the person ‘thrown out on the road.’ This happens in the Andes when someone has been to a *fiesta* and drunk so much that s/he cannot get home.<sup>309</sup> The Shepherd came near and

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<sup>309</sup> The author has personally seen this phenomenon on numerous occasions. It is culturally consistent in that it never occurs in the context of lone drinking. It is part of social participation in a *fiesta*, and the bounds of when drinking begins are circumscribed. See Eugene A. Nida, ‘Drunkenness in Indigenous Religious Rites,’ in *Readings in Missionary Anthropology*, ed. William Smalley

lifted, then carried the person back. The Shepherd reveals who he is in v.2: ‘Look at these wounds, see my blood.’ Then it gets personal: “‘In order to save you I suffered, I died so that you would live forever.’” V.3 begins, ‘Remembering that I was a sinner,’ and continues ‘I ask myself, “Why did he die for me?” His word tells me: “Because I love you!” V.4 names the Shepherd as Jesus, who will return. The fact that ‘He who saves me will come back’ makes the new believer happy, but until then, s/he will live for Jesus. To live one’s life for someone is a major commitment, but then the refrain reiterates why this transaction takes place. It is because ‘Loving me, dying for my sin, he sprinkled his blood in order to forgive me.’

H.45 from John 10:14-16 ‘I am the good shepherd,’ is a translation of the biblical passage but expands to the content of vv.14-18. V.1 coincides with vv.14-15. V.2 - ‘I have my sheep from another sheep pen, I myself will bring these.’ Rather than using the Quechua word for ‘flock,’ Segura highlights the aspect of unity by ‘there will be one gathering, and one Shepherd.’ V.3 is equivalent to vv.17-18. The hymn uses Jesus’ first person words, so he is not named, but the Father is prominent in v.1, describing the intimate relationship between Jesus and God the Father – ‘Only my Father knows me and I he.’ The last line alludes to John 17 – ‘the Father and I are one.’ God’s love and protection help all believers united as one, just as Jesus (the Shepherd) and the Father are one. *Michiq* ‘Shepherd’ and *Allin Michiq* ‘Good Shepherd’ are proper names for God.

H.58 ‘For Worshipping God,’ also entitled ‘Good Shepherd’ in Spanish, is based on Psalm 23. Segura follows the Psalm generally, with a few significant differences. God’s care (vv.1-2) and God’s protection (v.3) are the primary foci, described with vivid visual imagery.

The first person refrain repeats:

My great Shepherd  
I rejoice in this heart of mine  
My very precious Guide.

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(Pasadena, California: William Carey Library, 1974), 104-5 where he makes a distinction between individualistic drinking of North Americans and the social and religious context in indigenous Latin America, where alcohol has the purpose of heightening religious awareness and lowering inhibitions among worshippers. He claims that the attraction of Pentecostalism is connected with just such experiences of religious ecstasy.

Segura is more concrete about food: ‘You feed (as in grazing) me God my Father in very luxuriant grasses;’ (v.1), rather than the simple ‘I shall not want.’ Segura addresses God in a more intimate manner: ‘Only you my dear Beloved.’ *Kuydawanki ñankunapi* ‘you care for me in the ways’ uses Spanish *cuidar* ‘to care for.’ This images the well-known paths in the mountains that Quechuas travel, rather than ‘beside the still waters’ of the Psalm – Segura contextualises to make the Psalm real.<sup>310</sup> V.2 continues the sense of movement. ‘My Creator, you guide me to the waters in order to drink’ specifies that the ‘quiet waters’ of Psalm 23 are to drink, and ‘you drive me my Shepherd to my place of sleep’ is an inclusion that is natural given the vulnerability of sleep and what follows in both Psalm and hymn.

V.3 refers to the personal ‘devil’ *Supay*, rather than ‘evil’ in general as in the Psalm, again linking *Supay* with his domain of darkness. ‘With you my Strength can I be afraid of darkness? Forever my Protector, protect me from the Devil.’ V.4 equates ‘my Provider’ with ‘God my Father’ - ‘you will make me be *kachiwanki* in your house forever God my Father.

There are many names for God in this hymn:

<i>Yus</i>	God
<i>Taytay</i>	Father
<i>Kuyakuq</i>	Beloved
<i>Michiq</i>	Shepherd
<i>Michikuq</i>	Shepherder
<i>Pusakuy</i>	Guide
<i>Kamaq</i>	Creator
<i>Kallpanchaq</i>	Strengtheners
<i>Waqaychaq</i>	Protector
<i>Mikuchiq</i>	Feeder/Provider

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<sup>310</sup> See Editor, ‘Apuntes sobre la cosmovisión Andina,’ *Allpanchis Phuturinga* (Cuzco), Vol. III (1971): 11-13, which concludes, ‘In the Andes we need a body of theology, built on a worldview that expresses the lived communion between people and nature.’

### 3.2.6.5 The Light

Segura attributes Ch46 to John 8:12,<sup>311</sup> naming it ‘Light of the World’ accordingly in the Spanish contents. The domain in which Jesus lives, with God the Father, and into which he draws every believer, is one of ‘marvellous light.’ Segura’s inclusion of ‘disgusting sin’ and ‘darkened heart’ contextualise the meaning of light to the Quechua. These have no place in God’s domain. Segura considered the bounded safety of Jesus’ domain of light most able to communicate the protection from all wrong that Jesus offers. To walk in darkness is not only to not be able to see where one is going – it is to submit to the *Supay* whose domain is the darkness. To walk in light is to walk in the eternal life that God the Father offers to those who believe in Jesus.

The topic of light as a source of security for Quechua believers continues in H.54 ‘For Worshipping God.’ The hymn is personal: ‘You are the one who illuminates *kanchaqmi* my heart with love...only you enlighten *kanchawanki* me; I will follow you Jesus.’ (v.1). The refrain relates the process that arrives at ‘your death saves me, your love enters my heart’ - ‘My Jesus, you died on the cross because of my sin.’ There is the sense that while Jesus died for everyone, it was ‘my sin’ in particular. V.2 seems to apologise for the blatantly individualistic tenor of the hymn: ‘Your heart loves everyone, and so also me, you alone love me, that’s why I give you my heart.’ In return (back to refrain): ‘My love is only for you, in my heart I remember you.’ Remembering is significantly in the heart (essence of being) rather than the mind for the Quechua. ‘To remember’ *yuyariy* is the corollary of ‘to forget’ – the worst *hucha*. To give the heart and to remember is to offer one’s whole being – not just a token gesture, but complete commitment. The interplay in H.54 is one of mutually giving and receiving all the sentiments that the heart contains.

Jesus’ help is for service (v.3) - ‘You strengthen my soul, so that I no longer fear, you guide me in everything, so that I can serve you each day.’ V.4 returns to the light, this time in heaven. Place and person are linked: ‘In heaven I will be with you

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<sup>311</sup> ‘I am the light of the world. Whoever follows me will never walk in darkness, but will have the light of life.’

forever; you take me to the light so that I can see your face.’ The constant focus on Jesus is both the way and the goal. The light illuminates on the way, but on arrival the light is there in order to illuminate the beloved Saviour’s face. Open relationship is at the root of the need for light.

H.44 in ‘For Help/Protection of Believers’ begins with the Father’s ‘light’ *kanchaq* (v.1). That light that shines out from the Father is contrasted with fear (refrain and v.3) and evil (the ‘not good’ v.3). The light is associated with all that strengthens to resist both of these. ‘We want to work only for you; only give us strength!’ The believer no longer works for him/herself, but rather for the Father who protects and strengthens in Jesus (refrain and vv.2,3). The refrain is no longer personal testimony, prevalent in ‘For telling of life in Christ’ – here is community response that permeates the whole hymn:

Let’s be happy without fearing,  
Let’s sing for Jesus (on his behalf);  
Let’s speak without fearing  
So that all will be saved.

This is the first time in the hymnbook that Segura mentions the unity that Jesus considered so important in John 17 – ‘Let’s be of one heart.’ (v.2). V.1 started with the Father, but vv.2-3 continue with Jesus. It is the Father’s light, but Jesus is the one who the Quechua church relates to more closely (see **3.2.7 Incarnation**).

Segura never uses the biblical imagery of ‘foundations’ as that on which more is built, both literally and figuratively. Strong foundations, such as the rock in Jesus’ parable,<sup>312</sup> provide security. For Segura, security comes from relationship with the shepherd in his light *kancha*, with all the other sheep that the shepherd has gathered. Segura also never names the church – the only possibility would be Spanish *iglesia*, since Quechua has no word for church. ‘To assemble’ *huñuy* or ‘assembly’ *huñun* would also have been possible. Segura preferred to build his own image for ‘church’ around the domain of ‘light’ *kancha* - a word that was relational (to the shepherd and other sheep) and that provided a new sense of identity apart from the *kanchas* such

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<sup>312</sup> Matthew 7:24-27.

as the Inca *Corricancha* ‘the gold enclosure’<sup>313</sup> that were temples impressively shining with gold where the *huacas* of conquered peoples were gathered in symbolic worship of the sun. The people living in this *kancha*, with this shepherd Jesus, have a new identity as a new people, and their final *kancha* will be in heaven, gathered with all those that belong to Jesus. *Kancha* also equates with the biblical ‘Kingdom of God’ in that it is concrete symbolism for God’s reign, whether in *kay pacha* or *hanaq pacha* – the domain of light belongs to the triune God.

Both *kancha* (light) and *muyuriqnimpim* (encircling) define the relationship with Jesus in H.85 ‘For Children.’ The chorus responds: ‘I praise you my dear God, I worship you my dear Jesus, saying [*ni-yku-spankum* with emotion *-yku-*] with one voice everyone is singing.’ Singing is more important than speaking in worship. ‘The children encircling *muyuriqnimpim* the feet of Jesus, all the saved are singing to Jesus with love.’ (v.1). Jesus’ ‘clothing and face are shining, so they themselves are living happily, no longer seeing the darkness they are singing for Jesus.’ (v.3). One can imagine the circle defining those that belong to Jesus sitting together around his feet, while the light emanates on to them from his very own person, dispelling everything that belongs to the domain of darkness. The reason all this is possible is because he ‘sprinkled *chaqchurqa* his precious blood for all his children’ (v.2). Jesus has already done it all - before they sin it is already washed.

### 3.2.7 Incarnation

The incarnation, that is the bodily appearance of one of the three persons of the trinity, is very special to Quechua evangelicals. It makes God concrete, meaning that he is real. It also means that he can understand their experience and associated emotions and be their guide to *hanaq pacha*. In Quechua the incarnation is also made real with the concrete name for a person. Jesus, the name given to God incarnate, appears 279 times in DST as *Hisus* and once as *Jesus*, while *Kristu* comes

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<sup>313</sup> Silverblatt, *Moon, Sun, and Witches*, 41-5 and María Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, *Historia del Tahuantinsuyu Serie: Historia Andina/13* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1988), 76-7. William H. Prescott, *History of the Conquest of Peru* (London: Swan Sonnenschein, n.d. Original edition 1847), 46-8 provides a description of this ‘most renowned of the Peruvian temples...at Cuzco...it received the name of *Coricancha*, or “the Place of Gold”.’



only 11 times and *Hisucristu* nine times.<sup>314</sup> Father Jorge Lira's collection, from the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, contains RC hymns like '*Apu Yaya*,' which he maintains were based on original Inca hymns and music 'modified' for Quechua Christian use.<sup>315</sup> *Apu Yaya* and other RC hymns also use 'Jesus' and 'Jesus Christ, Lord, Saviour, Redeemer.' Hispanic Protestantism in Peru is largely *mestizo*, whereas both RC Quechua hymns and Segura have contextualized for the Quechua worldview. It is an effective way of appropriating the central word of the Christian faith to another culture, distinguishing it in the midst of other competing (neo-colonial) and not amenable approaches. What Jesus does as incarnate man is described in many ways, and one of them is 'to exchange or buy' *rantiy* – or redemption in theological parlance. Segura connects the Bible/Word of God directly with the communication of God with human beings personified in Jesus, so most of Segura's hymns about the Bible are in the section 'For Telling of Life in Christ.'

H.42 'For Telling of Life in Christ' is about Christ's incarnation, although 'Christ' is named only once at the beginning (Jesus is never mentioned). What makes this clear is the final verse (v.4): 'The same one who saves, where would we find him? The same one who loves, we would recognise him in human form.' Because Christ was incarnate i.e. a human being, he is recognisable – he can be known. Vv.1 and 2 insist on Christ's uniqueness - 'There is no one like Christ – not one, not one' and 'We cannot find another like him – nowhere, nowhere.'

'Knowing our (inclusive) sadness, he makes us rest' in the chorus highlights the association of *samay* 'rest' with difficult emotions rather than work, and makes it clear that the incarnate Saviour himself understands these emotions. 'Asking it *mañaspam* of his Father, he gives us strength' gives an indication of the close relationship Segura believes Christ has with his father – and of the resultant understanding the Father must also have of the human condition. Using the word for

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<sup>314</sup> See McIntosh, 'El Otro Cristianismo,' 1984, 104 and 106 who comments on the same, and having made a comparison between AWT, 8<sup>th</sup> ed., 1967 and *Himnos Evangélicos*, 2<sup>d</sup> ed., 1976 highlights the fact that in the Spanish hymnbook the incidence is exactly the opposite way around.

<sup>315</sup> Arguedas, 'Los Himnos Quechuas,' 168-9.

‘prayer’ *mañay* locates relationship in the process of reciprocal communication. The strength comes from God the father, and yet it is Christ who does the strengthening.

- **God’s Son Christ**

The identification of Christ with Jesus (the incarnation) is clarified in H.57 ‘For Worshipping God’ by beginning with Christ (v.1) and ending with Jesus (v.5), explaining the movement from heaven and back again on behalf of people. V.1 starts with the relationship between God, Christ and the person, then moves on to the incarnation and the importance of blood in salvation (v.2), which connects with visual images of sin in v.3. The climax is the response in v.4 – the inevitable legitimacy of God’s direction in the person’s life and the person’s dependency on God for that direction. V.5 acknowledges that Jesus (God incarnate) is the guide in life and death – he is always present.

V.1 begins ‘Christ, son of God, you are my Saviour – I your son recognise you.’ Jesus is usually addressed as Saviour, so this equates Jesus with the Christ. The relationship with God is then widened because of that salvation to include Segura, and by extension, all who sing this hymn - ‘child’ *churi* with a small ‘c’, means that while God has only one Son, Christ (and therefore God the Father) knows me in a familial relationship too, as his ‘child.’ We are drawn into God’s family because of the Saviour Christ God’s Son. V.2 states Christ’s purpose in ‘coming down’ (from heaven to earth understood) - ‘You came down to a horrible death, with your blood you have saved me.’ This illustrates the human nature of that death – the blood makes it real.

Segura nearly always links *hucha* and ‘heart’ *sunqu*. The heart is core to a person’s being, and it is because of who we are that we are prone to sin – they cannot be separated. ‘You washed me of my black [very dirty] sin.’ The washing of *hucha* (*mayllay* as usual for Segura, rather than *taqsay* ‘to wash absorbent objects,’ an onomatopoeic word describing the slapping of clothing against rocks while washing

in the river<sup>316</sup>) changes the heart - ‘you whitened my black heart’ (v.3). The result of Christ’s ‘horrible death’ on the cross is his ownership of the ‘saved’ (v.4) - ‘I am the one you have saved, only you direct me; I am in your hand, teach me more.’ The status of the saved person in relationship to Christ is one of acknowledged dependency. Jesus appears in v.5 as the everpresent one and the ‘guide’ at death, and it becomes clear that Jesus and the Christ are one and the same. ‘When I fall here pick me up; when I die Jesus take me with you.’

H.83 ‘For Children’ is a complex theological hymn. The chorus clarifies that Jesus saves children (*wawakuna* rather than *churikuna*). These are all ‘being happy in the presence of their beloved...at the foot of the one who bought them.’ The hymn expands on the wonder of who Jesus is. This Jesus who ‘came down’ is the same one who created the world, and ‘with his blood he purchased *rantirqa* his beloved children *wawakuna*’ (v.1). ‘Our Jesus died suffering greatly, loving overabundantly he purchased us all (v.2). The *Apu* as well as the poor/solitary/orphans *wakcha* (in other words, everyone from one extreme to the other – the most powerful to the least) and ‘the child *wawa* who draws near, in the precious presence of Jesus’ is praising singing.’ (v.3). ‘Come all of you, those who believe to the Saviour, only Jesus will love you (plural), he will give you life’ (v.4). Children are saved on the same basis as adults, and are loved in the same way.

- **Christmas**

There are two Christmas songs – H.60 ‘For Worshipping God’ and H.71 ‘Of Resurrection Life for God,’ both entitled ‘Nativity’ in Spanish. H.60 is a simple account of the night Jesus was born, while H.71 explains the purpose of that coming.

H.60v.1 begins with an extensive description of the sky at night – such as one would experience in the Andes on any night. The ‘star’ here is not *chaska* as in Hs.59 and

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<sup>316</sup> McIntosh, conversation, 2 July 2004. Marzal, *El Mundo Religioso*, 91 explains the rite that is called *P’acha t’aqsay* ‘the washing of clothes,’ where the clothes of a dead person must be washed as ‘a) ...a rite of purification of the soul, washing something that has had a close link with the dead person – his/her clothes; in the case of the rite not being carried out, the soul could come to disturb, giving a fright or even taking with it a member of the family; b) ...a rite of liberation of the indebted,

89. It is a special star, so Segura calls it *quyllur* the ‘Venus star’ (which also appears alongside *chaska* in H.59, so it was ‘placed’ *churarqa* there from the creation). ‘One night when the star was shining and the moon giving light, leaving resplendent heaven, Jesus was born in Bethlehem.’ Segura is constant in his theology of the pre-existent Jesus – only then can God be truly triune. Here is the suggestive insertion, not found in the biblical accounts, that Jesus left heaven for the self-limitation of a human birth at a particular place and time.

The refrain begins with ‘angels singing,’ then continues with the angels’ words ‘telling of Jesus.’ “‘Only to God in heaven be glory, and tranquillity [not *samay* as in rest associated with one’s breath,<sup>317</sup> but rather *hawkayaypas* as in having a rest associated with religious celebration<sup>318</sup> and not ‘peace’ as in English, which would be closer to *qasi*] to this world *kay pacha*, good for human beings”.’ The peace communicated here is connected with the joy of reconstruction of relationship between God and people.

In v.2 Segura identifies Jesus’ love as the motivation for his incarnation – he does not believe that it was only the Father’s love and the Father’s will that Jesus be incarnate. ‘In the manger, the place where livestock sleep, loving us so much, wanting to save us forever, Jesus was born in Bethlehem.’ V.3 does not name Mary – she is simply ‘his mother’ *Mamanmi*. The description of a mother suckling her child is common in the Andes - ‘her child swaddling,<sup>319</sup> carrying him lovingly in her arms, she put him on the food for the livestock, when Jesus was born in Bethlehem.’<sup>320</sup> The place of Jesus’ birth is repeated – it is concrete, not an abstract notion.

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so that, with the washing, the river will take the illnesses that caused the death of the relative and also the suffering that the death caused.’

<sup>317</sup> Valderrama, *Diccionario Quechua-Español*, 296.

<sup>318</sup> Ibid., 82: ‘rest, leisure for pleasure/enjoyment. Ritual place. *Hawkay punchaw*: day of rest.

*Hawkay pata*: place for religious ceremonies. The main plaza of prehispanic Cuzco, where the great ceremonies were celebrated.’

<sup>319</sup> Here the verb *waltay*. Valderrama, *Diccionario Quechua-Español*, 371: *waltay*. Calle, Andahuaylas, 2005 says it comes from *walta*, which is a special cloth for wrapping a baby in so that they can go to sleep.

<sup>320</sup> Compare this with Editor, ‘La Pachamama,’ *Allpanchis* (Cuzco), Vol. III (1971): 19, which interprets Jesus’ paternity in Andean terms. ‘For the peasants of the Andes, the birth of Jesus Christ, such as recorded by St. Luke, squares perfectly within the cultural norms in force: here is St. Joseph, as adoptive father, Mary the loving Mother, and...the cave.’

H.71 starts with the nativity, but is more generally about the purpose of the incarnation. V.1 begins ‘Leaving your heaven you came to be born here; not finding a house, you were born in a manger.’ Segura’s intention is to draw attention to the humility of the incarnation. Jesus did not ‘originate’ as the parents of Andean peoples were said to, from *ukhu pacha*, becoming their *huacas* – his home (or origin) was heaven rather than under the earth.<sup>321</sup>

The refrain follows on immediately, paralleling the *pisibri* (*pesebre* ‘manger’) where Jesus was born with Segura’s heart as his gift to Jesus so that Jesus can live there forever, coming into his heart more and more *aswan-aswan*. V.2 explains the purpose of Jesus’ coming as a human being: ‘You came to save those enchained by sin; even seeing your immense love they killed you.’ V.3 jumps to Jesus’ return. ‘We the saved will rejoice when you come back here, you will tell us from inside the clouds, “Come, come my dear child!”.’

- **The Carer**

H.91 ‘For Telling of Life in Christ’ depicts Jesus as caring for the individual believer, whereas H.92 is about God’s care for all his creation.

Segura uses Romans 8:35-39 as the basis for personal testimony of God’s care for him (H.91). *Llakiy* has a wide range of meanings, all of which are applicable – ‘sadness, affliction, grief.’ ‘Only my dear Jesus is caring for me’ (refrain) when ‘Sadness comes to me, suffering encircles me, pain is pulsing in my being, illness surrounds me’ (v.1). Jesus’ care is described as being ‘always in his arms’ where he is ‘keeping me secure’ - ‘I will not fall from his hands’ (v.1). Segura explains that this is necessary because ‘I am hated, I live insulted, my heart becoming sad, it is crying blood’ (v.2). Whereas Jesus identified with human beings in his incarnation, here Segura is identifying himself with the human Jesus who sweated drops like blood in his human anguish and yet still desired to do God’s will above all else.<sup>322</sup>

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<sup>321</sup> See Philippians 2:6-11.

<sup>322</sup> Luke 22.24.

This is the Jesus who understands and holds Segura in his hands. ‘Jesus tells me “Come!” - he himself [in person] consoles me, he himself strengthens me and he himself heals me.’ (v.3). From personal testimony resembling Romans 8:35-36, Segura moves to an affirmation like Romans 8:38-39: ‘Neither death nor life nor anything that exists can separate me from my beloved.’ (v.4). *Rakiy*, the verb that is used in a similar way to ‘separated’ in the English NIV can mean ‘divide up, pass out, share among many,’<sup>323</sup> but is more like the splitting apart of wood.<sup>324</sup> Nothing can separate Segura from God because he is completely united with him.

### 3.2.7.1 Redemption

H.4’s chorus says that ‘without a doubt Jesus Christ died in your place *rantikipipuni*; when you believe in him he will save you.’ This is the only use of *rantiy* in ‘For Telling.’<sup>325</sup> It is connected with the only mention of Jesus’ ‘blood’ *yawar* in this section, which draws primarily on Quechua narrative tradition to prepare people for the teaching in later sections. It is his blood that washes clean – that has in effect been the means of buying the sinner back. The chorus responds to the volley of questions in the four verses that communicate people’s powerlessness in contrast to Jesus’ might:

Do you want to (v.1):	
overcome sins?	With Jesus you will overcome
Are you able to (v.1):	
abhor vices <i>bisyu</i> ?	When he saves you, you will abhor them

*Bisyu vicio* is Spanish. The closest Quechua word would be *mapa* ‘stain.’<sup>326</sup> The verb *mapachay* means to ‘pervert, contaminate.’<sup>327</sup>

Are you (v.2):	
bound by sins?	Jesus will release
tangled by pain?	Jesus will untangle
(v.3) stony-hearted?	Jesus softens
falling in this world?	Jesus will put you on your feet
(v.4) guilty of dreadful things?	Jesus will wash

<sup>323</sup> Hornberger, *Diccionario*, 213 and Valderrama, *Diccionario Quechua-Español*, 278-9.

<sup>324</sup> McIntosh, conversation, 2 July 2004.

<sup>325</sup> See further references to *rantiy* under 3.2.5 To Save *Salbay*.

<sup>326</sup> Valderrama, *Diccionario Quechua-Español*, 155.

II Corinthians 5:21 (Ch.27) is also adapted by Segura.<sup>328</sup> ‘Jesus, the one who did not know sin, he made sin, loving us, he made him suffer, so that we would be reconciled with God Jesus died.’ In the Bible, sin is contrasted with righteousness as a state of being – the one exchanged for the other. Segura’s version is more relational – ‘loving...suffer...reconciled...died’ are all Segura’s additions.

H.52v1 ‘For Worshipping God’ asks: ‘Who descended here? Jesus our (inclusive) Saviour. Who was born poor? Our Saviour Jesus.’ Segura makes three observations:

- Jesus is like us (he came down here)
- he belongs to us - first person plural inclusive
- it is the Saviour himself who is like us and belongs to us, not just anybody.

The Saviour identifies with all Quechua people. The first person plural inclusive is used in every instance.

The chorus records a grateful community response - two of the 15 occurrences of thank-you *grasyas* in the hymnbook:

Let’s sing of love  
All with one heart  
Let’s say to our Saviour:  
“Thank you, thank you my Jesus.”

Each verse has the format of two questions and answers. V.2 ‘Who died on our behalf? He himself – our Saviour.’ ‘Who is the one who gives us life? Jesus the one who bought us *rantiqninchikmi*.’ Death and life are both centered on Jesus the Saviour – the same one who himself experienced their type of life.

V.3 describes what the incarnation meant to Jesus. ‘Who was wounded? The one who died in our place *Rantinchikikpi*.’ ‘Who washed *mayllarqa* our sin? The one who shed *chaqchuqmi* his dear blood.’ Jesus’ suffering is redemptive and cleansing. The verbs *mayllay* and *chaqchuy* need to be understood together. The washing of sin can be accomplished by copious sprinkling because the object need not be soaked if

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<sup>327</sup> Hornberger, *Diccionario*, 126. Valderrama, *Diccionario Quechua-Español*, 155: ‘to dirty, stain, deface.’

<sup>328</sup> ‘God made him who had no sin to be sin for us, so that in him we might become the righteousness of God.’

it is non-absorbent. On the other hand, sprinkling is a sacramental action that accomplishes much more than is obvious, because of its inner working. Whatever Segura thought about sacraments in the church (he limited himself to baptism and the eucharist), he was certainly using sacramental language in his hymns when referring to Jesus blood – both ‘sprinkling’ and ‘washing.’

V.4 ‘Who will return here? The one who resurrecting went.’ The one who returns is the same one who was incarnate ‘here’ *kayman* – in the Quechua world – and who went to heaven (implied). The incarnation that happened in the past defines the future coming, as is usual in Quechua conceptions of time. ‘Who will guide the one who is saved? Our beloved Jesus.’ Jesus will guide believers on his return, just as he saved them when he was incarnate. Again, heaven is implied.

H.82v.2 ‘For Children’ is about Jesus’ (Jesus in vv.1,4 and Christ in vv.2,3 – used interchangeably) death for ‘me,’ comparing it to a purchase – ‘in my place’ *rantiypi*. ‘He carried my sin on His cross suffering.’ V.3 reinforces Jesus’ coming again – ‘Christ himself will come my only guide; leaving this world my soul will go away.’ There is no avoidance of death in a song for and/or about children. In v.4 Jesus is described as the parent: ‘Jesus himself loves all his children *wawata*.’ The last phrase sounds like an evangelistic altar call, which it may have been: ‘He himself wants to save, so come (plural) quickly!’

### **3.2.7.2 The Bible and the Word of God**

The Bible and the Word of God are two separate headings in Spanish, both encompassing Chs.68-71. Ch.68 is a prayer for awareness raising – ‘Open the eye of my understanding (imperative), my God! So that I know what your most precious word has told me.’ Ch.69 is a prayer for Jesus to tell (imperative) what his will is, with his word, so that the person can respond with action immediately. Whatever Jesus says ‘with your good writing’ *Sumaq qillqaykiwan*, the believer desires ‘in order to do’ *ruranaypaq* in response. Jesus’ word is associated with the biblical text. Ch.70 begins ‘Let your word be like a mirror for me.’ The effect of Jesus’ word is a



progression of seeing, confessing and washing (of sin). The whole process is launched by Jesus' word, and the order of the three steps cannot be changed.

The 'Word' of God as speech may not be so important in creation for Segura, but it is when it comes to following Jesus. H45v4 for example: 'My beloved sheep follow me hearing my word alone.' All the senses are focussed on the Guide – including the sense of sound.

The conclusion of H.29 is that the Saviour Jesus is found by 'receiving his word' *Simillanta chaskispaymi*. Hearing and actively responding by receiving go together in order to find Jesus. It is not possible to find him without the response. Vv.1-3 describe the journey from death to life of a self-confessed 'very great sinner.' The refrain testifies that 'My Jesus has saved me now.' There is a transfer effected by this saving – from death to life, and from crying to sins being forgiven (implying that crying expresses distress at *hucha*). The journey begins in v.2 - 'With my sin I walked.' Living like this caused great sorrow, and daily scarcity. In v.3 the person has come to the end of their capacity to endure – 'My heart was finished seeing the one being buried, my soul also went astray when I remembered death.' The awareness of and fear of death is a great impetus for the person to seek 'my Saviour' (v.4). This may very well be the expression of Segura's own experience when he nearly died of a pulmonary infection.

Ch.71 is also under a third Spanish heading – Bread of Life. Jesus' Word helps the believer by searching and/or testing him/her. It is also 'your living bread for my food' in order to strengthen the believer 'with my customs for my service.' This contrasts with the RC Host as heavenly food to strengthen.

Each of H.34's 3 verses in 'For Telling of Life in Christ' begins and ends (lines 1 and 4) with the same line:

- V.1 - 'The best of all books is the Bible'. 'When I look at it it speaks to me, reminding me of Jesus.'

- V. 2 - ‘Of all those who love me the best is Jesus.’ ‘When I pray he hears me, he helps me in my life.’
- V.3 - ‘The best of all works is faith.’ ‘If only I believe in my Jesus he will keep me forever.’

The progression is from the Bible to Jesus to belief in him (‘belief’ *ĩĩiy* can be translated ‘creed’). For Segura there is no dichotomy between faith and works. For the Quechua there must be works, and faith is the best. The Bible is important because without it the Quechua would not know about Jesus’ attitude towards them.

H.40 ‘For Telling of Life in Christ’ begins with marked reciprocity. V.1 ‘I want to sing for Jesus with all my heart, serve him without resting; he himself gives me strength so that I am disgusted by sin and hold on for ever.’ This is Segura’s personal testimony. His greatest service was in writing and teaching Quechua evangelicals his hymns as a service to the Jesus he loved, as well as helping to translate the Bible into Ayacucho-Chanca Quechua and preaching and teaching his own commentaries on the biblical text. All that Segura desired was possible because of God’s gift of strength – moral and physical. V.2 confirms Jesus’ presence with Segura. He begins commenting about the ‘happiness I find, telling Jesus.’ This is confession. And Jesus of course reciprocates, ‘with love’: “I am with you, wherever you are I am with you.”

H.40’s reference to the Bible in v.3 is especially personal – ‘My Jesus speaks to me each day with his writing.’ Segura is referring to Jesus’ word as text. He goes on to say that this is so that he (Segura) will ‘give him my heart more and more.’ Jesus becomes an irresistible attraction. The response is ‘I will serve only him; I will tell others only of him until he says to me “Come!”’ This is what Segura did with his life, here described in terms of reciprocal relationship with Jesus.

H.41 is the only hymn in ‘For Telling of Life in Christ’ entitled ‘The Bible’ in the Spanish contents. It also appears under ‘Word of God.’ In the first line, ‘The Holy Scripture (in capitals – proper name)’ is the name given to the Ayacucho/Chanca Bible translation – *Chuya Qellqa*, affirming that it is ‘surely the word of God for me’

as Segura puts it. And since ‘only he is my good guide,’ then by extension, the Bible is God’s word to guide. Segura declares that when he takes a false way, God ‘gives me light’ (again, through the Bible), so that he returns to him. ‘Each time that I read it, it speaks to me of God alone;’ v.2. Segura gives a personal example: ‘When my soul is fearing here, when it tells me “I am no longer able to cope, so I will return,” it [the Bible] tells me “Do not go!”’ (v.2). Here Segura is referring to difficulties that might tempt a person to turn back from following Jesus.

V.3 describes the devil’s part in making it difficult to go on in his faith (its encouragement being one reason why he thinks the Bible is so important) - ‘When the Devil *Supay* surrounds me with every type of sin.’<sup>329</sup> The next line gives the antidote: ‘His precious word speaks to me, telling me: “Come near to Jesus (imperative) – tell him alone so that you will be saved.”’ The Bible is important because of what it ‘speaks’ or communicates. V.4 continues with the assurance that through ‘all that is written [in the Bible] he advises me with love.’ The loving quality of the communication is important to Segura. It is there ‘so that I live wisely.’ The Bible then is a guide and help to communicate God’s wishes in relationship to people, in order to make it possible for them to achieve the final goal: ‘Because I have been saved I am now going to heaven to live there with my Saviour.’ Segura believed he was already on the journey to heaven, and communicated that consistently in his hymnody.

H.90 is Segura’s personal testimony of how ‘Only the fact that my God is daily speaking to me with his word telling me “Come child [of the father]”, is keeping me in his arms [*marqaynimpi* like a baby]’ (v.3). The hymn begins with confession of sin – night and day Segura’s flesh and heart unite in sin, besieging his soul (v.1). V.2 laments his weakness- ‘What then is this my flesh! What then is this my heart! That only wants to fall in sin, that only guides my soul to trials.’ It is in the context of that awareness of sin that God says ‘come,’ and not when he is feeling good about himself. ‘When I humbly confess, when I tell him from within’ then God responds

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<sup>329</sup> *Tukuy rikchaq huchawan supay muyuwaptinmi*. McIntosh, conversation, 2 July 2004: The *supay* lived in the whirlwind, and the *yaku mama* lived in the whirlpool. Both spun (‘to spin’ *muyuy*) powerfully around, and caused a loss of control for anyone caught up in them.

with “Do not be afraid” and he strengthens me with Jesus’ (v.4). V.5 displays the interaction between God and Jesus in Segura’s life. ‘My God loves me, my Jesus cares for me, when I fall he lifts me and when I am sad he consoles me.’

H.55 ‘For Worshipping God’ appears in two Spanish categories – ‘Bible’ and ‘Word of God.’ The hymn includes direct speech from God. There are four verses and no refrain. V.1 extolls God’s word: ‘How beautiful is your word, my God!’ ‘It brings great joy to my heart, each day it strengthens me, my dear Father saying, “Do not fear!”’ This message is noted as coming from Isaiah 41:13 in Ch.54. The word is an audible voice in v.2. ‘When I am very nearly falling, my Creator [*Kamaqniy*], saying, “Child, get up!” speaks to me each dawn, so that I will not fall - the one who cares for me.’ The purpose of God’s speech is to keep Segura from falling, that is, failing in *hucha*.

V.3 describes God’s voice – ‘How tender is your word my Maker, being gentle it finds entrance [that is, it is easy to receive], it makes the cold heart burn, it softens the heart of stone, my Beloved.’ This verse revolves around *llampu-llampullam* ‘tender’ as the manner in which God’s power works through his word. It is able to transform the cold and stony heart. In v.4 Segura shows how God’s love has convinced in such a way that trust is inevitable in response. ‘Now I love only you my Guide, strengthen me in all my ways [literal], protect me forever to serve you alone my Creator.’

There are seven names for God in this hymn<sup>330</sup>:

<i>Yus</i>	God
<i>Taytay</i>	Father
<i>Kamaq</i>	Creator
<i>Uywaq</i>	Carer
<i>Ruraq</i>	Maker
<i>Kuyaq</i>	Lover
<i>Pusaq</i>	Guide

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<sup>330</sup> See names in Good Shepherd H.58. God, Father, Beloved/Lover, Guide and Lord/Creator overlap.

This is the God who speaks. By using these names, Segura is providing incontrovertible proof that this God is worth listening to. He speaks, both from the Bible and with a voice that Segura recognizes as God's.

Overall, Segura's hymnody provided a new ordering of time and space – a *pacha* where some boundaries were redrawn and others were overcome. Segura did this by re-telling familiar stories, challenging some deeply held Quechua beliefs, and reinforcing others, albeit in an entirely different *ayllu* context. His project defined a new 'navel' of the cosmos called *kancha* – the domain of light that could be interpreted as the Kingdom of God.

## Chapter 4 - Conclusion

### Florencio Segura's Legacy : The theological significance of his work and subsequent developments in Andean hymnody

Florencio Segura's major aim in his hymnody was didactic. The first hymnbook was entitled 'Songs from God's Word,' and that is what they were intended to be. He wanted people to know the Bible, so he never did translations from Spanish hymns, although he frequently checked which Bible passages were used by other hymn writers and would often use the same passages.<sup>1</sup> A Bible translator, Segura had a translator's sensibility to words and their meanings that makes his choice of vocabulary significant. A secondary aim was to provide songs for worship. That worship included 'confession' of the belief or creed *iñiy* of Quechua evangelicals, songs to accompany sacraments and personal testimony. Thirdly, the hymns were an evangelistic tool.<sup>2</sup> They were meant to be heard by others as a witness to faith - here Segura used the first person plural exclusive *-niku* – while those that were meant to be sung in the community as exhortation for themselves, were written in the first person plural inclusive *-nchik*.

Segura's OT hymns, 'translating' the narratives of creation, the flood, and healing, for example, interpreted the Bible in such a way that Quechua people could relate them to their own experience and contrast them to myths of origin in their oral tradition. These new narratives went beyond etiological tales, important both for 'information about cultural history' and 'indispensable for the study of the cosmological concepts of a given culture.'<sup>3</sup> Segura's hymns explained cosmological concepts like that of the flood in a different way from that which they were familiar with.

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<sup>1</sup> Emilia Segura, interview by author, 14 December 2001, Talavera, Apurímac, Peru, notes and tape recording, author.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. Emilia Segura, Florencio Segura's sister, mentioned the effect hymns had on people, with them crying in repentance. Interestingly, the first subject that she mentioned as eliciting this response was of God as creator (specifically H.59). Others were hymns about hell, the coming of Christ (H.66) and *Maytam Richkanki*. She called H.68 'Evangelizar y Alabanza' (To evangelize and praise).

<sup>3</sup> Jan Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History* (Oxford: James Currey, 1985), 11.

Since Andean oral tradition is collective, it is not surprising that hymns were heard and appropriated through ‘conventions’ where a number of villages would gather for a few days together, taking turns from one year to another. Segura attended as many conventions as he could in the early days of his hymn writing, causing some frustration to Kenneth Case who was trying to finish the Quechua New Testament translation with Segura as his sole language helper. When financial support from the American Bible Society became uncertain, Segura gladly began ‘making other arrangements.’<sup>4</sup> Segura’s priority was supervising the learning of his hymns by Quechua evangelicals. Because people, on the whole, were illiterate, the method of learning the music and words was to repeat them over and over until they were memorized. Some missionaries resorted to taking earplugs along when they attended conventions, so that the practicing of new songs all night long did not keep them awake.<sup>5</sup> Thus the words and music were known in more depth than is common in literate societies.

Segura composed hymns that were unique to the worship of God within an evangelical context.<sup>6</sup> His work was original. When contrasted with RC hymnody, it is significant that most of Segura’s hymnody would come under the general heading ‘*Misioncunapacc*’ (for missions), which in the RC bilingual Spanish-Quechua *Rezar y Cantar* (To pray and to sing) 2004 edition includes such titles as ‘*Misiompacc: chacatascca quirinchascca*’ (For mission: crucified, he was wounded), ‘*Salvación*,’ ‘*Jucha*,’ ‘*Huañui*’ (Death), ‘*Juicio*’ (Judgement), ‘*Infierno*’ (Hell), ‘*Diospa Chunca Siminmanta taqui*’ (Song of the ten commandments). Quechua RC hymnody since Vatican II allowed for the Mass in the vernacular, begins with the Quechua Mass (*Misa Incaica*). The Council’s decisions did not take long to filter down, given that only five years after its closure in 1965, the bishop of Abancay in southern Peru published the first edition of *Rezar y Cantar* (1970). In the beginning, the orthography employed was the simplified version used by Segura and much more

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<sup>4</sup> Kenneth Case, Andahuaylas, Apurímac, Peru, circulars to friends in Britain, 28 December 1951 and 19 September 1953, originals held by Frances Case, Southampton, United Kingdom.

<sup>5</sup> Dennis Smith, interview by author, 23 May 2001, Banbury, Oxfordshire, United Kingdom, notes and tape recording, author.

<sup>6</sup> See Marcelino Tomayconza, interview by author, 2 January 2002, Cuzco, Peru, notes and tape recording, author.

recently by Valderrama in his 2003 dictionary. Afterwards, a more complex system of differentiation was settled on, where instead of 'q' there could be *j*, *k'*, *kk*, *kh*, *kkh*, *cc*, etc.<sup>7</sup> This system is more commonly used in Cuzco Quechua rather than Ayacucho-Chanca.

Some of the older RC hymns, notably '*Ccapacc Eterno Dios*,' are still very much in use. The next-to-largest section is devoted to the Virgin Mary, while the largest, comprising a variety of other songs, includes songs about the Holy Family - some of which could also be attributed to the Virgin Mary. Two sections have other songs for the Mass. On the whole the emphasis is largely liturgical and sacramental, with two significant sections for Christmas and Holy Week. Segura avoided hymns for Holy Week completely, preferring to focus on the cross as a spatial and 'present' (*pacha*) orientated marker to the 'way' (*ñan*). Segura's hymnody is much more male, with an emphasis on Bible narratives pointing to salvation.

Segura remained wary throughout his life of the use of any music but his own for evangelical worship, fearing it would tempt people to return to their old ways of life, where other types of music were associated with other activities.<sup>8</sup> Segura used this musical language to its full advantage by associating it with the first evangelical Quechua theology. The invention of Quechua-sounding music for a separate function made the evangelical church distinctive, and drew a line between them and Quechua people of other persuasions. It was clear that to join the evangelicals there had to be a radical change of allegiance. But Segura remained faithful to foundational principles of Quechua society, whether consciously or unconsciously – oral tradition (and specifically the use of story rather than abstract concepts), community and adherence to traditional Quechua structures in society and forms of communication.

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<sup>7</sup> See Abdón Yaranga Valderrama, *Diccionario Quechua-Español Runa Simi – Español* (Lima: Biblioteca Nacional del Peru and Paris: Université de Paris VIII-Vincennes à Saint-Denis, 2003), xxvii.

<sup>8</sup> See Isaías Calle, interview by author, 4 January 2002, San Jerónimo, Apurímac, Peru, notes and tape recording, author and Cherry Noble, interview by author, 3 April 2001, Mold, Flintshire, United Kingdom, notes and tape recording, author.



## 4.1 Theology

Dispensationalism as a theological trend began with John Nelson Darby and the Brethren movement in Britain and was encouraged by the Scofield Bible. ‘A dispensation is “a period of time during which man is tested in respect of obedience to some *specific* revelation of the will of God,” according to C.I. Scofield.’<sup>9</sup> The trend did not fit the integrated Quechua approach to time, although EUSA missionaries were affected by it in varying degrees.<sup>10</sup> To the Quechua, the narratives of the Old Testament are as relevant as the New Testament. On the other hand, apocalyptic theology is not difficult for them to comprehend, given their experience of cataclysms. There was always an interrelationship between events in the real world and how biblical themes were understood and carried over into Quechua hymnody. Isaías Calle comments with regard to the meaning of salvation, that Segura thought of it as ‘going up a ladder in order to get there,’ while for Calle, the meaning was ‘to be taken out of a situation, in order to be put into a free place.’ The historical and geographical circumstances of their lives had changed, affecting their view of salvation. The most common disagreement between the generation of the 40s-60s (Segura’s) and the 80s and 90s (Calle’s) concerned the melodies used, since to Segura these superimposed their own meaning onto the words.<sup>11</sup>

During the compilation of Segura’s hymns, Andean culture was still centred on an integrated *pacha*, so that heaven was a journey from here to there. The heyday of the festivals that Calle was involved with coincided with the activities of the Shining Path and literacy programmes that succeeded not only in teaching people to read Quechua, but also in increasing their proficiency in Spanish. Both the influence of Maoist terrorism with its consequent people movements to the big cities (and

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<sup>9</sup> See José Míguez Bonino, *Faces of Latin American Protestantism*, 1993 Carnahan Lectures, (originally published as *Rostros del Protestantismo Latinoamericano*, Grand Rapids, Michigan and Cambridge, UK: William B. Eerdmans, 1995), this translation 1997 and G.W. Grogan, ‘Dispensationalism,’ in *The New International Dictionary of the Christian Church*, ed. J.D. Douglas (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1974, 1978), 303. Scofield outlined seven dispensations: ‘Innocence (before the Fall), Conscience (from the Fall to Noah), Human Government (from Noah to Abraham), Promise (from Abraham to Moses), Law (from Moses to Christ), Grace (the Church age), the Kingdom (the Millennium).’

<sup>10</sup> Hilda Briscoe, interview by author, 30 April 2001, Ramsgate, Kent, United Kingdom, notes and tape recording, author.

<sup>11</sup> Calle, interview, 4-1-2002.

beyond) and increasing literacy that broadened Quechua cultural horizons, disrupted the integrated world that the Quechua had lived in for centuries.

Quechua, having started as the language of power in the Inca Empire, finally became a language of resistance to Spanish and neo-colonial imperialism. To begin with, the Spanish continued to use Quechua to help unify their conquest, both in political and religious terms.<sup>12</sup> By the time Segura came along, Spanish was in the ascendancy as the language of power, so that in order to reach the non-Spanish speaking Quechua, Segura had to make the choice of a 'preferential option for the poor.' Velasco's decision to make Quechua equal with Spanish and to teach in Quechua in the first instance paved the way for the literacy programmes of people like Hilda Briscoe and Fernando Quicaña. When taken together with the mass migrations of people from the Andes to the cities, this has resulted in a shift in culture from Quechua to Spanish, alongside the change of place.<sup>13</sup>

Missionaries need to be aware of the constantly changing nature of culture, especially in contexts of great people movements. Language should be a tool to facilitate relationship. The relational aspects of the Godhead that Míguez Bonino considers important in developing a Latin American theology were already present in Segura's Quechua theology – particularly in his treatment of the Trinity. The seeds of a relational theology were there in Segura's indigenous expression. It may be true that the Spanish 'Latin American Protestant churches are churches "without theology",'<sup>14</sup> but the same cannot be said of the nascent Quechua churches.

Hymns contribute to the development of individual and collective spiritualities. Gustavo Gutiérrez defines spirituality as 'the following of Jesus.' Every Christian is

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<sup>12</sup> See Nathan Wachtel, *sociedad e ideología* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1973), 166-9 for a discussion of two types of acculturation in the context of two cultures – Spanish and Quechua – one dominant and the other dominated. Usually acculturation is to the dominant culture, but he contends that Guamán Poma de Ayala has re-established the needed equilibrium by restoring 'the particular mechanism of the indigenous mind.' Language is then no longer subservient to the dominant culture.

<sup>13</sup> See Alejandro Ortiz Rescaniere, *La Pareja y el Mito* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2001), 403-13 for a discussion of how *ayllu* community facilitates adaptation to change – change that has always been there (witness the naming of ecological differences such as altitudes, for example).

<sup>14</sup> Míguez Bonino, *Latin American Protestantism*, 111.

‘a follower of Jesus, and reflection on the experience of following constitutes the central theme of any solid theology.’<sup>15</sup> For Domingo Llanque Chana, the RC Aymara theologian, incarnation is what inculturation is all about. Just as Jesus took on flesh in a particular culture and learned the language and religion of his mother, so ‘every search and experience of living profoundly, celebrating and sharing the Good News from within different cultures is a path of inculturation whose fruition requires a long process.’<sup>16</sup> Because history and the relationships arising from history have an effect on any context, each spirituality will have its own expression of following the incarnate Jesus. In RC hymnody, the Quechua Mass has been central, especially since Vatican II.<sup>17</sup>

One of the weaknesses of evangelical Christianity has been the belief that there must necessarily be only one correct interpretation of any biblical text. But if the Word of God is about applicability to life in answer to the question, ‘How should we then live?’ then each culture’s response will be different, and different at different times. A canonical view, drawing from broad sweeps of biblical narrative, would begin and end with biblical principles that are more flexible, and can be applied differently depending on historical context.

There is an ongoing need for new evangelical leaders like Segura who will take the painstaking effort needed to assess the current situation of Quechua people and to elaborate a new application/s of what the word of God is saying to them about the way they should live their lives here and now. The work of Fernando Quicaña in the area of identity is worth considering as a basis on which evangelical Quechuas can formulate a theology, both because his is the most formulated theology to come from the Ayacucho-Chanca area, and because he worked with Segura for many years, encouraging Quechua musicians and organising music festivals.

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<sup>15</sup> Gustavo Gutiérrez, *We Drink from Our Own Wells* (London: SCM 1984, translation Orbis Books 1984, Spanish original Lima: Centro de Estudios y Publicaciones, 1983), 1.

<sup>16</sup> Domingo Llanque Chana, *Vida y Teología Andina* (Puno: Instituto de Estudios Aymaras (IDEA) and Cuzco: Centro Bartolomé de las Casas (CBC), 2004), 34-5.

<sup>17</sup> Every *Devocionario* to be used by lay Quechua RC Christians includes sung masses in Quechua.

- **Fernando Quicaña**

Fernando Quicaña is a Quechua Presbyterian pastor who heads up an indigenous evangelical organisation called *Tawantinsuyuman Alli Wuillacui Apajcuna* (Quechua for ‘those who take the Gospel to the four cardinal points’) - TAWA.<sup>18</sup> The nomenclature is a pointed reference to the Inca structuring of space. The four cardinal points described a division of the known world. As the limits of the known world spread, they were simply accommodated within the structure of the *Tawantinsuyu*.<sup>19</sup> Despite his appropriation of the *Tawantinsuyu* for a Quechua self-understanding, Quicaña chooses to use the name *Pachacamaq*,<sup>20</sup> a pre-Inca creator deity, for his identification with a creator-God,<sup>21</sup> rather than the Inca name *Viracocha*, used after the Inca defeat of the *Chancas*<sup>22</sup> by *Pachacuti*.

The choice of name reveals what is uppermost in Quicaña’s mind - his commitment to preserving Inca structures as evidence of the cultural peak possible within Andean culture. It could be questioned whether a focus on a particular moment of history, in which one community achieved supremacy, of itself validates a ‘total way of life’ which in fact was common to the other *ayllus* in the Inca *Tawantinsuyu*. That which made it possible for the Incas to rule - dividing people from each other and from their *huacas* and ascribing divinity to themselves, for example - could also be interpreted as negative values. While he admits to culture being a changing entity, Quicaña seeks to identify those aspects of Inca culture which he considers integral to Andean

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<sup>18</sup> Fernando Quicaña, ‘El Evangelio y La Cultura Andina,’ in *Todo el Evangelio para todos los Pueblos*, ed. Ediciones Puma del Centro de Investigaciones y Publicaciones (Lima, Peru: CONEP – PROMIES, FTL and Comité de Seguimiento – CLADE III – Peru, 1992), 55. Translation from Spanish mine.

<sup>19</sup> See William Mitchell, ‘The Appropriation of the Quechua Language by the Church and the Christianisation of Peru in the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries’ (Ph.D. diss., University of Edinburgh, 1991), 40-7 for a fuller account of the Inca structuring of space. 40: ‘As the pattern of political power shifted, so the new could be incorporated and the old demoted within the pantheon, yet all in terms of the existing sacred geography, its symbols and divisions.’

<sup>20</sup> Also spelled Pachacamac.

<sup>21</sup> Fernando Quicaña, ‘El Evangelio y la Cultura Andina,’ in *Todo el Evangelio Para todos los Pueblos*, CLADE III: Documentos, ed. Ediciones Puma del Centro de Investigaciones y Publicaciones (Lima, Peru: CONEP – PROMIES, FTL and Comité de Seguimiento – CLADE III – Peru, 1992), 61.

<sup>22</sup> See John Howland Rowe, *Inca Culture at the Time of the Spanish Conquest*, from Bulletin 143, Handbook of South American Indians, Vol. 2 (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1946), 293 and Thmas C. Patterson, ‘The Inca Empire and Its Subject Peoples,’ in *The Indian in Latin American History: Resistance, Resilience and Acculturation* Jaguar Books on Latin America, Number 1, ed. John E. Kicza (Wilmington, Delaware: Scholarly Resources Inc., 1993), 9.

identity, with the purpose of reinterpreting them through the superimposed grid of the 'Holy Bible,' thus making deeper understandings possible.<sup>23</sup>

For Quicaña the land and the Quechua cannot exist without each other. His view of community is not of a people moving towards a promise of land, as the biblical Exodus was. Nor does he use that image as Latin American Liberation theologians would. The two are already a realised entity, whether the people are present on their land or not. The name 'Mama-pacha or Patsa' personifies the land. Quicaña follows this by commenting that this coincides with what the Bible says in Genesis 3:19 and 2:7 - 'By the sweat of your brow you will eat your food until you return to the ground, since from it you were taken; for dust you are and to dust you will return.'<sup>24</sup>

Other areas Quicaña connects with biblical understandings are the political foundation of the *Tawantinsuyu*, which he describes as a theocracy; its moral code, which he maintains is an integral part of the conscience of the Quechua and Aymara people; its theological conceptions, which he identifies closely with biblical theological categories; and the importance of unity, which he believes is an area important to biblical theology, and an area in which the European evangelical could learn from the Quechua culture.<sup>25</sup> Quicaña's danger lies in endeavouring to legitimise his own theological position by identifying it with an idealised period in Andean history. Such an effort signifies a lack of assurance as to the merit of the Andean way of life apart from its ability to co-ordinate an earthly kingdom - albeit one that astounded the Spaniards.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Quicaña, 'El Evangelio,' 57. The Bible is central to Quicaña's thinking as an evangelical. For him, the Spanish at the time of the conquest were primarily Aristotelian in their thinking ('there are men who are born to rule and others to obey'). He quotes Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda: '*The indians are slaves, barbarians, without culture and inhuman by nature, and if they refuse to obey other, more perfect men, it is just to subjugate them by force and with war.*' Such a statement convinces Quicaña that the 'sadly celebrated Sepúlveda was an ignoramus in the knowledge of the Holy Bible.'

<sup>24</sup> Quicaña, 'El Evangelio,' 58-9. Also see Karen Spalding, *Huarochirí: An Andean Society Under Inca and Spanish Rule* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1984), 9 for a specific example of this understanding from the myths of Huarochirí.

<sup>25</sup> Quicaña, 'El Evangelio,' 58-63.

<sup>26</sup> Spalding, *Huarochirí*, 72-4.

Given that Andean culture pre-dated the Incas,<sup>27</sup> and that their way of life seems to have retained certain consistencies, Quicaña's parallels with the Bible are an interesting insight into how an Andean evangelical spirituality is formed. Its basis is a biblical interpretation that respects the presupposition that much of Andean society was good, and not inconsistent with biblical values. This reflects Quicaña's Presbyterian background, which held a higher view of creation principles and the survival of good despite the Genesis 3 'Fall' than many other evangelical denominations. This was also Segura's presupposition, and during the years that Quicaña worked with him during the 80s, was something they spoke about at length.<sup>28</sup>

Unity and work are two of the greatest values in any Andean community. Quicaña maintains that if it had not been for the dualistic perception of reality brought by outsiders (teaching a division between the 'spiritual and the worldly'), Quechua believers would have been able to 'bring about profound changes in the social, economic, religious and political aspects of their communities, since the gospel is the "power of God" which transforms the person through the Holy Spirit so that s/he may practice justice, righteousness and honesty as "the light of the world and the salt of the earth".'<sup>29</sup>

Quicaña's description of the *Tawantinsuyu* may be idealised, but it is nevertheless that particular retelling of history that informs the method he uses in interpreting the Bible. In his summary of the agreements reached by the July 1978 meeting in Huancayo of leaders from five different denominations, under the auspices of the "Peruvian Quechua Evangelical Community" (now TAWA),<sup>30</sup> it is the third clause which reveals most clearly the basis for a new Quechua hermeneutical method:

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<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 5 dates 'state systems' that 'emerged as a particular group expanded from its home territory and conquered other communities and local societies,' on the basis of the work of archaeologists, to before the birth of Christ. The common elements of these local societies were 'Andean definitions of the environment and the Andean organization of production,' which produced prosperity only within the context of cooperative effort.

<sup>28</sup> Fernando Quicaña, interview by author, 19 December 2001, Huanta, Ayacucho, Peru, notes and tape recording, author.

<sup>29</sup> Quicaña, 'El Evangelio,' 62-3.

‘Promote seminars and workshops for the training of leaders in biblical and theological doctrines, grounded on the Sacred Scriptures, starting from the ideological point of view of the Andean man.’<sup>30</sup>

Quicaña’s ideal ‘Andean man’ is that expressed in the Inca *Tawantinsuyu*. Given that he and his family believe in their direct descent from the priests of the Incas,<sup>31</sup> it is no surprise that his sense of responsibility extends to a desire to hold together this vision. But even that desire needs to be interpreted within Andean categories. If it is true that ‘when one speaks of the return to the time of the Inca one should not think of it as a return to the historic period of the Inca culture,’ but rather as a return to the ‘Principle of Order’ that the Inca symbolised,<sup>32</sup> then Quicaña’s vision is one of restoring order to a world that has perceived itself as in some way disordered ever since the Spanish conquest.

The fourth clause of the 1978 agreement begins with, ‘Promoting festivals of Andean music’ and ends with ‘revaluing our culture.’ For many people, a revaluation of culture may not be essential, because their culture has not been undervalued by themselves or others. In that case, a critique of culture might still be important. For Andean people, revaluing their culture means finding themselves again - discovering what it means to have an Andean human identity. Without knowing and accepting who we are we can never be truly challenged by another. The encounter would be purely illusory. There seems little doubt that in order to enter a fruitful hermeneutical dialogue (or encounter) with any text, the person approaching the text must have a strong sense of their own identity. On the other hand, some texts challenge people to change. When that challenge is accepted, further dialogue can ensue, resulting in a new revaluation of oneself and one’s culture.

Quicaña is probably the most eminent of Quechua theologians. He will need to make more of the context his people actually find themselves in, before endeavouring to formulate a theology that applies to their lives. His dream of uniting Quechuas under the one TAWA banner, using the rainbow flag of the Inca *Tawantinsuyu*, will have

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<sup>30</sup> Quicaña, ‘El Evangelio,’ 65-6.

<sup>31</sup> W. Terry Whalin and Chris Woehr, *One Bright Shining Path* (Wheaton and Cambridge: Crossway Books, 1993), 29-30.

<sup>32</sup> Juan M. Ossio A., ed., *Ideología Mesiánica del Mundo Andino*, (Lima: Ignacio Prado Pastor, 1973), XXIII.

to take into account the split caused by migration. There are now at least two distinct Quechua worlds.<sup>33</sup> So at least two new interpretations of God's word – two new spiritualities – need to take root, with the help of a leader/theologian (*amauta*) called to that purpose.

The burning questions for Quechua culture are exemplified by the objectives formulated by TAWA. Four of the five objectives are founded on the discomfort of Quechuas with the destruction of primary cultural values. The first is to 'Sponsor reconciliation and brotherly unity between denominations...while respecting their organisations, their doctrines and their liturgical customs.' Imported western divisions have violated Quechua values of unity and reciprocity, and their questions have been answered in the biblical texts of Matthew 5:9 and John 17:20-22. The second is to 'Effect evangelisation and pastoral work with consideration for the cultural values of the Andean man, without imitating the ideologies of other societies, which have confused autochthonous peoples.' The third is to 'Promote seminars and workshops for the training of leaders in the biblical, theological and pastoral doctrines, founded on the Sacred Scriptures, taking into account the ideological conception of the Andean man.' The fourth is to 'Promote the festivals of evangelical Andean music, using our own melodies, in their different geographical varieties and dialects of our language, as a means for evangelisation.'<sup>34</sup>

A major cultural value for the Quechua is their vibrant oral tradition, strongly linked with their language. It is unlikely that it is one of the values alluded to in the second objective, despite the topic being evangelisation and pastoral work. This is made clear in the fifth objective, which is to 'Encourage the service of the church to the community, with literacy programmes, agricultural projects, health and communications. Make constitutional and universal rights known to the autochthonous peoples.'<sup>35</sup> The question addressed here is how the church can help to equalise the imbalance of power that is still exercised between mestizo/Creole and

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<sup>33</sup> *El Zorro de Arriba y el Zorro de Abajo* (The fox from above and the fox from below), to use José María Arguedas' book title.

<sup>34</sup> Fernando Quicaña, 'El Desafío de Hacer Teología en el Contexto Andino,' in *Hacia una Teología Evangélica Indígena*, (Lima: CEMAA, 1995), 84.

<sup>35</sup> Quicaña, 'El Desafío,' 85.



Andean people. It is troubling that by not protecting a valuable asset such as their oral tradition, Andean people might in the end sell out, because of a right desire for necessary balance in power, an important part of their own culture. This last objective, while troubling, highlights the overarching value that Quechuas place on equilibrium. Promoting anything that will re-establish equilibrium is of supreme value.

While Segura limited himself to the task of reaching the Quechua with the Gospel, Quicaña has had opportunities to broaden his platform by dialogue with others of many different Latin American and missionary backgrounds, particularly through the CLADE conferences. The official document of the CLADE III addresses evangelical missiology in relation to indigenous populations, committing it to ‘respond in two ways.

- Recognise, respect and ascribe dignity to ethnic groups and their cultures;
- Evaluate them in the light of the judgement of the Word, offering the hope of the Gospel for their transformation.

Nevertheless, we must recognise that individualism and denominationalism have created divisions in the church of Latin America. Confessing the unity of the church in Christ means overcoming ideological, cultural, social, economic and denominational barriers.’<sup>36</sup>

This both Florencio Segura and Fernando Quicaña understood. The Inca Empire was supremely organised around the core Andean values of *ayllu* and *ayni* and used them to its advantage. Networks of communication in roads serviced by *chasquis* (runners) and a common language supported them. Relationship comes before language, but they reinforce each other. One of the difficulties with the Quechua has been their consistent devaluation of their own language. Quechua was imposed, and then Spanish. But deeper community values survived, partly because they passed on important traditions orally, and because of the solidarity engendered by resistance to those in power. Leaders who really cared for them were able to draw people together and elicit commitment. For Segura, that was to the Triune God. Quicaña postulates

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<sup>36</sup> Quicaña, ‘El Desafío,’ 87.

an organisation that would take evangelical Quechuas into an era reminiscent of the Inca Empire itself. Segura's model is relational – Quicaña's would like to reinstate an Andean theocracy. He is more interested in reinforcing Andean identity.

- **Inculturating Theology**

Quechua theologians agree on the distinction between religious beliefs and cultural values and/or core concepts. Some of the values Quicaña lists are 'community life, social organisation...music...worldview' and 'the *ayllu*.'<sup>37</sup> The values are those 'points of reference...by which men know themselves' and are rightly retained, wherever the Quechua are placed, and form a solid basis for a Quechua Christian identity. They do that by starting from the perspective of a Creation ethic – people made in the image of God, that image not being entirely obscured, human cultures always retaining some aspect of that image in their development.<sup>38</sup> From such a positive start, Quechua theology can continue by an interaction between the Bible and culture, such as Segura so ably established.

The Andean people have shown an ability to reconstruct the meaning of their cosmos, and the way they relate in it, when they change their place. If land is no longer the provision of food and life, they no longer need to go through the rituals associated with the *Pachamama* and the *Apus*. Reciprocity and functioning in groups called *ayllus* is retained.<sup>39</sup> The importance of music in general and hymns in particular is also held onto, but what is sung about and the meaning of the music (even in terms of how it is approached communally) changes.

The language of music, which can be linked to any spoken language, retains its distinctive character for longer, becoming a tool to recognise and acknowledge

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<sup>37</sup> Quicaña, 'El Desafío,' 76 and 88-9.

<sup>38</sup> Quicaña, 'El Desafío,' 88.

<sup>39</sup> See Luis Minaya, 'Is Peru Turning Protestant?' in *The Peru Reader*, ed. Orin Starn, Carlos Iván Degregori and Robin Kirk (London: Duke University Press, 1995), 471-6 and Thomas Turino, 'From Essentialism to the Essential: Pragmatics and Meaning of Puneño *Sikuri* Performance in Lima,' in *Cosmología y Música en los Andes*, ed. Max Peter Baumann (Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert and Madrid: Iberoamericana, 1996), 469-82.

community relationship, allied more closely to the emotions.<sup>40</sup> ‘Music and dance are forms of ritual condensation which may be observed during festivals, be they profane or sacred, private or public. Through them people find ways of communicating, be it verbally or nonverbally, what is important to them, and of establishing a feeling of togetherness, of belonging to the same kind of people.’<sup>41</sup> *Communitas* has been defined as “‘a moment in and out of time” which reveals, however fleetingly, some recognition (in symbol if not always in language) of a generalized social bond that has ceased to be and has simultaneously yet to be fragmented into a multiplicity of structural ties. Lévi-Strauss calls music (and myth) instruments for the obliteration of time, which coincides with Turner’s statement:

It is fascinating to consider how often expressions of *communitas* are culturally linked with simple wind instruments and stringed instruments. Perhaps, in addition to their ready portability, it is their capacity to convey in music the quality of spontaneous human *communitas* that is responsible for this.’<sup>42</sup>

Thus the community emphasis of the indigenous church effectively responds to Míguez Bonino’s critique that the church needs a Trinitarian missiology. The preponderance of ‘imperial’ theology of conquest has only partly been responded to by liberation theology’s option for the poor. Both have a one down – one up dynamic. Genuine relationship, such as that found in the ‘being’ of God – the *perichoresis* of Father, Son and Holy Spirit, does not have this dynamic.<sup>43</sup> Segura’s affirmation of a God in three persons, like the biblical narratives, is probably not a consciously developed theology but rather a declaration of the way things are. The Old Testament narratives are particularly useful to story telling people who are unable to grasp abstract concepts easily. Jesus was often tagged on to the ends of hymns, to show how he is not only the corporal expression of whatever characteristic about God that particular narrative was telling, but how in him that feature of life is applicable to the worshipper today. This made relational connections between God

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<sup>40</sup> Stewart McIntosh, *La Música en la Iglesia Evangélica* (Lima: PUSEL, 1981), 5; Fernando Quicaña, *La Música y la Cultura Andina* (mimeographed copy, n.d.), 1; and Fernando Quicaña, *Música y Cultura Quechua* (Huancayo: CONAEQP, 1986), 13.

<sup>41</sup> Elizabeth den Otter, ‘Sacred Time and Space: The festival of Saint Elizabeth of Huaylas (Ancash, Peru),’ in *Cosmología y Música en los Andes*, ed. Max Peter Baumann (Madrid: Iberoamericana, 1996), 323.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 329.

<sup>43</sup> Míguez Bonino, *Latin American Protestantism*, 138-42.

and Jesus in the trinity, by means of bridging the Old and New Testaments, and also with God, Jesus and the worshipper who could apply the lesson to his/her life now.

The words used were also important. Spanish loan words had a purpose and Segura was careful to be precise in their use. Leslie Hoggarth gives the example of ‘king’ that would always be translated *rey* and not *Inca*. The word *Inca* had come to mean a man who was living with a woman out of wedlock and when a Quechua word has acquired an unacceptable meaning, a Spanish loan word is substituted.<sup>44</sup> On the other hand, Segura dissociated himself from RC definitions of religious terms, even when he used the same words, as was necessarily so with the three persons of the Trinity at least. The broad spectrum of his hymns, and their practical nature, created an entirely new cosmology that was closer to old Quechua values. Repentance, for instance, seen in terms of penitence in the RC church, was taken by Segura to mean a complete change of life in the ‘material’ world. The Quechua concept of matter is such that it lives – ‘it exists, therefore it has life.’ There is no such thing as an inanimate object.<sup>45</sup>

The sacred nature of hymns contributes to their unchanging nature. Segura’s nephew, Guido Ortiz, is convinced that the theology in H.81, *Wawqillanchikmi Ripukuchkan* (Our dear brother is going), is incorrect, and insists on singing it in his ‘corrected’ version, but despairs of anyone ever singing the corrected version along with him.<sup>46</sup> Segura’s original v.1 seems to indicate a gap between a person dying and entering the presence of God (*Wawqillanchikmi ripukuchkan taytallanchikwan kawsaq, kumallampunim yaykuykuchkan*). By changing the grammar minimally (*Wawqillanchikmi ripukapun taytanchikwan kawsaq, qayamuyaqtin yaykuykuna*), Ortiz has the verse saying what he considers correct theologically – that at the moment of death, the person is already in the presence of God. He backs this up with Jesus’ comment to the thief on the cross, that ‘today you will be with me

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<sup>44</sup> Leslie Hoggarth, interview by author, 28 October 1997, St Andrews, Scotland, notes and tape recording, author.

<sup>45</sup> Hoggarth, interview, 28-10-97 and Bill Mitchell, interview by author, 8 November 2003, London, United Kingdom, notes by author, author.

<sup>46</sup> Guido Ortiz, conversation with author, 3 January 2002, Talavera, Apurímac, Peru, notes by author, author.

in paradise.<sup>47</sup> Ortiz is quibbling over minor theological details, in that both have the person entering the presence of God, whether there is a gap or not. However, Segura's version would be more accommodating to Quechua believers, where the spirits of the dead would have to journey from *kay pacha* to *hanaq pacha*. Their worldview would find it difficult to conceive of an immediate translation – both because their tripartite *pacha* is integrated and not three separate entities, and because of the rest of Segura's theology, which defines going to God the Father as following Jesus on the way.

Segura's sister Emilia has highlighted the effect hymns had on people, with them crying in repentance. Interestingly, the first subject that she mentioned as eliciting this response was of God as creator – specifically hymn 59, where the spirit of God is the creative spirit doing the work.<sup>48</sup> There is no mention of Jesus in this hymn, or of the need for repentance, but the acknowledgement of all that God made being beautiful, and of God's provision and care, was enough to draw repentance from them for their forgetfulness - that forgetfulness of God that Segura draws out as the primary sin in some of his other hymns.

The incarnation – Jesus become a human being – is very important in oral cultures, because it is primary communication of who God is. Jesus, the person, **is** God's word. Western Christendom, which has had five centuries of text, is beginning to be more aware of the dangers it poses – the primacy of text as authority rather than of person (the triune God) takes away from relationship (both with God and with others) rather than reinforcing it.<sup>49</sup> Before the printing press was invented, the centre of Christian spirituality was the gathering of believers. 'Augustine writes that people talked excitedly during his sermons. John Chrysostom mentions that his auditors cheered or wept, pounding their breasts. Other early church writers tell of gatherings that got rowdy when a presbyter or deacon omitted a portion of the rite. In other words, people participated.'<sup>50</sup> Reading can become an individual activity that encourages a person to re-interpret as s/he likes, thus removing interpretation from

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<sup>47</sup> Luke 23:43 NIV.

<sup>48</sup> Emilia Segura, interview, 14-12-2001.

<sup>49</sup> See Míguez Bonino, *Latin American Protestantism*, 37-8.

the corporate consensus of the church (the ‘bride of Christ’ – the one corporate body in closest relationship to him). “Writing fosters abstractions that disengage knowledge from the arena where human beings struggle with one another. It separates knower from the known.” Writing establishes “context-free” language, words that cannot be directly questioned or contested because the writer is not immediately present.’<sup>51</sup>

A positive identity ‘in Christ’ cannot be rushed. Segura and Quicaña both saw that music facilitates the appropriation of a uniquely Quechua identity ‘in Christ’ (or, to use more precisely Segura’s approach – ‘in Jesus’). Their music is different from European, Spanish and American music, and speaks more directly to them. Their music has been the continuing recognisable thread, wherever Quechuas have gone - Lima, the U.S. and Europe - and even when the language put to the music has been changed.

The Quechua church is already a missionary church, acknowledging its responsibility in ‘proclaiming the Gospel from our local churches,’ and acknowledging the Bible as their tutor in ‘recognising the authority and power of the Holy Spirit as the third person of the Trinity, and the model and example of our teacher Jesus: he preached, taught and healed.’ The ancient description of spirituality as a journey is one that speaks to the Quechua, both in their mountain homes, where journeys are daily, and in the urban settings that they journey to in search of a better, safer life. Segura describes the journey through life to heaven in his hymns. Quicaña bemoans the lack of real theologians among hymn writers today.<sup>52</sup> The challenge to mission is to find the theologians and encourage them today, as the Misses Pinn and Michell did Segura for the nascent evangelical church in Andahuaylas.

#### **4.2 Developments arising since Segura’s work**

Quechuas, recognizing that Segura’s music in some way belonged to them, since the pentatonic scale used sounded familiar, were curious and wanted to know what

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<sup>50</sup> Rodney Clapp, *A Peculiar People* (Downers Grove, Illinois: InterVarsity Press, 1996), 119.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 134.

<sup>52</sup> Quicaña, interview, 19-12-2001

activity was associated with that music. They would wander up at meetings taking place in the ‘open air,’ as was common in a culture where people spent most of their time working outdoors. Or they would wander into a building, if music was heard from inside. In one incident, two Quechua converts being baptised at a convention in Vischingay publicly testified that it was the hymns which had ‘first attracted them to want to hear the Gospel.’<sup>53</sup> This hymnody belonged to them. The words were not simply translations of western words to western music, as had been the case earlier on, making evangelical faith foreign. This hymnody they could call their own, through which they could express their experience of God in their own words. The novelty of a Quechua hymnody (and Quechua music is always ‘popular,’ except in the case of the sacred hymns sung during the time of the Incas and then only by priests) drew people not just to listen and be evangelized, but also to become a part of the evangelical community. The growth of the Quechua evangelical church was partly due to hymns in their own language.<sup>54</sup>

The music was part of the package, leading them into a new way of being Quechua. So where the old Quechua would fit into RC Peruvian society by observing the norms of that society, albeit only outwardly, evangelicals felt free to be different. So, for example, believers who were leaders in their communities in the early 60s took part in what were called ‘invasions’ of the land that families of Spanish descent had inherited, but which they had never forgotten was theirs.<sup>55</sup>

The music was taught in communities, beginning with conventions in the 40s-70s and then with music festivals up to the present. It was not uncommon for whole communities or families to become believers at the same time.<sup>56</sup> Segura accepted this, despite the fact that among western evangelicals of the time individualism in conversion was emphasized. The importance Segura placed on teaching his hymns is

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<sup>53</sup> Kenneth Case, Andahuaylas, Apurímac, Peru, circular to friends in Britain, 19 September 1953, original held by Frances Case, Southampton, United Kingdom.

<sup>54</sup> Florencio Segura, *Historia de la Obra Evangélica en Ayacucho, Huancavelica y Apurímac* (Talavera: published and printed by author, 1994), 17.

<sup>55</sup> William G. Speed, ‘Invasion!’ *South America* Vol. XXVIII, No.5 (January-March 1964), 69.

<sup>56</sup> Stewart McIntosh, [www.lausanne.org/gatherings/Pattaya1980/documents/LOP17](http://www.lausanne.org/gatherings/Pattaya1980/documents/LOP17), ‘Reaching Traditional Religionists,’ Lausanne Occasional Papers (Consultation on World Evangelization, Pattaya, Thailand, June 1980), iv. Socio-cultural Aspects and vi. Conclusion.

evidenced by the fact that Kenneth Case got impatient with him for wandering off to teach at conventions in various remote areas, while Case was trying to finish the translation of the Bible that Florencio was helping him with. Their priorities were at odds. For Segura, the hymnody was more important in fulfilling the task of evangelizing than the Bible (not that the Bible was unimportant), and he managed to get his own way, simply by carrying on with what he was doing.

When Quechua evangelicals heard the first Quechua hymn (DST3) sung publicly in a worship service in Talavera, they cried with joy. Segura maintains that the desire to learn more of these hymns was a major impetus for them to learn to read their own language.<sup>57</sup> More recently, with music festivals in the 80s and 90s, songs that were written down by one person in a group proved the impetus for other members to learn to read, in order to learn the songs better so that they could win the festival. It was important not to let anyone else down.<sup>58</sup>

Despite the development of an educational system in Peru owing much to Spanish, French and North American influence,<sup>59</sup> the Quechuas at the time when Segura began writing his hymns and translating the Bible with Kenneth Case, were largely illiterate.<sup>60</sup> They had not been taught to read or write in either Spanish or Quechua, even though Quechua catechisms had been available since the sixteenth century. This was particularly true in the Andahuaylas area.

For most Quechua people there is a language split between Quechua and Spanish. Quechua is spoken, while the language they are required to read for education is Spanish. Quicaña rightly saw that literacy was a means to empower the Quechua, by acquiring the same tools as the Spanish-speaking population. Such empowering is particularly important in the handling of government bureaucracy. But the motivation

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<sup>57</sup> Segura, *Historia de la Obra*, 17 and Florencio Segura, *Historia de la Iglesia en Andahuaylas* (Talavera: Instituto Bíblico de Andahuaylas, 1984), 7.

<sup>58</sup> Elizabet Calle de Ccorimanya, interview by author, 26 December 2001, Andahuaylas, Apurímac, Peru, notes and tape recording, author.

<sup>59</sup> José Carlos Mariátegui, *Seven Interpretive Essays on Peruvian Reality* (Austin and London: University of Texas Press, 1971), 77.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 122 and Abraham F. Lowenthal, *The Peruvian Experiment* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), 269.



for reading was primarily so that Spanish would be learned better, and not just Quechua. So while literacy empowered on the one hand, it also pandered to the belief that somehow Spanish was superior. Alongside this development in language was a consequent change in culture and attitudes, with more literate Quechuas becoming *mestizo*, as truly as Segura chose to 'become' Quechua. So it is that Quicaña may have moved too quickly with literacy. It brings in issues of power as much as equality. Quicaña undoubtedly did not realise that Quechua uniqueness would get lost faster with text – that while empowering in one area, it could diminish effective oral communication in communities of evangelical believers.

The problem of literacy being associated with power may be even more evident in the Aymara language, spreading from the south of Peru around the shores of Lake Titicaca into Bolivia. There, the development of evangelical hymnody began later, and was closely associated with the work of CALA (*Comisión de Alfabetización y Literatura en Aymara* Commission for Literacy and Literature in Aymara), run by evangelicals. The first edition of a booklet of choruses, *Coritonaca K'ochusiñäni*, was published by CALA in June 1975, in La Paz, Bolivia. A hymnbook called *Machak Himnonaca* was also published by CALA at around the same time – the second revision appearing in August 1977 and the third in several editions - the first in 1981 and the third in January 1982. Although autochthonous Aymara music is pentatonic, none of CALA's publications are faithful to that cultural norm. Some of the compilations of hymns and/or choruses even have music included, in four-part harmony, many to European tunes. They always include the Bolivian national anthem at the beginning and are in bilingual format.

The RC church in Bolivia preceded the CALA productions with its first edition of *Diosan Marcapan K'ochunacapa* in 1970, with a run of 30,000 copies. By the 5<sup>th</sup> edition in 1984, the run was of 120,000. Like its Quechua counterparts, the hymnbook begins with the Mass in Aymara, before moving to the hymns, and the whole publication is bilingual. The organisation of the musical contents is different in that up to hymn 96 the sections are divided as per the sections of the Mass, with

songs for each part in turn. There is a large section for various miscellaneous hymns at the end, but no section headed 'Mission' as in the Quechua.

The awareness of the need for preserving Aymara musical traditions is stronger in academic circles. But the problems with text are not ignored. In the introduction to *Qala Chuyma*, a book conserving 25 traditional *q'axilunaka* (songs accompanied by the traditional *charango*, a small instrument similar to a banjo), all in the pentatonic scale, of course, the editors comment:

We discussed at length whether we should put in writing texts that are the product of a long popular oral tradition and which the people themselves recreate, modify and transform constantly. We thought that the power of writing could 'freeze' and 'officialise' the version here collected and take away from the equal validity of other versions from other areas.<sup>61</sup>

During this same period of the '80s, the Peruvian IEP's South Central Synod's music festivals, with the help of Quicaña and Segura, encouraged many Quechua people to compose hymns. The EUSA gladly followed this trend, introducing their first workshop for Quechua hymnwriters, composers and musical groups at the Sicuani Bible Institute in 1982. The level of interest was higher than for one of their usual courses, with 60 people taking part in the 21/2-day course.<sup>62</sup> Interest in reading grew. Despite that, poetry workshops held after the 80s were still largely oral. When Quechua participants created verse, they recorded it on a laptop computer orally rather than in writing. They knew how to write, but they preferred to function orally.<sup>63</sup> Missionaries are already beginning to be aware of the advantages of continuing such an oral tradition, since it is a strength to the communal life of the church. Missions such as Wycliffe Bible Translators encourage story-telling workshops to develop the oral tradition present in cultures where they are working.<sup>64</sup>

There was a significant difference in this new oral tradition of hymn singing, and that was that the written word, the hymnbook, was available soon after the hymns started

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<sup>61</sup> Luis Enrique López and Helga Rothfritz, *Qala Chuyma: Canciones Tradicionales Aymaras Q'axilunaka – Cajelos* (Puno: Proyecto Experimental de Educación Bilingüe, 1986), 4.

<sup>62</sup> Bill and Alice Mitchell, 'Sing a New Song,' *South America NOW* (July-September 1982), 8-9.

<sup>63</sup> William Mitchell, interview by author, 8 November 2003, London, United Kingdom, notes by author, author.

being taught. The source was no longer only the composer - a person - but also a book which could continually be referred to. While Segura could make adjustments, as he observed the singing of his hymns and the variations some people inserted, he himself came to believe that the words (as written) could not be changed. Imperceptibly he was introducing a difference into the kind of oral tradition that the Quechua people were accustomed to, as less importance was attached to memory as valuable to oral tradition, and more to 'the book' as the source and final word on 'correctness.' For a long time, this included not just the words but also the music.

Rather than ensuring the continuance of a faithful tradition, such as the Quechua oral tradition did, the written word opened up opportunities for other people to write hymns and as the body of hymns grew, Quechua evangelicals began to select those that were favourites and dispense with those they sang very little. The fact that a hymn was recorded in writing did not guarantee that it would be held in greater esteem. The capacity for quantity adversely affected the quality of memory.

Segura's DST is evidence of an oral tradition running parallel with a newly emerging written tradition. One aspect of this parallelism is that it makes obvious the extent to which illiterate people are effective in learning and handing down the words and music of hymns which they themselves cannot read. First came the aural learning of the hymns, but even the illiterate wanted to have a hymnbook and a Bible in their home. The hymnbook, published prior to the Bible, was usually the first book that evangelical Quechuas would have in their home.

With reading and writing, however, memory has been neglected,<sup>65</sup> so that the generation now in their 30s, who were first involved in the music festivals, do not treasure memorized songs like their parents and grandparents do. In the Talavera IEP church, on Sunday 30 December 2001, illiterate members of the congregation got up,

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<sup>64</sup> John M. Lindner, 'Mission Storytellers Advance Skills,' [www.worldchristianministries.org](http://www.worldchristianministries.org) and Wycliffe – Projects, 3 Pacific – Papua New Guinea Bible Stories, [www.wycliffe.org](http://www.wycliffe.org).

<sup>65</sup> See David Henige, *Oral Historiography* (London: Longman, 1982), 5 for a discussion of the problems associated with both written and oral tradition.

one after another, to offer worship to God with songs that they had memorized years ago.<sup>66</sup>

Migration has also reduced resistance to Hispanic culture, and resistance is part of what maintains separate identity. The CLAI<sup>67</sup> series ‘Teología en el Camino’ describes the migratory movements beginning in the 50s as a rupture with rural society. This in turn meant a new ‘freedom...for millions of Peruvians from the determinism of tradition...’<sup>68</sup> Also, the fact that the Shining Path was often erroneously seen as an Andean movement<sup>69</sup> subtracted from the legitimacy of Andean resistance – any resistance was seen as a dangerous threat.

Just as Segura chose for the Quechua in his day, with a resultant impact on the development of the Quechua evangelical church, Andean migrants have opted to become ‘modern’ and receive the impact of that decision on themselves, with effects in other areas. Migrants were no longer locked into the sense of time and space that the chroniclers and indigenists had noticed was intimately linked with the geography they inhabited. Leslie Hoggarth<sup>70</sup> and others have noted that the Quechua never changed, but given this auto-determination to move to another place and time, the Quechua themselves chose to change and what some view as ‘their secret pantheist and animist philosophy began to dissolve.’ They became absorbed into a new culture, partly of their own making, in order to survive.<sup>71</sup> What they did retain was *ayllu* and *ayni* – a way of being community and reciprocity, both of them relational terms.

Segura’s hymns spread by word of mouth as people travelled from one region to another. Soon his hymns and choruses formed the basis of other hymnbooks in

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<sup>66</sup> Author’s visit, 30 December 2001, Talavera, Apurímac, Perú, tape recording, author.

<sup>67</sup> *Consejo Latinoamericano de Iglesias* – Latin American Council of Churches.

<sup>68</sup> *Cultura, género e identidad: Cuestiones preliminares*, Serie: Teología en el Camino, No.3. (Quito: Consejo Latinoamericano de Iglesias, Comisión de Teología CLAI, 2000), 63.

<sup>69</sup> Orin Starn, Carlos Iván Degregori, and Robin Kirk (eds.), *The Peru Reader* (London: Duke University Press, 1995), 305-7. In fact, it was a Maoist communist movement engendered by professor Abimael Guzmán in the university at Ayacucho, and completely lacking in references to Inca greatness such as one finds in Quicaña’s theology.

<sup>70</sup> EUSA missionary in Huantura.

<sup>71</sup> *Cultura, Género e Identidad*, 64-5.

Cuzco, Puno, Huancavelica and Ayacucho. With Radio Amauta programmes in Quechua and national and international music festivals, the threads uniting all peoples of Quechua language and culture became ever stronger. After music festivals started in 1980, Quechua evangelicals travelled ever further to meet and compete for the best new hymns. These competitions were community rather than individual efforts at excellence. They became international with the first international Quechua music festival in Ayacucho in 1980, organized by Quicaña.<sup>72</sup>

Segura used Quechua categories and reinterpreted them within an evangelical framework. Largely owing to his parallel work on the biblical text, his hymns became theology via music. He used the Bible extensively in his evangelism and teaching at conventions. He was careful not to be associated too closely with the old ways, including what he considered pagan music, for fear that people would slip back into their old beliefs. In the next generation of Quicaña, this was not the case. Quicaña was not afraid that by accepting the rightness of Inca law he would thereby encourage a move back to the old gods as well. He was neither afraid of gaining them via syncretism, or losing them via Marxism. During the music festivals, music was associated more with evangelism than theology. The community was the constant, however. Now many could read, but paradoxically, the Bible became less important – not as a text for most, but as an icon. The respect for the book that they could not read diminished somewhat when they could read it. Experience, rather than biblical themes, began to take over as the basis for valid hymn topics. Quicaña became increasingly concerned about this trend, as individuals increasingly saw themselves as oracles, and the community did not question their hymns. This is one of the complaints that Quicaña has about the most recent hymnbook compiled by World Vision.<sup>73</sup>

With new respect for Andean music developing world-wide, and represented in Europe by groups such as *Inti Illimani*, the Peruvian indigenous mission AMEN sent out ‘*Kerygma*,’ followed by ‘*Orama*.’ Andean pentatonic music was retained, but

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<sup>72</sup> Noble, interview, 3-4-2001 and Fernando Quicaña, interview by author, 22 December 2001, Huanta, Ayacucho, Peru, notes and tape recording, author.

<sup>73</sup> Quicaña, interview, 22-12-2001.

words were composed in whatever language the people they were evangelising spoke. They dressed in Andean clothing and played Andean instruments. A separate strand of mission followed the American Presbyterian route represented by Quicaña. His surviving nephew,<sup>74</sup> Ablehawk Sauñe, works among Native North American Indians. There, he says that, ‘Spiritually, my message never started with Jesus, but with the Creator...I came with something they knew about – the Creator.’ This is exactly what Segura did. Sauñe is also following the trend of encouraging indigenous churches to practice cross-cultural mission themselves, as well as using ‘the long rejected native instruments for the worship of God in church.’<sup>75</sup>

All of the above long-range effects of Segura’s work need to be considered when establishing a consistent approach to mission among the Quechua.

### **4.3 Significance of Segura’s Quechua hymn corpus for other fields of study**

The research conducted on the hymnody of Florencio Segura, and its continuing effects, has opened up possibilities in other areas of study which cannot be covered in this thesis.

The singing of sacred hymns was not new to the Quechua. Pre-Columbian religion included hymns, and the RC Church also used music, changing the words to suit their own belief system. How much hymnody contributed to syncretism is an open question - would Quechua people have understood the language as referring to a different God, or would it have been interpreted as a different way to refer to their old deities? Linguistics is a field of study that would contribute to such an investigation.

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<sup>74</sup> The story of the family’s martyrdom at the hands of Shining Path guerrillas is told in Whalin and Woehr, *One Bright Shining Path*, as well as on *The Last Runners* website [www.cia-g.com/~runners/reports/09-03.htm](http://www.cia-g.com/~runners/reports/09-03.htm) and as part of an account of Ablehawk Sauñe’s ministry on [www.ecst.csuchico.edu/~dklee/ablehawk.html](http://www.ecst.csuchico.edu/~dklee/ablehawk.html).

<sup>75</sup> [www.ecst.csuchico.edu/~dklee/ablehawk.html](http://www.ecst.csuchico.edu/~dklee/ablehawk.html), 1 of 2.

We are living in a post-literate world, in which the visual and oral often supersede the written. This has given impetus to a new interest in oral history that values and collects oral sources for study. Given that ‘history is today widely viewed as a culture-specific construct, with the historian only as important as the (present and future) audience who reads him or her,’ the oral history and traditions of the Quechua are given new legitimacy.<sup>76</sup> Their own oral representation of events is given equal validity with that of any other representative nation in the development of the history of the Quechua. Oral tradition has been studied extensively within the Inca framework, which was very structured. It has been more neglected post-conquest, although the presence of an important orality has been acknowledged.

Anonymity was important in the Inca oral tradition for literature. Individual authors or creators of works were not acknowledged. James Krabill quotes A. Feder, *Lehrbuch der Geschichtlichen Methodik* Regensburg, 1924 who distinguishes between oral sources for which authorship is known and anonymous ones.<sup>77</sup> For the Quechua, the community collective was more important than the individual, and their production was meant to be an expression from the community, and their service, while appreciated, done within the context of a greater whole of which they were an integral, but not special, part. Lara argues that the poetry which thus constituted a collective necessity and fulfilled a multiple social function, whatever its cultural background, can never be bettered, because it is not simply the expression of a select number of writers whose works are later relegated to the ranks of the educated.<sup>78</sup>

Orality itself needs to be investigated. For instance, there are cultures that have carefully circumscribed systems, allocating personnel for the preservation of oral traditions. Other cultures are much more fluid. Collective tradition may have been passed on to a certain extent, in that Quechua hymnbooks generally have no acknowledgement of individual authors of hymns or choruses. Segura’s hymnbook,

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<sup>76</sup> David K. Dunaway, ‘The Interdisciplinarity of Oral History,’ in *Oral History: An Interdisciplinary Anthology*, 2d ed. Sage Publications, ed. David K. Dunaway and Willa K. Baum (Walnut Creek, London and New Delhi: AltaMira Press, 1996), 7.

<sup>77</sup> James R. Krabill, *The Hymnody of the Harrist Church Among the Dida of South-Central Ivory Coast (1913-1949)* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1995), 10.

<sup>78</sup> Jesús Lara, *La Poesía Quechua*, Colección Tierra Firme 30 (Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1947), 68.

in its more recent editions, is one exception. This is a distancing from the *amauta* tradition of anonymity, and probably betrays the more recent influence of western individualistic mores.<sup>79</sup>

The way in which hymns are passed on is also a distinguishing feature. Was it important for them to be learned and passed on word for word, or were loose variations or extrapolations permitted? If there are variants, such as exist in the Inca myths of origin, what are the consistent thematic threads that run through the hymns?<sup>80</sup> Oral literature can be classed by literary types, and in the sung tradition of the Quechua, there are a number of different types of song.

Krabill explains that ethnomusicology arises out of anthropology and musicology, the former being an emphasis on how music is part of a human culture and expresses much of what a people are, and the latter being the study of the music itself, comparing it with other 'types and systems around the world.'<sup>81</sup> The pentatonic scale and the particular way in which it is used in different songs, expresses sentiments particular to the Quechua people. It is not at all clear that there was only one pentatonic scale used by the Quechua.<sup>82</sup>

The context of most religious songs has been what are now called 'fiestas.' These collective times of acknowledgement of joint belief, were celebrations of the Quechua worldview. The Inca used this custom to unite the whole empire in a collective, by convening a supreme celebration in Cuzco once a year. In the colonial period, these fiestas were associated with particular churches and their surrounding community/ies. Today they continue, and are the context for the repetition of poetry in its expression in drama, song and dance. The Quechua evangelical church, while restraining itself from the religiously associated excesses of drink which were

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<sup>79</sup> Saul Ortiz, interview by author, 27 December 2001, Andahuaylas, Apurímac, Perú, tape recording and notes, author, gives an indication of just how important it was to Segura's nephew Saul Ortiz to be acknowledged as the author of a number of hymns in the more recent editions.

<sup>80</sup> See Jan Vansina, *De la tradition orale. Essai de méthode historique* Annales, Sciences Humaines, 36 (Tervuren, Belgium: Musée Royal de l'Afrique Centrale, 1961).

<sup>81</sup> Krabill, *Hymnody of the Harrist Church*, 15.

<sup>82</sup> Raúl Romero, 'Panorama de los Estudios Sobre la Música Tradicional en el Perú,' *Boletín del Instituto Riva-Agüero* (Lima) No.14 (1986-87), 99-100.



common to both Inca and colonial celebrations, gained the custom of joining together in several days of convention at which the Bible was taught, songs were sung and business was conducted with regard to the churches' structure and function. This was the setting in which new songs were introduced.

Whenever a culture and people make Christian belief their own, the development of hymn singing within that culture takes on its own distinctive cultural expression – leading to the discipline of ethnohymnology. Even when hymns have been translated, the way they are sung remains unique, if nothing else. Some examples are mediaeval 'plainsong,' 'four-square Bach-type harmonised chorale compositions' in the Lutheran tradition, Reformed 'metrical psalmody' of popular 'hymn-singing' and 'Gospel tunes' produced in the heat of revivalist fervour which later spread throughout England and North America.<sup>83</sup>

In 1925, the work amongst the Quechua women on the Urco farm run by EUSA missionaries was mixing hymns in Spanish (which were recorded in hymnbooks) with what they called 'our Quechua chorus, "Jesu-Cristo Huaquasunqui" (Jesus calls thee),' as well as 'the Spanish version of "Take the name of Jesus with you," translated from the English. The last being the choice of one of the Quechua ladies attending, the words of the hymn might be considered significant to the choice. It may be even more significant that the only mention of a child as young as three joining in the singing is when 'our Quechua chorus' was sung.<sup>84</sup>

Segura began the process of interacting with the Bible for the Quechua of the Apurimac area, but other leaders need to continue it for them in the new historical situation that Quechua believers find themselves in. Samuel Escobar summarises in three points:

- the new historical moment determined by the rise of new churches in the Third World

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<sup>83</sup> Krabill, *Hymnody of the Harrist Church*, 17.

<sup>84</sup> M. Dorothy Lunn, 'Amongst the Women on the Urco Farm,' *South America* Vol. IX, No. 8 (March-April 1925): 124-5.

- the new reading of Scripture as a result of the new pastoral and missionary situations confronted by these living communities
- the new freedom in the Spirit that takes these churches to question theological patterns developed in other cultures, in an effort to take seriously the missionary challenge posed by their own culture.<sup>85</sup>

For the Quechua, this last point is important. The process of reflecting on praxis in the light of the Bible that constitutes a theology, as Gustavo Gutiérrez would put it, is not an isolated interaction between their culture and questions that arise from it, and the biblical response that elicits a transformation in the way they live (a new specifically Quechua spirituality). Because of the consistent imposition of other cultures on their own, they need to have as much, if not more, suspicion of the presuppositions that others bring to the biblical text as they do of their own.

Segura was able to relate to the poor and make a choice for them long before liberation theology was expressed in a formulated way. The Quechua people respond to loving understanding and emotional nuance.<sup>86</sup> This Segura gave by his commitment in person, and by the sentiments in his hymns, which communicated his deep understanding of the people.

But the Quechua is not western.<sup>87</sup> S/he may resist intuitively what is destructive to the community or family, but the process of coming with questions to the ‘text’ of the Bible is not what an individual Quechua would do. So the greatest need will always be for leaders like Segura, whom people will respond to and follow. The hermeneutical process for the Quechua demands a continuing tradition of *Amautas* – teachers/leaders of the people, who know the mind of their people and are able to apply what they know to a new reading of the Bible. It is essential that this continue to be done orally through music and teaching, because this is primary in strengthening community in any culture. In that way the Quechua will continue to

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<sup>85</sup> Samuel Escobar, *Liberation Themes in Reformational Perspective* (Philadelphia: Eastern Baptist Theological Seminary, July 1988), 35.

<sup>86</sup> See Mitchell, ‘Sing a New Song,’ 9. Kenneth Case, Stewart McIntosh and William Mitchell have all commented on the emotional richness of the Quechua language.

<sup>87</sup> See Luis Enrique Alvizuri, *Andinia: La Resurgencia de las Naciones Andinas*, 2d ed. (Lima: Fondo editorial del Instituto de Investigación para la Paz Cultura e Integración de América Latina, 2004).

know how to live, step by step, on their journey in a changing world to which they have much to offer. They need to be encouraged as to the value of their contribution to it and discouraged from a desire to escape from it into a separate construction of their own.

Those who have migrated to the city have gone directly from a pre-literate culture to a largely post-literate culture, with televisions and computers. For both Quechua worlds, music is the ideal mode for communicating evangelical theology. This is recognised by Bolivian Quechua theologian Humberto Flores in 'Following the Master,' where he cites a hymn that he calls a 'doctrinal declaration' about the death, resurrection and return of Jesus. He also comments on the antiphonal style used for singing, where the leader sings two lines that are then repeated by the congregation. So 'even illiterate people sing and memorise their theology.'<sup>88</sup>

New Quechua leaders need to be encouraged, like Segura, firstly to make a choice that requires an option for their own people and secondly to apply the Bible afresh to their own situations. For Quechua evangelicals, the incarnation - God in Christ becoming human in Jesus - is important because he is the one who is alive and powerful by his spirit with them and will take them to heaven.<sup>89</sup> The Bible testifies to this 'Word made flesh' - this communication of God with people that establishes that intimate relationship with God that the Quechua has always sensed with God's creation.<sup>90</sup> Scottish missiologist Andrew Walls describes the diversity possible in this relationship:

The Christian Scriptures, by contrast, are open to translation; nay, the great Act on which Christian faith rests, the Word becoming flesh and pitching tent among us, is itself an act of translation. And this principle brings Christ to the heart of each culture where he finds acceptance; to the burning questions within that culture, to the points of reference within it by which men know themselves. That is why each phase of Christian history has produced new

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<sup>88</sup> Humberto Flores, 'Teología Evangélica Quechua,' in *Hacia una Teología Evangélica Indígena*, ed. Humberto Flores et al. (Lima: CEMAA, 1995), 116-18.

<sup>89</sup> Flores, 'Teología Evangélica Quechua,' 105-9.

<sup>90</sup> Quicaña, 'El Desafío,' 59 and 89.

themes, themes which the points of reference of that culture have made inescapable for those who share that framework.<sup>91</sup>

Experience adds meaning to language, but language still functions as the major descriptor of a society because it is the primary way for people to relate to one another, and society is defined by relationships before it is defined by activity. Segura never became urban. He remained a person of his place and time, using the language associated with the society he chose to live in. He was able to because even while hordes of Andean people were migrating away, there were still many others whose horizon had not changed. Until he was no longer able, Segura travelled to preach and teach at conventions in far away villages. When he was limited to the *Refugio* 'Refuge' – home for the elderly – where he finished his days in Andahuaylas, people travelled for miles to come to see him. He remained always faithful to the initial choice he had made. He continued using Quechua to communicate biblical teaching, with all that that entailed in terms of unique thought patterns. For migrants, Spanish became the primary language of communication. But whatever language is used, relationship remains at the root of Quechua core values, whether in the context of the vast horizon of the Andes or in the urban setting of the great cities of Lima, Arequipa or Cuzco. *Fiestas*, conventions and music festivals combine relationship with music that tells their corporate story and spiritual journey, constantly reinterpreting it in the light of experience.

Segura was a man of his time, with a calling for that time. His sadness at the end of his life arose from being out of step with the changes that had taken place, and to which a new theology to music needed to be attuned. His basic hermeneutical principles were still valid, but they needed to be applied to a new, more urban and westernised Quechua culture-in-the-making that Segura was never comfortable with.

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<sup>91</sup> Andrew F. Walls, 'Culture and Coherence in Christian History,' *Evangelical Review of Theology* Vol.9, No.3 (1985), 222; quoted in Escobar, *Liberation Themes*, 27.

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**Florencio Segura:**  
**Communicating Quechua Evangelical Theology  
Via Hymnody in Southern Peru**

**Appendix 1 : Translations of Hymns and Choruses**

**Appendix 2 : Major Quechua Terms**

**Appendix 3 : Maps**

**Deborah Herath Chapman**

**A thesis presented to the  
UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH  
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Doctor of Philosophy**

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## Appendix 1 – Translations of Hymns and Choruses

The following translations have been revised, corrected and verified by at least two Quechua speakers each. A copy of the notarised account of their work is attached herewith.

The left hand column is an interlinear translation of Florencio Segura's hymns and choruses, facilitating a more exact sense of the meaning of the Quechua language, since it takes into account some of the nuances expressed by particular suffixes. Some abbreviations are used so as to better fit in the interlinear translation. These abbreviations are specified in the list below.

The right hand column is a freer translation.

### Abbreviations

Agent. – agentive transforms verb into noun	Ind. – indirect or indicative
Aug. – augmentative	IndO – indirect object
Conc. – concretion	Inf. – infinitive
Cond. – conditional	Interr. – interrogative
Conn.- connective	I. – inclusive
Cont. – continuous	Mut. – mutative
Contrast. – contrastive	Narr. – narrative
Def. – indicates certainty on the part of the speaker	Neg. – negative
Dim. – diminutive	Perf. – perfective
Dist. – distributive	Pl. – plural
DO – direct object	Poss. – possessive
E. – exclusive	Potent. – potentiality
Fut. – future	Pres. – present
ID – identity	Refl. – reflexive
Imp. - imperative	

## Translations of Hymns and Choruses

### 1

**Ñuqa huchasapam purirqani,**

I sinner-def. walked

**Mana Yusnillayta riqsikuspay;**

Not God-my-dear-DO knowing

**Maypim sarusqaypim mitkarqani,**

Where-def. step-perf.-in-def. tripped-I

**Salbakuqta mana chaskillaspay.**

Saviour-DO without receiving

**Taytalláy ¿imataq kay rupuyri<sup>1</sup>?**

Father-dear-my what this burning?

**Yusnilláy ¿imataq kay nanayri?**

God-my-dear what this pain?

**Rapuchkaspam mana tukuy atiq,**

Burn-cont.-gerund never all able-agent.

**Nanachkaspam mana haykap taniq.**

Hurt-cont.-gerund never when-in cease-agent.

**Simillanta uyarichkaspaymi**

Word-dear-his-DO hear-cont.-gerund-def.

**Mana kasuytachu munarqani;**

Not to obey-DO-neg. desired-I

**Salbakuqta rikuykuchkaspaymi**

Saviour-DO see-refl.-cont.-gerund-my-def.

**Ñawillayta chimqiykullarqani.**

Eye-only-my-DO closed-refl.-only-I

**“Sunquykita kichariykullaway**

Heart-your-DO open-refl.-only-you to me (imp.)

**Yaykumuptiy kawsakunanchikpaq”;**

To enter-there-when lives-our (I.)-for

**Niwachkaptin mana kasukuspay**

Say-when-he to me (cont.) not obey-refl.-gerund-I

**Ayqirqani kaypi muchunaypaq.**

Fled-I this-in need-conc.-my-for

*I, a sinner, wandered,*

*Not knowing my dear God;*

*Wherever I stepped I tripped,*

*Without receiving the Saviour.*

*My dear Father, what is this burning?*

*My dear God, what is this pain?*

*Endless burning never stopping,*

*Hurting without ceasing.*

*Even hearing his word*

*I did not want to obey;*

*Even seeing the Saviour for myself*

*I refused to recognise him.*

*“Only open your heart to me*

*So that entering we can live together (co-habit)”;*

*Even when he addressed me like that I refused to obey -*

*I turned away and continued in my need.*

<sup>1</sup> Should be *rupayri* – probably printer’s typographical error.

**¿Maytam richkanki**

Where-def. go-cont.-you

**Rumi sunqu churi,**

Stone heart son (of father)

**Qunqariwaspayki**

Forgetting-you to me

**Qunqay sunqu churi?**

Forgetful heart child (of father)

**Hina rispaqa,**

Like going-topic

**Wañuymanni rinki;**

Death-to-def. go-you;

**Huchallaykiwanqa**

Sin-only-your-with-topic

**Imbirnupim kanki.**

Hell-in-def. be-you will

**Qawarimuway,**

Look up-here-you to me (imp.)

**Kaypim kallachkani,**

Here-in-def. be-always-cont.-I

**Kutiriykamuway,**

Return-refl.-you to me (imp.)

**Salbaqn timer kani.**

Saviour-your-def.am-I

**Iñiwaspayki**

Believing-you to me

**Sunquykita quway,**

Heart-your-DO give-you to me (imp.)

**Quykillawaspayki**

Giving-refl.-only-you to me

**Ñannillayta qaway.**

Path-my-dear-DO observe-you (imp.)

*Where are you going**Stony-hearted son,**You are forgetting me**Child with a forgetful heart.**If you carry on like that**You will surely go to your death;**You will be in hell**With your sin.**Look up at me!**I am always here,**Return to me,**Because I am your Saviour.**Believing in me**Give me your heart,**And giving it to me**Observe my beloved way.*<sup>2</sup> Should be *kallpanchallasqaykim* – probably printer's typographical error.<sup>3</sup> Should be *chuyayachisqaykim* – probably printer's typographical error.

2 (cont.)

**Quwaptikiqa**

Give-if-it to me-topic

**Kallapanchallasqaykim<sup>2</sup>,**

Strength-alone-I to you (fut.)-def.

**Mañawaptikiqa**

Prayer/request-if-you to me-topic

**Chuyayachispaykim<sup>3</sup>.**

Clean/pure-cause-I to you (fut.)-def.

**Kutimuspaymi**

Returning (towards speaker)-I-def.

**Uqarikusqayki,**

Raise-lovingly-I to you (fut.)

**Wiña-wiñaypaqmi**

Ever - forever-def.

**Kawsachikuspayki.**

Sustaining life-for-your

*If you give it to me*

*I will give you strength,*

*If you ask me*

*I will make you holy.*

*When I return*

*I will lovingly raise you*

*To be your sustaining life*

*For ever and ever.*

3

**Ancha sumaq Hisusnillayqa**

Very beautiful Jesus-my-dear-topic

**Utqaymanñam kutipamunqa;**

Quickly-towards-now-def. return-he will

**Inti killam hamullaptinga**

Sun moon-def.come-threat-when-he will

**Silumanta urmaykamunqa.**

Sky-from fall from upper part-it will

**¿Imaninkim puriqmasilláy**

What-say-you will-def. travelling companion-dear-my

**Kaypachapi qiqaykuspayki?**

This-world-in staying-refl.-your

**¿Imaninkim tiyaqmasilláy**

What-say-you will resident friend-dear-my

**Hisus mana pusasuptiki?**

Jesus not takes-when-he to you

*My most precious dear Jesus*

*Will return very soon;*

*When he comes, the sun and the moon*

*Will fall from the sky.*

*What will you say, my beloved companion,*

*When you are left in this world?*

*What will you say, my dear friend,*

*When Jesus does not take you?*

3 (cont.)

**Kamaqnillay kutimuptinqa**

Lord-my-dear return-when-he will

**Urqkunam tuñirimunqa,**

Mountain (pl.)-def. demolish-begin-here-it will

**Qaqakunam rakirikunqa,**

Cliff (pl.)-def. separate-begin-committedly-it will

**Llapa sacham chitqarikunqa.**

Every tree-def. chop-begin-committedly-it will

*When my dear Lord returns*

*The mountains will crumble,*

*The cliffs will be parted,*

*And all the trees will be split.*

**Kamaqnillay kutimuptinqa**

Lord-my-dear return-when-he will

**Chaskakunam wichirimunqa,**

Star (pl.)-def. fall-begin-here-it will

**Rumikunam takanakunqa,**

Stone (pl.)-def. hit each other-it will

**Allpakunam kicharikunqa.**

Land (pl.)-def. open-refl.-it will

*When my dear Lord returns*

*The stars will fall,*

*The stones will crash together,*

*The lands will open.*

**Kamaqnillay kutimuptinqa**

Lord-my-dear return-when-he will

**Tukuy runam waqaykullanqa,**

All people-def. cry-emotion-only-it will

**Llapallanmi ayqiykullanqa,**

All-only-def. run away-emotion-only-s/he will

**Qaqatapas pakaway, ninqa.**

Rock-DO-and hide-you to me (imp.) say-s/he will

*When my dear Lord returns*

*All people will cry,*

*Everyone will run away,*

*And say, 'Rock, hide me!'*

**Uyariykuy runamasilláy,**

Listen-emotion-imp.person like me-dear-my

**Iñiykullay chaskikusunkim**

Believe-emotion-only-imp.receive-refl.-he to you (fut.)-def.

**Hisusniyqa kuyakusqalláy,**

Jesus-my-(topic) beloved-emotion-only-my

**Kaymantaqa salbakusunkim.**

This-from-(topic) save-refl.-he to you (fut.)-def.

*Listen, my dear companion -*

*Only believe and he will receive you.*

*My beloved Jesus,*

*Will save you from this.*

**¿Munankichum huchakuna binsiyta?**

Like-you-interr.-def. sin-(pl.) to overcome-DO

**Hisukristuwanqa binsinkim;**

Jesus-Christ-with-topic overcome-you will-def.

**¿Atiwaqchum bisyukuna millayta?**

Able-interr.-def. vice (pl.) to abhor-DO

**Salbasuptikiqa millankim.**

Saves-when-he to you-topic abhor-you will-def.

**Hisukristum wañurqa**

Jesus-Christ-def. died-he

**Rantikipipuni;**

Exchange-your-in-without a doubt

**Payman ñiptikiqa.**

Him-towards belief-when-your-topic

**Salbakullasunkim.**

Save-emotion-only-he to you (fut.)-def.

**¿Huchaykiwan watasqachum**

Sin-your-with bound-interr.-def.

**kachkanki?**

being-you

**Paskasunki kikin Hisusllam;**Untie<sup>4</sup>-he to you (fut.) the very same Jesus-dear-def.**¿Llakikiwan chaqnasqachum**

Pain-your-with tied-up-interr.-def.

**kachkanki?**

Be-cont.-you

**Paskasunki kikin Hisusllam.**

Untie-he to you (fut.) the very same Jesus-dear-def.

**¿Rumirayaq sunquyuqchum**

Stone-prolonged action-agent. heart-poss.-interr.-def.

**kachkanki?**

Be-cont.-you

**Llampuyachisunki Hisusmi;**

Soften-he to you (fut.) Jesus-def.

**¿Kay pachapi urmallaqchum**

This world-in fall-always-agent.-interr.-def.

**kachkanki?**

Be-cont.-you

**Sayarichisunki Hisusmi.**

To stand-cause- he to you (fut.) Jesus-def.

*Would you like to overcome sin?**With Jesus Christ you will overcome.**Are you able to abhor vices?**When he saves you, you will abhor them.**Jesus Christ died**In your place;**When you believe in Him**He will save you.**Are you bound by your sins?**Jesus himself will release you;**Are you tied up with your sadness?**Jesus himself will release you.**Are you habitually hard-hearted?**Jesus will soften you;**In this world are you always falling?**Jesus will set you on your feet.*<sup>4</sup> Lara 1971, p.194 - also means 'absolve, forgive'.



4 (cont.)

¿Yumpağ millay huchayuqchum

Very-agent. shameful guilty-interr.-def.

**kachkanki?**

Be-cont.-you

**Pampachanqam sumağ Hisusqa;**

Forgive- he will-def. beautiful Jesus-topic

**Yawarnillanwanmi mayllakusunki**

Blood-his-dear-with-def. wash refl.(non-absorbent)-he to you (fut.)

**Sumağ kuyay sunqu Hisusqa.**

Good compassionate heart Jesus-topic

*Are you guilty of very shameful things?*

*Precious Jesus will forgive you;*

*Jesus will wash you with the precious blood*

*Of his good and compassionate heart.*

5

¿Haykapkamam huchapi kawsanki

When-until-def. sin-in live-you (fut.)

**Yus Taytata qunqarispayki?**

God Father-DO forgetting-your

¿Haykapkamam Hisusta niganki

When-until-def. Jesus-DO deny-you (fut.)

**Sunquykita wichqaykuspayki?**

Heart-your-DO closing-your

*How long will you live in sin,*

*Forgetting God the Father?*

*How long will you deny Jesus,*

*Closing your heart to him?*

**Wawqilláy, wawqilláy,**

Brother-dear-my, brother-dear-my

**Qawariykuy pampakuqta,**

Look-you (imp.)-refl. burier-DO

**Puncha-punchaw wañuqta,**

From day to day dier-DO

**Hamuchkanmi wañuyniki,**

Come-cont.-it-def. death-your

**Yusman winta qunayki,**

God-to account give-conc.-your

**Qawarikuy wawqilláy.**

Look-you (imp.)-refl. brother-dear-my

*My dear brother, my dear brother,*

*Look at the one who is buried,*

*The one who dies each day,*

*Your death is coming,*

*You will give account to God,*

*Look at yourself my dear brother.*

¿Haykapkamam upyaypi kallanki

When-until-def. drink-in be-habitual-you (fut.)

**Aychaykita kusichispayki?**

Flesh-your-DO making happy-your

¿Kaypi chaypi manulla purinki

This-in that-in debt-habitual walk-you (fut.)

**Wasikita qunqarispayki?**

Home-your-DO forgetting-your

*How long will you continue in drunkenness*

*Making your flesh happy?*

*Will you continue in this and that debt*

*Forgetting your family?*

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>5 (cont.)</b></p> <p><b>¿Hinallachum sunquyki kallañqa</b> Like-habitual-interr.-def. heart-your be-habitual-it will</p> <p><b>Rumi hina mana llampuyaq?</b> Stone like not soften-agent.</p> <p><b>¿Hinallachum ñawiki chakninga</b> Like-habitual-interr.-def. eye-your hate-it will</p> <p><b>Imbirnuman ripunaykipaq?</b> Hell-to go-conc.-your-for</p> <p><b>¿Haykapkamam qunqanki Hisusta</b> When-until-def. neglect-you (fut.) Jesus-DO</p> <p><b>Supayllaman takipuspayki,</b> Devil-habitual-to singing-your</p> <p><b>Hatu-hatun kuyakuq Salbaqta</b> All powerful beloved-emotion-agent. Saviour</p> <p><b>Yanqa kaqwan pantaykuspayki?</b> In vain existence-agent.-with willfully mistaking-your</p>	<p><i>Will your heart continue just like Stone that does not soften? Will your eye continue to hate So that you go to hell?</i></p> <p><i>How long will you neglect Jesus Singing always for the devil, Mistakenly counting as nothing The all powerful beloved Saviour?</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>6</b></p> <p><b>Salbakuqniymi pusakuwachkan</b> Saviour-agent.-my-def. guide-emotion-he to me (pres. cont.)</p> <p><b>Lliwpi yanapawaspan,</b> All-in helping- he to me (pres.)</p> <p><b>Tuta punchawpas kay sunqullaypim;</b> Night day-also this heart-habitual-my-in-def.</p> <p><b>Hamuy, yanapasunkim.</b> Come-you (imp.) help-he to you (fut.)</p> <p><b>Mañakuchkanim<sup>5</sup> qampaq,</b> Pray-cont.-I (pres.)-def. you-for</p> <p><b>Sunquymantam mañakuchkani,</b> Heart-my-from-def. pray-cont.-I (pres.)</p> <p><b>Wiqiywanmi mañakuchkani,</b> Tear-my-with-def. pray-cont.-I (pres.)</p> <p><b>Mañakuchkanim qampaq.</b> Pray-cont.-I (pres.)-def. you-for</p>	<p><i>My Saviour is guiding me And helping me in everything, Night and day he is in my heart; Come, he will help you.</i></p> <p><i>I am praying for you, With all my heart I am praying, With my tears I am praying, I am praying for you.</i></p>

<sup>5</sup> Lara 1971, p.169: *mañakuy* means ‘to borrow’ or ‘to request’, but is always used by Segura meaning ‘to pray’.

6 (cont.)

**Sumaq Taytaymi kuyakuwaspan**

Good Father-my-def. loving-emotion-he to me (pres.)

**Silupiqa rurachkan,**

Heaven-in-topic make-cont.-he

**Churawanampaq huk kurunata.**

Place-he to me (pres.)-def.-for one crown-DO

**Sumaq kancharichkaqta.**

Beautiful shine-cont.-agent.-DO

**Kapuwachkanmi pachakunaypaq**

Have-it to me (pres. cont.)-def. dress-refl.-conc.-my-for

**Yuraq pacha ñuqapaq,**

White clothing me-for

**Ñawpaqniki qanwan kuskañam**

Presence-your-in you-with together-now-def.

**Churakuyta munayman.**

To put-refl.-my-DO desire-my-for

**Salbu kasqayki sumaq punchawqa,**

Saved place-your beautiful day-topic

**Kusiyllañam kawanqa,**

Happy-very-now-def. be-it to me (fut.)

**Chuyakunapas kusikuykunqam,**

Holy-pl.-also happy-refl.-s/he will-def.

**Lliw angilpas takinqam.**

All angel-also sing-s/he will-def.

*My precious Father, loving me,*

*Is making a beautiful shining crown*

*In heaven,*

*For him to place on me.*

*To dress myself I have my own*

*White clothing,*

*I would like to be in your presence,*

*Together with you now.*

*That beautiful day, when you are saved,*

*Will make me very happy,*

*The other holy ones will also be happy,*

*And all the angels will also sing.*

7

**Kaypachapi paytukuqqa**

This-world-in s/he-all-agent.-topic

**Manam wiñaypaqchu,**

Not-def. ever-for-neg.

**Huchallapi purikuqqa**

Sin-only-in wanderer-agent.-topic

**Manam kawsanqachu.**

Not-def. live-s/he (fut.)-neg.

**Runamasin waqachiqqa**

Companion-his/her cry-cause-agent.-topic

**Kawsanankamallam,**

Lives-conc.-s/he-until-only-def.

**Puncha-punchaw kusikuqqa**

From day to day happy-agent.-topic

**Wañunankamallam.**

Dies-conc.-s/he-until-only-def.

*In this world the proud person*

*Is not forever,*

*The person who walks only in sin*

*Will not live.*

*The person who makes his/her companion cry*

*Will do so only while s/he lives.*

*The person who is happy daily*

*Will be so only until s/he dies.*

7 (cont.)

**Rawraq nina quchamanmi**

Burn-agent. fire lake-to-def.

**Huchayuqta wischunqa,**

Sin-poss.-DO throw-s/he (fut.)

**Mana salbu kaqqa liwmi**

Not saved be-agent.-topic all-def.

**Wiñaypaña rupanqa.**

Ever-for-now burn-s/he (fut.)

*He will throw the sinner*

*To the lake of burning fire -*

*All who are not saved*

*Will burn forever.*

**¿Qullqillayki karuptinchum**

Money-beloved-your far away-when-it-interr.-def.

**Yusta qunqarinki?**

God-DO forget-begin-you

**¿Yachaysapa tukuspachum**

To know-multi-poss. concluding-interr.-def.

**Kayta rurachkanki?**

This-DO do-cont.-you

**Qullqitapas quykusparaq,**

Money-DO-also giving-still

**“Kaymi Yusniy”, nispa,**

This-surely God-my saying

**Mana uyariqman ninki,**

Not listen-agent.-to say-you

**“Salbaykuway”, nispa.**

Save-emotion-you to me (imp.) saying

*When you have your beloved money*

*Do you begin to forget God?*

*Are you doing this*

*Believing you are wise?*

*Even giving money,*

*And saying, “Surely this is my God”,*

*You say, “Please save me!”*

*To one who does not listen.*

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>7 (cont.)</b></p> <p><b>Huchallata rurachkaspam,</b> Sin-habitual-DO do-cont.-gerund-def. <b>“Huchachuqa”, ninki,</b> Sin-neg.-topic say-you <b>Salbakuqta rikuchkaspam,</b> Save-agent.-DO see-cont.-gerund-def. <b>“Yanqam chayqa”, ninki.</b> In vain-surely that-topic say-you <b>¿Sunquykichum rumiyarqun</b> Heart-your-interr.-def. stone-has become like-it <b>Mana musyanampaq?</b> Not be aware-conc.-for <b>¿Ñawikichum tutayarqun</b> Eye-your-interr.-def. dark-has become like-it <b>Mana rikunampaq?</b> Not observe-conc.-for</p>	<p><i>While you carry on sinning,</i> <i>You say, “It is not sin”,</i> <i>Seeing the Saviour</i> <i>You say, “That surely is in vain.”</i> <i>Has your heart become like stone</i> <i>With no awareness?</i> <i>Has your eye become dark</i> <i>So it no longer sees?</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>8 Genesis 6</b></p> <p><b>Runakuna huchallapi</b> Person-pl. sin-only-in <b>Kawsaptinmi<sup>6</sup>,</b> Live-when-s/he/it-def. <b>Yusnintapas kaypachapi</b> God-his/hers-DO-also this-world-in <b>Qunqaptinmi,</b> Forget-when-s/he/it-def. <b>Anchallatapuni piñakuspan,</b> Very-threat-DO-no doubt becoming angry-s/he <b>Yusnillanchik kaypachapi</b> God-unique-our(I.) this-world-in <b>Llapan kawsaqtapas parallanwan</b> All live-agent.-DO-also rain-alone-his-with <b>Timpuykachinampaq nirqa.</b> Overrun-cause-conc.-for say-he (past)</p>	<p><i>When people lived</i> <i>Only in sin,</i> <i>And when they forgot God</i> <i>In this world,</i> <i>Our God, becoming extremely angry</i> <i>In this world,</i> <i>Said to all the living with his rain</i> <i>To bury them.</i></p>

<sup>6</sup> Like Spanish, ‘people’ functions in agreement with the verb as singular rather than plural.

<sup>7</sup> Valderrama 2003, pp.42-3: *Chayna* is short for *chay hina*. *Chay hinataq* (p.42) means ‘it is like that’.

<sup>8</sup> Misspelling – should be *rupay*.

8 (cont.)

**Nuwi Yusman sunqu kaqta**

Noah God-to heart be-agent.-DO

**Rikuspanmi,**

Seeing-he-def.

**Rurachirqa huk arkata,**

Make-cause-he (past) one ark-DO

**Bamilyantin**

Family-I.

**Yaykuspanku salbu kanankupaq;**

Entering-they saved be-conc.-their-for

**Chaymantaqmi churachirqa**

After that-def. put on-cause-he (past)

**Iska-iskay animalkunata,**

Two-by-two animal-pl.-DO

**Mana lliwchan tukunampaq.**

Not all-diminutive-his finish off-conc.-in order to

**Para chayaykamuptinmi,**

Rain arrive-refl.-when-def.

**Runakuna**

People-pl.

**Yakup qucharparisqanwan,**

Water-poss. flooded-poss.-begin-it-with

**Lliw wañurqa.**

All die (past)

**Nuwiñataq qanchis bamilyantin,**

Noah-now-but seven family-I.

**Yuspa kuyakusqan kaspan,**

God-poss. loved-his being-he

**Arkallaman yaykuykullaspanku,**

Ark-only-to entering-refl.-only-they

**Llapan salbakullarqaku.**

All save-refl.-only-they (past)

*Seeing that Noah's heart*

*was towards God*

*He had him make an ark,*

*So that entering with all of his family*

*They would be saved;*

*After that he had the animals*

*Put on two by two*

*So that not all would be finished off.*

*When the rain came,*

*The people all died*

*With its*

*Flood of water.*

*But Noah with his seven families,*

*Being loved by God,*

*Entering the ark,*

*Were all saved.*

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>8 (cont.)</b></p> <p><b>Chaynataqmi<sup>7</sup> kaypachata</b> It is like that-def. this-world-DO</p> <p><b>Yus tukunqa;</b> God finish-he (fut.)</p> <p><b>Ninawanñam huchanmanta</b> Fire-with-now-def. sin-its-from</p> <p><b>Kañaykunqa;</b> Burn-refl.-he (fut.)</p> <p><b>Tukuy sunqun Yusman quqñataqmi</b> All heart-his/her God-to give-agent.-now-but-def.</p> <p><b>Arkallapi Nuwi hina,</b> Ark-unique-in Noah like</p> <p><b>Hisusllapi iñiq kaspankuqa</b> Jesus-only-in believe-agent. being-they-topic</p> <p><b>Rapuy<sup>8</sup>manta salbu kanqa.</b> Flame-from saved be-s/he (fut.)</p>	<p><i>In the same way</i></p> <p><i>God will finish this world;</i></p> <p><i>He will burn its sin</i></p> <p><i>With fire;</i></p> <p><i>But the person who gives his/her whole heart to God</i></p> <p><i>Like Noah in the ark,</i></p> <p><i>Those who are believers only in Jesus</i></p> <p><i>Will be saved from the flame.</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>9 Numbers 21.1-9</b></p> <p><b>Igiptumanta urqukamusqan,</b> Egypt-from take out-refl.-narr.-he</p> <p><b>Churinkunam rimarqa,</b> Child-his-pl.-def. speak-s/he (past)</p> <p><b>Yusninkumanta kaynatapuni:</b> God-their-to-IndO this-conc.-DO-definitely</p> <p><b>“¿Imapaqmi chunniqman<sup>9</sup>”</b> What-for-def. solitary-agent.-to</p> <p><b>Pusamuwarqankiku yarqasqa,</b> Lead-here-you to us (E. past) hungry</p> <p><b>Yakumanta kaspayku</b> Water-from being-our</p> <p><b>Ñakariykustin purillaspayku</b> Suffer-our-gerund walk-only-gerund-our</p> <p><b>Kaypi wañunaykupaq?”</b> This-in die-conc.-our-for</p>	<p><i>The children that he himself had taken out of Egypt,</i></p> <p><i>Spoke like this</i></p> <p><i>To their God:</i></p> <p><i>“To what solitary place</i></p> <p><i>Have you led us hungry</i></p> <p><i>And thirsty,</i></p> <p><i>To wander suffering</i></p> <p><i>And die here?”</i></p>

<sup>9</sup> Valderrama 2003, p.59: Also spelled *chunneq* – unpopulated, uninhabited, silent.

9 (cont.)

**Chaymi Yusñataq piñakuykuspan**

That-def. God-now-but get angry-himself-gerund-he

*Now at that God, getting angry*

**Machaqwayta qumurqa;**

Small snake-DO give-there-he (past)

*Gave a snake;*

**Rawrachkaqtaraq rikurichispam**

Burning-agent.-IndO-first appear-begin-cause-gerund-def.

*Causing it to appear like a burning object*

**Lliwta kachuykachirqa;**

Everyone-DO bite-cause-it (past)

*He made it bite everyone;*

**Huknin hukninraq wañuykuptinmi**

One of them one of them-still die-refl.-when-def.

*When they died one by one*

**Sunqunmanta llakisqa,**

Heart-his-from sorrowed

*His heart was saddened,*

**Huchankunata riqsikuspanku**

Sin-their-conc.-DO recognise-refl.-gerund-they

*They themselves, recognising their sin,*

**Yusta qayakurqaku.**

God-DO call-refl.-they (past)

*Called out to God.*

**Yuspa nisqanmi Muysis rurarqa**

God-poss. saying-his-def. Moses make-he (past)

*At God's command, Moses made*

**Machaqwaypa ayrinta;**

Small snake-poss. likeness-its-DO

*The likeness of a snake;*

**Sayaq kaspipim churaykapurqa**

Erect pole-on-def. place-it-he (past)

*He placed it on an erect pole*

**Sumaq llipipichkaqta;**

Beautiful shine-cont.-agent.-DO

*Beautifully shining;*

**Tukuy sunquwan iñiykuspanku**

All heart-with believe-refl.-gerund-they

*Those who looked at God's gift*

**Yuspa qusqan qawaqmi,**

God-poss. gift-his look at-agent.-def.

*believing with all their heart,*

**Wañunayaykuchkasqankumanta**

Agonise-cont.-perf.-their-from

*Though at death's door,*

**Chaylla sanuyarqaku.**

Soon heal-they (past)

*Were healed immediately.*



<p style="text-align: center;"><b>9 (cont.)</b></p> <p><b>Chayman kunampas yumpa</b> In that way now-also much</p> <p><b>huchanwan</b> sin-his/her-with</p> <p><b>Runakuna kallachkan;</b> People-pl. be-ID-cont.-s/he</p> <p><b>Wañuy pachapi ñakariykuspan,</b> Dead world-in suffering-s/he</p> <p><b>Yusñataqmi llapallan</b> God-now-but-def. everyone</p> <p><b>Iñiqkuna</b> <b>paq</b> <b>kuyay churinta</b> Believe-agent.-pl.-for beloved son-his-DO</p> <p><b>Kruspi uqarichirqa,</b> Cross-on lift-cause-he (past)</p> <p><b>Tukuy sunquwan qawarispanku</b> All heart-with looking at-they</p> <p><b>Salbu kanallankupa.</b> Saved be-conc.-ID-they-in order to</p>	<p><i>And now also in the same way</i></p> <p><i>people are guilty of much sin;</i></p> <p><i>Suffering in a dead world,</i></p> <p><i>But now God</i></p> <p><i>Has lifted his beloved son</i></p> <p><i>On the cross,</i></p> <p><i>So that everyone looking at it with all their heart</i></p> <p><i>Will be saved.</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>10 John 3.1-7</b></p> <p><b>Nikudimu sutiyuq siñurmi</b> Nicodemus name-poss. man-def.</p> <p><b>Watukurqa tutalla Hisusman;</b> Visit-he (past) night-only Jesus-to</p> <p><b>Runamanta yumpaqa manchaspan<sup>10</sup>,</b> People-of very-DO frightened-def.</p> <p><b>Allillalla punkuta takarqa.</b> Carefully-only door-DO knock-he (past)</p> <p><b>Yaykuspanmi niykurqa kaynata:</b> Entering-he-def. say-refl.-he (past) this-conc.-DO</p> <p><b>“Yachanikum Qampuni Yusmanta</b> know-we(E.)-def. you-without doubt God-of</p> <p><b>Yachachikuq hamullasqaykita,</b> Teach-refl.-agent. come-only-perf.-your-DO</p> <p><b>Sumaq milagrullaykikunawan”.</b> Beautiful miracle-unique-your-pl.-with</p>	<p><i>A man named Nicodemus</i></p> <p><i>Visited Jesus at night;</i></p> <p><i>Being very frightened of the people,</i></p> <p><i>He knocked very carefully on the door.</i></p> <p><i>Entering, he said this:</i></p> <p><i>“Teacher, we know without a doubt that you have come to</i></p> <p><i>Teach us about God,</i></p> <p><i>With your wonderful miracles”.</i></p>

<sup>10</sup> Misspelling – should be *manchasqam*.

10 (cont.)

**Hisusñataq riqsispan niykurqa:**

Jesus-now-and knowing-he say-emotion-he (past)

**“Qamtam niyki chiqallapipuni,**  
You-DO-def. tell-I to you truth-only-in-definitely

**Musuqmanta nasispankupunim,**

New-from born-gerund-their-without dount-def.

**Runakuna yaykunqa siluman”.**

People-pl. enter-s/he (fut.) heaven-to

**Nikudimum Paytataq tapurqa:**

Nicodemus-def. Him-DO-but ask-he (past)

**“¿Imaynataq huk yuyaq runari**

How-then one old/wise person

**Nasimunman kaq**

Be born-here-s/he-to again

**mamanmantachum?”**

mother-his/her-from-interr.def.

**Chaymi Hisus nillarqa kaynata:**

So Jesus say-only-he (past) this-conc.-DO

**“Aychamanta nasiqqa aychallam;**

Flesh-from born-agent.-topic flesh-only-def.

**Ispiritu kaqmananta nasiqqa**

Spirit again-from born-agent.-topic

**Ispiritu runañam, chaynaqa**

Spirit people-now-def. like that-concrete-topic

**Ama admirakuychu kaymanta”.**

Do not be astonished-neg. this-of

**Kay hinatam kunampas nisunki:**

This like-DO-def. now-and say-he to you (pres.)

**Kikin Hisusmampuni iñispa,**

The very same Jesus-towards-definitely believing

**Huchaykita Payllaman willaspa,**

Sin-your-DO Him-only-to telling

**Musuqmanta qam nasinaykipaq.**

New-from you born-conc.-your-for

*And now Jesus knowing him said:*

*“I tell you, truly,*

*Only being born anew,*

*Will people enter heaven.”*

*Nicodemus asked him:*

*“How can an old person*

*Be born again from his/her mother?”*

*So Jesus said this:*

*“From flesh is born only flesh;*

*The one born of the Spirit*

*Is now a person of that Spirit*

*Do not be astonished by this”.*

*And he tells you the same now:*

*Believing in the very same Jesus,*

*Telling Him your sin,*

*You will be born anew.*

## 11 Luke 15

### **Ancha kuyakuq allin taytapam**

Very loving good father-poss.-def.

### **Iskay churin kapurqa;**

Two child-his (of father) have-he (past)

### **Sullkan kaqñataq riyta**

Younger brother again-now-but to go-DO

### **munaspan,**

desiring-he

### **Kay hinata niykurqa:**

This like this-DO say-refl.-he (past)

### **“Taytay qupuway tupawaqniyta**

Father-my give-you to me (imp.) share-my-DO

### **Llapan irinsallayta”.**

All inheritance-ID-my-DO

### **Quykapuptinmi qullqicharquspan**

Give-benefit-when-def. money-make-quickly-gerund-it

### **Ripukurqa karuman,**

Travel-he (past) far away-to

### **Munay llaqtaman chayaykullaspan**

Lovely town-to arrive-refl.-alone-gerund-def.

### **Kaypi chaypi qullqinwan,**

Here-in there-in money-his-with

### **Huchapi amiguwan purispan**

Sin-in friend-with walk-gerund-he

### **Lliwta tukurparirqa.**

Everything-DO finish-begin-it (past)

### **Muchuy kasqanman chayaykuptinmi**

Hunger be-perf.-to arrive there-gerund-he-def.

### **Wasin-wasin purirqa,**

From house to house walk-he (past)

### **Qullqin tukuysiq-masinkunapas**

Money-his finish-said-agent.-companion-his-pl.-also

### **Mana qawariptinmi<sup>11</sup>,**

Not look up-gerund-they-def.

### **Llakiywan kuchi michiq yaykuspa**

Sorrow-with pig shepherd enter-gerund

### **Yarqayllapi kallarqa.**

Hunger-only-in be-always-he (past)

*A very loving good father*

*Had two sons;*

*The younger brother, desiring to go,*

*Said this to him:*

*“My father - give me my share -*

*All of my inheritance”.*

*When it was given, he quickly changed it to money*

*And went far away.*

*Arriving alone at a lovely town*

*He spent his money here and there,*

*Walking in sin with friends*

*Until everything was finished.*

*When hunger overtook him*

*He walked from house to house,*

*The companions that helped to finish his money*

*No longer looked at him,*

*With sorrow he became a pig shepherd*

*And he was always hungry.*

<sup>11</sup> In Quechua, a group of people defined by the pluralizer *-kuna* is a singular entity for verb agreement.

11 (cont.)

**Yuyaynillanman kutirispanmi**

Mind-his-simply-to return-begin-gerund-def.

**Chayraq nirqa kaynata:**

Only then say-he (past) this-conc.-DO

**“Kunan taytaya runankunaqa**

Now father-my-poss. people-his-pl.-topic

**Saksaykusqam kachkanku,**

Fill up-refl.-perf.-def. being-they,

**Ñuqallayñataq muchuykuchkani**

I-alone-now-but hunger-refl.-cont.-I (pres.)

**Yumpaq yarqayllamanta”.**

Great hunger-only-from

**Utqayllamanña hatariykuspam**

Rapidly-ID-towards-now get up-refl.-gerund-def.

**Chaylla kutiripurqa,**

Immediately return-begin-benefit-he (past)

**Taytan churinta riqsiykullaspam**

Father-his child-his-DO recognise-refl.-ID-gerund-def.

**Kallpayllaraq ayparqa,**

Run-ID-first reach-he (past)

**Brasullantapas kichariykuspam**

Arm-loving-his-DO-and open-refl.-gerund-def.

**Abrasapa mucharqa.**

Hug-gerund kiss-he (past)

**Hatun huchanta riqsikuspammi**

Great sin-his-DO recognise-refl.-gerund-he-def.

**Nirqa: “Huchallikunim,**

Say-he (past) to sin-I-def.

**Manam churíy niwanaykitaqa**

Not-def. son-my say-you to me -DO-topic

**Mirisillaniñachu”.**

Deserve-ID-I-now-neg.

**Niptimpas pisiqinta quykuspam**

Say-when-he-still lack-his-DO give-gerund-def.

**Kusikuywan chaskirqa.**

Happiness-with receive-he (past)

*Coming to his senses*

*He finally said this:*

*“Now my father’s workers*

*are full,*

*But I alone am dying of hunger -*

*Of a great hunger”.*

*Getting up quickly*

*He immediately returned,*

*His father, recognising his son,*

*Reached him running*

*And opening his loving arms*

*Hugging he kissed him.*

*Recognising his great sin*

*He said: “I am in a state of sin*

*Now I do not deserve for you to*

*Call me son”.*

*When he said this, giving him what he lacked*

*He received him joyfully.*

12 Luke 19.1-10

**Sakyu sutiuyuq siñurmi**

Zacchaeus name-poss. man-def.

**Huchallapiña kawsaspan,**

Sin-only-in-now live-gerund-he

**Mana samayta tarispan**

Not rest-DO find-gerund-he

**Hisus rikuykuyta munarqa;**

Jesus to see-refl.-DO desire-he (past)

**Qawaykuyta mana atispam**

To observe-refl.-DO not be able-gerund-def.

**Hatun sachaman siqarqa.**

Great tree-to climb-he (past)

**Hisus sunqunta yachaspan**

Jesus heart-his-DO know-gerund-def.

**Qawariykuspan nillarqa:**

See-refl.-gerund-he say-simply-he (past)

**“Sakyu uraykuy utqayman,**

Zacchaeus come down-you (imp.) quickly

**Wasikiپی samaykunaypaq”.**

House-your-in rest-refl.-conc.-my-in order to

**Chaylla, chaylla uraykuykuspam**

Quickly, quickly descend-refl.-gerund-def.

**Kusikuyllawan chaskirqa.**

Joy-only-with receive-he (past)

**Tukuy sunqunwan iñispan**

All heart-his-with believe-gerund-def.

**Nirqa kaynata Hisusman,**

Say-he (past) this-conc.-DO Jesus-to

**“Kapuwaqniypa wakintam**

Possess-agent.-my-poss. the rest-DO-def.

**Llapa wakcha kaqman rakisqa,**

Everyone poor person-for share-I (fut.)

**Ingañasqay kaqmanñataqmi**

Cheat-narr.-I person-to-now-and-def.

**Tawa kutita qupusaq”.**

Four times-DO give-benefit-I (fut.)

*A man named Zacchaeus,*

*Living only in sin*

*And finding no rest*

*Desired to see Jesus up close;*

*Not being able to observe him*

*He climbed a great tree.*

*Jesus, knowing his heart,*

*Seeing him simply said:*

*“Zacchaeus come down quickly,*

*So that I can rest in your house”.*

*Climbing down very quickly*

*He received him with joy.*

*With all his heart believing*

*He said this to Jesus,*

*“What is left of my property I will share*

*With all the poor,*

*And those I have cheated*

*I will give four times more”.*

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>12 (cont.)</b></p> <p><b>Lliw qupusqanta qawaspam,</b> All give-benefit-perf.-it-DO observe-gerund-def.</p> <p><b>Hisus rimarqa llapanman:</b> Jesus say-he (past) everyone-to</p> <p><b>Kay salbu kaymi chayamun</b> This salvation here it is arrive here-it (pres.)</p> <p><b>Kunampacha paypa wasinman;</b> Today-itself he-poss. house-his-to</p> <p><b>Chinkay ñampi puriqkunata</b> Lost way-in traveller-pl.-DO</p> <p><b>Ñuqa maskamusqayrayku”.</b> I look-there-narr.-I-because</p>	<p><i>Jesus, observing all that was given back,</i></p> <p><i>Said to everyone:</i></p> <p><i>“This very day this salvation</i></p> <p><i>Has come to his house;</i></p> <p><i>Because I have looked for</i></p> <p><i>Travellers in the lost way.”</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>13</b></p> <p><b>Hisukristuman hamuy kunan,</b> Jesus-Christ-to come-you (imp.) now</p> <p><b>Ñuqaykuwanmi kaypi kachkan,</b> Us-with-def. here be-cont.-he (pres.)</p> <p><b>Qayachkasunkim kuyakuywan,</b> Call-cont.-he to you (pres.)-def. love-refl.-with</p> <p><b>Hamuy, yaykumuy.</b> Come-you (imp.) come in-here-you (imp.)</p> <p><b>Yuspa kanchaq wasimpim kanqa</b> God-poss. shining house-his-in-def.be-it (fut.)</p> <p><b>Sumaqlaña qampiwan kayqa,</b> Beautiful-only-now you-in-with to be-topic</p> <p><b>Qampas, paypas, ñuqapas kuskam</b> You-also he-also I and together-def.</p> <p><b>Kusikusunchik.</b> Happy-we (fut.)</p> <p><b>Yuyay, Paypunim</b> Remember-you (imp.) he-no doubt-def.</p> <p><b>salbakuqqa,</b> save-agent.-topic</p> <p><b>Llakiq sunqupas samachiqqa,</b> Sad heart-and rest-cause-agent.-topic</p> <p><b>Allinnikita munaspaqa;</b> Good-your-DO desiring-topic</p> <p><b>Qam yaykuykamuy.</b> You come in-yourself (imp.)</p>	<p><i>Come to Jesus Christ now,</i></p> <p><i>He is here with us,</i></p> <p><i>He is calling you with compassionate love,</i></p> <p><i>Come, enter!</i></p> <p><i>In God’s shining house it will be</i></p> <p><i>Beautiful to be with you,</i></p> <p><i>You, he and I together -</i></p> <p><i>We will be happy.</i></p> <p><i>Remember that He is the one who saves</i></p> <p><i>The one who gives the sad heart rest,</i></p> <p><i>Wanting your best;</i></p> <p><i>You yourself - come in!</i></p>

<sup>12</sup> Misspelling – should be *asuykuykamuy*.

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>13 (cont.)</b></p> <p><b>Hamuy</b>                      <b>uyariy</b> Come-you (imp.) hear-you (imp.)</p> <p><b>simillanta,</b> word-alone-his-DO</p> <p><b>Kichariykullay</b>                      <b>sunquykita,</b> Open-refl.-only-you (imp.) heart-your-DO</p> <p><b>Chaskiy</b>                      <b>wiñaypaq kawsakuyta,</b> Receive-you (imp.) eternal-for life-refl.-DO</p> <p><b>Asuykaykamuy</b><sup>12</sup>. Come near-refl.-you (imp.)</p>	<p><i>Come, hear his word,</i></p> <p><i>Only open your heart,</i></p> <p><i>Receive life eternal,</i></p> <p><i>Come near!</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>14</b></p> <p><b>Haku hikin Hisusman,</b> Let us go the same Jesus-to</p> <p><b>Kruspi wañuqman,</b> Cross-on die-agent.-to</p> <p><b>Yawarninta chaqchuspan</b> Blood-his-DO shedding-he</p> <p><b>Hucha mayllaqman.</b> Sin wash-agent.-to</p> <p> </p> <p><b>Huchaykikunata riqsikuspa,</b> Sin-your-pl.-DO recognise-refl.-gerund</p> <p><b>Tukuy sunquykiwan iñispa,</b> All heart-your-with believing</p> <p><b>Jesusllaman hamullanki chayqa,</b> Jesus-only-to come-only-you then</p> <p><b>Huchaykitam kikin mayllanqa.</b> Sin-your-DO the very same wash-he (fut.)</p> <p> </p> <p><b>Haku hikin Hisusman,</b> Let us go the same Jesus-to</p> <p><b>Wiñay kawsaqman,</b> Eternal live-agent.-to</p> <p><b>Almallanchik kuyaqman,</b> Soul-ID-our(I.) love-agent.-to</p> <p><b>“Hamuy” nikuqman.</b> Come-you (imp.) say-refl.-agent.-to</p>	<p><i>Let’s go to Jesus,</i></p> <p><i>To the one who died on the cross,</i></p> <p><i>To the one who shed his blood</i></p> <p><i>To the one who washes from sin.</i></p> <p> </p> <p><i>Recognising your sins,</i></p> <p><i>Believing with all your heart,</i></p> <p><i>Then if you come to Jesus,</i></p> <p><i>He himself will wash your sin.</i></p> <p> </p> <p><i>Let’s go to Jesus,</i></p> <p><i>To the one who lives forever,</i></p> <p><i>To the one who loves our soul,</i></p> <p><i>To the one who says to you, “Come!”</i></p>

<sup>13</sup> Valderrama 2003, p.377 – this refers to caring for something of value.

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>14 (cont.)</b></p> <p><b>Haku hikin Hisusman,</b> Let us go the same Jesus-to <b>Waqaychakuman,</b><sup>13</sup> Take care of-refl.-to <b>Sunqutapas mayllaspan,</b> Heart-DO-and washing-he <b>Chuyayachiqman.</b> Clean-cause-agent.-to</p>	<p><i>Let's go to Jesus,</i></p> <p><i>To the one who takes care of you,</i></p> <p><i>Washing the heart -</i></p> <p><i>To the one who purifies it.</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>15</b></p> <p><b>Kruspim Salbaqnillay wañurqa,</b> Cross-on-def. Saviour-my-only die-he (past) <b>Kawsaynintam qurqa,</b> Life-his-DO-def. give-he (past) <b>Salbawaspam kirichikurqa</b> Save-he to me-gerund wound-cause-refl.-he (past) <b>Sumaq Hisusniyqa.</b> Beautiful Jesus-my-topic</p> <p><b>Hamuy Salbaqnillayman</b> Come you (imp.) Saviour-my-ID-to <b>Hamuy Salbaqnillayman,</b> Come you (imp.) Saviour-my-ID-to <b>Pampachaqniy Hisusman,</b> Forgiver-my Jesus-to <b>Kawsay quwaqnillayman.</b> Life giver-my-only-to</p> <p><b>Wañuspanmi pampachakuwan</b> Dying-he-def. forgives-refl.-he to me (pres.) <b>Kikin yawarninwan,</b> The very same blood-his-with <b>Sunquytapas chuyayachiwan,</b> Heart-my-DO-and clean-cause-he to me (pres.) <b>Kusikuytam quwan.</b> Joy-refl.-my-DO-def. give-he to me (pres.)</p>	<p><i>On the cross my Saviour died,</i></p> <p><i>He gave his life,</i></p> <p><i>Saving me he himself was wounded -</i></p> <p><i>My beautiful Jesus.</i></p> <p><i>Come to my Saviour</i></p> <p><i>Come to my Saviour,</i></p> <p><i>To Jesus my Forgiver,</i></p> <p><i>To the one who alone gives me life.</i></p> <p><i>Dying, he lovingly forgives me</i></p> <p><i>And with his very own blood</i></p> <p><i>He purifies my heart -</i></p> <p><i>He gives me joy.</i></p>



<p style="text-align: center;"><b>15 (cont.)</b></p> <p><b>Hisuspunim salbasunkichik,</b> Jesus-no doubt-def. save-he to you pl. (fut.)</p> <p><b>Munaq hamullaychik;</b> Desire-agent. come-only-you(pl.)</p> <p><b>Kikimpunim qayasunkichik,</b> The very same-no doubt-def. call-he to you pl. (fut.)</p> <p><b>Utqaykamullaychik.</b> Hurry up-refl.-only-you(pl.)</p>	<p><i>Jesus himself will save you,</i></p> <p><i>The ones who want to, come;</i></p> <p><i>He himself calls you -</i></p> <p><i>Hurry up!</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>16</b></p> <p><b>Huchayuqkuna hamullawaychik</b> Sin-poss.-pl. come-only-you(pl.) to me (imp.)</p> <p><b>Salbakuykunallaypaq,</b> Saviour-my-emotion-conc.-only-for</p> <p><b>Kuyakuspaymi qayachkaykichik</b> Love-refl.-gerund-my-def. call-cont.-I to you (pl. pres.)</p> <p><b>Wiñay kawsay qunaypaq.</b> Eternal life give-conc.-my-for</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;"><b>Ama suyaychu utqayman hamuy</b> Don't wait-neg. hurry-you (imp.)-to come-you (imp.)</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;"><b>Ispirituy qunaypaq,</b> Spirit-my give-conc.-my-for</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;"><b>Ñuqallamanña chimpakaykamuy</b> Me-only-to-now cross in this direction-refl.-you (imp.)</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;"><b>Kallpa tarinaykipaq.</b> Strength find-conc.-your-for</p> <p><b>Ñuqamampuni hamuykuwaychik,</b> Me-to-no doubt come-refl.-you (pl.) to me (imp.)</p> <p><b>Qusqaykichik samaytam;</b> Give-I to you (pl.fut.) rest-DO-def.</p> <p><b>Llakisqakuna asuykamuychik,</b> Sorrowful-pl. come near-you(pl.imp.)</p> <p><b>Qusqaykichik kusiynam.</b> Give-I to you(pl.fut.) joy-DO-def.</p> <p><b>Hamuy ñuqallam punku kallani,</b> Come-you (imp.) I-ID-def. door be-alone-I</p> <p><b>Ñuqallanta yaykuychik;</b> Me-only-DO come in-you(pl.imp.)</p> <p><b>Yana sunqutam ñuqa kanchani,</b> Dark heart-DO-def. I illuminate-I</p> <p><b>Kancharisqaykichikmi.</b> Give light-I to you(pl.fut.)-def.</p>	<p><i>Those who are sinners, come to me</i></p> <p><i>For my Saviour,</i></p> <p><i>I am calling you because I love you</i></p> <p><i>In order to give you eternal life.</i></p> <p><i>Don't wait – come, hurry up!</i></p> <p><i>So I can give you my Spirit,</i></p> <p><i>Only cross over to me now</i></p> <p><i>So that you find strength.</i></p> <p><i>Come to me,</i></p> <p><i>I will give you rest;</i></p> <p><i>You who are sorrowful come near,</i></p> <p><i>I will give you joy.</i></p> <p><i>Come - I alone am the door,</i></p> <p><i>Come in only by me;</i></p> <p><i>I illuminate the darkened heart,</i></p> <p><i>I will give you light.</i></p>

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>16 (cont.)</b></p> <p><b>Ñuqallapunim ñanqa kallani,</b> I-ID-no doubt-def. way-topic be-only-I</p> <p><b>Ñuqallanta puriychik;</b> Me-only-DO walk-you (pl.imp.)</p> <p><b>Huchaykichikta pampachaspaymi</b> Sin-your(pl.)-DO forgiving-def.</p> <p><b>Chuyayachisqaykichik.</b> Clean-cause-I to you (pl.fut.)</p>	<p><i>Only I am the way,</i></p> <p><i>Walk by me only;</i></p> <p><i>Forgiving your sin</i></p> <p><i>I will make you clean.</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>17</b></p> <p><b>Huchayuq hamukuy Hisusman,</b> Sin-poss. come-refl.-you (imp.) Jesus-to</p> <p><b>Wiñay kusiytam tarinki;</b> Eternal joy-DO-def. find-you (fut.)</p> <p><b>Utqamuy, utqamuy,</b> Hurry-here-you (imp.) hurry-here-you (imp.)</p> <p><b>kikinman</b> the very same-to</p> <p><b>Sumaq salbaqtam chaskinki.</b> Beautiful saviour-DO-def. receive-you (fut.)</p> <p><b>Hamukuy, hamukuy,</b> Come-refl.-you (imp.) come-refl.-you (imp.)</p> <p><b>Hisusmi qayachkasunki;</b> Jesus-def. calling-he to you</p> <p><b>Hamukuy, hamukuy,</b> Come-refl.-you (imp.) come-refl.-you (imp.)</p> <p><b>Hisusmi salballasunki.</b> Jesus-def. save-only-he to you (fut.)</p> <p><b>Huchawan intusqam kachkanki,</b> Sin-with taken-def. be-cont.-you (pres.)</p> <p><b>Maskay almayki salbayta;</b> Seek-you (imp.) soul-your to save-DO</p> <p><b>Kuyakuq Hisustam tarinki,</b> Love-refl.-agent. Jesus-DO-def. find-you (fut.)</p> <p><b>Paymi qusunki kawsayta.</b> He-def. give-he to you (fut.) life-DO</p>	<p><i>Sinner come to Jesus,</i></p> <p><i>You will find eternal joy;</i></p> <p><i>Hurry up, hurry up to him alone,</i></p> <p><i>You will receive the beautiful saviour.</i></p> <p><i>Come, come,</i></p> <p><i>Jesus is calling you;</i></p> <p><i>Come, come,</i></p> <p><i>Only Jesus will save you.</i></p> <p><i>You are taken with sin,</i></p> <p><i>Seek to save your soul;</i></p> <p><i>You will find the loving Jesus,</i></p> <p><i>He will give you life.</i></p>

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>17 (cont.)</b></p> <p><b>Huchaman kutiriq wawqillay</b> Sin-to return-agent. brother-ID-my <b>Kaypim kallachkan Taytayki;</b> Here-def. be-ID-cont.-he (pres.) Father-your <b>Paypunim kuyaywan nisunki:</b> He-no doubt-def. love-with say-he to you (pres.) <b>“Chaskikusqaykim, hamuway”.</b> Receive-emotion-I to you (fut.)-def. come-you to me (imp.)</p>	<p><i>My brother who returns to sin</i></p> <p><i>Your Father is right here;</i></p> <p><i>With love he himself says to you:</i></p> <p><i>“Come to me, I will surely receive you.”</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>18</b></p> <p><b>Llakisqa sunquyuq chimpamuy,</b> Sorrowful heart-poss. cross over-here-you (imp.) <b>Uyariy Yuspa nisqanta,</b> Listen-you (imp.) God-poss. saying-his-DO <b>Huchapa ñitisqan hamukuy,</b> Sin-poss. oppression-its come-refl.-you (imp.) <b>Yachankim Paypa nisqanta.</b> Know-you-def. he-poss. saying-his-DO</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;"><b>Hamukuy, hamukuy,</b> Come-refl.-you (imp.) come-refl.-you (imp.) <b>Samaytam qusunki qanman;</b> Rest-DO-def. give-he to you (fut.) you-to <b>Hamukuy, hamukuy,</b> Come-refl.-you (imp.) come-refl.-you (imp.) <b>Kawsaytam tarinki Hisuswan.</b> Life-DO-def. find-you (fut.) Jesus-with</p> <p><b>Ninapaq sitasqam kachkanki</b> Fire-for thrown out-def. being-you (fut.) <b>Huchapi kasqaykirayku;</b> Sin-in being-your-because <b>Yusmanta wischusqam kachkanki</b> God-from separated-def. be-cont.-you (fut.) <b>Supaywan kasqaykirayku.</b> Devil-with being-your-because</p> <p><b>Hisuspa chaqchusqan yawarmi</b> Jesus-poss. sprinkled-his blood-def. <b>Mayllanqa sunqullaykita;</b> Wash-it (fut.) heart-ID-your-DO <b>Wañuspa pampasqa kasqanmi</b> Dying buried being-def. <b>Pampanqa huchallaykita.</b> Bury-he (fut.) sin-ID-your-DO</p>	<p><i>Sorrowful of heart - cross over!</i></p> <p><i>Listen to God’s word,</i></p> <p><i>Come – burdened by sin,</i></p> <p><i>You know what He has said.</i></p> <p><i>Come here, come here,</i></p> <p><i>He gives rest to you;</i></p> <p><i>Come here, come here,</i></p> <p><i>With Jesus you will find life.</i></p> <p><i>You will be thrown out for the fire</i></p> <p><i>Because of your existence in sin;</i></p> <p><i>You are being separated from God</i></p> <p><i>Because of your existence with the devil.</i></p> <p><i>Jesus’ sprinkled blood</i></p> <p><i>Will wash your heart;</i></p> <p><i>Dying and having been buried</i></p> <p><i>He will bury your sin.</i></p>

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>18 (cont.)</b></p> <p><b>Iñispa Hisusman chimpamuy,</b> Believing Jesus-towards cross over-here-you (imp.)</p> <p><b>Manaña manchakuykuspa,</b> No-now fear-refl.-gerund</p> <p><b>Huchantin sunquyuq asuykuy,</b> Sin-I. heart-poss. come near-you (imp.)</p> <p><b>Krusninta qawariykuspa.</b> Cross-his-DO look up-refl.-gerund</p>	<p><i>Believing in Jesus - cross over here!</i></p> <p><i>No longer fearing,</i></p> <p><i>With your heart in sin - approach!</i></p> <p><i>Looking up at his cross.</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>19</b></p> <p><b>¿Imanasqam llakillayki,</b> Why-def. sadness-ID-your</p> <p><b>Uyayki pakiy-paki,</b> Face-your long-long</p> <p><b>Tuytuy-tuytuy wiqillayki?</b> Wet and cold-wet and cold tears-your</p> <p><b>¿Millakuy huchawanchum?</b> Disgusting sin-with-interr.-def.</p> <p><b>Huchaykiwan hamuy,</b> Sin-your-with come-you (imp.)</p> <p><b>Huchaykita=apamuy;</b> Sin-your-DO bring-you (imp.)</p> <p><b>Hisusllaymi mayllasunki,</b> Jesus-dear-my-def. wash-he to you (fut.)</p> <p><b>Paypunim salbasunki.</b> He-no doubt-def. save-he to you (fut.)</p> <p><b>Imamantam waqallanki,</b> What-def. cry-ID-you</p> <p><b>Kaynata muchullanki,</b> This-DO suffer-ID-you</p> <p><b>Ancha nanachikuspayki?</b> Great hurt-cause-refl.-gerund-your</p> <p><b>¿Wañuyta manchaspachum?</b> Death-DO fearing-interr.-def.</p> <p><b>Hamuy, ama waqallaychu,</b> Come-you (imp.) neg. cry-ID-you (imp.)-neg.</p> <p><b>Yumpaqa llakillaychu,</b> Completely-DO sad-ID-you (imp.)-neg.</p> <p><b>Sunquykita tukukuychu;</b> Heart-your-DO destroy-refl.-you (imp.)-neg.</p> <p><b>Hatariy anchuykamuy.</b> Get up-you (imp.) come near-you (imp.)</p>	<p><i>Why are you sad,</i></p> <p><i>Your face extremely long,</i></p> <p><i>Soaked with your tears?</i></p> <p><i>With disgusting sin?</i></p> <p><i>Come! Just as you are.</i></p> <p><i>Bring your sin;</i></p> <p><i>My Jesus will wash you,</i></p> <p><i>He himself will save you.</i></p> <p><i>What are you crying about,</i></p> <p><i>Suffering in this way,</i></p> <p><i>Making yourself hurt so?</i></p> <p><i>Fearing death?</i></p> <p><i>Come – cry no longer,</i></p> <p><i>Do not be too sad,</i></p> <p><i>Do not destroy your heart;</i></p> <p><i>Get up and come near!</i></p>

**Kayman Hisus hamuspanmi,**

Here Jesus coming-he-def.

**Qampaq ñakarirqa;**

You-for suffer-he (past)

**Yawarninta chaqchuspanmi,**

Blood-his-DO shedding-he-def.

**Qampaq wañullarqa.**

You-for die-ID-he (past)

**Wischukuykuy Salbakuqman,**

Surrender-refl.-you (imp.) Saviour-to

**Qayakuqnikiman;**

Call-refl.-agent.-your-to

**Willakuykuy kkillanman,**

Tell-refl.-you (imp.) the very same-ID-to

**Salbuyanaykipaq.**

Saved-mut.-conc.-your-for

**Hisukristum maskaykuchkan**

Jesus Christ-def. look for-emotion-cont.-he

**Llapan chinkasqata;**

All lose-perf.-DO

**Sunqunmantam qayaykuchkan**

Heart-his-from-def. call-emotion-cont.-he

**Huchayuqkunata.**

Sin-poss.-pl.-DO

**Hisukristum qayaykuchkan**

Jesus Christ-def. call-emotion-cont.-he

**Pipas munaqninta,**

Anyone love-agent.-his-DO

**Chaskiqninta kallpanchaspan,**

Receive-agent.-his-DO strengthening-he

**Kawsachikunampaq.**

Life-cause-pl.-his-in order to

**Sunquykita quykuptikim,**

Heart-your-DO give-refl.-when-you-def.

**Chuyayachisunki;**

Clean-cause-he to you (fut.)

**Kutipamuspanmi kikin**

Return-here-gerund-def. the very same

**Pusakapusunki.**

Take-benefit-he to you (fut.)

*Coming here,**Jesus suffered for you;**Shedding His blood,**He died for you.**Surrender to the Saviour,**To the one who calls you;**Tell this very same one,**So that He will save you.**Jesus Christ is looking**For all who are lost;**From his heart**He is lovingly calling sinners.**Jesus Christ is tenderly calling**Anyone who loves him,**Strengthening those who receive him,**So that he can give them life.**When you give him your heart,**He will make you clean;**Returning, he himself**Will take you.*

**Hisusmi ñuqarayku wañurqa,**

Jesus-def. me-because of die-he (past),

**Manaña imbirnuman rinaypaq;**

Not-now hell-to go-conc.-my-in order to

**Wañurqam salbu kanaypaq**

Die-he (past)-def. saved be-conc.-my-in order to

**Hisusnillayqa.**

Jesus-my-dear-topic

**Salbaqnillaymi nisunki:**

Saviour-my-dear-def. say-he to you (pres.)

**“Churilláy, churilláy hamuway**

Child-dear-my child-dear-my come-you to me (imp.)

**Wiñay kawsaytam qusqayki;**

Eternal life-DO-def. give-I to you (fut.)

**Iñiykamuway”.**

Believe-refl.-you to me (imp.)

**Huchaytam Hisusnillay aparqa,**

Sin-my-DO-def. Jesus-my-dear take-he (past)

**Ñuqapaq chakatasqa wañuspa;**

Me-for crucify-perf. dying

**Chayraykum kawsachiwaspa,**

That-because-def. life-cause-he to me (gerund)

**Akllakuwarqa.**

Choose-refl.-he to me (past)

**Huchaytam Hisusnillay mayllaña,**

Sin-my-DO-def. Jesus-my-dear wash-he (pres.)-now

**Sunquytam kikin yuraqyachiwan,**

Heart-my-DO-def. the very same whiten-cause-he to me (pres.)

**Rawrachkaq imbirnumantam**

Burning-agent. hell-from-def.

**Salbakuwanña.**

Save-refl.-he to me (pres.)-now

**Hisusmi kuyan runakunata,**

Jesus-def. love-he (pres.) person-pl.-DO

**Payllaman iñiy, chaskikusunkim,**

Him-ID-towards believe-you (imp.) receive-refl.-he to you (fut.)-def.

**Hamuyña salballasunkim.**

Come-you (imp.)-now save-ID-he to you (fut.)-def.

**¿Munallawaqchum?**

Desire-ID-that-interr.-def.

*Because of me, Jesus died,**So that I would no longer go to hell;**My dear Jesus died**to save me.**My Saviour tells you:**“My dear child, my dear child, come to me**I will give you eternal life;**Believe in me”.**My Jesus took my sin,**Dying crucified for me;**Because of that, giving me life,**He chose me.**My Jesus washes my sin,**He himself whitens my heart**From burning hell**He saves me.**Jesus loves people,**Believe in him and he will receive you,**Come, he will save you now.**Would you like that?*

**Chuya Ispiritum maskachkan**  
Holy Spirit-def. look for-cont.-s/he (pres.)

**Kay pachapi runakunata,**  
This world-in person-pl.-DO

**Llapan huchasapata,**  
All sinner-DO

**Wiñay kawsay qunampaq;**  
Eternal life give-conc.-his-in order to

**Yusmi sunqunmanta kuyaspan**  
God-def. heart-his-from love-gerund-he (pres.)

**Kachamurqa sapan churinta,**  
Send-here-he (past) only-his child-his-DO

**Kuyakusqan Hisusta,**  
Love-refl.-perf.-his Jesus-DO

**Kruspi wañupunampaq.**  
Cross-on die-benefit-conc.-his-in order to

**Uyariychik, uyariychik,**  
Listen-you (pl.imp.) listen-you (pl.imp.)

**Huchayki pampachaytam munan;**  
Sin-your to forgive-DO-def. desire-he (pres.)

**Chaskiykuychik, chaskiykuychik**  
Receive-refl.-you (pl.imp.) receive-refl.-you (pl.imp.)

**Hisusta sunquykiwan.**  
Jesus-DO heart-your-with

**Chuya Ispiritum salbachkan**  
Holy Spirit-def. save-cont.-s/he (pres.)

**Imbirnuman rinankumanta,**  
Hell-to go-conc.-their-from

**Millay huchankumanta,**  
Shameful sin-their-from

**Silumanña rinampaq;**  
Heaven-to-now go-conc.-in order to

**Hisus sapallanmi ñan kachkan,**  
Jesus only-ID-his-def. way be-cont.-he (pres.)

**Payllam wiñay kawsay qukuqpas,**  
He-alone-def. eternal life give-agent.-and

**Kuyakuywan pusaqpas,**  
Love-refl.-with guide-agent.-and

**Yusman chayanaykipaq.**  
God-to arrive-conc.-your-for

*The Holy Spirit is looking for*

*The people in this world,*

*For all sinners,*

*In order to give them eternal life.*

*God, loving from his heart*

*Sent his only son,*

*His beloved Jesus,*

*In order to die on the cross for him.*

*Listen, listen,*

*He wants to forgive your sin;*

*Receive him, receive*

*Jesus with your heart.*

*The Holy Spirit is saving*

*From their shameful sin,*

*So that they will not go to hell,*

*But rather go to heaven now;*

*Jesus is the only way,*

*And he alone is the giver of eternal life,*

*And the one who guides with love*

*So that you get to God.*

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>22 (cont.)</b></p> <p><b>Chuya Ispiritum ruygachkan</b> Holy Spirit-def. beg-cont.-s/he (pres.)</p> <p><b>Llapan iskayrayaqkunata,</b> All doubt-agent.-pl.-DO</p> <p><b>Sunqun quykuy munaqta,</b> Heart-his to give-refl. desire-agent.-DO</p> <p><b>Huklla chaskiykunampaq.</b> At once to receive-refl.-conc.-in order to</p> <p><b>Ama manchakuychu runata,</b> Do not fear-you (imp.)-neg. person-DO</p> <p><b>Diyablupa kachankunata,</b> Devil-poss. messenger-his-pl.-DO</p> <p><b>Lliwpas siminkamallam</b> All-and word-his-dist.-ID-def.</p> <p><b>Ama manchakuyñachu.</b> Do not fear-you (imp.)-now-neg.</p>	<p><i>The Holy Spirit is begging</i></p> <p><i>All double minded people,</i></p> <p><i>Those who want to give their hearts,</i></p> <p><i>To receive at once.</i></p> <p><i>Do not fear people,</i></p> <p><i>The Devil's messengers,</i></p> <p><i>And all his hot air</i></p> <p><i>Fear no longer.</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>23</b></p> <p><b>Hisuslláy kay milla-mallay<sup>14</sup></b> Jesus-dear-my this very shameful</p> <p><b>Qanra sunqu huchasapapaq</b> Filthy heart sinner-for</p> <p><b>Qapaq chuya yawarllaykita</b> Powerful holy blood-ID-your-DO</p> <p><b>Chaqchuykuspam, nillawanki:</b> Shedding-refl.def. tell-you to me (pres.):</p> <p><b>“Hamuy, hamuy”, churilláy.</b> “Come-you (imp.) come-you (imp.)” child-dear-my</p> <p><b>Imam kaqmi hamullani,</b> As be-agent.-def. come-only-I</p> <p><b>Sunqullayta hapikuykuy</b> Heart-ID-my-DO grasp-refl.-you (imp.)</p> <p><b>Suma-sumaq Hisuslláy.</b> Very good Jesus-dear-my</p>	<p><i>My Jesus – shedding</i></p> <p><i>Your powerful holy blood</i></p> <p><i>for this sinner with a</i></p> <p><i>shamefully filthy heart</i></p> <p><i>you tell me:</i></p> <p><i>“Come, come”, my dear child.</i></p> <p><i>I come just as I am</i></p> <p><i>Grasp my heart</i></p> <p><i>My most precious Jesus.</i></p>

<sup>14</sup> *Mallay* is a printer's error that should be *millay*, the repetition expressing superlative.

<sup>15</sup> Usually capitalised *Hisuslláy* – likely a printer's error.



23 (cont.)

**Almallaymi yanayasqa,**

Soul-ID-my-def. get black-perf.

**Huchallawan tutayaykusqa;**

Sin-alone-with dark-refl.-perf.

**Chaqchuykuway yawarllaykiwan,**

Sprinkle-refl.-you to me (imp.) blood-ID-your-with

**Chiqa-chiqap mayllakuqwan,**

Very truly wash-refl.-agent.-with

**Kuyay sunqu hisuslláy<sup>15</sup>.**

Compassion heart Jesus-dear-my

**Sunqullaymi intuykusqa**

Heart-ID-my-def. surround-perf.

**Llakikuywan iskayrayaywan,**

Sorrow-refl.-with confusion-with

**Manchakuywan rumirayaywan;**

Fear-refl.-with hardness(like rock)-with

**Sansariykachipullaway**

Glow red hot-cause-benefit of others-alone-you to me

**Atiyniyuq Kamaqlláy.**

Be able-my-poss. Creator-dear-my

**Hina wakcham, ñawsam, qillam,**

So poor-def. blind-def. idle-def.

**Tarillasaq Qampi tukuyta,**

Find-alone-I (fut.) You-in everything-DO

**Apuyayta, yachaykunata,**

To be rich-DO knowledge-pl.-DO

**Tukiyayta, sanuyayta,**

To be alert-DO to be healthy-DO

**Kawsaytapas Hisuslláy.**

Life-DO-also Jesus-dear-my

**Almay wirpum ñimuyki;**

Soul-my body-def. creed-here-your

**Chaskiykuway, pampachaykuway,**

Receive-refl.-you to me (imp.) forgive-refl.-you to me (imp.)

**Mayllaykuway, chuyayachiway,**

Wash-refl.-you to me (imp.) to be pure-cause-you to me (imp.)

**Hampiykuway, kallpanchaway**

Heal-refl.-you to me (imp.) strengthen-you to me (imp.)

**Kuyayniyuq Kamaqlláy.**

Love-my-poss. Lord-dear-my

*My soul is blackened,*

*Darkened with sin;*

*Sprinkle me with hand-fulls of your blood,*

*With that which most truly washes,*

*Heart compassion my dear Jesus.*

*My heart is heavy*

*With sorrow, with instability,*

*With fear, with hardness;*

*Cause me to glow red hot for the benefit of others*

*My powerful Creator.*

*So - poor, blind, idle,*

*In you alone I will find everything,*

*To be rich, to be skillful,*

*To be alert, to be healthy,*

*And also life, my dear Jesus.*

*I believe in you, soul and body;*

*Receive me, forgive me,*

*Wash me, purify me,*

*Heal me, strengthen me*

*My beloved Lord.*

**Llutan ñanta purispaymi,**  
Shameless path-DO going-def.

**Kamaqlláy urmani;**

Creator-dear-my fall-I

**Hucha ñanta qatispaymi,**

Sin path-DO following-def.

**Kaypi muchuchkani;**

This-in lack-cont.-I (pres.)

**Pantayllapi purispaymi,**

Mistake-only-in walk-gerund-def.

**Hisuslláy hamuni;**

Jesus-dear-my come-I (pres.)

**Qawariykullawaspayki,**

Observe-refl.-ID-you to me (gerund)

**Uqariykullaway.**

Lift-refl.-ID-you to me (imp.)

**Wañuymanta manchaspaymi,**

Death-of being afraid-def.

**Qayakamullayki;**

Call-refl.-ID-I to you (pres.)

**Salbaqllayta maskaspaymi,**

Save-agent.-dear-my-DO looking for-def.

**Asuykamullayki;**

Come near-ID-I to you (pres.)

**Pantayllapi purispaymi,**

Error-my-only-in walking-def.

**Hisuslláy hamuyki;**

Jesus-dear-my come-I to you (pres.)

**Uyariykullawaspayki,**

Listen-refl.-alone-you to me (gerund)

**Sayariykachiway.**

Get up-cause-you to me (imp.)

*Going shamelessly on the way,*

*My Creator I fall;*

*Following the way of sin,*

*I am suffering here;*

*Walking in error,*

*My Jesus I come;*

*Lift me! – you who are*

*Watching me.*

*Being afraid of death,*

*I call you;*

*Looking for the one who saved me,*

*I come near to you;*

*Walking in error,*

*My Jesus to you I come;*

*Set me on my feet! – you who are*

*Listening to me.*

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>24 (cont.)</b></p> <p><b>Kruspi wañullasqaykiwan</b> Cross-on death-dear-your-with</p> <p><b>Hukllampaykachiway;</b> One-join-cause-you to me (imp.)</p> <p><b>Yawar chaqchullasqaykiwan</b> Blood shed-alone-your-with</p> <p><b>Pampachaykullaway;</b> Forgive-refl.-only-you to me (imp.)</p> <p><b>Pantayllapi purispaymi</b> Error-only-in walking-def.</p> <p><b>Hisuslláy hamuni;</b> Jesus-dear-my come-I</p> <p><b>Qawariykullawaspayki,</b> Observe-refl.-alone-you to me (gerund)</p> <p><b>Hisus chaskiykuway.</b> Jesus receive-refl.-you to me (imp.)</p>	<p><i>With your death on the cross</i></p> <p><i>Make us one!</i></p> <p><i>With your shed blood</i></p> <p><i>Forgive me!</i></p> <p><i>Walking in error</i></p> <p><i>My Jesus I come;</i></p> <p><i>Jesus receive me! – you who are</i></p> <p><i>Watching me.</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>25</b></p> <p><b>Urqun-urqunmi Kamaq Hisuslláy,</b> Peak-peak-def. Creator Jesus-dear-my</p> <p><b>Purillachkani waqay-waqaylla;</b> Walk-ID-cont.-I (pres.) cry-cry-only</p> <p><b>Chaskiykullaway sumaq Maskaqláy,</b> Receive-refl.-only-you to me (imp.) good Look for-agent.-dear-my</p> <p><b>Marqaynikipi kuyay sunqulla.</b> Arms-your-in love heart-dear</p> <p><b>Qamllam kasqanki Salbakuqnilláy,</b> You-only-def. be-you (narr. past) save-refl.- agent.-dear-my</p> <p><b>Huchallaykuna pampachapuwaq;</b> Sin-only-my-pl. forgive-benefit-agent.</p> <p><b>Sunqullaymantam Kamaq Hisuslláy,</b> Heart-ID-my-from-def. Creator Jesus-dear-my</p> <p><b>Chaskikullayki wiña-wiñaypaq.</b> Receive-refl.-ID-I to you (pres.) ever-ever-for</p> <p><b>Ima sumaqmi allin Kamaqláy</b> Very beautiful-def. good Creator-dear-my</p> <p><b>Simillaykiqa chiri sunquypaq;</b> Word-only-your-topic cold heart-my-for</p> <p><b>Uyariykuptiy Yachachiqnilláy,</b> Hear-refl.-when-I Teach-agent.-my-dear</p> <p><b>Yaykuykullawan kawsarinaypaq.</b> Penetrate-refl.-only-it to me (pres.) live again- conc.-I-in order to</p>	<p><i>Peak after peak my Lord Jesus,</i></p> <p><i>I am walking, greatly wailing;</i></p> <p><i>Receive me, my good Searcher,</i></p> <p><i>In your arms beloved heart.</i></p> <p><i>You alone had been my Saviour,</i></p> <p><i>The one who forgives my sins;</i></p> <p><i>With all my heart my Lord Jesus,</i></p> <p><i>I receive you forever and ever.</i></p> <p><i>How very beautiful is my good Lord</i></p> <p><i>Your word alone for my cold heart;</i></p> <p><i>When I hear it, my Teacher,</i></p> <p><i>It comes in to me so that I live again.</i></p>

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>25 (cont.)</b></p> <p><b>Quyku llawayña Kuyakuqnilláy,</b> Give-refl.-ID-you to me (imp.)-now love-my-dear</p> <p><b>Kallpanchakuqta sayarinaypaq;</b> Strength-refl.-agent.-DO get up-conc.-I-in order to</p> <p><b>Kikillaykitaq Hisukristulláy,</b> You alone-but Jesus Christ-dear-my</p> <p><b>Waqaychakuway Hanaq pachapaq.</b> Secure-refl.-you to me (imp.) Heaven-for</p>	<p><i>Now give it to me, my beloved,</i></p> <p><i>The one who strengthens me so that I can get up;</i></p> <p><i>You alone my Jesus Christ,</i></p> <p><i>Secure me for heaven.</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>26</b></p> <p><b>Ñuqa wakcham purichkani</b> I poor-def. walk-cont.-I (pres.)</p> <p><b>Huchallapi kawsastin;</b> Sin-only-in living</p> <p><b>Salbaqllaytam maskachkani</b> Save-agent.-only-my-DO-def. look for-cont.-I (pres.)</p> <p><b>Kay pachapi muspastin;</b> This world-in being delirious</p> <p><b>¿Imakunamanraq chayallasaq</b> What-pl.-to-still arrive-ID-I (fut.)</p> <p><b>Salbu kayta munaspay?</b> Saved to be-DO desiring</p> <p><b>Ñawillaypas tutayaykuchkanñam</b> Eye-ID-my-also grow dark-cont.-now-def.</p> <p><b>Tuta punchaw waqaptiy.</b> Night day wail-when-I</p> <p><b>Sapa ratum rinrillaypi</b> Each time-def. ear-ID-my-in</p> <p><b>Yuspa simin niwachkan:</b> God-poss. word-his say-it to me (cont. pres.)</p> <p><b>“Huchasapa runam kanqa</b> Sinner person-def. be-s/he (fut.)</p> <p><b>Imbirnuman wischusqa”.</b> Hell-to fling-perf.</p> <p><b>¿Maypiñataq ñuqa tarillasaq</b> Where-now-but I find-ID-I (fut.)</p> <p><b>Hawkayayta almaypaq?</b> Rest-DO soul-my-for</p> <p><b>Yuspa simillanmi niykullawan:</b> God-poss. word-alone-his-def. say-refl.-ID-it to me (pres.)</p> <p><b>“Hisusllapim tarinki”.</b> Jesus-alone-in-def. find-you (fut.)</p>	<p><i>I am walking alone</i></p> <p><i>Living only in sin</i></p> <p><i>I am looking for my Saviour</i></p> <p><i>Demented in this world;</i></p> <p><i>What will I come to</i></p> <p><i>While wanting to be saved?</i></p> <p><i>My eyes are growing dark</i></p> <p><i>When I cry night and day.</i></p> <p><i>Continually in my ear</i></p> <p><i>God’s word is telling me:</i></p> <p><i>“The person who is a sinner will surely be flung into hell”.</i></p> <p><i>So where now will I find</i></p> <p><i>Rest for my soul?</i></p> <p><i>God’s word tells me</i></p> <p><i>“You will find it only in Jesus”.</i></p>

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>26 (cont.)</b></p> <p><b>Hisus chakillaykimanmi</b> Jesus foot-alone-your-to-def.</p> <p><b>Huchallaywan hamuni;</b> Sin-ID-my-with come-I (pres.)</p> <p><b>Qamllamanmi iñimuyki,</b> You-alone-to-def. believe-here-I to you (pres.)</p> <p><b>Lliw sunquytam qumuyki;</b> All heart-my-DO-def. give-here-I to you (pres.)</p> <p><b>Kuyakuqnilláy Qam chaskiykuway</b> Beloved-my-only you receive-refl.-you to me (imp.)</p> <p><b>Kuyay marqayllaykipi;</b> Love arm-alone-your-in</p> <p><b>Yawarllaykiwanña mayllaykuway</b> Blood-dear-your-with-now wash-refl.-you to me (imp.)</p> <p><b>Qanwan salbu kanaypaq.</b> You-with saved be-conc.-in order to</p>	<p><i>Jesus I come to your feet</i></p> <p><i>With my sin;</i></p> <p><i>I believe in you alone,</i></p> <p><i>I give you all my heart;</i></p> <p><i>Receive me in your loving arms</i></p> <p><i>my beloved;</i></p> <p><i>Wash me with your dear blood</i></p> <p><i>In order to be saved with you.</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>27</b></p> <p><b>Michiqniymi rikuwarqa</b> Shepherd-my-def. see-refl.-he to me (past)</p> <p><b>Ñampi wischusqata;</b> Way-in throw out-perf.-DO</p> <p><b>Asuykaykamuwaspanmi,</b> Approach-refl.-he to me (gerund)-def.</p> <p><b>Uqarikuwarqa;</b> Lift-refl.-he to me (past)</p> <p><b>Kikin qipimuwaspanmi,</b> He himself carry-here-he to me (gerund)-DO</p> <p><b>Apakamuwarqa.</b> Take-refl.-he to me (past)</p> <p><b>Huchayrayku wañuspanmi</b> Sin-my-because of die-gerund-he-def.</p> <p><b>Kuyakuwaspanmi,</b> Love-refl.-he to me (gerund)-def.</p> <p><b>Yawarninta chaqchullarqa</b> Blood-his-DO shed-alone-he (past)</p> <p><b>Pampachawanampaq.</b> Forgive-he to me (pres.)-def.-in order to</p>	<p><i>My Shepherd saw me</i></p> <p><i>Thrown out on the road;</i></p> <p><i>Approaching me,</i></p> <p><i>He lifted me;</i></p> <p><i>He himself carrying me,</i></p> <p><i>He brought me.</i></p> <p><i>Dying because of my sin</i></p> <p><i>Loving me,</i></p> <p><i>He shed his blood</i></p> <p><i>In order to forgive me.</i></p>

<sup>16</sup> Typographical error – should be spelled *huchasapa*.

27 (cont.)

**“Qaway kay kiriykunata,**

Look at-you (imp.) this wound-my-pl.-DO

**Rikuy yawarniyta,**

See-you (imp.) blood-my-DO

**Qamta salbakunayraykum**

You-DO save-refl.-conc.-because of-def.

**Ñuqa muchurqani,**

I suffer-I (past)

**Wiñay kawsachinayraykum**

Eternal live-cause-conc. -because of-def.

**Qamtaq wañurqani”.**

You-for die-I (past)

**Huchsapa<sup>16</sup> kallasqayta**

Sinner exist-ID-perf.-my-DO

**Yuyariykuspaymi,**

Remember-refl.-gerund-I-def.

**“Imaraykupunim” nini**

Why-because of-no doubt-def. say-I (pres.)

**“Wañupullawarqa”.**

Die-benefit-ID-he to me (past)

**Siminñataq niwan: “Qamta**

Word-his-now-and say-he to me (pres.) you-DO

**Kuyakullaspaymi”.**

Love-refl.-only-gerund-I-def.

**Hisusniyqa kutimunqam,**

Jesus-my-topic return-here-he (fut.)-def.

**Paytam suyachkani;**

He-DO-def. wait-gerund-I (pres.)

**Salbaqllayqa hamullanqam,**

Saviour-only-my-topic come-only-he (fut.)-def.

**Chaymi kusikuni;**

That-def. happy-I (pres.)

**Kaypi kanaykamataqmi**

Here be-conc.-I-while-and-def.

**Paypaq kawsapuni.**

Him-for live-benefit-I (pres.)

*“Look at these my wounds,*

*See my blood,*

*In order to save you*

*I suffered,*

*So that you would live eternally*

*I died for you”.*

*Remembering*

*That I was a sinner*

*“For what reason” I say*

*“Did he die for me”.*

*His word says to me:*

*“Loving you”.*

*My Jesus will surely return,*

*I am waiting for him;*

*He who saves me will come back,*

*That’s why I am happy;*

*While I am here*

*I live for him.*

**Allin kawsayta maskaspam,**  
Good life-DO looking for-def.

**Almallay mitkarqa;**  
Soul-ID-my trip-it (past)

**Llulla michiqwan pusasqam,**  
False shepherd-with guide-perf.-def.

**Huchapi tuyturqa.**  
Sin-in soak-it (past)

**Kawsachkaq Yusmi niwan:**  
Live-cont.-agent.God-def. say-he to me (pres.)

**“Qusqaykim samayta”.**  
Give-I to you (fut.)-def. rest-DO

**Ñuqataq nini Yusta:**  
I-and say-I (pres.) God-DO

**“Quykuway Hisuswan”.**  
Give-refl.-you to me (imp.) Jesus-with

**Muspayllapiñam karqani,**  
Confusion-only-in-now-def. be-I (past)

**Wañuywan manhasqa,**  
Death-with fear-perf.

**Kusikuypipas llakisqa,**  
Joy-in-also be sad-perf.

**Muchuqllam karqani.**  
Suffer-agent.-ID-def. be-I (past)

**Mana samayta tarispam,**  
No rest-DO finding-def.

**Wañuypi rirqani;**  
Death-in go-I (past)

**Hisus siminwan niwasqam,**  
Jesus word-his-with say-he to me-gerund-def.

**Kawsankim niwarqa.**  
Life-your-def. say-he to me (past)

**Kikiy atiyta wischuspam,**  
I myself power-my-DO throwing out-def.

**Hisusman inispam,**  
Jesus-to believing-def.

**Kruspi wañuqta chaskispam,**  
Cross-on die-agent.-DO receiving-def.

**Samayta tarini.**  
Rest-DO find-I (pres.)

*Looking for a good life,*

*My soul tripped;*

*Guided by a false shepherd*

*Soaked in sin.*

*The living God says to me:*

*“I will give you rest”.*

*And I say to God:*

*“Give it to me with Jesus”.*

*So I was in confusion,*

*Afraid of death,*

*Also saddened in joy,*

*I was miserable.*

*No rest finding,*

*In death I went;*

*With his word Jesus was telling me,*

*You will live he said to me.*

*My own power throwing out,*

*Believing in Jesus,*

*Receiving him who died on the cross,*

*I find rest.*

**Ñuqallaymi kallarqani**

I-alone-def. be-ID-I (past)

**Yumpa-yumpaq huchasapa,**

Very-great sinner

**Llapallantam qawarqani**

Everyone-ID-DO-def. look at-I (past)

**Ñawillaywan chiqnikuspa.**

Eye-ID-my-with hating

**Salbawankiñam Hisusnilláy,**

Save-you to me (pres.)-now-def. Jesus-my-dear

**Wañuymantapas kawsachiwaspa,**

Death-from-also live-cause-he to me (gerund)

**Waqaymantapas Kuyakuqlláy,**

Wail-from-also Love-agent.-dear-my

**Huchaykunata pampachawaspa.**

Sin-my-pl.-DO forgive-he to me (gerund)

**Huchaywanmi purirqani**

Sin-my-with-def. walk-I (past)

**Llakiy-llaki ñankunapi,**

Sadly way-pl.-in

**Kay hinallam kawsarqani**

This like-only-def. live-I (past)

**Puncha-punchaw muchuyllapi.**

From day to day scarcity-alone-in

**Sunqullaymi tukukurqa**

Heart-ID-my-def. finish-refl.-it (past)

**Pampakuqta qawariptiy,**

Bury-agent.-DO look at-when-I

**Almallaypas chinkarirqa**

Soul-ID-my-also lose-begin-it (past)

**Wañuymanta yuyariptiy.**

Death-of think-begin-when-I

**Tuta punchaw waqaspaymi**

Night day sobbing-my-def.

**Salbaqniyta maskarqani,**

Save-agent.-my-DO look for-I (past)

**Simillanta chaskispaymi**

Word-alone-his-DO receiving-my-def.

**Hisusllayta tarirqani.**

Jesus-alone-my-DO find-I (past)

*I myself was**A very great sinner,**I looked at everyone**Hating with my eyes.**My Jesus, you save me now,**From death making me live,**Also from crying my beloved,**Forgiving me my sins.**I walked sadly in the ways**With my sin,**I lived like this**In daily need.**My heart was finished**Looking at the one buried,**My soul also began to go astray**Thinking of death.**Crying night and day**I looked for my Saviour,**Receiving his word**I found my Jesus.*



**Tutayaypi purichkaqtam,**  
Darkness-in walk-cont.-agent.-DO-def.

**Hisus kanchawarqa;**  
Jesus enlighten-he to me (past)

**Huchap ñitiykusqan kaqtam,**  
Sin-poss. overwhelmed-it be-agent.-DO-def.

**Samachikuwarqa.**  
Make to rest-refl.-he to me (past)

**Sunquywanmi kusikuchkani,**  
Heart-my-with-def. be happy-cont.-I (pres.)

**Salbu kaspam takikuchkani;**  
Saved being-def. sing-cont.-I (pres.)

**Hisus riqsisqaymantam,**  
Jesus know-narr.-I-from-def.

**Payman hamusqaymantam,**  
Him-to come-narr.-I-from-def.

**Kuyakuyninmanta sunquchakuni.**  
Kindness-his-from take courage-I (pres.)

**Ñanniytapas, sunquytapas**  
Way-my-DO-also heart-my-DO-also

**Hisuspunim kanchan;**  
Jesus-no doubt-def. lighten-he (pres.)

**Wañunayaq almaytas**  
Moribund soul-my-DO

**Payllam kawsachiwan.**  
He-only-def. live-cause- he to me (pres.)

**Yuswan kaypi purispaymi,**  
God-with here walking-my-def.

**Kanchaypiña kani;**  
Light-in-now be-I (pres.)

**Huchatapas millaspaymi,**  
Sin-DO-also abominating-my-def.

**Samaypiña kani.**  
Rest-in-now be-I (pres.)

**Chayllam Payta rikumusaq**  
Soon-def. Him-DO go to see-I (fut.)

**Kanchaq wasillampi;**  
Brightly shining house-ID-his-in

**Wiñaypaqñam kawsamusaq**  
Eternity-for-now-def. live-there-I (fut.)

**Yuswan wak silupi.**  
God-with there heaven-in

*Walking in darkness,*

*Jesus enlightened me;*

*When overwhelmed by sin,*

*He made me rest.*

*I am rejoicing with my heart,*

*Because I am saved I am singing;*

*Since I have known Jesus,*

*Since I have come to him,*

*I take courage from his loving kindness.*

*Jesus always lightens*

*My way and my heart also;*

*He makes my dead soul*

*Live.*

*Walking here with God,*

*Now I am in the light;*

*Abominating sin,*

*Now I am at rest.*

*Soon I will go to see Him*

*In his brightly shining house;*

*I will live eternally*

*With God there in heaven.*

**Yus Taytaymanta karunchasqatam**

God Father-my-from distance-perf.-DO-def.

**Hisus tarillawarqa;**

Jesus find-ID-he to me (past)

**Yumpa-yumpaqa kuyakuwas pam,**

Very greatly-DO love-refl.-he to me (gerund)-def.

**Kikin salballawarqa.**

He himself save-alone-he to me (past)

**Ancha kuyakuq Hisusnillaymi**

Great love-emotion-agent. Jesus-my-dear-def.

**Wiñay kusikunaypaq;**

Eternal be happy-conc.-my-for

**Kruspi wañuspa salbawasqanmi**

Cross-on dying save-he to me (perf.)-def.

**Wiñay kuyanallaypaq.**

Always love-conc.-ID-I-in order that

**Hisusnillaymi salbakuqniyqa**

Jesus-my-dear-def. save-emotion-agent.-my-topic

**Chiqap kuyawaqniyqa;**

Truly love-agent.-my-topic

**Tukuy imaña pisiwaptimpas**

All what-now lack- it to me (pres.)-when -also

**Huntachipuwaniyqa.**

Make complete-benefit-agent.-my-topic

**Michikuqniyqa ñawpaqnillampim**

Shepherd-my-poss. presence-his-dear-in-def.

**Sapa punchaw kawsani.**

Each day live-I (pres.)

**Kay almaypaqpas Paymantapunim**

This soul-my-for-also Him-from-no doubt-def.

**Mikunampaq chaskini.**

Food-its-for receive-I (pres.)

**Hisusnilláy Qam waqaychakuway**

Jesus-my-dear You secure-refl.-you to me (imp.)

**Ama urmanallaypaq;**

Not fall-conc.-ID-I-in order to

**Kallman kawsachiq sacha hinataq**

Branch-its life-cause-agent. tree like-and

**Qampas kawsachikuway.**

You-also live-cause-refl.-you to me (imp.)

*Distanced from God my Father**Jesus found me;**Loving me very greatly,**He himself saved me.**My great lover Jesus**For my eternal happiness;**Dying on the cross dying he saved me**So that I would love him forever.**My Jesus is my saviour**Who truly loves me;**Even though I lack everything**He is more than enough for me.**Only in the presence of my Shepherd**I live each day.**Also for this soul of mine**I receive from Him so it is fed.**My Jesus take care of me!**So that I do not fall;**Like a tree that gives life to its branch**You also – make me live!*

**Kruspim Hisus wañupwarqa,**  
Cross-on-def. Jesus die-benefit-he to me (past)  
**Mana wañunallaypaq;**  
Not die-conc.-ID-I-in order to  
**Wañuspanmi niwarqa:**  
Dying-he-def. say-he to me (past)  
**“Qampaqpunim wañupullayki”.**  
You-for-no doubt-def. die-benefit-ID-I to you  
(pres.)

**Hisusniymi kawsaripuwan,**  
Jesus-my-def. to be raised-benefit-he to me (pres.)  
**Wañuytapas binsipan**  
Death-DO-also overcoming-he  
**Wiñay kawsakunaypaq,**  
Eternal live-refl.-conc.-I-in order to  
**“Kawsay ñuqallawan”, niwaspan.**  
Live-you (imp.) me-only-with say-he to me  
(gerund)

**Kamaqniymi wicharipuwan**  
Creator-my-def. go up-benefit-he to me (pres.)  
**Yusman kutipullaspan;**  
God-to return-benefit-ID-gerund-he  
**Ñuqaraykum ripullan**  
Me-because of-def. go-benefit-ID-he (pres.)  
**Taytaymanta mañapuwaqniy.**  
Father-my-to-DO request-benefit-agent.-my

**Hisusnillay kutimuptinmi,**  
Jesus-my-dear come back-here-when-he-def.  
**Puyu==ukupi tinkusaq;**  
Cloud deep-in meet-I (fut.)  
**“Haku” nimuwaptinmi,**  
Let’s go say-here-when-he to me (pres.)-def.  
**Silumanña pawarikusaq.**  
Heaven-to-now fly-begin-refl.-I (fut.)

**Sunqullaypas kusikuymanta**  
Heart-ID-my-also happiness-from  
**Llimparisqam ripusaq,**  
Overflow-begin-perf.-def. go-benefit-I (fut.)  
**Mana ñiñkunata**  
Not believe-agent.-pl.-DO  
**Saqispaymi chinkaripusaq.**  
Leaving-def. disappear from among others-I (fut.)

*Jesus died for me on the cross,*

*So that I would not die;*

*Dying he said to me:*

*“For you I die”.*

*My Jesus has been raised to life for me,*

*Overcoming death*

*So that I would live forever,*

*Saying to me, “Live only with me”.*

*My Creator ascends*

*Returning to God;*

*For my benefit he goes*

*To intercede on my behalf to my Father.*

*When my Jesus comes back,*

*I will meet him in the clouds;*

*When he says to me “Let’s go!”*

*Then I will fly to heaven.*

*I will also go with my heart*

*Overflowing with happiness,*

*Leaving non-believers*

*I will disappear.*

**¿Imamantach llakikuyman**

Why-for-DO-interr. sadness-for

**Kay pachapi muchuspay,**

This world-in lack-after

**Wañuq hina waqachkayman**

Mortal like cry-cont.-my-for

**Nanayllapi kawsaspay,**

Pain-alone-in live-after

**Sapay hina rikukuyman**

Alone like to see myself-for

**Sunquytapas tukuspay?**

Heart-my-DO-also finish-after

**Hisusniymi kawsapuwan,**

Jesus-my-def. live-benefit-he to me (pres.)

**Manam muchullasaqchu.**

Not-def. lack-ID-I (fut.)-neg.

**Sunquymanta kusikullasaq,**

Heart-my-from be happy-only-I (fut.)

**Aswan aswan takispay**

Even more even more sing-after

**Urpitapas uywachkaspaga,**

Bird-DO-also take care-cont.-gerund-topic

**Uywakullawanqam.**

Take care of-refl.-ID-he to me (fut.)-def.

**Hisusniymi simillanwan**

Jesus-my-def. word-ID-his-with

**Qillqallanta qawaptiy,**

Write-ID-his-DO see-when-I

**“Ama llakikuychu”, niwan.**

Do not be sad-negative say-he to me (pres.)

**Niwasqanta kasuptiy**

Tell-he to me (narr.)-DO obey-when-I

**Nanayniypas chinkariwan,**

Pain-my-also lose-he to me (pres.)

**Hisusllayta qawaspam**

Jesus-dear-my-DO seeing-def.

**Qipallanta qatillani,**

Behind-ID-his-DO follow-ID-I (pres.)

**Urmastimpas Payllatam.**

Falling-also He-only-DO-def.

*Why be sad**If suffering in this world,**Crying like a mortal**If living in pain,**Finding myself alone**Also eating away at my heart?**My Jesus lives for me,**I will surely lack nothing.**I will be happy of heart,**Singing more and more**If he takes care of the birds,**He will surely take care of me.**When I see his scripture,**My Jesus says to me with his word,**“Do not be sad”.**When I obey what he has told me**He gets rid of my pain,**Seeing my Jesus**I follow him -**Only him, even falling.*

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>33 (cont.)</b></p> <p><b>Hucha muyullawaptinmi</b> Sin surround-alone-it to me (pres.)-when-def.</p> <p><b>Payman hapipakuni,</b> Him-to hold on for protectgion-I (pres.)</p> <p><b>Ñakariypas kawaptinmi</b> Suffer torments-also have-it to me (pres.)-when-def.</p> <p><b>Payman asuykullani;</b> Him-to approach-only-I (pres.)</p> <p><b>İniynillay pisiptinmi</b> Faith-ID-my lack-when-it (pres.)-def.</p> <p><b>Wañuq hina kaptinmi,</b> Die-agent. like be-when-it-def.</p> <p><b>Hisusnillay kuyawaspan</b> Jesus-dear-my love-he to me (gerund)</p> <p><b>Chaylla uqarikuwan.</b> Soon lift-refl.-he to me (pres.)</p>	<p><i>When sin surrounds me</i></p> <p><i>I hang on to him for dear life,</i></p> <p><i>Also when I suffer</i></p> <p><i>I approach only him;</i></p> <p><i>When my faith weakens</i></p> <p><i>When it is as if dead</i></p> <p><i>My Jesus loving me</i></p> <p><i>Soon lifts me.</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>34</b></p> <p><b>Llapan librumanta aswan allinqa</b> All book-of-DO even more good-topic</p> <p><b>Bibliyam;</b> The Bible-def.</p> <p><b>Qawaptiyimi rimapayawan,</b> Look at-when-I-def. speak without ceasing-it to me (pres.)</p> <p><b>Hisusmantam yuyarichiwan.</b> Jesus-of-DO-def. remember-begin-cause-it to me (pres.)</p> <p><b>Llapan librumanta aswan allinqa</b> All book-of-DO even more good-topic</p> <p><b>Bibliyam.</b> The Bible-def.</p> <p><b>Kuyaqniyantapas aswan allinqa</b> Love-agent.-my-of-DO-also even more good-topic</p> <p><b>Hisusllam;</b> Jesus-only-def.</p> <p><b>Mañaptiyimi uyarillawan,</b> Pray-when-I-def. hear-ID-he to me (pres.)</p> <p><b>Kawsaynipim yanapallawan.</b> Life-my-in-surely helps-alone-he to me</p> <p><b>Kuyaqniyantapas aswan allinqa</b> Love-agent.-my-of-DO-also even more good-topic</p> <p><b>Hisusllam.</b> Jesus-only-def.</p>	<p><i>The best of all books is the Bible;</i></p> <p><i>When I look at it it speaks to me without ceasing,</i></p> <p><i>It reminds me of Jesus.</i></p> <p><i>The best of all books is the Bible.</i></p> <p><i>Of those who love me the best is only Jesus;</i></p> <p><i>When I pray he hears me,</i></p> <p><i>He helps me in my life.</i></p> <p><i>Of those who love me the best is only Jesus.</i></p>

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>34 (cont.)</b></p> <p><b>Ruraykunamanta aswan allinqa</b> Work-pl.-of-DO even more good-topic <b>iñiyllam;</b> faith-only-def.</p> <p><b>Hisusllaypi iñillaptiyqa</b> Jesus-dear-my-in believe-only-when-I-topic</p> <p><b>Wiñaypaqmi waqaychawanqa.</b> Always-for-def. secure-he to me (fut.)</p> <p><b>Ruraykunamanta aswan allinqa</b> Work-pl.-of-DO even more good-topic <b>iñiyllam.</b> faith-only-def.</p>	<p><i>The best of all works is faith;</i></p> <p><i>If only I believe in my Jesus</i></p> <p><i>He will keep me for ever.</i></p> <p><i>The best of all works is faith.</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>35</b></p> <p><b>Sunquypi llakikuy kaptinqa</b> Heart-my-in sadness be-when-it (fut.)</p> <p><b>¿Imataq qichunman?</b> What is it take away-it-to</p> <p><b>Sunquypi tiyakuq Hisusllam</b> Heart-my-in exist-refl.-agent. Jesus-only-def.</p> <p><b>Nillaptiy urqunqa.</b> Tell-ID-when-I take out-he (fut.)</p> <p><b>Sunquypi manchakuy kaptinqa,</b> Heart-my-in afraid be-when-it (fut.)</p> <p><b>¿Imataq urqunman?</b> What is it take out-it-to</p> <p><b>Sunquypi kawsakuq Hisusllam</b> Heart-my-in live-refl.-agent. Jesus-only-def.</p> <p><b>Mañaptiy qichunqa.</b> Ask-when-I take away-he (fut.)</p> <p><b>Sunquypi huchapas kaptinqa,</b> Heart-my-in sin-also be-when-it (fut.)</p> <p><b>¿Imataq mayllanman?</b> What is it wash-it-to</p> <p><b>Sunquypi tiyakuq Hisusllam</b> Heart-my-in exist-refl.-agent. Jesus-only-def.</p> <p><b>Willaptiy mayllanqa.</b> Tell-when-I wash-he (fut.)</p>	<p><i>If there is sadness in my heart</i></p> <p><i>What will get rid of it?</i></p> <p><i>Only Jesus is the one who inhabits my heart</i></p> <p><i>When I tell him he will take it out.</i></p> <p><i>If there is fear in my heart,</i></p> <p><i>What will take it out?</i></p> <p><i>Only Jesus is the one who lives in my heart</i></p> <p><i>When I ask him he will get rid of it.</i></p> <p><i>If there is sin in my heart,</i></p> <p><i>What will wash it?</i></p> <p><i>Only Jesus the one who inhabits my heart</i></p> <p><i>When I tell him he will wash me.</i></p>

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>35 (cont.)</b></p> <p><b>Sunquypi Hisusniy kaqtaqa,</b> Heart-my-in Jesus-my the person-DO-topic <b>¿Imataq wischunman?</b> What is it throw out-he-to <b>Llakiypas muchuypas manañam,</b> Sorrow-also lack-also no-now-def. <b>Wiñaymi tiyanqa.</b> Always-def. stay-he (fut.)</p>	<p><i>My Jesus who is in my heart,</i></p> <p><i>What will throw him out?</i></p> <p><i>Neither sorrow nor misery</i></p> <p><i>He will stay there for ever.</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>36</b></p> <p><b>Yuyaychik huk sumaq llaqtapi</b> Think (you pl. imp.) one beautiful city-in <b>Hisuswan kuskalla kawsayta;</b> Jesus-with together-only life-DO <b>Chaymanmi wiñaypaq ripunqa</b> That-to-def. eternity-for go-s/he (fut.) <b>Llapallan Hisuspi iñiqqa.</b> All-only Jesus-in believe-agent.-topic</p> <p><b>Silupi, silupi,</b> Heaven-in heaven-in <b>Manaña wañuyupa kasqampi</b> No-now death-poss. being-its-in <b>Silupi, silupi,</b> Heaven-in heaven-in <b>Hisuswan wiñaypaq kawsayta.</b> Jesus-with eternity-for life-DO</p> <p><b>Yuyaychik siluman chayayta,</b> Think (you pl. imp.) heaven-to to arrive-DO <b>Chayllapi sunquwan takiyta,</b> There-only-in heart-with to sing-DO <b>Lliw angilkunapa kasqampi,</b> All angel-pl.-poss. be-perf.-its-in <b>Kusisqa Hisuspa qayllampi.</b> Happy Jesus-poss. presence-his-in</p> <p><b>Yuyaychik kanchaypi tiyayta,</b> Think (you pl. imp.) light-in to exist-DO <b>Hisuspa kanchasqan puriyta,</b> Jesus-poss. shine-perf.-his to walk-DO <b>Quriwan llipnichkaq llaqtapi,</b> Give-with sparkle-gerund-agent. city-in <b>Munakuy chipnichkaq wasipi.</b> To love-habitual shine-cont.-agent. house-in</p>	<p><i>Think of living together</i></p> <p><i>With Jesus in a beautiful city;</i></p> <p><i>All who believe in Jesus</i></p> <p><i>Will go there for ever.</i></p> <p><i>In heaven, in heaven,</i></p> <p><i>Where there are no dead</i></p> <p><i>In heaven, in heaven,</i></p> <p><i>Living for ever with Jesus.</i></p> <p><i>Think of arriving in heaven,</i></p> <p><i>To sing right there with all your heart,</i></p> <p><i>Where all the angels are</i></p> <p><i>Happy in Jesus' presence.</i></p> <p><i>Think of living in the light,</i></p> <p><i>To walk in Jesus' light,</i></p> <p><i>In a city sparkling with gold,</i></p> <p><i>To love in a shining house.</i></p>

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>36 (cont.)</b></p> <p><b>Yuyaychik kuyakuy silupi,</b> Think (you pl. imp.) love-habitual heaven-in</p> <p><b>Manaña llakikuy kasqampi,</b> Not-now sadness-habitual be-perf.-its-in</p> <p><b>Waqaypas, muchuypas, wiñaypaq</b> To cry-also to suffer-also eternity-for</p> <p><b>Kusiymán lliw tikrakusqampi.</b> To be happy-to all turn over-habitual-perf.-it-in</p>	<p><i>Think of a heaven of love,</i></p> <p><i>Where there is no sadness,</i></p> <p><i>Where crying or suffering are for ever</i></p> <p><i>All changed to happiness.</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>37</b></p> <p><b>Ripukuchkanim hanaq pachaman</b> Go off-cont.-I (pres.)-def. above world-to</p> <p><b>Wiña-wiñaypaq Hisuswan kawsamuq;</b> Forever-forever-for Jesus-with live-there-agent.</p> <p><b>Hisusnillaymi kicharipuwan</b> Jesus-my-dear-def. open-benefit-he to me (pres.)</p> <p><b>Ñannillaytapas krusnimpi wañuspan.</b> Way-my-ID-DO-also cross-his-on die-gerund-he (pres.)</p> <p><b>Ripukuchkanim hanaq pachaman</b> Go off-cont.-I (pres.)-def. above world-to</p> <p><b>Wiña-wiñaypaq Hisuswan kawsamuq.</b> Forever-forever-for Jesus-with live-there-agent.</p> <p><b>Manam wañuyta tarisaqñachu,</b> No-def. death-DO find-I (fut.)-now-neg.</p> <p><b>Waqay, llakiypas, nanaypas kanqachu</b> To cry to sorrow-also to hurt-also be-it (fut.)-neg.</p> <p><b>Wiña-wiñaypaq kusikuyllatam</b> Forever-forever-for to be happy-only-DO-def.</p> <p><b>Almay tarinqa kuyaqniy Hisuswan.</b> Soul-my find-it (fut.) love-agent.-my Jesus-with</p> <p><b>Kanchaq llaqtaman yaykuykuspaymi</b> Shine-agent. city-to enter-emotion-gerund-def.</p> <p><b>Llipichkaqpi ñuqallay kamsaq;</b> Sparkle-cont.-agent.-in I-ID-my be-there-I (fut.)</p> <p><b>Santakunawan kuska kaspaymi</b> Saint-pl.-with together be-gerund-def.</p> <p><b>Hisusnillaypaq wiñayña takisaq.</b> Jesus-my-dear-for forever-now sing-I (fut.)</p>	<p><i>I am going off to heaven</i></p> <p><i>To live there with Jesus forever and ever;</i></p> <p><i>My Jesus opens my way for me</i></p> <p><i>Dying on his cross.</i></p> <p><i>I am going off to heaven</i></p> <p><i>To live there with Jesus forever and ever.</i></p> <p><i>Now I will surely find no death,</i></p> <p><i>There will be no more crying, nor sorrow, nor pain</i></p> <p><i>My soul will find joy forever and ever</i></p> <p><i>With my beloved Jesus.</i></p> <p><i>Entering that luminous city</i></p> <p><i>I will be in splendour;</i></p> <p><i>Being together with the saints</i></p> <p><i>I will sing forever for my Jesus.</i></p>



**Wañuyniywan Hisus**

Death-my-with Jesus

**qayamuwaptinmi risaq,**

call-there-when-he to me (pres.)-def. go-I (fut.)

**Kusiywanmi uyallanta rikumusaq,**

Joy-with-def. face-alone-his-DO see-there-I (fut.)

**Salbu kasqayraykum**

Saved be-narr.-because-def.

**hanaqpachamanqa risaq,**

above-world-to-topic go-I (fut.)

**Wiñaypaqmi Hisusniywan**

Forever-for-def. Jesus-my-with

**kawsamusaq.**

live-there-I (fut.)

**Sutillayta qayawaptinmi,**

Name-ID-my-DO call-when-he to me (pres.)-def.

**“Hamuy churi”, nillawaptinmi,**

Come (you imp.) child (of father) say-ID-when-he to me (pres.)-def.

**Ripullasaq Yusniypaman**

Go back-ID-I (fut.) God-my-poss.-to

**Kuyaqnillaypaman.**

Love-agent.-my-ID-poss.-to

**Sumaq Yuspa wasimpiqa manam**

Beautiful God-poss. house-his-in-topic no-def.

**wañuy kanchu,**

death be-it (pres.)-neg.

**Nitaq nanay, waqay, llakikuypas**

Neither-conn. to hurt to cry sadness-habitual-also

**kanchu;**

be-it (pres.)-neg.

**Salbu kaqkunapa kawsariynin**

Saved person-pl.-poss. resurrection-his/her

**punchawpiqa**

day-in-topic

**Kawsarispam Hisusniyman tinkuq**

Resurrect-gerund-def. Jesus-my-to meet-agent.

**risaq.**

go-I (fut.)

*When Jesus calls me at my death**I will surely go there,**With joy I will see his face,**Because I have been saved**I will go to heaven,**I will live there forever**With my Jesus.**When he calls my name,**When he says to me, “Come, child”,**I will go back to my God**To my beloved.**In God’s beautiful house**There is no death,**Neither is there pain or crying or**Sadness;**In the day of the resurrection**Of the saved**Rising I will go to meet my Jesus.*

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>38 (cont.)</b></p> <p><b>Runamasillayman Hisusmanta</b> Neighbour-dear-my-to Jesus-about</p> <p><b>willaspaqa</b> tell-gerund-topic</p> <p><b>Kusiyaraq, llakiyaraq tarillani;</b> Happy-DO-still sad-DO-still find-ID-I (pres.)</p> <p><b>Hanaq pachamanña</b> Above world-to-now</p> <p><b>qayallawaptinmi==ichaqa,</b> call-ID-when-he to me (pres.)-def.==finally</p> <p><b>Hisusniypa qayllallampi kusikusaq.</b> Jesus-my-poss. presence-ID-his-in be happy-I (fut.)</p>	<p><i>Telling my neighbour about Jesus</i></p> <p><i>I still find joy and sadness;</i></p> <p><i>When he calls me</i></p> <p><i>To heaven=finally,</i></p> <p><i>I will be happy in my Jesus' presence.</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>39</b></p> <p><b>Hisuspa llampu siminqa</b> Jesus-poss. tender word-his-topic</p> <p><b>Niwanchik kuyakuywanmi:</b> Tell-it to us (pres. I.) love-emotion-with-def.</p> <p><b>“Uyariykuspaqa chaskiway,</b> Listen-emotion-gerund-topic receive-you to me (pres. imp.)</p> <p><b>Sunqullaykitapas quykuway”.</b> Heart-ID-your-DO-also give-emotion-you to me (pres. imp.)</p> <p><b>Manam runa tarinchu,</b> No-def. people find-s/he (pres.)-neg.</p> <p><b>Hukta manam riqsinchu,</b> One-DO not-def. know-s/he (pres.)-neg.</p> <p><b>Sunquwan rimaqninta</b> Heart-with speak-agent.-his-DO</p> <p><b>Kuyakuq Hisusllatam.</b> Loving Jesus-only-DO-def.</p> <p><b>Llasachkaq huchallanchiktam</b> Heavy-gerund-agent. sin-ID-our (I.)-DO-def.</p> <p><b>Rikrampi Hisus aparqa;</b> Shoulder-his-on Jesus take-he (past)</p> <p><b>Kuyawaspanchikmi qipirqa</b> Love-gerund-he to us (I.)-def. carry-he (past)</p> <p><b>Wiñay kawsay quwananchikpaq.</b> Eternal life give-he to us (I. pres.)-conc.-in order to</p>	<p><i>Jesus' tender word</i></p> <p><i>Tells us with loving kindness:</i></p> <p><i>“Listening receive me, Give me your heart”.</i></p> <p><i>People do not find, No one knows, One who speaks from the heart Only the loving Jesus.</i></p> <p><i>Jesus took our heavy sin</i></p> <p><i>On his shoulder;</i></p> <p><i>Loving us he carried it</i></p> <p><i>In order to give us eternal life.</i></p>

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>39 (cont.)</b></p> <p><b>“Mayllanñam huchallaykita”,</b> Wash-he (pres.)-now-def. sin-ID-your-DO <b>Nispanmi simin niwanchik;</b> Say-gerund-it-def.word-his say-it to us (I. pres.) <b>Aswan-aswan hapipakusun</b> And more-and more hold on-we (fut.) <b>Salbaqninchik Hisusllamanta.</b> Saviour-our (I.) Jesus-ID-to-DO</p> <p><b>Kamaqqa kutimuspanmi,</b> Lord-topic returning-he-surely <b>Silupi wasinmampuni;</b> Heaven-in house-his-to-no doubt <b>Kuyakuywan pusakuwasun,</b> Love-emotion-with guide-emotion-he to us (fut.) <b>Wiñaypaqmi kawsachiwasun.</b> Eternity-for-def. live-cause-he to us (fut.)</p>	<p><i>“He washes your sin”,</i></p> <p><i>Thus says his word to us;</i></p> <p><i>We will hold on more and more</i></p> <p><i>To our Saviour Jesus.</i></p> <p><i>Returning to the Lord,</i></p> <p><i>To his house in heaven;</i></p> <p><i>He will guide us lovingly,</i></p> <p><i>He will cause us to live eternally.</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>40</b></p> <p><b>Hisuspaqmi munani</b> Jesus-for-def. want-I (pres.) <b>Tukuy sunqu takiyta,</b> All heart to sing-DO <b>Mana samaspaña sirbiyta;</b> No rest-gerund-now to serve-DO <b>Kallpanchawan Paypunim</b> Strengthen-he to me (pres.) He-no doubt-def. <b>Hucha millanallaypaq,</b> Sin disgust-conc.-ID-in order to <b>Wiñay hapipakunallaypaq.</b> Forever hold on-conc.-ID-for</p> <p><b>Hisusllaman nispaymi,</b> Jesus-alone-to tell-gerund-def. <b>Kusikuyta tarini,</b> Joy-habitual-my-DO find-I (pres.) <b>Chaymi kunan kusikuchkani;</b> That-def. now happy-habitual-cont.-I (pres.) <b>Kuyaywanmi niwachkan:</b> Love-with-def. tell-he to me (pres. cont.) <b>“Ñuqam qanwan kachkani,</b> I-def. you-with be-cont.-I (pres.) <b>Maypi kaptikipas qanwanmi”,</b> Where be-when-you (pres.)-also you-with-def.</p>	<p><i>For Jesus I want</i></p> <p><i>To sing with all my heart,</i></p> <p><i>To serve him without resting;</i></p> <p><i>He himself gives me strength</i></p> <p><i>In order to be disgusted by sin,</i></p> <p><i>So that I hold on forever.</i></p> <p><i>Telling Jesus alone,</i></p> <p><i>I find joy,</i></p> <p><i>That is why I am happy now;</i></p> <p><i>With love he is telling me:</i></p> <p><i>“I am surely with you,</i></p> <p><i>With you wherever you are”,</i></p>

40 (cont.)

**Hisusniymi qillqanwan**

Jesus-my-def. writing-his-with

**Sapa punchaw rimawan,**

Each day speak-he to me (pres.)

**Aswan aswan sunquy qunaypaq,**

And more and more heart-my give-conc.-my-for

**Paytapunim sirbisaq,**

He-DO-no doubt-def. serve-I (fut.)

**Kikinmantam willasaq**

He himself-of-def. tell-I will

**“Hamuy” niykamuwanankama.**

Come (you imp.) say-refl.-he to me (pres.)-until

*In his word my Jesus*

*Speaks to me each day,*

*To give him my heart more and more,*

*I will serve only him,*

*I will tell of he himself*

*Until he says to me, “Come”.*

41

**Chuya Qillqam ñuqapaq,**

Holy Writing-def. me-for

**Yuspa simillampuni,**

God-poss. word-ID-his-no doubt

**Payllam allin pusakuwaqniy;**

He-alone-def. good guide-habitual-agent.-my

**Pantay ñanta riptiypas,**

Wrong-my way-DO go-when-I-also

**Chaylla kanchariwaspan,**

Soon give light-he to me (pres. gerund)

**Yusnillayman kutirichiqniy.**

God-ID-my-to return-begin-cause-agent.-my

*The Holy Scripture is*

*The word of God for me,*

*He alone is my good guide;*

*When I go in the wrong way,*

*He quickly gives me light,*

*The one who causes me to return to my God.*

**Sapa qawaykuptiymi,**

Each look-emotion-when-I-def.

**Yusllamanta willawan;**

God-alone-of tell-it to me (pres.)

**Almay kaypi manchakullaspan,**

Soul-my here fear-ID-gerund-it (pres.)

**“Manam atiymanñachu**

No-def. to be able-for-now-neg.

**Kutikusaq”, niptimpas;**

Return-I (fut.) say-when-it (pres.)-also

**“Ama riychu” niykullawaqniy.**

Do not go-you (imp.)-neg. say-emotion-ID-agent.-my

*Each time that I read it,*

*It speaks to me of God alone;*

*My soul is fearing here,*

*And when it says;*

*“I will no longer be able to return”,*

*“Do not go” it [the Bible] tells me.*

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>41 (cont.)</b></p> <p><b>Tukuy rikchaq huchawan</b> All type sin-with</p> <p><b>Supay muyuwaptinmi,</b> Devil surround-when-he to me (pres.)-def.</p> <p><b>Sumaq simillampas rimawan:</b> Beautiful word-ID-its-also speak-it to me (pres.)</p> <p><b>“Hisusllaman asuykuy</b> Jesus-ID-to come near-you (imp.)</p> <p><b>Paymampuni willakuy</b> Him-to-no doubt tell-emotion-you (imp.)</p> <p><b>Salbasunaykipaq”, niwaspan.</b> Save-conc.-you-for say-it to me-gerund</p> <p><b>Lliw qillqasqa kaqkunam</b> All written thing-pl.-def.</p> <p><b>Kuyakuywan willawan,</b> Love-with advise-it to me (pres.)</p> <p><b>Yuyaywanña kawsanallaypaq;</b> Judgment-with-now live-conc.-ID-I-for</p> <p><b>Salbu kasqayraykullam</b> Saved be-narr.-I-because-ID-def.</p> <p><b>Silumanña richkani</b> Heaven-to-now go-gerund-I (pres.)</p> <p><b>Salbakuqnillaywan tiyamuq.</b> Saviour-my-only-with stay-there-agent.</p>	<p><i>When the devil surrounds me</i></p> <p><i>With every type of sin,</i></p> <p><i>Its precious word speaks to me:</i></p> <p><i>“Come near to Jesus</i></p> <p><i>Tell Him alone</i></p> <p><i>So that you will be saved”, it is saying to me.</i></p> <p><i>All that is written [in the Bible]</i></p> <p><i>Advises me with love,</i></p> <p><i>So that I live with understanding;</i></p> <p><i>Because I have been saved</i></p> <p><i>Now I am going to heaven</i></p> <p><i>To stay there with my only Saviour.</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>42</b></p> <p><b>Kristu hinaqa manam kanchu,</b> Christ like-topic not-def. there is-neg.</p> <p><b>Hukllapas, hukllapas;</b> One-ID-also one-ID-also</p> <p><b>Payna sumaqqa manam kanchu,</b> He-conc. beautiful-topic not-def. there is-neg.</p> <p><b>Chullapas, chullapas.</b> One alone-also one alone-also</p> <p><b>Llakillanchikta yachaspam,</b> Sorrow-ID-our(I.)-DO know-gerund-def.</p> <p><b>Samachiwanchik;</b> Rest-cause-he to us (pres. I.)</p> <p><b>Taytallanmanta mañaspam,</b> Father-ID-his-to-DO ask-gerund-def.</p> <p><b>Kallpanchawanchik.</b> Strengthen-he to us (pres. I.)</p>	<p><i>There is no one like Christ,</i></p> <p><i>No one, no one;</i></p> <p><i>There is no other beautiful like Him,</i></p> <p><i>Not one, not one.</i></p> <p><i>Knowing our sorrow,</i></p> <p><i>He causes us to rest;</i></p> <p><i>Asking his dear Father,</i></p> <p><i>He strengthens us.</i></p>

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>42 (cont.)</b></p> <p><b>Pay hinataqa tarichwanchu</b> Him like-DO-topic find-we (cond. I.)-neg.</p> <p><b>Maypipas, maypipas;</b> Where-also where-also</p> <p><b>Sunqunchiktapas riqsinmanchu</b> Heart-our (I.)-DO-also know-s/he (cond.)-neg.</p> <p><b>Maynaña yachaqpas.</b> However know-agent.-also</p> <p><b>Kutiriqtaqa wischunmanchu,</b> Return-agent.-DO-topic throw out-s/he (cond.)-neg.</p> <p><b>Haykappas, haykappas;</b> Never never</p> <p><b>Kuyaqnintaqa qarqunmanchu</b> Love-agent.-his-DO-topic exile-s/he (cond.)-neg.</p> <p><b>Maymampas, maymampas.</b> Where-to-also where-to-also</p> <p><b>Pay hinapuni salbakuqta,</b> Him like-no doubt saviour-DO</p> <p><b>¿Maypitaq tarichwan?</b> Where-contrast. find-we (cond. I.)</p> <p><b>Pay hinapuni kuyakuqta</b> Him like-no doubt love-habitual-agent.-DO</p> <p><b>Runapi riqsichwan.</b> Human form-in recognise-we (cond. I.)</p>	<p><i>We could not find another like him</i></p> <p><i>Nowhere, nowhere;</i></p> <p><i>Even the wisest</i></p> <p><i>Would not know our heart.</i></p> <p><i>The one who returns would not be thrown out,</i></p> <p><i>Never, never;</i></p> <p><i>The one who loves him would not be exiled</i></p> <p><i>Anywhere, anywhere.</i></p> <p><i>Where would we find</i></p> <p><i>One who saves like him?</i></p> <p><i>We would recognise</i></p> <p><i>One who loves like him in human form.</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>43</b></p> <p><b>¿Llakikuypichum kachkanki</b> Sadness-in-interr. be-cont.-you (pres.)</p> <p><b>Mana allimpa intusqan?</b> Not good-poss. surround-perf.-its</p> <p><b>¿Sunquykichum rumirayachkan</b> Heart-your-interr.-def. stone-become-cont.-it</p> <p><b>Mana Yusman willakuptiki?</b> Not God-to tell-emotion-when-you</p> <p><b>Kuyay amigum Hisusqa,</b> Love friend-def. Jesus-topic</p> <p><b>Ñuqanchikrayku wañuqqa;</b> Us-because of die-agent.-topic</p> <p><b>Payman asuykuspa willakuy,</b> Him-to approach-gerund tell-you (imp.)</p> <p><b>Qunquriykukuspa mañakuy.</b> Kneel-emotion-gerund pray-you (imp.)</p>	<p><i>Surrounded by bad</i></p> <p><i>Are you sad?</i></p> <p><i>Is your heart becoming hard as stone</i></p> <p><i>When you do not tell God?</i></p> <p><i>Jesus is the beloved friend,</i></p> <p><i>The one who died for us;</i></p> <p><i>Approaching him confess,</i></p> <p><i>Kneeling, pray!</i></p>

43 (cont.)

**¿Wichiq hinachum kawsanki**  
Fall-agent. like-interr.-def. live-you (pres.)

**“Urmasaqpascha” nispayki?**  
Fall-I (fut.)-also-perhaps say-gerund-you

**¿Icha runa chiqnisuptiki**  
Perhaps people hate-aug.-when-you

**Llaki sunquntinraq purinki?**  
Sad heart-I.-still walk-you (pres.)

**¿Wawqikikuna huchampi**  
Brother(of man)-your-pl. sin-his-in

**Purillaptinchum waqanki?**  
Walk-ID-when-he (pres.)-interr.-def. cry-you (pres.)

**¿Niyta mana atispaykichum**  
To say-DO not be able-gerund-you-interr.-def.

**Llakikunki sunqullaykipi?**  
Be sad-you (pres.) heart-ID-your-in

**Hisusninchikmi qusunki**  
Jesus-our (I.)-def. give-he to you (fut.)

**Yachaykunata niptiki;**  
Wisdom-emotion-conc.-DO tell-when-you

**Kikimpunim huntachisunki**  
He himself-no doubt-def. fill-he to you (fut.)

**Tukuy sunqu mañakuptiki.**  
All heart ask-if-you

*Do you live like someone who falls (in sin)*

*Saying “I will fall”?*

*When people hate you*

*Do you wander with a sad heart?*

*Do you cry when*

*Your brothers walk in their sin?*

*Not being able to express it*

*Are you sad of heart?*

*Our Jesus will give you*

*Wisdom when you tell him;*

*He himself will fill you*

*If you ask him with all your heart.*

44

**Sumaq kanchaq Taytayku**  
Beautiful shine-agent. Father-our (E.)

**Ñuqaykum munallaniku,**  
We (E.)-def. want-ID-we (pres. E.)

**Qamllapaña llamkayta;**  
You-only-for-now work (inf.)-DO

**Kallpata quykullawayku.**  
Strength-DO give-emotion-only-you to us (imp. E.)

**Kusikusunchik ama manhaspa,**  
Happy-we (fut. I.) not fear-gerund

**Takipusunchik Hisuspaq;**  
Sing-benefit-we (fut. I.) Jesus-for

**Rimarisunchik ama manhaspa**  
Speak-begin-we (fut. I.) not fear-gerund

**Llapan salbu kanampaq.**  
All saved now-in order that

*Our beautiful shining Father*

*We want,*

*To work only for you;*

*Only give us strength!*

*We will be happy without fearing,*

*We will sing for Jesus;*

*We will speak without fearing*

*So that all will be saved.*

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>44 (cont.)</b></p> <p><b>Sumaq sunqu kawsasun,</b> Good heart live-we (fut. I.) <b>Hisusta kasustimpuni,</b> Jesus-DO obey-gerund-no doubt <b>Huk sunqulla rurasun,</b> One heart-only form-we (fut. I.) <b>Kuyaypa huntasqampuni.</b> Love-poss. fill-perf.-its-no doubt</p> <p><b>Kallpayuqmi Hisusqa,</b> Strength-poss.-def. Jesus-topic <b>Paywanqa ama manchaychu,</b> Him-with-topic not fear-you (imp.)-neg. <b>Tukuy mana allinqa</b> All not good-topic <b>Manañam unallanqachu.</b> Not-now-def. stay-simply-it (fut.)-neg.</p>	<p><i>We will live wholeheartedly,</i></p> <p><i>Always obeying Jesus,</i></p> <p><i>We will be of one heart,</i></p> <p><i>Always filled with love.</i></p> <p><i>Jesus is strong,</i></p> <p><i>With Him do not fear,</i></p> <p><i>All that is not good</i></p> <p><i>Will no longer persist.</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>45 John 10.14-16</b></p> <p><b>Ñuqam kani Allin Michiq,</b> I-def. be-I (pres.) Good Shepherd <b>Lliw ubigay riqsiq,</b> All sheep-my know-agent. <b>Ubigaykunaqa riqsiwanmi;</b> Sheep-my-pl.-topic know-s/he to me (pres.)-def. <b>Taytallaymi riqsikuwan,</b> Father-alone-my-def. know-emotion-he to me (pres.) <b>Ñuqañataq Payta;</b> I-now-conn. Him-DO <b>Ubigapaq quni kawsayniyta.</b> Sheep-for give-I (pres.) life-my-DO</p> <p><b>Kapuwanmi==ubigaykuna</b> Have-I (pres.)-def. sheep-my-pl. <b>Huk kaq kanchamanta,</b> Different enclosure-from <b>Pusakamusaqmi kaykunata;</b> Bring-refl.-I (fut.)-def. this-pl.-DO <b>Simillaytam paykunapas</b> Word-only-my-DO-def. they-and <b>Uyariykullanqa;</b> Hear-emotion-only-s/he (fut.) <b>Huk huñuypas, huk Michiqpas kanqa.</b> One to gather-and one Shepherd-and be-it (fut.)</p>	<p><i>I am the Good Shepherd,</i></p> <p><i>The one who knows all my sheep,</i></p> <p><i>My sheep surely know me;</i></p> <p><i>My Father alone knows me,</i></p> <p><i>And I Him;</i></p> <p><i>I give my life for the sheep.</i></p> <p><i>I have==my sheep</i></p> <p><i>From another enclosure,</i></p> <p><i>I myself will surely bring these;</i></p> <p><i>And they will hear</i></p> <p><i>Only my word;</i></p> <p><i>There will be one flock and one Shepherd also.</i></p>



**45 (cont.)**

**Chaymi Taytay kuyakuwan,**  
Then Father-my love-he to me (pres.)  
**Kawsayniyta quspay**  
Life-my-DO give-gerund-my  
**Kaqla hapikuykullasqayrayku;**  
Again-alone seize-emotion-ID-perf.-because  
**Manam pipas qichuwanchu,**  
Not-def. whoever leaves-s/he to me (pres.)-neg.  
**Munayllaypim kachkan**  
Power-ID-my-in-def. be-gerund-it  
**Quspay kutichikunallaypaqpas.**  
Give-gerund return-emotion-conc.-only-for-also

**Kuyay ubigaykunaqa**  
Beloved sheep-my-pl.-topic  
**Simillaytapuni**  
Word-alone-my-DO-no doubt  
**Uyarispan qatikuykullawan;**  
Hear-gerund-def. follow-emotion-ID-s/he to me  
(pres.)  
**Makillaymantaqa manam**  
Hand-ID-my-from-topic not-def.  
**Qichuwanqakuchu,**  
Abandon-he to me (fut.)-emotion-neg.  
**Yus Taytaywan huklla kasqayrayku.**  
God Father-my-with one-ID be-perf.-my-because

*That is why my Father loves me,  
Because giving my life  
I have taken it back again;  
No one can take it away,  
It being in my power  
Giving only for it to be returned.  
  
My beloved sheep  
Follow me hearing  
My word alone;  
No one will snatch them  
From my hands,  
Because I am one with God my Father.*

**46 I Samuel 17.20-51**

**Yuspa kuyakusqan churinkuna**  
God-poss. love-perf.-his son (of father)-his-pl.  
**Diyablupa runankunawan**  
Devil-poss. people-his-pl.-with  
**Chimpa-chimpapura kachkaptinkum,**  
Face to face-one with another be-cont.-when-  
they-def.  
**Lluqsimurqa hatun Hulyat**  
Come out-there-he (past) big Goliath  
**Diyablupa kaqninkunamanta,**  
Devil-poss. being-his-pl.-from  
**Qanchis kuchus sayayniyuq,**  
Seven elbows height-in possession of  
**Lliwta sapa punchaw disabyastin**  
All-DO each day challenge-gerund-he  
**Qarin kaqwan pilyanampaq.**  
Strong person-with fight-potent.-he (pres.)-in  
order to

*God's beloved sons  
When they were face to face  
With the Devil's people,  
Giant Goliath came out there  
On the Devil's behalf,  
Seven elbows in height,  
Each day challenging everyone  
In order to fight with the strongest.*

46 (cont.)

**Rikuspanmi Dabiy nirqa Riyman,**

See-gerund-he-def. David say-he (past) King-to

**“Ama llakikuychu kaywanqa,**

Do not be sad-neg. this-with-topic

**Ñuqam risaq wañuchiqnin”, nispan.**

I-def. go-I (fut.) death-cause-agent.-his say-gerund-he

**“Qam warmaqqa atiwaqchus”,**

You youth-topic able to do-neg.

**Niptinñataq sunqunmanta nirqa.**

Say-when-he-now-conn. heart-his-from say-he (past)

**“Hina warmam michiq kaspay**

Like youth-def. shepherd be-gerund-my

**Liyuntapas wañuykachirqani,**

Lion-DO-also die-refl.-cause-I (past)

**Yuspa yanapasqan kaspay”.**

God-poss. help-perf.-his be-gerund-my

**Ispadantin mana riyta==atispam,**

Sword-I. not to go-DO be able-gerund-def.

**Pichqa ruyru rumichallata**

Five round stone-dim.-only-DO

**Michimunan warakachantawan,**

Shepherd-there-conc.-his slingshot-dim.-his-DO-with

**Aparistin asuykurqa.**

Appear-gerund-he approach-he (past)

**Hulyatñataq disprisyaspan nirqa:**

Goliath-now-and despise-gerund-he say-he (past)

**“Wañuchispam aychaykita**

Die-cause-gerund-def. flesh-your-DO

**Kunan qusaq ullaskunamanraq**

Today give-I (fut.) vulture-pl.-to-first

**Allqkunamampas”, nispan.**

Dog-pl.-to-also say-gerund-he

*David seeing this said to the King,*

*“Do not be sad about this,*

*I will surely go kill him”, saying.*

*“You a child are not able”,*

*When he said that, he replied from his heart.*

*“As a child being a shepherd*

*I myself killed the lion,*

*With God’s help”.*

*Not being able to go with a sword,*

*Taking only five small round stones*

*With his little shepherd’s slingshot*

*He approached.*

*And Goliath now despising him said:*

*“Killing you I will today give your flesh*

*To the vultures*

*And also to the dogs”, saying.*

46 (cont.)

**“Yuspa sutillanwampunim”,**  
God-poss. name-alone-his-with-no doubt-def.

**nispam**

saying he

**Dabiy huklla kallpaykurqa,**

David immediately run-emotion-he (past)

**Utqayllaman warakachanmampas**

Very quickly slingshot-dim.-his-to-also

**Rumichata churaykuspam,**

Stone-dim.-DO put-emotion-gerund-he

**Urkumpiraq warakarparirqa;**

Forehead-his-in-still sling-begin-he (past)

**Kirisqaña urmaptinmi**

Wound-perf.-now fall-when-he-def.

**Chaylla ispadanta qichuykuspa**

Soon sword-his-DO strip off-emotion-gerund

**Kunkantapas kuchuykurqa.**

Neck-his-DO-also cut-himself-he (past)

*Saying “In God’s name alone”,*

*David ran immediately,*

*Also rapidly putting a small stone*

*Into his little slingshot,*

*He slung it at his forehead;*

*When he fell wounded*

*Quickly stripping off his sword*

*He himself cut his neck also.*

47

**Alabasun Yusnillanchikta,**

Praise-we (fut.) God-only-our (I.)-DO

**Huchapi qawawaspanchik,**

Sin-in observe-he to us (gerund I.)

**Anchata kuyawaspanchik,**

Much love-he to us (gerund I.)

**Hatu-hatun Hisus qukuqta;**

Greatest Jesus give-himself-agent.-DO

**Silupi takikunawan,**

Heaven-in song-pl.-with

**Kusikuy takillanchikwan,**

Joyful song-only-our (I.)-with

**Yusnillanchikpaq Iliw**

God-only-our (I.)-for all

**hukllawaykukuchun.**

Unite-you to us (imp.)-emotion-s/he imp.

*Let’s praise only our God,*

*He observing us in sin,*

*Greatly loving us,*

*To the one who gives, to the greatest  
Jesus;*

*With celestial songs,*

*With our joyful songs alone,*

*Everyone unite*

*Only for our God!*

47 (cont.)

**Alabasun Yusnillanchikta,**  
Praise-we (fut.) God-only-our (I.)-DO  
**Sunqunchik Ilampuyachiqta,**  
Heart-our (I.) soften-cause-agent.-DO  
**Samakuy churaqninchikta;**  
Rest put-agent.-our (I.)-DO  
**Kuyay churillantam**  
Love son (of father)-only-his-DO-def.  
**quwanchik,**  
give-he to us (pres. I.)  
**Paywanmi salballawanchik,**  
Him-with-def. save-alone-he to us (pres. I.)  
**Paywantaq kallpanchawanchik,**  
Him-with-conn. strengthen-he to us (pres. I.)  
**Ancha suma-sumaq Hisusllanchikwan.**  
Very beautiful-beautiful Jesus-only-our (I.)-  
with

**Alabasun Yusnillanchikta,**  
Praise-we (fut.) God-only-our (I.)-DO  
**Paypunim huntachiwanchik**  
He-no doubt-def. fill something-he to us (pres. I.)  
**Kusiyta sunqullanchikman;**  
Joy-DO heart-ID-our (I.)-to  
**Payllataqmi uywakuwanchik**  
He-only-conn.-def. take care of-refl.-he to us  
(pres. I.)  
**Kallpayuq Ispiritunwan**  
Power-poss. Spirit-his-with  
**Hisuspa sutinraykulla;**  
Jesus-poss. name-his-because-alone  
**Alabasun sumaq Yusnillanchikta.**  
Praise-we (fut.) beautiful God-only-our (I.)-DO

*Let's praise only our God,  
The one who softens our heart,  
The one who gives us rest;  
He gives to us his only beloved son,  
With him alone he saves us,  
And with him he strengthens us,  
Only with our so very beautiful Jesus.*

*Let's only praise our God,  
He fills us to overflowing  
Joy to our heart;  
And only he takes care of us  
With his Spirit of power  
Because of Jesus' name alone;  
Let's only praise our beautiful God.*

**Ñuqallaykum hamuniku**

We (E.)-only-def. come-we (E.)

**Hisusniykup sutimpi**

Jesus-our (E.)-poss. name-his-in

**Yus Taytáy nispayku,**

God Father-my say-gerund-our (E.)

**Salbaqniykup yawarninwan**

Saviour-our (E.)-poss. blood-his-with

**Wañuymanta salbasqa,**

Death-from save-perf.

**Sunquykupas mayllasqa.**

Heart-our (E.)-also wash-perf.

**Churikipa sutillanwantaq,**

Son (of father)-your-poss. name-alone-his-with-conn.

**Yus Taytáy niykiku.**

God Father-my say-we (pres. E.) to you

**Karunchasqam karqaniku**

Separate-perf.-def. be-we (past E.)

**Huchaykuwan Qanmanta;**

Sin-our (E.)-with You-from

**Kuyay simikita**

Love word-your-DO

**Chaylla uyariykuspaykum,**

Soon hear-emotion-gerund-our (E.)-def.

**Hisusniykup chakimpi.**

Jesus-our (E.)-poss. foot-his-in

**Paypa muchuy krusnimpi,**

He-poss. suffering cross-his-in

**Pampachayta tarillaspayku**

Forgiveness-DO find-only-gerund-our (E.)

**Kutimurqaykiku.**

Return-here-we (past E.) to you

*Only we come*

*In our Jesus' name*

*Saying, my Father God,*

*With our Saviour's blood*

*Saved from death,*

*Our heart also washed.*

*And with your son's name alone,*

*We call you Father God.*

*We were separated*

*From You with our sin;*

*Soon hearing*

*Your beloved word*

*At our Jesus' foot.*

*On the cross of his suffering,*

*Only finding forgiveness*

*We returned to you.*

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>48 (cont.)</b></p> <p><b>Kaypim kunan llapallayku</b> Here-def. today all-ID-we (E.)</p> <p><b>Hisusniykuraykulla,</b> Jesus-our (E.)-because-only</p> <p><b>Yus Taytáy nispayku,</b> God Father-my say-gerund-our (E.)</p> <p><b>Sunquykupi kusikuywan,</b> Heart-our (E.)-in joy-with</p> <p><b>Kuyakuywan takispa,</b> Love-with sing-gerund</p> <p><b>Simikita chaskispa,</b> Word-your-DO receive-gerund</p> <p><b>Kumuykamuniku Qamllaman</b> Yield-refl.-we (pres.) You-only-to</p> <p><b>Yus Taytáy nispayku.</b> God Father-my say-gerund-our (E.)</p>	<p><i>Today we all here</i></p> <p><i>Only because of our Jesus,</i></p> <p><i>Are saying Father God</i></p> <p><i>With joy in our heart,</i></p> <p><i>Singing with love,</i></p> <p><i>Receiving your word,</i></p> <p><i>We yield ourselves only to You</i></p> <p><i>Saying Father God.</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>49</b></p> <p><b>Chuyam kanki munayniyuq Yusnilláy,</b> Holy-def.be-you (pres.) powerful God-my-dear</p> <p><b>Kuyaywanmi aduramuyki,</b> Love-with-def. adore-here-I to you (pres.)</p> <p><b>Sunquwanmi nikamullayki,</b> Heart-with-def. tell-refl.-alone-I to you (pres.)</p> <p><b>Chuyam kanki, chuyam kanki</b> Holy-def.be-you (pres.) holy-def. be-you (pres.)</p> <p><b>Taytalláy.</b> Father-dear-my</p> <p><b>Chuyam kanki, chuyam kanki</b> Holy-def. be-you (pres.) holy-def. be-you (pres.)</p> <p><b>Yusnilláy,</b> God-my-dear</p> <p><b>Nispampunim adurasunki,</b> Say-gerund-he-no doubt-def. adore-he to you (pres.)</p> <p><b>Qayllaykipi akllakusqayki,</b> Presence-your-in choose-refl.-perf.-your</p> <p><b>Kimsan sutikipi sapan Kamaqláy.</b> Three name-your-in only Creator-dear-my</p>	<p><i>You are holy my dear God of power,</i></p> <p><i>I adore you with love</i></p> <p><i>I tell you with feeling,</i></p> <p><i>You are holy, you are holy</i></p> <p><i>My dear Father.</i></p> <p><i>You are holy, you are holy my dear God,</i></p> <p><i>So saying, your chosen adores you</i></p> <p><i>In your presence,</i></p> <p><i>In your three names my only Lord.</i></p>

49 (cont.)

**Chuyam kanki, chuyam kanki**  
Holy-def. be-you (pres.) holy-def. be-you (pres.)  
**Yusnilláy,**  
God-my-dear  
**Nichkasunkim qunqurispanku,**  
Tell-cont.-he to you (pres.)-def. kneel-gerund-  
they  
**Angilkuna kusikuspanku,**  
Angel-pl. rejoice-gerund-they  
**Wiña-wiñay munaychakuq Taytalláy.**  
Forever-forever power-make-refl.-agent. Father-  
dear-my

**Chuyam kanki, chuyam kanki**  
Holy-def. be-you (pres.) holy-def. be-you (pres.)  
**Yusnilláy,**  
God-my-dear  
**Kuyaspaqa ancha kuyakuq,**  
Love-gerund-topic very loving  
**Sintinsaspa huklla rimaykuq,**  
Sentence-gerund one-only greet-agent.  
**Astawanmi riqsikuyki**  
Even more-def. know-refl.-I to you (pres.)  
**Kamaqlláy.**  
Creator-dear-my

**Chuyam kanki, chuyam kanki**  
Holy-def. be-you (pres.) holy-def. be-you (pres.)  
**Yusnilláy,**  
God-my-dear  
**Rikullanim rurasqaykipi,**  
See-ID-I (pres.)-def. creation-your-in  
**Inti killa quyllurkunapi,**  
Sun moon star-pl.-in  
**Wayta, sacha, tukuy kaqpim**  
Flower tree all thing-in-def.  
**Taytalláy.**  
Father-dear-my

*You are holy, you are holy my dear God,  
He is telling you kneeling,  
The angels rejoicing,  
My dear Father who is Lord forever and  
ever.*

*You are holy, you are holy my dear God,  
Loving he loves much,  
Sentencing he speaks only once,  
I know you even more my dear Creator.*

*You are holy, you are holy my dear God,  
I see in your creation  
In sun, moon, and stars,  
In flower, tree, in everything there is  
My dear Father.*

**Kawsaq Yusta adurasun,**

Live-agent. God-DO worship-we (fut.)

**Kuyaynintam huntawanchik,**

Love-his-DO-def. fill-he to us (pres. I.)

**Chiqapnintam qupuwanchik,**

Truth-his-DO-def. give back-he to us (pres. I.)

**Lliwcha takipusun;**

We all sing-benefit-we (fut.)

**Chiqap Yusta alabasan,**

True God-DO worship-we (fut.)

**Kaypachapi llapa riyqa**

This world-in every king-topic

**Wichiq wayta hinam kanqa,**

Fall-agent. flower like-def. be-it (fut.)

**Yusllata adurasun.**

God-alone-DO worship-we (fut.)

*Let's worship the living God,*

*His love fills us,*

*He gives his truth back to us,*

*Let's all sing for him;*

*Let's worship the true God,*

*The kings of this world*

*Will be like the flower that falls,*

*Let's worship God alone.*

**Kaypachatam qawamurqa**

This world-DO-def. look at-here-he (past)

**Huchap iqipaykusqanta,**

Sin-poss. choke-emotion-perf.-its-DO

**Llakikurqam sunqunmanta,**

Be sad-emotion-he (past)-def. heart-his-to-DO

**Lliwcha yupaychasun;**

We all honour-we (fut.)

**Runakunam kawsachkarqa,**

People-pl.-def. live-cont.-s/he (past)

**Ruraqninta qunqarispan,**

Make-agent.-his/her-DO forget-begin-gerund-s/he

**Imbirnuman kundinasqa;**

Hell-to condemn-perf.

**Yusllata yuyarisun.**

God-alone-DO remember-we (fut.)

*He looked at this world*

*Choked by its sin,*

*It saddened his heart,*

*Let's all honour;*

*People were living,*

*Forgetting their maker,*

*Condemned to hell;*

*Let's remember God alone.*





51 (cont.)

**Hisusllaymi sunquy kuyanampaq,**

Jesus-dear-my-def. heart-my love-conc.-his-for

**Tukuy ima quqniymi,**

All also give-agent.-my-def.

**Sumaq yanapaqniymi,**

Beautiful help-agent.-my-def.

**Payllapunim kuyakuykunaypaq.**

He-only-no doubt-def. love-refl.-emotion-conc.-I-so that

**Hisusllaymi sunquy huntaykachiq**

Jesus-dear-my-def. heart-my fill-cause-agent.

**Tantam almallaqpaq,**

Bread-def. soul-ID-my-for-also

**Payllam mikuchiqaqniypas,**

He-only-def. feed-cause-agent.-my-also

**Llakiypipas sunquy kusirichiq.**

Sadness-in-also heart-my rejoice-begin-cause-agent.

**Ancha kuyakuqmi Hisusniyqa,**

Very love-emotion-agent.-def. Jesus-my-topic

**Paytapunim kuyasaq,**

Him-DO-no doubt-def. love-I (fut.)

**Payllamantam willasaq,**

Him-only-of-def. tell-I (fut.)

**Yanapallawanqam Hisusniyqa.**

Help-only-he to me (fut.)-def. Jesus-my-topic

*My heart loves my dear Jesus,*

*The one who gives me everything,*

*My beautiful helper,*

*So that I love only him.*

*My dear Jesus is the one who fills my heart*

*He is bread for my soul,*

*Only he makes me eat,*

*The one who rejoices my heart in sadness.*

*My most beloved Jesus,*

*I will love only him,*

*I will tell only of him,*

*My Jesus will help me.*

52

**¿Pitaq kayman uraykamurqa?**

Who this-to come down from highest-s/he (past)

**Hisus salbaqlanchikmi.**

Jesus saviour-only-our (I.)-def.

**¿Pitaq wakcha nasimullarqa?**

Who orphan born-here-ID-s/he (past)

**Salbaqlanchik Hisusmi.**

Saviour-only-our (I.) Jesus-def.

**Kuyakuymanta takisun**

Love-of sing-we (fut.)

**Huk sunqulla llapanchik,**

One heart-only all-our (I.)

**Salbaqninchikta niykusun:**

Saviour-our (I.)-DO tell-emotion-we (fut.)

**“Grasyas, grasyas Hisuslláy”.**

Thank you thank you Jesus-dear-my

*Who came down here?*

*Jesus our only saviour.*

*Who was born poor as an orphan?*

*Our only saviour Jesus.*

*Let's sing of love*

*All of us with one heart,*

*Let's tell our Saviour:*

*“Thank you, thank you my dear Jesus”.*

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>52 (cont.)</b></p> <p><b>¿Pitaq wañupullawarqanchik?</b> Who die-benefit-ID-s/he to us (past I.)</p> <p><b>Kikin salbaqllanchikmi.</b> The very same saviour-dear-our (I.)-def.</p> <p><b>¿Pitaq kawsay quwaqnillanchik?</b> Who life give-agent.-only-our (I.)</p> <p><b>Hisus rantiqninchikmi.</b> Jesus buy-agent.-our (I.)-def.</p> <p><b>¿Pitaq kiriykusqa kallarqa?</b> Who wound-refl.-perf. be-only-he (past)</p> <p><b>Rantinchikipi wañuqmi</b> Exchange-our (I.)-in die-agent.-def.</p> <p><b>¿Pitaq huchanchikta mayllarqa?</b> Who sin-our (I.)-DO wash-s/he (past)</p> <p><b>Yawarnillan chaqchuqmi.</b> Blood-his-only sprinkle-agent.-def.</p> <p><b>¿Pitaq kayman kutimullanqa?</b> Who this-to return-here-only-he (fut.)</p> <p><b>Kawsarispa ripuqllam.</b> Resurrect-gerund leave-agent.-only-def.</p> <p><b>¿Pitaq salbu kaqta pusanqa?</b> Who saved the person-DO take-s/he (fut.)</p> <p><b>Kuyaqninchik Hisusllam.</b> Love-agent.-our (I.) Jesus-dear-def.</p>	<p><i>Who died on our behalf?</i></p> <p><i>Surely the very same, our dear saviour.</i></p> <p><i>Who is the only one who gives us life?</i></p> <p><i>Jesus the one who bought us.</i></p> <p><i>Who was wounded?</i></p> <p><i>The one who died in our place.</i></p> <p><i>Who washed our sin?</i></p> <p><i>The one who shed his dear blood.</i></p> <p><i>Who will return here?</i></p> <p><i>The one who resurrecting went</i></p> <p><i>Who will take the person who is saved?</i></p> <p><i>Our dear beloved Jesus.</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>53</b></p> <p><b>Hisusllanchikta yupaychasun,</b> Jesus-dear-our (I.)-DO worship-we (fut.)</p> <p><b>Payllam ñuqallanchikpaq,</b> He-alone-def. us-ID-I.-for</p> <p><b>Salbu kanallanchikpaq,</b> Saved be-conc.-ID-our (I.)-for</p> <p><b>Payllatapuni adurasun.</b> Him-only-DO-no doubt worship-we (fut.)</p> <p><b>Paypa sutinga kuyakuyllam,</b> He-poss. name-his-topic love-refl.-ID-def.</p> <p><b>Kunan kawsayninchikpas,</b> Now life-our (I.)-also</p> <p><b>Tukuy kapuqninchikpas,</b> All have-agent.-our (I.)-also</p> <p><b>Ñuqallanchikpaq Payraykullam.</b> Us-ID-I.-for Him-for-ID-def.</p>	<p><i>Let's worship our dear Jesus,</i></p> <p><i>He alone is surely for us,</i></p> <p><i>In order to be saved,</i></p> <p><i>We will worship only Him.</i></p> <p><i>His name is love,</i></p> <p><i>And our life now,</i></p> <p><i>All that we have,</i></p> <p><i>For us is only for Him.</i></p>

<sup>17</sup> This 'h' should be a 'k'

53 (cont.)

**Salbaqllanchih<sup>17</sup> man asuykusun**  
Saviour-dear-our (I.)-to approach-we (fut.)

**Tukuy sunqunchikmanta,**

All heart-our (I.)-from

**Wañuy huklawchaqmanta**

Death separate-agent.-to-DO

**Aswan-aswanña kumbiyasun.**

More more-now trust-we (fut.)

**Hisusnillanchik hamunantam**

Jesus-our-ID-I. come-conc.-his-DO-def.

**Lliwpas suyallachkanchik,**

All-also wait-only-cont.-we (I.)

**Chaymi kusikuchkanchik**

That is why be happy-cont.-we (I.)

**Yupaychaykuspa sunqunchikwan.**

Worship-emotion-gerund heart-our (I.)-with

*Let's approach our dear Saviour*

*With all our heart,*

*To the one who separates from death*

*Let's trust more and more.*

*We are all awaiting*

*The coming of our Jesus*

*That is why we are happy*

*Worshipping with our heart.*

54

**Kuyaywan salbaqniy Hisus**

Love-with saviour-my Jesus

**Sunqullay kanchaqmi kanki,**

Heart-ID-my illuminate-agent.-def. be-you (pres.)

**Qamllapunim kanchawanki;**

You-only-no doubt-def. illuminate-you to me (pres.)

**Qamtam qatisqayki Hisus.**

You-DO-def. follow-I to you (fut.) Jesus

**Wañurqankim Qam Jesusniy**

Die-you (past)-def. You Jesus-my

**Huchayrayku kruspi,**

Sin-my-because of cross-on

**Qamllapaqmi kuyakuyniy,**

You-only-for-def. love-my

**Yuyariykim sunqullaypi,**

Remember-I to you (pres.)-def. heart-alone-my-in

**Wañuynikim salbakuwan,**

Death-your-def. save-refl.-it to me (pres.)

**Kuyaynikim sunquchawan.**

Love-your-def. heart-dim.-with

*Jesus my saviour*

*You are the one who illuminates my heart,*

*You alone illuminate me;*

*I will follow you Jesus.*

*My Jesus, you died*

*On the cross because of my sin,*

*My love is for you alone,*

*In my heart I remember you,*

*Your death saves me,*

*Your love heartens me.*

54 (cont.)

**Llapantam sunquyki kuyan,**

All-DO-def. heart-your love-it (pres.)

**Chaynataq ñuqallaytapas,**

Like that-and me-ID-DO-also

**Kuyawanki Qamllapunim,**

Love-you to me (pres.) You-alone-no doubt-def.

**Chaymi quyki sunqullayta.**

So give-I to you (pres.) heart-ID-my-DO

**Almaytam kallpanchawanki**

Soul-my-DO-def. strengthen-you to me (pres.)

**Manaña manchakunaypaq;**

Not-now fear-potent.-I-so that

**Tukuypitaq pusawanki**

All-in-and guide-you to me (pres.)

**Sapa punchaw sirbinaypaq.**

Each day serve-potent.-I-so that

**Silupim ñuqallay kasaq**

Heaven-in-def. I-ID-my be-I (fut.)

**Qamllawan wiña-wiñaypaq;**

You-ID-with always-always-for

**Kanchaymanmi pusawanki**

Light-to-def. guide-you to me (pres.)

**Uyallayki rikunaypaq.**

Face-dear-your see-potent.-I-so that

*Your heart loves everyone,*

*And likewise also loves me,*

*You alone love me,*

*That's why I give you my heart.*

*You surely strengthen my soul*

*So that I no longer fear;*

*And in everything you guide me*

*So that I can serve you each day.*

*In heaven alone I will surely be*

*With you for ever and ever;*

*You guide me to the light*

*So that I see your dear face.*

55

**¡Ima sumaqmi simillayki Yusnilláy!**

How beautiful-def. word-ID-your God-my-dear

**Ancha kusiyami sunqullayman,**

Great joy-def. heart-ID-my-to

**Sapa punchawmi kallpanchawan,**

Each day-def. strengthen-it to me (pres.)

**“Ama manchaychu”, nillawaspan**

No fear-you (imp.)-neg. say-plead-he to me (gerund)

**Taytalláy.**

Father-dear-my

*How beautiful is your word, my God!*

*It brings great joy to my heart,*

*Each day it strengthens me,*

*My dear Father saying to me, “Do not fear”.*

55 (cont.)

**Yaqa-yaqaña urmapiypas Kamaqniy,**  
Almost-almost-now fall-when-I-also Creator-my  
**“Churi hatariy”, nillawaspam,**  
Child (of father) get up-you (imp.) say-plead-he  
to me (gerund)

**Sapa paqariq rimallawan,**  
Each dawn speak-plead-he to me (pres.)

**Mana chaynapi wichinaypaq**  
Not like that-in fall-potent.-I-so that

**Uywaqniy.**  
Care-agent.-my

**Llampu-llampullam simillayki**  
Tender-tender-ID-def. word-dear-your

**Ruraqlláy,**  
Make-agent.dear-my

**Hina llampupas yaykukuqtaq,**  
Like that tender-also enter-refl.-agent.-and

**Chiri sunqupas rupachiqtaq,**  
Cold heart-also burn-cause-agent.-and

**Rumi sunqupas llampuyachiq**  
Stone heart-also soften-cause-agent.

**Kuyaqlláy.**  
Love-agent.-dear-my

**Chaymi kuyayki Qamllataña**  
So love-I to you (pres.) You-only-DO-now

**Pusaqniy;**  
Guide-agent.-my

**Tukuy ñanniypi kallpanchaway,**  
All way-my-in strengthen-you to me (imp.)

**Wiña-wiñaypaq waqaychaway**  
Always-always-for protect-you to me (imp.)

**Qamllatapuni sirbinaypaq**  
You-only-DO-no doubt serve-potent.-I-so that

**Kamaqniy.**  
Creator-my

*When I am very nearly falling, my Lord,*

*Saying to me, “Son, get up!”,*

*Each dawn he speaks to me,*

*So that I will not fall like that –*

*My Carer.*

*How tender is your dear word*

*My Maker,*

*And gentle like that the one who enters,*

*The one who makes the cold heart burn  
and*

*The one who softens the heart of stone -*

*My Beloved.*

*Therefore now I love only you*

*My Guide;*

*Strengthen me in all my way,*

*Protect me forever and ever*

*So that I serve you alone*

*My Creator.*

**Kawsankim Hisus ñuqapaq,**

Live-you (pres.)-def. Jesus me-for

**Kawsankim wiña-wiñaypaq,**

Live-you (pres.)-def. always-always-for

**Kawsankim hanaqpachapi,**

Live-you (pres.)-def. heaven-in

**Kuyakunaypaq.**

Love-potent.-I-so that

**Sunquwan kuyawaspaykim,**

Heart-with love-you to me (gerund)-def.

**Muchustin wañullarqanki,**

Suffer-gerund die-ID-you (past)

**Wañunay kaq kruspipuni**

Die-potent.-I place cross-on-no doubt

**Salbu kanaypaq.**

Saved be-potent.-I-so that

**Wañupwasqaykiwanmi**

Death-benefit-you to me-with-def.

**Tarini wiñay kawsayta**

Find-I (pres.) eternal life-DO

**Sunquypaq kusikuytapas**

Heart-my-for happiness-emotion-DO-also

**Kusikunaypaq.**

Rejoice-potent.-I-so that

**Kasaqmi hanaqpachapi**

Be-I (fut.)-def. heaven-in

**Salbasqaykikunapiwan;**

Save-perf.-your-pl.-together with

**Kusisqam kawsakamusaq**

Joy-perf.-def. live-emotion-I (fut.)

**Wiña-wiñaypaq.**

Always-always-for

*You live for me Jesus,*

*You live forever and ever,*

*You live in heaven,*

*So that I love you.*

*With the heart loving me*

*You died suffering,*

*On the cross where I should have died*

*So that I would be saved.*

*Surely since you have died for me*

*I find eternal life*

*Also happiness for my heart*

*So that I rejoice.*

*I will surely be in heaven*

*With all that you have saved;*

*There I will live happily*

*Forever and ever.*

**Yuspa Churin Kristu**

God-poss. Son-his Christ

**Salbaqniymi kanki;**

Saviour-my-def. be-he (pres.)

**Ñuqa churillaykim**

I child (of father)-dear-your-def.

**Riqsikamullayki**

Acknowledge-refl.-ID-I to you (pres.)

**Millay wañuymanmi**

Dreadful death-to-def.

**Uraykamurqanki,**

Come down from highest-you (past)

**Yawarnikiwanmi**

Blood-your-with-def.

**Salbakuwarqanki.**

Save-refl.-you to me (past)

**Yana huchaymantam**

Black sin-my-from-def.

**Mayllakuwarqanki,**

Wash-refl.-you to me (past)

**Yana sunqullaytam**

Black heart-ID-my-def.

**Yuraqyachirqanki.**

Become white-cause-you (past)

**Salbasqaykim kani,**

Save-perf.-your-def. be-I (pres.)

**Qamlla kamachiway;**

You-only direct-you to me (imp.)

**Makikipim kani,**

Hand-your-in-def. be-I (pres.)

**Aswan yachachiway.**

Even more teach-you to me (imp.)

**Kaypi urmapiyqa**

Here fall-when-I-topic

**Sayarichikuway;**

Get up-cause-refl.-you to me (imp.)

**Wañukullapiyqa**

Die-refl.-ID-when-I-topic

**Hisus pusakuway.**

Jesus guide-refl.-you to me (imp.)

*Christ God's Son**You are my saviour;**I your dear son**Acknowledge you.**To a dreadful death**You came down,**With your blood**You saved me.**From my black sin**You washed me,**You whitened**My black heart.**I am the one you saved,**Only you direct me;**Surely I am in your hand,**Teach me even more!**When I fall here**Pick me up;**When I die**Jesus guide me.*



**Michiwankim Yus Taytalláy**  
Graze-you to me (pres.)-def. God Father-dear-my  
**Llanllay-llanllay qachukunapi;**  
Green-green grass-pl.-in  
**Qamllapunim Kuyakuqlláy**  
You-only-no doubt-def. Love-refl.-agent.-dear-my  
**Kuydawanki ñankunapi.**  
Take care of-you to me (pres.) way-pl.-in

**Hatu-hatun Michiqnilláy**  
Big-big Shepherd-my-dear  
**Kusikunim kay sunqullaypi**  
Rejoice-I (pres.)-def. this heart-ID-my-in  
**Suma-sumaq Pusakuqlláy.**  
Good-good Guide-refl.-agent.-dear-my

**Pusawankim Kamaqnilláy**  
Guide-you to me (pres.)-def. Creator-my-dear  
**Upanyapaq yakukunaman,**  
Drink-potent.-I-so that water-pl.-to  
**Qatiwankim Michikuqlláy**  
Drive-you to me (pres.)-def. Shepherd-dear-my  
**Sayan-sayan puñunayman.**  
Stop-stop sleep-conc.-my-to

**¿Qamllawanchum Kallpanchaqlláy**  
You-ID-with-interr.-def. strengthen-agent.-dear-my  
**Manchakuymanta tutayaymanta?**  
Be afraid-I (cond.) darkness-of  
**Wiña-wiñay Waqaychaqlláy**  
Always-always Protect-agent.-dear-my  
**Waqaychaway Supaymanta**  
Protect-you to me (imp.) Devil-from

**Kuyakuykim Mikuchiqláy,**  
Love-I to you (pres.)-def. Feed-cause-agent.-dear-my  
**Qamllapunim mikuchiwanki,**  
You-only-no doubt-def. feed-cause-you to me (pres.)  
**Wiñaypaqmi Yus Taytalláy**  
Always-for-def. God Father-dear-my  
**Wasikipi kachiwanki.**  
House-your-in be-cause-you to me (pres.)

*Surely you feed me my dear Father God*

*In very luxuriant grasses;*

*Only you my dear Beloved*

*Take care of me in the ways.*

*My great Shepherd*

*I rejoice in this heart of mine*

*My very precious Guide.*

*Surely you guide me my dear Creator*

*To the waters so that I can drink,*

*Surely you drive me my dear Shepherd*

*To a resting place to sleep.*

*Could I be afraid of the darkness*

*With you my dear Strengthener?*

*For ever and ever my dear Protector*

*Protect me from the Devil.*

*I love you my dear Provider,*

*Only you make me feed,*

*You will cause me to be in your house*

*For ever my dear Father God.*

59 Genesis 1.1-31

**Qallariynimpim Yus unancharqa**

To begin-its-in-def. God create-he (past)

**Hanaq pachata kaytawan;**

Heaven -DO this here-with

**Ruyrunkamallam allpa kallarqa,**

Round-dist.-ID-def. ground be-ID-it (past)

**Llapa yakupa tuytusqan.**

All water-poss. soak-perf.-its

**Chakniyllawanmi pakachikurqa,**

Darkness-only-with-def. hide-cause-refl.-it (past)

**Ispiritupa muyusqan.**

Spirit-poss. surround-perf.-its

*In the beginning God created*

*Heaven and this earth;*

*The earth was round,*

*Soaked by all the water.*

*Hidden only by the darkness*

*Surrounded by the Spirit.*

**Chawpillanmantam yakukunata**

Middle-only-its-from-def. water-pl.-DO

**Wichay-urayman rakirqa;**

Above-below-to separate-he (past)

**Uray-pachapi achka yakutam**

Below-earth-in too much water-DO-def.

**Huk hawaqllaman huñurqa;**

One place-only-to gather together-he (past)

**Chaynaykuspanmi, sumaq**

In that way-emotion-then-he-def. beautiful

**allpata**

ground-DO

**Chakiy-chakiyta rurarqa.**

Dry-dry-DO make-he (past)

*Only from the middle he separated the waters*

*To above and below;*

*On earth below there was too much water*

*He gathered it together to only one place*

*In that way then, he made*

*Beautiful, very dry earth.*

**Allpallamantam paqarimurqa**

Ground-ID-from-def. sprout-here-it (past)

**Munay llanllachkaq qachupas;**

Lovely luxuriate-cont.-agent. grass-also

**Sumaqlatañam rikurimurqa**

Beautiful-ID-DO-now-def.appear from nothing-it (past)

**Tukuy ruruyuq sachapas;**

Every give fruit-poss. tree-also

**Inti killawan Yusmi rakirqa**

Sun moon-with God-def. divide up-he (past)

**Tuta punchawkunatapas.**

Night day-pl.-DO-also

*From the same earth sprouted*

*Lovely luxuriating grass also;*

*Now every beautiful fruit producing tree*

*Appeared from nothing;*

*With the sun and the moon God also divided up*

*The days and the nights.*

59 (cont.)

**Quyllur chaskatam Payqa churarqa**  
Star venus-DO-def. He-topic place-he (past)

**Tutayaykuptin akchiqpaq;**  
Become night-when-it give light-agent.-in order to

**Tukuy challwatam rikurichirqa**  
All fish-DO-def.appear from nothing-cause-he (past)

**Urpitutas pawaqpaq;**  
Turtle dove-DO-also fly-agent.-in order to

**Allpap hawampim paqarichirqa**  
Ground-poss. surface-its-in-def. originate-cause-he (past)

**Animaltapas puriqpaq.**  
Animal-DO-also walk-agent.-so that

**Qipallatañam Yuspa rurarqa**  
Last of all-ID-DO-now-def. God-poss. make-he (past)

**Allpallamanta runata,**  
Ground-alone-from human being-DO

**Warmi qaritam unanchakurqa**  
Female male-DO-def. create-refl.-he (past)

**Kikinmampuni kaqlata.**  
He himself-to-no doubt identical-DO

**Tukuy rurasqan kaqtam qawarqa**  
All make-narr.-it thing-DO-def. see-he (past)

**Sumaqsullaña kasqanta.**  
Beautiful-aug.-ID-now be-narr.-it-DO

*He placed the morning star, Venus*

*To give light to the dusk;*

*He made all fish appear*

*And the birds to fly;*

*He also gave life to the animal*

*So that it would walk on the surface of the earth.*

*Last of all, God made*

*The human being from the ground alone,*

*Female and male he created*

*Just like he himself.*

*He saw all that he had made*

*How very beautiful it was.*

60

**Huk tutam quyllurpas**

One night-def. star-also

**kanchaykuchkaptin,**

Shine-emotion-cont.-when-it

**Killapas akchiykuchkaptin,**

Moon-also illuminate-emotive-cont.-when-it

**Kanchachkaq siluta saqiykamuspan,**

Shine-cont.-agent. sky-DO leave-emotion-gerund-he

**Bilimpi Hisus nasirqa.**

Bethlehem-in Jesus be born-he (past)

*One night when the star*

*Was shining,*

*And the moon giving light,*

*Leaving resplendent heaven,*

*Jesus was born in Bethlehem.*

60 (cont.)

**Angilkunam takispan,**  
Angel-pl.-def. sing-gerund-they  
**“Glurya kachun silupi Yusllaman,**  
Glory be-ind.imp. heaven-in God-alone-to  
**Hawkayapas kay pachallaman,**  
Rest-also this earth-ID-to  
**Runapaqtaq allin”, nimurqa,**  
People-for-conn. good say-here-he (past)  
**Hisusmanta willaspan.**  
Jesus-of tell-gerund-he

**Uywapa puñunan pisibrillapim,**  
Livestock-poss. sleep-conc.-its manger-ID-in-def.  
**Anchata kuyawaspanchik,**  
Greatly-DO love-he to us (gerund I.)  
**Wiñaypaq salbayta munawaspanchik,**  
Always-for to save-DO desire-he to us (gerund I.)  
**Bilimpi Hisus nasirqa.**  
Bethlehem-in Jesus be born-he (past)

**Mamanmi wawanta**  
Mother-his-def. child (of mother)-her-DO  
**waltaykullaspan**  
swaddle-refl.-ID-gerund-she  
**Kuyaywan marqariykuspan,**  
Love-with carry in arms-refl.-gerund-she  
**Uywapa mikunan kaqman,**  
Livestock-poss. food-its place-to  
**churarqa**  
place-she (past)  
**Bilimpi Hisus nasiptim.**  
Bethlehem-in Jesus born-when-def.

*The angels singing,*  
*“Glory be in heaven to God alone,*  
*And rest to this world,*  
*And good for people”, he said,*  
*Telling of Jesus.*

*In the manger, the place where livestock sleep,*  
*Greatly loving us,*  
*And desiring to save us forever,*  
*In Bethlehem Jesus was born.*

*His mother, swaddling her child*  
*Carrying him lovingly in her arms,*  
*Placed him on the hay,*  
*When Jesus was born in Bethlehem.*

**Ñawillaymi Hisusnilláy,**  
Eyes-ID-my-def. Jesus-my-dear  
**Mana allin qaway munaq,**  
Not good to see desire-agent.  
**Qawaykuspa aswan munaq,**  
See-refl.-gerund even more desire-agent.  
**Munaykuspa ancha kuyaq.**  
Desire-refl.-gerund much love-agent.

**Qamllaña Hisusnilláy,**  
You-only-now Jesus-my-dear  
**Ñawiyta, simiytapas,**  
Eyes-my-DO mouth-my-DO-also  
**Makiyta, sunquytapas,**  
Hand-my-DO heart-my-DO-also  
**Chuyayachiy Salbaqlláy.**  
Clean-cause-you (imp.) Saviour-dear-my

**Simillaymi Kamaqñilláy,**  
Mouth-only-my-def. Creator-my-dear  
**Tukuy mana allin rimaq,**  
All not good speak-agent.  
**Hayaqtaraq qatqitaraq**  
Harsh things-DO-first bitter things-DO-first  
**Mirariykachispa rimaq.**  
Multiply-begin-cause-gerund gossip-agent.

**Makillaymi Salbakuqlláy,**  
Hand-only-my-def. Saviour-dear-my  
**Yumpaq mana allin ruraq,**  
Too much not good do-agent.  
**Kaylawmanraq waklawmanraq,**  
This-to-first that-to-first  
**Allimpiqa muspaykachaq.**  
Good-in-topic pretend not to understand-agent.

**Sunqullaymi Pampachaqlláy,**  
Heart-ID-my-def. Forgive-agent.-dear-my  
**Tukuy rikchaq hucha munaq,**  
All type sin desire-agent.  
**Munaykuspa chaylla ruraq,**  
Want-refl.-gerund soon do-agent.  
**Ruraspataq ancha kuyaq.**  
Do-gerund-and great love-agent.

*My eyes my dear Jesus,  
Like to see the bad,  
Seeing it, even more desirous of it,  
Desiring it, loving it much.*

*Now you alone my dear Jesus,  
My eyes and also my mouth,  
My hand and also my heart,  
Make clean my dear Saviour.*

*Only my mouth my dear Creator,  
Speaker of all that is bad,  
Harsh things, bitter things  
Multiplying gossip.*

*Only my hand my dear Saviour,  
Is too much given to doing bad,  
Here and there,  
Acting as though it does not understand  
what is good.*

*My heart, my dear Forgiver,  
Is desirous of all type of sin,  
Wanting to do it immediately,  
And great lover of the act.*

**Hisusnilláy, Hisusnilláy,**

Jesus-my-dear Jesus-my-dear

**Munasqaykipaq kawsachikuway;**

Desire-perf.-your-for live-cause-refl.-you to me (imp.)

**Akllakusqaykim kallani,**

Choose-emotion-perf.-your-def. am-only-I

**Llampu sunquyuq kaytam munani,**

Tender heart-poss. to be-DO-def. desire-I (pres.)

**Munasqaykipaq kawsachikuway.**

Desire-perf.-your-for live-cause-refl.-you to me (imp.)

**Kamaqnilláy, Kamaqnilláy,**

Creator-my-dear Creator-my-dear

**Kawsachikuway munasqaykipaq,**

Live-cause-refl.-you to me (imp.) desire-perf.-your-for

**Kay sunqullayta mayllaway;**

This heart-ID-my-DO wash-you to me (imp.)

**Kichkichaqninta urquykullaway**

Obstruct-make-agent.-its-DO take out-refl.-only-you to me (imp.)

**Chakillaykipi wiñay kanaypaq.**

Foot-alone-your-in eternity be-concrete-for

**Kuyaqnilláy, Kuyaqnilláy,**

Love-agent.-my-dear Love-agent.-my-dear

**Munasqaykipaq kawsachikuway;**

Desire-perf.-your-for live-cause-refl.-you to me (imp.)

**Hampiykullaway kiriyta,**

Heal-refl.-only-you to me (imp.) wound-my-DO

**Qichuykullaway nanaynillayta,**

Take away-refl.-only-you to me (imp.) pain-my-ID-DO

**Sirbikunaypaq waqaychakuway.**

Serve-refl.-conc.-in order to secure-refl.-you to me (imp.)

**Hisusnilláy, Hisusnilláy,**

Jesus-my-dear Jesus-my-dear

**Kawsachikuway munasqaykipaq,**

Live-cause-refl.-you to me (imp.) desire-perf.-your-for

**Almallaytapas pusaspa**

Soul-ID-my-DO-also guide-gerund

**Ruraynillaywan lliwman kanchaspa,**

Works-my-ID-with all-to enlighten-gerund

**Sutikimanta willanallaypaq.**

Name-your-of tell-potent.-only-in order to

*My dear Jesus, my dear Jesus,*

*Make me live for what you desire;*

*I am only your chosen,*

*I want to be tender hearted,*

*Make me live for what you desire!*

*My dear Creator, my dear Creator,*

*For what you desire make me live,*

*Wash this heart of mine;*

*Take out of me whatever obstructs*

*In order to be at your foot alone for ever.*

*My dear Beloved, my dear Beloved,*

*Make me live for what you desire;*

*Heal my wound,*

*Take away my pain,*

*Secure me for your service.*

*My dear Jesus, my dear Jesus,*

*For what you desire make me live,*

*Also guiding my soul*

*Bringing light to everyone with my works,*

*To testify of your name.*

**Riqsisqaymanta wiñaypaña**

Know-narr.-I-since always-for-now

**Kuyakuqnilláy;**

Love-emotion-agent.-my-dear

**Qamllam kasqanki Pusaqllayqa**

You-only-def. be-narr.-you Guide-only-my-topic

**Sumaq Hisuslláy.**

Beautiful Jesus-dear-my

**Kristu, Kristu,**

Christ Christ

**Salbakuqnilláy,**

Saviour-my-dear

**Sunqullaymantam adurayki,**Heart-ID-my-from-def. worship-I to you  
(pres.)**Wiñay Kuyaylláy,**

Always Love-my-dear

**Qam Salbaqllaypim tarillani**

You Saviour-only-my-in-def. find-only-I (pres.)

**Kallpanchakuqlláy,**

Strengthen-emotion-agent.-dear-my

**Samakuytaqa almallaqpaq,**

Rest-DO-topic soul-ID-my-for

**Kunsuylakuqlláy.**

Comfort-emotion-agent.-dear-my

**Kaypachapiqa akchiriway**

This world-in-topic enlighten-you to me (imp.)

**Kancharikuqlláy;**

Illuminate-emotion-agent.-dear-my

**Chuyallataña ruraykuway**

Pure-only-DO-now make-refl.-you to me (imp.)

**Kawsachikuqlláy.**

Sustain life-emotion-agent.-dear-my

**Kumuykuspaymi asuykuyki,**Bow down-gerund-I-def. approach-I to you  
(pres.)**Chiqap Hisuslláy;**

Truly Jesus-dear-my

**Aswan-aswanña takyachiway,**

More-still more-now establish-you to me (imp.)

**Sumaq Kamaqlláy.**

Beautiful Creator-dear-my

*My dearly Beloved -**Since I have known you and forever;**You alone have been my Guide**My dear beautiful Jesus.**Christ, Christ,**My dear Saviour,**I worship you from my heart,**Forever my dear Love.**Only in you my Saviour do I find**My dear Strengthened,**Rest for my soul,**My dear Comforter.**In this world enlighten me**My dear Illuminator;**Make me only pure**My dear sustainer.**Bowing down I approach you,**My dear true Jesus**Establish me more and more,**My dear beautiful Creator.*

**Qawariyway Kamaqnilláy,**  
 Look-you to me (imp.) Creator-my-dear  
**Kikiy mana atillasqayta,**  
 I myself not able-ID-narr.-I-DO  
**Aswan-aswan manchakusqayta,**  
 More-still more fear-narr.-I-DO  
**Qamllamanta willakunaypaq.**  
 You-only-of confess-conc.-my-for

**Suma-sumaq Hisusnilláy,**  
 Beautiful-beautiful Jesus-my-dear  
**Sunqullayta yanapaykuway;**  
 Heart-ID-my-DO help-refl.-you to me (imp.)  
**Ñannillaypi kallpanchaykuway**  
 Way-my-ID-in strengthen-refl.-you to me  
 (imp.)  
**Munasqayki ruranallaypaq.**  
 Desire-perf.-your do-potent.-only-in order to

**Maycha nini Kuyaqnilláy,**  
 Many say-I (pres.) love-agent.-my-dear  
**¿Qipamanchum kutirikusaq?**  
 Behind-towards-interr.-def. return-begin-I (fut.)  
**Ñawpaqmanchum icha rillasaq?**  
 Forward-towards-interr.-def. or go-only-I (fut.)  
**Nispay sunqullayta tapuni.**  
 Say-gerund heart-ID-my-DO ask-I (pres.)

**Chaymi Qamta Salbakuqlláy,**  
 So You-DO Saviour-dear-my  
**Kuyakuspay qayakamuyki,**  
 Love-gerund call-refl.-I to you (pres.)  
**Sunquymantam mañakamuyki**  
 Heart-my-from-def. ask-refl.-I to you (pres.)  
**Yawarnikip chanin kallaspay.**  
 Blood-your-poss. good price-its be-ID-gerund

*Look at me my dear Creator,  
 I myself have been unable,  
 I have feared more and more,  
 To confess you alone.*

*My very beautiful dear Jesus,  
 Help my heart;  
 Strengthen me in my way  
 In order to do your will alone.*

*How often my dear Lover, I say,  
 Will I turn back?  
 Or will I only go forward?  
 So saying I ask my heart.*

*So loving you I call you  
 my dear Saviour,  
 I ask you from my heart  
 Being your blood's just price.*



**Kawsarichwayku Hisuslláy,**  
Reanimate-you to us (E. imp.) Jesus-dear-my  
**Ispirituykiwan,**  
Spirit-your-with  
**Kallpanchaqniykuwan**  
Strengthen-agent.-our (E.)-with  
**Kay chirisqa sunquykuta.**  
This numb with cold heart-our (E.)-DO

**Kawsarichwayku**  
Reanimate-you to us (E. imp.)  
**Ispirituykiwan,**  
Spirit-your-with  
**Qamlla sirbikunaykupaq.**  
You-only serve-refl.-conc.-us-for

**Kawsarichwayku Hisuslláy,**  
Reanimate-you to us (E. imp.) Jesus-dear-my  
**Qamta suyaspaykum,**  
You-DO hope-gerund-refl.-def.  
**Tawillachkaniku**  
Dry-only-cont.-we (E.)  
**Para suyaq wayta hina.**  
Rain wait-agent. flower like

**Kawsarichwayku Kamaqlláy,**  
Reanimate-you to us (E. imp.) Creator-dear-my  
**Kuyakuyllaykiwan,**  
Love-only-your-with  
**Sumaq simikiwan,**  
Beautiful word-your-with  
**Sunquykuta uqarispa.**  
Hearts-our (E.)-DO lift-gerund

*Reanimate us with your Spirit*

*My dear Jesus,*

*With our Strengthener*

*This our cold heart.*

*Reanimate us*

*With your Spirit,*

*To serve you alone.*

*Reanimate us, my dear Jesus,*

*Waiting for you*

*We are wilting*

*Like a flower that waits for rain.*

*Reanimate us, my dear Creator,*

*With your love alone,*

*With your beautiful word,*

*Lifting our hearts.*

**Salbaqnilláy, Salbaqnilláy,**  
Saviour-my-dear Saviour-my-dear  
**Chakikimanmi wischukamuni,**  
Foot-your-to-def. throw-refl.-I (pres.)  
**Qamlla kasuytam munani;**  
You-only to obey-DO-def. desire-I (pres.)  
**Qampim tarini kallpanchaqniyta**  
You-in-def. find-I (pres.) strengthen-agent.-my-DO  
**Almallaypaqpas pusaqnillanta.**  
Soul-ID-my-for-also guide-agent.-my-only-DO

**Kamaqnilláy, Kamaqnilláy,**  
Creator-my-dear Creator-my-dear  
**Sunqullaymanta huchaykunatam**  
Heart-ID-my-from sin-my-pl.-DO-def.  
**Willakamuyki llapanta;**  
Tell-refl.-I to you (pres.) all-DO  
**Willakusqayta uyariykuway,**  
Tell-refl.-narr.-I-DO hear-emotion-you to me (imp.)  
**Yawarnikiwan mayllaykullaway.**  
Blood-your-with wash-emotion-only-you to me (imp.)

**Kuyaqnilláy, Kuyaqnilláy,**  
Love-agent.-my-dear love-agent.-my-dear  
**Chakikimanmi asuykamuni,**  
Foot-your-to-def. approach-I (pres.)  
**Tukuy sunqullay qunaypaq;**  
All heart-ID-my give-conc.-my-for  
**Ispirituyki huntaykuwachun,**  
Spirit-your fill-refl.-it to me (imp.)  
**Qamllapaqñataq almay kallachun.**  
You-only-for-now-conn. soul-my be-only-it (imp.)

**Hisusnilláy, Hisusnilláy**  
Jesus-my-dear Jesus-my-dear  
**Ancha kusiytam chayraq tarini,**  
Great joy-DO-def. only now find-I (pres.)  
**Hatun samaytam chaskini;**  
Big rest-DO-def. receive-I (pres.)  
**Qam Salbaqllaymi kapuwasqanki,**  
You Saviour-only-my-def. possess-you to me (narr.)  
**Sunqullaymantam kuyakullayki.**  
Heart-ID-my-from-def. love-ID-I to you (pres.)

*My dear Saviour, my dear Saviour,*

*I throw myself at your feet,*

*I only want to obey you;*

*In you I find my strengthener*

*Also the only guide for my soul.*

*My dear Creator, my dear Creator,*

*From my heart I tell you*

*All my sins;*

*Hear what I have confessed!*

*Wash me with your blood!*

*My dear Beloved, my dear Beloved,*

*I approach your feet,*

*To give you all my heart;*

*May your Spirit fill me!*

*May my soul be for you alone now!*

*My dear Jesus, my dear Jesus*

*Only now do I find great joy,*

*I receive great rest;*

*You alone have been my Saviour,*

*I love you with all my heart.*

**Ancha kuyay Hisusnillayku**

Very love Jesus-our (E.)-dear

**Kutipamuyña,**

Return again-here-you (imp.)-now

**Salbasqayki churikikuna**

Save-perf.-your child (of father)-your-pl.

**Uqariqlayku;**

Raise-agent.-only-our (E.)

**Manapunim atinikuchu**

Not-no doubt-def. able-we (E)-neg.

**Aswan qipayta,**

More still to stay-DO

**Huchakunam intuwachkanku;**

Sin-pl.-def. surround-cont.-it to us (E.)

**Pusallawayku.**

Guide-only-you to us (E. imp.)

**Atiyniyuq Salbaqnillayku**

Be able-poss. Saviour-ID-our (E.)

**Utqamullayña,**

Hurry-here-only-you (imp.)-now

**Yawarnikip chanillankuna**

Blood-your-poss. price-ID-its-pl.

**Huñuriykapuq;**

Gather together-start-on other's behalf

**Kay pachapim muchuchkaniku**

This world-in-def. suffer-cont.-we (E. pres.)

**Qamraykullaña,**

You-for-only-now

**Chiqnisqallam kawsachkaniku;**

Hate-perf.-only-def. live-cont.-we (E. pres.)

**Uqariwayku.**

Raise-you to us (E. imp.)

*Our greatly beloved Jesus**Return now!**To your saved children**Our only raiser;**We are definitely not able**To stay any longer,**Sins are surrounding us;**Guide us!**Our powerful Saviour**Hurry up now!**To gather together**Your blood's prices;**In this world we are suffering**Only for you now**We are living only as hated;**Raise us!*

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>67 (cont.)</b></p> <p><b>Yuyarispa kutimuwayku</b> Remember-gerund return-you to us (E. imp.)</p> <p><b>Churillaykiman,</b> Child (of father)-ID-your-to</p> <p><b>Supaymanta lluptichwayku</b> Devil-from escape-cause-you to us (E. imp.)</p> <p><b>Hanaqpachaman;</b> Heaven-to</p> <p><b>Chuya Ispiritum niwanku:</b> Holy Spirit-def. say-he to us (E. pres.)</p> <p><b>“Kutimunqañam”,</b> Return-he (fut.)-now-def.</p> <p><b>Chaymi ñuqallayku niniku:</b> So we (E.)-ID say-we (E. pres.)</p> <p><b>“Hamuy utqayman”.</b> Come-you (imp.) hurry-you (imp.)-to</p>	<p><i>Remembering return</i></p> <p><i>To your children!</i></p> <p><i>Cause us to escape from the Devil</i></p> <p><i>To heaven;</i></p> <p><i>The Holy Spirit says to us:</i></p> <p><i>“Now he will surely return”,</i></p> <p><i>That is why we say:</i></p> <p><i>“Come, hurry up!”.</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>68</b></p> <p><b>Salbasqaykim kallaniku</b> Save-perf.-your-def. be-ID-we (E. pres.)</p> <p><b>Sumaq Yus Taytayku,</b> Beautiful God Father-our (E.)</p> <p><b>Allirimaychaykapulla<sup>18</sup>–</b> Arrange-put in-benefit-only</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">- <b>wayku churiykuta.</b> You to us (E. imp.) child-our (E.)-DO</p> <p><b>Hisus salbaqniykurayku</b> Jesus saviour-our (E.)-because of</p> <p><b>Uyariykuwayku,</b> Hear-emotion-you to us (E. imp.)</p> <p><b>Kunan mañakusqaykuta,</b> Now ask-perf.-our (E.)-DO</p> <p><b>Sumaq Yus Taytayku.</b> Beautiful God Father-our (E.)</p> <p><b>Kay pachapi llapallanta,</b> This world-in all-ID-DO</p> <p><b>Tukuy rikchaq kaqta</b> All type be-agent.-DO</p> <p><b>Pusay kuyakuyllaykiwan,</b> Guide-you (imp.) love-only-your-with</p> <p><b>Riqsisunaykipaq.</b> Know-aug.-conc.-you-so that</p>	<p><i>We are your saved</i></p> <p><i>Our beautiful Father God,</i></p> <p><i>Put us in order on behalf</i></p> <p><i>Of our child.</i></p> <p><i>Hear us!</i></p> <p><i>Because of Jesus our saviour,</i></p> <p><i>What we pray for now,</i></p> <p><i>Our beautiful Father God.</i></p> <p><i>In this world, everything</i></p> <p><i>Every type that exists</i></p> <p><i>Guide with your love alone</i></p> <p><i>So that you are greatly known.</i></p>

<sup>18</sup> 18<sup>th</sup> edition and most recent = *allinchaykapullawayku*

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>68 (cont.)</b></p> <p><b>Llampu wawa sunqullanman,</b> Tender child (of mother) heart-ID-its-to</p> <p><b>Ispirituykiwan,</b> Spirit-your-with</p> <p><b>Kanchariykullaspaykitaq</b> Shine-you (imp.)-refl.-only-gerund-you-conn.</p> <p><b>Salbay Siluykipaq.</b> Save-you (imp.) Heaven-your-for</p>	<p><i>Shining within</i></p> <p><i>The tender heart of the child</i></p> <p><i>With your Spirit,</i></p> <p><i>Save it for your Heaven!</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>69</b></p> <p><b>¿Manachum ñuqari willayman</b> Impossible-interr.-def. I-begin tell-I (cond.)</p> <p><b>Hisuspa siminmanta?</b> Jesus-poss. word-his-of</p> <p><b>¿Paymanchum manari takiyman</b> Him-to-interr.-def. not-begin sing-I (cond.)</p> <p><b>Kuyakuy sutinmanta?</b> Loving name-his-of</p> <p><b>Urpipas takillampunim,</b> Dove-also sing-ID-it (pres.)-no doubt-def.</p> <p><b>Pachalla likirikuptin,</b> Earth-ID dawn-refl.-when-it</p> <p><b>Sachapas aywikumpunim</b> Tree-also shake-refl.-it (pres.)-no doubt-def.</p> <p><b>Wayralla pukuriyuptin.</b> Wind-ID blow-begin-emotion-when-it</p> <p><b>¿Chaychumya manari ñuqallay</b> That-interr.-def. not-begin my-ID</p> <p><b>Simiywan willakuyman?</b> Mouth-my-with tell-I (cond.)</p> <p><b>¿Hisuswan salbasqa kachkaspay</b> Jesus-with save-perf. be-cont.-then-I</p> <p><b>Sunquywan kuyaykuyman?</b> Heart-my-with love-I (cond.)</p> <p><b>Urpipas sumaqtam takiykun,</b> Dove-also beautiful-DO-def. sing-habitual-it (pres.)</p> <p><b>Ñuqapas takipusaq;</b> I-also sing-benefit-I (fut.)</p> <p><b>Sachapas Yusmantam willakun,</b> Tree-also God-of-def. tell-it (pres.)</p> <p><b>Ñuqapas willakusaq.</b> I-also tell-I (fut.)</p>	<p><i>Will I surely not tell</i></p> <p><i>Of Jesus' word?</i></p> <p><i>Will I surely not sing to him</i></p> <p><i>Of his loving name?</i></p> <p><i>The birds always sing,</i></p> <p><i>At dawn,</i></p> <p><i>The trees always shake</i></p> <p><i>When the wind begins to blow.</i></p> <p><i>Will I not</i></p> <p><i>With my mouth confess?</i></p> <p><i>Being saved with Jesus will I</i></p> <p><i>Have heartfelt love?</i></p> <p><i>The birds always sing beautifully,</i></p> <p><i>I will also sing to him;</i></p> <p><i>The trees also tell of God,</i></p> <p><i>I will also confess.</i></p>

**Suma-sumaq kanchaq Hisusniypa**

Beautiful-beautiful shine-agent. Jesus-my-poss.

**Wañusqan kruspi yuyaspaymi,**

Die-perf.-his cross-on remember-gerund-def.

**Makillaypa rurallasqantapas**

Hand-ID-my-poss. work-only-perf.-its-DO-also

**Qupata hina qawallani.**

Useless-DO as see-only-I (pres.)

**Hisuslláy, Qam waqaychaykullaway**

Jesus-dear-my You secure-refl.-only-you to me

(imp.)

**Paytukuy<sup>19</sup> runa kanaymanta;**

Put on airs-agent. person be-conc.-from

**Krusllaykiwan yuyariykachiway**

Cross-only-your-with remember-cause-you to me

(imp.)

**Aswanraq hucha binsinayta.**

More-still sin to overcome-DO

**Qawariykuy kuyay qasqullanta,**

Look at-refl.-you (imp.) tender chest-ID-his-DO

**Chakinta, makinkunatawan,**

Foot-his-DO hand-his-pl.-DO-with

**Lansap, klabuparaq kirisqanta**

Spear-poss. nail-poss.-still wound-perf.-its-DO

**Yawarllan pullpuriykamuchkan.**

Blood-ID-his bubble-begin-refl.-cont.-it (pres.)

**Qawariykuy kuyakuynillanta**

Look at-refl.-you (imp.) compassion-his-ID-DO

**Kirinta pawaykamullachkan;**

Wound-his-DO escape-refl.-only-cont.-it (pres.)

**¿Maypiñataq wakna kuyakuyta**

Where-now-conn. that love-DO

**Ñuqallay kaypi tarillayman?**

I-ID here find-only-I (cond.)

**Lliw munduntin kaqpas kapuwanman**

All world-I. being-also possess-it (cond.)

**Hisusnillayman quykunaypaq,**

Jesus-my-dear-to give-emotion-conc.-my-for

**Chaypas mana sirbiq qupach kanman;**

That-also not serve-agent. waste be-it (cond.)

**Chayraykum quni almallayta.**

That-because-def. give-I (pres.) soul-only-my-DO

*Remembering the death on the cross*

*Of my very beautiful shining Jesus*

*I also see the work of my hands*

*As useless.*

*My dear Jesus, you yourself secure me!*

*From being a proud person;*

*With your cross cause me to remember*

*That I should overcome sin even more.*

*Just look at his tender chest,*

*His feet and his hands,*

*Still wounded by the spear and the nail*

*His blood is bubbling up.*

*Just look at his compassion*

*Running from his wound;*

*Where else here*

*Can I find that love?*

*If I possessed all the world*

*To give it to Jesus,*

*That would also be waste*

*That is why I only give my soul.*

<sup>19</sup> Valderrama 2003, p.216. Should be *pay tukuq* from *pay tukuy* ‘to put on airs’.

**Siluykita saqiykamuspaykim**  
Heaven-your-DO leave-refl.-gerund-you-def.

**Hamurqanki kaypi nasiq;**  
Come-you (past) here be born-agent.

**Wasitapas mana tarispaykim,**  
House-DO-also not find-gerund-you-def.

**Pisibripi nasirqanki.**  
Manger-in born-you (past)

**Sunqullayman yaykuykamuy**  
Heart-ID-my-to enter-refl.-you (imp.)

**Hisusníy,**  
Jesus-my

**Quykim tiyakunaykipaq;**  
Give-I to you (pres.)-def. exist-refl.-potent.-you-so that

**Aswan-aswan yaykuykamuy**  
More-more enter-refl.-you (imp.)

**Hisusníy,**  
Jesus-my

**Wiñay kawsakunanchikpaq.**  
Eternally live-refl.-potent.-we-so that

**Huchakunap chaqnaykusqankuna**  
Sin-pl.-poss. handcuffed-emotion-perf.-its-pl.

**Salbaykuqmi hamurqanki;**  
To save-refl.-agent.-def. come-you (past)

**Kuyakusqaykita rikuchkaspam,**  
Love-perf.-your-DO see-cont.-gerund-def.

**Aswan wañuchisurqanki.**  
More still die-cause-aug.-you (past)

**Salbukunam kusikuykusaqku**  
Saved-pl.-def. rejoice-emotion-we (E. fut.)

**Kayman kutimullaptiki,**  
This-to return-here-only-when-you

**Puyu ukumantam, “Hamuy, hamuy**  
Cloud inside-from-def. come-you (imp.)  
come-you (imp.)

**Churilláy”, nimuwankiku.**  
Child (of father)-dear-my say-there-you to us  
(pres.)

*You yourself leaving your heaven*

*You came to be born here;*

*Not finding a house,*

*You were born in a manger.*

*Come in to my heart*

*My Jesus,*

*I give it to you so that you will live there;*

*Come in more and more*

*My Jesus,*

*So that we will live eternally.*

*To those chained by sin*

*You came to save;*

*Even after seeing your great love*

*They killed you.*

*We the saved ones will rejoice*

*When you return here,*

*You will say from inside the cloud,  
“Come, come*

*My dear child”.*

**Kichkamanta kurunata**

Thorn-of crown-DO

**ruraykuspankum,**

Make-emotion-gerund-they-def.

**Hisusniypa umallanman**

Jesus-my-poss. head-ID-his-to

**churaykurqaku;**

put-emotion-they (past)

**Burlakustin pachallanta**

Make fun of-refl.-gerund clothing-ID-his-DO

**llatanaspankum,**

undress-gerund-they-def.

**Huk grosilla pachawanraq**

One coloured clothing-with-first

**churaykurqaku**

put-emotion-they (past)

**Asikunankupaq.**

Laugh-refl.-potent.-they-so that

**Hisuslláy, Hisuslláy,**

Jesus-dear-my Jesus-dear-my

**Riqsikuykikum Rantiqniykupaq;**

Know-we to you (pres.)-def. Purchase-agent.-our (E.)-for

**Salbaqlláy, Salbaqlláy,**

Saviour-dear-my Saviour-dear-my

**Chaskikuykikum Kamaqniykupaq.**

Receive-we to you (pres.)-def. Creator-our (E.)-for

**“Kayqayá, Hudyupi Munaychakuq”,**

Here he is-so Jew-on Stuck up

**nispankum**

say-gerund-they-def.

**Suqsmanta barampaqpas**

Cane-of rod-his-for-also

**hapichirqaku;**

hold-cause-they (past)

**Huknin, huknin ñawpaqnimpi**

One of them one of them presence-his-in

**Qunqurispankum**

Kneel-gerund-they-def.

**Tuqaspanku umallampi kiriykurqaku**

Spit-gerund-they head-ID-his-on wound-refl.-they (past)

**Ñakarichinampaq.**

Suffer-cause-conc.-his-in order to

*Making**A crown of thorns,**They put it on**My Jesus' head;**Making fun of him**Taking off his clothing,**They dressed him**With a coloured vestment**So that they could laugh.**My dear Jesus, my dear Jesus,**We acknowledge you as our Purchaser;**My dear Saviour, my dear Saviour,**We receive you as our Creator.**Saying, “Here he is,**That uppity Jew”,**They made him hold**His rod of cane;**This one, then that one**Before him kneeling**Spitting on his head they wounded him**To make him suffer.*



72 (cont.)

**Yanqa urma-urmataña**

In vain fall-fall-DO-now

**urqullaspankum,**

take out-only-gerund-they-def.

**Simun sutiyaqwan krusta**

Simon name-poss.-with cross-DO

**wikrichirqaku;**

carry-cause-they (past)

**Chayachispan llaq kruspi**

Arrive-cause-gerund-he heavy cross-on

**chakataspankum,**

crucify-gerund-they-def.

**Iskay suwap chawpimpiraq**

Two robbers between-in-first

**churaykurqaku**

place-refl.-they (past)

**Wañuchinankupaq.**

Die-cause-conc.-they-so that

**Binagrita qatqiyuqta**

Vinegar-DO bitter-poss.-DO

**chaqruykuspankum,**

mix together-emotion-gerund-they-def.

**Yakunayawanmi nillaptimpas**

Be thirsty-with-def. say-only-when-he-also

**qurqaku;**

give-they (past)

**Rurasqañam nispa kruspi**

Do-perf.-now-def. say-gerund cross-on

**wañusqanraykum,**

die-perf.-his-because of-def.

**Iñiqkuna salbu kayman yaykuykuniku**

Believe-agent.-pl. saved this-to enter-refl.-we (E. pres.)

**Kawsakunaykupaq.**

Life-pl.-our (E.)-for.

*Now in vain lifting him out*

*Of repeated falls,*

*They made the one named Simon*

*Carry the cross;*

*Arriving by force*

*And crucifying him on the heavy cross,*

*They placed him*

*Between two robbers*

*To kill him.*

*Mixing together*

*Vinegar and gall,*

*When he said I am thirsty*

*They gave it to him;*

*Because of his death*

*On the cross saying surely now it is done*

*Saved believers*

*We ourselves enter here in order to live.*

**Sinaykipim kachkaniku**

Meal-your-in-def. be-cont.-we (E.)

**Huk sunqulla Kamaqláy;**

One heart-only Creator-dear-my

**Rantiykupi wañusqayki**

Place-our (E.)-in die-perf.-you

**Yuyariykuq Salbaqláy;**

Remember-emotion-agent. Saviour-dear-my

**Llapaykum, llapaykum**

All-us (E.)-def. all-us (E.)-def.

**Chakikipi Hisuslláy.**

Foot-your-in Jesus-dear-my

*We are at your meal*

*Of one heart my dear Lord;*

*To remember that you have died*

*In our place my dear Saviour;*

*All of us, all of us*

*At your feet my dear Jesus.*

**Tantawanmi yuyaykiku**

Bread-with-def. remember-we to you (pres.)

**Binupipas Kamaqláy;**

Wine-in-also Creator-dear-my

**Wirpullayki yawarnintin**

Body-ID-your blood-its-I.

**Qusqaykita Mayllaqláy.**

Give-perf.-you-DO Wash-agent.-dear-my

**Ñuqaykum ñuqaykum**

We (E.)-def. we (E.)-def.

**Yuyaniku Kuyaqláy.**

Remember-we (E. pres.) Love-agent.-dear-my

*With the bread we surely remember you*

*In the wine also my dear Creator;*

*Your body and your blood*

*That you have given my dear Washer.*

*Surely we, surely we*

*We remember my dear Beloved.*

**Kruspi wañusqaykiraykum**

Cross-on die-narr.-you-because-def.

**Kawsaniku Salbaqláy;**

Live-we (E.) Saviour-dear-my

**Yawarnikiraykutaqmi**

Blood-your-because of-conn.-def.

**Riqsiykiku Kamaqláy;**

Know-we to you (pres.) Creator-dear-my

**Quyikikum, quyikikum**

Give-we to you (pres.)-def. give-we to you (pres.)-def.

**Sunquykuta Hisuslláy.**

Heart-our (E.)-DO Jesus-dear-my

*Because you have died on the cross*

*We live my dear Saviour;*

*And surely because of your blood*

*We know you my dear Creator;*

*We give you, we give you*

*Our heart my dear Jesus.*

<sup>20</sup> 18<sup>th</sup> and most recent editions = *allichakuykuyllaykita*.

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>73 (cont.)</b></p> <p><b>Qamllamantam llapallayku</b> You-only-from-def. all-ID-our</p> <p><b>Mañaykiku Kamaqlláy,</b> Ask-we to you (pres.) Creator-dear-my</p> <p><b>Allirimaychaynikita<sup>20</sup></b> Arrangement-your-DO</p> <p><b>Almaykupaq Pusaqlláy;</b> Soul-our (E.)-for Guide-agent.-dear-my</p> <p><b>Quwayku, quwayku</b> Give-you to us (E. imp.) give-you to us (E. imp.)</p> <p><b>Llimpariqta Hisuslláy.</b> Overflow-begin-agent.-DO Jesus-dear-my</p>	<p><i>Surely from you only all of us</i></p> <p><i>Ask you my dear Creator,</i></p> <p><i>Your arrangement</i></p> <p><i>For our soul my dear Guide;</i></p> <p><i>Give us, give us</i></p> <p><i>To overflowing my dear Jesus.</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>74</b></p> <p><b>Kuyakuywanmi huñuykuwanchik</b> Love-with-def. gather-he to us (pres. I.)</p> <p><b>Salbaqninchik sinanman,</b> Saviour-our (I.) meal-his-to</p> <p><b>Kawsay tantanta yawarnintawan</b> Life bread-his-DO blood-his-DO-with</p> <p><b>Quspam yuyachiwanchik.</b> Give-gerund-def. remember-cause-he to us (pres. I.)</p> <p><b>Rantillanchikpim Hisus wañurqa</b> Place-ID-our (I.)-in-def. Jesus die-he (past)</p> <p><b>Wiñay kawsananchikpaq,</b> Eternal live-conc.-our (I.)-for</p> <p><b>Yawarnintapas chaqchuykullarqa</b> Blood-his-DO-also sprinkle-emotion-only-he (past)</p> <p><b>Yuyariykullasunchik.</b> Remember-emotion-ID-we (I. fut.)</p> <p><b>Ancha kuyakuq simillanwanmi</b> Very loving word-only-his-with-def.</p> <p><b>Kayman qayamuwanchik</b> This-to call-here-he to us (I. pres.)</p> <p><b>Sunqunchiktapas mayllaspantaqmi</b> Heart-our (I.)-DO-also wash-gerund-he-conn.-def.</p> <p><b>Asuykachimuwanchik.</b> Approach-cause-here-he to us (I. pres.)</p>	<p><i>Surely he gathers us with love</i></p> <p><i>- Our Saviour - to his meal,</i></p> <p><i>Giving us his bread of life with his blood</i></p> <p><i>He causes us to remember.</i></p> <p><i>Jesus died in our place</i></p> <p><i>For our eternal life,</i></p> <p><i>He alone also shed his blood</i></p> <p><i>We will remember him.</i></p> <p><i>With his very loving word alone</i></p> <p><i>He calls us here</i></p> <p><i>And also washing our heart</i></p> <p><i>He causes us to approach.</i></p>

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>74 (cont.)</b></p> <p><b>Wiñay wañuyman richkaptinchikmi</b> Eternal death-to go-cont.-when-we (I.)-def.</p> <p><b>Hisus salbawarqanchik,</b> Jesus save-he to us (I. past)</p> <p><b>Paypa qayllanman hamuspataqmi</b> Him-poss. presence-his-to come-gerund-conn.-def.</p> <p><b>Kunan adurachkanchik.</b> Now worship-cont.-we (I.)</p>	<p><i>When we were going to eternal death</i></p> <p><i>Jesus saved us,</i></p> <p><i>And surely to his presence coming</i></p> <p><i>We are worshipping him now.</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>75</b></p> <p><b>Churillayki kaspam hamuniku</b> Child (of father)-ID-your be-gerund-def. come-we (E. pres.)</p> <p><b>Sinaykiman Hisuslláy,</b> Meal-your-to Jesus-dear-my</p> <p><b>Salbasqayki kaspam yuyaykiku</b> Save-perf.-your be-gerund-def. remember-we to you (E.)</p> <p><b>Kaypachapi Kamaqlláy.</b> This world-in Creator-dear-my</p> <p><b>Qanmi rantiykupi wañurqanki</b> You-def. place-our (E.)-in die-you (past)</p> <p><b>Ñakaristin Salbaqlláy,</b> Suffer-gerund Saviour-dear-my</p> <p><b>Yawarnillaykitam chaqchurqanki</b> Blood-your-ID-DO-def. sprinkle-you (past)</p> <p><b>Ñuqaykupaq Hisuslláy.</b> Us (E.)-for Jesus-dear-my</p> <p><b>Tantaykipim kunan yuyaniku</b> Bread-your-in-def. now remember-we (E. pres.)</p> <p><b>Wirpuykita Kamaqlláy,</b> Body-your-DO Creator-dear-my</p> <p><b>Yawarnikitawan llapallayku</b> Blood-your-DO-with all-ID-us (E.)</p> <p><b>Binupipas Salbaqlláy.</b> Wine-in-also Saviour-dear-my</p> <p><b>Sumaq Chuya Ispirituykiwan</b> Beautiful Holy Spirit-your-with</p> <p><b>Quykuwayku Hisuslláy,</b> Give-emotion.-you to us (imp.) Jesus-dear-my</p> <p><b>Allin kallpanchayta sunquykuman</b> Good strength-DO heart-our (E.)-to</p> <p><b>Almaykupaq Kamaqlláy.</b> Soul-our (E.)-for Creator-dear-my</p>	<p><i>Being your children we come</i></p> <p><i>To your meal my dear Jesus,</i></p> <p><i>Being your saved we remember you</i></p> <p><i>In this world my dear Creator.</i></p> <p><i>You died in our place</i></p> <p><i>Suffering my dear Saviour,</i></p> <p><i>You shed your blood</i></p> <p><i>For us my dear Jesus.</i></p> <p><i>Now we remember in your bread</i></p> <p><i>And your body my dear Creator,</i></p> <p><i>Also your blood in the wine</i></p> <p><i>All of us, my dear Saviour.</i></p> <p><i>With your precious Holy Spirit</i></p> <p><i>Give to us my dear Jesus,</i></p> <p><i>Good strength to our heart</i></p> <p><i>For our soul my dear Creator.</i></p>

**Huchallapi kawsaspaymi,**

Sin-only-in live-gerund-def.

**Mana yachaq karqani;**

Not know-agent. be-I (past)

**Ñawsakunap pusasqanmi,**

Blind-pl.-poss. guide-perf.-his-def.

**Imbirnuman risqani.**

Hell-to go-narr.-I

**Wañuymantam salbakullawan,**

Death-from-def. save-emotion-only-he to me (pres.)

**Silumanñam pusawan,**

Heaven-to-now-def. guide-he to me (pres.)

**Imbirnuman rinallaymantam**

Hell-to go-potent.-ID-my-from-def.

**Hisusnillay urquwan.**

Jesus-my-dear rescue-he to me (pres.)

**Yakup pampawasqanwanmi,**

Water-poss. bury-perf.-its-with-def.

**Llapallanman willani**

Everyone-ID-to tell-I (pres.)

**Hisusniyman ñisqayta,**

Jesus-my-towards believe-perf.-my-DO

**Paylla salbawasqanta.**

He-only save-he to me (narr.)-DO

**Huchayrayku wañuspaymi,**

Sin-my-because of die-gerund-def.

**Kawsarqani Hisuswan;**

Live-I (past) Jesus-with

**Samaytaña tarispaymi**

Rest-DO-now find-gerund-def.

**Kawsachkani Payllawan.**

Live-cont.-I (pres.) Him-only-with

**Yawarllanmi salballawan,**

Blood-only-his-def. save-only-it to me (pres.)

**Qipallantam qatisaq,**

Behind-only-his-DO-def. follow-I (fut.)

**Ispirituntañam quwan**

Spirit-his-DO-now-def. give-he to me (pres.)

**Chuyayachiwanampaq.**

Clean-cause-he to me-in order to

*Living only in sin,*

*I was unwise;*

*Guided by the blind,*

*I had gone to hell.*

*He alone saves me from death,*

*Now to heaven he surely guides me,*

*From going to hell*

*My Jesus rescues me.*

*With the burial of water*

*I tell everyone*

*About my belief in my Jesus,*

*He alone has saved me.*

*Dying because of my sin,*

*I lived with Jesus*

*Finally finding rest*

*I am living with Him alone.*

*Only his blood saves me,*

*I will surely follow only him*

*Now he gives me his Spirit*

*To make me clean.*

**Kamaq Hisus chaskiykuwayku**

Creator Jesus receive-emotion-you to us (E. imp.)

**Mañakamusqaykuta,**

Ask-refl.-perf.-our (E.)-DO

**Qayllaykipi huñuykanakuq**

Presence-your-in gather-reciprocal-agent.

**Kuyay wawqillaykupaq.**

Love brother-ID-our (E.)-for

**Qampa allirimaychayniki**

You-poss. arrangement-your

**Paykunapi kallachun,**

Them-in be-always-let him (ind. imp.)

**Atiyuniyuq ispirituyki**

Victoria-poss. spirit-your

**Sunqunkupi takyachun.**

Heart-their-in be constant-let him (ind. imp.)

**Sapa punchaw kawsakuynimpi**

Each day life-refl.-his-in

**Qanwampuni kallachun,**

You-with-no doubt be-always-let him (ind. imp.)

**Siluykiman qayakuptiki**

Heaven-your-to call-refl.-when-you

**Hamunallankukama.**

Come-conc.-ID-their-until

*Receive us Lord Jesus*

*What we ask of you,*

*Those gathering in your presence*

*For our beloved brother.*

*Let your arrangement*

*Always be in them,*

*Let your powerful spirit*

*Be established in their hearts.*

*Each day of his life*

*Let him always be with you,*

*Until their arrival*

*When you call them to your heaven.*

**Yusman grasyas kachun,**

God-to thanks be-let it (ind. imp.)

**Hisuspa sumaq sutimpi,**

Jesus-poss. beautiful name-his-in

**Wawqillanchikkuna**

Brother-dear-our (I.)-pl.

**Kuskanku sunqunkumanta**

Union-their heart-their-from

**Kuyaykanakuspan**

Love-reciprocal-gerund

**Huñukusqanmanta.**

Gather-refl.-perf.-his-from

*God be thanked,*

*In Jesus' beautiful name,*

*For having brought them together,*

*Our dear brothers*

*Are loving each other*

*From hearts joined together.*

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>78 (cont.)</b></p> <p><b>Yusña kunan kachun,</b> God-so now be-let him (ind. imp.)</p> <p><b>Kawsachkaq Ispiritunwan,</b> Live-cont.-agent. Spirit-his-with</p> <p><b>Allirimaychaspá</b> Order-gerund</p> <p><b>Kuyasqan churinkunapi,</b> Love-perf.-his child (of father)-his-pl.-in</p> <p><b>Kuyanakuyllapi</b> Love-reciprocal-ID-in</p> <p><b>Kawsakunankupaq.</b> Live-potent.-they-so that</p> <p><b>Yuslla yuyachichun</b> God-alone remember-cause-let him (ind. imp.)</p> <p><b>Llakiypi kusikuypipas,</b> Sorrow-in joy-in-also</p> <p><b>Yumpaq muchuypipas</b> Great need-in-also</p> <p><b>Hisusman asuykuspanku,</b> Jesus-to approach-gerund-they</p> <p><b>Sumaq Yusllanchikta</b> Beautiful God-ID-our (I.)-DO</p> <p><b>Sirbikunankupaq.</b> Serve-potent.-they-so that</p>	<p><i>Now let God be,</i></p> <p><i>Ordering</i></p> <p><i>With his living spirit,</i></p> <p><i>In his beloved children,</i></p> <p><i>So that they can live</i></p> <p><i>In reciprocal love.</i></p> <p><i>May God alone be remembered</i></p> <p><i>In sorrow and in joy,</i></p> <p><i>Also in great need</i></p> <p><i>Drawing near to Jesus,</i></p> <p><i>So that they can serve</i></p> <p><i>Our precious God.</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>79</b></p> <p><b>Huktawanmi kaypachapi</b> One more time-def. this-world-in</p> <p><b>Rikuykanakunchik;</b> See-reciprocal-we (I. pres.)</p> <p><b>Kunan abrasaykukunchik</b> Now embrace-emotion-refl.-we (I.)</p> <p><b>Huklla huñuykusqa;</b> One-only gather together-perf.</p> <p><b>Sunqunchikpas ruparisqa</b> Heart-our (I.)-also burn-begin-perf.</p> <p><b>Kusikuyllawanña.</b> Happiness-immense-with-now</p>	<p><i>Once again in this world</i></p> <p><i>We see each other;</i></p> <p><i>Now we embrace each other</i></p> <p><i>Gathered together as one;</i></p> <p><i>Also our heart burning</i></p> <p><i>Now with immense happiness.</i></p>

79 (cont.)

**Qamllamanña Yusnilláy,**

You-only-to-now God-my-dear

**Grasyasllayku kachun;**

Thanks-only-our (E.) be-let it (ind. imp.)

**Qamllamantaq Hisuslláy,**

You-only-to-conn. Jesus-dear-my

**Yupaychaynillayku.**

Worship-our (E.)-only

**Yusmi kutichimusunki**

God-def. return-cause-here-he to you (fut.)

**Kayman allinllata,**

This-to well-ID-DO

**Paymi pusakamusunki**

He-def. lead-refl.-he to you (fut.)

**Mana allinmanta,**

Not good-from

**Sapa punchaw waqaychaspá**

Each day keep-gerund

**Kusi-kusiyllata.**

Happy-happy-ID-DO

**Kaynallata kawsakusun**

This-conc.-ID-DO live-refl.-we (I. fut.)

**Chuya kuyakuywan,**

Holy love-with

**Yusllanchikta sirbikusun**

God-only-our (I.)-DO serve-we (I. fut.)

**Tukuy sunqunchikwan,**

All heart-our (I.)-with

**Hisus qayakuwaptinchik**

Jesus call-refl.-when-he to us (I.)

**Ripunanchikkama.**

Leave-conc.-our (I.)-until

*Now to you alone my dear God*

*Let our thanks be given;*

*And our worship to you alone*

*My dear Jesus.*

*God will surely bring you back here*

*With no problem,*

*He himself will surely lead you*

*Away from harm,*

*Each day keeping you*

*Very happy.*

*Let's live only in this way*

*With holy love,*

*Let's serve our God alone*

*With all our heart,*

*When Jesus himself calls us*

*Until our departure.*

80

**Yusllanchik qanwampuni kachun,**

God-alone-our (I) you-with-no doubt be-let him (ind. imp.)

**Simimpas sunqullaykipaq,**

Word-his-also heart-ID-your-for

**Ñannimpi purinaykipaq;**

Way-his-in walk-potent.-you-so that

**Yusllanchik qanwan kachun.**

God-alone-our (I.) you-with be-let him (ind. imp.)

*May our God alone be always with you,*

*Also his word for your heart,*

*So that you walk in his way;*

*May our God alone be with you.*



80 (cont.)

**Huk sunqullam rikunakusun**  
One heart-alone-def.see-reciprocal-we (I. fut.)  
**Salbakuqllanchikpa chakimpi,**  
Saviour-ID-our (I.)-poss. foot-his-in  
**Wiñaypaqmi sumaq huñuypi**  
Always-for-def. beautiful gathering-in  
**Llapallanchik kamusun.**  
All-ID-we (I.) be-there-we (I. fut.)

**Yusllanchik qanwampuni kachun,**  
God-only-our (I.) you-with-no doubt be-let him  
(ind. imp.)  
**Allimpaq yachachiynimpas,**  
Good-for instruction-his-also  
**Wiñaypaq kuyakuynimpas,**  
Always-for love-his-also  
**Yusllanchik qanwan kachun.**  
God-only-our (I.) you-with be-let him (ind. imp.)

**Yusllanchik qanwampuni kachun,**  
God-only-our (I.) you-with-no doubt be-let him  
(ind. imp.)  
**Urqupi qasapiñapas,**  
Mountain-in frost-in-now-also  
**Maypiña kallaptikipas**  
Wherever be-ID-when-you-also  
**Yusllanchik qanwan kachun.**  
God-only-our (I.) you-with be-let him (ind. imp.)

*We will see each other as one in heart*

*At the feet of our Saviour,*

*We will all remain*

*In that precious gathering forever.*

*Our God alone be always with you,*

*And his teaching for good,*

*His love forever also,*

*Our God alone be with you.*

*Our God alone be always with you,*

*On the mountain and in the freezing  
wind also,*

*Wherever you are*

*Our God alone be with you.*

81

**(1) Wawqillanchikmi ripukuchkan**  
Brother (of man)-dear-our (I.)-def. go-cont.-he  
**Taytallanchikwan kawsaq;**  
Father-dear-our (I.)-with live-agent.  
**Kunallampunim yatkuykuchkan**  
Now-ID-no doubt-def. enter-refl.-cont.-he  
**Yuspa wasimpi tiyaq.**  
God-poss. house-his-in reside-agent.

**(1) Warmi kaptinqa "Panillanchikmi" ninki.**  
Woman be-when-it (fut.) "Sister (of man)-  
dear-our (I.)-def." say-you (pres.)

*Our dear brother is going*

*To live with our dear Father;*

*Right now he is entering*

*To live in God's house.*

*If it is a woman you say "Surely our  
dear sister"*

81 (cont.)

**Kay-pachataña saqirispam,**

This-world-DO-now leave-begin-gerund-def.

**Hisusllapaman ripun;**

Jesus-dear-the house of-to go off-he (pres.)

**Kuyaqnintapas saqiykuspam,**

Love-agent.-his-DO-also leave-emotion-gerund-he

**Payqa chinkariykapun.**

He-topic disappear-again-he (pres.)

**Ñuqallanchikpas qatisunmi**

We (I.)-ID-also follow-we (I. fut.)-def.

**Yusña “Hamuway” niptin,**

God-now come-you to me (imp.) says-when-he

**Salbu kaspaga kawsasunmi**

Saved be-gerund-topic live-we (I. fut.)-def.

**Wirpu wañuykullaptin.**

Body die-emotion-ID-when-it

**Hisusnillanchik hamuptinmi,**

Jesus-our (I.)-dear come-when-he-def.

**Kuska kutipamusun;**

Together edge the second time-here-we (I. fut.)

**Chuyakunaqa kayllamanmi**

Holy-pl.-topic here-only-to-def.

**Munaychakuq hamusun.**

Power-make-refl.-agent. come-we (I. fut.)

*Now leaving this world,*

*He goes off to Jesus' place;*

*Also leaving the one who loves him,*

*He disappears.*

*We will also surely follow*

*When God says “Come to me!”*

*Being saved we will surely live*

*When the body dies.*

*When our Jesus comes,*

*We will return together;*

*We the holy ones alone*

*Will come here to reign.*

82

**Hisuspunim kuyawan,**

Jesus-no doubt-def. love-he to me (pres.)

**Siminmi nillawan;**

Word-his-def. tell-only-he to me (pres.)

**Wawakuna hakuchik**

Child (of mother)-pl. let us (I.) all go

**Hisusman llapanchik.**

Jesus-to all-us (I.)

**Paymi kuyawan,**

He-def. love-he to me (pres.)

**Paymi pusawan,**

He-def. guide-he to me (pres.)

**Paymi uywawan,**

He-def. care for-he to me (pres.)

**Paytaqmi salbawan.**

He-conn.-def. save-he to me (pres.)

*Jesus himself loves me,*

*With his mouth he tells me;*

*“Children, let's all go*

*To Jesus!”*

*He loves me,*

*He guides me,*

*He cares for me,*

*And he saves me.*

82 (cont.)

**Kristupunim rantiypi**

Christ-no doubt-def. place-my-in

**Ñuqapaq wañurqa;**

Me-for die-he (past)

**Huchaytapas aparqa**

Sin-my-DO-also carry-he (past)

**Ñakariy krusnimpi.**

Suffering cross-his-in

*In my place Christ himself*

*Died for me;*

*He also carried my sin*

*Suffering on his cross.*

**Kristupunim hamunqa**

Christ-no doubt-def. come-he (fut.)

**Ñuqallay pusaqniy;**

My-dear guide-agent.-my

**Kaypachata saqispam**

This-world-DO leave-gerund-def.

**Almallay ripunqa.**

Soul-ID-my go away-it (fut.)

*Christ himself will come*

*My dear guide;*

*Leaving this world*

*My soul will go away.*

**Kuyampunim Hisusqa**

Love-he (pres.)-no doubt-def. Jesus-topic

**Llapallan wawata;**

All-dear-his child (of mother)-DO

**Munampunim salbayta,**

Desire-he (pres.)-no doubt-def. to save-topic

**Utqayman hamuychik.**

Soon come-you (pl.imp.)

*Jesus himself loves*

*All his dear children;*

*He himself desires to save,*

*Come soon!*

83

**Hisusmi uraykamurqa**

Jesus-def. come down (from highest)-he (past)

**Kay rurasqan pachaman,**

This make-narr.-he world-to

**Kuyasqan wawakunatam**

Love-perf.-his child (of mother)-pl.-DO-def.

**Yawarninwan rantirqa.**

Blood-his-with buy-he (past)

*Jesus came down*

*To this world he had created,*

*He bought his beloved children*

*With his blood.*

83 (cont.)

**Salbakusqan wawakunaqa**

Save-perf.-his child (of mother)-pl.-topic

**Rantiqnimpa chakimpim,**

Buy-agent.-his-poss. foot-his-in-def.

**Kuyaqnimpa ñawpaqnillampim,**

Love-agent.-his/her-poss. presence-his-dear-in-def.

**Lliw kusikullachkan.**

All be happy-refl.-only-cont.-s/he

*His saved children*

*At the foot of him who bought them,*

*In the presence of their beloved,*

*Are all being happy.*

**Anchata ñakariykuspan**

Much-DO suffer-emotion-gerund-def.

**Hisusninchik wañurqa,**

Jesus-our (I.) die-he (past)

**Yumpaqa kuyakullaspan**

Completely-DO love-emotion-ID-gerund-def.

**Llapallanta rantirqa.**

All-ID-DO buy-he (past)

*Suffering much*

*Our Jesus died,*

*Loving greatly*

*He bought us all.*

**Apupas wakchakunapas**

Rich-also poor/orphan-pl.-also

**Asuykuqnin wawaqa,**

Approach-agent.-his child (of mother)-topic

**Hisuspa sumaq qayllampim**

Jesus-poss. beautiful presence-his-in-def.

**Alabastin takichkan.**

Praise-gerund sing-cont.-s/he

*The rich and the poor*

*The child that approaches,*

*In Jesus' beautiful presence*

*Is singing and praising.*

**Hamuychik llapallaykichik,**

Come-you (pl.imp.) all-ID-your (pl.)

**Iñiykuqnin salbaqman,**

Believe-emotion-agent.-his saviour-to

**Hisusllam kuyasunkichik,**

Jesus-only-def. love-he to you (fut.)

**Qullasunkim kawsayta.**

Give-he to you (fut.)-def. life-DO

*Come one and all,*

*His believers to the Saviour,*

*Only Jesus will love you,*

*He will surely give you life.*

**Ancha kuyaq sunqullaykuwanmi**  
 Much love-agent. heart-ID-our (E.)-with-def.  
**Qumuykiku Yusnillayku,**  
 Give-here-we to you (pres.) God-dear-our (E.)  
**Kunan grasyasnillaykuta Qanman**  
 Today thanks-ID-our-DO You-to  
**Suma-sumaq kuyakuywan,**  
 Beautiful-beautiful love-with  
**Tuta punchaw uywakuwaqniyku**  
 Night day care-agent.-he to us (E. pres.)  
**Kuyay mamallaykumanta.**  
 To love mother-ID-our (E.)-from

**Yumpaq atiyniyuq Yusnillayku,**  
 Greatest victory-in possession of God-only-our  
**Aswan aswan kuyakuyta**  
 More still more still love-DO  
**Sunquykuman churaykullawayku,**  
 Heart-our-to put-emotion-only-you to us (E. imp.)  
**Tukuy kaqpi mamaykuta,**  
 All again-in mother-our (E.)-DO  
**Kamachikuynimpi kasuspayku**  
 Law-his-in obey-gerund-we (E.)  
**Kaypi yupaychanaykupaq.**  
 Here worship-conc.-our-for

**Sapan churikipa yawarninwan,**  
 Only child (of father)-your-poss. blood-his-with  
**Tukuy kuyakuynikiwan,**  
 All love-your-with  
**Mamallayku salbasqaykiraykum,**  
 Mother-dear-our save-perf.-your-because-def.  
**Kunan mañakamuykiku,**  
 Now ask-refl.-we (E.) to you (pres.)  
**Sumaq allirimaychaynikita**  
 Beautiful ordering-your-DO  
**Kuyasqayku mamaykupaq.**  
 Love-perf.-our (E.) mother-our (E.)-for

*Our dear God we give*

*Our thanks to you today,*

*With our heart that greatly loves*

*The one who cares for us*

*Lovingly night and day*

*More than our beloved mother.*

*Our most powerful God,*

*Put in our hearts*

*Much more love*

*Just like in our mother,*

*To worship here*

*Obeying his law.*

*With your only child's blood,*

*With all your love,*

*Because you have saved our dear mother,*

*We ask you now*

*Only for your precious ordering*

*For our beloved mother.*

**Hisuspa chakimpa muyuriqnimpim**

Jesus-poss. foot-his-poss. encircle-agent.-his-in-def.

**Kallachkan wawakunaqa,**

Be-ID-cont. child (of mother)-pl.-topic

**Llapallan kuyaywan salbakusqanqa**

All-ID love-with save-perf.-s/he (fut.)

**Hisusman takiykuspanku.**

Jesus-to sing-emotion-gerund-they

**Aduraykim**

Praise-I to you (pres.)-def. God-dear-my,

**Yupaychaykim Hisusnilláy**

Worship-I to you (pres.)-def. Jesus-dear-my

**Huk similla niykuspankum**

One word-only say-emotion-gerund-they-def.

**Llapan takiykuchkanku.**

All sing-emotion-cont.-they

**Hisusmi chaqchurqa yawarnillanta**

Jesus-def. sprinkle-he (past) blood-his-dear-DO

**Llapallan wawakunapaq,**

All-dear-his child (of mother)-pl.-for

**Huchayuq sunqumpas**

Sinner-poss. heart-his-also

**Mayllaykusqañam**

Wash-emotion-narr.-now-def.

**Wiñaypaq kusikuchkanku**

Always-for happy-refl.-cont.-they

**Pachampas uyampas kancharichkaqmi**

Clothing-his-also face-his-also shine-cont.-agent.-def.

**Kusisqa kawsakuchkanku,**

Happy-perf. live-refl.-cont.-they

**Manaña tutata rikuykuspanmi**

Not-now night-DO see-emotion-gerund-def.

**Hisuspaq takipuchkanku.**

Jesus-for sing-benefit-cont.-they

*Encircling the feet of Jesus*

*Being children,*

*All the saved*

*Are singing to Jesus with love.*

*I praise you my dear God,*

*I worship you my dear Jesus*

*Saying with one voice*

*They are all singing.*

*Jesus shed his precious blood*

*For all his dear children,*

*Also his sinner's heart*

*Has now been washed*

*They are happy for ever.*

*His clothing and his face are both shining*

*They themselves are living happily,*

*No longer seeing the darkness*

*They are singing for Jesus.*

**Salbaqllanchik kutimuspanmi**

Saviour-dear-our (I.) return-gerund-def.

**Kay hinata tarimuwasun,**

This like-DO find-here-he to us (fut.)

**Wakinchiktam llamkachkaqta,**

Some-us (I.)-DO-def. work-cont.-agent.-DO

**Wakintataq puñuchkaqta;**

Some-DO-conn. sleep-cont.-agent.-DO

**Hinaptinmi qunqayllamanta**

Then-def. suddenly

**Churillanta uqariwasun.**

Child (of father)-dear-his-DO lift- he to us (fut.)

*Returning, our dear Saviour**Will find us like this,**Some of us working,**And others sleeping;**Then suddenly**He will lift his dear children.***Yusninchikpa simillantataq**

God-our-poss. word-only-his-DO-conn.

**Uyarispam angilmikuna**

Hear-gerund-def. angel-his-pl.

**Kaylawmanta waklawmanta**

This-from that-from

**Hanaymanta uraymanta**

Above-from below-from

**Llapachallan runakunata**

All-dim.-ID-his person-pl.-DO

**Kuyakuywan huñuykuwasun.**

Love-with gather-emotion-he to us (fut.)

*But the angels hearing**Our God's word**From this side and from that side**From above and from below**He will gather all his people**Together with love.***Hinaptinmi wawqinchikkuna**

Then-def. brother-our (I.)-pl.

**Wañuqmanta kawsarimunqa,**

Die-agent.-from rise from death-here -he (fut.)

**Utqaymantaq ñuqanchikpas**

Quickly-conn. we-also

**Kay pachapi kawsaqkuna**

This world-in live-agent.-pl.

**Kuskallaña uqariykusqa,**

Together-ID-now lift-perf.

**Rillasunchik puyu ukuman.**

Go-only-we (I. fut.) cloud interior-to

*Then our brothers**Will rise from the dead**And those of us that live in this world**Will also quickly**Be lifted together with them**To go into the clouds.*

86 (cont.)

**Chayananchik silu kaqpiqa**  
Arrive-conc.-our (I.) heaven the same-in-topic  
**Ñakariypas tukullanqañam,**  
Suffering-also finish-only-it (fut.)-now-def.  
**Tutayaypas lliwñam chinkan,**  
Darkness-also all-now-def. disappears-it (pres.)  
**Hisusllañam lliwta kanchan,**  
Jesus-only-now-def. all-DO lighten-he (pres.)  
**Yusllanchiktam rikuykullasun,**  
God-dear-our (I.)-DO-def. see-emotion-only-we  
(fut.)  
**Payllatañam yupaychallasun.**  
He-only-DO-now-def. worship-only-we (I. fut.)

**Kaykunata suyachkaspaqa,**  
This-pl.-DO await-cont.-gerund-topic  
**Chuya sunqu kawsakullasun,**  
Clean heart live-refl.-only-we (I. fut.)  
**Supaymanta kuydakustin,**  
Devil-of take care of-gerund  
**Tutatapas punchawchastin,**  
Night-DO-also day-make-gerund  
**Taytanchikta sirbillaspataq,**  
Father-our (I.)-DO serve-only-gerund-conn.  
**Primyullanchik chaskinanchikpaq.**  
Prize-ID-our (I.) receive-potent.-we-so that

*In that same heaven where we must  
arrive*

*Suffering will surely be finished,*

*All darkness also disappears,*

*Only Jesus lightens everything,*

*We will see our dear God,*

*We will worship him alone.*

*If we are awaiting these things,*

*Let's live with a clean heart,*

*Watching out for the Devil,*

*Making the nights like the day,*

*And serving our Father alone,*

*So that we receive our prize.*

87

**Kuyakuwaqniy Hisuslláy,**  
Love-agent.-my Jesus-dear-my  
**Imam kaqmi hamullani**  
What-def. be-agent.-def. come-only-I (pres.)  
**Qamllapaña lliw kanaypaq,**  
You-only-for-now all be-conc.-my-for  
**Chakikipim kumuykuni,**  
Foot-your-in-def. bow-emotion-I (pres.)  
**Kawsayllaypas quykunaypaq,**  
Life-ID-my-also give-emotion-conc.-my-for  
**Asuykamunim Kamaqlláy.**  
Approach-I (pres.)-def. Creator-dear-my

*Jesus my dear lover,*

*I come to you just as I am,*

*To be only all yours,*

*I bow at your feet,*

*To give you my life,*

*I approach my dear Creator.*



87 (cont.)

**Hukpaqkamañam Salbaqlláy,**

One-for-dist.-now-def. Saviour-dear-my

**Qayllaykiman hamullani**

Presence-your-to come-only-I (pres.)

**Quwasqayki quykunaypaq;**

Give-you to me (narr.) give-refl.-potent.-I-in order to

**Sunquytapas churamunim**

Heart-my-DO-also put-here-I (pres.)-def.

**Makillayki hapinampaq,**

Hand-only-your take-potent.-it-so that

**Wañunaymanta Urquqlláy.**

Death-conc.-from Release-agent.-dear-my

**Tuta punchawpas Kanchaqqlláy,**

Night day-also Illuminate-agent.-dear-my

**Kaykunatam munallani,**

This-plural-DO-def. love-ID-I (pres.)

**Kanchayllaykipiña kayta,**

Light-only-your-in-now to be-DO

**Tuta punchaw llamkapuyta,**

Night day to work-benefit-DO

**Kallpaypiraq sirbikuyta.**

Strength-my-in-still to serve-refl.-DO

**Huchallaykuna Mayllaqqlláy.**

Sin-ID-my-plural Wash-agent.-dear-my

**Ñuqam munani Kuyaqqlláy,**

I-def. desire-I (pres.) Love-agent.-dear-my

**Tukuy chiqap kaqraykulla**

All truth being-because-only

**Kay pachapi kallpay quyta,**

This world-in strength-my to give-DO

**Sutillayki altusuman**

Name-only-your high-aug.-to

**Uqarisqa kanampaqtaq,**

Raise-narr. be-potent.-it-so that-conn.

**Kawsayniytapas Kamaqqlláy.**

Life-my-DO-also Creator-dear-my

*Once and for all my dear Saviour,*

*I come to your presence*

*To give you what you have given me;*

*I place my heart*

*So that your hand can take it,*

*My dear Releaser from death.*

*Be it day or night my dear Illuminator,*

*This is what I love,*

*To be only in your light,*

*Night and day to work on behalf of others,*

*To still serve you in my strength.*

*My dear Washer of my sins.*

*I desire my Beloved,*

*Because he is all the truth,*

*To give me strength in this world,*

*So that your name alone*

*Is raised to the highest*

*And also my life my dear Creator.*

87 (cont.)

**Qamraykutaqmi Hisuslláy,**

You-for-conn.-def. Jesus-dear-my

**Munallani suma-sumaq**

Desire-only-I (pres.) beautiful-beautiful

**Primyullayki chaskiykuyta,**

Prize-ID-your to receive-emotion-DO

**Kusikuywan chaskipaytaq**

Happiness-emotion-with receive-gerund-I-conn.

**Qampa chakillaykimanña**

You-poss. foot-ID-your-to-now

**Churaykunaypaq Salbaqlláy.**

Put-emotion-potent.-I-in order to Saviour-dear-my

*And for you too, my dear Jesus,*

*I want to receive*

*Your very precious prize,*

*And with happiness receiving it*

*In order to place it at your feet*

*My dear Saviour.*

88

**Ima sumaqmi Yusman takipuy,**

How beautiful-def. God-to to sing-benefit

**Suma-sumaqmi Paywan kawsakuy;**

Beautiful-beautiful-def. Him-with to live-emotion

**Wañuymantam urquykullawan,**

Death-from-def. release-emotion-only-he to me (pres.)

**Sunqullaytam tikraykapuwan.**

Heart-ID-my-DO-def. turn inside out-again-he to me (pres.)

**Paymi uqarin wakchakunata,**

He-def. lift-he (pres.) poor-pl.-DO

**Tuñichinñataq millay runata;**

Destroy-now-conn. dreadful person-DO

**Takipusaq Taytallaymanqa,**

Sing-benefit-I (fut.) Father-dear-my-to-topic

**Hisusllawan Salbaqllaymanqa.**

Jesus-only-with Save-agent.-ID-he to me (fut.)

*How beautiful it is to sing for God,*

*It is also very beautiful to live with Him;*

*He releases me from death,*

*He turns me inside out.*

*He lifts the poor,*

*And destroys the bad person;*

*I will sing to my dear Father,*

*To the one who will save me only with Jesus.*

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>88 (cont.)</b></p> <p><b>Quyllurkunapas yupasqallanmi,</b> Star-pl.-also count-he (narr. past)-only-def.</p> <p><b>Chaskakunapas riqsisqallanmi,</b> Comet-pl.-also know-he (narr. past)-only-def.</p> <p><b>Yusnillayqa atiyuniyuqmi,</b> God-my-dear-topic power-poss.-def.</p> <p><b>Yachaynimpas wiña-wiñaymi;</b> Wisdom-his-also forever-forever-def.</p> <p><b>Puyullanwanmi pakariyakamun,</b> Cloud-ID-his-with-def. cover-begin-refl.-he (pres.)</p> <p><b>Sumaq parantam chayaykachimun,</b> Beautiful rain-his-DO-def. to arrive-cause-refl.-he (pres.)</p> <p><b>Qachullantam llanllariyakachin,</b> Grass-ID-his-DO-def. to be luxuriant-begin-refl.-cause-he (pres.)</p> <p><b>Kawsayllantam rikuriyakachin.</b> Life-ID-its-DO-def. to appear-refl.-cause-he (pres.)</p> <p><b>Wikuñakunam tarin qachuta,</b> Vicuña-pl.-def. find-it (pres.) grass/fodder-DO</p> <p><b>Urpikunapas sumaq mikuyta,</b> Bird-pl.-also beautiful food-DO</p> <p><b>Kusisqallam puriykullanku,</b> Happy-perf.-only-def. walk-emotion-only-they (pres.)</p> <p><b>Saksaykusqam pawaykachanku.</b> Fill up-perf.-def. prance with joy-they (pres.)</p> <p><b>Yusmi kusikun unanchasqanwan,</b> God-def. rejoice-he (pres.) create-perf.-his-with</p> <p><b>Makillanmanta suyaqkunawan,</b> Hand-only-his-from hope-agent.-pl.-with</p> <p><b>Kuyakunim Taytallaytaqa,</b> Love-I (pres.)-def. Father-dear-my-DO-topic</p> <p><b>Sapa punchaw Uywaqllaytaqa.</b> Each day Nurture-agent.-dear-my-DO-topic</p>	<p><i>He has counted the stars,</i></p> <p><i>And has known the comets,</i></p> <p><i>My God has power,</i></p> <p><i>And his wisdom is forever and ever;</i></p> <p><i>With his cloud he covers himself,</i></p> <p><i>He makes his beautiful rain to come,</i></p> <p><i>He causes his grass to luxuriate,</i></p> <p><i>He alone causes its life to appear.</i></p> <p><i>The vicuñas find pasture,</i></p> <p><i>And the birds good food,</i></p> <p><i>They are always happy,</i></p> <p><i>Filled up they swoop around.</i></p> <p><i>God rejoices with his creation,</i></p> <p><i>With those who hope from his hand alone,</i></p> <p><i>I love my dear Father,</i></p> <p><i>The one who nurtures me daily.</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>89</b></p> <p><b>Kay pachapi tukuy kaqtam</b> This world-in all exist-agent.-DO-def.</p> <p><b>Allin kaqta, sumaq kaqtam,</b> Good thing-DO beautiful thing-DO-def.</p> <p><b>Hatun kaqta, taksa kaqtam,</b> Big thing-DO small thing-DO-def.</p> <p><b>Yachaqniyuqta, atiyuniyuqta,</b> Know-agent.-poss.-DO power-poss.-DO-def.</p> <p><b>Yusnilláy Qam rurallarqanki.</b> God-my-dear You make-only-you (past)</p>	<p><i>All that exists in this world</i></p> <p><i>The good, the beautiful,</i></p> <p><i>The big, the small,</i></p> <p><i>The one who has wisdom, the one who has power,</i></p> <p><i>You alone my dear God made it all.</i></p>

89 (cont.)

**Aduraykim Yusnilláy,**  
Worship-your-def. God-my-dear

**Yupaychaykim Taytalláy,**  
Praise-I to you (pres.)-surely Father-dear-my

**Sunquymantam kuyakuyki,**  
Heart-my-from-def. love-I to you (pres.)

**Hisusniypa sutillampi.**  
Jesus-my-poss. name-only-his-in

**Suma-sumaq urpichatam**  
Beautiful-beautiful dove-dim.-DO-def.

**Rurarqanki raprantinta,**  
Make-you (past) wing-incl.-DO

**Kayman chayman pawarispán,**  
This-to that-to fly-gerund-it

**Miski-miskita takiykullaspan,**  
Sweet-sweet-DO sing-emotion-only-gerund-it

**Kaypi alabasunaykipaq.**  
Here praise-great-conc.-your-for

**Chaynataqmi ruraraqanki**  
Likewise-def. make-you (past)

**Yanay-yanay urqutapas,**  
Dark-dark mountain-DO-also

**Puririchkaq mayutapas,**  
Run-begin-cont.-agent. river-DO-also

**Munasqaykita rurallaspanku,**  
Desire-perf.-your-DO make-only-gerund-they  
(pres.)

**Lliwpa yupaychasunaykipaq.**  
All-also praise-great-conc.-your-for

**Intitapas, chaskatapas,**  
Sun-DO-also star-DO-also

**Wayratapas, qasatapas,**  
Wind-DO-also frost-DO-also

**Chirawtapas, puqyutapas,**  
With sun-DO-also maturity-DO-also

**Llapachallantam rurallarqanki,**  
All-dim.-ID-DO-def. make-only-you (past)

**Yuyarispay aduranaypaq.**  
Remember-gerund worship-conc.-so that

*I worship you my God,*

*I praise you my Father,*

*I love you from my heart,*

*In my Jesus' name.*

*You made the very beautiful dove*

*With its wings,*

*Flying from here to there,*

*Very sweetly singing,*

*In order to praise you here.*

*Likewise you made*

*The very dark mountain also,*

*And the running river,*

*Making just what you want,*

*So that all will praise you.*

*The sun and the star,*

*The wind and the frost,*

*Summer and winter,*

*You alone made them all,*

*So that remembering they worship.*

**Aychallaymi sunqullaywan**

Flesh-only-my-def. heart-only-my-with

**Lliwpi hukllawakuykuspan,**

All-in conform-emotion-gerund-it

**Tuta punchaw huchallawan**

Night day sin-only-with

**Almallayta intuykuchkan.**

Soul-ID-my-DO besiege-emotion.-cont.-it

**¡Imañataq kay aychayri!**

What-now-conn. this flesh-my-supplication

**¡Imañataq kay sunquyri!**

What-now-conn. this heart-my-supplication

**Huchallaman urmay munaq,**

Sin-only-to to fall desire-agent.

**Pruyballaman almay pusaq.**

Trials-only-to soul-my guide-agent.

**Yusnillaymi qillqallanwan**

God-dear-my-def. writing-only-his-with

**Sapa punchaw rimawaspan,**

Each day speak-he to me (gerund)

**“Hamuy churi” nillawaspan,**

Come child (of father) say-only-he to me (gerund)

**Marqaynimpi waqaychawan.**

Arm-his-in secure-he to me (pres.)

**Kumuykuspa willaptiyimi,**

Humble oneself-gerund tell-when-I-def.

**Ukuymanta nillaptiyimi,**

Inside-my-from say-only-when-I-def.

**“Ama manchakuychu” niwan,**

Do not be afraid-neg. imp. say-he to me (pres.)

**Hisuswantaq kallpanchawan.**

Jesus-with-conn. strengthen-he to me (pres.)

**Kuyawanmi Yusnillayqa,**

Love-he to me (pres.)-def. God-my-dear-topic

**Kuydawanmi Hisusllayqa,**

Care-he to me (pres.)-def. Jesus-dear-my-topic

**Urmaptiyimi uqariwan,**

Fall-when-I-def. lift-he to me (pres.)

**Llakiptiytaq kunsuylawan.**

Sad-when-I-conn. console-he to me (pres.)

*With my flesh and my heart*

*In everything agreeing together,*

*Night and day sin*

*Is besieging my soul.*

*What now is this my flesh!*

*What now is this my heart!*

*That only desires to fall into sin,*

*That only guides my soul to trials.*

*Only my dear God speaking to me*

*Through with his writing each day,*

*Saying to me, “Come son”,*

*Secures me in his arms.*

*When I humbly tell him,*

*When I tell him from within,*

*He says to me, “Do not be afraid”,*

*And he strengthens me with Jesus.*

*My God loves me,*

*My Jesus cares for me,*

*When I fall he lifts me,*

*And when I am sad he consoles me.*

91 Romans 8.35-39

**Llakiymi hamullawan,**

Sadness-def. come-only-it to me (pres.)

**Muchuymi intullawan,**

Suffering-def. surround-only-it to me (pres.)

**Nanaymi kichkiriwan,**

Pain-def. choke-begin-it to me (pres.)

**Unquytaq muyuriwan.**

Illness-conn. encircle-begin-it to me (pres.)

**Hisusnillaypunim**

Jesus-my-dear-no doubt-def.

**Uywakullawachkan,**

Care-refl.-only-he to me (pres. cont.)

**Marqaynimpipunim**

Arm-his-in-no doubt-def.

**Waqaychakuwachkan,**

Secure-refl.-he to me (pres. cont.)

**Makillanmantaqa**

Hand-dear-his-from-topic

**Manam wichisaqchu.**

Not-def. fall-I (fut.)-neg.

**Chiqnisqam purillani,**

Hate-perf.-def. wander-only-I (pres.)

**Kamisqam kawsallani,**

Insult-perf.-def. live-only-I (pres.)

**Sunquymi llakikuspan**

Heart-my-def. be sad-refl.-gerund-it

**Yawarta waqallachkan.**

Blood-DO cry-only-cont.-it (pres.)

**Hisusmi “hamuy” niwan,**

Jesus-def. come (imp.) say-he to me (pres.)

**Paypunim kunsuylawan,**

He-no doubt-def. console-he to me (pres.)

**Kikinmi kallpanchawan,**

He himself-def. strengthen-he to me (pres.)

**Paytaqmi hampikuwan.**

He-conn.-def. heal-refl.-he to me (pres.)

*Sadness comes to me,*

*Suffering surrounds me,*

*Pain chokes me,*

*And illness encircles me.*

*Only my dear Jesus*

*Is caring for me,*

*Always in his arms*

*He is securing me,*

*I will not fall*

*From his dear hand .*

*Hated I wander,*

*Insulted I live,*

*My sad heart*

*Is crying blood.*

*Jesus tells me “come”,*

*He himself consoles me,*

*He himself strengthens me,*

*And he himself heals me.*

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>91 (cont.)</b></p> <p><b>Kuyakuqniymantaqa</b> Love-agent.-my-from-topic <b>Wañuypas, kawsakuypas,</b> Death-even life-even <b>Manañam ima kaqpas</b> Not-now-def. that exist-agent.-even <b>Rakillawanmanñachu.</b> Separate-only-it to me (pres.)-to-now-neg.</p>	<p><i>From my beloved</i></p> <p><i>Neither death nor life,</i></p> <p><i>Nor anything that exists</i></p> <p><i>Can any longer separate me.</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>92</b></p> <p><b>Kay pacha hanaq pacha kuydaq</b> This world upper world care-agent. <b>Yusmi</b> God-def. <b>Ñuqallayta kuydakuwan;</b> Me-alone-DO care-refl.-he to me (pres.) <b>Wayra qucha para kamachiqmi</b> Wind lake rain rule-agent.-def. <b>Ñuqallayta kamachiwan.</b> Me-alone-DO rule-he to me (pres.)</p> <p><b>Kuyakuykim Yusnilláy,</b> Love-I to you (pres.)-def. God-my-dear <b>Suma-sumaq Taytalláy.</b> Beautiful-beautiful Father-dear-my</p> <p><b>Llanllachkaq qachu, wayta,</b> Luxuriate-cont.-agent. grass flower <b>wiñachiqmi</b> make grow-agent.-def. <b>Ñuqallayta wiñachiwan;</b> Me-ID-DO make grow-he to me (pres.) <b>Tuta punchaw rikurichiqtaqmi</b> Night day see-begin-cause-agent.conn.-def. <b>Ñuqallayta kawsachiwan.</b> Me-ID-my-DO live-cause-he to me (pres.)</p> <p><b>Munakuy sumaq sachá ruruchiqmi</b> To will beautiful tree bear fruit-cause-agent.-def. <b>Ñuqallayta ruruchiwan;</b> Me-ID-my-DO bear fruit-cause-he to me (pres.) <b>Altun pawaq kundur mikuchiqmi</b> High-his fly-agent. condor eat-cause-agent.-def. <b>Ñuqallayta mikuchiwan.</b> Me-ID-my-DO eat-cause-he to me (pres.)</p>	<p><i>God, who watches over heaven and earth</i></p> <p><i>Watches over me;</i></p> <p><i>He who rules the wind, the sea and the rain</i></p> <p><i>Rules me.</i></p> <p><i>I love you,</i></p> <p><i>My most precious Father God.</i></p> <p><i>The one who makes the luxuriating grass and the flower grow,</i></p> <p><i>Also makes me grow;</i></p> <p><i>The one who makes night and day appear</i></p> <p><i>Also causes me to live.</i></p> <p><i>The one who makes a beautiful tree bear fruit</i></p> <p><i>Also makes me bear fruit;</i></p> <p><i>The one who feeds the high flying condor</i></p> <p><i>Also feeds me.</i></p>

92 (cont.)

**Qawasqay inti killa kanchachiqmi**  
See-I (narr. past) sun moon shine-cause-agent.-def.

**Ñuqallayta kanchachiwan;**  
Me-ID-my-DO shine-cause-he to me (pres.)

**Tukuy rikchaq urpi waqaychaqmi**  
Every type dove protect-agent.-def.

**Ñuqallayta waqaychawan.**  
Me-ID-my-DO protect-he to me (pres.)

**Salbaqllay Yuspa Churin**  
Saviour-only-my God-poss.Son-his  
**hamuptinmi**  
come-when-he (pres.)-def.

**Kuyakuywan tinkumusaq;**  
Love-with meet-here-I (fut.)

**Kasqallanman pusakuwaptinmi**  
Be (narr. past)-only-he-to take-he to me (pres.)-when-def.

**Wiñaypaña kawsamusaq.**  
Always-for-now live-there-I (fut.)

*The one who makes the sun and the moon that I have seen to shine*

*Also causes me to shine;*

*The one who protects every type of bird*

*Also protects me.*

*When my Saviour God's Son comes*

*I will meet him here with love;*

*When he takes me to where he has been*

*Then I will live there for ever.*

93

**Yusnillayqa atiywanmi,**  
God-my-dear-topic power-with-def.

**Waqaychawan;**  
Secure-he to me (pres.)

**Urqupipas, mayupipas,**  
Mountain-in-also river-in-also

**Chiri wayra qaparispá**  
Cold wind roar-gerund

**Hamuptimpas,**  
Come-when-it (pres.)-also

**Makinwanmi harkaykuwan.**  
Hand-his-with-def. stop it-he to me (pres.)

**Kuyakunim Yusnillayta,**  
Love-emotion-I (pres.)-def. God-my-dear-DO

**Aduranim Taytallayta,**  
Worship-I (pres.)-def. Father-dear-my-DO

**Yupaychanim Salbaqniyta,**  
Praise-I (pres.)-def. Saviour-my-DO

**Wañuymanta Urquqniyta.**  
Death-from Release-agent.-my-DO

*My God*

*Secures me with power;*

*On the mountain and in the river,*

*Though the cold wind*

*Comes roaring,*

*He protects me with his hand.*

*I love my dear God,*

*I worship my dear Father,*

*I praise my Saviour,*

*The one who delivers me from death.*



93 (cont.)

**Kaypachapi llakiptipas,**

This-world-in sorrow-when-I-also

**Waqaptipas,**

Cry-when-I-also

**Yusnillaymi kunsuylawan;**

God-my-dear-def. console-he to me (pres.)

**Runakuna chiqniwaspa**

Person-pl. hate-it to me (gerund)

**Rimaptipas,**

Speak-when-it-also

**Payllapunim upallachin.**

He-only-no doubt-def. be quiet-cause-it (pres.)

**Millay hucha muyuwastin**

Dreadful sin spin round-it to me (gerund)

**Hamuptipas,**

Come-when-it-also

**Yusnillaymi binsichiwan;**

God-my-dear-def. overcome-cause-he to me (pres.)

**Iñiynillay pisiq hina**

Faith-my-ID deficient like

**Kariptipas,**

Look like-begin-when-it-also

**Payllataqmi yapaykuwan.**

He-only-conn.-def. increase-he to me (pres.)

**Yumpa-yumpa kuyaqniymi**

Very-very-agent. love-agent.-my-def.

**Yusnillayqa,**

God-my-dear-topic

**Wiñaypaqmi uywakuwan;**

Always-for-def. care-refl.-he to me (pres.)

**Huktawanmi sunqullayta**

Again-def. heart-ID-my-DO

**Quni Payman,**

Give-I (pres.) Him-to

**Munasqanta ruranampaq.**

Desire-perf.-his-DO do-potent.-him-for

*When I grow sad*

*And cry in this world,*

*My dear God consoles me;*

*When people speak*

*Hating me*

*He alone causes it to cease.*

*Dreadful sin*

*comes spinning round me,*

*Only my dear God causes me to overcome;*

*When it looks as though*

*My faith is deficient,*

*He Himself increases it.*

*My dear God*

*Who loves me completely,*

*Cares for me for ever;*

*Quickly I give Him*

*My heart,*

*To do with as he pleases.*

**Tukuy unanchaq Hisuslláy,**

All create-agent. Jesus-dear-my

**Chakikimanmi asuykamuni,**

Foot-your-to-def. approach-I (pres.)

**Huchallaytam qipimullayki,**

Sin-ID-my-DO-def. carry on back-there-ID-I to you (pres.)

**Mana niytam apamullayki;**

Not to say-DO-def. bring-ID-I to you (pres.)

**Suma-sumaq yawarllaykiwan**

Beautiful-beautiful blood-only-your-with

**Chuyay-chuyayta mayllaykapuway.**

Clean-clean-DO wash-again-you to me (imp.)

**Wañunaymanta Urquqlláy,**

Death-conc.-from Release-agent.-dear-my

**Qamllamampunim apamullayki**

You-only-to-no doubt-def. bring-only-I to you

**Mana riqsiy millay sunquyta.**

Not to know dreadful heart-my-DO

**Sapa punchaw iskayrayaqta;**

Each day doubt-agent.-DO

**Kallpa qukuq atillaykiwan**

Strength give-agent. power-only-your-with

**Chiqap sayaqta ruraykapuway.**

Truly firm-DO make-again-you to me (imp.)

**Huchallaymanta Salbaqlláy,**

Sin-ID-my-from Saviour-dear-my

**Tukuy almaytam Qanman qumuyki;**

All soul-my-DO-def. You-to give-I to you (pres.)

**Ñawiy, simiy Qampaq kallachun,**

Eye-my mouth-my You-for be-only-imp.

**Makiy, chakiy Qampaq rurachun,**

Hand-my foot-my You-for do-imp.

**Tukuy ima quwasqaykipas**

All that give-you to me (narr.)-also

**Munasqaykipi sirbikullachun.**

Desire-perf.-your-in serve-refl.-only-imp.

*My dear Jesus, creator of everything,*

*I approach your feet,*

*I carry my burden of sin to you,*

*I bring to you what cannot be said;*

*With your most precious blood alone*

*Wash me as clean as possible again.*

*My Releaser from death,*

*To you alone I bring*

*My disgusting unknown heart.*

*The one who doubts each day;*

*With your power that gives strength*

*Make my heart truly firm again.*

*The one who saves me from my sin,*

*I give you all my soul;*

*May my eye and my mouth be for You only,*

*May my hand and my foot do for You,*

*All that you have given to me*

*May it serve you only in what you desire.*

94 (cont.)

**Tukuy sunquwan Kuyaqláy,**

All heart-with Love-agent.-dear-my

**Kuyakuyllaykim huntaykullawan,**

Love-dear-your-def. fill-emotion-only-it to me  
(pres.)

**Kusikuytam chayraq tarini,**

Happiness-DO-def. just now find-I (pres.)

**Sunqullaypim chaskikullani;**

Heart-ID-my-in-def. receive-refl.-only-I (pres.)

**Aswan-aswan huntariykuway**

More-more fill-supplication-emotion-you to me  
(imp.)

**Sutillaykita yupaychanaypaq.**

Name-only-your-DO worship-conc.-my-for

*With all my heart my dear Lover,*

*Your love fills me,*

*Just now I find happiness,*

*In my heart I receive it;*

*Fill me more and more*

*So that I worship only your name.*

95

**Hisuslláy, ¿maymantaq risaq?**

Jesus-dear-my where-to-conn. go-I (fut.)

**¿Pillamantaq asuykusaq?**

Whom-alone-to-DO approach-I (fut.)

**Tukuy sunqu willakuykuq,**

All heart confess-refl.-emotion-agent.

**Llakillaypas paskariykuq.**

Grief-only-my-also untie-emotion-agent.

**¿Mayumanchum, qaqamanchum?**

River-to-interr.-def. cliff-to-interr.-def.

*My dear Jesus, where will I go?*

*Whom will I draw near to?*

*To confess with all heart,*

*You who unties my grief.*

*To the river, to the cliff?*

**¿Manam, manam! Qamllamanmi;**

No-def. no-def. You-only-to-def.

**Hisus Qanmi kuyawanki,**

Jesus You-def. love-you to me (pres.)

**Huchallaytam mayllawanki,**

Sin-ID-my-DO-def. wash-you to me (pres.)

**Almallaytam kallpanchanki,**

Soul-ID-my-DO-def. strengthen-you (pres.)

**Chaymi hapipakamuyki.**

Then take hold of-I to you (pres.)

*No, no! Surely to You alone;*

*Jesus You love me,*

*You wash my sin,*

*You strengthen my soul,*

*Then I take hold of you.*

95 (cont.)

**Hucha muyullawaptinri,**  
Sin spin around-only-when-it to me-begins  
**Kutichiypaq kawaptinri,**  
Return-cause-me-in order to be-when-it to me-  
begins  
**¿Imaynataq binsillayman?**  
How-conn. overcome-only-I-can  
**Hisuslláy, ¿pimantaq niyman?**  
Jesus-dear-my whom-to-conn. say-I-can  
**¿Santumanchum, ayrinmanchum?**  
Saint-to-interr.-def., air-its-to-interr.-def.

**Llakiy intullawaptinri,**  
Grief besiege-only-when-it to me-begins  
**Wañuy muyullawaptinri,**  
Death spin-only-when-it to me-begins  
**¿Imaynataq qipanchasaq?**  
How-conn. turn the back-I (fut.)  
**Hisuslláy, ¿pimantaq risaq?**  
Jesus-dear-my whom-to-conn. go-I (fut.)  
**¿Huchasapa runamanchum?**  
Sin-multi-poss. person-to-interr.-def.

**Yachaykunam pisillawan,**  
Knowledge-pl.-def. diminish-it to me (pres.)  
**Kallpallaymi chinkariwan,**  
Strength-only-my-def. disappear-begin-it to me  
(pres.)  
**¿Imaynataq tarillasaq?**  
How-conn. find-only-I (fut.)  
**Hisuslláy, ¿pimantaq nisaq?**  
Jesus-dear-my whom-to-conn. say-I (fut.)  
**¿Yachaqmanchum, apumanchum?**  
Know-agent.-to-interr.-def. mountain spirit-to-  
interr.-def.

*When sin spins around me,*  
*In order to make me turn back,*  
*How can I overcome?*  
*My dear Jesus, to whom can I speak?*  
*To the saint, to the air [mountain wind]?*

*When grief overcomes me,*  
*When death spins round me,*  
*How will I ignore it?*  
*My dear Jesus, to whom will I go?*  
*To the sinner?*

*My awareness diminishes,*  
*My strength vanishes from me,*  
*How will I find it?*  
*My dear Jesus, to whom will I speak?*  
*To the wise, to the mountain spirit?*

**Hisusnillayku**

Jesus-our (E.)-only

**Huñuyniykuman**

Joining together-our (E.)-to

**Huntariykamuy**

Fill-begin-refl.-you (imp.)

**Kawsariynikipa**

Resurrection-your-poss.

**Atiynillanta,**

Power-its-only-DO

**Sunquykumanta**

Heart-our (E.)-from

**Adurayniyku**

Worship-our (E.)

**Lliw chuya kanampaq.**

All holy be-potent.-it-so that

*Our Jesus**Fill**Our meeting**The power**Of your resurrection**May our worship be**From our heart**So that all will be holy.***Pukuriykamuy**

Blow-begin-refl.-you (imp.)

**Sunqullaykuman**

Heart-only-our (E.)-to

**Chiqap kallpayuq**

Truth strength-poss.

**Ispirituykita,**

Spirit-your-DO

**Almallaykupi**

Soul-only-our (E.)-in

**Manchakuykuna**

Fear-pl.

**Llakikunapas**

Sadness-pl.-also

**Chinkariykunampaq.**

Disappear-begin-emotion-potent.-it-so that

*Blow**To our heart**Your strong**Spirit of truth**So that in our soul**Fears**And sadnesses**Will vanish.*

**96 (cont.)**

**Ñannillaykupi**

Path-our (E.)-ID-in

**Kallpanchawayku,**

Strengthen-you to us (imp.)

**Aychaykutapas**

Flesh-our (E.)-DO-also

**Nigaykullaspayku,**

Deny-emotion-only-gerund-we (E.)

**Kayman kutimuy**

This-to to return-here

**Punchawllaykipa**

Day-only-your-poss.

**Akchiriyinta**

Light-begin-its-DO

**Suyanallaykupaq.**

Wait-potent.-only-we (E.)-so that

*In our path*

*Strengthen us,*

*Denying*

*Our flesh also*

*So that we can wait*

*The dawn*

*Of the day of your return here.*



<p style="text-align: center;"><b>4</b></p> <p><b>Yuspa kuyayllanwanmi,</b> God-poss. love-only-his-with-def. <b>Kikin Hisusllawanmi,</b> The very same Jesus-only-with-def. <b>Salbu kanki iñispa,</b> Saved be-you (fut.) believe-gerund <b>Sunquykita quykuspa.</b> Heart-your-DO give-refl.-gerund</p>	<p><i>With God's love alone,</i></p> <p><i>With the very same Jesus alone,</i></p> <p><i>Believing you will be saved,</i></p> <p><i>Giving him your heart.</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>5</b></p> <p><b>¿Imapas rurasqaykiwanchum</b> What-also do-perf.-your-with-interr.-def. <b>“Salbasqam kasaq” ninki?</b> Save-perf.-def. be-I (fut.) say-you (pres.) <b>Hisusllam salbasunki,</b> Jesus-only-def. save-he to you (fut.) <b>Rurayqa manam atinmanchu.</b> Work-topic not-def. able-it-to-neg.</p>	<p><i>With all that you do, do you say,</i></p> <p><i>“Surely I will be saved”?</i></p> <p><i>Only Jesus will save you,</i></p> <p><i>Works are unable to do that.</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>6</b></p> <p><b>¿Imatataq rurasaq almay</b> What-DO-conn. do-I (fut.) soul-my <b>salbanaypaq?</b> save-potent.-I-so that <b>Hisukristum rurasqa.</b> Jesus Christ-def. done-narr. <b>¿Imaynataq huchallayta mayllasaq?</b> How-conn. sin-only-my-DO wash-I (fut.) <b>Hisukristum mayllanqa.</b> Jesus Christ-def. wash-he (fut.) <b>¿Imatataq chaynaqa ñuqa rurallasaq?</b> What-DO-conn. so-topic I do-only-I (fut.) <b>Payllamanmi iñisaq.</b> Him-only-to-def. believe-I (fut.)</p>	<p><i>What will I do to save my soul?</i></p> <p><i>Jesus Christ has done it.</i></p> <p><i>How will I wash my sin?</i></p> <p><i>Jesus Christ will wash it.</i></p> <p><i>So what will I do?</i></p> <p><i>I will believe in Him alone.</i></p>



<p style="text-align: center;"><b>7 Joshua 24.15</b></p> <p><b>Kunampuni akllakuykuy</b> Now-immediately choose-refl.-emotion-you (imp.)</p> <p><b>Pim sirbinaykita;</b> Whom serve-conc.-your-DO</p> <p><b>Ñuqallayqa churintinmi</b> I-ID-topic son-incl.-def.</p> <p><b>Sirbisaqku chiqap Yusta.</b> Serve-we (E. fut.) truly God-DO</p>	<p><i>Right now choose</i></p> <p><i>Whom you will serve;</i></p> <p><i>I and all my sons</i></p> <p><i>Will serve the true God.</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>8 Acts 16.30-31</b></p> <p><b>¿Imatataq rurasaq salbu kanaypaq?</b> What-DO-conn. do-I (fut.) saved be-potent.-I-so that</p> <p><b>¿Imatataq rurasaq salbu kanaypaq?</b> What-DO-conn. do-I (fut.) saved be-potent.-I-so that</p> <p><b>Iñiy Hisukristuman,</b> Believe-you (imp.) Jesus Christ-to</p> <p><b>Iñiy Hisukristuman,</b> Believe-you (imp.) Jesus Christ-to</p> <p><b>Sunquykiwan iñispam salbu</b> Heart-your-with believe-gerund-def. saved</p> <p><b>Kallanki.</b> be-only-you (fut.)</p>	<p><i>What will I do in order to be saved?</i></p> <p><i>What will I do in order to be saved?</i></p> <p><i>Believe in Jesus Christ,</i></p> <p><i>Believe in Jesus Christ,</i></p> <p><i>You will be saved only believing with your heart.</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>9</b></p> <p><b>Nanachikuspa kutirikuychik</b> Hurt-cause-refl.-gerund go back-begin-you (pl. imp.)</p> <p><b>Huchaykichikmanta,</b> Sin-your (pl.)-by</p> <p><b>Hisusraykulla pampachaykusqa</b> Jesus-by-only forgive-emotion-perf.</p> <p><b>Kanallaykichikpaq<sup>21</sup>.</b> Be-potent.-only-you (pl.)-so that</p>	<p><i>Doing yourselves harm by your sin,</i></p> <p><i>Turn back,</i></p> <p><i>So that you can be</i></p> <p><i>Forgiven by Jesus.</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>10 Matthew 11.28</b></p> <p><b>Ñuqaman hamullawaychik</b> Me-to come-only-you (pl. imp.) to me</p> <p><b>Huchawan amisqakuna,</b> Sin-with fed up-perf.-pl.</p> <p><b>Llakiypa ñitisqankuna,</b> Sorrow-poss. crush-perf.-pl.</p> <p><b>Samaytam qullasqaykichik.</b> Rest-DO-def. give-always-I to them (fut.)</p>	<p><i>Come only to me</i></p> <p><i>Fed up with sin,</i></p> <p><i>To those crushed by sorrow,</i></p> <p><i>I will give rest.</i></p>

<sup>21</sup> Missing an ‘i’ – should be *kanallaykichikpaq*.

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>11 Revelation 3.20</b></p> <p><b>Sunquykipa punkullampipunim,</b> Heart-your-poss. door-ID-its-at-no doubt-def. <b>Sayachkani yaykuykunallaypaq;</b> Stand-cont.-I (pres.) come in-emotion-potent.- only-I-so that <b>Suyachkaykim,</b> Wait for-cont.-I to you (pres.)-def. <b>Suyachkaykim,</b> wait for-cont.-I to you (pres.)-def. <b>Kichariway kuyakusqalláy.</b> Open-begin-you to me (imp.) love-emotion-perf.- dear-my</p>	<p><i>I am standing right at your heart's door,</i></p> <p><i>Waiting to come in;</i></p> <p><i>I am waiting for you, I am waiting for you,</i></p> <p><i>Open to me my dearly beloved.</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>12</b></p> <p><b>Maskay Yusta,</b> Look for-you (imp.) God-DO <b>Maskay Yusta,</b> Look for-you (imp.) God-DO <b>Kawsachkaspallaraq</b> Live-cont.-gerund-always-still <b>Maskay Yusta.</b> Look for-you (imp.) God-DO <b>“Suyasaqraq” nispaykiqa,</b> Wait-I (fut.)-still say-gerund-your-topic <b>Punku wichqarukuptinmi</b> Door close-great-when-it (pres.)-def. <b>Hawallapi qiparqunki.</b> Outside-only-in left-you (fut.) <b>Maskay Yusta.</b> Look for-you (imp.) God-DO</p>	<p><i>Look for God, look for God,</i></p> <p><i>While you live look for God.</i></p> <p><i>If you say, “I will still wait”,</i></p> <p><i>When the door closes</i></p> <p><i>You will be left outside.</i></p> <p><i>Look for God!</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>13</b></p> <p><b>Kuyakusqalláy,</b> Love-emotion-perf.-dear-my <b>Qawariyakamuway</b> Look up-refl.-you to me (imp.) <b>Kaypim kallachkani,</b> Here-def. be-always-cont.-I (pres.) <b>Chakatasqa kruspi</b> Crucify-perf. cross-on <b>Qampaq muchuchkani;</b> You-for suffer-cont.-I (pres.) <b>Chaskiykullawayña .</b> Receive-emotion-only-you to me (imp.)-now <b>Sunquykipi</b> Heart-your-in</p>	<p><i>My dearly beloved,</i></p> <p><i>Look up at me</i></p> <p><i>Here I am,</i></p> <p><i>Crucified on the cross</i></p> <p><i>For you I am suffering;</i></p> <p><i>Now receive me in your heart.</i></p>

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>14</b></p> <p><b>Ñuqam Punku kani</b> I-def. Door be-I (pres.) <b>Unanchaykukusqalláy,</b> Create-emotion-refl.-narr.-alone-I <b>Yaykuykamuy ñuqallantapuni</b> Come in-refl.-you (imp.) I-ID-through-only <b>Kawsay tariq qayakusqalláy.</b> Life find-agent. call-refl.-narr.-only-I</p>	<p><i>I am the Door</i></p> <p><i>I, the one who has created you,</i></p> <p><i>Come in through me,</i></p> <p><i>I, the one who finds life, have called you.</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>15 Revelation 3.20</b></p> <p><b>Sunquykupa ñawpaqnimpipunim</b> Heart-your-poss. front-its-in-no doubt-def. <b>Sayachkani kuyakusqalláy,</b> Stand-cont.-I (pres.) love-emotion-perf.-dear-my <b>Kichaykuway unanchasqalláy,</b> Open-emotion-you to me (imp.) create-perf.- dear-my <b>Yaykumuptiy kawsakunanchikpaq.</b> Come in-there-when-I live-refl.-potent.-we (I.)-so that</p>	<p><i>I am standing at your heart</i></p> <p><i>My dearly beloved,</i></p> <p><i>Open to me my dear created one,</i></p> <p><i>So that when I come in we will live.</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>16</b></p> <p><b>Kichariykuy sunquykita</b> Open-begin-emotion-you (imp.) heart-your-DO <b>Hisus yaykunampaq;</b> Jesus enter-potent.-he-so that <b>Yaykuspaqa munaychakunqam</b> Enter-gerund-topic bless-refl.-he (fut.)-def. <b>Wiñaypaña lliwmanta.</b> Always-for-now everthing-of</p>	<p><i>Open your heart</i></p> <p><i>For Jesus to come in;</i></p> <p><i>Entering he will bless</i></p> <p><i>Everything for ever.</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>17</b></p> <p><b>¿Imanasqam mana chaskinkichu?</b> Why not receive-you (pres.)-neg. <b>¿Imanasqam mana iñinkichu?</b> Why not believe-you (pres.)-neg. <b>Hisus qayachkasuptiki,</b> Jesus call-cont.-when-he to you (pres.) <b>“Hamuy” nillachkasuptiki.</b> Come-you (imp.) say-only-cont.-when-he to you (pres.)</p>	<p><i>Why don't you receive?</i></p> <p><i>Why don't you believe?</i></p> <p><i>When Jesus is calling you,</i></p> <p><i>When he is telling you to “Come”.</i></p>

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>18</b></p> <p><b>Salbu kayta munaspaqa</b> Saved to be-DO desire-gerund-topic</p> <p><b>Chaskiy kikin Hisusta,</b> Receive-you (imp.) the very same Jesus-DO</p> <p><b>Huchaykita riqsikuspa</b> Sin-your-DO recognise-emotion-gerund</p> <p><b>Iñiy Payllamanña;</b> Believe-you (imp.) Him-only-to-now</p> <p><b>Hisuspunim salbakuqqa,</b> Jesus-no doubt-def. save-emotion-agent.-topic</p> <p><b>Salbakullasunkim.</b> Save-refl.-only-he to you (fut.)-def..</p>	<p><i>Wanting to be saved</i></p> <p><i>Receive the very same Jesus,</i></p> <p><i>Recognising your sin</i></p> <p><i>Believe in Him alone;</i></p> <p><i>Jesus is the one who saves,</i></p> <p><i>He alone will save you.</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>19</b></p> <p><b>Sunqullayman, sunqullayman</b> Heart-ID-my-to heart-ID-my-to</p> <p><b>Yaykumuy Hisuslláy,</b> Come in-here-you (imp.) Jesus-dear-my</p> <p><b>Ukullanman, chawpillanman</b> Inside-ID-its-to centre-ID-its-to</p> <p><b>Yaykuykuy Hisuslláy.</b> Come in-emotion- you (imp.) Jesus-dear-my</p>	<p><i>Come in to my heart, come in to my heart</i></p> <p><i>My dear Jesus,</i></p> <p><i>Inside, to the centre -</i></p> <p><i>Please come in my dear Jesus.</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>20</b></p> <p><b>Suma-sumaq Hisuslláy</b> Beautiful-beautiful Jesus-dear-my</p> <p><b>Qamllam kallasqanki</b> You-only-def. be-you (narr.)</p> <p><b>Salbakuqnillayqa;</b> Save-emotion-agent.-my-dear-topic</p> <p><b>Tukuy sunquywanmi</b> All heart-my-with-def.</p> <p><b>Kumuykuspa iñimuyki;</b> Bow down-gerund believe-here-I to you (pres.)</p> <p><b>Chaskiykullawayña.</b> Receive-emotion-only-you to me (imp.)-now</p>	<p><i>My beautiful Jesus</i></p> <p><i>You alone have been</i></p> <p><i>My dear Saviour;</i></p> <p><i>With all my heart</i></p> <p><i>I believe you, bowing down;</i></p> <p><i>Receive me now!</i></p>

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>21</b></p> <p><b>Hatu-hatun Yusnilláy,</b> Great-great God-dear-my <b>Sapan churikitam</b> Only child-your-DO-def. <b>Kachamullasqanki</b> Send-here-ID-you (narr.) <b>Rantiypi wañunampaq;</b> Purchase-my-in die-potent.-he-so that <b>Riqsikuykuspaymi</b> Recognise-refl.-emotion-gerund-I-def. <b>Kunan chaskikuni.</b> Now receive-refl.-I (pres.)</p>	<p><i>My very great God</i></p> <p><i>You have sent</i></p> <p><i>Your only son here</i></p> <p><i>To die in my stead;</i></p> <p><i>Recognising him</i></p> <p><i>I receive him now.</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>22</b></p> <p><b>Huchasapa kallasqayta</b> Sinner be-I (narr.)-DO <b>Riqsikuykuspaymi,</b> Recognise-refl.-emotion-gerund-I-def. <b>Kuyay sunqu Hisuslláy</b> Tender heart Jesus-dear-my <b>Sunqullayta quyki;</b> Heart-ID-my-DO give-I to you (pres.) <b>Mayllaykapullaway</b> Wash-again-only-you to me (imp.) <b>Sumaq Hisuslláy.</b> Beautiful Jesus-dear-my</p>	<p><i>Recognising that</i></p> <p><i>I have been a sinner</i></p> <p><i>My tender-hearted Jesus</i></p> <p><i>I give you my heart;</i></p> <p><i>Wash me again</i></p> <p><i>My precious Jesus.</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>23</b></p> <p><b>Hisuswanmi kawsakuni</b> Jesus-with-def. live-refl.-I (pres.) <b>Sumaq kanchaynimpi;</b> Beautiful light-his-in <b>Upyallanim yakunmanta,</b> Drink-only-I (pres.)-def. water-his-from <b>Kawsay yakunmanta,</b> Food of life water-his-from <b>Kawsay tanta Hisusmantam</b> Food of life bread Jesus-from-def. <b>Wiñanaypaq mikullani;</b> Grow-potent.-I-so that feed-only-I (pres.) <b>Payllapunim ñuqallaywan.</b> He-only-no doubt-def. me-alone-with</p>	<p><i>I live with Jesus</i></p> <p><i>In His beautiful light;</i></p> <p><i>I drink only from his water,</i></p> <p><i>From his living water,</i></p> <p><i>From Jesus, the living bread</i></p> <p><i>I feed in order to grow;</i></p> <p><i>He alone is with me.</i></p>

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>24</b></p> <p><b>Kuyakuwaqniy Hisusmi</b> Love-refl.-agent.-my Jesus-def. <b>Ñuqapaq hamurqa,</b> Me-for come-he (past) <b>Kruspi ñakariykuspanmi</b> Cross-on suffer-emotion-gerund-his-def. <b>Ñuqapaq wañurqa.</b> Me-for die-he (past)</p>	<p><i>My beloved Jesus</i></p> <p><i>Came for me,</i></p> <p><i>Suffering on the cross</i></p> <p><i>He died for me.</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>25 I Timothy 2.5</b></p> <p><b>Chullallam Yus Taytallanchik,</b> Unique-ID-DO God Father-only-our (I.) <b>Chullallam Allimpaqninchik,</b> Unique-ID-DO Good-for-our (I.) <b>Yusmanta runakunapaq;</b> God-from people-pl.-for <b>Hisusllam Ilapallampaq.</b> Jesus-only-def. everyone-for</p>	<p><i>Our only incomparable Father God,</i></p> <p><i>Who alone acts for our good,</i></p> <p><i>From God for the people;</i></p> <p><i>Only Jesus for everyone.</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>26 John 3.16</b></p> <p><b>Yumpa-yumpaytam kuyarqa</b> Very much-very much-DO-def. love-he (past) <b>Yus kay pachata, hinaspan</b> God this world-DO then-def. <b>Kuyay Churinta qumurqa,</b> Loved Son-his-DO give-here-he (past) <b>Llapan Payllapi iñiqqa</b> All Him-only-in believe-agent.-topic <b>Mana wañuspa kawsakunampaq,</b> Not die-gerund live-emotion-potent.-s/he-so that <b>Yuswan wiñayña kanampaq.</b> God-with always-now be-potent.-s/he-So that</p>	<p><i>God loved this world</i></p> <p><i>So very much, that then</i></p> <p><i>He gave his beloved Son,</i></p> <p><i>All that believe only in Him</i></p> <p><i>So that they do not live dying,</i></p> <p><i>So that they will be with God forever.</i></p>

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>27 II Corinthians 5.21</b></p> <p><b>Mana hucha riqsiq Hisustam</b> No sin know-agent. Jesus-DO-def.</p> <p><b>Huchayaykachirqa,</b> Sin-be-cause-he (past)</p> <p><b>Ñuqanchikta kuyawaspanchikmi</b> Us (I.)-DO love-he to us (gerund)-def.</p> <p><b>Muchuykachillarqa,</b> Suffer-be-cause-he (past)</p> <p><b>Yuswan allimpasqa kananchikpaqmi</b> God-with reconcile-perf. be-potent.-we-so that-def.</p> <p><b>Hisus wañullarqa.</b> Jesus die-only-he (past)</p>	<p><i>Jesus the one who knew no sin</i></p> <p><i>He made to be sin,</i></p> <p><i>Loving us</i></p> <p><i>He made him suffer,</i></p> <p><i>So that we would be reconciled with God</i></p> <p><i>Jesus died.</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>28</b></p> <p><b>Yaqa-yaqañam kutimunqa</b> Soon-soon-now-def. return-he (fut.)</p> <p><b>Hisusnillanchik kayman,</b> Jesus-dear-our (I.) this-to</p> <p><b>Churinkunatam pusakapunqa</b> Child-his-pl.-DO-def. lead-again-he (fut.)</p> <p><b>Kikin Hanaq pachaman.</b> He himself Upper world-to</p>	<p><i>Very nearly now he will return</i></p> <p><i>Here - our dear Jesus,</i></p> <p><i>He himself will lead</i></p> <p><i>His children to Heaven.</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>29</b></p> <p><b>Hisusnillayqa wiñaymantapas</b> Jesus-dear-my-topic always-from-also</p> <p><b>Kaqllapunim,</b> Be-agent.-only-no doubt-def.</p> <p><b>Kunampas wiñaykamapas</b> Today-also always-until-also</p> <p><b>Kikimpunim.</b> The same-no doubt-def.</p>	<p><i>My Jesus has always been</i></p> <p><i>The same</i></p> <p><i>Today and also for ever</i></p> <p><i>The same.</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>30</b></p> <p><b>Manam llaki kanchu Yuspa</b> No-def. sadness be-it (pres.)-neg. God-poss.</p> <p><b>wasimpi</b> house-his-in</p> <p><b>Hanaq pachapi, sumaq pachapi,</b> Upper world-in beautiful world-in</p> <p><b>Manam llaki kanchu Yuspa</b> No-def. sadness be-it (pres.)-neg. God-poss.</p> <p><b>wasimpi</b> house-his-in</p> <p><b>Chayraykupunim kusikuchkani.</b> That-because of-no doubt-def. happy-cont.-I (pres.)</p>	<p><i>There is no sadness in God's house</i></p> <p><i>In Heaven, in the beautiful cosmos,</i></p> <p><i>There is no sadness in God's house</i></p> <p><i>Because of that I am happy.</i></p>

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>31</b></p> <p><b>Kusikuchkanim, kusikuchkanim,</b> Happy-cont.-I (pres.)-def. happy-cont.-I (pres.)-def.</p> <p><b>Hisusniypa kuyawasqanwan,</b> Jesus-my-poss. love-he to me (narr.)-with</p> <p><b>Simillampunim kunan willawan,</b> Word-dear-his-no doubt-def. now tell-he to me (pres.)</p> <p><b>Aswan-aswanmi kusikuchkani.</b> More-more-def. happy-cont.-I (pres.)</p>	<p><i>I am happy, I am happy</i></p> <p><i>Because Jesus loves me,</i></p> <p><i>Now he tells me his own dear word,</i></p> <p><i>I am increasingly happy.</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>32</b></p> <p><b>Krusninta wikrispanmi</b> Cross-his-DO carry-gerund-he-def.</p> <p><b>Hisus muchurqa;</b> Jesus suffer-he (past)</p> <p><b>Huchayta qipispanmi</b> Sin-my-DO carry on back-gerund-he-def.</p> <p><b>Hisus wañurqa;</b> Jesus die-he (past)</p> <p><b>Kawspanñataqmi</b> Rise from death-gerund-he-now-conn.-def.</p> <p><b>Salballawarqa.</b> Save-only-he to me (past)</p>	<p><i>Carrying his cross</i></p> <p><i>Jesus suffered;</i></p> <p><i>Carrying my sin [on his back]</i></p> <p><i>Jesus died;</i></p> <p><i>And rising from the dead</i></p> <p><i>He alone saved me.</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>33</b></p> <p><b>Ñawpaq ñawsam, kunan rikuni,</b> Before blind-def. now see-I (pres.)</p> <p><b>Huchakunap chaqnaykusqanmi</b> Sin-pl.-poss. tie-emotion-perf.-def.</p> <p><b>Paskasqaña kachkani;</b> Untie-perf.-now be-cont.-I (pres.)</p> <p><b>Chaymi yachakullani</b> That-def. know-refl.-only-I (pres.)</p> <p><b>Sumaq Salbakuqniy kasqanta,</b> Beautiful Saviour-my be-narr.-he-DO</p> <p><b>Huchallaypas pampachasqanta.</b> Sin-ID-my-also forgive-narr.-he-DO</p>	<p><i>Before blind, now I see,</i></p> <p><i>Bound by sins</i></p> <p><i>I am now set free;</i></p> <p><i>That's why I know</i></p> <p><i>That he has been my beautiful Saviour,</i></p> <p><i>And that he has also forgiven my sin.</i></p>



<p style="text-align: center;"><b>34</b></p> <p><b>Kichki ñanta rillaspayqa,</b> Narrow path-DO go-gerund-I-topic <b>Hisusnillaymanta</b> Jesus-dear-my-to-DO <b>Hapipakuykullaspaymi</b> Hold on -emotion-only-gerund-I-def. <b>Mana manchasaqchu.</b> Not fear-I (fut.)-neg.</p>	<p><i>I am going on the narrow way,</i></p> <p><i>Holding on</i></p> <p><i>To my dear Jesus</i></p> <p><i>I will not fear.</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>35</b></p> <p><b>Hisusnillaymi samaykachiwan,</b> Jesus-dear-my-def. rest-cause-he to me (pres.) <b>Sunqullaytam kusirichiwan,</b> Heart-ID-my-DO-def. be happy-begin-cause-he to me (pres.) <b>Almallaytam uqarin,</b> Soul-ID-my-DO-def. lift-he (pres.) <b>Wiñaypaqmi kawsachin,</b> Always-for-def. live-cause-he (pres.) <b>Hisusnillaymi samaykachiwan.</b> Jesus-dear-my-def. rest-cause-he to me (pres.).</p>	<p><i>My dear Jesus makes me rest</i></p> <p><i>He makes my heart happy,</i></p> <p><i>He lifts my soul,</i></p> <p><i>He makes it live for ever,</i></p> <p><i>My dear Jesus makes me rest.</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>36</b></p> <p><b>Hisusniymi sapa punchaw ñuqawan,</b> Jesus-my-def. each day me-with <b>Llamkaptiypas, puriptiypas,</b> Work-when-I-and walk-when-I-and <b>Wasiypipas, urqupipas ñuqawan;</b> House-my-in-and mountain-on-also me-with <b>Kuyakunim tukuy sunquywan.</b> Love-refl.-I (pres.)-def. all heart-my-with</p>	<p><i>My Jesus is with me each day,</i></p> <p><i>When I work and when I walk,</i></p> <p><i>In my house and on the mountain also with me;</i></p> <p><i>I love him with all my heart.</i></p>

## 37

**Ancha-anchatam Hisus kuyawan,**  
Much-much-DO-def. Jesus love-he to me  
(pres.)

**Willakunim llapanman,**  
Tell-refl.-I (pres.)-def. all-to

**Wañupwarqam kuyakuwaspan**  
Die-benefit-he to me (past)-def. love-emotion-he  
to me (gerund)

**Salbakuwanallampaq;**  
Save-he to me (potent.)-only-in order to

**Ancha-anchatam Hisus kuyawan,**  
Much-much-DO-def. Jesus love-he to me  
(pres.)

**Kawsaripullawanñam,**  
Rise from death-benefit-only-he to me (pres.)-  
now-def.

**Hanaq pachapi wiña-wiñayña**  
Upper world-in always-always-now

**Kawsakamunallaypaq.**  
Live-refl.-potent.-only-I-so that

*Jesus loves me very much,*

*I tell everyone,*

*Loving me he died on my behalf,*

*In order to save me;*

*Jesus loves me very much,*

*Now he rises for me,*

*So that I will live*

*In heaven forever and ever.*

## 38

**Muchuy intuwaptinmi,**  
Hunger overcome-when-it to me (pres.)-def.

**Llakiy muyuwaptinmi,**  
Sadness surround-when-it to me (pres.)-def.

**Hisus ñuqawampuni**  
Jesus me-with-no doubt

**Kallpanchawanampaq.**  
Strengthen-he to me (conc.)-in order to

*When hunger overcomes me,*

*When sadness surrounds me,*

*Only Jesus is with me*

*To give me strength.*

## 39

**Yanqapaqmi maskasqani**  
In vain-until-def. look-I (narr.)

**Huchap kallasqampi,**  
Sin-poss. be-only-it (narr.)-in

**Kusikuyta samaytapas**  
Happiness-DO rest-DO-and

**Hisusllapi kallachkaptin.**  
Jesus-dear-in be-only-cont.-when-it

*In vain I had looked*

*Where there was sin,*

*When there is happiness and rest*

*In Jesus.*

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>40</b></p> <p><b>Kruspim Hisus wañupumarqa</b> Cross-on-def. Jesus die-benefit-he to me (past)</p> <p><b>Kuyayninta riqsinallaypaq,</b> Love-his-DO know-potent.-only-I-so that</p> <p><b>Salbawaspam wañupumarqa,</b> Save-he to me (gerund)-def. die-benefit-he to me (past)</p> <p><b>Chaymi kuyani tukuy sunquywan.</b> That is why love-I (pres.) all heart-my-with</p>	<p><i>On the cross Jesus died on my behalf</i></p> <p><i>So that I would know his love,</i></p> <p><i>Saving me he died for me,</i></p> <p><i>That is why I love him with all my heart.</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>41</b></p> <p><b>Hisus sunquyman yaykusqanmantam,</b> Jesus heart-my-to come in-he (narr.)-to-DO-def.</p> <p><b>Paywan kuskalla kawsasqaymantam,</b> Him-with together-only live-I (narr.)-to-DO-def.</p> <p><b>Sumaq samaypi purini,</b> Beautiful rest-in walk-I (pres.)</p> <p><b>Kusi-kusillam kawsani,</b> Happy-happy-only-def. live-I (pres.)</p> <p><b>Hisusllaymanmi grasyasta qullani.</b> Jesus-only-my-to-def. thanks-DO give-only-I (pres.)</p>	<p><i>Since Jesus has come into my heart,</i></p> <p><i>Since I have lived together with him,</i></p> <p><i>I walk in beautiful rest,</i></p> <p><i>I live very happily,</i></p> <p><i>I give thanks to my Jesus alone.</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>42</b></p> <p><b>Manam imapas qukuwarqachu</b> Not-def. anything-also matter-refl.-he to me (past)-neg.</p> <p><b>Hisusniy riqsinallaypaq,</b> Jesus-my know-potent.-only-I-so that</p> <p><b>Manam imapas qukuwarqachu</b> Not-def. anything-also matter-refl.-he to me (past)-neg.</p> <p><b>Niwasqan ruranallaypaq;</b> Say-he to me (narr.) do-potent.-only-I-so that</p> <p><b>Salbu kasqaymantam ichaqa</b> Saved be-narr.-I-since-def. even more</p> <p><b>Tukuypi kasukullani,</b> All-in obey-refl.-only-I (pres.)</p> <p><b>Huchayuqtapas pusamullani</b> Sinner-DO-also guide-here-only-I (pres.)</p> <p><b>Hisusllay salbanallaypaq.</b> Jesus-dear-my save-potent.-only-he-so that</p>	<p><i>Nothing mattered to me</i></p> <p><i>So that I would know my Jesus,</i></p> <p><i>Nothing mattered to me</i></p> <p><i>So that I would do what he has said to me;</i></p> <p><i>Even more since I have been saved</i></p> <p><i>I obey him in everything,</i></p> <p><i>I also bring the sinner</i></p> <p><i>So that my dear Jesus can save him/her.</i></p>

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>43</b></p> <p><b>Ñuqam kani Kawsay Tanta,</b> I-def. be-I (pres.) Life Bread</p> <p><b>Kuyay churilláy,</b> Love child-dear-my</p> <p><b>Mikuykuway                      kikillayta</b> Eat-emotion-you to me (imp.) self-ID-my-DO</p> <p><b>Salbakusqalláy,</b> Save-emotion-perf.-dear-my</p> <p><b>Sapa punchawpuni hatarispa,</b> Each day-no doubt rise-gerund</p> <p><b>Mañakuypi asuykamuwaspa.</b> Prayer-in approach-you to me (gerund)</p>	<p><i>I am the Bread of Life,</i></p> <p><i>My beloved child,</i></p> <p><i>Eat me</i></p> <p><i>My dear saved one,</i></p> <p><i>Always rising each day,</i></p> <p><i>To approach me in prayer.</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>44</b></p> <p><b>Kuyakusqay      churilláy,</b> Love-refl.-perf.-my child-dear-my</p> <p><b>¿Qipamanchum kutiriyta</b> Back-interr.-def. to return-begin-DO</p> <p><b>munachkanki,</b> desire-cont.-you (pres.)</p> <p><b>Sunquyki huchamanta yuyaspayki?</b> Heart-your-in sin-towards-DO remember-gerund-you</p> <p><b>¿Aychaykichum      munaykuchkan</b> Flesh-your-interr.-def. desire-emotion-cont.-it</p> <p><b>urmaykuyta?</b> to fall-emotion-DO</p> <p><b>Hamuy      ñuqam qullasqayki</b> Come-you (imp.) I-def. give-only-I to you (fut.)</p> <p><b>kallpanchayta</b> Strength-DO</p> <p><b>Asuykamuway                      churilláy.</b> Draw near-you to me (imp.) child-dear-my</p>	<p><i>My dear beloved child,</i></p> <p><i>Are you wanting to go back,</i></p> <p><i>Remembering the sin in your heart?</i></p> <p><i>Is your flesh desiring to fall?</i></p> <p><i>Come, I will give you strength</i></p> <p><i>Draw near to me my dear child.</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>45                      John 14.6</b></p> <p><b>Ñuqam kani chiqap,</b> I-def. be-I (pres.) truth</p> <p><b>Llullam kaypachapi kaq      runaqa.</b> Liar-def. this-world-in be-agent. people-topic</p> <p><b>Ñuqallaman                      ñiwaspaykiqa</b> Me-only-towards believe-you to me (gerund)-topic</p> <p><b>Chiqap rimaytañam                      yachallanki.</b> Truth to speak-DO-now-def. learn-only-you (fut.)</p>	<p><i>I am the truth,</i></p> <p><i>In this world people are liars.</i></p> <p><i>Believing in me alone</i></p> <p><i>You will soon learn to speak the truth.</i></p>

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>46      John 8.12</b></p> <p><b>Ñuqam kay pachap Kanchaynin kani</b> I-def. this world-poss. Light-its be-I (pres.)</p> <p><b>Pipas qatiwaqnillayqa</b> Whoever follow-agent.-my-ID-topic</p> <p><b>Sumaq kanchaypim purinqa,</b> Beautiful light-in-def. walk-s/he (fut.)</p> <p><b>Millay huchatam saqinqa;</b> Disgusting sin-DO-def. leave-s/he (fut.)</p> <p><b>Ñuqam tutayaq sunquta kanchani.</b> I-def. darken-agent. heart-DO lighten-I (pres.)</p>	<p><i>I am the light of this world</i></p> <p><i>Whoever is my follower</i></p> <p><i>Will walk in marvelous light,</i></p> <p><i>S/he will surely leave behind disgusting sin;</i></p> <p><i>I give light to the darkened heart.</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>47      John 11.25</b></p> <p><b>Ñuqam kani Kawsay,</b> I-def. be-I (pres.) Life</p> <p><b>Ñuqataq Kawsariypas;</b> I-conn. Resurrection-also</p> <p><b>İniqniyqa kawsarinqapunim</b> Believe-agent.-my-topic rise to life-s/he (fut.)-no doubt-def.</p> <p><b>Maypi wañuspapas.</b> Where die-gerund-also</p>	<p><i>I am the Life,</i></p> <p><i>And I am also the resurrection;</i></p> <p><i>The one who believes in me will always rise to life</i></p> <p><i>Wherever s/he dies.</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>48      Revelation 2.10</b></p> <p><b>Ama manchakuychu wawqilláy,</b> Do not fear-you (imp.)-neg. brother-dear-my</p> <p><b>Llakipiña, waqaypiña kaspaykipas,</b> Sorrow-in-now tears-in-now be-gerund-you-also</p> <p><b>Unqusqaña, wañuypiña kaspaykipas,</b> Be ill-perf.-now death-in-now be-gerund-you-also</p> <p><b>Wañunaykikama qaqa hina sayay,</b> Die-conc.-your-until rock like stand-you (imp.)</p> <p><b>Wiñay kawsay kurunatam</b> Eternal life crown-DO-def.</p> <p><b>chaskikunki</b> receive-refl.-you (fut.)</p>	<p><i>Do not fear my dear brother,</i></p> <p><i>Whether in tears or in sadness,</i></p> <p><i>Whether ill, or already dying,</i></p> <p><i>Stand firm like the rock until death,</i></p> <p><i>You will receive</i></p> <p><i>The crown of eternal life.</i></p>

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>49 I John 1.8-9</b></p> <p><b>“Manam huchayuqchu kani”,</b> Not-def. sinner-neg. be-I (pres.) <b>nispaqa</b> say-gerund-topic <b>Kikillanchikmi ingañakuchkanchik,</b> We alone (I.)-def. deceive-refl.-cont.-we (I.) <b>Yusman huchanchikta willaptinchikqa</b> God-to sin-our (I.)-DO confess-when-we (I.)-topic <b>Hisusraykum pampachawasunchik.</b> Jesus-because of-def. forgive-he to us (fut.)</p>	<p><i>Saying, “I am not a sinner”,</i></p> <p><i>We are surely deceiving ourselves,</i></p> <p><i>When we confess our sin to God</i></p> <p><i>He will forgive us because of Jesus.</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>50 I John 2.1</b></p> <p><b>Kuyakusqáy kaytam niyki:</b> Love-refl.-perf.-my this-DO-def. say-I to you (pres.) <b>“Amam huchaman urmankichu;</b> Not-def. sin-to fall-you (fut.)-neg. <b>Urmaq kaspaga willakuykunki</b> Fall-agent. be-gerund-topic confess-refl.-emotion-you (fut.) <b>Kikin Hisusman pampachanampaq”.</b> Himself Jesus-to forgive-potent.-he-so that</p>	<p><i>My beloved I say this to you:</i></p> <p><i>“You will not fall to sin;</i></p> <p><i>If you are someone who falls, then confess</i></p> <p><i>To Jesus himself so that he will forgive”.</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>51 I Thessalonians 4.17</b></p> <p><b>Kamaq Hisus kutipamuptinmi,</b> Creator Jesus do again-here-when-he-def. <b>Salbu kaqkunallamanta</b> Saved person-pl.-only-from <b>Kawsaqkunapas wañuqkunapiwan</b> Live-agent.-pl.-also die-agent.-pl.-together with <b>Uqarisqa kallanqaku;</b> Raise-perf. be-only-they (fut.) <b>Hisuswanmi tinkumullanqaku</b> Jesus-with-def. meet-here-only-they (fut.) <b>Puyu ukullapi lliwchan,</b> Cloud inside-only-in everyone <b>Paywan wiñay kanankupaq.</b> Him-with always be-potent.-they-so that</p>	<p><i>When the Creator Jesus returns,</i></p> <p><i>Only those who are saved</i></p> <p><i>The living as well as the dead</i></p> <p><i>Will be raised;</i></p> <p><i>They will all meet Jesus</i></p> <p><i>In the clouds,</i></p> <p><i>To be with him forever.</i></p>

**Asuykusun Yusunichikman**

Approach-we (fut.) God-our (I.)-to

**Kristup krusnillanman**

Christ-poss. cross-his-ID-to

**Aswan iñiykuspa;**

More believe-emotion-gerund

**Quwasunmi kuyakuywan**

Give-he to us (fut.)-def. love-emotion-with

**Ispiritullanta,**

Spirit-ID-his-DO

**Mañakunanchikpaq.**

Pray-potent.-we-so that

*Let's draw near to our God**Believing more**In the cross of Christ;**He will give us his spirit**With love,**So that we can pray.***Uyariychik huchasapakunap**

Listen-you (pl.)-imp. sinner-pl.-poss.

**Qapariynillanta,**

Clamour-his/her-only-DO

**“¡Hirus rikuykuytam munaniku!”**

Jesus to see-refl.-DO-def. desire-we (E.)

**Niykullasqankuta.**

Say-refl.-only-they (narr.)-DO

**¿Imanispam kaypi maskasunchik**

What-say-gerund-def. this-in look for-we (fut.)

**Salbu kanankupaq?**

Saved be-potent.-they-so that

**“Hisusllaman asuykuykuy”, nisun**

Jesus-only-to approach-emotion-you (imp.) say-we (fut.)

**Qawarinankupaq,**

See-begin-potent.-they-so that

**“Tukuy sunquykiwan iñiy”,**

All heart-your-with believe-you (imp.)

**nisun**

say-we (fut.)

**Salbu kanankupaq.**

Saved be-potent.-they-so that

*Listen to the clamour**Of the sinners,**“We want to see Jesus!”**Is what they have said.**What will we look for here**So they can be saved?**We will say “Draw near to Jesus only”,**So that they will begin to see Him,**We will say “Believe with all your heart”,**So that they will be saved.*

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>54      Isaiah 41.13</b></p> <p><b>Ñuqa Yus Taytakim</b><sup>22</sup> I      God Father-your-def. <b>Paña makillaykimanta</b> Right side hand-ID-your-to-DO <b>Hapiqniki kani;</b> Grasp-agent.-your be-I (pres.) <b>Ama manchakullayñachu</b> Do not fear-only-now-neg. <b>Yanapallasqaykipunim.</b><sup>23</sup> Help-always-I to you (fut.)-no doubt-def.</p>	<p><i>I your Father God</i></p> <p><i>Am the one who holds fast</i></p> <p><i>To your arm;</i></p> <p><i>Do not fear now</i></p> <p><i>For I will always help you.</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>55      Matthew 7.7-8</b></p> <p><b>Mañaychik qusunkichikmi,</b> Ask-you (pl. imp.) give-s/he to you (pl. fut.)-def. <b>Maskaychik tarinkichikmi,</b> Seek-you (pl. imp.) find-you (pl. fut.)-def. <b>Qayaychik kichapusunkim;</b> Call-you (pl. imp.) open-benefit-s/he to you (fut.)-def. <b>Mañaqqa chaskinmi,</b> Ask-agent.-topic receive-s/he (pres.)-def. <b>Maskaqqqa tarinmi,</b> Seek-agent.-topic find-s/he (pres.)-def. <b>Qáyaqmanqqa kichanqam.</b> Call-agent.-to-topic open-s/he (fut.)-def.</p>	<p><i>Ask and he will surely give to you,</i></p> <p><i>Seek and you will surely find,</i></p> <p><i>Call and he will surely open for you;</i></p> <p><i>The one who asks receives,</i></p> <p><i>The one who seeks finds,</i></p> <p><i>He will open to the one who calls.</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>56      Isaiah 41.10</b></p> <p><b>Ama manchakuychu,</b> Do not fear-you (imp.)-neg. <b>Ñuqam qanwan kani,</b> I-def. you-with be-I (pres.) <b>Amapuni llakikuychu,</b> In no way grieve-you (imp.)-neg. <b>Yusnillaykim kani,</b> God-only-your-def. be-I (pres.) <b>Kallpanchallasqaykim,</b> Strengthen-always-I to you (fut.)-def. <b>Yanapallasqaykim,</b> Help-always-I to you (fut.)-def. <b>Takyachikusqaykipunim</b> Establish definitively-I to you (fut.)-no doubt-def. <b>Paña makiywan.</b> Right side hand-my-with</p>	<p><i>Do not fear,</i></p> <p><i>I am with you,</i></p> <p><i>Do not grieve about anything,</i></p> <p><i>I am your only God,</i></p> <p><i>I will always strengthen you,</i></p> <p><i>I will always help you,</i></p> <p><i>I myself will surely establish you</i></p> <p><i>With my right arm.</i></p>

<sup>22</sup> Missing a 'y' – should be *Taytaykim*.

<sup>23</sup> 'l' should be 'll' – as in *yanapallasqaykipunim*.



<p style="text-align: center;"><b>57</b></p> <p><b>Grasyas grasyas Yusllanchikman,</b> Thank you thank you God-only-our (I.)-to</p> <p><b>Kuyay wawqilláy,</b> Love brother-dear-my</p> <p><b>Huchallanchik pampachaqman,</b> Sin-ID-our (I.) forgive-agent.-to</p> <p><b>Salbumasilláy.</b> Saved-companion-dear-my</p>	<p><i>Thank you thank you to our only God,</i></p> <p><i>My beloved brother,</i></p> <p><i>To the one who forgives our sins,</i></p> <p><i>My companion in salvation.</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>58</b></p> <p><b>Riqsikuyqa kachun Hisuspaq,</b> Recognition-topic be-ind. imp. Jesus-for</p> <p><b>Huchasapakuna salbaqpaq,</b> Sinner-pl. save-agent.-for</p> <p><b>Yawarllanwan hucha mayllaqpaq,</b> Blood-only-his-with sin wash-agent.-for</p> <p><b>Millay sunqu chuyayachiqpaq;</b> Disgusting heart clean-cause-agent.-for</p> <p><b>Pay riqsiyqa ancha kuyaymi,</b> Him to know-topic very love-def.</p> <p><b>Pay qatiyqa hapipakuymi,</b> Him to follow-topic to hold on-def.</p> <p><b>Pay kasuyqa yuyay tariymi,</b> Him to obey-topic wisdom to find-def.</p> <p><b>Paywan kayqa wiñay kawsaymi.</b> Him-with to be-topic eternal life-def.</p>	<p><i>All honour be to Jesus,</i></p> <p><i>To the one who saves sinners,</i></p> <p><i>To the one who washes from sin with his blood alone,</i></p> <p><i>To the one who purifies the disgusting heart;</i></p> <p><i>To know him is very precious,</i></p> <p><i>To follow him is to be secure,</i></p> <p><i>To obey him is to find wisdom,</i></p> <p><i>To be with him is eternal life.</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>59</b></p> <p><b>Hisusllata adurasun</b> Jesus-only-DO worship-we (I. fut.)</p> <p><b>Salbaqnillanchikta,</b> Saviour-only-our (I.)-DO</p> <p><b>Huchallanchik pampachaqta,</b> Sin-our (I.) forgive-agent.-DO</p> <p><b>Uqariqninchikta,</b> Raise-agent.-our (I.)-DO</p> <p><b>Lliwpi pusakuqllanchikta,</b> All-in guide-emotion-agent.-only-our (I.)-DO</p> <p><b>Payta adurasun.</b> Him-DO worship-we (I. fut.)</p>	<p><i>Let's worship Jesus only</i></p> <p><i>Only our Saviour,</i></p> <p><i>The one who forgives our sin,</i></p> <p><i>The one who raises us,</i></p> <p><i>Our guide in all things,</i></p> <p><i>We will worship him.</i></p>

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>60</b></p> <p><b>Grasyas, grasyas Yusnilláy</b> Thank you thank you God-dear-my <b>Churillaykimanta,</b> Son-only-your-for-DO <b>Huchallaypas mayllaqmantanta,</b> Sin-ID-my-also wash-agent.-for-DO <b>Grasyas Taytalláy.</b> Thank you Father-dear-my</p>	<p><i>Thank you thank you my dear God</i></p> <p><i>For your only son,</i></p> <p><i>For the one who washes my sin,</i></p> <p><i>Thank you my dear Father.</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>61</b></p> <p><b>Qamllam kanki Hisuslláy,</b> You-only-def. be-you (pres.) Jesus-dear-my <b>Wañuymantanta urquwaspa</b> Death-from release-you to me (gerund) <b>Salbakullawaqniy,</b> Save-refl.-only-agent.-my <b>Huchallayta pampachaspa</b> Sin-ID-my-DO forgive-gerund <b>Kallpanchallawaqniy;</b> Strengthen-only-agent.-my <b>Aduraykim Kamaqlláy.</b> Worship-I to you (pres.)-def. Creator-dear-my</p>	<p><i>Only you are my dear Jesus,</i></p> <p><i>Releasing me from death</i></p> <p><i>Only He is the one who saves me,</i></p> <p><i>Forgiving my sin</i></p> <p><i>Only He is the one who strengthens me;</i></p> <p><i>I worship you my dear Lord.</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>62</b></p> <p><b>Kuyakullawaspanchik,</b> Love-refl.-only-you to us (I. gerund) <b>Huchallanchikmantapas,</b> Sin-ID-our (I.)-from-also <b>Yawarnillanwanña,</b> Blood-only-his-with-now <b>Mayllawaqinchikta,</b> Wash-agent.-our (I.)-DO <b>Wiña-wiñaypaq adurallasun.</b> Always-always-for worship-only-we (fut.)</p>	<p><i>Only loving us,</i></p> <p><i>Now with his blood alone,</i></p> <p><i>Even from our sin,</i></p> <p><i>The one who washes us,</i></p> <p><i>Let us worship him forever and ever.</i></p>

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>63</b></p> <p><b>Kusikuyqa sunqullaypim kachkan,</b> Happiness-topic heart-only-my-in-def. be-cont.-it <b>Kuyawankipunim Hisusníy;</b> Love-you to me (pres.)-no doubt-def. Jesus-my <b>Huchaytam mayllankiña,</b> Sin-my-DO-def. wash-you (pres.)-now <b>Ripusaq silumanñam</b> Go-I (fut.) heaven-to-now-def. <b>Chayraykum sunquy kusikuchkan</b> That is why-def. heart-my be happy-cont.-it <b>Kamakniy<sup>24</sup>.</b> Creator-my</p>	<p><i>Happiness is in my heart,</i></p> <p><i>Surely you always love me my Jesus;</i></p> <p><i>You wash my sin,</i></p> <p><i>Now I will go to heaven</i></p> <p><i>That is why my heart is happy</i></p> <p><i>My Lord.</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>64</b></p> <p><b>Salbawankiñam Yus,</b> Save-you to me (pres.)-now-def. God <b>Taytalláy</b> Father-dear-my <b>Salbawankiñam Yusnilláy;</b> Save-you to me (pres.)-now-def. God-dear-my <b>Uqariqlláy, Waqaychaqlláy,</b> Raise-agent.-dear-my Guard-agent.-dear-my <b>Salbawankiñam Yusnilláy.</b> Save-you to me (pres.)-now-def. God-dear-my</p>	<p><i>Now you have saved me God my Father,</i></p> <p><i>Now you have saved me my dear God;</i></p> <p><i>The one who raises me, the one who cares for me,</i></p> <p><i>Now you have saved me my dear God.</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>65</b></p> <p><b>Qam Hisusnillaymi kanki,</b> You Jesus-dear-my-def. be-you (pres.) <b>Qam sapallaykiñam kanki;</b> You each-only-you-now-def. be-you (pres.) <b>Sapa punchaw Pusaqlláy,</b> Each day Guide-agent.-dear-my <b>Wiña-wiñay Kuyaylláy,</b> Always-always love-dear-my <b>Qam Hisusnillaymi kanki.</b> You Jesus-only-my-def. be-you (pres.)</p>	<p><i>Only you are my Jesus,</i></p> <p><i>Surely you alone are that;</i></p> <p><i>The one who guides me each day,</i></p> <p><i>The one who loves me forever and ever,</i></p> <p><i>Only you are my Jesus.</i></p>

<sup>24</sup> Misspelled – should be *kamaqniy*.

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>66</b></p> <p><b>Wañupwasqaykimanta</b> Die-benefit-you to me (narr.)-for-DO</p> <p><b>Grasyas Hisuslláy,</b> Thank you Jesus-dear-my</p> <p><b>Salballawasqaykimanta</b> Save-only-you to me (narr.)-for-DO</p> <p><b>Grasyas Kamaqlláy,</b> Thank you Creator-dear-my</p> <p><b>Munaychakuy ñuqamanta,</b> Bless-refl.-you (imp.) me-of</p> <p><b>Salbakuwaqlláy.</b> Saviour-only-my</p>	<p><i>Thank you my dear Jesus</i></p> <p><i>For having died for me,</i></p> <p><i>Thank you my dear Creator</i></p> <p><i>For having saved me,</i></p> <p><i>Be my Lord,</i></p> <p><i>My only Saviour.</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>67</b></p> <p><b>Grasyas Qanman kachun Yusnilláy,</b> Thank you You-to be-it (ind. imp.) God-dear-my</p> <p><b>Mikuy quwasqallaykikumanta,</b> Food give-you to us (E. narr.)-for</p> <p><b>Wirpullayku kallpanchaykuqmanta</b> Body-ID-our (E.) strengthen-emotion-agent.-from</p> <p><b>Grasyas Qanman kachun Yusnilláy.</b> Thank you You-to be-it (ind. imp.) God-dear-my</p>	<p><i>To you be thanks my dear God,</i></p> <p><i>For having given us food,</i></p> <p><i>From the one who strengthens our body</i></p> <p><i>To you be thanks my dear God.</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>68</b></p> <p><b>Kichariway Yusnilláy,</b> Open-you to me (imp.) God-dear-my</p> <p><b>Yachayniypa ñawillanta,</b> Understanding-my-poss. eye-ID-its-DO</p> <p><b>Suma-sumaq simillaykip</b> Beautiful-beautiful word-ID-your-poss.</p> <p><b>Nillawasqan yachanaypaq.</b> Tell-only-it to me (narr.) know-potent.-I-so that</p>	<p><i>Open for me my dear God,</i></p> <p><i>The eye of my understanding,</i></p> <p><i>So that I know what your most precious word</i></p> <p><i>Has told me.</i></p>

69

**Niykullaway** **Hisuslláy,**  
Tell-emotion-only-you to me (imp.) Jesus-dear-my  
**Sumaq qillqaykiwan**  
Beautiful scripture-your-with  
**Qampa munasqayki kaqta,**  
You-poss. desire-perf.-your thing-DO  
**Chaylla ruranaypaq.**  
Soon do-potent.-I-so that

*Only tell me*

*What your will is my dear Jesus,*

*With your precious word,*

*So that I can do it immediately.*

70

**Simillayki kachun Hisuslláy,**  
Word-ID-your be-it (ind. imp.) Jesus-dear-my  
**Huk ispigu hina ñuqallaypaq,**  
One mirror like me-ID-for  
**Huchaykuna qawanaypaq,**  
Sin-my-pl. see-potent.-I-so that  
**Rikukuspa Qanman willakuptiy,**  
See-refl.-gerund You-to confess-when-I  
**Yawarllayki mayllaykuwanampaq.**  
Blood-ID-your wash-emotion-it to me (potent.)-so that

*Let your word be like a mirror for me*

*My Jesus,*

*To see my sins,*

*When I confess to you seeing it,*

*So that your blood will wash me.*

71

**Yanapaykullaway** **Hisuslláy,**  
Help-emotion-only-you to me (imp.) Jesus-dear-my  
**Simillayki qawariykunaypaq,**  
Word-ID-your see-begin-emotion-potent.-I-so that  
**Kawsay tantaykita mikunaypaq,**  
Life bread-your-DO eat-potent.-I-so that  
**Kallpanchaykullaway,**  
Strengthen-emotion-only-you to me (imp.)  
**Kamaqlláy**  
Creator-dear-my  
**Yachasqaykunawan sirbinaypaq.**  
Know-perf.-my-pl.-with to serve-for

*Please help me my dear Jesus,*

*So that I can see your word,*

*So that I can eat your bread of life,*

*Please strengthen me my dear Creator,*

*To serve you with all I know.*

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>72</b></p> <p><b>Qamllapunim salballawaranki</b> You-only-no doubt-def. save-only-you to me (past)</p> <p><b>Huchayta mayllaspa, sumaq Hisuslláy;</b> Sin-my-DO wash-gerund beautiful Jesus-dear- my</p> <p><b>Qamllapunim ñuqallaypaq kanki,</b> You-only-no doubt-def. me-ID-for be-you (pres.)</p> <p><b>Waqaychaway lliwpi Pusaqlláy.</b> Secure-you to me (imp.) all-in Guide-dear-my</p>	<p><i>You alone saved me</i></p> <p><i>Washing my sin my precious Jesus;</i></p> <p><i>You alone are only for me,</i></p> <p><i>Protect me in all my dear Guide.</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>73</b></p> <p><b>Kristup wañuyninwanmi,</b> Christ-poss. death-his-with-def.</p> <p><b>Kristup yawarninwanmi,</b> Christ-poss. blood-his-with-def.</p> <p><b>Salballawarqanki Yusnilláy;</b> Save-only-you to me (past) God-dear-my</p> <p><b>Kallpanchaykullaway</b> Strengthen-emotion-only-you to me (imp.)</p> <p><b>Kamaqlláy.</b> Lord-dear-my</p>	<p><i>With Christ's death,</i></p> <p><i>With Christ's blood,</i></p> <p><i>You saved me my God;</i></p> <p><i>Please strengthen me my Creator.</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>74</b></p> <p><b>Kuyawaspaykim wañuynikiwan</b> Love-you to me (gerund)-def. death-your-with</p> <p><b>Salballawanki Qam Hisusnilláy,</b> Save-only-you to me (pres.) You Jesus-dear-my</p> <p><b>Kawсарispaykim allimpawanki,</b> Rise to life-gerund-your-def. reconcile-you to me (pres.)</p> <p><b>Kutimullayña Kamaq Hisuslláy.</b> Return-only-you (imp.)-now Creator Jesus-dear- my</p>	<p><i>Loving me with your death</i></p> <p><i>You save me my dear Jesus,</i></p> <p><i>Rising to life you reconcile me,</i></p> <p><i>Return now Jesus my Creator.</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>75</b></p> <p><b>Suyachkaykim, suyachkaykim</b> Wait-cont.-I to you (pres.)-def. wait-cont.-I to you (pres.)-def.</p> <p><b>Kay-pachapi Hisuslláy,</b> This-world-in Jesus-dear-my</p> <p><b>Llakistimpas Kamaqníy,</b> Be sad-gerund-also Creator-my</p> <p><b>Waqastimpas Salbaqníy,</b> Cry-gerund-also Saviour-my</p> <p><b>Tuta punchaw Hisuslláy,</b> Night day Jesus-dear-my</p> <p><b>Suyachkaykim.</b> Wait-cont.-I to you-def.</p>	<p><i>I am waiting for you</i></p> <p><i>In this world my dear Jesus,</i></p> <p><i>Also being sad my Creator,</i></p> <p><i>Also sobbing my Saviour,</i></p> <p><i>Night and day my dear Jesus,</i></p> <p><i>I am waiting for you.</i></p>

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>76</b></p> <p><b>Akchispa, akchispa,</b> Shine-gerund shine-gerund <b>Hisus kanchanayta munan;</b> Jesus to give light-potent.-my-DO desire-he (pres.) <b>Mañaykim, mañaykim</b> Ask-I to you (pres.)-def. ask-I to you (pres.)-def. <b>Kallpata Kamaqnilláy.</b> Strength-DO Creator-dear-my</p>	<p><i>Shining, shining,</i></p> <p><i>Jesus wants me to give light;</i></p> <p><i>I ask of you</i></p> <p><i>Strength my dear Creator.</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>77</b></p> <p><b>Hisuslláy yanapaway</b> Jesus-dear-my help-you to me (imp.) <b>Sapa punchawpuni,</b> Each day-no doubt <b>Kunampas kallpanchaway</b> Now-also strengthen-you to me (imp.) <b>Salbakuqnilláy.</b> Saviour-dear-my</p>	<p><i>Help me my dear Jesus</i></p> <p><i>Always each day,</i></p> <p><i>Now also strengthen me</i></p> <p><i>My dear Saviour.</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>78</b></p> <p><b>Hisusnilláy mayllaway huchayta,</b> Jesus-dear-my wash-you to me (pres.) sin-my-DO <b>Sunquypi churaykuway,</b> Heart-my-in put-emotion-you to me (imp.) <b>kallpata</b> strength-DO <b>Imam kaytapuni chaskiway,</b> Like-def. this-DO-no doubt receive- you to me (imp.) <b>Qamllapaq wiñay kawsachikuway,</b> You-only-for always live-cause-emotion-you to me (imp.) <b>Waqaychaykuway sapa punchawpi,</b> Secure-emotion-you to me (imp.) each day-in <b>Pusaway kay ñakiriy<sup>25</sup> pachapi,</b> Guide-you to me (imp.) this to suffer world-in <b>Sunqullay kachun tiyanaykipaq,</b> Heart-ID-my be-it (ind. imp.) sit-conc.-your-for <b>Qamllaña munaychakunaykipaq.</b> You-alone-now bless-refl.-potent.-you-so that</p>	<p><i>Wash my sin my dear Jesus,</i></p> <p><i>Put strength in my heart,</i></p> <p><i>Receive me just as I am,</i></p> <p><i>Make me live always only for you,</i></p> <p><i>Care for me each day,</i></p> <p><i>Guide me in this suffering world,</i></p> <p><i>Let my heart be only for you to sit,</i></p> <p><i>So that only you will be Lord.</i></p>

<sup>25</sup> Misspelled – should be *ñakariy*.

**Kancharichiway** **Hisusnilláy,**  
Shine-begin-cause-you to me (imp.) Jesus-dear-my  
**Kancharichiway,**  
Shine-begin-cause-you to me (imp.)  
**Akchiqnillay**  
Lighten-agent.-only-my  
**Sapa punchawña rimallasqaypi,**  
Each day-now speak-only-perf.-my-in  
**Puncha-punchawña rurallasqaypi,**  
Day-day-now do-only-perf.-my-in  
**Lliw huchallapi kawsaqkunapas,**  
All sin-only-in live-agent.-pl.-also  
**Kikikipuni ñuqallaypiña,**  
You yourself-no doubt me-ID-in-now  
**Kawsasqaykita rikullasqanku**<sup>26</sup>  
Live-I to you (fut.)-DO see-only-gerund-they  
**Asuykamusunaykipaq.**  
Draw near-he to you (potent.)-so that

*Make me shine my dear Jesus,*  
*Make me shine my only Light,*  
*Each day in my speech,*  
*Day by day in what I do,*  
*You yourself only now in me,*  
*So that all those who live in sin,*  
*Seeing that I live for you,*  
*Will draw near to you.*

**Salbakuqnilláy,**  
Saviour-dear-my  
**Qamllamanmi hamullani,**  
You-only-to-def. come-only-I (pres.)  
**Mayllaykullaway,**  
Wash-emotion-only-you to me (imp.)  
**Kallpanchaykuway,**  
Strengthen-emotion-you to me (imp.)  
**Wañupwasqaykirayku**  
Die-benefit-you to me (narr.)-because  
**Yanapaykuway,**  
Help-emotion-you to me (imp.)  
**Yachaykachiway,**  
To know-make-you to me (imp.)  
**Munasqayki ruranaypaq**  
Desire-perf.-your do-potent.-I-so that  
**Hisukristulláy.**  
Jesus Christ-dear-my

*My dear Saviour*  
*Only to you I come,*  
*Please wash me,*  
*Please strengthen me,*  
*Because you have died for me*  
*Please help me,*  
*Make me to know,*  
*So that I do your will*  
*My dear Jesus Christ.*

<sup>26</sup> Misspelled – should be *rikullaspanku*.



<p style="text-align: center;"><b>81</b></p> <p><b>Kawsaq Yuspa Ispiritun</b> Live-agent. God-poss. Spirit-his</p> <p><b>Yaykuykuway sunquyman,</b> Enter-emotion-you to me (imp.) heart-my-to</p> <p><b>Aswan, aswan, astawan,</b> Still more still more more</p> <p><b>Yuspa Ispiritun.</b> God-poss. Spirit-his</p> <p><b>Huntaykuway ñuqallayman,</b> Fill-emotion-you to me (imp.) me-ID-to</p> <p><b>Rikcharichiy almayta,</b> Wake up-cause-you (imp.) to soul-my-DO</p> <p><b>Kawsarichiy sunquyta.</b> Live-begin-cause-you (imp.) heart-my-DO</p>	<p><i>Spirit of the living God</i></p> <p><i>Please come into my heart,</i></p> <p><i>More, more, and even more,</i></p> <p><i>Spirit of God.</i></p> <p><i>Fill me,</i></p> <p><i>Cause my soul to wake up,</i></p> <p><i>Revive my heart.</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>82</b></p> <p><b>Kunan pusallaway Hisuslláy,</b> Now guide-only-you to me (imp.) Jesus-dear-my</p> <p><b>Salbay munasqayki kaqmampuni,</b> To save desire-perf.-your place-to-no doubt</p> <p><b>Yachachiway imam niyta,</b> Teach-you to me (imp.) what-def. to say-DO</p> <p><b>Mana manchakuspa rimariyta,</b> Not be afraid-gerund to speak-begin-DO</p> <p><b>Qamllamanta willaptiytaq</b> You-ID-of tell-when-I-conn.</p> <p><b>Rumi-sunqu kaqpas iñinampaq;</b> Stone-heart person-also believe-potent.-s/he-so that</p> <p><b>Kunan pusallaway Hisuslláy.</b> Now guide-only-you to me (imp.) Jesus-dear-my</p>	<p><i>Now guide me my dear Jesus</i></p> <p><i>To the place where you want to save me,</i></p> <p><i>Teach me what to say,</i></p> <p><i>To speak without being afraid,</i></p> <p><i>And when I tell of you</i></p> <p><i>May the hard-hearted also believe;</i></p> <p><i>Guide me now my dear Jesus.</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>83</b></p> <p><b>Asuykachiway Kamaqnilláy,</b> Draw near-cause-you to me (imp.) Creator-my-dear</p> <p><b>Wañullasqayki krusllaman,</b> Die-ID-perf.-your cross-only-to</p> <p><b>Aswan hichpaman Salbakuqlláy,</b> Still more close-until Saviour-dear-my</p> <p><b>Kirisqa kaq waqtallaykiman.</b> Wound-perf. place side-only-your-to</p>	<p><i>Cause me to draw near my Creator,</i></p> <p><i>Only to the cross of your death,</i></p> <p><i>Even closer my dear Saviour,</i></p> <p><i>To your wounded side alone.</i></p>

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>84</b></p> <p><b>Sirbinqikipaqña ruralloway,</b> Serve-agent.-your-for-now make-only-you to me (imp.)</p> <p><b>Ispirituykiwan kallpanchaway,</b> Spirit-your-with strengthen-you to me (imp.)</p> <p><b>Munallasqaykita ruray,</b> Desire-only-perf.-your-DO do-you (imp.)</p> <p><b>ñuqallaypi</b> me-ID-in</p> <p><b>Sirbikunallaypaq Hisuslláy.</b> Serve-emotion-potent.-only-I-so that Jesus-dear-my</p>	<p><i>Now make me one who serves you,</i></p> <p><i>With your Spirit strengthen me,</i></p> <p><i>Do your will in me,</i></p> <p><i>So that I can serve you Jesus.</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>85</b></p> <p><b>Yuyarichiway Yusnilláy,</b> Remember-cause-you to me (imp.) God-dear-my</p> <p><b>Waqaychapwsay<sup>27</sup> sunquypi,</b> Secure-benefit-you to me (imp.) heart-my-in</p> <p><b>Hisusnillaypa ñakariykuspan,</b> Jesus-ID-my-poss. suffer-emotion-gerund-his</p> <p><b>Huchallaykuna apallasqanta.</b> Sin-ID-my-pl. carry-only-narr.-he-DO</p>	<p><i>Cause me to remember my dear God,</i></p> <p><i>Hold it in my heart,</i></p> <p><i>How suffering, my Jesus</i></p> <p><i>Has taken my sins.</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>86</b></p> <p><b>Lliw sunquymi Hisusniypaq,</b> All heart-my-def. Jesus-my-for</p> <p><b>Hatu-hatun Salbaqniypaq,</b> Big-big Saviour-my-for</p> <p><b>Imam kaqmi wiña-wiñaypaq,</b> Also-def. the same-def. always-always-for</p> <p><b>Payllapaqmi kawsakuyniypas.</b> Him-only-for-def. flourishing life-my-also</p>	<p><i>All my heart is for my Jesus,</i></p> <p><i>For my great Saviour,</i></p> <p><i>He is the same for ever and ever,</i></p> <p><i>My life is for Him only.</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>87</b></p> <p><b>Qatisaqmi, qatisaqmi Hisusniyta,</b> Follow-I (fut.)-def. follow-I (fut.)-def. Jesus-my-DO</p> <p><b>Urqupipas, qasapipas Paytam,</b> Mountain-in-also frost-in-also Him-DO-def.</p> <p><b>Llakisqapas, kuisqapas Paytam,</b> Sad-perf.-also joy-perf.-also Him-DO-def.</p> <p><b>Urquspapas<sup>28</sup>, wañuspapas Paytam,</b> Be ill-gerund-also die-gerund-also Him-DO-def.</p> <p><b>Qatisaqmi, qatisaqmi Hisusniyta.</b> Follow-I (fut.)-def. follow-I (fut.)-def. Jesus-my-DO</p>	<p><i>I will follow, I will follow my Jesus,</i></p> <p><i>Be it on the mountain or in the frost – only Him,</i></p> <p><i>Saddened or joyful – only Him,</i></p> <p><i>Being ill or dying – only Him,</i></p> <p><i>I will follow, I will follow my Jesus.</i></p>

<sup>27</sup> Misspelled – should be *waqaychapuway*.

<sup>28</sup> Misspelled – should be *unquspapas*.

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>88</b></p> <p><b>Kuyakuqniy Hisusllamanmi</b> Love-agent.-my Jesus-only-to-def. <b>Rikchakuyta munani,</b> To appear like-DO desire-I (pres.) <b>Sunquwanmi kuyani;</b> Heart-with-def. love-I (pres.) <b>Sapa punchaw Payllamampuni</b> Each day Him-only/always-to-no doubt <b>Hukllawakuykuspaymi<sup>29</sup></b> Union-emotion-gerund-I-def. <b>Kawsakuyta munani.</b> To live-DO desire-I (pres.)</p>	<p><i>I only want to be like</i></p> <p><i>My beloved Jesus,</i></p> <p><i>I love him from the heart;</i></p> <p><i>I want to live</i></p> <p><i>Each day always and only</i></p> <p><i>Uniting myself to Him.</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>89</b></p> <p><b>Hisuswanmi kawsakullani</b> Jesus-with-def. live-refl.-only-I (pres.) <b>Wasiypipas, ñampipas;</b> House-my-in-also path-in-also <b>Paywampunim purikullani</b> Him-with-no doubt-def. walk-refl.-only-I (pres.) <b>Maypi kallasqaypipas.</b> Where be-only-perf.-my-in-also</p>	<p><i>I live only with Jesus</i></p> <p><i>Be it in my house or on the way;</i></p> <p><i>Wherever I am</i></p> <p><i>I always walk with Him.</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>90</b></p> <p><b>Hisuswan puriytam munani,</b> Jesus-with to walk-DO-def. desire-I (pres.) <b>Hisuswan kawsaytam munani,</b> Jesus-with to live-DO-def. desire-I (pres.) <b>Hisuswan wañuytam munani,</b> Jesus-with to die-def. desire-I (pres.) <b>Llapanman willaytam munani.</b> All-to to tell-DO-def. desire-I (pres.)</p>	<p><i>I want to walk with Jesus,</i></p> <p><i>I want to live with Jesus,</i></p> <p><i>I want to die with Jesus,</i></p> <p><i>I want to tell everyone.</i></p>

<sup>29</sup> Misspelled – should be *hukllachakuykuspaymi*.

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>91</b></p> <p><b>Makillayqa ruranqam,</b> Hand-ID-my-topic do-it (fut.)-def. <b>Chakillayqa purinqam,</b> Foot-ID-my-topic walk-it (fut.)-def. <b>Simillayqa willanqam,</b> Mouth-ID-my-topic tell-it (fut.)-def. <b>Qamllapaqña Hisuslláy,</b> You-only-for-now Jesus-dear-my <b>Ñuqallayta kachaway,</b> Me-only-DO send-you to me (imp.) <b>Sirbisqaykim Kamaqlláy.</b> Serve-I to you (fut.)-def. Creator-dear-my</p>	<p><i>My hand will do,</i></p> <p><i>My foot will walk,</i></p> <p><i>My mouth will tell,</i></p> <p><i>For you alone my Jesus,</i></p> <p><i>Send only me,</i></p> <p><i>I will serve you my dear Creator.</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>92</b></p> <p><b>Yusnillayqa kawsachkaqpunim,</b> God-ID-my-topic live-cont.-agent.-no doubt-def. <b>Chayllapunim uyariykuwan,</b> Immediately-no doubt-def. hear-emotion-he to me (pres.) <b>Kay pachapi chiqniqniykuna</b> This world-in hate-agent.-my-pl. <b>Wañunaypaq maskawaptimpas,</b> Die-conc.-my-for seek-when-he to me-also <b>Rapranwanmi pakaykullawan.</b> Wing-his-with-def. hide-emotion-only-he to me (pres.)</p>	<p><i>My ever living God,</i></p> <p><i>Hears me immediately,</i></p> <p><i>Though in this world those who hate me</i></p> <p><i>Seek me for my death,</i></p> <p><i>He himself hides me with his large wing.</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>93</b></p> <p><b>Wakllay kruspim Kristu</b> That-ID cross-on-def. Christ <b>ñakaripullawarqa,</b> Suffer-benefit-only-he to me (past) <b>Kawsaq Yuspa sapay Churinmi</b> Live-agent. God-poss. only Son-his-def. <b>rantiwarqa,</b> bought-he to me (past) <b>Ñuqap rantiypim Kristu</b> Me-poss. purchase-my-in-def. Christ <b>wañurqa kuyakuwaspa,</b> die-he (past) love-he to me (gerund) <b>Chaymi qullani tukuy sunquyta</b> That is why give-only-I (pres.) all heart-my-DO <b>kawsakunampaq.</b> Live-potent.-he-so that</p>	<p><i>On that cross Christ surely</i></p> <p><i>suffered for me,</i></p> <p><i>The living God's only son bought</i></p> <p><i>me,</i></p> <p><i>In my place Christ died</i></p> <p><i>loving me,</i></p> <p><i>That is why I give him all my heart</i></p> <p><i>for Him to live in.</i></p>

## Maps

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Map 1: South America

From South America, Vol.13, No.10, July-August 1933, p.148.

Map 2: The town and province of Andahuaylas, Apurímac, Peru

Original source unknown

Map 3: Andahuaylas in relation to important adjoining cities and towns

Pons Muzzo, Gustavo, Compendio de Historia del Perú, Lima: Labrusa, 1983-84, p.32.

Map 4: Andahuaylas in relation to important adjoining cities and towns



## Appendix 2 - Major Quechua Terms

<i>Aclla/aklla</i> : vestal virgin, chosen woman	55
<i>Akllakuykuy</i> : to choose	205
<i>Allauca</i> : right	48
<i>Allirimay</i> : to order	260
<i>Allpa</i> : ground	222-3
<i>Ama llulla</i> : values - do not lie, truth	42, 56, 99, 204, 213
<i>Ama qella</i> : values - do not be lazy	42, 56, 204
<i>Ama suwa</i> : values - do not rob	42, 56, 204
<i>Amauta</i> : teacher, wise man	104, 143, 153, 335, 351, 353
<i>Apachitas</i> : altars	244
<i>Apu</i> : local mountain peaks & spirits	24, 52, 164, 173, 205, 208-9, 234, 241, 264-5, 283, 314, 337
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<i>Cayao</i> : conquered peoples	54
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<i>Coya</i> : wife of the Inca	50
<i>Curaca</i> : chief	48
<i>Curacazgo</i> : chiefdom	48
<i>Chaskiy</i> : to receive	291
<i>Chaqchuqmi</i> : one who sheds	318
<i>Chaqchuy</i> : to shed	192, 200, 240, 266, 311, 318
<i>Chaska</i> : star	224, 314
<i>Chasqui</i> : runner	336
<i>Chicha</i> : fermented drink	43
<i>Chimpamuy</i> : to cross over	175, 195, 203, 245, 285
<i>Chinkasqata</i> : the lost	305
<i>Chiqap, cheqaqta</i> : truth	204
<i>Chullallam</i> : only one, unique	180
<i>Churi/churillay</i> : son of the father	205, 210, 285, 301, 313
<i>Chuya, chuyay</i> : clean, pure	187, 240
<i>Chuyakunapas</i> : saints	233
<i>Ch'allay</i> : to sprinkle, like prayers	42, 192
<i>Haku hikin</i> : let's go	193
<i>Hamukuy</i> : come	245
<i>Hamuway</i> : come to me	190
<i>Hamuy</i> : come	190, 202
<i>Hanan</i> : above	48, 298
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<i>Huacas</i> : spirits particular to place and people	54, 57-8, 68, 205, 207, 217, 219, 233, 235, 242, 247, 282, 311, 316, 331
<i>Huayno/wayñu</i> : music about nature, collective dance	12, 105, 150
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<i>Iñiqniypaq</i> : for all who believe	187
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<i>Inti</i> : sun	220
<i>Jailli</i> : song of triumph	40, 104, 277
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<i>Kamaq</i> : creator	177, 182, 183, 184, 213, 266, 268, 302, 323
<i>Kamaspa</i> : ordering	222
<i>Kanchaq</i> : one who shines	173, 207, 297, 310-11, 324
<i>Kawsankim</i> : you live, will live	246
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<i>Kawsariy</i> : to resuscitate, live	279
<i>Kawsay</i> : life	100
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<i>Killa</i> : moon	220
<i>Kuchuy</i> : to cut	288
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<i>Kuska</i> : together	252
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<i>Llaqtaymi</i> : my town	173
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<i>Llulla</i> : lie	225
<i>Llump'aq</i> : pure	201
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<i>Machus</i> : old men	234

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<i>Mañakuy</i> : ask for, borrow	176, 267, 259
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<i>Muyuriqnimpim</i> : encircling	311
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<i>Nunakuna</i> : souls	243
<i>Ñan</i> : road, path, way	175
<i>Ñaupas</i> : ancient people	203
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<i>Pachacuti</i> : period of time, Inca who defeated the Chancas/Chankas	30, 46, 48, 70, 183, 224, 284, 298, 331
<i>Pachamama</i> : mother cosmos	28, 49, 50-52, 136, 165, 173, 174, 192-3, 219, 221, 233, 239, 240, 283, 337
<i>Pachatata</i> : father cosmos	49
<i>Pampachaqniy</i> : my forgiver	240
<i>Pani</i> : sister of a male, cousin, friend	293
<i>Panpachay</i> : level the ground	270
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<i>Paqo</i> : healer	289
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<i>Qasi/casi</i> : peace	270

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<i>Qespiy</i> : to save; <i>qespiq</i> : Saviour	183, 266-7, 270-71
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<i>Quena</i> : flute	11
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<i>Quwayku</i> : give us	267
<i>Q'oymi</i> : burnt offering	60
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<i>Ruranaypaq</i> : in order to do	319
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<i>Sinchi</i> : great warrior	30
<i>Sumaq</i> : beautiful, good	181, 201
<i>Suni</i> : between 3,600 and 3,900 above sea level	25
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<i>Supay</i> : devil	182-3
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<i>Taytaykim</i> : your father	189
<i>Tokoyrikoq</i> : overseers	55
<i>Tukuy</i> : to finish, put an end to	237
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<i>Wanka</i> : elegy	105
<i>Wañuy</i> : to die	237
<i>Wasikita</i> : your house	231
<i>Wawa/wawata</i> : baby, child	269, 314, 319
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<i>Wichiy</i> : to fall	250
<i>Willanallapaq</i> : for telling	175
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<i>Yawar</i> : blood	175, 192, 239-41, 317
<i>Yayaykin</i> : your Father, Lord, Sir, priest	189
<i>Yaykuychik</i> : come in! (imp.)	194
<i>Ychuris</i> : confessors	247-8
<i>Yupaspa</i> : accounting for	222
<i>Yupaychay</i> : to honour, worship	171, 179, 206
<i>Yusmi</i> : God	209
<i>Yuyariy</i> : remember	237, 309
<i>Yuyaychik</i> : think! (imp.)	300

## Appendix 3 : Maps

Maps used by kind permission of Latin Link

Map 1: South America



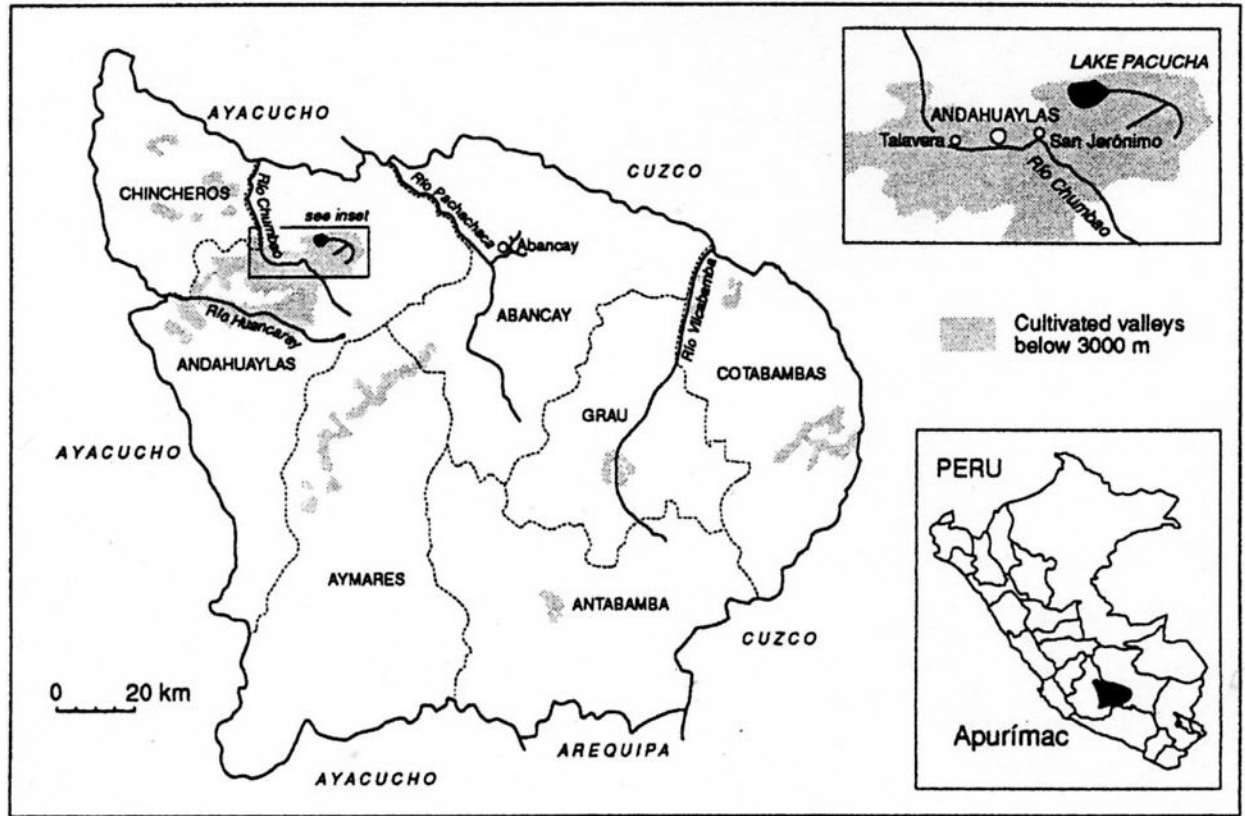
From *South America* Vol.13, No.10 (July-August 1933): 148.

Map 2: Peru with limits of the Chanka confederation



From Enrique González Carré, *Los Señoríos Chankas* (Lima: Instituto Andino de Estudios Arqueológicos, 1992), 21.

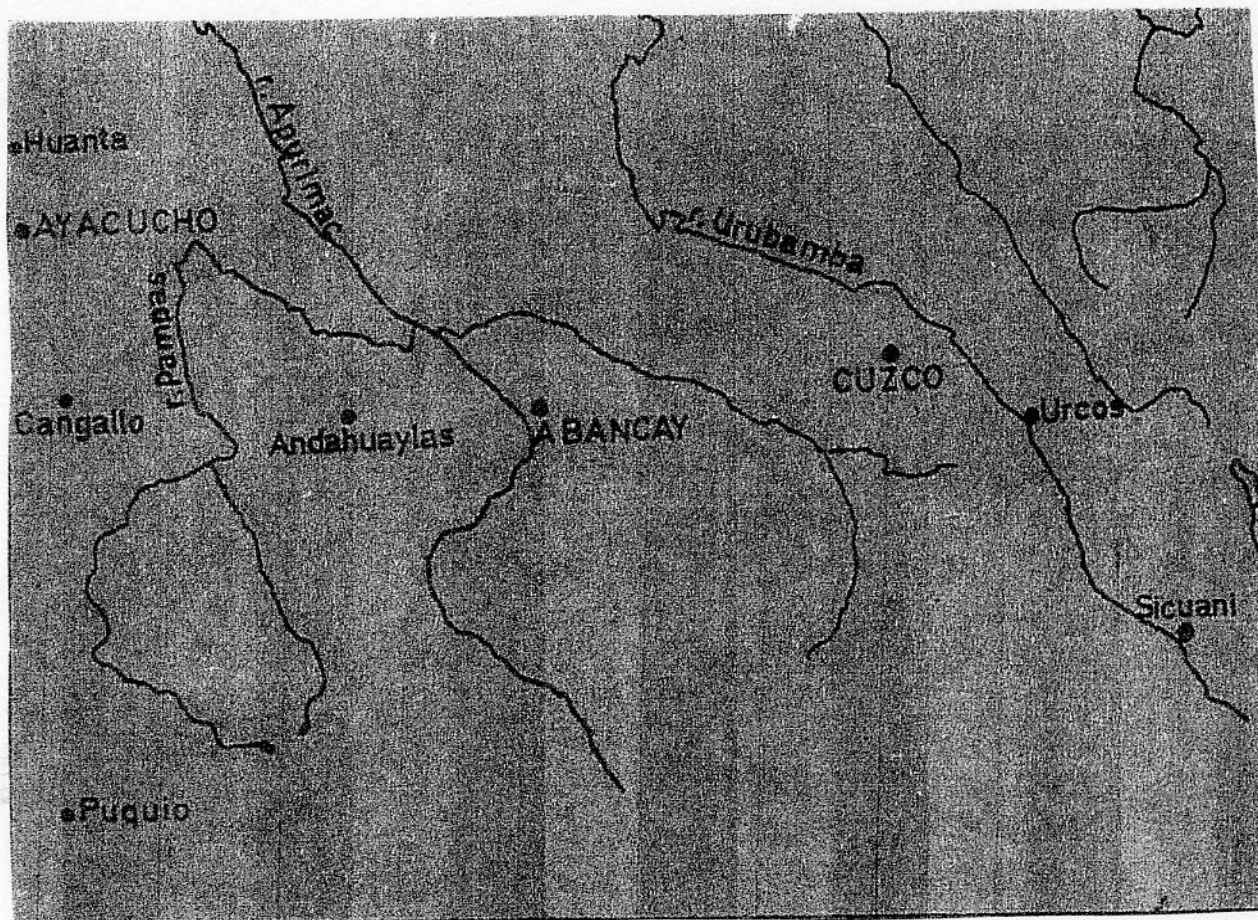
Map 3: The town and province of Andahuaylas, Apurímac, Peru



Original source unknown



Map 4: Andahuaylas in relation to important adjoining cities and towns



Gustavo Pons Muzzo, *Compendio de Historia del Perú* (Lima: Labrusa, 1983-84), 32.