

RECONSTRUCTING ANDEAN SHRINE SYSTEMS: A TEST CASE FROM THE XAQUIXAGUANA (ANTA) REGION OF CUSCO, PERU

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Introduction

Systems of *huacas* (shrines), organized along *ceques* (lines), radiating out from village centers were common features of pre-Hispanic communities in the Andes. One such system was located in Cusco and it has received extensive attention from a number of ethnohistorians and archaeologists. Other pre-Hispanic shrine systems in the Andean highlands have not, however, been clearly identified. In this report, we analyze the distribution of some 22 shrines in the Province of Anta, Department of Cusco, to determine whether evidence for a pre-Hispanic shrine system can be detected in this region of the Andean highlands.

The Cusco *ceque* system, composed of some 300 to 400 *huacas* conceptually organized along 42 *ceques* which radiated out from the center of Cusco, has long held a prominent position in ethnohistorical (Rowe 1985; Sherbondy 1982, 1986, 1987; Zuidema 1964), and more recently archaeological, research on Inca ritual complexes (Niles 1987, Bauer 1992). Cusco was not, however, unique among Andean communities in containing such a shrine system. Cristóbal de Alborno (1984 [ca. 1582]:218) indicated that Andean shrines were frequently organized along lines, and Juan Polo de Ondegardo (1916b [1571]:56-57), investigated more than one hundred systems during his travels across the Andes. Around 1571 the Bishop of Charcas, who doubted that *ceque* systems were as universal as Polo de Ondegardo claimed, was shown such a system in Pocona (Bolivia), by this same Spaniard.

Despite the fact that *ceque* systems may have been common features of pre-Hispanic communities in the Andes, the documentation of such systems outside the Cusco Valley has so far largely eluded archaeologists and eth-

nohistorians.¹ Ethnographic studies indicate that complex systems of shrines exist in modern communities in Bolivia and Chile (Albó 1972; Barthel 1959; Hadingham 1987; Métraux 1935; Morrison 1978). However, the organization and antiquity of these systems, and their possible relationships with the Cusco system, remain to be documented and analyzed. In addition, while a number of archaeologists have used generalized notions of *ceques* in their interpretations of intra-site remains at pre-Hispanic occupations (Anders 1986; Hyslop 1985; Morris 1990), additional archaeological and historical information is needed before the locations of possible shrines around these pre-Hispanic occupations are identified and site-specific *ceque* models can be proposed.

The identification of ancient *ceque* systems in the Andes is understandably difficult because the Spaniards initiated a series of brutal campaigns against indigenous religions, which were largely focused on the discovery and destruction of *huacas*. The purpose of this report is to illustrate, however, that there may be more information on Andean *ceque* systems than previously recognized, and that some of that information is contained within the texts written by the leaders of the extirpation of idolatry movements. More specifically, using historic information recorded by Cristóbal de Alborno (1984 [ca. 1582]) and recently collected archaeological data, we will analyze the distribution of some 22 shrines in the modern Province of Anta, Department of Cusco, to determine whether evidence for a pre-Hispanic *ceque* system can be detected in this region of the Andean highlands.

¹ For an example of a long-distance *ceque* from Cusco to the pass of Vilcanota see Zuidema (1982).

Bernabé Cobo and the Cusco *Ceque* System

Most of what is currently known concerning Andean *ceque* systems comes from the 1653 work of Bernabé Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo* [History of the New World]. Four chapters of this chronicle (Cobo 1956:169-186; 1980:14-61; 1990:51-84 [1653:Book 13, Chapters 13-16]) were devoted to describing some 328 *huacas* that surrounded Cusco, and the *ceques* along which the shrines were organized. Beside providing information on the name, number, and order of shrines on each of the lines, Cobo's work preserved data on the physical forms of the shrines (springs, caves, boulders, mountain passes, etc.) and on the objects offered to them (gold, silver, cloth, shells, coca, corn, etc.).

Cobo indicated that the focal point of the lines was the Temple of the Sun (Coricancha) in central Cusco and that the lines extended outwards from this structure into the four quarters, or *suyus* (regions), of the Cusco Valley. Cobo suggested that three of the *suyus*, Chinchaysuyu, Antisuyu, and Collasuyu, contained nine *ceques* each, while the fourth, Cuntisuyu, contained fourteen or fifteen. He also noted that the *ceques* in each of the four *suyus* were enumerated in sets of three and that certain kin groups of Cusco were responsible for making offerings to the *huacas* on specific *ceques* (Bauer 1992; Rowe 1985; Zuidema 1964, 1983). While Cobo's description of the Cusco *ceque* system, is by far the largest work on the system, a second, less well known description was written independently by Alborno around 1582.

Alborno and Andean Shrine Systems

Alborno's account preserves the only detailed description of the Cusco *ceque* system outside the 1653 work of Cobo. Alborno was one of the principal leaders in the Spanish campaign against the autochthonous religions of the Andes in the post-conquest era. From 1568 until his death in the early 1600s, Alborno led a series of expeditions in the highlands to identify and destroy native shrines and to punish those individuals and communities who continued to worship them. One of the

largest of these anti-idolatry campaigns was in the Huamanga area (modern Ayacucho) where, from 1568 through 1571, Alborno crusaded against the millenarian Taqui Onqoy movement. During this period he was personally responsible for the destruction of thousands of *huacas* and the persecution of a vast number of individuals. Soon after his Huamanga campaign, Alborno (1984 [ca. 1582]) wrote an essay, *Instrucción para descubrir todas las guacas del Pirú y sus camayos y haziendas* [Instructions to discover all the *huacas* of Peru and their *camayos* (specialists) and wealth].² In this work, Alborno first described various types of shrines which he identified during his extirpation campaigns, and then he presented lists of shrines in the area of Chinchaysuyu. In the final section of his *Instrucción* . . . , Alborno offered advice on how to discover and how to destroy the remaining *huacas* of the Andes.

In the middle of his *Instrucción* . . . Alborno described various shrines situated between Cusco and the northern frontier of the Inca empire, as well as those of the central-south coast. The catalogue began with a list of 37 shrines in the Chinchaysuyu region of Cusco, the majority of which also appeared in the Chinchaysuyu section of Cobo's *ceque* system description (Rowe 1980). The *huacas* of other highland areas are then described in relation to their distance from Cusco; the shrines of the Xaquixaguana (now called Anta) and Calca valleys -- both located just north of Cusco -- are presented next and are followed by those of the Quichuas, Changas and Aymaraes, Soras, Parinacocha, Angaraes and Chocorbos, Hanan Guancas, Tarmas and Atabillos, Guaylas, Guanuco, Carua Conchuco, Guamachuco and Caxamarca, Caxamalca, Paltas, Tomebamba, Puruay, Chica, Chachapoyas, Quito, Angamarca Luytun Cuchu, and Cayambes. After discussing the *huacas* of these highland regions north of Cusco, Alborno

² Henrique Urbano and Pierre Duviols (1989) have recently provided a new transcription of Alborno's *Instrucción* Unfortunately this edition is missing most of the information on the Cusco *huacas* recorded by Alborno.

noz presented brief discussions of coastal shrines in the Lima, Hacari, Piscoy, Yca, Chinchá, Luna Guana, and Ychima areas. The apparent purpose of these shrine lists was to illustrate that a large number, and a great diversity, of *huacas* were still being worshipped.

It must be noted, however, that the form of Albornoz's list of shrines in the Chinchaysuyu sector of Cusco varies distinctly from that included in Cobo's chronicle. Cobo began by stating that the Cusco shrines were organized along *ceques* that radiated out from the Temple of the Sun and that the *huacas* along each *ceque* were the responsibility of different kin groups. He then presented systematic descriptions of some 328 shrines in accordance with their positions along 42 *ceques*. Albornoz's account is far less complex; he simply recorded a list of 37 shrines in the Chinchaysuyu region of Cusco. Nevertheless, Rowe (1980:76) has clearly illustrated that the order of Albornoz's shrines is consistent with information presented by Cobo for Chinchaysuyu, and that Albornoz's work represents an independent investigation of the *ceque* system.

Albornoz and the *Huacas* of Xaquixaguana (Anta)

Unlike Cobo, who recorded only the *huacas* of Cusco, Albornoz listed the names of *huacas* in the imperial city of the Inca as well as those in a number of other locations north of Cusco and along the central coast of Peru. Given the fact that Albornoz understood that Andean shrines were frequently organized along lines, and that his Cusco list records the *huacas* of Chinchaysuyu along their *ceques*, it is possible that his other *huaca* lists preserved evidence of other *ceque* systems.

In 1991, field research was conducted in the Anta region to determine whether or not Albornoz's *huaca* list for this area is organized around similar principles as his Cusco list. The Anta area was selected for intensive investigation because Albornoz provided the names of 22 Anta shrines; a sum which is second only to those of his Cusco list. The research was conducted under the following test assumptions: if an analysis of Albornoz's

Anta *huaca* list and modern field work data from the same area suggested that the shrines were organized along lines which radiated out from a central place, then there would be strong circumstantial evidence that a pre-Hispanic *ceque* system existed in this region; if on the other hand, after an analysis of the research data there appeared to be no clear order in the positions of the shrines across the landscape, then it could be concluded that Albornoz's information provided no apparent evidence for the existence of a *ceque* system in Anta. It should be noted that this second assumption (*i.e.*, the null hypothesis) does not negate the possibility that a *ceque* system existed in the Anta region, it simply suggests that there is no obvious evidence for such a system in Albornoz's data.

The Province of Anta and Field Methodology

The Province of Anta, located approximately 20 km northwest of the city of Cusco, is composed of eight districts: Pucura, Cachimayo, Huarcondo, Zurite, Limatambo, Mollepata, Chinchaypuquio, and Anta which serves as the provincial capital. The province is the best known for its enormous pampa, through which the royal Inca road from Abancay to Cusco once crossed. It is also known for the pass of Vilcaconga, located between towns of Limatambo and Zurite, where the Inca attacked invading Spanish forces in 1533 and near where Gonzalo Pizarro was defeated by the loyalist Pedro de Gasca in 1548.³

Although little research has been conducted on the pre-Hispanic social organization of the Province of Anta as a whole, it is known that the area immediately surrounding the community of Anta was traditionally organized into four *ayllus* (kin groups) called: Anta (also called Collana), Hequeco, Sanco, and Conchacalla, each of which occupied

³ The pass of Vilcaconga is also mentioned by Calapifña *et al.* (1974 [1542/1608]:56), Cieza de León (1976 [1553, Part I]:135, 1979 [1554, Part II]:225, Chapter 95), Santillán (1950 [1564]), and Segovia (1943 [1553]).

separate villages (Villanueva Urteaga 1982: 192). The locations of these four villages are important because they are each listed several times in Alborno's description of the *huacas* of the Anta region. The areas of Sanco and Conchacalla *ayllus* are located to the northwest and southwest of the community of Anta, and that of Hequeco *ayllu* is situated to the northeast. The relative positions of these four *ayllus* are also reproduced in Anta's plaza where it is said that the Hequeco and Sanco *ayllus* are traditionally associated with the northeast and west sections of the town, and that the Anta (or Collana) and Conchacalla *ayllus* are associated with the southeast and west sections.

Field work for this study began with project members interviewing local people in areas of Anta thought on the basis of documentary evidence to contain particular shrines. Local inhabitants were interviewed in Quechua to find shrines that had retained their original names. A toponym was confirmed when three independent informants provided similar answers. A positive identification of a *huaca* was made when the description provided by Alborno matched the physical features of a specific object (e.g., a cave, spring, or outcrop) that had also retained the name of a shrine. Unfortunately, because Alborno provides so little information on the shrines, only a small number of shrines could be identified with certainty. In many more cases, only likely possibilities are presented. Furthermore, we are unable to provide even likely shrine candidates for several of the shrines described by Alborno as in the Anta area.

Field work was also complicated by the fact that only a poor copy of Alborno's *Instrucción* . . . , which contains numerous spelling errors, has been preserved. As noted by Rowe (1980:72), "It is quite possible that the copy we have is only a summary of the original, and that the original listed many more shrines." Furthermore, because a comparison of Cobo's and Alborno's shrine lists for the Chinchaysuyu region of Cusco (*ibid.*: 76), indicates that there are deficiencies in both of these Cusco accounts, it seems most probable that there were also numerous *hua-*

cas in the Anta area that were not recorded by Alborno. Also, his work is not especially early, written one or two generations after the arrival of the Europeans. In other words, there are clear and certain limitations in using Alborno's *Instrucción* . . . as a primary source for researching prehistoric *ceque* systems: it is hard to read, poorly written, and almost certainly incomplete. Nevertheless, because various chroniclers, Alborno among them, suggest that *ceque* systems were widely present in Andean villages, it is a case study well worth exploring.

Research Results

The 22 Anta shrines recorded by Alborno (1984 [ca. 1582]:205-206) are presented below, with translations. We have included short commentaries after each shrine description, noting if our field research provided any additional information on the *huaca*. Their locations are shown on Figure 1.

- 1) Oyñacaca, guaca de los indios guarocondos; es una peña al pie de un cerro. (Oyñacaca, *huaca* of the Guarocondo Indians; it is a boulder at the foot of a mountain.)

While the community of Huarucondo is located on the northern edge of the Anta area, no additional information is available for this *huaca*.

- 2) Rutucayan, guaca de Anta, piedra figura de hombre. (Rutucayan, *huaca* of Anta, stone figure of a man.)

Immediately south of the village of Anta is a hill called Rutucayan. A good candidate for the *huaca* of Rutucayan is an outcrop high on the slope of this mountain which the inhabitants of Anta believe to be in the form of a man.

- 3) Anta, piedra pacarisca⁴ de los indios antas. (Anta, origin stone of the Anta Indians.)

⁴ Most Andean kin groups traced their lineage back to mythical ancestors who emerged from the earth at sacred locations called *pacarinas* (origin places).

A good candidate for the origin stone of the Anta Ayllu is a cliff with a cave, called Runa Pacarisca (origin place of people), south of Anta (Figure 2).

- 4) Ayaco, piedra guaca de los indios cercanos. (Ayaco, stone *huaca* of the neighboring Indians.)

There is a large mountain near the community of Ayllu Mayo with numerous outcrops called Ayacco which may represent this shrine.

- 5) Achapay, guaca de piedra muy labrada. (Achapay, a well-worked stone *huaca*.)

One of the most famous carved stones in the Province of Anta is Quilla Rumi (Moon Stone), an elaborate sculpture in the shape of a half-moon near the base of a large outcrop. Because the area beside this carved stone is called Acchapay, it is very likely that Quilla Rumi is the well-worked stone shrine mentioned by Albornoz (Figure 3).

- 6) Timpay, cueba en un cerro de los indios de Mayo. (Timpay, cave in a mountain of the Mayo Indians.)

A very good possibility for this shrine is a cave called Tocco Ccaca (Stone Opening) in the community of Ayllu Mayo (Figure 4).

- 7) Panara, guaca de los indios dichos mayos. Piedra encima de un cerro. (Panara, *huaca* of the said Mayo Indians. Stone on top of a mountain.)

Survey work in the Ayllu Mayo area found a hill slope called Pacara which may be related to this shrine.

- 8) Llimillay, guaca de los indios de Canco, en el dicho valle; eran diferentes piedras. (Llimillay, *huaca* of the Canco Indians, in the said valley, they were different stones.)

There is a rocky hill called Llimillay in the Sanco area which may be this *huaca*.

- 9) Uicacayan, guaca de los indios de Hequeco; es una piedra encorvada. (Uicacayan, *huaca* of the Hequeco Indians; is a curved stone.)

Although the community of Hequeco is situated to the northeast of Anta, no additional information is available for this shrine.

- 10) Mapiguaca, del mismo pueblo de Hequeco; piedra figura de indio. (Mapiguaca, of the same town of Hequeco; stone figure of an Indian.)

The hacienda of Mapi is on the northern edge of the Anta Pampa, in the territory of Hequeco. It seems reasonable to assume that the shrine of Mapi was located somewhere in this general region.

- 11) Pilco guarda, guaca de los indios de Conchacalla, una piedra puesta en un cerro grande. (Pilco guarda, *huaca* of the Conchacalla Indians, a stone placed on a large mountain.)

It can only be suggested, based on current data, that this shrine was located somewhere near the village of Conchacalla, southwest of Anta.

- 12) Guanacauri, 13) Anaguarque, e 14) Auiraca, guacas en el dicho valle, tres piedras en un cerro en memoria de las del Cuzco. (Guanacauri, Anaguarque, and Auiraca, *huacas* of the said valley [of Xaquixaguana], three stones on a hill in memory of those of Cusco.)

There is a mountain called Huanacauri to the north of the community of Zurite and there are three stone outcrops near its base, which the inhabitants state were once brothers. It is possible that these three stones represent the *huacas* of Guanacauri, Anaguarque, and Auiraca.

- 15) Curicancha, en memoria de la del Cuzco, con estatua de piedra. (Curicancha, in memory of the one in Cusco, with a stone statue.)

A community called Corichanca, on the eastern edge of the Anta pampa, may have been related to this shrine.

- 16) Tambocancha, casa que fue de un ynga y tenía su figura de oro en la dicha casa; llámase Tupa Ynga Yupanqui. Tenía muchas haciendas y riquezas esta casa y camayos. (Tambocancha, a house which was of an Inca and he had his gold figure in that house; he was named Tupa Inca Yupanqui. He had great riches and many treasures in this house and *camayos* [specialists]).

This shrine was almost certainly located at an archaeological site called Tambocancha which contains the poorly preserved remains of several Inca structures around a plaza (Figure 5).

- 17) Uilca conga, guaca general de todo el Pirú y le hacía todo el Pirú cacchauri y le ofrecían y servían. Es donde dieron la batalla a los españoles. (Uilca conga, general *huaca* of all Peru and all of Peru made it *cacchauri*⁵ and they made offerings to it and served it. It is where they did battle against the Spanish.)

Vilcaconga is a well-known area at the western end of the Anta Pampa.

- 18) Maragoaçi guanacauri, piedra donde hacían muchos sacrificios en reverencia del Guanacauri del Cuzco. (Maragoaçi guanacauri, stone where they made many sacrifices in reverence to the Guanacauri of Cusco.)

The area of Marca Huaci, which is known for its large Inca settlement, is southwest of Limatambo. Marca Huaci is also mentioned in Molina's (1989 [ca. 1575]:74-75) description of the Situa festival of Cusco.

⁵ Albornoz indicates near the end of his *Instrucción* . . . that the word *cacchauri* held the same meaning as *ceque*. This is further clarified by Duviols (1984:222 n. 2), who suggests that *cacchauri* has to do with the expiatory rite of Capacocha and comes from *cacha* (messenger).

- 19) Guaypon guanacauri, piedra cerca de una laguna. Aquí se horradaban las orejas los indios Cuzcos. (Guaypon guanacauri, a stone near a lake. Here they pierced the ears of the Cusco Indians.)

There is a small, steep mountain called Huanacauri beside Lake Huaypon. The location of the shrine on this mountain may be marked by an outcrop called Pito Ccacca which was described to us as "enchanted".

- 20) Chinchero guanacauri es una piedra cerca de la dicha guaca de la laguna Guaypon. Tiene otras muchas guacas por allegados anssi. (Chinchero guanacauri is a stone near that *huaca* of Lake Huaypon. It has many other *huacas* near it.)

On the other side of Huanacauri mountain, is a second cluster of "enchanted" outcrops, called Condorcaca, which may be related to this shrine.

- 21) Pancha guanacauri, una piedra questá en un cerro que se llama Pancha, junto a la laguna de Pongo. (Pancha guanacauri, a stone which is on a mountain called Pancha, beside Lake Pongo.)

The community of Pongo Bamba is situated beside Lake Piuray, and there is a high ridge above the village called Encanto (Enchantment) which may be related to this shrine.

- 22) Racra guanacauri es una guaca puesta en otro cerro frontero de la sobredicha. (Racra guanacauri is a *huaca* placed on another mountain in front of the above-mentioned one.)

No additional information is available for this *huaca*.

Albornoz also tells us:

Traían consigo los indios otras muchas bestiduras de guacas de fuera de sus tierras y bestia[n] piedras con ellas y les hacía[n] muchos sacrificios. Y ansimismo mochan los valles de Yucai, Calca y Lamai a estas dichas guacas deste valle de Saquixaguana, sin las que tienen en sus pueblo[s] [y] provincias que

se declaran. (The Indians also brought with them many vestments of *huacas* from outside their territory, and they would clothe stones with them, and, make many sacrifices to them. And likewise the [people of the] valleys of Yucái, Calca y Lamai worshipped those said *huacas* from this valley of Saquixaguana, in addition to the *huacas* mentioned, that are located in their villages and provinces.)

Summary and Discussion

One of the most difficult aspects of studying Andean *ceque* systems is that there are few detailed data sources on them. The dearth of information on these systems is surprising because a number of literate Spaniards were aware of the Cusco *ceques* and of analogous systems in other communities. José de Acosta (1954 [1580] Book 5, Chapters 9-10:560-561, 562) and Cristóbal de Molina (1989 [ca.1575]:126) as well as Pedro de Córdoba Mexía (1900 [ca. 1572]:396) and Viceroy Toledo (1924 [1572]:394) obliquely mention systems or orderings of Andean shrines, but provide no substantive information on their internal organization. Similarly, Juan Polo de Ondegardo (1916a [1585]:43; 1916b [1571]:55-57) indicates that he wrote an account and made a map of the Cusco *ceques* and that he investigated a large number of other systems in the Andean highlands; yet his known writings provide few details on the internal arrangement of these systems.

The Spanish participants of the anti-idolatry movements were specifically instructed to record the names and locations of the shrines which they destroyed so that the *huacas* could be revisited and inspected for evidence of continued use at a later date. This suggests that additional information on Andean shrine systems may still await discovery in regional archives. For example, Albornoz (1984 [ca. 1582]:207) indicates that he personally destroyed a large number of *huacas* in the area of the Changas and Aymaraes -- he claims more than two thousand -- and states that their destruction was recorded in parish records. Other leaders, such as Pablo Joseph de Arriaga (1968 [1621]) and Francisco de Avila, and their followers, almost certainly did the same.

In this work, we have examined a list of shrines provided by Albornoz (1984 [ca. 1582]) in his essay *Instrucción para descubrir todas las guacas del piru y sus camayos y haziendas* to determine whether new information concerning Andean shrine systems can be derived from it. Since Rowe (1980) showed that Albornoz's list of Cusco shrines correlates closely with Cobo's description of the Cusco *ceque* system, it was proposed that Albornoz's other regional shrine lists may also record the existence of other *ceque* systems. In other words, it was suggested that the order of shrines in Albornoz's lists may reflect uniquely Andean systems of shrine organization (i.e., shrines organized along lines which radiate out from a central point), as they have been shown to do for Cusco.

The Xaquixaguana shrine list was selected as a test case, because apart from that of Cusco, it is the largest list of *huacas* provided by Albornoz. Through field work in the region, possible areas have been suggested for 18 of the 22 recorded shrines. These shrines seem to circle the plain of Anta. Although the limited number of shrines presented by Albornoz for the Anta region makes the definitive identification of *ceques* difficult, an argument can be made for the existence of two possible lines. The locations of shrines 5, 6 and 7 as well as those of shrines 16, 17 and 18 extend out of the western end of the Anta Valley along the general course of the Royal Road of Chinchaysuyu (Figure 1). It is possible that the locations of these two sets of three shrines mark the courses of two separate *ceques*. In short, while there appears to have been a Xaquixaguana shrine system (i.e., a set of recognized shrines which surrounded the region), there is only marginal evidence that the shrines of this system were organized along lines, similar to those of the nearby Cusco area.

The Xaquixaguana shrines and other ritual systems

It is apparent, from the information presented by Albornoz, that there was a small scale system of shrines surrounding the great plain of Xaquixaguana during the post-

conquest period. While the worship of these shrines was largely restricted to the inhabitants of the immediate region, this is not to say that the system functioned completely independent of the Cusco system or those of other nearby areas. There is even some evidence indicating that there may have been a series of overlapping shrine systems throughout the Andes. For example, at the end of his description of the Xaquixaguana shrines Albornoiz states that people of Yucay, Calca, and Lamay also worshipped the shrines of the Anta area as well as those of their own regions. Another example of overlapping ritual systems can be inferred from the presence of Marca Huaci (#18) on Albornoiz's Xaquixaguana list. This large Inca site is mentioned by Molina (1989 [ca. 1575]: 74-75) within his description of the Cusco Situa ritual. During this elaborate celebration, held during the ninth month of the Inca calendar, the imperial city was ritually cleaned. At its close, four groups of one hundred warriors carrying ashes ran out from the central plaza of Cusco along the four royal roads of the empire. When the runners reached the edge of the Cusco Valley, the ashes were passed to representatives of other ethnic groups who threw them into the major rivers of the region. The runners of Chinchaysuyu went through the Anta area on their way to Tilca, which is above Marca Huaci, and then deposited the ashes in the Apurimac River.

There is also evidence to suggest that at least one of the Cusco *ceques* crossed into the Anta area and thus overlapped with its smaller, apparently less complex system. While the exact course of the ninth *ceque* of Chinchaysuyu is poorly understood, the eighth shrine of this line stood near the western end of the Anta plain. This shrine, Queachili (Chinchaysuyu *Ceque* 9, *huaca* 8), is registered by Cobo (1980 [1653: Book 13, Chapter 13]:29) as a flat place "which is between two hills like a gateway; in it the said victory [over the Chancas] was completed . . ." Albornoiz (1984 [ca.1582]:204) also includes this shrine within his Cusco list writing, "Oma chilligues, a plain where the Incas had a battle with the Chanca and they defeated them; and the Chanca fled, and they say that they turned into condors and escaped. And thus most Chanca

ayllus are called condor guachos." While most of the early chroniclers of Peru also mention the Chanca war, Cabello de Balboa (1951 [1586: Part 3, Chapter 14]:299) provides especially important information, noting that the land of Quiachilli, where the last battle took place, was "behind" a place called Ayavira.⁶ The small village of Ayaviri lies just west of the area of Vilcacongá mentioned by Albornoiz as a shrine of Xaquixaguana. This pass area, which marks a watershed between the Apurimac and Urubamba Rivers, was the site of a series of battles in the Conquest and Early Colonial Periods. Although the name Quiachilli is no longer used by the inhabitants of Anta, it is mentioned in local land documents dating from 1566 to 1809 (Archivo General de la Nación [AGN] Real Hacienda, Tribunal de Cuentas, Composición de tierras de indígenas Leg. 5, 1643-1717; Archivo Histórico Departamental, Cusco [AHD] Cajas de Censos: Leg. 4, 1687-1697; AHD Cajas de Censos: Leg. 20, 1802-1809).

Other associations between the Anta shrines and those of the Cusco area are reflected in the names of some *huacas*. For example, Albornoiz specifically states that three of the shrines in the Anta region (Guanacauri [12], Anaguarque [13], and Auiraca [14]) were named after shrines in Cusco. Furthermore, one of the shrines (15) was called Curicancha (*sic* Coricancha), a name derived from the famous Sun temple in Cusco which was the focal point of the Cusco *ceque* system.

Although the results of this test case are ambiguous, they are, nevertheless, encouraging. The spatial distribution of the shrines around the Anta region suggests that a system of shrines once existed there, although it may not have been organized in *ceques*. This system, and other regional shrine systems, functioned independently of the Cusco *ceque* system and were maintained by the local groups that venerated them. However, they were also related to more general ritual systems, through the incorporation of major local shrines into

⁶ Rowe (1980:9) errs in relating the name of Ayavira with that of Apuyauri (Chinchaysuyu *Ceque* 9, *Huaca* 6).

larger systems and through the duplication of names. Our findings indicate that is possible to combine archival and archaeological information to identify Andean shrine systems outside of the Cusco Valley, even when such systems are not explicitly mentioned in the text. Once additional systems have been identified with certainty, they will provide a comparative data base to study the Cusco system and to address broader questions concerning basic organizational principles of pre-Hispanic Andean communities.

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posee el maestro de campo Don Felipe Gutierrez
de Toledo."
Cajas de Censos: Leg. 20, 1802-1809. "Sobre las ha-
ciendas tierras, casas y alfalfar que tengo y poseo
que estan en los altos de la fortaleza de esta ciudad
nombradas Llaullipata, Mascabamba, y Sacsahua-
man y la Piedra Cansada y otros nombres y dos
pares de tenerias que estan en la dicha Fortaleza y
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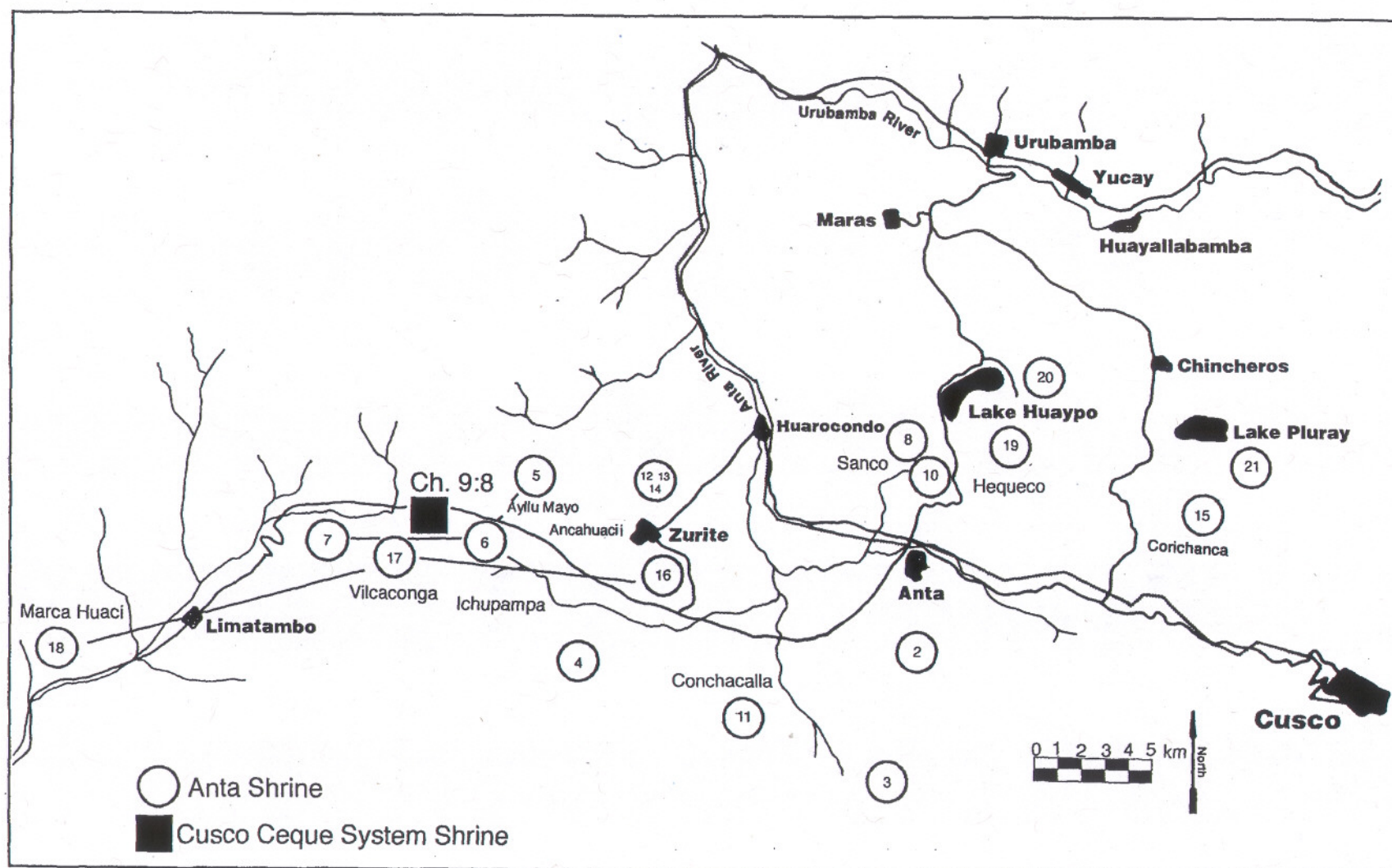


Figure 1. Possible distribution of ancient shrines in the Anta region.



Figure 2. Runa Pacarisca, the origin place of Anta Ayllu.



Figure 3. The carved stone of Quilla Rumi.



Figure 4. The cave of Tocco Ccacca in the community of Ayllu Mayo.



Figure 5. The archaeological site of Tambocancha.