

REPRESENTATIONS OF THE COSMOS:
A COMPARISON OF THE CHURCH OF SAN CRISTOBAL DE PAMPACHIRI WITH
THE CORICANCHA DRAWING OF SANTACRUZ PACHACUTI YAMQUI SALCAMAYGUA

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The creation of Inca style art and architecture did not cease abruptly with the Spanish conquest of the Andes. Native craftsmen participated in the rebuilding of Cusco and in the construction of the new city of Huamanga (now Ayacucho) founded in 1539. Rebel builders fortified Ollantaytambo and erected the Vilcabamba stronghold. Both Christianized Indians and *hechiceros* constructed numerous provincial churches during the century after the collapse of Tawantinsuyu. These include San Cristóbal de Pampachiri, described in this paper. Indian iconographic themes were often incorporated into the decoration of such churches, syncretized with Christian symbols so as to escape the censure of the *extirpadores de idolatrías*.

San Cristóbal is in the town of Pampachiri, a district capital of Andahuaylas Province, Apurímac Department, Peru. The geographical coordinates of its main plaza are 73° 33' W, 14° 12' S. The high relief sculpture surrounding the main portal of its church constitutes one of the best preserved, most elaborate, and least known examples of neoinca art. This paper examines the evidence which indicates that the entrance dates to the latter part of the sixteenth century or the beginning of the seventeenth and then compares its arrangement and iconography with that depicted in the contemporaneous drawing of Coricancha, Cusco, as illustrated by Santacruz Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamaygua (1879 [1613]).

Extant examples of neoinca sculpture are rare and most recognized works are to be found *in situ* in Cusco and Ayacucho (Kauffmann Doig 1965: *passim*; Gisbert 1980: *passim*). Among the most interesting and best preserved are the staircase and column heads of the Casa Velarde Alvarez, formerly the Casa de Cossio (Bustamante 1953:40; Kauffmann Doig 1965:21) and now the Escuela de Bellas Artes, which occupies the north side of Ayacucho's central plaza, the Parque Sucre (Kauffmann Doig 1965: Lámina I). Built in the mid-sixteenth century, probably for one of the Marqueses de la Titora (Ibid:21), this house utilizes Inca style *almohadillado* masonry in the plaza entrance (Ibid:19, Lámina II; 22, figura 1; 45, figura 5). *Almohadillado* blocks are the well-known Inca ashlar whose joins are emphasized by steeply beveled edges. The Casa Velarde Alvarez also contains a well preserved *Amaru* staircase in which the body and two heads of the serpent make up the stair rails with the effect that the form of this supernatural being is incorporated into the decorative scheme of the first patio (Ibid:34-35, Lámina V). Heavy columns support the second story corridor. Their capitals are decorated in the flat, conventional, static, and rather crude Inca manner and depict snakes, lizards, and felines (Ibid:28-34, figuras 2, 3 & 4).

At the rebuilt chapel of Quiñuarpata, also in Ayacucho, a life size stone head in neoinca style has been tenoned into the interior wall at the right hand side of the main door, as one enters. It is now a holy water font with the shallow depression at the top holding the liquid. The facial features have been carved in the same flat manner as the staircase and capitals of the Casa Velarde Alvarez. It was probably part of an earlier shrine on the site. This

head can be distinguished from work executed before the Spanish conquest by the inscription in the Latin alphabet which it bears.

Two neoinca capitals in the collections of the Krannert Art Museum at Urbana, Illinois have been identified by Alan R. Sawyer (Sawyer 1975:170, 172; Figs. 269, 270). Their exact provenience is unknown, but they are said to have come from a chapel in highland Peru. Stylistic characteristics of the Pampachiri Church allow us to classify its façade with the examples of neoinca stone carving mentioned above. Like the Casa Velarde Alvarez columns, the Quiñuar-pata head, and the supports from the unknown highland chapel, the Pampachiri sculpture is executed in high relief rather than in the full round. The rendering is stiff, conventionalized, and almost hieratic in appearance. Features are flat, in contrast to the rounded cheeks and pudgy chins of baroque and rococo faces.

Unfortunately, only one of the comparative examples I have mentioned, that of the Casa Velarde Alvarez, has been firmly dated, but all are from the early colonial period. It is certain that the Pampachiri sculpture, which resembles these works in style, does not represent an example of preconquest art removed from its original context and later set into the façade. There is a good fit between the elements of its decorative program and the central Roman arch this program surrounds. The true arch is a European architectural device, unknown in prehispanic Peru.

The Pampachiri façade is unlikely to have been executed after 1651 because churches in the central Andes that were built or reconstructed during the latter half of the seventeenth century are decorated in the more sophisticated Metropolitan style (Kubler and Soria 1959: 91-98). Therefore, on the basis of stylistic analysis alone, the Pampachiri façade appears to have been erected sometime between 1540 and 1650.

Pampachiri, unlike nearby Soras (Monzón 1965 [1586]:221), is apparently not a prehispanic town that has survived through the colonial period to the present day. It was one of the new communities that resulted from the reductions ordered by Viceroy Toledo in the 1570's and carried out by his successor Martín Enríquez (Levellier 1925:168-169, 178-179). These reductions were official attempts to lower the number of Indian settlements and concentrate the rapidly declining native population in a few locations where they could be supervised (Matienzo 1910 [c. 1573]: Capítulo 14; Cook 1981: *passim*). These reductions, in order to have legal existence, had to have the essential buildings of a Spanish town, including a central square with streets and houses laid out around it in a grid plan, a *cabildo* or town hall, a jail, and a church. Construction of San Cristóbal probably began before 1581, since Pampachiri is listed as one of the reductions of the Repartimiento de Andahuaylas during the rule of Viceroy Enríquez (1581-1583).

Other evidence narrows the span of possible construction even further. Pampachiri's scandalous curate, Juan Bautista Aludán, is mentioned twice in the well-known chronicle of Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala (1980 [1613]:536, 696). Among those who protested against and suffered from the physical abuses perpetrated by the evil priest were Indian painters presumably at work on church murals (Kubler and Soria 1959:322-323). Perhaps these painters also polychromed the Pampachiri arch. Traces of red and white color remain on the figures. Unfortunately, no murals earlier than the 18th century can be seen at

the church today, but a cursory examination of the building's fabric indicates that the adobe walls have been rebuilt many times. From documentary evidence, therefore, it appears that the church at Pampachiri was essentially complete by 1613, the year in which Guamán Poma finished his chronicle.

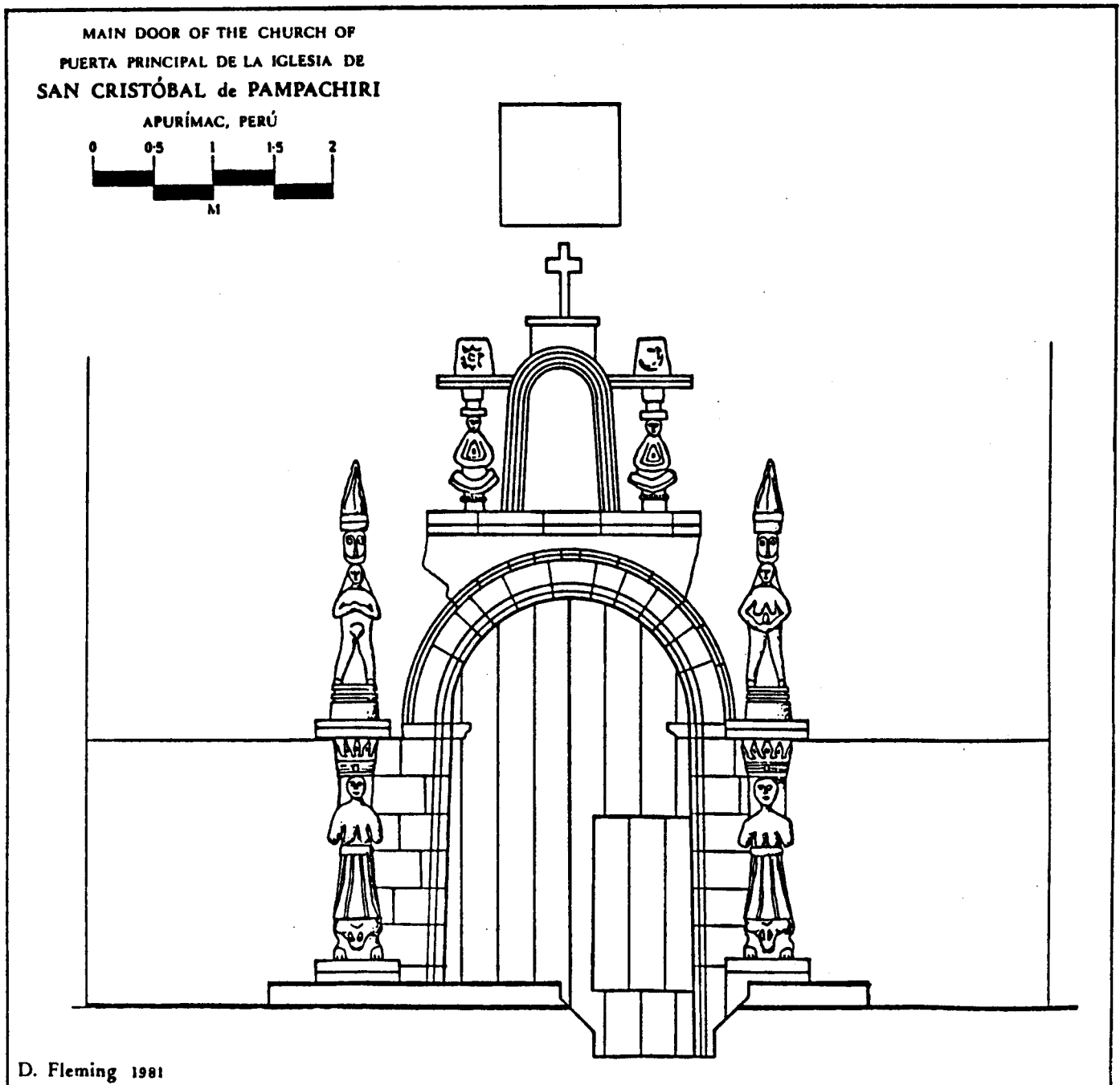
In plan, San Cristóbal de Pampachiri resembles the church built upon Inca ruins at Vilcashuamán. This building was erected circa 1580 according to Arq. José María Galvez Pérez (personal communication, August, 1980). Construction in about 1580 is most likely for Pampachiri, as well, in view of the timing of Toledo's reductions and the active participation of many local Indians in the *Taki Oncoy*, a nativistic and millennarian religious and political movement active from the mid-1560's to the mid-1580's. More than 150 *huacas* were discovered and destroyed in the neighboring province of Soras by Cristóbal de Albornoz, an *extirpador de idolatrías* who traveled in the valley during the 1570's and again in the 1580's (Millones 1971:4/3, 4/17, 4/18, 4/19, 4/20, 4/23, 4/22, 4/24, 4/28,), assisted for part of this time by his *alguacil*, Guamán Poma (Poma de Ayala 1980 [1613]:638-640). Albornoz destroyed the great religious complex at Chicha, across the Río Soras from Pampachiri (Millones 1971:4/18, 4/19, 4/23). Convicted *hechiceros* were commanded to work on the new churches (Millones, 1971: *passim*). Ironically, at least one church, that at Soras, was built upon the remains of an important Inca building which was probably the home of a major *huaca*.

Although I have not yet encountered documentation which would give firm dates for the constructional phases of the church of San Cristóbal de Pampachiri, the combined evidence that does exist makes it reasonable to assume a date of around 1580 for the construction of the church and the execution of the carved stone façade. I do not, however, despair of finding good documentation for the Pampachiri church, because parish records for Apurímac Department remain largely unstudied.

What follows is a description of the various motifs making up the entrance design and some suggestions for an interpretation of their iconographic meaning (Figure 1). At ground level on each side of the arch there are representations of the heads and front paws of a pair of felines, probably pumas. These supports bear direct comparison with those in the Krannert Art Museum which are human faces with feline ears (Sawyer 1975:170,172; Figs. 269,270). Teresa Gisbert includes illustrations of two similar anthropomorphized felines in her important work, *Iconografía y mitos Indígenas en el Arte*. One is to be found at the church of Santiago de Pomata (Gisbert 1980:62, foto 60). The second is part of the Casa del Balcón in La Paz (Ibid:60, foto 61). In both of these cases, as well as at Pampachiri, the man-cats occupy the lowest position at either side of an entrance. Gisbert mentions that the Casa de los Condes de Arana in La Paz and the Church of Quispicanchis also have felines represented frontally and in the same relative positions (Ibid:62).

Above each feline there is a woman who wears a skirt which hides her feet, but who is nude from the waist up, revealing pendulous breasts. The women's arms bend backwards at the elbows in anatomically unnatural positions. Their faces are carved in the same flat style as the Quiñuarpata head. The females wear crowns which support pedestals. Standing on the right pedestal as one enters the door there is the figure of a nude woman holding a round object in her hands, over her pubic area. The woman's head supports another highly

Figure 1. Drawing to scale of the façade of the Church of San Cristóbal de Pampachiri, Andahuaylas Province, Apurímac Department, Peru.



stylized head which in turn supports an entablature topped by a cone-shaped decoration similar to those found on many other churches in Apurímac.

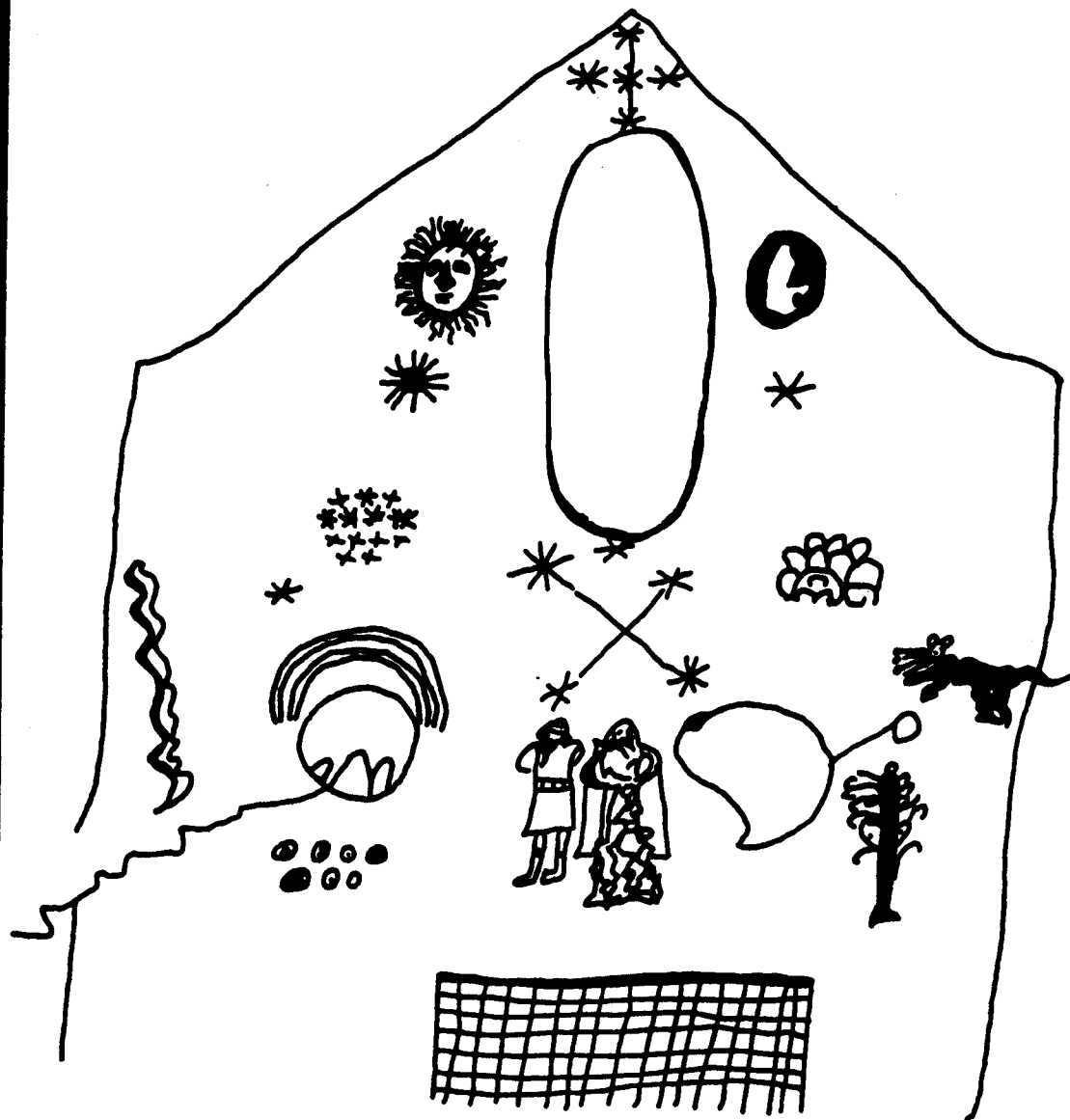
On the left of the entrance arch, above the other skirted female there stands the figure of a male, identified as such by his lack of breasts. He is also nude, and holds his hands together at the center of his chest. Unlike his female companion, he does not clasp an object. His head also supports a stylized face, entablature, and half-cone decoration.

Surmounting the arch itself there is an entablature below a smaller blind arch with a geometric figure on either side. These figures are seated with crossed legs. Their arms come together at the waist, forming a trapezoid with the shoulders. At the center of their chests there is a carved triangle with a dot in the middle. The figures fit neatly into a diamond-shaped outline.

Above the heads of these figures there are blocks of stone which support another entablature. Above this entablature there is a representation of the sun at the left and the crescent moon at the right, or perhaps of two crescent moons. This part of the façade has suffered deterioration and it is difficult to make out its symbols. Above the blind arch is a cross supported by a horizontal element.

The Pampachiri entrance is important because it represents a complete design in which indigenous symbols are syncretized with Christian ones in a manner which reveals the unknown designer's understanding of both native and Christian cosmologies. In searching for comparisons I was immediately struck by a high degree of similarity with the famous drawing of the *Altar Mayor* at Coricancha made by Joan de Santacruz Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamaygua (1879 [1613]) (Figure 2). Parallels exist in both the individual elements represented and in their arrangement. The Santacruz Pachacuti Yamqui drawing is more detailed and contains a certain amount of written explanation in Quechua, Aymara, and Spanish. These captions have been omitted from Figure 2. It is thought that the drawing is more a diagram of the Andean cosmos than an actual picture of the Coricancha shrine, although the arrangement of the "altar" itself would have been as much a material representation of Inca cosmic reality as elaborate baroque *retablos* were representations of the Catholic universe.

Produced circa 1613, Pachacuti Yamqui's drawing is roughly contemporary with the Pampachiri façade. It cannot be accepted as a depiction uninfluenced by Christian thought since Pachacuti Yamqui was a professed Catholic who produced the representation eighty years after the pillaging of Inca Coricancha. Nevertheless, the existence of a similar, but simpler example, carved in stone, and placed in an explicitly religious context, suggests that abstract cosmology was indeed given visual representation at Coricancha and at other Inca temples. The mental map of the universe found tangible expression. This map was remembered and understood by the Christian Pachacuti Yamqui eight decades after the Spanish conquest. It was still depicted in permanent materials, even in a Christian church in a place, and at a time, when an intelligent and active *extirpador de idolatrías* was at work. The neighboring Soras Indians who were persecuted by Cristóbal de Albornoz for their involvement in the *Taki Oncoy* were cognitively equipped to appreciate the full meaning of the Pampachiri façade.



CORICANCHA, CUZCO

Figure 2. Drawing of the Altar Mayor at Coricancha, Cuzco, by Santacruz Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamaygua (1879 [1613]).

John Earls and Irene Silverblatt's ethnographic investigations in the community of Sarhua, Ayacucho Department (Earls and Silverblatt 1978); Billie Jean Isbell's analysis of children's drawings from Chuschi, Ayacucho Department (Isbell 1978:207-215); Douglas Sharon's study of Peruvian shamanism (1978:93-100 & *passim*); Gary Urton's astronomical studies at Misminay (Urton 1981:132-133, 202-203 & *passim*); and E. Pinto Ramos' examination of Tomanga canal cleaning rituals (Pinto Ramos 1970, cited in Urton 1981:202-204) reveal that many of the symbols in Pachacuti Yamqui's drawing remain meaningful to the people of the Central Andes.

A point by point comparison can be made between the Pampachiri sculpture and the drawing. Starting at the base of the façade we see the two puma heads. On the Pachacuti Yamqui drawing the feline is represented in its constellational aspect of *chuqui chincay*. Among other things, pumas are symbols of the *apu-kuna* or *auki-kuna*, who are important mountain spirits that can affect the fate of men and women. In the 1940's, Mishkin reported that in the Quechua community of Kauri, the most active spirit was Ccoa, the malevolent sky cat. Ccoa caused lightning, thunder, hail, and storms (Mishkin 1946:463). In another aspect, Ccoa is transformed into Santiago, the patron of the Spanish conquistadores and an important saint of the Pampachiri Church, the patron of the community's subdominant moiety (Barnes 1984). The anthropomorphized cat has a long iconographic history in the Andes. It can be traced back to Chavín times, at least, but, of course, it is impossible to reconstruct all the permutations of meaning which this symbol underwent over time.

It is useful to remember that effective religious syncretism meant that Catholic churches could have been decorated with symbols of the prehispanic religion in ways that would allow these symbols to have Christian meaning to Catholic viewers as well as Andean value to practitioners of the old religion. Such duality of meaning was understood and even manipulated by sophisticated members of the Spanish clergy.

A clear and explicit acknowledgment of the double, or even triple interpretations which could be made of identical symbols is found in the frontispiece to the 1638 and 1639 editions of Calancha's *Chronica Moralizada* (Calancha 1638-1639). In the left hand corner of the illustration the sun and moon are represented in the heavens above an Augustinian friar. The moon is superscribed "Ecclesiae" and the sun marked "Sol Justitiae Xpus Deus noster". On the right hand side of the illustration there is an Indian but with the moon above his head marked "Sacrificemus Reginae Caeli Jer. 44" and the sun marked "Adorabunt ad orbem Solis Eze. 8". The biblical verses refer to the disastrous consequences of moon and sun worship by the ancient Hebrews and, by analogy, to the perceived wickedness of the Indian's reverences. The sun, the moon, and other natural objects could be employed as Christian symbols in full realization of their values in indigenous terms and their parallel values in other systems of religious thought.

To return to the feline representations, in Christian terms the lion is the symbol of power and control, the transmitter of the word of God (Revelation 5:5), and the symbol of Matthew the Evangelist. As a symbol of power it appears on the banners of England, Norway, León, and other European states. Interestingly, this meaning is ultimately derived, via early Christian iconography, from the man-lion of Assyria with its associations of power and statehood.

The two women with crown and skirt are not represented in the same manner by Pachacuti Yamqui. These figures are still venerated by local people who offer them floral wreaths. Their iconographic meaning is uncertain, but it is possible that they represent **Pacha Mama** and **Mama Cocha**, sometimes syncretized respectively with Mary the Mother of Jesus (Gisbert 1980:17-22) and Mary Magdalene. **Mama Cocha** may be subsumed within the Magdalene's identity because both figures have water associations. The bare breasts of the Pampachiri pair conjure images of fertility and nurture. Their crowns may be symbols of sanctity. Interestingly, a pair of women who took on the identities of Mary the Virgin and Mary Magdalene were important figures in the **Taki Oncoy** (Millones 1971:2/46, 2/62). We can speculate that the Indian women claimed some of the attributes of the female earth and water deities.

The most striking parallel between the Pampachiri façade and the Pachacuti Yamqui drawing is in the figures of the man and the woman. In Andean art, the female is normally at the right of the male, from the viewer's perspective, as represented by Guamán Poma (Adorno 1979). This placement contrasts with the usual arrangement in Catholic churches in which the altar dedicated to the female principle, as represented by the Virgin Mary, is either at the viewer's left, or behind the main altar. In the Coricancha drawing, the woman is making an offering by pouring liquid on the ground. At Pampachiri the round object held by the woman is possibly meant to represent a vessel or a fruit. If the object is seen as a vessel, the woman is in the act of pouring a libation, a ritual act that has great importance throughout the Andes. If the object is seen as a fruit, that, combined with the figure's nudity, would allow it to be equated with Eve. The male figure, with his hands crossed at his chest as at Coricancha, could double for Adam. The First Parents are very popular figures in early colonial art, probably because of their innate associations with the male and female elements of the universe and because they represent the marital bond. It is possible that in colonial times the Pampachiri figures might have been dressed in real cloth as were some Inca statues and as the statues of the saints are to this day. The Coricancha male and female are represented as dressed, rather than nude, and are in a different medium.

In the Pachacuti Yamqui drawing the man and woman stand on or above a rectangle subdivided into 119 squares. This rectangle is marked "**collca pata**", a phrase which is difficult to translate but which refers to a storehouse or storehouses (**collca**) and a terrace or terraces, or platforms, or the right angle edges formed by the floors and vertical walls of terraces or platforms. At Pampachiri the "**collca pata**" may be represented by the stone entrance threshold.

It is difficult to interpret the faces above the man and woman. At a roughly similar position in the Coricancha drawing there are representations of the summer and winter sky.

The two seated figures probably represent **Chasca collar**, Venus of the morning, or the spiritual Grandfather, "**achachi uyuri estrella luzero de la mañana**" according to Pachacuti Yamqui who gives Quechua, Aymara, and Spanish versions of the morning star's name, and **Choquechinchay**, Venus of the evening, the Grandmother, or "**apachi oroi**". Pachacuti Yamqui again gives the name in three languages. Samuel Lothrop has pointed out that the representations at Coricancha may not have been exactly as Pachacuti Yamqui drew them, but rather, might have been conventionalized Inca cosmological symbols.

Lothrop represents the aspects of Venus as "God's eye" diamond shapes with the same outline as the Pampachiri figures (Lothrop 1938:36, Figure 11).

As at Coricancha, the moon, and perhaps the sun, are placed to either side of an oval shape. We have already seen how the sun and moon have been incorporated into a Christian design. There are numerous parallels with other colonial churches in Peru and Bolivia.

The blind arch is of great importance in the iconographic program. In its ovoid shape it is reminiscent of the gold disk representing Viracocha which, according to Pachacuti Yamqui, was affixed to the wall of Coricancha in the same position relative to the man and woman, the morning and evening stars, the sun and the moon and the cross of Orion constellation as is the Pampachiri blind arch. Urton (1981:202), following Zuidema (1977), suggests that the ovoid shape itself is symbolic of Viracocha the Creator. The cruciform five stars of Orion, the *orcorara*, which surmount the Viracocha oval in Santa Cruz Pachacuti's drawing are transformed into a Christian cross at Pampachiri.

It has already been pointed out that the Pachacuti Yamqui drawing exhibits a greater number of cosmological elements than the Church of San Cristóbal. Missing at Pampachiri are "*saramanca, cocamanca, chacana en general*", "the maize pot, the coca pot, cross-things in general", a representation which includes the Southern Cross (Lehmann Nitsche 1928) and cruciform constellations in general (Urton 1981:132); "*camac pacha*", the Maker-Earth; and the river Pillcumayo, a legendary Inca origin place, probably of little importance in the Soras Valley. Also absent are the "*arco de ciel*" or *cuychi*; the Eyes of Abundance - *ymaymana ñauraycunapñawiñ*; lightning or "*Chuqueylla yllapa*"; the "*puqyo*" or spring; and "*mallqui*" ('tree', with connotations of 'ancestor').

The presence of at least one female figure on each side of the entrance prevents us from considering that the Pampachiri Church is arranged with the male/female bipolarity which Zuidema (1977:263-264), Earls and Silverblatt (1978:318), Sharon (1978:95-97), Isbell (1978:207-210), and Harrison (1982:75-76) have seen in the Pachacuti Yamqui drawing. However, it is probable that the four-tiered genealogical scheme recognized by these authors and illustrated by Perez Bocanegra (1631:614) and reproduced by Zuidema (1977:249, Figure 2) is also exemplified at Pampachiri. The sun would be the Great-grandfather, the morning and evening stars the grandfather and grandmother, the earth the father and/or mother, and human beings the children. The unifying pattern of the Andean universe, recognized by Earls and Silverblatt (1978:318-321), appears to be present here, as at Coricancha. Viracocha, symbolized by the oval, represents the universe itself. Celestial order is embodied in the stars. The terrestrial domain would be indicated by the Pachamama and Mamacocha figures. The man and woman stand for the social sphere of the family. The agricultural sphere might be represented by the threshold *cum collca pata*.

However, two of the three cosmic mediators recognized by Zuidema are absent. These are the rainbow which mediates between the sky and the earth and lightning which also mediates between the upper world and this world (Isbell 1978:209-210) with only a pair of cats representing *choquechinchay*, or the supernatural feline which goes between the underworld and the upper world, passing through this world (Zuidema 1977: *passim*).

In spite of these absences there are important and genuine points of comparison between the façade and the drawing, as we might expect in two contemporary representations of the Andean universe. These points encourage us to examine the corpus of colonial art for additional cosmic maps.

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank Dr. David Fleming for companionship in the field and preparation of Figure 1. Figure 2 is a tracing from a photograph of the original manuscript no. 3169 in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid. The written explanation provided by Santacruz Pachacuti Yamqui has been omitted from the tracing. I would also like to thank EARTHWATCH and the following volunteers: P. Barbanel, M. Blanc, R. Brown, B. Drummond, S. Eldredge, S. Eyring, L. Hefferin, N. Howard, M.E. Hunt, A. Hutchison, J. Levin, S. Mattner, M. Monroe, S. Olafsen, J. Preston, M. Rogers, L. Schisgall, Dr. B. Ward, J. Wilson, and S. Wilson. Thanks are also due to C. Augusto Morales D., an archaeologist with the Peruvian Instituto Nacional de Cultura who was an unfailingly wise source of advice both in Lima and in the field. Oscar and Anita Weiss and their family offered friendship and hospitality in Lima. Victoria Sotelo provided food for the body and companionship for the spirit. The people of Pampachiri deserve thanks for their help and understanding. Sabina Campbell suggested that the literature on South American shamanism links felines with altered states of consciousness. The *Vocabulario de la lengua Aymara* by Bertonio, which I consulted, is part of the Rare Books Collection of the Olin Library, Cornell University. The edition of Calancha's *Chronica moralizada* which I used is part of the collection of the British Library. A copy of Perez Bocanegra's *Ritval formulario* reposes in the John Carter Brown Library, Providence.

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