

AN ACCOUNT OF THE SHRINES OF ANCIENT CUZCO

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Ancient Rome and ancient Athens are places of particular interest to both archaeologists and travelers, because generations of scholars have studied their topography and monuments, putting together bit by bit their archaeological remains and the references to places and buildings in the surviving historical records. Their past has come to life in a fuller sense than is possible for sites like Palmyra or Tingad, where the ancient buildings are, on the whole, better preserved. Cuzco, the capital of the Incas, is probably the only ancient city in the New World where we have a combination of surviving monuments and documentary evidence which might make possible the kind of studies that have restored so much of ancient Rome and Athens to us. Such studies are only now beginning to be made at Cuzco, however. A major problem in the case of Cuzco is that the key documents have been published only in poor editions, in so far as they have been published at all.

Probably the most important single document we have for the study of the topography of Inca Cuzco and its environs is a 16th century account of its shrines which is preserved, in the form of a summary, in four chapters of the Historia del Nuevo Mundo by the Jesuit scholar Bernabé Cobo completed in 1653 (chapters 13 through 16 of Book Thirteen). Cobo's account of Inca history and customs was based almost entirely on earlier published works and unpublished manuscripts. As was common in such works in the 16th and 17th centuries, he made general acknowledgements of some of the earlier sources he used but not of others. In those cases in which a copy of one of his unacknowledged manuscript sources has been found and published in modern times, we can tell something about how he worked. In some cases, he used only selected passages of a source; in others, he took a whole block of data, summarizing it or rewording it in his own style. One block of data, his account of Inca law, is based almost in its entirety on an unacknowledged source, the testimony of García de Melo, either that presented at Cuzco in 1582 or a nearly identical version prepared for some other official inquiry (Córdoba Mexía, 1925, pp. 271-278). The four chapters on the shrines of Cuzco appear to constitute another block of data from an unacknowledged manuscript source which has not been found.

Discussion of the Text

Cobo's Historia del Nuevo Mundo was published for the first time by Marcos Jiménez de la Espada in 1890-95. There have always been questions about the accuracy of the published text of the account of the Inca shrines, and especially about the readings of shrine and place names. For example, some place names which occur several times are not spelled consistently, and some shrine names are spelled differently in the account of the shrines from the way in which they are spelled in other parts of Cobo's account of Inca religion. Until very recently there was no way to determine the source of such anomalies, since all of the other editions of the Historia have been based on Jiménez de la Espada's published text and simply introduced further inaccuracies. However, in 1974 Roland C. Hamilton rediscovered the original manuscript of the Historia in Seville and secured a microfilm copy of the portion dealing with Inca history and customs. This portion (Books Eleven through

Fourteen) is in the Biblioteca Capitular Colombina de Sevilla. Hamilton has provided a detailed account of the Colombina manuscript and his identification of the handwriting as Cobo's in the introduction to his translation of Books Eleven and Twelve of the Historia (Cobo, 1979). Hamilton was kind enough to give me access to his microfilm, so the texts and discussion presented here are based on Cobo's original rather than any published edition. It is now possible to say that Jiménez de la Espada's edition contains significant errors introduced either by his copyist or by the editor himself. On the other hand, many of the anomalies and curious spellings in the account of the shrines were already present in Cobo's manuscript.

In other places where Cobo's practice can be checked, it is evident that he tended to follow the text he was using in the spelling of native words. For example, his account of the Inca calendar is based largely on a manuscript by Juan Polo de Ondegardo. An extract of Polo's manuscript was printed in 1585. A comparison of Cobo's text with the 1585 extract shows that Cobo reproduced Polo's month names as he found them, including several errors of Polo's. Cobo was capable of making mistakes himself (for example, he omitted one month entirely), but it is not easy to find mistakes in the spelling of native names which can be attributed to errors in copying by Cobo himself in cases where we have some control. It seems likely, therefore, that most of the peculiarities we find in Cobo's spellings of shrine names were in the manuscript he used. If this inference is correct, he was working with a poor copy of the account of the shrines of Cuzco, a copy furthermore which was made by someone who knew little if any Inca.

The organization and character of the text

In the account of the shrines of Cuzco summarized by Cobo, the shrines or guacas (from the Inca term wak'a, a holy place or sacred object) are grouped by location in four divisions, each division relating to one of the main Inca roads leading out of Cuzco, respectively the Road of Chinchaysuyu, the Road of Antisuyu, the Road of Collasuyu, and the Road of Cuntisuyu. Within each of the four divisions, the shrines or guacas are assigned to ceques or lines which, according to a statement of Cobo's, radiate from Coricancha, the Temple of the Sun. Ceque (Inca zeq'e) simply means a line of any kind. There are nine ceques in each of the first three divisions, and these ceques are enumerated in sequences of three by the special classifying and ranking words Cayao, Payan, Collana. When it is used as a ranking word, collana (Inca qollana) designates the highest rank. In the division corresponding to the Road of Cuntisuyu, there are fourteen ceques and some peculiarities in the organization of ceques and guacas not found in the other divisions.

Within the division corresponding to the Road of Chinchaysuyu, the ceques are enumerated in a counter-clockwise direction, beginning with the one closest to the Road of Antisuyu. In the division of the Road of Antisuyu, the order is clockwise, beginning with the ceque closest to the Road of Chinchaysuyu. The same clockwise order is followed in the remaining two divisions, so that the last ceque of the Road of

Cuntisuyu is at the dividing line with the division of the Road of Chinchaysuyu.

On each ceque, the guacas are listed in a consistent order, beginning with the one nearest Coricancha and ending with the one farthest away. There is no suggestion that the spacing was regular, only the order. As I commented in 1946, the system is admirably suited to recording on the kind of knotted string records which the Incas used to aid the memory in storing complex information (Rowe, 1946, p. 300).

To facilitate reference to particular guacas, I have supplied abbreviations of the numbers used in the text. These abbreviations consist of the first two letters of the name of the division, followed by the number of the ceque and finally the number of the guaca on the ceque, exactly as given by Cobo. Thus, Ch-1:2 designates the second guaca on the first ceque of the Road of Chinchaysuyu. The abbreviation is supplied in brackets at the beginning of each entry.

There are a number of indications that the list of guacas available to Cobo was not complete. First of all, we have another partial list of the guacas of the Chinchaysuyu division compiled by Cristóbal de Albormoz (see Appendix). Eleven of the thirty-five guacas listed by Albormoz have no equivalents in Cobo's list, although some of them are quite comparable in ritual importance to guacas listed by Cobo, especially perhaps Albormoz entries 21, 22, and 24. Cobo himself believed that the list he presented was incomplete, and one of his suggested additions, Coricancha, appears at the head of the Albormoz list. If Coricancha was indeed a Chinchaysuyu guaca, the logical place for it would be at the beginning of Cobo's ninth ceque. Finally, as noted above, Cobo said that the ceques radiated from the Temple of the Sun. In the list as we have it, however, a number of the ceques do not begin at the Temple of the Sun but at some considerable distance from it. For example, An-4 begins near Manturcalla (Mantocalla in Cobo) and An-9 in Antamachay (Vndamacha [for Andamacha] in Cobo), somewhere near San Jerónimo. It seems not unlikely that there were other guacas on these ceques which linked the more distant ones to the Temple of the Sun.

The incompleteness of the Cobo list is masked by the fact that there are no gaps in the numbering system used. The existing numbering system may have been present in Cobo's source, or it may have been added by Cobo himself. There is no particular reason why the original Inca list should have been numbered, or, if it was, that the numbers were the same as Cobo's.

Patricia Lyon made the observation that some of the guaca names in the list appear to be the names of places where guacas were, rather than names of individual guacas. One example is Colcapampa (An-7:4); another is Tampucancha (Co-3:1, Co-6:1, and Co-9:1). Since some of the other names are clearly direct designations of guacas, such cases, and the two for which no name is given at all (An-3:2 and Co-8:8), may represent errors in the investigation where, through carelessness or misunderstanding, the specific names of the guacas were not obtained.

There is other evidence that the investigation was carelessly carried out. At the end of the list in Cobo, there is a comment that four guacas, all evidently in the Chinchaysuyu division, were not recorded in their proper ceque locations when the investigation was made. Furthermore, the compiler of the list did not determine the exact location of one of the shrines in the main body of the list (Ch-5:6).

Our conclusions that the account of the shrines of Cuzco used by Cobo was incomplete and was based on a defective investigation have some implications for the date and authorship of the account, as we shall see.

Date

In using any historical source, it is important to determine the date at which it was composed. The task is often difficult enough when we can examine the original version, even in a bad copy; it is even more difficult when we have only a later summary to work with, as in this case. The best we can do for the account of the shrines of Cuzco is to set limits to the span of time within which it was composed and provide an argument for probable placement within these limits.

The most useful clue in the account itself is a reference to the "parroquia de los Mártires" (An-7:4). This parish was one of the original four established in 1559 by Juan Polo de Ondegardo during his first term as Corregidor of Cuzco (Montesinos, 1906, tomo I, p. 258). It was renamed San Sebastián not later than 1572, when Polo, in his second term as corregidor, carried out a general resettlement of the native population of the Cuzco area, concentrating the people in Spanish style towns. As part of the resettlement program, he increased the number of native parishes to eight (Toledo, 1964; San Sebastián mentioned on p. 126).

The only other reference to a parish in the account of the shrines is in the entry for Ch-7:3, "Carmenga, where the parish of Santa Ana is now." This reference is not significant for dating, however, as the explanation, "where the parish of Santa Ana is now," is likely to be an addition of Cobo's. In the Informaciones taken by Viceroy Toledo in 1571 (Levillier, 1940), the parishes of San Blas (pp. 141 and 168), Belén (pp. 142 and 168), and San Cristóbal (p. 167) are mentioned; Carmenga is listed several times but is never called Santa Ana (pp. 133-134).

The parish evidence gives us a time span of 13 years (1559-1572) during which the account of the shrines could have been written. This span can be reduced somewhat by noting the implications of some statements by Polo de Ondegardo. Polo's first term as Corregidor of Cuzco lasted from December 2, 1558, to December 19, 1560 (Esquivel y Navía, 1902, pp. 191 and 198). His second lasted from August, 1571, to October, 1572 (Zimmerman, 1938, pp. 103 and 173). Between these terms of office, Polo wrote two important reports on Inca affairs which have been preserved. The first was dated in Lima, December 12, 1561 (Polo de Ondegardo, 1940), and the second was finished June 26, 1571 (Polo de

Ondegardo, 1872). In both of these reports, Polo referred to his own investigation of the shrines of Cuzco, probably carried out in 1559, and said that he had found over 400 of them. Cobo's incomplete list includes only 332. The discrepancy between the two figures suggests that the account in Cobo was based on an independent investigation, and that its author did not have access to Polo's results. It seems unlikely that Polo's results would not have been available to another investigator during the periods when Cuzco was under Polo's administration, since the object of all such investigations was the same: the destruction of pagan shrines. This consideration limits the likely dates to the period between 1560 and 1571. It also makes a date toward the end of the interval more probable than one toward the beginning, since records of the 1559 investigation should have been available for some years thereafter. Polo said in 1561 that "there should be copies in the hands of many religious of that town [Cuzco]" (Polo de Ondegardo, 1940, p. 183).

A reasonable occasion for a subsequent investigation would have been the campaign against the native religion touched off by the religious revival called the Taqui Oncoy (taki 'ongoy, dance sickness) which began in 1565 (Molina, ms., ff. 33v-36v; 1943, pp. 78-84). The efforts of churchmen to combat this revival were part of the background of the ecclesiastical side of Viceroy Toledo's Visita General, begun in 1570.

The names of twenty Spanish property owners appear in the list of shrines, but these names are of no assistance in determining the date of the document. Apparently, in 16th century Cuzco, properties were commonly identified by the name of an early owner who was prominent during the wars of the Spanish conquest. Some of the property owners named died long before any parishes were organized. For example, Francisco Peces (An-3:1) and Cristóbal de Sotelo (Co-4:1) died in 1542, while Alonso de Toro (Co-9:3) died in 1546 and Antonio Altamirano (Cu-2:1) in 1547. On the other hand, Alonso de Mesa (An-7:1) lived until 1587.

Authorship

I cannot identify the author of the account of the shrines of Cuzco that Cobo used. The question of authorship requires some discussion, however, since two names have been proposed in the earlier literature. The first is Juan Polo de Ondegardo and the second Cristóbal de Molina.

Our discussion of the characteristics and date of the account brought out a number of reasons why it cannot be the work of Polo, but there is more to be said. In fact, the case against considering Polo the author is so strong that it is surprising that his name should ever have been proposed.

The attribution of the authorship of the account of the shrines in Cobo to Polo de Ondegardo is one of many errors committed by Horacio H. Urteaga and Carlos A. Romero in the two series of their Colección de Libros y Documentos Referentes a la Historia del Perú. Two volumes in the first series of this collection purport to contain Polo's collected works (Polo de Ondegardo, 1916-17). The second volume included the text

of Cobo's four chapters on the shrines of Cuzco (pp. 3-44). In the introduction to the first volume, Romero accused Cobo of theft for having "appropriated" Polo's work without giving him credit (p. xxvi). This accusation was based on Polo's statements about his work on the shrines in his report of 1571 (Polo de Ondegardo, 1872, pp. 15, 17-18, 109). What Polo said, however, justifies no such accusation. In all the places where Polo refers to his work on the shrines, he said that he made a carta (chart) of them, not a relación (narrative account). Cobo's text is obviously based on a narrative account rather than a chart.

There is a further point that escaped Urteaga and Romero. In his 1571 report, Polo stated that he was never able to find out where the House of the Creator was in Cuzco (Polo de Ondegardo, 1872, p. 59). Cobo's account includes a Temple of the Creator in Cuzco (Ch-6:2) and gives its location. A comparison with entry 18, 19 in the Appendix and with Cristóbal de Molina's report of 1575 suggests that the location may be mistaken (Molina, ms., ff. 6-6v; 1943, pp. 19-20). However, the possibility of error does not alter the fact that Cobo's source gave a location for the temple. Polo's memory may have been weak on some points by 1571, but it is unlikely that he had forgotten a point as important as this one.

The false attribution of Cobo's account to Cristóbal de Molina was mine. Molina's report of 1575, mentioned above, dealt with Inca religion and was addressed to the Bishop of Cuzco. In it he mentions "the account of the shrines (Relación de las guacas) which I gave Your Most Reverend Lordship" (Molina, ms., f. 32; 1943, p. 75). On the basis of this statement, I suggested in 1946 that Cobo's account of the shrines of Cuzco was derived from an original by Molina (Rowe, 1946, p. 300). This attribution was tentatively accepted by Raúl Porras Barrenechea on the basis of personal conversations (Porras Barrenechea, 1962, p. 277). It is long past time to correct my error.

Molina did not say that he wrote a Relación de las guacas himself, but only that he gave one to the bishop before writing his 1575 report. It was a gratuitous assumption on my part that Molina would only have given the bishop a copy of a work he had written himself. Molina was one of the ecclesiastical inspectors named by Viceroy Toledo in 1570, and he must have known personally most if not all of the people who were concerned with investigating native shrines in the Cuzco area in his time. It would have been very much to the advantage of all these men to secure copies of each others' reports. Thus Molina's gift to the bishop might have been the work of another man.

There is internal evidence that Cobo's account of the shrines of Cuzco was not derived from a work by Molina. The entry Ch-8:8 in Cobo's account refers to women or wives of the Creator. Polo de Ondegardo also said that the Creator had women (1872, p. 59). Molina, however, stated emphatically that the Creator did not (ms., ff. 13v-14; 1943, p. 35).

Another point of contrast relates to the sacred field of Sausero. The entry in the Cobo account (Co-2:3) reads: "what was

harvested from it was for sacrifices of the Sun." Molina, however, said that the field was cultivated to make chicha (maize beer) for the service of the embalmed body of Mama Huaco (Molina, ms., f. 29; 1943, pp. 66-67). Mama Huaco was a mythical sister of the mythical first Inca ruler. It is interesting that, although Cobo used Molina's report on Inca religion as a source for some information about annual festivals, he did not use the passage about the maize of Sausero, either in describing the ceremonial planting there (Cobo, lib. XIII, cap. 28; 1890-95, tomo IV, p. 113) or the harvest (Cobo, lib. XIII, cap. 27; 1890-95, tomo IV, p. 109). In speaking of the planting, he said specifically "this chacara was [the property] of the Sun."

That is about as far as we can go in a situation in which we do not have the full text of the account of the shrines of Cuzco used by Cobo, but these two contradictions make it unlikely that the author of this account was Molina, whether or not it was the account that Molina gave the bishop.

One of Molina's contemporaries who is known to have been especially active in locating shrines was Cristóbal de Alborno, and he might have been considered a potential candidate for the authorship of the account of the shrines of Cuzco used by Cobo until 1968, when Pierre Duviols published the only known manuscript of his work on shrines (Duviols, 1968). The manuscript appears to be a poor extract of a longer original. It does, however, include a mutilated list of the shrines of Cuzco associated with the Road of Chinchaysuyu, a list which is translated as an appendix to this study. It is startlingly different from Cobo's account.

From the scanty evidence available, no other name stands out as a likely candidate for the authorship of Cobo's source, so the question of authorship must be left open for the time being.

Cobo's editing

Even without the original text, it is possible to suggest some of the modifications Cobo made in his source. He clearly abbreviated it, but the way he abbreviated the entries was apparently not uniform. The earliest entries are relatively detailed, but after Ch-2:4 there is a drop in the amount of detail given, except for certain shrines which Cobo recognized as especially important (for example, Co-6:7, Huanacauri). Perhaps Cobo got impatient and decided that the amount of detail he had included in the first entries was excessive in the light of his reason for giving a list of sacred places and objects at all, which was to show conclusively that the Incas worshipped a great diversity of gods (Cobo, lib. XII, cap. 2; 1890-95, tomo III, p. 115).

A peculiar feature of Cobo's treatment of Inca history led him to do some drastic editing in his extract of the list of shrines, in order to keep his larger work internally consistent. The peculiarity in his Inca history was his dating of the attack on Cuzco by the Chancas. Writers following what I have called the "standard" version of Inca history dated the Chanca attack to the end of the reign of Viracocha Inca

and the beginning of that of his successor, Inca Yupanqui, called Pachacuti (Rowe, 1945, pp. 270-272). Cobo, while following a standard version source for other parts of his history of the Incas, chose to follow Garcilaso de la Vega in his account of the Chanca war. Garcilaso dated the Chanca attack on Cuzco one reign earlier than the standard version, putting it at the end of the reign of Yahuar Huacac and the beginning of that of his successor, Viracocha Inca. Cobo's choice of a date for the Chanca attack is an interesting problem which I have discussed in another publication (Rowe, 1979). Here we are interested in the effects of the choice on Cobo's editing of the list of shrines.

There can be no doubt that the list of shrines, in its original form, reflected the standard tradition, with many references to Inca Yupanqui's victory over the Chancas and the various forms of divine intervention that were supposed to be involved in it. Cobo's editing involved omitting all direct references to the Chancas and sometimes not naming the Inca leader in the war. He did not go so far as to substitute the name of Viracocha Inca for that of Inca Yupanqui in the list of shrines itself.

Three shrines, Ch-9:7 (Cutirsaspampa), Ch-9:8 (Queachili) and Ch-9:9 (Quishuarpuquiu), marked places associated with the defeat of the main Chanca attack from the direction of Chinchaysuyu; for Ch-9:7, Cobo simply said "where the Inca won a certain victory." It is Ch-9:8, Queachili, which provides the key to Cobo's editing. Cobo's comment was "in it the said victory was completed." Cabello Balboa, relying on standard version sources, located Inca Yupanqui's victory over the Chancas "in lands of Quiachilli (which is behind Ayavira)" (tercera parte, cap. 14; 1951, p. 299). "Ayavira" is, of course, Apuyauira (Ch-9:6). The native writer, Pachacuti, used wording even closer to that of the shrine list, saying that Inca Yupanqui "pursued them [i.e., the Chancas] victoriously as far as Quiyachille" (ms., f. 150v; 1879, pp. 271-272).

Another shrine was related to fighting on the opposite side of Cuzco: Cu-8:1, Tanancuricota. The name is a mistaken spelling for Chañan Curi Coca, heroine of the defense of Choco and Cachona (Sarmiento de Gamboa, cap. 27; 1906, p. 63; Pachacuti, ms., f. 150v; 1879, p. 272).

Some further shrines can be related to Inca Yupanqui's initial defeat of the Chancas because of parallel references in the account given by the chronicler Pachacuti. These are Ch-2:2, Racramirpay, a stone representing an apparition in the air who aided Inca Yupanqui during the battle, and Ch-8:1, Illanguarque, a small house in which were kept certain weapons with which Inca Yupanqui had defeated his enemies (Pachacuti, ms., ff. 149-150; 1879, pp. 270-271).

Then there are the Pururaucas (Ch-4:1, Ch-5:3, Ch-6:1, Ch-7:1, Co-1:1, Co-7:2, Co-9:2, Co-9:12, Cu-1:1, Cu-4:1, Cu-5:2, Cu-6:1, Cu-6:3, and Cu-8:1). Except for Co-7:2, Co-9:12, Cu-5:2, Cu-6:3, and Cu-8:1, the Pururaucas were located at or near the Temple of the Sun. None are listed for the Road of Antisuyu. The Pururaucas were stones which turned into warriors to assist Inca Yupanqui during the crucial battle against

the Chancas (Polo de Ondegardo, 1872, pp. 10, 15, 65; Acosta, lib. 6, cap. 21; 1941, p. 494; Pachacuti, ms., f. 150; 1879, p. 271). Cobo devoted a special chapter to the Pururaucas (lib. XIII, cap. 8; 1890-95, tomo III, pp. 334-336). This chapter is not part of the account of the shrines, and in it Cobo identified the Pururaucas with the victory of Viracocha Inca over the Chancas which he had reported earlier on Garcilaso's authority. In the list of shrines, in contrast, the Pururaucas are named without any reference to the Chancas or to the ruler with whom they were associated.

Origins of the shrines

A few shrines were stated to be ancient places of worship (Ch-1:1, Ch-1:5, An-5:3, An-9:5, and Co-9:11). No doubt there were other ancient shrines which are not so designated in Cobo's summary; the mention of these five indicates at least that not all the shrines were instituted by later Inca rulers.

The first ruler listed as having created new shrines was Viracocha Inca, who was credited with two, Ch-2:8 and Ch-7:4. The establishment of nine shrines was credited to Inca Yupanqui (Ch-1:3, Ch-2:4, Ch-2:6, Ch-3:6, Ch-3:9, Ch-3:10, Ch-5:5, Ch-7:3, Ch-8:11, and perhaps Ch-2:3), and two to "Pachacuti Inca" (Ch-4:4 and An-5:9). Pachacuti is a name or title of Inca Yupanqui in all standard accounts of Inca history; the final c in Cobo's spelling is derived from Garcilaso. The only other ruler who was specifically named as having established new shrines is Guayna Capac. He was credited with two (Ch-8:4 and Ch-9:2). No new shrines are listed as added by Topa Inca, Inca Yupanqui's immediate successor. This fact may simply be an accidental effect of Cobo's efforts to summarize his source. Perhaps, however, we should not overlook the testimony of two late authors that Topa Inca held the powers worshipped at the shrines to strict account. According to Guaman Poma, Topa Inca spoke to them, demanding that they confess which among them were responsible for drought, freezing, and hail (Guaman Poma de Ayala, 1936, p. 261 [263]). Pachacuti's comment was that Topa Inca burned many cult objects, but his action did not prevent an increase in numbers (Pachacuti, ms., f. 156; 1879, pp. 283-284). The wording suggests the experience of Spanish "extirpators of idolatry."

Inca Yupanqui is generally given credit for organizing the entire system of official shrines, so he was probably responsible for many more of the ones in Cobo's list than are specifically attributed to him there, even apart from the ones commemorating his victory over the Chancas, on which we have already commented.

Shrines of the royal family

The shrines listed by Cobo include a number associated with members of the Inca royal family, including all the rulers from Viracocha Inca to Guayna Capac. Topa Inca is represented only by his palace (Ch-3:7). The principal wives of Inca Yupanqui and Topa Inca are represented: Inca Yupanqui's wife, not named in the list, by An-6:6, and Mama Ocllo, wife of Topa Inca and mother of Guayna Capac, by Ch-3:3, Ch-9:2 and Co-3:5.

Mama Ocllo is singled out as "the most venerated woman there was among these Indians" (Ch-3:3).

Some of the most interesting entries in Cobo's list are those relating to Amaro Topa Inca (Ch-8:5 and An-1:7) and his wife, Curí Ocllo (Ch-4:3). This couple never reigned, but the pair obviously had a very exalted position which entitled them to the kind of divine honors otherwise accorded only to Inca rulers.

Amaro Topa Inca was a son of Inca Yupanqui and was for a time his designated heir. However, Inca Yupanqui changed his mind about the succession and made Topa Inca his heir instead, probably because Topa Inca showed greater ability as a military leader. Amaro Topa apparently accepted the situation with good grace, and according to Cabello Balboa served as Topa Inca's governor of Cuzco during at least one of Topa Inca's military campaigns (Cabello Balboa, *tercera parte*, cap. 18; 1951, pp. 324-335). Amaro Topa Inca was one of his father's chief assistants in organizing the arrangement of shrines at Cuzco (Sarmiento de Gamboa, cap. 37; 1906, p. 77). The chronicler Pachacuti tells a picturesque legend about how Amaro Topa's estates of Callachaca, Uchullu, and Rucrí were miraculously spared from a seven-year drought and famine (Pachacuti, ms., f. 156v; 1879, pp. 282-283). This story may help to explain Amaro Topa's divine honors.

Topographic insights

Cobo's account of the shrines of Cuzco can be used in combination with information from other sources, to give a remarkable variety of insights into Inca culture, and especially into the logic of Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui's organization of the Cuzco area. Here I am interested, as I have been since 1941, in showing how it can be used to enhance our understanding of Cuzco archaeology. Two examples will serve to make the point. One is the case of Quisalla, and the other is that of Tambo Machay.

Quisalla was an Inca town which is mentioned a number of times in the list of shrines (Co-5:3 to Co-5:6, Co-6:4 to Co-6:6, and Co-7:2). The name is spelled Quijalla (probably for an older Quixalla) or Quicalla (for Quiçalla) in the list, but it appears as Quisalla in the name of the encomienda granted after the Spanish conquest (Callachaca, Vinbilla y Quisalla; Toledo, 1975, p. 176). The archaeological site corresponding to Quisalla is the one now called Qotakalli (Cz6-37) in the jurisdiction of San Sebastián. The identification is based partly on indications of location implicit in the organization of the list, and partly on the statement that the hill still called Taucaray ("Tocacaray" in Cobo) faced "Quijalla" (Co-5:6). The equivalence becomes even more convincing when one notes that one of the Pururauca "near the town of Quicalla" was named Cotacalla (Co-7:2). The old towns of Callachaca, Vinbilla ("Membilla" in Cobo), and Quisalla were abandoned in 1572, when the reduction of San Sebastián was organized. It is a matter of some interest that Quisalla is the only one of these three old towns that has not retained its ancient name but bears instead a partially hispanicized version of the name of a neighboring shrine.

The site of Qotakalli or Quisalla is one of the best preserved Inca settlements in the Cuzco area, with a very regular plan. The Inca town was established on the site of an earlier settlement, one which probably originated in the Middle Horizon. Without the evidence of the list of shrines, it would have been impossible to establish the historic identity of the Inca settlement.

In the case of Tambo Machay, we face a different problem. The ancient name is still preserved, but it has acquired a different reference. As every visitor to Cuzco knows, the name Tambo Machay is now applied to a monumental Inca fountain. In the list of shrines, however, it designates a hunting lodge originally constructed by Inca Yupanqui (An-1:9). The description of it fits the ruin now called Pucara, or Puca Pucara, rather than the fountain. Mach'ay is the Inca word for a cave, and there is indeed a cave in a rocky outcrop above the fountain. The cave is not remarkable for its size, but it has the interesting property that it faces directly toward the sacred hill of Huanacauri, of which it provides an excellent view. It is enhanced by a terrace wall of good Inca masonry. I have explored the entire area on separate occasions with two experts on Inca archaeology, Manuel Chávez Ballón and Arminda Gibaja de Valencia. It seems to me that we are dealing with a single complex including the cave, the fountain, and the hunting lodge, which must be considered together and in relation to one another. This complex clearly had ritual as well as recreational significance for the Incas.

The list of shrines mentions three fountains associated with Tambo Machay, An-1:8, An-1:10, and An-2:8. If we must pick one of these three to identify with the fountain now called Tambo Machay, An-1:10 is the most likely candidate. However, the cave does not appear to be listed as a separate shrine, and the monumental fountain need not have been separately listed either, if I am right that the group formed a single complex.

Procedures followed in transcribing the text

Word division

Word division in the original is capricious, as is commonly the case in 16th and 17th century manuscripts. The procedure followed here was to normalize word division following the practice of contemporary printed texts, except for the names of guacas. Guaca names are written as one word except in those cases in which there is an obvious space in the manuscript at a place that seemed to be significant, for example to divide off an element which is ordinarily a separate word in the Inca language. Spaces have also been reproduced when they occur in names which make no sense in the form in which they appear in the text, as in the case of Cu-8:4 (e con con puquiu).

Capitalization

I have tried to reproduce Cobo's own capitalization. He writes a different graph for some capital letters, for example A, G, H, M, P, R,

and T. In the case of c, j, s, and v, there is usually no distinction of form, though there may be a grading of size. In such cases I have written a capital when I could perceive a difference of form or when the size difference was conspicuous. In ambiguous cases, I have generally used a small letter in the transcription.

Initial v

In Cobo's time, it was common practice to write initial u as v, the two letters being treated as orthographic variants of the same letter. I have followed Cobo's practice in this matter. Generally, when u appears at the beginning of a word in the transcription it is because that word was not divided from the previous one in the manuscript.

Punctuation

The punctuation of the manuscript is reproduced in the transcription.

Procedures followed in the translation

The translation is as literal as possible, except that I have broken up some of Cobo's more rambling sentences. Where his Spanish is ambiguous, I have tried to reproduce the ambiguity.

Shrine names are spelled as in the Spanish text, except that some consistency has been introduced in capitalization, and initial V before a consonant has been replaced by U.

Certain terms in the Spanish text are not translated. Words borrowed from Inca are uniformly left in their Spanish form. Such words are:

ayllu (or ayлло) - Inca 'ayllu, a group of people supposed to be related to one another.

ceque - Inca zeq'e, a line of any kind.

chacara - Inca chakra, a plot of cultivated land. The Spanish commonly used native words for native cultivated fields in the New World; milpa and conuco are examples from other areas.

coya - Inca qoya, queen.

guaca - Inca wak'a, a holy place or sacred object.

guauque - Inca wawqe, man's brother. The term is applied in this document to a sacred object adopted by an Inca ruler as his special guardian.

puna - Inca puna, high altitude grassland.

Other Spanish words not translated are:

buhfo - a one room house. The word is of Antillean origin and was commonly used in American Spanish as a derogatory term for a one-room native house with a thatch roof. In our document it is used indiscriminately for one room buildings of any size. It is interesting that the American Spanish word for a large one-room native building, galpón, is

not used in this document, although it appears elsewhere in Cobo's work.

cesto - as applied to units of coca leaves, a package. The word means literally "basket," and cestos of coca may indeed have been made of basketry, but they were closed bundles for shipping the leaves.

orejón - an adult male member of the Inca nobility privileged to wear large ear spools. The term is a Spanish descriptive nickname, literally "big ear," and is not a translation of an Inca word. Spanish writers commonly equated the ceremony of admitting young men to the status of "orejón" with the European ceremony of admission to knighthood (cf. Co-6:7).

páramo - the Spanish word for high altitude grassland, used in 16th century Peru as a synonym for puna (cf. Co-5:10). The distinction made today by geographers between páramo and puna is more recent.

The "sheep" (carneros) or "lambs" (corderos) used by the Incas for sacrifice were llamas or alpacas (cf. An-1:4). Properly speaking, there were no sheep, not even wild ones, in South America until the arrival of the Europeans.

The Text

Relación de las guacas del Cuzco (Bernabé Cobo, Historia del Nuevo Mundo, ms. 1653, libro trece) /f. 223 vta/

cap. 13. de los adoratorios, y Guacas que hauia en el camino de chinchaysuyu.

del templo del sol salian como de centro ciertas lineas, que los indios llaman, ceques; y hacianse quatro partes conforme a los quatro caminos Reales que salian del cuzco: y en cada uno de aquellos ceques estauan por su orden las Guacas, y adoratorios que hauia en el cuzco, y su comarca, como estaciones de lugares pios, cuya veneracion era general a todos. y cada ceque estaua a cargo de las parcialidades, y familias de la dicha ciudad del cuzco; de las quales salian los ministros, y siruientes, que cuidauan de las Guacas de su ceque, y atendian a ofrecer a sus tiempos los sacrificios estatuidos.

començando pues por el camino de chinchaysuyu, que sale por el barrio de carmenga, hauia en el nueue ceques, en que se comprehendian ochenta y cinco Guacas por este orden.

[Ch-1:0] el primer ceque se decia, cayao, estaua a cargo de la parcialidad, y Aylo de Goacaytaqui, y tenia los cinco Guacas siguientes. /f. 224/

[Ch-1:1] la primera se llamaua, Michosamaro, estaua arrimada a la falda del cerro de Totocache; y decian ser uno de aquellos que fingieron hauer salido con el primer inca Manco capac de la cueba de Pacaritampu. Al qual refieren que una muger de las que salieron con ellos de la dicha cueba le mato por cierto desacato que con ella tubo, y se torno piedra. y que su anima se aparecio en este mismo lugar, y mando que le sacrificasen alli; y asi fue el sacrificio desta Guaca muy antiguo; el qual se hacia siempre de oro, ropa, conchas de la mar, y otras cosas; y soliasse hacer por buenos temporales.



TUPA YNGA SPEAKS WITH ALL THE
UACAS

[Tupa ynga]: uaca bilcacona.
pim camcunamanta ama parachun
cazachū runtochun ninqui
rimari chaylla.

Holy beings,
who among you is saying,
"let it not rain, let it
freeze, let it hail"?
Speak immediately.

[Uacas]: manam nocacunaca ynca.

Not we, Inca.

(Guaman Poma de Ayala, 1936,
p. 261 [263])

Account of the shrines of Cuzco (Bernabé Cobo, Historia del Nuevo Mundo,
ms. 1653, Book Thirteen) /f. 223v/

Chapter 13. The shrines and guacas which there were on
the Road of Chinchaysuyu.

From the Temple of the Sun as from the center there went out certain lines which the Indians call ceques; they formed four parts corresponding to the four royal roads which went out from Cuzco. On each one of those ceques were arranged in order the guacas and shrines which there were in Cuzco and its district, like stations of holy places, the veneration of which was common to all. Each ceque was the responsibility of the partialities and families of the city of Cuzco, from within which came the attendants and servants who cared for the guacas of their ceque and saw to offering the established sacrifices at the proper times.

Beginning, then, with the Road of Chinchaysuyu, which leaves the city through the precinct of Carmenga, there were in [the part corresponding to] it nine ceques on which were included eighty-five guacas, in this order.

[Ch-1:0] The first ceque was called Cayao; it was the responsibility of the partiality and ayllu of Goacaytaqui and had the following five guacas. /f. 224/

[Ch-1:1] The first was named Michosamaro; it was located up against the slope of the hill of Totocache, and they said it was one of those who they fancied had emerged with the first Inca Manco Capac from the cave of Pacaritampu. They relate that one of the women who came out of the cave with them killed him because of an act of disrespect toward her which he committed. He turned to stone, and his spirit appeared in this same place and ordered that they make sacrifices to him there. Thus the sacrifice at this guaca was very ancient. It always consisted of gold, clothing, sea shells, and other things, and it used to be made for good rains.

[Ch-1:2] la segunda Guaca deste ceque se decia, Patallacta; era una casa que diputo inca yupanqui para sus sacrificios, y murio en ella. y los incas que despues le sucedieron hicieron aqui sacrificio ordinario. ofreciansese generalmente todas las cosas que consumian en sacrificio; por la salud, y prosperidad del inca.

[Ch-1:3] la tercera Guaca se llamaua, Pilcopuquio; es una fuente junto a la casa sobredicha, de la qual sale una acequia: y quantan los indios que hauiendo hecho inca yupanqui aquella casa para los sacrificios, mando que saliese de alli aquel agua, y despues decreto que se le hiciese sacrificio ordinario.

[Ch-1:4] la quarta Guaca se decia, cirocaya; es una cueba de piedra, de la qual tenian creydo que salia el graniço: por lo qual al tiempo que se temian del, yuan todos a sacrificar en ella por que no saliese, y les destruyese los sembrados.

[Ch-1:5] la quinta, y postrera Guaca deste ceque tenia por nombre, sonconancay; es un cerro donde era muy antiguo ofre/f. 224 vta./cer sacrificios por la salud del inca.

[Ch-2:0] el segundo ceque deste mismo camino de chinchaysuyu se decia, Payan; en el qual hauia ocho Guacas del Ayllo, y familia de Vicaquirao.

[Ch-2:1] la primera Guaca se decia, Guaracince, la qual estaua en la plaça del templo del sol llamada chuquipampa (suena llano de oro) era un pedaçuelo de llano que alli estaua; en el qual decian que se formaua el temblor de tierra. hacian en ella sacrificios para que no temblase, y eran mui solennes [sic]; porque quando temblaua la tierra se matauan niños: y ordinariamente se quemauan carneros, y ropa, y se enterraua oro, y plata.

[Ch-2:2] la segunda Guaca se llamaua, Racramirpay; esta era una piedra que tenian puesta en una ventana que estaua un poco mas abajo de donde aora es el conuento de San Agustin; cuya historia refieren desta manera: que en cierta batalla que dio inca yupanqui a sus enemigos, se le aparecio un indio en el ayre, y le ayudo a uencerlos. y despues de alcançada la vitoria, se vino al cuzco con el dicho inca, y sentandose en aquella ventana se conuirtio en piedra: la qual desde aquel tiempo adorauan, y le hacian sacrificio ordinario. y particularmente se le hacia solenne quando el inca yua personalmente a la guerra, pidiendole que ayudase al Rey como hauia ayudado a inca yupanqui en aquella guerra.

[Ch-2:3] la tercera Guaca era un idolo de oro maciço llamado inti illapa, que quiere decir trueno del sol; el qual estaua puesto en unas ricas andas de oro. Hiçolo inca yupanqui, y tomolo por Guauque, o hermano: Tenia casa en el barrio de Totocache, y hacianle gran veneracion. y en la misma casa, o templo estaua /f. 225/ el cuerpo del dicho inca yupanqui. Hacian a este idolo mui ordinario sacrificio de niños, y de todo lo demas, rogandole se conseruasen las fuerças del inca, y no se disminuyese su imperio.

[Ch-2:4] la quarta Guaca se decia, Viroypacha, es un caño de raçonable agua, que estatuyo por Guaca inca yupanqui, rogauasele por la quietud del inca.

[Ch-2:5] la quinta Guaca era un llano llamado, chuquibamba, que esta junto a la fortaleza; sacrificauanle como a las otras.

[Ch-1:2] The second guaca of the ceque was called Patallacta. It was a house which Inca Yupanqui designated for his sacrifices, and he died in it. The Incas who succeeded him thereafter made ordinary sacrifice here. In general, all the things which they consumed in sacrifice were offered for the health and prosperity of the Inca.

[Ch-1:3] The third guaca was named Pilcopuquio. It is a fountain next to the house just mentioned from which an irrigation ditch issues. The Indians relate that when Inca Yupanqui had made that house for the sacrifices, he ordered that water to emerge there and afterward decreed that ordinary sacrifice should be made to it.

[Ch-1:4] The fourth guaca was called Cirocaya. It is a cave of stone from which they believed that the hail issued. Hence, at the season when they were afraid of it, all went to sacrifice in the cave, so that it should not come out and destroy their crops.

[Ch-1:5] The fifth and last guaca of this ceque had the name Sonconancay. It is a hill where it was [a] very ancient [custom] to /f. 224v/ offer sacrifices for the health of the Inca.

[Ch-2:0] The second ceque of this same Road of Chinchaysuyu was called Payan; on it were eight guacas of the aylo and family of Vicaquirao.

[Ch-2:1] The first guaca was called Guaracince, which was in the plaza of the Temple of the Sun, [a plaza] called Chuquipampa (it means "plain of gold"). It was a bit of flat ground which was there, in which they said that the earthquake was formed. At it they made sacrifices so that it would not quake, and they were very solemn [ones], because when the earth quaked children were killed, and ordinarily sheep and clothing were burned and gold and silver was buried.

[Ch-2:2] The second guaca was named Racramirpay; this one was a stone which they had set in a window which was a little way below where the monastery of San Agustín is now; they relate the story of it in this way. In a certain battle which Inca Yupanqui fought against his enemies, an Indian appeared to him in the air and helped him to conquer them. After the victory had been won, he came to Cuzco with the said Inca, sat down in this window, and turned to stone. From that time on they worshipped it and made ordinary sacrifice to it. Particularly solemn sacrifice was made to it when the Inca went to war personally, asking it to aid the king as it had aided Inca Yupanqui in the former war.

[Ch-2:3] The third guaca was an idol of solid gold named Inti illapa, which means "thunder of the Sun," which was set on a rich litter of gold. Inca Yupanqui made it and took it for his guauque or brother. It had a house in the precinct of Totocache, and they did it great veneration. In the same house or temple was /f. 225/ the body of the said Inca Yupanqui. To this idol they very commonly made sacrifices of children and of everything else, asking it that the strength of the Inca be preserved and his dominion not decrease.

[Ch-2:4] The fourth guaca was called Viroypacha; it is a conduit of fairly good water which was declared a guaca by Inca Yupanqui. It was prayed to for the tranquility of the Inca.

[Ch-2:5] The fifth guaca was a flat place called Chuquibamba which is next to the fortress; they sacrificed to it as to the others.

[Ch-2:6] la sesta Guaca se decia, Macasayba; era una piedra grande que inca yupanqui puso junto al llano de chuquibamba, y mando le hiciesen veneracion, y sacrificios por la salud del Rey.

[Ch-2:7] la setima Guaca era una cantera llamada, Guayrangallay, que esta encima de la fortaleza, en la qual hacian sacrificios por diuersos respetos.

[Ch-2:8] la otava, y ultima Guaca deste ceque se decia, Guayllaurcaja, es un porteçuelo que se hace en medio de un cerro, a donde Viracocha inca se sento muchas veces a descansar subiendo el dicho cerro: y desde aquel tiempo, y por su mandado fue tenido por adoratorio.

[Ch-3:0] el tercero ceque deste camino se decia, collana; tenia diez Guacas, y

[Ch-3:1] la primera se llamaua, Nina, que era un brasero hecho de una piedra, donde se encendia el fuego para los sacrificios, y no podian tomarlo de otra parte: estaua junto al templo del sol, y teniasele grande veneracion, y haciansese sacrificios solennes. /f. 225 vta/

[Ch-3:2] la segunda Guaca se decia, canchapacha, era una fuente que estaua en la calle de diego Maldonado, al qual hacian sacrificio por ciertas historias que los indios quentan.

[Ch-3:3] la tercera Guaca era otra fuente llamada, Ticicocha, que esta adentro de la casa que fue del dicho diego Maldonado: fue esta fuente de la coya, o Reyna Mama ocllo, en la qual se hacian mui grandes, y ordinarios sacrificios, especialmente quando querian pedir algo a la dicha Mama ocllo, que fue la muger mas venerada que hubo entre estos indios.

[Ch-3:4] la quarta Guaca se decia, condorcancha, y fue la casa en que viuia inca yupanqui.

[Ch-3:5] la quinta Guaca era otra casa dicha, Pomacorco, y no dan otra raçon de sacrificar en ella mas que hauer sido de Guayna capac.

[Ch-3:6] la sexta Guaca se llamaua, Mollaguanca, era cierta piedra que estaua en medio de un llano que llaman, calispuquio; la qual mando poner alli, y tenerla por adoratorio inca yupanqui.

[Ch-3:7] la setima Guaca era la casa que fue del Rey Tupa inca, llamada calispuquio guaci, en que se ofrecian sacrificios al dicho Tupa inca.

[Ch-3:8] la otava Guaca era una fuente que se decia, calispuquio, que estaua abajo de la dicha casa de Tupa inca; y se yuan a labar en ella todos los que se hacian orejones en la fiesta del Raymi. Trayase desta fuente el agua para el inca con muchos cantares hechos para solo esto, y eran doncellas las que la trayan. /f. 226/

[Ch-3:9] la nouena Guaca se llamaua, cugiguaman, era una piedra a manera de halcon, que dijo inca yupanqui hauersele aparecido en una cantera, y mando que se pudiese en este ceque, y se le hiciesen sacrificios.

[Ch-3:10] la decima Guaca deste ceque era una fonteçuela dicha, Quinoapuquio, que señalo por adoratorio inca yupanqui, ofreciansese sacrificios por la salud del inca.

[Ch-2:6] The sixth guaca was called Macasayba. It was a large stone which Inca Yupanqui set next to the flat place of Chuquibamba, and he ordered that veneration and sacrifices for the health of the king be made to it.

[Ch-2:7] The seventh guaca was a quarry named Guayrangallay, which is above the fortress. In it they made sacrifices for various reasons.

[Ch-2:8] The eighth and last guaca of this ceque was called Guayllaurcaja. It is a little pass formed in the middle of a hill where Viracocha Inca many times sat down to rest climbing the said hill, and from that time on, by his command, it was considered a shrine.

[Ch-3:0] The third ceque of this road was called Collana; it had ten guacas.

[Ch-3:1] The first was named Nina, which was a brazier made of a stone where the fire for sacrifices was lit, and they could not take it from anywhere else. It was next to the Temple of the Sun; it was held in great veneration, and solemn sacrifices were made to it.
/f. 225v/

[Ch-3:2] The second guaca was called Canchapacha. It was a fountain which was in the street of Diego Maldonado, to which they made sacrifice on account of certain stories that the Indians tell.

[Ch-3:3] The third guaca was another fountain named Ticicocha, which is inside the house which belonged to the said Diego Maldonado. This fountain belonged to the coya or queen, Mama Ocllo. In it were made very great and ordinary sacrifices, especially when they wanted to ask something of the said Mama Ocllo, who was the most venerated woman there was among these Indians.

[Ch-3:4] The fourth guaca was called Condorcancha and was the house in which Inca Yupanqui lived.

[Ch-3:5] The fifth guaca was another house called Pomacorco, and they give no other reason for sacrificing in it, except that it had belonged to Guayna Capac.

[Ch-3:6] The sixth guaca was named Mollaguanca; it was a certain stone which was in the middle of a flat place which they called Calispuquio. Inca Yupanqui ordered it to be placed there and considered a shrine.

[Ch-3:7] The seventh guaca was the house which formerly belonged to the king, Tupa Inca, named Calispuquio Guaci, in which sacrifices were offered to the said Tupa Inca.

[Ch-3:8] The eighth guaca was a fountain which was called Calispuquio which was below the said house of Tupa Inca. All those who were made orejones in the festival of Raymi went to wash in it. The water for the Inca was brought from this fountain with many songs made for this one purpose, and the girls who carried it were maidens. /f. 226/

[Ch-3:9] The ninth guaca was named Cugiguaman. It was a stone shaped like a falcon which Inca Yupanqui said had appeared to him in a quarry, and he ordered that it be placed on this ceque and that sacrifices be made to it.

[Ch-3:10] The tenth guaca of this ceque was a small fountain called Quinoapuquio which Inca Yupanqui designated as a shrine. Sacrifices for the health of the Inca were made to it.

[Ch-4:0] Al quarto ceque llamauan, Payao [sic]; tenia ocho guacas; de las quales

[Ch-4:1] la primera se decia, Araytampu; era una piedra grande con otras quatro pequeñas, que estauan junto a la casa que fue de Benito de la Peña, y eran de los Pururaucas.

[Ch-4:2] la segunda Guaca se llamaua, Puñui, estaua en un llano pequeño junto a la casa de Diego Maldonado: fue adoratorio mui solemne porque era tenido por causa del sueño: ofrecianle todo genero de sacrificios; y acudian a el por dos demandas, la una a rogar por los que no podian dormir, y la otra que no muriesen durmiendo.

[Ch-4:3] la tercera Guaca se llamaua, curiocllo, era una casa de curiolllo [sic; debe decir curiocllo] muger que fue de Amaro topa inca, la qual estaua en colcapata; y adorauan tambien una fuente que estaua junto a ella.

[Ch-4:4] la quarta Guaca se llamaua, colcapata, y era la casa de Paullu inca, donde estaua una piedra por idolo; que adoraua el Aylo de Andasaya: y el origen que tubo fue hauerla mandado adorar Pachacutic inca, porque dijo que /f. 226 vta./ cierto señor se hauia conuertido en la dicha piedra.

[Ch-4:5] la quinta Guaca se decia, Guamancancha, la qual estaua cabe la fortaleza en un cerrillo deste nombre: era un cercado dentro del qual hauia dos buhios pequeños diputados para ayunar quando se hacian orejones.

[Ch-4:6] la sexta Guaca era una piedra grande llamada, collaconcho, que estaua en la fortaleza, la qual afirman que trayendola para aquel edificio se les cayo tres veces, y mato algunos indios: y los hechiceros en preguntas que le hicieron, digeron hauer respondido que si porfiauau en querella poner en el edificio, todos haurian mal fin, allende de que no serian parte para ello. y desde aquel tiempo fue tenuta por Guaca general; al qual ofrecian por las fuerças del inca.

[Ch-4:7] la setima Guaca se decia, chachacomacaja, eran ciertos arboles puestos a mano, junto a los quales estaua una piedra a quien hacian sacrificio por que el inca no tubiese ira.

[Ch-4:8] la otaua, y ultima Guaca deste ceque era un cerro alto llamado, chuquipalta, que esta junto a la fortaleza, en el qual estauan puestas tres piedras en representacion del Pachayachachic, intiillapa, y Punchau: y en este cerro se hacia sacrificio uniuersal de niños, y niñas; y figuras pequeñas de lo mismo hechas de oro; y quemauase ropa, y carneros, porque era este tenido por adoratorio mui solemne.

[Ch-5:0] El quinto ceque deste mismo camino, y rumbo de chinchaysuyu se decia, cayao [sic]; contenia diez guacas:

[Ch-5:1] la primera llamada, cusicancha, era el lugar donde nacio inca yupanqui frontero del templo de coricancha; y por esta raçon ofreci /f. 227/ cian [sic] alli los del Aylo inacapanaca.

[Ch-5:2] la segunda Guaca era un templo llamado, Pucamarca, que estaua en las casas que fueron del licenciado [Antonio] de la Gama; en el qual estaua un idolo del Trueno dicho chucuylla.

[Ch-4:0] The fourth ceque they named Payao [sic]; it had eight guacas.

[Ch-4:1] The first of these was called Araytampu. It was a large stone with four other small ones which were next to the house which belonged to Benito de la Peña, and they were Pururaucas.

[Ch-4:2] The second guaca was named Puñui; it was in a small flat place next to the house of Diego Maldonado. It was a very solemn shrine, because it was held to be the cause of sleep; they offered every kind of sacrifice to it. They went to it with two petitions, one to pray for those who were unable to sleep, and the other that they might not die in their sleep.

[Ch-4:3] The third guaca was named Curiocullo. It was a house of Curiollo [sic; for Curi Ocllo], who had been the wife of Amaro Topa Inca, which was in Colcapata; and they worshipped also a fountain which was next to it.

[Ch-4:4] The fourth guaca was named Colcapata and was the house of Paullu Inca, where there was a stone serving as an idol which the ayllu of Andasaya worshipped. The origin it had was that Pachacutic Inca had ordered it worshipped, because he said that /f. 226v/ a certain lord had been transformed into the said stone.

[Ch-4:5] The fifth guaca was called Guamancancha and was near the fortress on a small hill of this name. It was an enclosure inside of which there were two small buhios designated for fasting when orejones were made.

[Ch-4:6] The sixth guaca was a large stone named Collaconcho which was in the fortress. They declare that, bringing it for that structure, it fell three times and killed some Indians. The sorcerors, in questions they put to it, said that it had replied that, if they persisted in wanting to put it in the structure, all would have a bad end, apart from the fact that they would not be able to do it. From that time on it was considered a general guaca to which they made offerings for the strength of the Inca.

[Ch-4:7] The seventh guaca was called Chachacomacaja; it consisted of certain trees set out by hand next to which was a stone to which they made sacrifice so that the Inca would not be wrathful.

[Ch-4:8] The eighth and last guaca of this ceque was a high hill named Chuquipalta, which is next to the fortress, on which were placed three stones in representation of the Pachayachachic, Inti Illapa and Punchau [i.e., the Creator, the Thunder, and the Sun; particular manifestations of the last two are implied by the terms used]. On this hill, universal sacrifice was made of boys and girls and figurines of the same made of gold; and clothing and sheep were burned, because this was considered to be a very solemn shrine.

[Ch-5:0] The fifth ceque of this same road and direction of Chinchaysuyu was called Cayao [sic]; it included ten guacas.

[Ch-5:1] The first, named Cusicancha, was the place where Inca Yupanqui was born, opposite the temple of Coricancha; for this reason /f. 227/ the members of the ayllu Inacapanaca sacrificed there.

[Ch-5:2] The second guaca was a temple named Pucamarca, which was in the houses which belonged to the Licentiate [Antonio] de la Gama; in it was an idol of the Thunder called Chucuylla.

[Ch-5:3] la tercera Guaca se decia, cuzcocalla, estaua en la calle que sale a la plaça yendo por esta raya, o ceque; y era buena cantidad de piedras que todas decian ser de los Pururauacas.

[Ch-5:4] la quarta Guaca era la plaça principal llamada, Aucaypata, que al presente tambien lo es; en ella se hacia el sacrificio uniuersal para el sol, y las demas Guacas; y se repartia, y lleuaua a las otras partes del reyno, y era lugar mui venerado.

[Ch-5:5] la quinta Guaca era un buhio llamado, coracora, en que dormia inca yupanqui, que es donde aora estan las casas de cabildo: mando el dicho inca adorar aquel lugar, y quemar en el ropa, y carneros, y asi se hacia.

[Ch-5:6] la sesta Guaca se llamaua, sabacurinca, era un asiento bien labrado, donde se sentauan los incas; el qual fue mui venerado, y se le hacian solennes sacrificios; y por respeto deste asiento se adoraua toda la fortaleza: que deuiera de estar dentro, o junto a ella.

[Ch-5:7] la setima Guaca se llamaua, chacaguanacauri; la qual es un cerrillo que esta camino de yucay; a donde yuan los mancebos que se armauan orejones por cierta paja que lleuauan en las lanças.

[Ch-5:8] la otaua Guaca era una sepultura pequeña llamada, Guamanguachanca, de un hermano de Guayna capac, la qual /f. 227 vta./ estaua de otra parte de la fortaleza: hicieronla adoratorio por hauer muerto pequeño el hermano del inca, diciendo que por la veneracion que le dauan no moririan mas de aquella edad.

[Ch-5:9] la nouena Guaca era un cerro que esta camino del valle de yucay llamado, Cinca, en que hauia una piedra que adorauan los indios de Ayamarca teniendo por opinion que procedian della.

[Ch-5:10] la decima Guaca era un puquio, o manantial llamado, corcorpuqui; en el qual se ofrecian niños, y todo lo demas.

[Ch-6:0] el sexto ceque se decia, collana, como el tercero, y tenia once Guacas:

[Ch-6:1] la primera se decia, catonge, y era una piedra de los Pururauacas, que estaua en una ventana junto al templo del sol.

[Ch-6:2] la segunda Guaca se llamaua, Pucamarca [sic; probablemente debe decir Quishuarcancha], era una casa o templo diputado para los sacrificios del Pachayachachic, en el qual se sacrificauan niños, y todo lo demas.

[Ch-6:3] la tercera Guaca se decia, Ñan, que quiere decir camino, estaua en la plaça donde se tomaua el camino para chinchaysuyu: haciase en ella sacrificio uniuersal por los caminantes, y por que aquel camino estuiese siempre entero, y no se derrumbase, y cayese.

[Ch-6:4] la quarta Guaca tenia por nombre, Guayra, y estaua en la puerta de cajana; en ella se hacia sacrificio al viento para que no hiciese daño: y estaua hecho un hoyo, en que se enterrauan los sacrificios. /f. 228/

[Ch-6:5] la quinta Guaca era el palacio de Huayna capac llamado cajana; dentro del qual hauia una laguna nombrada, Ticcicocha, que era adoratorio principal, y a donde se hacian grandes sacrificios.

[Ch-6:6] la sesta Guaca era una fuente llamada, Capipacchan [sic; debe decir Çapi pacchan], que estaua en capi [Çapi], en el qual se solia bañar el inca; haciase en ella sacrificios, y rogauan que el agua no le lleuase la fuerça, ni le hiciese daño.

[Ch-5:3] The third guaca was called Guzcocalla. It was on the street which leads to the plaza following this line or ceque, and it consisted of a fair quantity of stones which they said were all Pururauca.

[Ch-5:4] The fourth guaca was the main plaza, named Aucaypata, which is also it [i.e., the main plaza] at the present time. In it was made the universal sacrifice for the Sun and the rest of the guacas, and it [i.e., the sacrifice] was divided and taken to the other parts of the kingdom. It was a very venerated place.

[Ch-5:5] The fifth guaca was a buhio named Coracora, in which Inca Yupanqui used to sleep, which is where the cabildo [municipal council] houses are now. The said Inca ordered worship of that place and burning of clothing and sheep in it, and so it was done.

[Ch-5:6] The sixth guaca was named Sabacurinsa; it was a well carved seat where the Incas sat. It was very venerated, and solemn sacrifices were made to it. On account of this seat, the whole fortress was worshipped; for it [the seat] must have been inside or next to [the fortress].

[Ch-5:7] The seventh guaca was named Chacaguanacauri. It is a small hill which is on the way to Yucay, where the young men who were preparing themselves to be orejones went for a certain grass which they carried on the lances.

[Ch-5:8] The eighth guaca was a small tomb named Guamanguachanca, [the tomb] of a brother of Guayna Capac, which /f. 227v/ was at the side of the fortress. They made a shrine of it because the Inca's brother had died as a small child, and they said that because of the veneration they paid to it, no more [children] of that age would die.

[Ch-5:9] The ninth guaca was a hill which is on the way to the valley of Yucay named Cinca, on which was a stone which the Indians of Ayamarca worshipped, holding the opinion that they originated from it.

[Ch-5:10] The tenth guaca was a puquio or spring named Corcorpuquiu at which children were offered and everything else.

[Ch-6:0] The sixth ceque was called Collana, like the third, and it had eleven guacas.

[Ch-6:1] The first was called Catonge and was a stone of the Pururauca, which was in a window next to the Temple of the Sun.

[Ch-6:2] The second guaca was named Pucamarca [sic; probably for Quishuarcancha]; it was a house or temple designated for the sacrifices of the Pachayachachic [Creator] in which children were sacrificed and everything else.

[Ch-6:3] The third guaca was called Ñan, which means "road." It was in the plaza where one took the road for Chinchaysuyu. Universal sacrifice was made at it for travelers, and so that the road in question would always be whole and would not crumble and fall.

[Ch-6:4] The fourth guaca had the name of Guayra and was in the doorway of Cajana. At it sacrifice was made to the wind, so that it would not do damage, and a pit had been made there in which the sacrifices were buried. /f. 228/

[Ch-6:5] The fifth guaca was the palace of Huayna Capac named Cajana, within which was a lake named Ticcicocha which was an important shrine and at which great sacrifices were made.

[Ch-6:6] The sixth guaca was a fountain named Capipacchan [sic; for Çapi Pacchan], which was in Capi [Çapi], in which the Inca used to bathe. Sacrifices were made at it, and they prayed that the water might not carry away his strength or do him harm.

[Ch-6:7] la setima Guaca se decia, capi [Çapi], que significa raiz; era una raiz mui grande de Quinua, la qual decian los hechiceros que era la raiz de donde procedia el cuzco, y que mediante aquella se conseruaua: hacianle sacrificios por la conseruacion de la dicha ciudad.

[Ch-6:8] la otaua se llamaua, Quisco, estaua encima del cerro de capi [Çapi], donde se hacia sacrificio uniuersal por la misma raçon que a la raiz sobredicha.

[Ch-6:9] la nouena Guaca era un cerro llamado, Quiangalla, que esta en el camino de yucay, donde estauan dos mojones, o pilares que tenian por señal que llegando alli el sol era el principio del verano.

[Ch-6:10] la decima era una fonteçuela que se decia, Guarguaillapuqui, y esta junto a este cerro, en que echauan [corregido para decir echauã] el poluo que sobraua de los sacrificios de las Guacas deste ceque.

[Ch-6:11] la undecima, y postrera Guaca se decia, illacamarca, estaua en una fortaleça que hauia edificada en una peña /f. 228 vta./ camino de yucay y en ella se acauauan las Guacas deste ceque.

[Ch-7:0] el setimo ceque se decia. cayao, y era del ayllu de capac ayllu, tenia los ocho Guacas que se siguen:

[Ch-7:1] la primera se llamaua, omanamaro, y era una piedra larga, que se decian ser de los Pururaucas, la qual estaua en la puerta de la casa que fue de [Juan de] figueroa. haciansese sacrificio uniuersal por la salud del inca.

[Ch-7:2] la segunda Guaca eran dos buhios pequeños llamados, sanca cancha, el uno; y el otro, Hurin sanca; donde tenian cantidad de leones, tigres, culebras, y de todas las malas sauandijas que podian hauer. en estos buhios metian a los prisioneros que trayan de la guerra; y el que moria aquella noche, comianle las dichas fieras; y a el que quedaua viuo, sacauanlo; y esto tenian por señal de que tenia buen coraçon, y proposito de seruir al inca.

[Ch-7:3] la tercera Guaca se decia, Marcatampu, eran unas piedras redondas, que estauan en carmenga, donde aora es la Parroquia de santa Ana; las quales señalo por adoratorio principal inca yupanqui: ofreciansese niños por la salud y conseruacion del inca.

[Ch-7:4] la quarta se llamaua, Taxanamaro; eran cinco piedras redondas que Viracocha inca mando poner en el cerro de Toxan [sic], que esta encima de Carmenga. la ofrenda que le dauan era solamente de conchas partidas; rogauase a esta Guaca por la vitoria del inca. /f. 228 bis/

[Ch-7:5] A la quinta Guaca deste ceque llamauan, Vrcoslla amaro, eran muchas piedras juntas puestas en un cerrillo que esta encima de carmenga; haciansese sacrificios por la salud del inca.

[Ch-7:6] la sesta se decia, callancapuqui, es el manantial de Ticutica [sic; debe decir Ticatita], al qual ofrecian conchas por que siempre manase.

[Ch-7:7] la setima Guaca se decia, churuncana, es un cerro redondo que esta encima de Carmenga, donde se parte el camino Real de chinchero del de yucay. desde este cerro se hacian los sacrificios a Ticci viracocha, pidiendole que venciese el inca por toda la tierra hasta los confines de la mar: ofrecianle de todas las cosas, especialmente niños.

[Ch-7:8] la otaua, y ultima Guaca deste ceque era una fuente llamada, Muchayllapuqui, que esta cerca de Guarguaylla; ofrecianle conchas partidas para ciertos efectos.

[Ch-6:7] The seventh guaca was called Capi [Çapi], which means "root." It was a very large quinoa [tree] root which the sorcerers said was the root from which Cuzco issued and by means of which it was preserved. They made sacrifices to it for the preservation of the said city.

[Ch-6:8] The eighth was named Quisco; it was on top of the hill of Capi [Çapi], where universal sacrifice was made for the same reason as to the above mentioned root.

[Ch-6:9] The ninth guaca was a hill named Quiangalla which is on the Yucay road. On it were two markers or pillars which they regarded as indication that, when the sun reached there, it was the beginning of the summer.

[Ch-6:10] The tenth was a small fountain which was called Guarguailapuquiu, and it is next to this hill. In it they threw the dust which was left over from the sacrifices of the guacas of this ceque.

[Ch-6:11] The eleventh and last guaca was called Illacamarca; it was in a fortress which there was, built on a steep rock /f. 228v/ on the way to Yucay, and at it the guacas of this ceque ended.

[Ch-7:0] The seventh ceque was called Cayao and was [the responsibility] of the ayllu of Capac Ayllu; it had the following eight guacas.

[Ch-7:1] The first was named Omanamaro and was a long stone which they said was [one] of the Pururaucas and which was in the doorway of the house which belonged to [Juan de] Figueroa. Universal sacrifice was made there for the health of the Inca.

[Ch-7:2] The second guaca was two small buhios, one named Sanca Cancha and the other Hurin Sanca, where they had a quantity of lions [i.e., pumas], tigers [i.e., jaguars], serpents, and all the other evil vermin that were available. In these buhios they thrust the prisoners they brought back from war. Whoever died that night, the said wild beasts ate; whoever remained alive, they took out. They took this [survival] as a sign that he had a good heart and intended to serve the Inca.

[Ch-7:3] The third guaca was called Marcatampu. It consisted of some round stones which were in Carmenga, where the parish of Santa Ana is now, which [stones] Inca Yupanqui designated as an important shrine. Children were offered to it for the health and preservation of the Inca.

[Ch-7:4] The fourth was named Taxanamaro; it consisted of five round stones which Viracocha Inca ordered placed on the hill of Toxan [sic] which is above Carmenga. The offering they gave it was only of cut shells. This guaca was prayed to for the victory of the Inca. /f. 228 bis/

[Ch-7:5] The fifth guaca of this ceque they named Urcoslla Amaro; it consisted of many stones together placed on a small hill which is above Carmenga. Sacrifices were made to it for the health of the Inca.

[Ch-7:6] The sixth was called Callancapuquiu; it is the spring of Ticutica [sic; for Ticatica] to which they offered shells so that it would always flow.

[Ch-7:7] The seventh guaca was called Churuncana; it is a round hill which is above Carmenga where the royal road of Chinchero leaves that of Yucay. From this hill the sacrifices to Ticci Viracocha were made, asking him that the Inca be victorious throughout the land to the limits of the sea. They offered him all kinds of things, especially children.

[Ch-7:8] The eighth and last guaca of this ceque was a fountain named Muchayllapuquiu which is near Guarguaylla. They offered it cut shells for certain purposes.

[Ch-8:0] el otauo ceque deste camino se decia Payan, como el segundo, y hauia en el trece Guacas.

[Ch-8:1] la primera era una casa pequeña junto al templo del sol llamada, illanguarque, en que se guardauan ciertas armas, que decian hauerlas dado el sol a inca yupanqui, con que vencio a sus enemigos: haciasele a esta Guaca sacrificio uniuersal.

[Ch-8:2] la segunda se decia, Mancochuqui, era una chacara de Huanacauri, y lo que della se cogia le sacrificauan.

[Ch-8:3] la tercera Guaca era una fuente llamada, Aucaypata [paccha], que estaua junto a donde aora es la casa de cabildo, en la qual decian los sacerdotes de chucuilla que se baña/f. 228 bis vta./ua el Trueno, y fingian otros mil disparates.

[Ch-8:4] la quarta Guaca se decia, Cugitalis, era un llano donde se edifico la casa de Garcilaso: el origen quentan hauer sido que durmiendo alli Huayna capac soño que venia cierta guerra, y porque despues acaecio asi, mando que aquel lugar fuese venerado.

[Ch-8:5] la quinta Guaca era una chacara llamada, Chacuaytapara, que estaua en carmenga, y fue de Amaro Tupa inca; ofrecianle solas conchas, y no hauian de parar en el sacrificio, sino ofrecerlo de paso.

[Ch-8:6] la sexta era un manantial llamado, orocotopuqui, que estaua en carmenga, al qual se dauan conchas molidas.

[Ch-8:7] la setima se decia, sucanca, era un cerro por donde viene la acequia de Chinchero, en que hauia dos mojones por señal que quando llegaua alli el sol, hauian de començar a sembrar el maiz. el sacrificio que alli se hacia se dirigia al sol, pidiendole que llegase alli a tiempo que fuese buena sazon para sembrar, y sacrificauanle carneros, ropa, y corderillos pequeños de oro, y plata.

[Ch-8:8] la otaua Guaca era una casa dicha, Mamararoy, en que eran veneradas ciertas piedras que decian fueron mugeres de Ticci Viracocha, y que andando de noche se hauian vuelto piedras, y que hallandolas en aquel lugar les hicieron aquel templo.

[Ch-8:9] la nouena Guaca se decia, Vrcoscalla, era el lugar donde perdian de vista la ciudad del cuzco los que cami/f. 229/nauan a chinchaysuyu.

[Ch-8:10] la decima Guaca se decia, Catachillay, es una fuente que esta en el primer llano que abaja al camino de chinchaysuyu.

[Ch-8:11] la vndecima era otra fuente junto a la de arriba, que se dice, Aspadquiri; al qual mando sacrificar inca yupanqui, porque dijo que su agua quitaua el cansancio.

[Ch-8:12] la duodecima era otra fuente llamada, Poroypuqui, que esta junto al molino que fue de Juan Julio [de Hojeda], ofrecianle conchas mui molidas.

[Ch-8:13] la postrera Guaca deste ceque se decia, Collanasayba, era un mojon que esta en un cerro al principio de sicllabamba por fin, y termino de las Guacas deste ceque.

[Ch-9:0] el noueno, y ultimo ceque deste dicho camino de Chinchaysuyu se llamaua capac, y tenia doce guacas.

[Ch-9:1] la primera era una fuente dicha, Aypanospacha, que estaua en la calle de Pedro Alonso Carrasco.

[Ch-8:0] The eighth ceque of this road was called Payan, like the second, and there were thirteen guacas on it.

[Ch-8:1] The first was a small house next to the Temple of the Sun named Illanguarque, in which were kept certain weapons which they said the sun had given to Inca Yupanqui, [and] with which he conquered his enemies. Universal sacrifice was made to this guaca.

[Ch-8:2] The second was called Mancochuqui. It was a chacara of Huanacauri, and what was harvested from it was sacrificed to him.

[Ch-8:3] The third guaca was a fountain named Aucaypata [Paccha] which was next to where the house of the cabildo [municipal council] is now. In it the priests of Chucquilla said that the /f. 228 bis v/ Thunder bathed, and they made up a thousand other absurdities.

[Ch-8:4] The fourth guaca was called Cugitalis; it was a flat place where the house of Garcilaso was built. The origin they tell was that Huayna Capac slept there and dreamed that a certain war was coming. Because it afterward came to pass, he ordered that that place be venerated.

[Ch-8:5] The fifth guaca was a chacara named Chacuaytapara which was in Carmenga and belonged to Amaro Tupa Inca. They offered it only shells, and they were not supposed to stop to sacrifice but make their offering as they passed by.

[Ch-8:6] The sixth was a spring named Orocotopuquiu which was in Carmenga, to which were given ground up shells.

[Ch-8:7] The seventh was called Sucasca. It was a hill by way of which the water channel from Chinchero comes. On it there were two markers as an indication that when the sun arrived there, they had to begin to plant the maize. The sacrifice which was made there was directed to the Sun, asking him to arrive there at the time which would be appropriate for planting, and they sacrificed to him sheep, clothing, and small miniature lambs of gold and silver.

[Ch-8:8] The eighth guaca was a house called Mamararoy in which were venerated certain stones which they said were women [or wives] of Ticci Viracocha, and that, walking at night, they had turned to stone. Finding them in that place, they made that temple for them.

[Ch-8:9] The ninth guaca was called Urcoscalla. It was the place where those who traveled to Chinchaysuyu lost sight of the city of Cuzco. /f. 229/

[Ch-8:10] The tenth guaca was called Catachillay. It is a fountain which is in the first flat place which descends to the Road of Chinchaysuyu.

[Ch-8:11] The eleventh was another fountain, next to the one above, which is called Aspadquiri, to which Inca Yupanqui ordered sacrifices made, because he said that its water took away fatigue.

[Ch-8:12] The twelfth was another fountain named Poroypuquiu which is next to the mill which belonged to Juan Julio [de Hojeda]. They offered it finely ground shells.

[Ch-8:13] The last guaca of this ceque was called Collanasayba; it was a marker which is on a hill at the beginning of Sicllabamba, as the end and limit of the guacas of this ceque.

[Ch-9:0] The ninth and last ceque of this said road of Chinchaysuyu was named Capac and had twelve guacas.

[Ch-9:1] The first was a fountain called Aypanospacha, which was on the street of Pedro Alonso Carrasco.

[Ch-9:2] la segunda era una casa pequeña que estaua en Piccho, heredad que aora es de la compañía de Jesus, en la qual mando Huayna capac que hiciesen sacrificio porque solia dormir alli su madre Mama ocllo.

[Ch-9:3] la tercera era un cerro llamado Quinoacalla, que esta en Carmenga, a donde se estatuyo que en la fiesta del Raymi reposasen los orejones.

[Ch-9:4] la quarta Guaca era una fuente llamada Pomacucho, que estaua algo apartada deste ceque, ofrecianle conchas. /f. 229 vta./

[Ch-9:5] la quinta se decia, vicaribi; era una sepultura bien labrada que estaua en Piccho, que fue de un señor principal asi llamado del Aylo de Maras.

[Ch-9:6] la sesta Guaca era una piedra llamada, Apuyauira, que estaua sobre el cerro de Picho [Piccho]; tenian creydo que era uno de aquellos que salieron de la tierra con Huanacauri, y que despues de hauer viuido mucho tiempo se subio alli, y se voluio piedra; a la qual yuan a adorar todos los Ayillos en la fiesta del Raymi.

[Ch-9:7] la setima era un llano dicho, cutirsaspampa, en que alcanço el inca cierta vitoria, y por solo esto fue este lugar hecho adoratorio.

[Ch-9:8] la otava era otro llano cerca deste, llamado, Queachili, el qual esta entre dos cerros a manera de puerta, en que se acabo de conseguir la vitoria dicha, y por eso era venerado.

[Ch-9:9] la nouena Guaca se decia, Quishuarpuquiu, era un manantial en que decian hauer beuido la gente del inca acabada la batalla de arriba.

[Ch-9:10] la decima se llamaua, yuyotuyro, eran cinco piedras juntas, que estauan junto al cerro de arriba.

[Ch-9:11] la undecima era una piedra dicha, Pillolliri, que quentan los indios hauer saltado de otro cerro a aquel que se llama asi, y por esta imaginacion que tubieron la adoraron.

[Ch-9:12] la duodecima, y postrera Guaca deste ceque era una fuente llamada Totorgoaylla; aqui se acauauan las /f. 230/ Guacas de los nueue ceques del camino de chinchaysuyu, que por todas venian a ser ochenta y cinco.

cap. 14. de los adoratorios, y Guacas que hauia en el camino de Antisuyu.

Tenia el camino de Antisuyu nueue ceques, y en ellos setenta y ocho Guacas por este orden.

[An-1:0] el primer ceque se llamaua, Collana, y estaua a cargo del Aylo de cubcu [çubçu] pañaca ayllu;

[An-1:1] la primera Guaca del se decia, chiquinapampa; era un cercado que estaua junto al templo del sol, en el qual se hacia el sacrificio por la salud uniuersal de los indios.

[An-1:2] la segunda Guaca se decia, Turuca, era una piedra casi redonda que estaua junto al dicho templo del sol en una ventana, la qual decian que era Guauque de Ticci viracocha; haciasele sacrificio uniuersal por todas las necesidades que ocurrían.

[Ch-9:2] The second was a small house which was in Piccho, a farm which now belongs to the Society of Jesus, in which Huayna Capac ordered that they make sacrifice, because his mother, Mama Ocllo, used to sleep there.

[Ch-9:3] The third was a hill named Quinoacalla which is in Carmenga, where it was ordained that the orejones should rest in the festival of Raymi.

[Ch-9:4] The fourth guaca was a fountain named Pomacucho which was somewhat separated from this ceque. They offered shells to it. /f. 229v/

[Ch-9:5] The fifth guaca was called Vicaribi; it was a well wrought tomb, which was in Piccho, of an important lord so named of the ayllu of Maras.

[Ch-9:6] The sixth guaca was a stone named Apuyauira which was on the hill of Picho [Piccho]. They believed that it was one of those who emerged from the earth with Huanacauri, and that after having lived for a long time he climbed up there and turned to stone. All the ayillos went to worship at it in the festival of Raymi.

[Ch-9:7] The seventh was a flat place called Cutirsaspampa, where the Inca won a certain victory, and for this [reason] alone the place was made a shrine.

[Ch-9:8] The eighth was another flat place near this one named Queachili, which is between two hills like a gateway; in it the said victory was completed, and for that [reason] it was venerated.

[Ch-9:9] The ninth guaca was called Quishuarpuquiu; it was a spring at which they said the Inca's men had drunk when the above battle was finished.

[Ch-9:10] The tenth was named Yuyotuyro; it consisted of five stones together which were next to the hill above mentioned.

[Ch-9:11] The eleventh was a stone called Pillolliri, which the Indians relate had jumped from another hill to that which is so named, and for this flight of fancy which they had they worshipped it.

[Ch-9:12] The twelfth and last guaca of this ceque was a fountain named Totorgoaylla; here ended the /f. 230/ guacas of the nine ceques of the Road of Chinchaysuyu, which came to eighty-five.

Chapter 14. The shrines and guacas which there were on the Road of Antisuyu.

The Road of Antisuyu had nine ceques and on them seventy-eight guacas, in this order.

[An-1:0] The first ceque was named Collana and was under the care of the ayllu of Cubcu [Cubcu] Pañaca Ayllu.

[An-1:1] The first guaca of it was called Chiquinapampa. It was an enclosure which was next to the Temple of the Sun in which the sacrifice for the universal health of the Indians was made.

[An-1:2] The second guaca was called Turuca. It was an almost round stone, which was next to the said Temple of the Sun in a window, which they said was [the] guaque of Ticci Viracocha. Universal sacrifice was made to it for all the needs that arose.

[An-1:3] la tercera Guaca era una piedra grande llamada chiripacha, que estaua en el principio del camino de collasuyu; ofrecianle quantos pasauan por el dicho camino, por que les sucediese bien el viage.

[An-1:4] la quarta se decia, Autviturco, era una cueba grande que esta la quebrada abajo de Patallacta; de la qual tenian por opinion que hauian nacido los indios del pueblo de Goalla; el sacrificio era rociarla con sangre de llamas, que son los cameros de la tierra. /f. 230 vta./

[An-1:5] la quinta era una fuente llamada, Pacha, que esta en la quebrada de Patallacta, en que el inca se lauaua cierto tiempo.

[An-1:6] la sesta era otra fuente dicha, corcorchaca, que esta en la misma quebrada que la sobredicha: ofrecianle conchas mui molidas.

[An-1:7] la setima Guaca se decia, Amaromarcaguaci; esta era casa de Amaro Tupa inca, que estaua en el camino de los Andes.

[An-1:8] la otaua Guaca tenia por nombre, Tipepuquiu [sic; debe decir Tinpuc puquiu], era una fuente que esta cerca de Tambomachay; llamase asi porque mana de modo que hierue el agua.

[An-1:9] la nouena se llamaua, Tambomachay, era una casa de inca yupanqui, donde se hospedaua quando yua a caza; estaua puesta en un cerro cerca del camino de los Andes: sacrificauanle de todo excepto niños.

[An-1:10] la decima Guaca se decia, Quinoapuquiu, era una fuente cabe Tambomachay que se compone de dos manantiales; haciansele sacrificio universal, fuera de niños.

[An-1:11] la postrera Guaca deste ceque se decia, Quiscourco; era una piedra redonda no mui grande, que seruia de termino, y mojon destas Guacas.

[An-2:0] el segundo ceque del dicho camino de Antisuyu se decia Payan, y tenia diez Guacas.

[An-2:1] la primera era un lugar llamado, Vilcacona; donde se edifico la casa /f. 231/ que fue de Juan de Salas: a este adoratorio lleuauan en cierto tiempo del año todas las Guacas, e idolos de la ciudad del Cuzco, y alli juntas les sacrificauan, y luego las voluian a sus lugares: era Guaca mui solenne; ofrecianle cestos mui pequeños de coca.

[An-2:2] la segunda Guaca deste ceque se llamaua, Pachatosa, era una piedra grande que estaua junto a la casa de [Diego] Cayo; quemauase encima della el sacrificio, y decian que lo comia.

[An-2:3] la tercera Guaca se decia, chusacachi, es un cerro grande camino de los Andes, encima del qual estauan ciertas piedras que eran adoradas.

[An-2:4] la quarta se llamaua, Curovilca, era una cantera de donde sacauan piedra: sacrificauanle por que no se acabase, ni se cayesen los edificios que della se hacian.

[An-2:5] la quinta Guaca era llamada, sunchupuquiu, era un adoratorio que estaua junto a la ladera de un cerro asi llamado, ofrecianle cameros, y ropa.

[An-2:6] la sesta era un manantial dicho, Aucapapirqui, que esta en un llano cerca del dicho camino.

[An-1:3] The third guaca was a large stone named Chiripacha which was at the beginning of the Road of Collasuyu. All those who traveled by the said road made offerings to it, so that the journey would turn out well for them.

[An-1:4] The fourth was called Autviturco. It was a large cave which is down the ravine from Patallacta, [and] from which they held the view that the Indians of the town of Goalla had been born. The sacrifice was to sprinkle it with the blood of llamas, which are the sheep of the country. /f. 230v/

[An-1:5] The fifth was a fountain named Pacha which is in the ravine of Patallacta, in which the Inca washed himself a certain time.

[An-1:6] The sixth was another fountain called Corcorchaca, which is in the same ravine as the one mentioned above; they offered it finely ground shells.

[An-1:7] The seventh guaca was called Amaromarcaguaci; this was a house of Amaro Tupa Inca which was on the road of the Andes [i.e., the montaña].

[An-1:8] The eighth guaca was named Tipcpuquiu [sic; for Tinpuc Puquiu]; it was a fountain which is near Tambo Machay. It is so called because it wells up in such a way that the water boils.

[An-1:9] The ninth was named Tambomachay; it was a house of Inca Yupanqui where he lodged when he went hunting. It was set on a hill near the road of the Andes. They sacrificed all kinds of things to it except children.

[An-1:10] The tenth guaca was called Quinoapuquiu; it was a fountain near Tambo Machay which consists of two springs. Universal sacrifice was made to it, except children.

[An-1:11] The last guaca of this ceque was called Quiscourco; it was a round stone, not very big, which served as the limit and marker of these guacas.

[An-2:0] The second ceque of the said Road of Antisuyu was called Payan and had ten guacas.

[An-2:1] The first was a place called Vilcacona, where the house /f. 231/ which belonged to Juan de Salas was built. To this shrine they brought at a certain time of the year all the guacas and idols of the city of Cuzco, and they sacrificed to them there, all together, and then they returned them to their places. It was a very solemn guaca; they offered it very small cestos of coca.

[An-2:2] The second guaca of this ceque was named Pachatosa; it was a large stone which was next to [Diego] Cayo's house. The sacrifice was burned on top of it, and they said that it ate it.

[An-2:3] The third guaca was called Chusacachi; it is a large hill on the way to the Andes on top of which were certain stones that were worshipped.

[An-2:4] The fourth was named Curovilca; it was a quarry from which they extracted stone. They sacrificed to it so that it might not give out, and so that the buildings built [of stone] from it might not fall.

[An-2:5] The fifth guaca was named Sunchupuquiu; it was a shrine which was next to the slope of a hill so named. They offered it sheep and clothing.

[An-2:6] The sixth was a spring called Aucapapirqui which is on a flat place near the said road.

[An-2:7] la setima se llamaua, Caynaconga, era un descansadero del inca, que estaua en un llano cerca de Tambomachay.

[An-2:8] la otaua Guaca se decia, Puquiu, era una fuente que esta de ese cabo de Tambomachay; ofrecianle carneros, ropa, y conchas [sic; conchas].

An-2:9] la nouena se llamaua, Cascasayba; eran ciertas /f. 231 vta./ piedras que estauan en el cerro de Quisco: era Guaca principal, y tenia cierto origen largo que los indios quantan; ofrecianle de todas las cosas, y tambien niños.

[An-2:10] la decima se llamaua, Macaycalla, es un llano entre dos cerros donde se pierde de vista lo que esta destotra parte, y se descubre la otra de adelante, y por sola esta raçon lo adorauan.

[An-3:0] el tercero Ceque se llamaua Cayao, y tenia diez Guacas.

[An-3:1] la primera era una puente dicha, Guarupuncu, que pasaua del templo del sol a una plaça que llamauan de peces [i.e., Francisco Peces]: sacrificauanle por muchas raçones que ellos dauan, y en especial por pasar por ella los sacrificios que se ofrecian en la coronacion del Rey.

[An-3:2] la segunda Guaca era una pared que estaua junto a la chacara de [Hernando] Bachicao, que tenia una barriga hacia fuera, cuyo origen decian hauer sido que pasando por alli el inca hauia salido a hacerle reuerencia; y desde entonces la adorauan ofrendandole conchas de colores.

[An-3:3] la tercera era una fuente llamada, Ayacho, que esta en la misma chacara, ofrecianle conchas de todos colores no mui molidas.

[An-3:4] la quarta se decia, chuquimarca, era un templo del sol en el cerro de Mantocalla; en el qual decian que bajaua a dormir el sol muchas veces, por lo qual allende de lo demas le ofrecian niños.

[An-3:5] la quinta Guaca se decia, Mantocallaspa, era una fuente de buen agua, que esta en el cerro sobredicho, donde los indios se bañauan. /f. 232/

[An-3:6] la sesta se decia, Mantocallas [sic], que era un cerro tenido en gran veneracion, en el qual al tiempo de desgranar el maiz hacian ciertos sacrificios; y para ellos ponian en el dicho cerro muchos haces de leña labrada vestidos como hombres, y mugeres; y gran cantidad de maçorcas de maiz hechas de palo, y despues de grandes borracheras quemauan muchos carneros con la leña dicha, y matauan algunos niños.

[An-3:7] la setima Guaca se llamaua, Caripuquiu, era una fuente que esta en la falda del cerro dicho, ofrecianle conchas.

[An-3:8] la otaua se decia, Yuncaypampa, era un llano que esta en el camino de los Andes, y tiene una fonteçuela.

[An-3:9] la nouena Guaca se nombraua, Yancaycalla [sic; probablemente debe decir Yuncaycalla], es una como puerta donde se ue el llano de chita, y se pierde la vista del cuzco: alli hauia puestas guardas para que ninguno lleuase cosa hurtada: sacrificase por los mercaderes cada vez que pasauan; y rogauan que les sucediese bien en el viage; y era coca el sacrificio ordinario.

[An-3:10] la ultima Guaca deste ceque era una fuente dicha, Vrcmilpo, que esta en el llano grande de chita, ofrecianle solos carneros.

[An-2:7] The seventh was named Caynaconga; it was a resting place of the Inca which was on a flat place near Tambo Machay.

[An-2:8] The eighth guaca was called Puquiu; it was a fountain which is at that end of Tambo Machay. They offered it sheep, clothing, and shells.

[An-2:9] The ninth was named Cascasayba; it consisted of certain /f. 231v/ stones which were on the hill of Quisco. It was an important guaca and had a certain long origin [story] which the Indians tell. They offered it all kinds of things and children as well.

[An-2:10] The tenth was named Macaycalla. It is a flat place between two hills where what is on this side is lost to sight and the other side is revealed, and for this reason alone they worshipped it.

[An-3:0] The third ceque was named Cayao, and it had ten guacas.

[An-3:1] The first was a bridge called Guarupuncu which passed from the Temple of the Sun to a plaza which they named [the Plaza] of Peces [i.e., Francisco Peces]. They sacrificed to it for many reasons which they gave, and especially because the sacrifices which were offered at the king's coronation passed over it.

[An-3:2] The second guaca was a wall next to the chacara of [Hernando] Bachicao, which had an outward bulge in it, the origin of which, they said, was that when the Inca passed that way the wall had gone out to do reverence to him, and from that time on they worshipped it, offering it colored shells.

[An-3:3] The third was a fountain named Ayacho which is in the same chacara. They offered it shells of all colors, not very [finely] ground.

[An-3:4] The fourth was called Chuquimarca; it was a temple of the Sun on the hill of Mantocalla, in which they said that the Sun descended many times to sleep. For this reason, in addition to the other things, they offered it children.

[An-3:5] The fifth guaca was called Mantocallaspa; it was a fountain of good water which is on the above mentioned hill where the Indians bathed. /f. 232/

[An-3:6] The sixth was called Mantocallas [sic] which was a hill held in great veneration, on which, at the time of shelling maize, they made certain sacrifices. For these [sacrifices], they placed on the said hill many bundles of carved firewood dressed as men and women and a great quantity of maize ears made of wood. After great drunken feasts, they burned many sheep with the said firewood and killed some children.

[An-3:7] The seventh guaca was named Caripuquiu; it was a fountain which is on the slope of the said hill. They offered shells to it.

[An-3:8] The eighth was called Yuncaypampa; it was a flat place which is on the road to the Andes, and it has a small fountain.

[An-3:9] The ninth guaca was named Yancaycalla [sic; probably for Yuncaycalla]; it is a sort of gateway where the plain of Chita is seen and Cuzco is lost to sight. There were guards placed there so that no one would carry off anything stolen. Sacrifice was made by the merchants each time they passed, and they prayed that things would go well for them on the journey. Coca was the usual sacrifice.

[An-3:10] The last guaca of this ceque was a fountain called Urcomilpo which is in the great plain of Chita; they offered it only sheep.

[An-4:0] el cuarto ceque deste dicho camino se decia, Collana, era del Aylo, y familia de Aucailli panaca, y tenia siete Guacas.

[An-4:1] la primera se llamaua, cariurco, y era un cerro que esta cerca de Mantocalla; encima del qual hauia ciertas piedras que eran veneradas, y les ofrecian ropa, y /f. 232 vta./ carneros manchados.

[An-4:2] la segunda Guaca se llamaua, chuquiquirao puquiu, era una fuente que nace en una quebrada en la falda del cerro sobredicho; el sacrificio era de carneros, y ropa.

[An-4:3] la tercera Guaca se decia, callachaca, eran ciertas piedras puestas sobre el dicho cerro.

[An-4:4] la quarta era una cantera que esta alli junto llamada, viracocha; en ella hauia una piedra que parecia persona, la qual refieren que cortando de alli piedra para una casa del inca salio asi, y mando el inca que fuese Guaca.

[An-4:5] la quinta se llamaua, Aucanpuquiu, era una fuente que esta cerca de la quebrada de yancacalla [sic; ver An-3:9].

[An-4:6] la sexta Guaca se decia, illansayba, era cierto cerro, encima del qual hauia unas piedras, a que sacrificauan por la salud de los que entrauan en la prouincia de los Andes.

[An-4:7] la postrera Guaca deste ceque era una piedra llamada, Maychaguanacauri, hecha a manera del cerro de Huanacauri, que se mando poner en este camino de Antisuyu, y le ofrecian de todo.

[An-5:0] el quinto ceque tenia por nombre, Payan, en que hauia diez Guacas.

[An-5:1] la primera era una piedra llamada, vsno, que estaua en la plaça de Hurin aucaypata; era esta la primera Guaca a quien ofrecian los que se hacian orejones.

[An-5:2] la segunda Guaca era el manantial llamado, cachipuquiu, que esta en las salinas, de que se hace mucha /f. 233/ y mui fina sal; ofrecianle de todo, excepto niños.

[An-5:3] la tercera se decia, subaraura, era una piedra redonda que estaua en el pueblo de yaconora, y era adoratorio mui antiguo.

[An-5:4] la quarta era una fuente dicha, Pachayaconora, que estaua en el dicho pueblo de yaconora; ofrecianle solo conchas, unas enteras, y otras partidas.

[An-5:5] la quinta Guaca se decia, Oyaraypuquiu, era una fonteçuela que esta algo mas arriua; ofrecianle conchas de todos colores conforme a los tiempos.

[An-5:6] la sexta era otra fuente llamada, Arosayapuquiu, que esta en Callachaca; ofrecianle solo conchas.

[An-5:7] la setima se decia, Aquarsayba, era Guaca de gran veneracion; y tenian por opinion que qualquier cosa que le ofrecian la recibian todas las Guacas.

[An-5:8] la otava era un manantial llamado, susumarca, que esta en Callachaca, y le ofrecian lo ordinario.

[An-5:9] la nouena se decia, Rondoya, eran tres piedras que estauan en el cerro asi llamado; pusolas alli el inca Pachacutic, y mando las adorasen.

[An-5:10] la decima, y ultima Guaca deste ceque era otra piedra llamada, Poma vrco, que estaua puesta por fin, y termino de las Guacas deste ceque.

[An-4:0] The fourth ceque of this road was called Collana; it was [the responsibility] of the ayllu and family of Aucailli Panaca and had seven guacas.

[An-4:1] The first was named Cariurco, and it was a hill which is near Mantocalla, on top of which there were certain stones which were venerated, and they offered them clothing and /f. 232v/ spotted sheep.

[An-4:2] The second guaca was named Chuquiquirao Puquiu; it was a fountain which has its source in a ravine on the slope of the hill above mentioned; the sacrifice was of sheep and clothing.

[An-4:3] The third guaca was called Callachaca; it consisted of certain stones placed on the said hill.

[An-4:4] The fourth was a quarry which is near there named Viracocha. In it there was a stone which resembled a person. They say that when they were cutting stone from there for a house of the Inca it came out so, and the Inca ordered that it should be a guaca.

[An-4:5] The fifth was named Aucanpuquiu; it was a fountain which is near the ravine of Yancacalla [sic; see An-3:9].

[An-4:6] The sixth guaca was called Illansayba; it was a certain hill on top of which there were some stones to which they sacrificed for the health of those who entered the province of the Andes.

[An-4:7] The last guaca of this ceque was a stone named Maychaguanacauri, shaped like the hill of Huanacauri, which was ordered placed on this Road of Antisuyu, and they offered all kinds of things to it.

[An-5:0] The fifth ceque had the name of Payan, and there were ten guacas on it.

[An-5:1] The first was a stone named Usno which was in the plaza of Hurin Aucaypata; this was the first guaca to which those who were being made orejones made offerings.

[An-5:2] The second guaca was the spring named Cachipuquiu, which is in Las Salinas [the salt pans]. Much /f. 233/ salt of very fine quality is made from it. They offered it all kinds of things except children.

[An-5:3] The third was called Subaraura. It was a round stone which was in the town of Yaconora and was a very ancient shrine.

[An-5:4] The fourth was a fountain called Pachayaconora which was in the said town of Yaconora. They offered it only shells, some whole and others cut in pieces.

[An-5:5] The fifth guaca was called Oyaraypuquiu; it was a small fountain which is somewhat higher up. They offered it shells of all colors, according to the times.

[An-5:6] The sixth was another fountain named Arosayapuquiu which is in Callachaca; they offered it only shells.

[An-5:7] The seventh was called Aquarsayba. It was a greatly venerated guaca, and they had the opinion that whatever they offered to it all the guacas received.

[An-5:8] The eighth was a spring named Susumarca, which is in Callachaca, and they offered it the usual [things].

[An-5:9] The ninth was called Rondoya; it consisted of three stones which were on the hill so named. The Inca Pachacutic placed them there and ordered them to be worshipped.

[An-5:10] The tenth and last guaca of this ceque was another stone named Poma Urco which was set as the end and limit of the guacas of this ceque.

[An-6:0] el sexto ceque se llamaua, Cayao, y en el hauia siete Guacas.

[An-6:1] la primera se decia, Auriauca, era como un portal, o ramada, que estaua junto al templo del sol, donde se ponía el inca, y los señores. /f. 233 vta./

[An-6:2] la segunda Guaca era una piedra corba llamada, Comovilca, que estaua caue Callachaca, ofrecianle solas conchas.

[An-6:3] la tercera se llamaua Chuquicancha, es un cerro mui conocido, el qual tubieron que era casa del sol: hacian en el mui solenne sacrificio para alegrar al sol.

[An-6:4] la quarta era una piedra pequeña dicha, Sanotuiron, la qual estaua sobre un cerrillo: ofrecianle por la salud del Principe que hauia de heredar el reyno: y quando lo hacian orejon, ofrecian a esta Guaca un solenne sacrificio.

[An-6:5] la quinta se decia viracochapuqui, era una fuente que esta en un llano camino de chita.

[An-6:6] la sesta era una casa dicha, Pomamarca, la qual estaua en el dicho llano. en ella se guardaua el cuerpo de la muger de inca yupanqui, y ofrecianse niños con todo lo demas.

[An-6:7] la setima se decia, curauacaja; es un altozano camino de Chita, donde se pierde de vista la ciudad; y estaua señalado por fin, y mojon de las Guacas deste Ceque. Tenian alli un leon muerto, y contauan su origen que es largo.

[An-7:0] en el setimo Ceque llamado yacanora [sic], hauia otras siete Guacas.

[An-7:1] la primera se decia, Ayllipampa, era un llano donde esta la chacara que fue de [Alonso de] Mesa: decian que era la diosa tierra llamada, Pachamama; y ofrecianle ropa de muger pequeña.

[An-7:2] la segunda Guaca era una fonteçuela junto a esta chacara llamada, Guamantanta; ofreciase en ella lo ordinario. /f. 234/

[An-7:3] la tercera era otra fuente nombrada, Pacaypuqui, que esta un poco mas abajo de la sobredicha: ofrecianle conchas molidas.

[An-7:4] la quarta era una plaza grande llamada, colcapampa, donde se hiço la parroquia de los Martires; al cabo de la qual estaua una piedra, que era idolo principal, a quien se ofrecian niños con lo demas.

[An-7:5] la quinta Guaca se decia, Guillorpuqui, era un manantial pequeño, que esta mas abajo; ofrecianle solo conchas.

[An-7:6] la sesta se llamaua, Vnugalpa, esta era una piedra que estaua en Chuquicancha; la qual quantan que sacando piedra la hallaron como en figura humana; y desde alli por cosa notable la adoraron.

[An-7:7] la setima, y ultima era una fuente llamada, Cucacache, a donde se hacen unas salinas pequeñas.

[An-8:0] el otauo ceque se decia, Ayarmaca, el qual tenia once Guacas.

[An-6:0] The sixth ceque was named Cayao, and on it there were seven guacas.

[An-6:1] The first was called Auriauca; it was a sort of portico or arbor which was next to the Temple of the Sun, where the Inca and the lords took their places. /f. 233v/

[An-6:2] The second guaca was a curved stone named Comovilca which was near Callachaca; they offered it only shells.

[An-6:3] The third was named Chuquicancha; it is a well known hill which they held to be a house of the Sun. On it they made very solemn sacrifice to gladden the Sun.

[An-6:4] The fourth was a small stone called Sanotuiron which was on a little hill. They made offerings to it for the health of the prince who was supposed to inherit the kingdom, and when they made him an orejón they offered a solemn sacrifice to this guaca.

[An-6:5] The fifth was called Viracochapuquiu; it was a fountain which is in a flat place on the way to Chita.

[An-6:6] The sixth was a house called Pomamarca which was on the said flat place. In it was kept the body of the wife of Inca Yupanqui, and children were offered there along with all the other things.

[An-6:7] The seventh was called Curauacaja; it is a knoll on the way to Chita where sight of the city is lost, and it was designated as the end and marker of the guacas of this ceque. They had a dead lion [i.e., puma] there, and they told [a story of] its origin, which is long.

[An-7:0] On the seventh ceque, named Yacanora [sic], there were another seven guacas.

[An-7:1] The first was called Ayllipampa; it was a flat place where the chacara is which belonged to [Alonso de] Mesa. They said that it was the goddess Earth named Pachamama, and they offered her small women's garments.

[An-7:2] The second guaca was a small fountain next to this field named Guamantanta; the usual things were offered to it. /f. 234/

[An-7:3] The third was another fountain named Pacaypuquiu which is a little below the one mentioned above. They offered it ground up shells.

[An-7:4] The fourth was a large plaza named Colcapampa, where the parish of the Martyrs was made, at the end of which there was a stone which was an important idol, to whom children were offered along with other things.

[An-7:5] The fifth guaca was called Guillorpuquiu; it was a small spring which is further down. They offered it only shells.

[An-7:6] The sixth was named Unugualpa; this was a stone which was at Chuquicancha. They relate that when they were taking out stone they found it resembling a human figure, and from then on they worshipped it as a remarkable thing.

[An-7:7] The seventh and last was a fountain named Cucacache, where some small salt pans are made.

[An-8:0] The eighth ceque was called Ayarmaca; it had eleven guacas.

[An-8:1] la primera era un manantial dicho, Sacasaylla puquiu, que esta junto al molino de Pedro Alonso. [tachado: carrasco] ofrecianle solo conchas.

[An-8:2] la segunda Guaca era otro manantial llamado, Pirquipuquiu, que esta en una quebrada mas abajo; ofrecianle corderillos pequeños hechos de plata.

[An-8:3] la tercera se llamaua, cuipanamaro; eran unas piedras junto a este manantial; y eran tenidas por Guaca principal. ofrecianle ropa pequeña, y corderillos hechos de conchas.

[An-8:4] la quarta era un manantial dicho, Auacospuquiu, ofrecianle solo conchas. /f. 234 vta./

[An-8:5] la quinta se decia, Sabaraura, eran tres piedras que estauan en el pueblo de larapa.

[An-8:6] la sesta se llamaua, Vrcopuquiu, y era una piedra esquinada que estaua a un rincon del dicho pueblo: tenianla por Guaca de autoridad, y ofrecianle ropa de muger pequeña, y pedaquelos de oro.

[An-8:7] la setima era una fuente dicha, Pilcopuquiu, que estaua cerca del pueblo de Corcora; ofreciansese conchas, y ropa de muger pequeña.

[An-8:8] la otava se llamaua, Cuipan; eran seis piedras que estauan juntas en el cerro asi llamado: ofrecian a esta Guaca solo conchas coloradas por la salud del Rey.

[An-8:9] la nona era un manantial que llamauan, chora, el qual estaua cabe Andamacha: ofrecianle conchas molidas, y pedaquelos pequeños de oro.

[An-8:10] la decima se decia, Picas, era una pedreçuela pequeña que estaua en un cerro encima de larapa, a la qual tenian por abogada contra el graniço: ofrecianle demas de lo ordinario pedaquelos de oro pequeños, y redondos.

[An-8:11] la undecima, y ultima Guaca deste ceque se llamaua, Pilcourco, era otra piedra a quien hacian gran veneracion, la qual estaua en un cerro grande cerca de larapa. quando hauia inca nueuo le sacrificauan demas de lo ordinario una muchacha de doce años abajo.

[An-9:0] el postrero ceque deste camino de Antisuyu se decia Cayao, era del Ayllu, y parcialidad de Cari; y tenia las cinco /f. 235/ Guacas siguientes.

[An-9:1] la primera se decia, lampapuquiu, era una fuente que estaua en [tachado: vndamarca] Vndamacha [sic; debe decir Andamacha] sacrificauanle conchas de dos colores, amarillas, y coloradas.

[An-9:2] la segunda Guaca era otra fuente llamada, Suramapuquiu, que estaua en una quebrada en Acoyapuncu; ofrecianle no mas que conchas.

[An-9:3] la tercera se decia, Corcorpuquiu, era otro manantial que esta en la puna encima de la angostura [nombre español de Acoyapuncu].

[An-9:4] la quarta Guaca eran unas piedras llamadas, churucana, que estauan encima de un cerro mas abajo.

[An-9:5] la quinta, y ultima deste ceque, y camino se decia, Ataguanacauri, eran ciertas piedras puestas junto a un cerro; era adoratorio antiguo, y ofreciasese lo ordinario.

[An-8:1] The first was a spring called Sacasaylla Puquiu which is next to the mill of Pedro Alonso [Carrasco]. They offered it only shells.

[An-8:2] The second guaca was another spring named Pirquipuquiu, which is in a ravine lower down. They offered it small miniature lambs made of silver.

[An-8:3] The third was named Cuipanamaro; it consisted of some stones next to this spring, which were regarded as an important guaca. They offered it small garments and little lambs made of shell.

[An-8:4] The fourth was a spring called Auacospuquiu. They offered it only shells. /f. 234v/

[An-8:5] The fifth was called Sabaraura; it consisted of three stones which were in the town of Larapa.

[An-8:6] The sixth was named Urcopuquiu and was a squared stone which was in a corner of the said town. They considered it a guaca of authority and offered it small women's garments and little pieces of gold.

[An-8:7] The seventh was a fountain called Pilcopuquiu which was near the town of Corcora. Shells and small women's garments were offered to it.

[An-8:8] The eighth was named Cuipan; it consisted of six stones which were together on the hill so named. They offered to this guaca only red shells for the king's health.

[An-8:9] The ninth was a spring which they named Chora, which was near Andamacha. They offered it ground up shells and little bits of gold.

[An-8:10] The tenth was called Picas. It was a little pebble which was on a hill above Larapa, which they held to be an advocate against the hail. They offered it, in addition to the usual things, little round bits of gold.

[An-8:11] The eleventh and last guaca of this ceque was named Pilcourco; it was another stone to which they did great reverence, which was on a big hill near Larapa. When there was a new Inca, in addition to the usual things they sacrificed to it a girl twelve years old or less.

[An-9:0] The last ceque of this Road of Antisuyu was called Cayao. It was [the responsibility] of the ayllu and partiality of Cari and had the following five /f. 235/ guacas.

[An-9:1] The first was called Lampapuquiu; it was a fountain which was in Undamacha [sic; for Andamacha; Vndamarca crossed out in the ms.]. They sacrificed to it shells of two colors, yellow and red.

[An-9:2] The second guaca was another fountain named Suramapuquiu, which was in a ravine in Acoyapuncu. They offered it only shells.

[An-9:3] The third was called Corcorpuquiu; it was another spring which is in the puna above the Angostura [narrows; Spanish name of Acoyapuncu].

[An-9:4] The fourth guaca consisted of some stones named Churucana, which were on top of a hill further down.

[An-9:5] The fifth and last [guaca] of this ceque and road was called Ataguanacauri; it consisted of certain stones placed next to a hill. It was an ancient shrine, and the usual things were offered to it.

cap. 15. de los ceques, y Guacas del camino de collasuyu.

Havia en este tercero camino nueue ceques, y en ellos ochenta y cinco adoratorios, o Guacas.

[Co-1:0] el primer ceque se decia cayao; y tenia quenta con el la familia de Aguni ayllu; y comprehendia nueue Guacas.

[Co-1:1] la primera se nombraua, Pururauca; estaua donde fue despues la casa de Manso Serra [Mancio Serra de Leguizamo]: esta era una ventana que salia a la calle, y en ella estaua una piedra de los Pururaucas: ofrecianle lo ordinario, excepto niños.

[Co-1:2] la segunda se decia, Mudcapuquiu, era una fonte/f. 235 vta./çuela, que sale debajo de las casas que fueron de Anton Ruiz; ofrecianle solo conchas.

[Co-1:3] la tercera Guaca se decia, churucana, es un cerro pequeño, y redondo, que esta junto a san lazaro, encima del qual estauan tres piedras tenidas por idolos: ofreciaseles lo ordinario, y tambien niños para efecto que el sol no perdiese sus fuerças.

[Co-1:4] la quarta era un llano dicho, caribamba, que esta en el pueblo de cacra; sacrificauansele de ordinario niños.

[Co-1:5] la quinta se decia, Micaya puquiu, es una fuente que esta en la ladera del cerro de Guanacauri.

[Co-1:6] la sesta se llamaua, Atpitan; eran ciertas piedras que estauan en una quebrada, donde se pierde la vista de Guanacauri: quantan que fueron hombres hijos de aquel cerro, y en cierta desgracia que les acaecio se tomaron piedras.

[Co-1:7] la setima, Guamansauí; era una piedra grande, que estaua encima de un cerro junto a la angostura. A esta Guaca sacrificauan todas las familias por las fuerças del inca, y ofrecianle ropa pequeña, oro, y plata.

[Co-1:8] la otaua; Guayra, es una quebrada de la angostura, a donde contauan que se metia el viento; hacianle sacrificio quando soplauan recios vientos.

[Co-1:9] la nona, y ultima deste ceque se decia, Mayu, es un rio que corre por la angostura: sacrificauanle en /f. 236/ ciertos tiempos del año en agradecimiento porque venia por la ciudad del Cuzco.

[Co-2:0] el segundo ceque deste camino se llamaua Payan, estaua a cargo del ayllu de Haguayni, y tenia ocho guacas.

[Co-2:1] la primera era un llano dicho, limapampa, donde se hizo la chacara de diego Gil: hacian aqui la fiesta quando cogian el maiz para que durase y no se pudriese.

[Co-2:2] la segunda Guaca se decia, Raquiancalla, es un cerrillo que esta en aquella chacara; en el qual estauan muchos idolos de todos quatro suyus. Hacia aqui una celebre fiesta que duraua diez dias, y ofreciase lo ordinario.

Chapter 15. The ceques and guacas of the Road of Collasuyu.

There were in [the part corresponding to] this third road nine ceques and on them eighty-five shrines or guacas.

[Co-1:0] The first ceque was called Cayao, and the family of Aguini Ayllu was concerned with it; it included nine guacas.

[Co-1:1] The first was named Pururauca. It was where the house of Manso Serra [Mancio Serra de Leguizamo] was later. This [guaca] was a window which opened onto the street, and in it was a stone of the Pururaucas. They offered the usual things to it, except children.

[Co-1:2] The second was called Mudcapuqui. It was a small fountain /f. 235v/ which comes out below the houses which belonged to Anton Ruiz. They offered it only shells.

[Co-1:3] The third guaca was called Churucana. It is a small and round hill, which is next to San Lázaro, on top of which were three stones regarded as idols. The usual things were offered to it and children as well, for the purpose that the Sun might not lose its strength.

[Co-1:4] The fourth was a flat place called Caribamba which is in the town of Cacara. Children were usually sacrificed to it.

[Co-1:5] The fifth was called Micaya Puqui. It is a fountain which is on the slope of the hill of Guanacauri.

[Co-1:6] The sixth was named Atpitan. It consisted of certain stones which were in a ravine, where one loses sight of Guanacauri. They relate that these stones were men [who were] sons of that hill, and that in a certain misfortune which befell them they turned into stones.

[Co-1:7] The seventh, Guamansau, was a large stone which was on top of a hill next to the Angostura. To this guaca all the families sacrificed for the Inca's strength, and they offered it small garments, gold, and silver.

[Co-1:8] The eighth, Guayra, is a ravine of the Angostura where they related that the wind went in. They made sacrifice to it when strong winds blew.

[Co-1:9] The ninth and last [guaca] of this ceque was called Mayu. It is a river which runs through the Angostura. They made sacrifices to it at /f. 236/ certain times of year to give thanks because it came through the city of Cuzco.

[Co-2:0] The second ceque of this road was named Payan. It was the responsibility of the ayllu of Haguayni and had eight guacas.

[Co-2:1] The first was a flat place called Limapampa where the chacara of Diego Gil was made; there they held the festival when they harvested the maize so that it would last and not rot.

[Co-2:2] The second guaca was called Raquiancalla. It is a small hill which is in that chacara, on which there were many idols of all four suyus. Here a celebrated festival was held which lasted ten days, and the usual things were offered.

[Co-2:3] la tercera se llamaua, sausero, es una chacara de los decendientes [sic] de Paullu inca; a la qual en tiempo de sembrar yua el mismo Rey, y araua un poco. lo que se cogia della era para sacrificios del sol. el dia que el inca yua a esto era solenne fiesta de todos los señores del Cuzco: hacian a este llano grandes sacrificios, especialmente de plata, oro, y niños.

[Co-2:4] la quarta era una chacara que se decia, Omatalispacha, que despues fue de francisco Moreno; adorauan a una fuente que esta en medio della.

[Co-2:5] la quinta era un llano dicho, Oscollo, que fue de Garcilaso; ofrecianle lo ordinario.

[Co-2:6] la sesta se nombraua, Tuino vrco, eran tres piedras que estauan en un rincon del pueblo de Cacara. /f. 236 vta./

[Co-2:7] la setima era un manantial por nombre, Palpancay puquiu, que esta en un cerro junto a Cacara, y solo le ofrecian conchas mui molidas.

[Co-2:8] la otaua, y postrera Guaca deste Ceque se decia, collocalla, es una quebrada, donde estaua un padron junto al camino para los ofrecimientos.

[Co-3:0] el tercero ceque tenia por nombre, collana, y en el hauia nueue Guacas.

[Co-3:1] la primera se llamaua, Tampucancha; era parte de la casa de Manso Sierra [sic; ver Co-1:1], en que hauia tres piedras adoradas por idolos.

[Co-3:2] la segunda Guaca era una piedra llamada, Pampasona, que estaua junto a la sobredicha casa: ofrecianle solo conchas molidas.

[Co-3:3] la tercera era una fuente nombrada, Pirpoyopacha, que esta en la chacara de diego Maldonado, en la qual se lauauan los incas ciertos dias.

[Co-3:4] la quarta se llamaua, Guanipata; era una chacara mas abajo, donde estaua un paredon, que decian hauia hecho alli el sol. sacrificauanle niños, y todo lo demas.

[Co-3:5] la quinta se nombraua, Anaypampa, era una chacara de la coya Mama ocllo.

[Co-3:6] la sesta se decia, suriguaylla; era una fuente que nacia en un llano asi llamado: ofrecianle conchas molidas.

[Co-3:7] la setima, sinopampa [sic; debe decir Sañopampa], eran tres piedras redondas que estauan en un llano en medio del pueblo de sano [Saño]; /f. 237/ sacrificauanle niños.

[Co-3:8] la otaua, Sanopuquiu [Sañopuquiu], era cierta fuente que estaua en una quebrada del dicho pueblo: ofrecianle carneros y conchas.

[Co-3:9] la nouena, y ultima Guaca deste ceque era un cerrillo llamado, llulpacturo, que esta frontero de la angostura; el qual estaua diputado para ofrecer en el al Ticci viracocha. Sacrificauanse aqui mas cantidad de niños que en otra parte: asi mismo le ofrecian niños hechos de oro, y plata, y ropa pequeña; y era sacrificio ordinario de los incas.

[Co-2:3] The third was named Sausero. It is a chacara of the descendants of Paullu Inca to which, at sowing time, the king himself went and plowed a little. What was harvested from it was for sacrifices of the Sun. The day when the Inca went to do this was a solemn festival of all the lords of Cuzco. They made great sacrifices to this flat place, especially of silver, gold, and children.

[Co-2:4] The fourth was a chacara which was called Omatalispacha, which afterwards belonged to Francisco Moreno. They worshipped a fountain which is in the middle of it.

[Co-2:5] The fifth was a flat place called Oscollo, which belonged to Garcilaso. They offered it the usual things.

[Co-2:6] The sixth was named Tuino Urco. It consisted of three stones which were in a corner of the town of Cacara. /f. 236v/

[Co-2:7] The seventh was a spring, Palpancay Puquiu by name, which is on a hill next to Cacara, and they only offered it finely ground shells.

[Co-2:8] The eighth and last guaca of this ceque was called Collocalla. It is a ravine where there was a marker beside the road, for the offerings.

[Co-3:0] The third ceque had the name of Collana, and on it there were nine guacas.

[Co-3:1] The first was named Tampucancha. It was part of the house of Manso Sierra [sic; see Co-1:1] in which there were three stones worshipped as idols.

[Co-3:2] The second guaca was a stone named Pampasona which was next to the house mentioned above. They offered it only ground up shells.

[Co-3:3] The third was a fountain named Pirpoyopacha which is in the chacara of Diego Maldonado, in which the Incas washed themselves on certain days.

[Co-3:4] The fourth was named Guanipata. It was a chacara farther down where there was a big wall which they said the Sun had made there. They sacrificed children to it and everything else.

[Co-3:5] The fifth was named Anaypampa. It was a chacara of the coya Mama Ocllo.

[Co-3:6] The sixth was called Suriguaylla. It was a fountain which had its source in a flat place so named. They offered it ground up shells.

[Co-3:7] The seventh, Sinopampa [sic; for Sañopampa], consisted of three round stones which were on a flat place in the middle of the town of Sano [Saño]. /f. 237/ They sacrificed children to it.

[Co-3:8] The eighth, Sanopuquiu [Sañopuquiu] was a certain fountain which was in a ravine of the said town. They offered it sheep and shells.

[Co-3:9] The ninth and last guaca of this ceque was a small hill named Llulpacturo, which is opposite the Angostura. It was designated as a place where offerings were made to the Ticci Viracocha. A greater quantity of children was sacrificed here than anywhere else. They also offered it children made of gold and silver and small garments, and it was a usual sacrifice of the Incas.

[Co-4:0] el cuarto Ceque deste dicho camino se decia, Cayao, y era del ayllu de Apu mayta; y tenia diez Guacas.

[Co-4:1] A la primera llamauan, Pomapacha, era una fuente donde se bañauan los incas con una casa junto a ella, en que se recogian en saliendo del baño; estaua donde fueron despues las casas de [Cristóbal de] Sotelo.

[Co-4:2] la segunda Guaca se llamaua, Taucaray, era una sepultura que estaua en la chacara de diego Maldonado, donde tenian creydo que se juntauan en cierto tiempo todos los muertos.

[Co-4:3] la tercera era una fuente dicha, Quispiquilla, que esta en la dicha heredad de diego Maldonado.

[Co-4:4] la quarta era un cerro por nombre, Cuipan, que esta destotra parte de Guanacauri; encima del qual estauan cinco piedras tenidas por Guacas; sacrificauanles todas las cosas especialmente niños. /f. 237 vta./

[Co-4:5] la quinta se decia, Ayavillay, esta era una sepultura donde se enterrauan los señores del ayllu deste nombre.

[Co-4:6] la sesta se llamaua del mismo nombre que la de arriua, eran ciertas piedras juntas puestas en un cerro que esta en frente de Cakra.

[Co-4:7] la setima se decia, Raurao quiran, es un cerro grande que adorauan por su grandeça, y por ser señalado.

[Co-4:8] la otava, Guancarcalla, es una quebrada como puerta que esta junto al cerro de arriba: estaua dedicada al sol, y ofrecianle niños en ciertas fiestas que alli hacian.

[Co-4:9] la nouena Guaca es un cerro grande llamado, sinayba, que esta destotro cabo de Quispicanche.

[Co-4:10] la decima, y ultima se decia, sumeurco, es un cerro que tenian puesto por limite de las Guacas deste Ceque; esta junto a el de arriba, y ofrecianle conchas.

[Co-5:0] el quinto ceque se llamaua, Payan, y tenia diez Guacas.

[Co-5:1] A la primera nombrauan, catonge, era una piedra que estaua cabe la casa de Juan Sona: adorauanla como a Guaca principal, y ofrecianle de todo particularmente figuras de hombres, y mugeres pequeñas de oro, y plata.

[Co-5:2] la segunda era una fuente llamada, Membilla puquiu; de donde bebian los del pueblo de Membilla; ofrecianle solo conchas partidas.

[Co-5:3] la tercera se decia, Quintiamaro, eran ciertas piedras redondas que estauan en el pueblo de Quijalla. /f. 238/

[Co-5:4] la quarta se decia, cicacalla, eran dos piedras que estauan en el mismo pueblo de arriba; ofreciansese conchas pequeñas, y ropa quemada.

[Co-5:5] la quinta Guaca se nombraua, Ancasamaro; eran cinco piedras que estauan en el mismo pueblo.

[Co-5:6] la sesta, Tocacaray, era un cerro que esta frontero de Quijalla; hauia en el tres piedras veneradas; sacrificauanles niños.

[Co-4:0] The fourth ceque of this said road was called Cayao and was [the responsibility] of the ayllu of Apu Mayta; it had ten guacas.

[Co-4:1] The first they named Pomapacha. It was a fountain where the Incas bathed, with a house next to it into which they retired when they came out of the bath. It was where the houses of [Cristóbal de] Sotelo were afterwards.

[Co-4:2] The second guaca was named Taucaray. It was a tomb which was in the chacara of Diego Maldonado, where they believed that at a certain time all the dead assembled.

[Co-4:3] The third was a fountain called Quispiquilla which is in the said farm of Diego Maldonado.

[Co-4:4] The fourth was a hill, Cuipan by name, which is on the other side of Guanacauri. On top of it there were five stones which were regarded as guacas. They sacrificed all things to them, especially children. /f. 237v/

[Co-4:5] The fifth was called Ayavillay. It was a tomb where the lords of the ayllu of this name were buried.

[Co-4:6] The sixth was called by the same name as the one above. It consisted of certain stones together placed on a hill which is opposite Cacara.

[Co-4:7] The seventh was called Raurao Quiran. It is a large hill which they worshipped for its great size and because it was designated [as a guaca].

[Co-4:8] The eighth, Guancarcalla, is a ravine like a gateway which is next to the hill above mentioned. It was dedicated to the Sun, and they offered it children in certain festivals which they held there.

[Co-4:9] The ninth guaca is a large hill named Sinayba which is at the far end of Quispicanche.

[Co-4:10] The tenth and last was called Suneurco. It is a hill which they had set as the limit of the guacas of this ceque. It is next to the one above, and they offered it shells.

[Co-5:0] The fifth ceque was named Payan, and it had ten guacas.

[Co-5:1] The first they named Catonge. It was a stone which was by the house of Juan Sona. They worshipped it as an important guaca and offered it all kinds of things, especially small figures of men and women of gold and silver.

[Co-5:2] The second was a fountain named Membilla Puquiu from which those of the town of Membilla drank. They offered it only cut shells.

[Co-5:3] The third was called Quintiamaro. It consisted of certain round stones which were in the town of Quijalla. /f. 238/

[Co-5:4] The fourth was called Cicacalla. It consisted of two stones which were in the same town [mentioned] above. Small shells and burned garments were offered to it.

[Co-5:5] The fifth guaca was named Ancasamaro. It consisted of five stones which were in the same town.

[Co-5:6] The sixth, Tocacaray, was a hill which is facing Quijalla. There were three venerated stones on it; they sacrificed children to them.

[Co-5:7] la setima era una fuente dicha, Mascaguaylla, que esta en el camino de Guanacauri.

[Co-5:8] la otava se llamaua, intipampa, era un llano junto a Cacara; en medio del qual estauan tres piedras, era adoratorio principal, en que se sacrificauan niños.

[Co-5:9] la nouena era otro llano dicho, Rondao, que esta junto al camino Real de collasuyu frontero de cacra.

[Co-5:10] la decima, y ultima era un cerro pequeño llamado, Omotourco, que esta en frente de Quispicanche en la puna, o paramo: encima del estauan tres piedras, a las quales ofrecian sacrificios.

[Co-6:0] Al sexto Ceque llamauan, Collana; y hauia en el diez Guacas.

[Co-6:1] la primera era un buhio dicho, Tampucancha, que estaua en el sitio de la casa de Manso Sierra [sic: ver Co-1:1], el qual fue morada de Manco capac inca; ofrecianle lo ordinario excepto niños.

[Co-6:2] la segunda Guaca se llamaua, Mamacolca, eran ciertas piedras que estauan en el pueblo de Membilla. /f. 238 vta./

[Co-6:3] la tercera era una casa dicha, Acoyguaci, que estaua en Membilla, en la qual se guardaua el cuerpo del inca cinchi roca.

[Co-6:4] la quarta se decia, Quirarcoma, era una piedra grande con quatro pequeñas, que estauan en el llano de Quicalla [Quiçalla].

[Co-6:5] la quinta se llamaua, Viracochacancha; eran cinco piedras que estauan en el pueblo de Quijalla.

[Co-6:6] la sexta se decia, Cuipan, y eran tres piedras puestas en el llano de Quicalla [Quiçalla].

[Co-6:7] la setima se llamaua, Huanacauri; la qual era de los mas principales adoratorios de todo el reyno; el mas antiguo que tenian los incas despues de la ventana [cueva] de Pacaritampu, y donde mas sacrificios se hicieron. esta es un cerro que dista del Cuzco como dos leguas y media por este camino en que vamos de collasuyu: en el qual dicen que uno de los hermanos del primer inca se voluio piedra por raçones que ellos dan: y tenian guardada la dicha piedra, la qual era mediana, sin figura, y algo ahusada. estubo encima del dicho cerro hasta la venida de los españoles, y hacianle muchas fiestas. Mas luego que llegaron los españoles, aunque sacaron deste adoratorio mucha suma de oro, y plata, no repararon en el idolo por ser, como he dicho, una piedra tosca; con que tubieron lugar los indios de esconderla, hasta que vuelto de chile Paullu inca le hiço casa junto a la suya. y desde entonces se hiço alli la fiesta del Raymi, hasta que los cristianos la descubrieron, y sacaron de su poder. hallose con ella cantidad de ofrendas, ropa /f. 239/ pequeña de idolillos, y gran copia de oregeras para los mancebos que se armauan caualleros. lleuauan este idolo a la guerra mui de ordinario, particularmente quando yua el Rey en persona: y Guayna capa lo lleuo a Quito, de donde lo tomaron a traer con su cuerpo. Porque tenian entendido los incas que hauia sido gran parte en sus vitorias. Ponianlo para la fiesta del Raymi ricamente vestido, y adornado de muchas plumas encima del dicho cerro de Huanacauri.

[Co-5:7] The seventh was a fountain called Mascaguaylla, which is on the Guanacauri road.

[Co-5:8] The eighth was named Intipampa. It was a flat place next to Cacara, in the middle of which there were three stones. It was an important shrine at which children were sacrificed.

[Co-5:9] The ninth was another flat place called Rondao which is next to the royal road of Collasuyu, facing Cacara.

[Co-5:10] The tenth and last [guaca] was a small hill named Omotourco, which is opposite Quispicanche in the puna or páramo. On top of it were three stones to which they offered sacrifices.

[Co-6:0] The sixth ceque they named Collana and there were ten guacas on it.

[Co-6:1] The first was a buhio called Tampucancha, which was on the site of the house of Manso Sierra [sic; see Co-1:1] and which was a residence of Manco Capac Inca. They offered it the usual things, except children.

[Co-6:2] The second guaca was named Mamacolca. It consisted of certain stones which were in the town of Membilla. /f. 238v/

[Co-6:3] The third was a house called Acoyguaci, which was in Membilla, in which the body of the Inca Cinchi Roca was kept.

[Co-6:4] The fourth was called Quiracoma. It was a large stone with four small ones which was in the flat place of Quicalla [Quiçalla].

[Co-6:5] The fifth was named Viracochacancha. It consisted of five stones which were in the town of Quijalla.

[Co-6:6] The sixth was called Guipan and consisted of three stones placed in the flat place of Quicalla [Quiçalla].

[Co-6:7] The seventh was named Huanacauri; it was among the most important shrines of the whole kingdom, the oldest which the Incas had after the window [cave] of Pacaritampu, and where the most sacrifices were made. This is a hill which is about two and a half leagues distant from Cuzco by this Road of Collasuyu we are following. On it they say that one of the brothers of the first Inca turned to stone, for reasons which they give. They had the said stone hidden. It was of moderate size, without [representational] shape, and somewhat tapering. It was on top of the said hill until the coming of the Spanish and they [i.e., the Incas] held many festivals for it. After the Spanish arrived, they [i.e., the Spanish] removed a great quantity of gold and silver from this shrine but paid no attention to the idol, because it was, as I have said, a rough stone. This situation gave the Indians an opportunity to hide it until Paullu Inca, on his return from Chile, built a house for it next to his own. From that time on, the festival of Raymi was held there until the Christians found out about the stone and took it away from him. With it was found a quantity of offerings, small garments /f. 239/ for little idols, and an abundance of ear spools for the young men who are knighted. They very commonly took this idol to war with them, particularly when the king went in person. Guayna Capa took it to Quito, whence they brought it back again with his body. The Incas, indeed, were convinced that it had a large share in their victories. For the festival of the Raymi, they placed it on the hill of Huanacauri, dressed richly and adorned with many feathers.

[Co-6:8] la otava Guaca era una fuente llamada, Micaypuquiu, en el camino de Tambo.

[Co-6:9] la nouena se decia, Quiquijana, es un cerrillo pequeño, donde estauan tres piedras; ofrecianles solo conchas, y ropa pequeña.

[Co-6:10] La postrera Guaca deste ceque era una fontequela llamada, Quizquipuquiu, que estaua en un llano cabe Cakra.

[Co-7:0] el setimo ceque tenia por nombre, Cayao, y hauia en el ocho Guacas a cargo del ayllu de Vsca mayta.

[Co-7:1] la primera se llamaua, Santocollo; era un llano mas abajo de la chacara de francisco Moreno: ofrecianle ropa mui fina, y pintada.

[Co-7:2] la segunda Guaca era una piedra dicha, Cotacalla, que estaua en el camino Real cerca del pueblo de Quicalla [Quiçalla], la qual era de los Pururaucas.

[Co-7:3] la tercera era otra piedra llamada, Chachaquiray, que estaua no lejos de la de arriba. /f. 239 vta./

[Co-7:4] la quarta era un llano que llamauan, Vircaypay, donde se poblaron despues los indios chachapoyas.

[Co-7:5] la quinta se decia, Matoro, es una ladera cerca de Guanacauri, donde hauia unos edificios antiguos, que quantan fue la primera jornada donde durmieron los que salieron de Guanacauri despues del diluuio; y en raçon desto refieren otros disparates.

[Co-7:6] la sexta es una fuente llamada, Vilcaraypuquiu, que esta cabe la dicha cuesta, a donde dicen que bebieron los que partieron de Guanacauri.

[Co-7:7] la setima es un llano grande cerca de Guanacauri llamado, Vspa.

[Co-7:8] la otava, y ultima deste ceque era una fuente llamada, Guamancapuquiu, que esta en una quebrada.

[Co-8:0] el otavo ceque se decia, Payan, y tenia ocho Guacas.

[Co-8:1] la primera era una carcel llamada, sancacancha, que hizo Mayta capac, la qual estaua en el solar que fue de [Juan de] figueroa.

[Co-8:2] la segunda Guaca era una chacara dicha, Guanchapacha, que fue despues de diego Maldonado; ofreciase de todo, excepto niños.

[Co-8:3] la tercera se decia, Mudca, era un pilar de piedra que estaua en un cerrillo cerca de Membilla; ofrecianle solo conchas molidas.

[Co-8:4] la quarta era un cerrillo llamado, Chuquimarca, que esta junto a Guanacauri; ofrecianle conchas molidas. /f. 240/

[Co-8:5] la quinta se decia, Guicosa; eran tres piedras redondas que estauan en un cerro llamado así junto a Guanacauri.

[Co-8:6] la sexta era cierta fuente llamada, coapapuquiu, que esta junto al mismo cerro de Guanacauri.

[Co-8:7] la setima era otra fuente dicha, Puquin [sic; posiblemente debe decir Puquiu], junto a la de arriba.

[Co-8:8] la postrera Guaca deste ceque era una quebrada, que esta junto a Guanacauri; ofreciase en ella todo lo que sobraua cumplido con las demas deste dicho ceque.

[Co-6:8] The eighth guaca was a fountain named Micaypuquiu on the road to Tambo.

[Co-6:9] The ninth was called Quiquijana. It is a very small hill where there were three stones. They offered them only shells and small garments.

[Co-6:10] The last guaca of this ceque was a small fountain named Quizquipuquiu which was on a flat place near Cacara.

[Co-7:0] The seventh ceque had the name Cayao, and there were on it eight guacas, the responsibility of the ayllu of Usca Mayta.

[Co-7:1] The first was named Santocollo. It was a flat place down from the chacara of Francisco Moreno. They offered it very fine painted garments.

[Co-7:2] The second guaca was a stone called Cotacalla, which was on the royal road near the town of Quicalla [Quiçalla]; it was [one] of the Pururaucas.

[Co-7:3] The third was another stone named Chachaquiray, which was not far from the one above. /f. 239v/

[Co-7:4] The fourth was a flat place which they named Vircaypay, where afterwards the Chachapoyas Indians settled.

[Co-7:5] The fifth was called Matoro. It is a slope near Guanacauri where there were some ancient buildings, which they relate was where those who went out from Guanacauri after the flood slept at the end of the first day's journey. In this connection they allude to other absurdities.

[Co-7:6] The sixth is a fountain named Vilcaraypuquiu, which is near the said slope, where they say that those who left Guanacauri drank.

[Co-7:7] The seventh is a great flat place near Guanacauri named Uspa.

[Co-7:8] The eighth and last [guaca] of this ceque was a fountain named Guamancapuquiu, which is in a ravine.

[Co-8:0] The eighth ceque was called Payan, and it had eight guacas.

[Co-8:1] The first was a prison named Sancacancha, which Mayta Capac made; it was on the house lot which belonged to [Juan de] Figueroa.

[Co-8:2] The second guaca was a chacara called Guanchapacha which afterwards belonged to Diego Maldonado. All sorts of things were offered to it, except children.

[Co-8:3] The third was called Mudca. It was a stone pillar which was on a small hill near Membilla. They offered it only ground up shells.

[Co-8:4] The fourth was a small hill named Chuquimarca which is next to Guanacauri. They offered it ground up shells. /f. 240/

[Co-8:5] The fifth was called Cuicosa. It consisted of three round stones which were on a hill so named, next to Guanacauri.

[Co-8:6] The sixth was a certain fountain named Coapapuquiu which is next to the same hill of Guanacauri.

[Co-8:7] The seventh was another fountain called Puquin [sic; possibly should read Puquiu], next to the one mentioned above.

[Co-8:8] The last guaca of this ceque was a ravine which is next to Guanacauri. Everything which was left over after the other [guacas] of this said ceque had been taken care of was offered to it.

[Co-9:0] el noueno, y ultimo ceque deste camino que traemos se llamaua, collana, y tenia trece Guacas.

[Co-9:1] la primera era un asiento llamado, Tampucancha, donde decian que solia sentarse Mayta capac; y que sentado aqui concerto de dar la batalla a los Acabicas [sic; Alcabiças]: y porque en ella los vencio, tuuieron el dicho asiento por lugar de veneracion, el qual estaua junto al templo del sol.

[Co-9:2] la segunda Guaca se decia, Tancarvilca, era una piedra pequeña, y redonda que estaua en el solar que fue de don Antonio [Pereira]; decian ser de los Pururaucas.

[Co-9:3] la tercera era un llano dicho, Pactaguañui; que fue de Alonso de Toro: era lugar mui venerado, sacrificauanle para ser librados de muerte repentina.

[Co-9:4] la quinta [sic; quarta] se decia, Quicapuquiu; es un manantial que esta mas aca de Membilla. ofrecianle conchas molidas.

[Co-9:5] la quinta se nombraua, Tampuvilca, era un /f. 240 vta./ cerro redondo que esta junto a Membilla, encima del qual estauan cinco piedras, que quantan hauer aparecido alli, y por eso las venerauan: ofrecianles lo ordinario, especialmente cestos de coca quemados.

[Co-9:6] la sesta se llamaua, chacapa, es un llano de aquel cabo de Membilla; ofrecianle conchas molidas.

[Co-9:7] la setima era dicha, Chinchaypuquiu, es una fuente que estaua en un pueblo deste nombre.

[Co-9:8] la otaua, Guarmichaca puquiu, es otra fuente que esta mas arriba en una quebrada junto a Guanacauri.

[Co-9:9] la nouena, cupaychangiri puquiu; era otra fuente junto a la de arriba; y le ofrecian solo conchas.

[Co-9:10] la decima, Quillo; eran cinco piedras puestas encima de un cerro deste nombre cerca de Guanacauri.

[Co-9:11] la undecima Guaca se decia, cachaocachiri; eran tres piedras que estauan en otro cerrillo llamado asi; era adoratorio antiguo, en el qual, y en el de arriua se sacrificauan niños.

[Co-9:12] la duodecima era una piedra grande llamada, Quiropiray, que estaua encima del cerro deste nombre; decian ser de los Pururaucas.

[Co-9:13] la postrera Guaca deste camino era un cerro llamado, Puncu, a donde ofrecian lo que sobraua de las Guacas deste ceque.
/f. 241/

cap. 16. de los ceques, y Guacas del camino de Cuntisuyu.

el camino de Cuntisuyu, que nosotros llamamos condesuyu, tenia catorce Ceques, y ochenta Guacas como aqui van puestas.

[Cu-1:0] Al primer ceque llamauan, Anaguarque, y tenia quince Guacas.

[Cu-1:1] la primera era una piedra dicha, Sabaraura, que estaua donde aora es el mirador de Santo domingo; la qual tenian creydo era un principal de los Pururaucas.

[Cu-1:2] la segunda Guaca era otra piedra como esta llamada, Quingil, que estaua en una pared junto a Coricancha.

[Co-9:0] The ninth and last ceque of this road we are following was named Collana, and it had thirteen guacas.

[Co-9:1] The first was a seat named Tampucancha, where they said that Mayta Capac used to sit, and that while he was sitting here he arranged to give battle to the Acabicas [sic; Alcabiças]. Because he defeated them in the battle, they regarded the said seat as a place to be venerated. It was next to the Temple of the Sun.

[Co-9:2] The second guaca was called Tancarvilca. It was a small round stone which was in the house lot which belonged to Don Antonio [Pereira]; they said that it was [one] of the Pururaucas.

[Co-9:3] The third was a flat place called Pactaguañui which belonged to Alonso de Toro. It was a much venerated place; they sacrificed to it to be preserved from sudden death.

[Co-9:4] The fifth [sic; fourth] was called Quicapuquiu. It is a spring which is this side of Membilla. They offered it ground up shells.

[Co-9:5] The fifth was named Tampuvilca. It was a /f. 240v/ round hill which is next to Membilla, on top of which were five stones which they relate had appeared there, and for that [reason] they venerated them. They offered them the usual [things], especially burned cestos of coca.

[Co-9:6] The sixth was named Chacapa. It is a flat place on that end of Membilla. They offered it ground up shells.

[Co-9:7] The seventh was called Chinchaypuquiu. It is a fountain which was in a town of this name.

[Co-9:8] The eighth, Guarmichaca Puquiu, is another fountain which is farther up in a ravine next to Guanacauri.

[Co-9:9] The ninth, Cupaychangiri Puquiu, was another fountain next to the one above, and they offered it only shells.

[Co-9:10] The tenth, Quillo, consisted of five stones placed on top of a hill of this name near Guanacauri.

[Co-9:11] The eleventh guaca was called Cachaocachiri. It consisted of three stones which were on another small hill so named; it was an ancient shrine in which, and in the one above, children were sacrificed.

[Co-9:12] The twelfth was a large stone named Quiropiray, which was on top of the hill of this name; they said it was [one] of the Pururaucas.

[Co-9:13] The last guaca of this road was a hill named Puncu, where they offered what was left over from the guacas of this ceque.
/f. 241/

Chapter 16. The ceques and guacas of the Road of Cuntisuyu.

The Road of Cuntisuyu, which we call Condesuyu, had fourteen ceques and eighty guacas, as they are here set forth.

[Cu-1:0] The first ceque they named Anaguarque, and it had fifteen guacas.

[Cu-1:1] The first was a stone called Sabaraura, which was where the belvedere of Santo Domingo is now; they believed that it was an officer of the Pururaucas.

[Cu-1:2] The second guaca was another stone like this one, named Quingil, which was in a wall next to Coricancha.

[Cu-1:3] la tercera se decia, Poma chupa (suena cola de leon:) era un llano que estaua en el barrio asi llamado; y desde alli se ofrecia a aquellos dos riachuelos que por alli corren.

[Cu-1:4] la quarta se nombraua, Vxi, era el camino que va a Tampu; sacrificauase al principio del por ciertas causas que los indios dan.

[Cu-1:5] la quinta, Guaman, es una quebrada donde estaua una piedra pequeña redonda, que era idolo.

[Cu-1:6] la sesta, curipoxapuqui, era otra quebrada junto a la de arriba en el camino de Membilla: ofrecianle lo ordinario, y niños en ciertos dias.

[Cu-1:7] la setima, Anaguarque, era un cerro grande que esta junto a Guanacauri, donde hauia muchos idolos, que cada uno tenia su origen, e historia; sacrificauanse de ordinario niños.

[Cu-1:8] la otava, Chataguarque, era cierta piedra pequeña /f. 241 vta./ que estaua en un cerrillo junto a esotro.

[Cu-1:9] la nouena, Achatarque puqui, era una fuente junto al cerro de arriba; ofrecianle no mas de ropa, y conchas.

[Cu-1:10] la decima, Anahuarque guaman; era una piedra que estaua en un cerro junto a el de arriba; ofrecianle niños.

[Cu-1:11] la undecima guaca era una fuente llamada, Yamarpuqui, la qual estaua en una quebrada en la falda del cerro de arriba.

[Cu-1:12] la duodecima era otra fuente dicha, chicapuqui, que sale cerca de la de arriba.

[Cu-1:13] la decimatercia se decia, incaroca, era una cueba que estaua mas adelante de las fuentes sobredichas, y era adoratorio principal; ofrecianle niños.

[Cu-1:14] la decimaquarta era cierta piedra llamada, Puntuguanca, que estaua encima de un cerro deste nombre cerca del cerro de Anaguarque.

[Cu-1:15] la postrera Guaca se decia, Quiguan, eran tres piedras que estauan en un porteuelo camino de Pomacancha.

[Cu-2:0] el segundo ceque deste dicho camino de cuntisuyu era del Aylo de Quisco, llamauase cayao, y tenia quatro Guacas.

[Cu-2:1] la primera era un llano grande dicho, Cotocari, que despues fue chacara de [Antonio] Altamirano.

[Cu-2:2] la segunda se decia, Pillo lluri, era una quebrada camino de Tambo, en que hauia una piedra mediana, y larga tenida en veneracion. /f. 242/

[Cu-2:3] la tercera, Paylla llanto, era cierta cueba, en la qual tenian creydo que se entro una señora deste nombre madre de un gran señor por nombre Apu curimaya; la qual nunca mas parecio.

[Cu-2:4] la quarta se decia, Rauaraya, es un cerro pequeño donde los indios acauauan de correr la fiesta del Raymi, y aqui se daua cierto castigo a los que no hauian corrido bien.

[Cu-3:0] el tercero Ceque se nombraua, Payan, y tenia otras quatro Guacas.

[Cu-3:1] la primera era una fuente llamada, chuquimatero, de donde beuen los indios de cayocache.

[Cu-1:3] The third was called Poma Chupa (it means "lion's [i.e., puma's] tail"). It was a flat place in the precinct so named, and from there offerings were made to the two small rivers which flow through there.

[Cu-1:4] The fourth was named Uxi. It was the road which goes to Tampu. Sacrifices were made at the beginning of it for certain reasons which the Indians give.

[Cu-1:5] The fifth, Guaman, is a ravine where there was a small round stone which was an idol.

[Cu-1:6] The sixth, Curipoxapuqui, was another ravine next to the one above, on the Membilla road; they offered it the usual [things] and children on certain days.

[Cu-1:7] The seventh, Anaguarque, was a big hill which is next to Guanacauri, where there were many idols, each of which had its origin [story] and history. Children were usually sacrificed.

[Cu-1:8] The eighth, Chataguarque, was a certain small stone /f. 241v/ which was on a little hill next to that other one.

[Cu-1:9] The ninth, Achatarque Puqui, was a fountain next to the hill above; they offered it only clothing and shells.

[Cu-1:10] The tenth, Anahuarque Guaman, was a stone which was on a hill next to the one above; they offered it children.

[Cu-1:11] The eleventh guaca was a fountain named Yamarpuqui, which was in a ravine on the slope of the above hill.

[Cu-1:12] The twelfth was another fountain called Chicapuqui, which comes out near the one above.

[Cu-1:13] The thirteenth was called Incaroqa. It was a cave which was farther along than the fountains named above and was an important shrine. They offered it children.

[Cu-1:14] The fourteenth was a certain stone named Puntuguanca, which was on top of a hill of the same name near the hill of Anaguarque.

[Cu-1:15] The last guaca was called Quiguan. It consisted of three stones which were in a small gap on the way to Pomacancha.

[Cu-2:0] The second ceque of this Road of Cuntisuyu was [the responsibility] of the ayllu of Quisco. It was named Cayao and had four guacas.

[Cu-2:1] The first was a great flat place called Cotocari, which afterwards was a chacara of [Antonio] Altamirano.

[Cu-2:2] The second was called Pillo Lluri. It was a ravine on the way to Tambo in which there was a long stone of medium size held in veneration. /f. 242/

[Cu-2:3] The third, Paylla Llanto, was a certain cave into which they believed that a lady of this name, mother of a great lord, Apu Curimaya by name, entered and never again appeared.

[Cu-2:4] The fourth was called Rauaraya. It is a small hill where the Indians finished running on the feast of the Raymi, and here a certain punishment was given to those who had not run well.

[Cu-3:0] The third ceque was named Payan and had another four guacas.

[Cu-3:1] The first was a fountain named Chuquimatero from which the Indians of Cayocache drink.

[Cu-3:2] la segunda se decia, Caquia sabaraura, es un cerro frontero de cayocache, encima del qual estauan cinco piedras tenidas por idolos.

[Cu-3:3] la tercera, cayascas guaman, era una piedra larga que estaua en el pueblo de cayascas.

[Cu-3:4] la quarta, chucuracay puquiu, es una quebrada que esta camino de Tambo, donde se pierde de vista el valle del Cuzco.

[Cu-4:0] Al quarto ceque llamauan, collana, y tenia cinco Guacas.

[Cu-4:1] la primera se decia, Pururauca, era una piedra de aquellas en que decian hauerse conuertido los Pururaucas, la qual estaua en un poyo junto al templo del sol.

[Cu-4:2] la segunda se decia, Amarocti, eran tres piedras que estauan en un pobleçuelo llamado Aytocari.

[Cu-4:3] la tercera, Cayaopuquiu, era una fuente que estaua frontero de cayocache en la ladera del rio. /f. 242 vta./

[Cu-4:4] la quarta, Churucana, era cierta piedra grande que estaua en un cerro junto a el de Anaguarque; ofrecianle niños.

[Cu-4:5] la quinta se llamaua, cuipancalla, es una quebrada que esta camino de Tambo, donde echauan lo que sobraua de las ofrendas deste ceque.

[Cu-5:0] el quinto Ceque se decia, cayao, estaua a cargo del Ayllu de chimapanaca, y tenia otras tantas Guacas como el pasado.

[Cu-5:1] A la primera nombrauan, Caritampucancha, era una plaçuela que esta aora dentro del conuento de santo domingo; la qual tenian por opinion que era el primer lugar donde se asento Manco capac en el sitio del cuzco quando salio de Tampu; ofrecianse niños con todo lo demas.

[Cu-5:2] la segunda guaca se decia, Tiucalla, eran diez piedras de los Pururaucas, que estauan en Cayocache.

[Cu-5:3] la tercera, Cayallacta, eran ciertas piedras que estauan en un cerro cabe choco, pueblo que fue de Hernando Pizarro.

[Cu-5:4] la quarta, Churupuquiu, es una fuente que esta encima del dicho pueblo de Choco.

[Cu-5:5] la quinta se decia, Cumpu guanacauri, es un cerro en derecho de choco, encima del qual hauia diez piedras, que tenian creydo hauia embiado alli el cerro de Guanacauri.

[Cu-6:0] el sexto ceque deste mismo camino se llamaua, Payan, y tenia cinco Guacas.

[Cu-6:1] la primera tenia por nombre, Apian: era /f. 243/ una piedra redonda de los Pururaucas, que estaua en el sitio que oy tiene santo domingo.

[Cu-6:2] la segunda Guaca se decia, Guaman, era una piedra que estaua en Cayocache.

[Cu-6:3] la tercera, ocropacla, eran unas piedras de los Pururaucas que estauan en Cayocache.

[Cu-6:4] la quarta, Pachaqupuiu; era una fuente que esta hacia Pomapampa.

[Cu-6:5] la quinta se decia, intirpucancha, era un buhio que estaua en medio del pueblo de choco; y hauia sido del primer señor del.

[Cu-3:2] The second was called Caquia Sabaraura. It is a hill opposite Cayocache on top of which were five stones regarded as idols.

[Cu-3:3] The third, Cayascas Guaman, was a long stone which was in the town of Cayascas.

[Cu-3:4] The fourth, Chucuracay Puquiu, is a ravine on the way to Tambo where the valley of Cuzco is lost to sight.

[Cu-4:0] The fourth ceque they named Collana, and it had five guacas.

[Cu-4:1] The first was called Pururauca. It was one of those stones into which they said that the Pururaucas had changed, and it was on a stone bench next to the Temple of the Sun.

[Cu-4:2] The second was called Amarocti. It consisted of three stones which were in a small town named Aytocari.

[Cu-4:3] The third, Cayaopuquiu, was a fountain which was opposite Cayocache, on the slope of the river. /f. 242v/

[Cu-4:4] The fourth, Churucana, was a certain large stone which was on a hill next to that of Anaguarque; they offered children to it.

[Cu-4:5] The fifth was named Cuipancalla. It is a ravine which is on the way to Tambo, where they cast what was left over of the offerings of this ceque.

[Cu-5:0] The fifth ceque was called Cayao. It was the responsibility of the ayllu of Chima Panaca, and it had the same number of guacas as the preceding [one].

[Cu-5:1] The first they named Caritampucancha. It was a small plaza which is now inside the monastery of Santo Domingo, which they held to be the first place where Manco Capac settled on the site of Cuzco when he came out of Tampu. Children were offered to it along with everything else.

[Cu-5:2] The second guaca was called Tiucalla. It consisted of ten stones of the Pururaucas which were in Cayocache.

[Cu-5:3] The third, Cayallacta, consisted of certain stones which were on a hill near Choco, a town which belonged to Hernando Pizarro.

[Cu-5:4] The fourth, Churupuquiu, is a fountain which is above the said town of Choco.

[Cu-5:5] The fifth was called Cumpu Guanacauri. It is a hill in line with Choco on top of which there were ten stones which they believed that the hill of Guanacauri had sent there.

[Cu-6:0] The sixth ceque of this same road was named Payan, and it had five guacas.

[Cu-6:1] The first had for [its] name Apian. It was /f. 243/ a round stone of the Pururaucas which was on the site which Santo Domingo has today.

[Cu-6:2] The second guaca was called Guaman. It was a stone which was in Cayocache.

[Cu-6:3] The third, Ocropacla, consisted of some stones of the Pururaucas which were in Cayocache.

[Cu-6:4] The fourth, Pachapuquiu, was a fountain which is toward Pomapampa.

[Cu-6:5] The fifth was called Intirpucancha. It was a buhio in the middle of the town of Choco and had belonged to its first lord.

[Cu-7:0] el setimo Ceque se llamaua, collana, y tenia otras cinco Guacas

[Cu-7:1] la primera era una casa pequeña dicha, inticancha, en que tubieron por opinion que habitaron las hermanas del primer inca, que con el salieron de la ventana [cueva] de Pacaritampu; sacrificauanle niños.

[Cu-7:2] la segunda Guaca se llamaua, Rocromuca, era una piedra grande que estaua junto al templo del sol.

[Cu-7:3] la tercera, caruinca cancha, era una casa pequeña que estaua en cayocache, que hauia sido de un gran señor.

[Cu-7:4] la quarta, Sutimarca; esta es un cerro, de donde dicen que salio un indio, y que sin tener hijos se voluio a meter en el. /f. 243 vta./

[Cu-7:5] la quinta, cotacotabamba, era un llano entre choco, y cachona, a donde se hacia una fiesta en ciertos días del año, en la qual se apedreauan.

[Cu-8:0] el otauo Ceque se llamaua la mitad, cayao; y la otra mitad, collana; y todo el tenia quince Guacas.

[Cu-8:1] A la primera nombrauan, Tanancuricota [sic; debe decir Chañan Guri Coca], era una piedra, en que decian que se hauia conuertido una muger que vino con los Pururaucas.

[Cu-8:2] la segunda era una sepultura de un señor principal, llamada, cutimanco; sacrificauanle niños.

[Cu-8:3] la tercera se decia, cauas, era otra sepultura que estaua en cachona.

[Cu-8:4] la quarta se llamaua, e con con puquiu, era una fuente que esta en Cachona.

[Cu-8:5] la quinta, chinchay puquiu, era otra fuente que esta en una ladera de la Puna.

[Cu-8:6] la sesta, Mascata urco, es un cerro donde se pierde la vista del Cuzco por este Ceque.

[Cu-8:7] la setima, cachicalla, es una quebrada entre dos cerros a modo de puerta: no le ofrecian otra cosa que la coca que echauan de la boca los que pasauan.

[Cu-8:8] la otava, Quiacas amaro, eran ciertas piedras que estauan encima de un cerro mas alla de Cayocache.

[Cu-8:9] la nouena, Managuanunca guaci [Managuañunca guaci], era una casa de una de las coyas, o reynas; que estaua en el sitio que aora /f. 244/ tiene el conuento de la Merced.

[Cu-8:10] la decima, cicui, era una sepultura que estaua en la ladera de cachona.

[Cu-8:11] la undecima, cumpi, es un cerro grande que esta camino de Cachona, sobre el qual hauia diez piedras tenidas por idolos.

[Cu-8:12] la duodecima, Pachachiri, es una fuente que esta en la puna de Cachona.

[Cu-8:13] la decimatercia, Pitopuquiu, es otra fontequela que estaua junto a la sobredicha.

[Cu-8:14] la decimaquarta, cauadcalla, era una como puerta entre dos cerros, que esta hacia Guacachaca.

[Cu-8:15] la ultima Guaca deste ceque se decia, lluquiriui, es un cerro grande junto a la quebrada de arriba.

[Cu-7:0] The seventh ceque was named Collana, and it had another five guacas.

[Cu-7:1] The first was a small house called Inticancha, in which they held the opinion that the sisters of the first Inca, who came out of the window [cave] of Pacaritampu with him, dwelt. They sacrificed children to it.

[Cu-7:2] The second guaca was named Rocromuca. It was a large stone which was next to the Temple of the Sun.

[Cu-7:3] The third, Caruinca Cancha, was a small house which was in Cayocache, which had belonged to a great lord.

[Cu-7:4] The fourth, Sutirmarca; this is a hill from which they say that an Indian came out, and that he reentered it again without having any children. /f. 243v/

[Cu-7:5] The fifth, Cotacotabamba, was a flat place between Choco and Cachona where a festival was held on certain days of the year in which they stoned one another.

[Cu-8:0] Half of the eighth ceque was named Cayao and the other half Collana; the whole of it had fifteen guacas.

[Cu-8:1] The first they named Tanancuricota [sic; for Chañan Curi Coca]. It was a stone into which they said that a woman who came with the Pururaucas turned.

[Cu-8:2] The second was a tomb of a principal lord; [the guaca was] named Cutimanco. They sacrificed children to it.

[Cu-8:3] The third was called Cauas. It was another tomb which was in Cachona.

[Cu-8:4] The fourth was named E Con Con Puquiu. It was a fountain which is in Cachona.

[Cu-8:5] The fifth, Chinchay Puquiu, was another fountain which is on a slope of the puna.

[Cu-8:6] The sixth, Mascata Urco, is a hill where one loses sight of Cuzco on this ceque.

[Cu-8:7] The seventh, Cachicalla, is a ravine between two hills like a gateway; they did not offer anything to it except the coca which passers-by cast from the mouth.

[Cu-8:8] The eighth, Quiacas Amaro, consisted of certain stones which were on top of a hill beyond Cayocache.

[Cu-8:9] The ninth, Managuanunca Guaci [Managuañunca Guaci], was a house of one of the coyas or queens, which was on the site which /f. 244/ the monastery of La Merced now has.

[Cu-8:10] The tenth, Cicui, was a tomb which was on the slope of Cachona.

[Cu-8:11] The eleventh, Cumpi, is a large hill which is on the way to Cachona, on top of which there were ten stones regarded as idols.

[Cu-8:12] The twelfth, Pachachiri, is a fountain which is in the puna of Cachona.

[Cu-8:13] The thirteenth, Pitopuquiu, is another small fountain which was next to the one above mentioned.

[Cu-8:14] The fourteenth, Cauadcalla, was a sort of gateway between two hills, which is toward Guacachaca.

[Cu-8:15] The last guaca of this ceque was called Lluquiriui. It is a big hill next to the above ravine.

[Cu-9:0] el noueno ceque tenia por nombre, Cayao, y abraçaua tres Guacas.

[Cu-9:1] la primera se decia, Colquemachacuay (suena culebra de plata) es una fuente de buen agua mui conocida, que esta en la falda del cerro de Puquin, junto a la ciudad del Cuzco.

[Cu-9:2] la segunda se llamaua, Micayurco, es un cerro grande, que esta encima de Puquin.

[Cu-9:3] la tercera, chaquira, es un cerro que esta cerca del camino de Alca, encima del qual hauiá diez piedras tenidas por idolos.

[Cu-10:0] Al decimo Ceque llamauan, Payan; y tenia quatro /f. 244 vta./ Guacas.

[Cu-10:1] la primera era una fuente dicha, Pilcopuquiu, que esta en la guerta de Santo domingo.

[Cu-10:2] la segunda se decia, Puquincancha, era una casa del sol, que estaua encima de cayocache, sacrificauanle niños.

[Cu-10:3] la tercera tenia por nombre, cancha, esta era la cerca de la casa de arriua, donde tambien ofrecian.

[Cu-10:4] la quarta, Viracochaurco, es un cerro que esta encima de Puquin.

[Cu-11:0] el undecimo Ceque se llamaua, collana, y en el hauiá quatro Guacas.

[Cu-11:1] la primera era una fuente dicha, Matarapacha, que esta camino de cayocache.

[Cu-11:2] la segunda se llamaua, cuchiguayla, es un pequeño llano que esta mas abajo de la dicha fuente.

[Cu-11:3] la tercera, Puquinpuquiu, es una fuente que esta en la ladera del cerro de Puquin.

[Cu-11:4] la quarta, Tampu vrco, es otro cerro que esta a un lado del de Puquin.

[Cu-12:0] el duodécimo Ceque se llamaua, Cayao, y tenia tres Guacas.

[Cu-12:1] A la primera pusieron, cunturpata, era un asiento en que descansaua el inca quando yua a la fiesta del Raymi.

[Cu-12:2] la segunda se decia, Quilca, era una sepultura antiquisima de un señor que se llamaua asi.

[Cu-12:3] la tercera, llipiquiliscacho, era otra sepultura, /f. 245/ que estaua detras de choco.

[Cu-13:0] el decimotercio ceque se nombraua, Cayao [sic; Payan], y tenia quatro Guacas.

[Cu-13:1] la primera era un puquiu, o fuente llamada, Chilquichaca.

[Cu-13:2] la segunda se decia, colcapuquiu, era otra fuente que esta en una quebrada que vaja de chilquichaca.

[Cu-13:3] la tercera, Chinchincalla, es un cerro grande, donde estauan dos mojones, a los quales quando llegaua el sol, era tiempo de sembrar.

[Cu-13:4] la quarta, Pomaguaci, es un cerrillo al cabo deste Ceque, que estaua por fin, y termino de las Guacas del.

[Cu-9:0] The ninth ceque had the name Cayao and included three guacas.

[Cu-9:1] The first was called Colquemachacuay (it means "silver serpent"). It is a fountain of good water, very well known, which is on the slope of the hill of Puquin, next to the city of Cuzco.

[Cu-9:2] The second was named Micayurco. It is a large hill which is above Puquin.

[Cu-9:3] The third, Chaquira, is a hill which is near the Alca road, on top of which there were ten stones held to be idols.

[Cu-10:0] The tenth ceque they named Payan, and it had four /f. 244v/ guacas.

[Cu-10:1] The first was a fountain called Pilcopuquiu, which is in the garden of Santo Domingo.

[Cu-10:2] The second was called Puquincancha. It was a house of the Sun which was above Cayocache. They sacrificed children to it.

[Cu-10:3] The third had the name Cancha. It was the enclosure wall of the above house, where they also made offerings.

[Cu-10:4] The fourth, Viracochaurco, is a hill which is above Puquin.

[Cu-11:0] The eleventh ceque was named Collana, and in it there were four guacas.

[Cu-11:1] The first was a fountain called Matarapacha, which is on the way to Cayocache.

[Cu-11:2] The second was named Cuchiguayla. It is a small flat place which is located below the said fountain.

[Cu-11:3] The third, Puquinpuquiu, is a fountain which is on the slope of the hill of Puquin.

[Cu-11:4] The fourth, Tampu Urco, is another hill which is to one side of the one of Puquin.

[Cu-12:0] The twelfth ceque was named Cayao, and it had three guacas.

[Cu-12:1] To the first, they gave the name Cunturpata. It was a seat on which the Inca rested when he went to the festival of the Raymi.

[Cu-12:2] The second was called Quilca. It was a very ancient tomb of a lord who was so named.

[Cu-12:3] The third, Llipiquiliscacho, was another tomb /f. 245/ which was behind Choco.

[Cu-13:0] The thirteenth ceque was named Cayao [sic; Payan], and it had four guacas.

[Cu-13:1] The first was a puquiu or fountain named Chilquichaca.

[Cu-13:2] The second was called Colcapuquiu. It was another fountain which is in a ravine which descends from Chilquichaca.

[Cu-13:3] The third, Chinchincalla, is a large hill where there were two markers; when the sun reached them, it was time to plant.

[Cu-13:4] The fourth, Pomaguaci, is a small hill at the end of this ceque which was [there] as the end and limit of the guacas of it.

[Cu-14:0] el ultimo ceque deste camino de contisuyu se decia Collana, y tenia quatro Guacas.

[Cu-14:1] la primera era una piedra no mui grande llamada, oznuro, que estaua en la chacara de los Gualparocas.

[Cu-14:2] la segunda Guaca deste Ceque se decia, otcuropuquiú, era una fuente cerca de Picho heredad de la compañía de jesus.

[Cu-14:3] la tercera se llamaua, Rauaypampa, era un terrado, donde se aposentaua el inca, el qual estaua en la falda del cerro de chinchincalla.

[Cu-14:4] la quarta, Pantanaya, es un cerro grande partido por medio, que diuide los caminos de chinchá [sic], y condesuyo, o cuntisuyu.

las quatro Guacas siguientes pertenecen a diuersos ceques, las quales no se pusieron por el orden que las de/f. 245 vta./mas, quando se hizo la aueriguacion.

[extra 1 (Ch)] la primera se decia, Mamacocha, es una lagunilla pequeña mas arriua de la fortaleza.

[extra 2 (Ch)] la segunda es una fuente dicha, Tocoripuquiú, de donde sale un arroyo que pasa por la ciudad.

[extra 3 (Ch)] la tercera se llamaua, Chinchacuay, es un [tachado: arroyo] cerro que esta frontero de la fortaleza.

[extra 4 (Ch)] la quarta, y ultima de todas se decia, Quiquijana, es otro cerro que esta detras del de arriba.

estas eran las Guacas, y adoratorios generales, que hauia en el cuzco, y sus alrededores dentro de quatro leguas; que con el templo de coricancha, y las quatro postreras, que no van puestas en los ceques, vienen a ser trecientas y treynta y tres, distribuidas por quarenta ceques. a las quales añadiendo los pilares, o mojones que señalauan los meses, vienen a cumplir el numero de trecientas y cinquenta, antes mas que menos. Sin las quales hauia otras muchas particulares adoradas no de todos; sino de aquellos a quienes pertenecian: como las de las prouincias sugetas al inca, que eran adoratorios solo de sus naturales; y los cuerpos muertos de cada linage, a los quales reuerenciauan solos sus decendientes. las unas, y las otras tenian sus guardas, y ministros, que a sus teimpos ofrecian los sacrificios, /f. 246/ que estauan establecidos. y de todas tenian estos indios sus historias, y fabulas, de como, y por que causas fueron instituidas; que sacrificios se les hacian; con que ritos, y ceremonias, a que tiempos, y para que efectos: que si de todo se huuiera de hacer historia particular fuera gran proligidad, y cansancio. Antes estuue en puntos de dejar de referir; aun con la breuedad que van, las Guacas contenidas en estos quatro capitulos; y lo huuiera hecho sino juzgara por necesario el contarlas, para dar mejor a entender la condicion tan facil desta gente; y como aprouechandose el demonio de su facilidad, la vino a poner en una tan dura seruidumbre de tantos, y tan desatinados errores con que se hauia apoderado della.

[Cu-14:0] The last ceque of this Road of Contisuyu was called Collana, and it had four guacas.

[Cu-14:1] The first was a stone of no great size named Ozmuro, which was in the chacara of the Gualparocas.

[Cu-14:2] The second guaca of this ceque was called Otcuropuquiu. It was a fountain near Picho, a farm of the Society of Jesus.

[Cu-14:3] The third was named Rauaypampa. It was a terrace where the Inca lodged which was on the slope of the hill of Chinchincalla.

[Cu-14:4] The fourth, Pantanaya, is a large hill cleft in the middle which divides the Roads of Chincha [sic] and Condesuyo, or Cuntisuyu.

The four following guacas belong to various ceques but were not set down in the order that the rest [were], /f. 245v/ when the investigation was made.

[extra 1 (Ch)] The first was called Mamacocha. It is a small lake up above the fortress.

[extra 2 (Ch)] The second is a fountain called Tocoripuquiu, from which issues a stream which passes through the city.

[extra 3 (Ch)] The third was named Chinchacuay. It is a hill which is opposite the fortress.

[extra 4 (Ch)] The fourth and last of all was called Quiquijana. It is another hill which is behind the one above.

These were the guacas and general shrines which there were in Cuzco and its vicinity within four leagues; together with the Temple of Coricancha and the last four which are not listed in the ceques, they come to a total of three hundred thirty-three, distributed in forty ceques. Adding to them the pillars or markers which indicated the months, the total reaches the number of three hundred fifty at least. In addition, there were many other private [guacas], not worshipped by everyone, but by those to whom they belonged, such as those of the provinces subject to the Inca, which were shrines only of their natives, and the dead bodies of each lineage, which were revered only by their descendants. Both kinds had their guardians and attendants who, at the proper times, offered the sacrifices /f. 246/ which were established. For all of them these Indians had their stories and fables of how and for what reasons they were instituted, what sacrifices were made to them, with what rites and ceremonies, when and for what purposes, so that if it were necessary to give a detailed account of everything it would be prolix and tedious; indeed, I very nearly refrained from listing, even in this brief fashion, the guacas named in these four chapters, and I would have done so, except that I judged it necessary to enumerate them to explain more clearly the gullibility of these people and how the Devil took advantage of it to inflict on them such a harsh servitude to so many and such foolish errors with which he had taken possession of them.

INDEX OF GUACA NAMES

Names are indexed according to the spelling of the Seville manuscript; each name has been treated as a unit for alphabetizing purposes. The alphabetical order is that of Spanish: ch follows c, ll follows l, and ñ follows n.

For two guacas in the list, no Inca names are given in the text; these guacas will be found under "pared" (wall) and "quebrada" (ravine). In the case of "Piccho" it is not clear from the text whether this place name is also the name of the guaca or not.

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APPENDIX

The Cuzco Shrines Listed by Cristóbal de Albornoz, about 1582

There is another list of shrines in and near Cuzco which makes an interesting comparison with the one summarized by Cobo. It is the work of Cristóbal de Albornoz, a priest who was active from about 1568 in the investigation and persecution of native religion over a wide area. The list is incorporated in a work entitled Instrucion para descubrir todas las guacas del piru y sus camayos y haziendas (Duviols, 1968). This work is known to us only in a very poor copy with many omissions and spelling errors. It is quite possible that the copy we have is only a summary of the original, and that the original listed many more shrines.

The shrines of Cuzco appear at the beginning of a list of the shrines in the sierra between Cuzco and Quito. Expectably, then, the shrines included correspond to that part of the Cobo list which relates to the Road of Chinchaysuyu, in so far as there is any correspondence between the two lists. Apparent exceptions will be discussed in their turn.

Here is the Albornoz list of the shrines of Cuzco with appropriate comments.

1. "The first guaca was Curicancha, which means 'house of gold' and was a house of the Sun." Qorikancha was the principal temple of the Inca state religion and the point of departure of most if not all of the ceques. It is not included in Cobo's list of ceque shrines, although he thought it should have been.

2. "Quillcay cancha, which was on the plaza which now is [the plaza] of Santo Domingo." There is no corresponding guaca in Cobo's list.

3. "Yllanguaiqui, which was another house on the said plaza where the festival of the Raimi was celebrated." Cobo: Ch-8:1, Illanguarque, a small house next to the Temple of the Sun.

4. "Uman amaro, a stone shaped like a ninepin which was in the plaza." Cobo: Ch-7:1, Omanamaro, a long stone.

5. "Sanca, which was an altar which was in the said plaza where they sacrificed." Cobo: Ch-7:2, Sanca Cancha and Hurin Sanca, two prisons. Since the Inca word samqa meant "prison" there is probably something wrong with the Albornoz identification.

6. "Hancaipata paccha [sic; for Haucaypata paccha], which is a fountain which is in the city." Cobo: Ch-8:3, a fountain named Aucaypata. Phagcha means fountain, and Hawkaypata was the name of the main square of Cuzco.

7. "Maratambo, a steep rock which was in Carmenga." Cobo: Ch-7:3, Marcatampu, some round stones which were in Carmenga.

8. "Cachacuchu, which were some round stones in the said Carmenga." There is no corresponding guaca in Cobo's list.

9. "Yauirac, which were many stones together. They made many sacrifices at them, of Indians." Cobo: Ch-9:6, Apuyauira, a stone which was on the hill of Piccho. 'Apu means "lord" and is still commonly applied to hills of power. The hill in question is evidently the one now called Picchu on the outskirts of modern Cuzco. Yawira figured prominently in the Qhapaq Raymi festival (Molina, ms., ff. 24-24v; 1943, pp. 56-57).

10. "Mararoray, which was a figure of a woman made of stone where they sacrificed women [or, where women made sacrifices]." Cobo: Ch-8:8, Mamararoy, a temple where there were certain stones said to be wives of the Creator. The name can probably be reconstructed as Mama Ruray. Ruray is the verb "to make."

11. "Urcos calla Viracocha, which is a small hill next to the guaca Mamoray [sic; i.e., the one just mentioned]." Cobo: Ch-8:9, Urcoscalla, the place where those who traveled to Chinchaysuyu lost sight of Cuzco.

12. "Oma chilliguas, a flat place where the Ingas had a battle with the Changas and defeated them; the Changas fled, and they say they turned into condors and escaped. And thus most of the ayillos of the Changas are called condor guachos." Cobo lists two battlefields: Ch-9:7, Cutirsaspampa, and Ch-9:8, Queachili. Cabello Balboa describes the defeat of the Chancas and calls the battlefield Quiachilli ([1586] tercera parte, cap.14; 1951, p. 299). A single "l" between vowels occurred in the Classic Inca dialect of Cuzco only in loan words, whereas the palatalized "ll" was common. Thus the "ll" spelling in Cabello Balboa is more reasonable than the "l" one in Cobo. If we are dealing with a name containing the sequence -chilli-, it becomes plausible to suggest that Oma chilliguas in the Albornoiz list corresponds to Queachili in the Cobo list. Word division is arbitrary in 16th century manuscripts. The -guas at the end of the name in the Albornoiz list could easily be a copyist's error for ques ("which is"), a contracted form which appears following the guaca name in entry 6. If so, a reading of Omachilli for Queachilli or Quiachilli would not be beyond the incompetence of the scribe responsible for the surviving copy of Albornoiz' work. In certain running hands, Q could easily be confused with O and ui with m.

13. "Suchique was an altar where they sacrificed people, animals, and other animals [sic] in the said pampa [flat place]." There is no corresponding guaca in Cobo's list.

14. "Churucani guanacauri, a large stone and around it many little guacas of stones which they call cachavis." The nearest equivalent in Cobo's list is Ch-7:7, Churuncana, a hill where sacrifices to the Creator were made. The identification is not very plausible; if it is accepted, the original form in both lists was probably Churucana, a common descriptive place name.

15. "Guaman cancha was a heap of stones above Carmenga." Cobo: Ch-4:5, Guamancancha, an enclosure near the fortress where the initiates in the Qhapaq Raymi festival were supposed to fast. Compare the detailed account of the ceremony in Molina (ms., ff. 24-24v; 1943, pp. 56-57), in which Guamancancha is mentioned as a place at the foot of Yauira Hill.

16. "Cusicancha pachamama, which was a house where Tupa Inga Yupanqui [sic] was born." Cobo: Ch-5:1, Cusicancha, the place where Inca Yupanqui [Pachakuti] was born. The statement in the Cobo list that it was Inca Yupanqui who was born at Cusicancha is supported by a further statement that the members of 'Ināqa panaqa (Inca Yupanqui's ayllu) sacrificed there.

17. "Quicasunto, which was a stone like a ball [if 'bola' in the Spanish is correct; like a ninepin if the Spanish should read 'bolo'] which they had in a public place to do reverence to." There is no corresponding guaca in Cobo's list.

18, 19. "Pucamarca quisuarcancha, which was the house of the Creator and the Thunders." This entry corresponds to two guacas in Cobo's list: Ch-5:2, Pucamarca, a temple of the Thunder, and Ch-6:2, Pucamarca, a temple of the Creator. Molina gives the name of the temple of the Creator as Quishuarcancha (ms., ff. 6-6v; 1943, pp. 19-20), and it is very likely that the second Pucamarca in Cobo's list is an error for Quishuarcancha.

20. "Catunqui, which was a squadron of stones like men of war, on the Alca road." There are two guacas in the Cobo list named Catonge, Ch-6:1 and Co-5:1, both stones. The Alca road is mentioned in connection with one of the guacas of the road of Cuntisuyu (Cu-9:3, Chaquira). It seems out of place in the Alborno list.

21, 22. "Hanan chaca and hurincacha [sic], two sources of fountains." There are no corresponding guacas in Cobo's list, but the two water sources are mentioned by other writers: "[Inga Roca Inga] discovered and piped the waters of Hurinchacan and those of Hananchacan [the order of names should be reversed], which is as if to say 'the upper waters' and 'the lower waters' of Cuzco, with which to the present day the cultivated lands of Cuzco are irrigated; and so his sons and descendants have and possess them now [1572]" (Sarmiento de Gamboa, cap. 19; 1906, p. 49). There is a more detailed account of the discovery in Cieza de León, Señorío [1553], cap. XXXV (1967, pp. 120-121).

23. "Uscucalla, which were round stones in the river of Cuzco." There is no corresponding guaca in Cobo's list.

24. "Usno was a gold pillar in the plaza, where they drank to the Sun." 'Usnu was the word used for a special type of structure, as Alborno explained elsewhere: "There is another general guaca on the royal roads and in the plazas of the towns, which they call uznos. They were shaped like a ninepin [and] made of many different kinds of stones or of gold and silver. All of them had structures in the places I have said, made like towers of very handsome stonework, as in Bilcas and in Pucara and in Guanaco [sic; for Guanuco] el Viejo and in Tiaguanaco. The lords sat on the said uzno to drink to the Sun, and they made many sacrifices to the Sun" (p. 24). Cieza de León does not use the word 'usnu, but he describes the one in Cuzco: "In the great plaza of the city of Cuzco was the Stone of War, which was large and shaped like a sugar loaf, well enchased and full of gold" (Señorío [1553], cap. XXIII; 1967, p. 80). In this passage and elsewhere he says that the Stone of War was used for military reviews. The complex of pillar and structure is also described by an anonymous writer of about 1570: ". . . the main

plaza [of Cuzco], called Haocaypata, and there they made their sacrifices to the Sun with many ceremonies at a pillar of stone which they had in the middle of the plaza, with its theater, called osno" (Discurso, 1906, p. 158). Elsewhere, the same author gives more detail about the pillar, saying that it was of stone, very elaborately carved, and about the height of a man (p. 151). The structures supporting the pillars are described by Bartolomé de Segovia in 1553 as "a high, square platform with a very high stairway" (1943, p. 22). This description fits reasonably well the surviving 'usnu structures at Huánuco Viejo and Jauja Tambo. The 'usnu in the main plaza of Cuzco is not mentioned in Cobo's list of guacas, although he does include another 'usnu in Hurin Hawkaypata (An-5:1).

25. "Capa was a large tree and they dressed it and offered it much." This entry appears to be a confused reference to the shrine listed by Cobo as Ch-6:7, Capi [i.e., Çapi], a very large quinoa root. Cobo uses the spelling "quinoa" for the tree now usually called gewña in the Cuzco area (Polylepsis incana). Compare Cobo, lib. VI, cap. CXXVIII; 1890-95, tomo II, p. 125.

26. "Guairaguaca, a hole in the fortress from which they say the wind comes out." Cobo: Ch-6:4, Guayra, a place in the doorway of Cajana, Huayna Capac's palace, where sacrifices were made to the wind.

27. "Chaca guanacauri, a stone over the fortress." Cobo: Ch-5:7, Chacaguanacauri, a small hill which was important in the preparations for the Qhapaq Raymi festival.

28. "Anca, a hill above Cuzco, and on it many stones which were guacas." There is no corresponding guaca recognizable in Cobo's list.

29. "Piumi guaca, a stone on the slope of the hill." The name probably should read "Rumi guaca"; rumi means stone. There is no corresponding guaca in Cobo's list.

30. "Mina was a bezerro [probably a mistake for brasero, brazier] which always burned." Cobo: Ch-3:1, Nina, a brazier from which fire for sacrifices was taken. Nina means fire, and the initial M in Albornoz' entry is clearly an error.

31. "Guaracinci, a carved stone in the gate of the Sun." Cobo: Ch-2:1, Guaracince, a place in the plaza of the Temple of the Sun where the earthquake was formed.

32. "Luchus amaro was a stone in Tococache." Cobo: Ch-1:1, Michosamaro, a stone near the hill of Totocache. T'oqokachi was a precinct of Cuzco where the parish of San Blas was established. Other shrines in this area were assigned to the Road of Collasuyu.

33. "Ancas pata is a cliff where the house of Viracocha Inga was." Compare Cobo: Ch-1:2, Patallacta, a house of Inca Yupanqui. Patallaqta is a well known place; an hacienda on the outskirts of Cuzco above San Blas preserves the name. There is other testimony that Pachakuti 'Inka Yupanki had a "house" there. There is also a cliff, which may have been more impressive before the establishment of a colonial lime kiln in the area, and it is not unlikely that the cliff had a name of its own. Wiraqocha 'Inka was Pachakuti's father; under Inca inheritance rules, his property would not pass to Pachakuti. I know of no other reference

to a house of Wiraqocha 'Inka in this area. The sequence in this part of the Albornoiz list makes it likely that this entry is a confused reference to the Patallaqta house.

34. "Pilco puquio is a fountain." Cobo: Ch-1:3, Pilcopuquio, a fountain next to Patallacta.

35. "Sico cayan, a cave from which they say the hail came out." Cobo: Ch-1:4, Cirocaya, a cave from which they believed that the hail came out.

Of the 35 entries in the Albornoiz list, 24 can be identified with guacas in Cobo's list, although the information given about them is sometimes quite different, and in one case (33) the name is also different. For 11 of the Albornoiz entries there is no equivalent in Cobo. I include Coricancha in this category, even though Cobo thought it must have figured in the original reckoning.

The water sources, Hanan Chacan and Hurin Chacan (21, 22) should logically have been included in the ceque list, as should the 'usnu in the main plaza (24). Several of the other shrines for which there is no correspondence look like equally good candidates. At any rate, the Albornoiz list serves to strengthen the argument that the Cobo list is not complete, just as the Cobo list highlights the deficiencies of the Albornoiz list in the form we have it.

It is of particular interest that the last four guacas of the Albornoiz list appear in exactly the same order as the first four of the Cobo list, and that in a rough way the order of ceques is followed in reverse. It would be more accurate to say that guacas from ceques 7, 8, and 9 occur first, then ones from ceques 4, 5, and 6, and finally those from 1, 2, and 3. In the last group, the order is clearly 3, 2, 1. The division of the ceques into three groups that seems to be implied by the Albornoiz ordering is explicit in the Cobo list.

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