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Divine Encounters: Túpac Yupanqui and Lono in the Mythical Construction of the Seafaring Gods

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Abstract

This article analyzes two historical episodes in which seafaring leaders were interpreted as divinities by island cultures: the voyage of the Inca Túpac Yupanqui to Oceania in the 15th century and the arrival of Captain James Cook to Hawaii in the 18th century, where he was identified as the god Lono. Drawing on historical, ethnographic, and colonial chronicle sources, the article examines the technological, symbolic, and cultural elements that fostered such confusion. It is proposed that these encounters constituted not only material exchanges but also profound mythological resignifications, in which premodern navigation played a central role in the construction of identities and sacred narratives. This comparative analysis invites us to reconsider Eurocentric narratives about American isolation and to recognize the interoceanic circulation of knowledge and technologies in pre-Columbian and colonial contexts.

Keywords: Túpac Yupanqui; Lono; James Cook; pre-Columbian navigation; Oceania; Hawaii; historical anthropology

1. Introduction

Historical chronicles and oral traditions from various island societies record episodes in which foreign figures (Rivet 1960; Rodríguez-Arenas 1988; Guerra Curvelo 2004; Fariñas Maciel 2020; Mayo Santana 2023; Cristino and Fuentes 2011), distinguished by their physical or technological traits, were interpreted as divine manifestations. Far from being exceptional, such phenomena have occurred across different periods and latitudes throughout human history. In this regard, the present study examines two paradigmatic cases which, despite being separated by more than three centuries and emerging in distinct geographical and cultural contexts, reveal striking parallels in the ways insular societies interpreted the arrival of outsiders.

The first case concerns the expedition of Túpac Yupanqui, sovereign of the Tawantinsuyu, who, according to various chronicles (Barlow 1949; Porras 1946; Araneda Maldonado 2021; Baulenas 2015) and oral traditions, embarked on a voyage toward Oceania around 1465 CE, reaching islands where he was recognized and venerated as the god Tupa. The second case refers to the arrival of the English explorer James Cook in Hawaii in 1778 (Hughes 2020; Perin 2020; da Costa 2010; Pancorbo 2009), when he was identified with Lono, a deity associated with fertility, peace, and the Makahiki festivities.

It is noteworthy that in both episodes, the initial perception of divinity not only facilitated hospitality and exchange with local populations but also reveals the profound interconnection between worldview, symbolic systems, and modes of receiving the "other" in island societies. However, the cultural and political outcomes followed divergent

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trajectories: while the voyage attributed to Túpac Yupanqui became inscribed in the mythical-political memory of the Tawantinsuyu and in narratives reinforcing the expansive capacity of the Inca state (Dorado Sáinz 2017), Cook's visit led to tensions and conflicts that culminated in his death (Sahlins 2009), marking a turning point in the relations between Hawaii and the Western world. From this perspective, the aim of this reflection is twofold: first, to compare these episodes in order to identify common patterns in the symbolic reception processes (Costilla 2010) of extraordinary visitors; and second, to examine how navigation and cultural exchange (Bernabéu Albert 2013; Alcina et al. 1999; Fernández 2011; Favila Vázquez and Jaramillo Arango 2024; Niño 2022; Llagostera 1990; Medina Muñoz 2020; Ruiz 2022; Biar 2022; Castro Espinoza 2019; Marcos 2005; Tovar Cabañas 2010; Jaramillo 2018) have contributed to shaping religious imaginaries and transforming the interrelations between political power, social organization, and collective belief systems. In this way, the present approach seeks to underscore the importance of human and maritime mobility as a driving force of change in global cultural history.

2. Materials and Methods

This study adopts a historical-comparative approach (Torres Reina 2021; Collier 1992), grounded in a documentary review of chronicles, ethnographic texts, and academic studies. The sources include testimonies from chroniclers such as Guamán Poma de Ayala ([1615] 1936) and Girolamo Benzoni (1572), as well as analyses by contemporary authors such as Del Busto (2006), Sahlins (1981, 1985), and Kuykendall (1957). The analysis was structured in three phases: (1) systematization of technological, symbolic, and ritual descriptions in both cases; (2) identification of similarities and differences in the perception of seafarers as deities; and (3) interpretation of the findings through the lens of historical anthropology (Lorandi and Wilde 2000) and cultural contact studies (Celestino Pérez et al. 2008; Foladori 1971).

3. Results

3.1. The God Tupa and His Expedition to Oceania

According to historian Del Busto (2006), Túpac Yupanqui is believed to have undertaken a maritime expedition toward Oceania around A.D. 1465, commanding a fleet of approximately 400 rafts and more than 20,000 men. He reportedly arrived at the islands of Auachumbi and Ninachumbi, where he was received as a deity (Tupa) due to his self-proclaimed descent from the Sun (Del Busto Duthurburu 2005) and the grandeur of his retinue. In addition, Inca vessels—described by Girolamo Benzoni (1572) and later reconstructed by Del Busto (2006)—displayed advanced technical features for their time: bipodal masts, cotton sails, guaras that allowed maneuvering without a rudder, protective cabins, and stone-based anchoring systems. However, the reliability of this reconstruction has been the subject of historiographical debate. For example, Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa ([1572] 1907) acknowledges that Túpac Yupanqui carried out significant maritime incursions, yet he provides no evidence of a transoceanic voyage; his account focuses more on the Inca's political and military campaigns than on the magnitude of the journey. Likewise, Cabello Valboa ([1586] 1951) mentions that the Inca may have reached distant islands, although he integrates these episodes into a broader narrative in which mythical and historical elements overlap, requiring a critical assessment of their documentary value. Complementarily, Salas García (2010) warns that these chronicles, though relevant, blend oral tradition, political interests, and narrative devices, making the voyage technologically possible but not verifiable with the available sources. In contrast, from a more experimental perspective, Heyerdahl (2013) argues that pre-Hispanic nautical capabilities—demonstrated in the Kon-Tiki expeditions—show that long Pacific crossings

were feasible using technology similar to that attributed to the Incas, thereby opening the possibility of ancient interoceanic contacts, even though this does not specifically prove Túpac Yupanqui's voyage. In this sense, the articulation of these perspectives situates the episode at the intersection of history, tradition, and technological possibility. Nonetheless, across several islands in Oceania, oral memories, dances, and local narratives persist that evoke the arrival of a figure associated with the Sun, thus continuing to fuel discussions on the cultural significance of this potential pre-Hispanic contact.

3.2. The God Lono in Hawaii

European contact with Hawaii occurred in January 1778, when James Cook arrived at Kauai during the Makahiki, a festival dedicated to the god Lono (Kuykendall 1957). The sails of Cook's ships and their mode of movement evoked the ritual standard associated with this deity, thereby reinforcing the symbolic identification. According to Sahlins (1981, 1985), Cook was incorporated into religious ceremonies as an incarnation of Lono, receiving ritual honors from the local population. However, upon his return to the islands after a brief absence caused by a broken mast, tensions escalated, fueled by thefts and mutual suspicions. Cook's attempt to take the Hawaiian king hostage ultimately led to his death on 14 February 1779. Nevertheless, his body was treated with the reverence associated with a high-ranking chief, demonstrating the persistence of his association with the sacred, even in the midst of conflict.

3.3. Comparative Discussion

Both Túpac Yupanqui's expedition to Oceania in the fifteenth century and James Cook's arrival in Hawaii in the eighteenth century represent emblematic episodes illustrating how island societies interpreted the arrival of foreign figures through their own cultural categories. In both cases, the identification of the visitors with deities was not coincidental but rather the outcome of a complex interplay of symbols, rituals, and historical circumstances that shaped the initial perception of the newcomers.

A. Context and Motivations

The expedition of Túpac Yupanqui must be understood within the framework of the political and symbolic expansion strategies characteristic of the Tawantinsuyu in the fifteenth century. According to Del Busto (2006), this maritime voyage was not an isolated act but part of a broader policy of integration and projection that reflected the logic of a theocratic empire, in which political power was legitimized through a direct connection with the divine—in this case, the Inca's solar lineage. From a sociological perspective, this enterprise can be interpreted through Bourdieu's (1987) theory of symbolic capital, since the voyage sought not only material resources but also to enhance the prestige and recognition of the Inca as the central figure of a cosmic and political order. Moreover, the expedition functioned as a performative act intended to reinforce the imperial habitus (Nair 2024) and to reproduce the Andean field of power in new territories. In contrast, James Cook's arrival in Hawaii in 1778 occurred within a historical moment defined by European maritime expansion and the Enlightenment project of systematizing geographical knowledge of the world. From the standpoint of historical anthropology (Dube et al. 2007), this process can be linked to what Wallerstein (2004) termed the expansion of the capitalist world-system, in which scientific explorations were closely tied to the opening of trade routes, the appropriation of resources, and the assertion of imperial hegemonies. Although Cook's mission was presented as scientific, its geopolitical and economic motivations were embedded in the logic of European colonialism (Quijano 2019), where the knowledge of the Other served as a prelude to its eventual subordination. The contrast between these two cases is revealing: the Andean logic of Túpac Yupanqui was rooted in a political

economy of reciprocity and prestige, typical of centralized agrarian societies (Golte 2001), where territorial expansion strengthened redistribution and internal cohesion. Conversely, the European imperial logic of the eighteenth century was structured around a market economy and capitalist accumulation (Braudel and Gemelli 1985), in which exploration served as a precursor to economic exploitation and strategic control of maritime routes. From a sociological theory perspective (Lins Ribeiro 2007), this suggests that, although both projects shared the political dimension of expansion, they were grounded in radically different modes of production and power structures, which also accounts for the distinct nature of their interactions with host populations

B. Association with the Divine

In Oceania, the reception of Túpac Yupanqui as the god Tupa can be understood through the lens of symbolic anthropology (Wright and Ceriani Cernadas 2007; Castaingts Teillery 2008; Reynoso 2015), which posits that cultural systems function as interpretive frameworks enabling societies to ascribe meaning to the unprecedented. In this sense, the Inca's proclaimed solar lineage carried not only political significance within the Andean context but also, in the insular environment of Oceania, became an unmistakable sign of sacred status. The scale of his entourage—400 rafts and more than 20,000 men—along with the display of fine textiles, crafted ceramics, and metalwork, reinforced the perception of an extraordinary visitor, capable of embodying a higher cosmic order. Likewise, it can be interpreted that Túpac Yupanqui orchestrated a staged performance of power, wherein every visual element—from naval architecture to ceremonial attire—functioned as a performative resource (Serrano-Puche 2012) to sustain his divine identity. In the case of Hawaii, the arrival of James Cook during the Makahiki festival represents a clear instance of what Sahlins and Valdivia (1997) termed the "structures of the conjuncture"—the convergence of a concrete historical event (Cook's landing) with a preexisting ritual cycle (the festival dedicated to Lono). The white sails of his ships evoked the ritual standards of the deity, and the fact that his arrival coincided with a sacred temporal cycle reinforced the interpretation that he was not an ordinary visitor but a divine manifestation. Thus, iconography and visual signs, in both cases, acted as catalysts that allowed the presence of the Other to be translated into terms intelligible within local cosmologies. From a sociological perspective, these episodes can be linked to social construction theory (Berger et al. 1968), as the meanings attributed to Túpac Yupanqui and Cook were not inherent to their personae but the result of collective interpretation mediated by culturally anchored symbols. In this regard, their recognition as deities was not merely an act of admiration but a strategy of integration, incorporating the outsider within a normative and ritual framework that ensured social control of the encounter. Consequently, the religious dimension of reception functioned as a mechanism of cultural mediation (Jacks 1993), mitigating the uncertainty generated by the arrival of a powerful and unknown foreigner.

C. Technology

The Inca vessels described by Girolamo Benzoni (1572) and reconstructed by Del Busto (2006) reveal a technical mastery adapted to the conditions of the South Pacific: bipod masts, cotton sails, guaras (centerboards) for steering without a rudder, cabins to protect the crew, and stone anchors. These nautical innovations and the logistical capacity to mobilize hundreds of rafts and thousands of men constitute an integrated body of technical knowledge linking material culture to environmental adaptation (Bueno et al. 2003). In this sense, Inca naval technology was not only functional but, in an intercultural contact context, became a visual sign of power and order, contributing to the divine image of the sovereign. By contrast, James Cook's fleet represented the pinnacle of eighteenth-century European naval engineering, featuring large, sturdy-hulled sailing ships with complex rigging and

the ability to carry not only military supplies but also scientific instruments for astronomical and cartographic measurements. From the perspective of the anthropology of technology (Lemonnier 1992; Hidalgo and Stagnaro 2016; Cancino and Morales 1995; Colobrans et al. 2014), these ships can be understood as sociotechnical artifacts—objects that materialize relations of power, knowledge, and domination, incorporating science and technology as extensions of the British imperial project. In both cases, technology functioned as a technology of enchantment (Martínez 2012; Gell 2021)—that is, a set of material qualities and skilled techniques designed in such a way that they evoke admiration, inspire a sense of wonder, and lead observers to attribute extraordinary or even supernatural agency to those who create or use them. For the receiving populations, the ships were not mere means of transport but entities endowed with intrinsic power, capable of symbolically legitimizing their occupants as supernatural figures or bearers of superior knowledge. From a sociological perspective, it could be said that these vessels operated as prestige goods (Pedraza Marín 2017) within a system of conspicuous consumption of power: their mere presence communicated status, capacity, and authority. Thus, in both the Inca and European cases, naval technology transcended its practical function to become an instrument of mediation—shaping first impressions, structuring initial relations, and reinforcing the link between material power and sacred legitimacy.

D. Consequences

The expedition of Túpac Yupanqui appears to have generated a positive and lasting cultural impact on the islands he visited. The ethnographic evidence can be interpreted through the notion of cultural memory (Seydel 2014; Assmann 2016), whereby certain events become inscribed in a community's symbolic repertoire and are transmitted intergenerationally, acquiring an almost mythical character. In this case, the contact was institutionalized as an episode of peaceful exchange, in which the political dimension of the encounter was subsumed under a narrative of prestige and reciprocity. From Mauss's (2009) perspective, the Inca's passage may also be understood as a ceremonial exchange of goods and symbols that strengthened an imagined alliance among peoples. In contrast, the episode of James Cook in Hawaii followed a different path. Although his initial reception was mediated by his identification with Lono and by ritual honors, subsequent events were marked by tensions stemming from thefts, mutual suspicions, and the attempt to take the Hawaiian king hostage. Here, Turner's (1988) theory of ritual processes becomes relevant: the initial contact can be understood as a liminal phase, in which ordinary norms are suspended to accommodate the sacred, but the reemergence of political and economic tensions led to a breakdown culminating in violence. Nevertheless, the ritual treatment of Cook's body—with honors befitting a high-ranking chief—shows that his symbolic association with Lono was never completely erased. This illustrates the persistence of meaning structures (Nivón Bolán and Rosas Mantecón 2014), even amid rupture and conflict: the cultural categories that framed the first encounter continued to operate as interpretive frameworks. In sum, while the Inca voyage crystallized into an integrative mythical legacy, the European expedition ended in violent rupture, demonstrating that the durability of symbolic bonds depends not only on the initial moment of identification but also on the ability to sustain reciprocity and manage the inherent tensions of intercultural contact.

E. Anthropological Interpretation

Both episodes confirm a recurrent feature of intercultural contact (Tirzo Gómez and Hernández 2010), widely documented in anthropology: the recognition of the extraordinary (Escolar 2010) by insular societies tends to be processed through preexisting religious and cosmological frameworks that function as semantic filters, thereby allowing the unfamiliar to be incorporated into a coherent symbolic order. From the perspective of symbolic an-

thropology (Geertz 1973; Costilla 2010; Wright and Ceriani Cernadas 2007; Del Cairo and Jaramillo Marín 2008), these frameworks not only organize experience but also delineate the possible meanings that alterity may acquire in contexts of encounter. In this sense, the identification of Túpac Yupanqui with Tupa and of James Cook with Lono constitutes an example of reinterpreted historicity (Navarro Sanler 2022; Girola 2011), in which singular events are absorbed into already established symbolic structures. The incorporation of the foreigner into local mythology not only legitimizes his presence but also provides a shared language for the initial exchange. Such divine assimilations can be understood as part of a broader social construction of reality (Berger et al. 1968), through which the visitor is collectively redefined to fit within the normative and symbolic universe of the host community. Accordingly, the duration and stability of this integration depend both on the initial symbolic framing and on its performative maintenance through practices, gestures, and rituals. In the Inca case, the absence of recorded conflict and the circulation of goods and symbols reinforced the mythical narrative, consolidating the figure of the sovereign as a divinized conqueror comparable to civilizing heroes (San Miguel 2022; Itúrburu 1996; Abril Nieto 2021). By contrast, the British case illustrates how the deterioration of mutual respect and the emergence of actions perceived as threats—such as thefts, suspicions, and the attempted capture of the monarch—precipitated the collapse of the sacred framework that had initially sustained the relationship. The divergence between the two outcomes reflects not only technological or military differences but also a clash between political systems, economic interests, and cultural codes that, lacking a shared interpretive ground, transformed initial fascination into antagonism. From a postcolonial perspective (Mignolo 1995; De Carvalho 2002), these dynamics invite a critical reassessment of traditional Eurocentric narratives, showing how accounts of contact have silenced, hierarchized, or reinterpreted Indigenous cosmologies and highlighting that oceanic encounters were also arenas of epistemic and symbolic contestation.

F. Divergences

The comparative analysis of Túpac Yupanqui's expedition and James Cook's voyage reveals common patterns that transcend geographical and temporal boundaries. In both cases, the arrival of a foreigner bearing unfamiliar technology produced a profound sensory and cognitive impact on insular societies whose worldviews incorporated the extraordinary through their own religious frameworks. This pattern suggests that, in contexts of asymmetric contact, receiving societies mobilize their symbolic resources to domesticate the unknown without abandoning their cosmological order. Conversely, the divergences identified are equally significant. Politically, Túpac Yupanqui's voyage was embedded within the Andean logic of expansion and the symbolic projection of the Tawantinsuyu, whereas Cook's expedition was framed by the European geopolitical exploration of the eighteenth century, characterized by the accumulation of knowledge and colonial competition. Regarding the durability of the resulting ties, the Inca episode evolved into a celebratory memory embedded in local oral and performative traditions, while the British contact ended in violent rupture which, although it did not entirely erase the sacred association, effectively fractured the possibility of a lasting bond

4. Discussion

From the perspective of maritime anthropology (Rubio-Ardanz 2014), both cases reveal that navigation is not merely a physical means of movement but also a vector of cultural exchange and a catalyst for transformations in the religious imaginaries of maritime societies, where not only goods and people circulate, but also myths, symbols, and ways of understanding the world. In this sense, the histories of Túpac Yupanqui and James Cook demonstrate that maritime routes are also routes of symbolic construction, where

contact may crystallize into mythical alliance or devolve into open conflict, depending on the capacity to sustain reciprocity and mutual respect over time. A useful contrast for this discussion can be found in the well-known cult of Prince Philip among the inhabitants of the Solomon Islands and Vanuatu (Rey 2005), which has been interpreted as the result of a process of cultural translation similar to that observed in the Inca and Polynesian cases. In this sense, the elevation of the British prince to divine status appears to have emerged from the convergence between a local narrative concerning the son of an ancestral spirit, the interpretation of diplomatic protocol, and the veneration directed toward Queen Elizabeth II. This historical episode thus reinforces the hypothesis that certain myths about traveling beings may originate in the cosmological and ritual reinterpretation of real historical figures, whose actions or attributes are absorbed into preexisting symbolic frameworks, thereby generating narratives in which the human and the divine become intertwined (see Table 1).

Table 1. Comparative and Interpretive Scenario.

Aspect	God Tupa/Expedition of Túpac Yupanqui (1465)	God Lono/Arrival of James Cook (1778)	Anthropological Interpretation	Relevant Authors
Historical Context	Expansion of the *Tawantinsuyu*; projection of political power and prestige beyond the Andes.	British geopolitical exploration in the Pacific; cartographic mapping and claims over strategic territories.	Both illustrate how maritime powers embedded their voyages within broader political expansion agendas, though rooted in distinct cultural logics (Andean vs. European).	Araneda Maldonado (2021); Del Busto (2006); Sahlins (1981); Braudel and Gemelli (1985).
Initial Reception	Received as the god *Tupa* due to his declared solar lineage and the magnitude of the expedition.	Identified as *Lono* because his arrival coincided with the *Makahiki* festival and displayed symbols resembling ritual standards.	The identification with deities reveals a tendency to frame extraordinary events within preexisting symbolic and religious structures.	Sahlins (1981); Guamán Poma de Ayala (Guamán Poma de Ayala [1615] 1936); Assmann (2016); Berger et al. (1968).
Technological Means	400 rafts equipped with bipod masts, cotton sails, *guaras* (steering boards), cabins, and stone anchors; fine textiles, ceramics, and metallurgy.	Large sailing ships with complex rigging, robust wooden hulls, and eighteenth-century European scientific instruments.	Technology, beyond its functional role, operated as a sign of supernatural status and a means of legitimizing the visitor's authority.	Alcina et al. (1999); Hughes (2020); Lemonnier (1992); Bueno et al. (2003); Colobrans et al. (2014).
Cultural Impact	Positive influence: dances and oral narratives celebrate his arrival; integrated into local mythical memory.	Conflictual outcome: Cook's death; nevertheless, his body was treated ritually as that of a high-ranking chief.	The consequences depended on maintaining mutual respect and the ability to sustain nonviolent relations.	Assmann (2016); Cristino and Fuentes (2011); Jacks (1993).
Duration of the Relationship	Peaceful interaction and enduring cultural legacy.	Initially cordial relationship, but rapidly deteriorated due to tensions and actions perceived as threatening.	The persistence of sacrality is conditioned more by political and economic factors than by the initial religious reception.	Foladori (1971); Lorandi and Wilde (2000); Dube et al. (2007).

Table 1. *Cont.*

Aspect	God Tupa/Expedition of Túpac Yupanqui (1465)	God Lono/Arrival of James Cook (1778)	Anthropological Interpretation	Relevant Authors
Pattern	Reception through local religious categories; awe at technological and material culture.	Similar pattern: initial symbolic integration and legitimization through the sacred.	In island societies, initial encounters are framed in religious terms as strategies to comprehend and regulate the presence of outsiders.	Sahlins (1981); Castaingts Teillery (2008); Costilla (2010); Nivón Bolán and Rosas Mantecón (2014).
Difference	Peaceful outcome, positive legacy, and mythologized memory.	Violent outcome, rupture of relations, but partial persistence of sacred association.	The final divergence reveals how power dynamics and cultural misunderstandings can transform a sacred encounter into conflict.	Quijano (2019); Golte (2001); Pedraza Marín (2017).

5. Conclusions

a. In summary, the comparison between the Inca and British cases shows that oceanic encounters were not only arenas of material and symbolic exchange, but also spaces in which alterity (Millán 2015; Krotz 1994) was reinterpreted through preexisting religious and cosmological frameworks. In light of this scenario, a promising direction to strengthen the conclusion of this study is to address the plausible hypothesis that certain legends about traveling deities may correspond to culturally transformed memories of ancient explorers or navigators. Comparative research in mythology and ethnohistory suggests that many oral traditions preserve distorted traces of real events, filtered through political, economic, religious, ritual, and symbolic interests. In this sense, it becomes pertinent to inquire whether narratives such as those associated with Tupa or Lono contain a historical core linked to the presence of exceptional seafarers whose memory was reinterpreted, amplified, or divinized by insular societies. Exploring this line of inquiry would not only refine the boundary between myth and history but also contribute to understanding how certain human agents could become sacred figures through processes of mythical resignification and cosmological translation.

b. In both the episode of Túpac Yupanqui and that of James Cook, the initial reaction of the receiving societies reveals a recurrent anthropological pattern: the symbolic assimilation of the foreigner as a divine entity. This mechanism relies on preexisting mythological and ritual frameworks that enable the translation of the unknown into familiar cultural categories. In this sense, the combination of novel technology, ceremonial gestures, and an imposing physical presence acted as a catalyst for such reinterpretation, creating an initial space of acceptance and fascination.

c. These encounters challenge the traditional narrative of an isolated Pacific and America prior to European arrival. The Inca case suggests pre-Hispanic transpacific interactions, while Cook's voyage demonstrates how maritime routes functioned as corridors for the transfer of goods, techniques, and narratives. In other words, they suggest that the sea—long before modern globalization—served as a medium of intercontinental connection that fostered cultural and symbolic hybridity.

d. Far from being mere myth, the figure of the divinized navigator has a material and historical foundation. Both Túpac Yupanqui and Cook acted as cultural and

technological mediators, introducing new objects, knowledge, and practices that transformed the cultural horizons of the societies that received them. Thus, deification was not a simple act of irrational veneration, but rather a social process that gave meaning to a powerful alterity while incorporating the newcomer into the local cosmic and political order.

e. The comparison shows that the outcome of these encounters depended less on the initial impact and more on subsequent relational management. In Túpac Yupanqui's case, the absence of records of armed conflict and the integration of his memory into dances and oral narratives suggest a positive and enduring bond. In contrast, in Cook's case, the rupture occurred when his actions were interpreted as direct threats to the Hawaiian political and social order. This indicates that reciprocity and cultural respect are indispensable conditions for transforming initial fascination into a stable relationship.

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