Although Christianity continued making steady inroads within Andean communities in the former Tawantinsuyu over time, elements of indigenous religious practices endured alongside Christianity, as they do to the present day (Andrien 2001:155).

In terms of distance, Spanish colonization of South America and the Andes was at the limits of what sixteenth-century technology would permit (Sheridan 1992:153). As a result, while the attraction of riches and lands was a persistent lure to wannabe adventurers, the reality was that during the first three-quarter century of colonization of the Andes, the number of Spaniards actually on the ground was limited (Cook 1981); indeed, the initial conquest was undertaken with a paltry 168 men (Lockhart 1972). Nevertheless, a massive fall in the indigenous population and concomitant societal disruption (Stern 1993), coupled with the silver-mining boom at places such as Potosí (Bakewell 2010) and Castrovirreyna (Maldonado Pimentel and Estacio Tamayo 2012), among others, meant that by the early seventeenth century the previous situation had been reversed, and large numbers of Spaniards with wives and accompanying black slaves (primarily for work on the coast) had made the central Andes their abode (Lockhart 1974).

Even so, early colonization was a patchy affair, and away from the incipient urban centers, penetration by Spanish society and culture was always difficult (this is a concern echoed by James Bayman et al. in chapter 9). This was even more apparent in the vast mountainous hinterland, where the steep and varied ecology, inaccessibility, and altitude conspired against significant European penetration. Even the large resettlement programs, such as the late sixteenth-century and early seventeenth-century reducciones—literally the concentration of indigenous rural populations in model villages—often failed, as the people returned to their
nearby ancestral lands (Mumford 2012). Absentee landlordism was also a common feature, reducing even further the Spanish footprint in the high Andes. Often the only Spanish presence was that of religious orders on an evangelizing mission in the Andean interior (MacCormack 1991), and this was also sparse and scattered. Indeed, apathy and war between the original conquistadors effectively delayed Christianization of the Andes until after 1554, with only the arrival of Viceroy Francisco de Toledo (1569–1581) providing the necessary impetus for persistent evangelization (Andrien 2001:161–168). Still, given the small numbers of priests, monks, and missionaries involved, it is not surprising that the early expansion of Christianity in the Andes was often hesitant, sporadic, and invariably involved significant compromises.

In this chapter, I concentrate on the liminal period and space between the end of autochthonous indigenous control of their lands and livelihood to the early Spanish colony (1532–1615). Martin Gibbs and David Roe (chapter 7) chart a similar indigenous-Spanish encounter, the difference being that in the Andes, the Spanish came and remained, playing out that initial meeting to its conclusion. Even so, during this period, early Spanish colonial rhetoric was not often matched by deeds. The religious sphere was one such area in which the desired Spanish ideal faced Andean reality. Concentrating on the prehispanic and Spanish colonial site of Kipia in the Ancash Highlands of north-central Peru, this chapter describes the cosmological arrangement of the site as envisaged first by the indigenous people and subsequently by the Spanish. Kipia is located on the westernmost mountain range—Cordillera Negra—before the Pacific Ocean, ca. 70 km inland from the sea. Even if close, relatively speaking, to the coast, the highlands were another world in which Spanish presence was concentrated in the verdant intervalley areas and small towns rather than in the more out-of-the-way villages and hamlets of the upper Andes. The area around Kipia is characteristic of this more remote world (Lane 2009).

Throughout this chapter, I tease out the contradictions between Spanish and Andean religious practice and how Spanish religious practice inscribed itself on the local setting. In this sense, I delve into the dichotomy between what I term a Spanish religion of place versus an Andean religion of space and how these interacted across the site and landscape. Essentially, I describe the long process of early Spanish colonial place
making in the Andes, where Spanish religious expression first inscribed itself within the indigenous belief system before attempting to mold it. In particular, I examine how Christian monotheism during this early colonial period co-opted and negotiated indigenous animistic and polytheistic elements, thereby attempting to reinforce the entry and expansion of Christianity into the Andean highlands (Bravo Guerrera 1993), albeit a Christianity informed by indigenous precepts.

Some of these compromises persist even today and form part of the existing Hispano-Andean Christian tradition (Irarrazaval 1999). For instance, the Señor de los Milagros (Lord of Miracles) doubles up for the prehispanic coastal deity Pachacamac (MacCormack 1988; Rostworowski 1998), and the Corpus Christi procession in Cuzco appropriated much of the ritual symbolism associated with the Inka Inti Raymi ceremony (Cahill 1996), while the identity of local Andean deities was subsumed under that of Christian saints (Díaz Araya et al. 2012).

**Landscapes of Worship**

Discussion of the dichotomy between, and the meaning of, place and space in landscape archaeology has been long and convoluted, yet perhaps Jerry Moore (2005:1; see also the introduction) got closest when he described it thus: “Space is indifferent to humanity, but place requires the inscription of human acknowledgement.” Nevertheless, one could argue that space and the natural environs it describes have also been heavily colonized by human thought and emotion (Bradley 2000). This is especially true of conceptualized landscapes, in which there is a recursive mediation and social construction of landscape by people (Knapp and Ashmore 1999). Religion and how it imprints itself onto the landscape is one such type of conceptualization.

This leads me to suggest that place and space may be used to describe types of interaction within a religiously embedded landscape. In this sense, we would interpret a place-oriented religious landscape as one in which special markers, features, or buildings provide the crucial wherewithal to root a community, while a space-oriented religious landscape is one in which a community will encompass the totality of its environs to tether its identity. Therefore, we can start differentiating between a religion of place and a religion of space. Yet this is not to say that these two categories
are fixed; rather, we recognize that while invariably all communities and their religious landscapes will contextually espouse a mixture of both, some cultures will tend toward one form more than the other. We can distinguish between an early Spanish colonial religion of place and the then-existing Andean religion of space. Spain’s religion of place in the Andes was more rooted around the physical structure of the church, in part because it delimited in many ways the extent of early Spanish control in a given area; therefore, it involved a religious experience that was mostly disarticulated from the surrounding landscape. Indeed, it is important to underline the fact that this religion of place works very well within the context of Spanish arrival in the Andes, where the incoming conquistadors were being introduced to and would eventually assimilate a new landscape. Moreover, it was a landscape over which for a long time they exerted little effective political and, by inference, physical control. During the early Spanish colony, the Catholic Christian god had few earthly manifestations in the Andes.

By way of contrast, Andean religion was homegrown and had already experienced millennia of accommodation to its particular landscape, an animated landscape that formed an integral component of local indigenous cosmogony (Bauer 1998; Lane 2011b; Millones 1980; Zuidema 2005). In this sense, an Andean religion of space evoked the totality of the landscape as a complex and intensely animated sacred backdrop cohabited by people, their crops, and their animals. Within the Andes, gods and ancestors (as well as evil spirits) were manifest at all times in everything from wind, boulders, lightning, lakes, rivers, and caves. New waves of conquest, such as the Inca, just added new complexity and layers to this animated landscape, such that one could describe the Andes as a cosmological complex where different animistic perceptions of landscape were interlinked and overlapped and where, most importantly, everything was animated (this has been termed polyanimistic).

During the early Spanish colonial period these two types of religious landscapes and adscriptions onto the environment vied for hegemony. On the one hand, indigenous societies attempted to accommodate Spanish religion while equally attempting to mostly maintain the status quo; on the other hand, the Spanish sought to create their own place within this region. Andean religion started with a distinct disadvantage. Polytheism has a tendency toward toleration, incorporation, or subversion
of alien gods and deities as and when they are encountered. Note, for instance, the ever-expanding Roman Empire and its equally expansive pantheon of gods (Rüpke 2007). The Andes was no different: indigenous populations saw Christianity and its god very much as a new deity to be integrated within the already existing palimpsest of gods, ancestors, and spirits (Andrien 2001:160–161).

The indigenous people even had a term for this: mañay, or “compromise” (Millones 1987); mañay was what many local cultures had employed when the Inka conquered them during the fifteenth century and imposed their own deities. They saw the Spanish god in the same light, so much so that some early indigenous writers even sought to prove that Christianity had deep ancestral roots in the Andes (Guaman Poma de Ayala 1993 [1615]; Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui 1993 [1613]), and thus the introduction of a Christian god was not so much an appropriation as a rediscovery. Indeed, this followed what earlier Spanish chroniclers had written, interpreting Andean populations as one of the Lost Tribes of Israel, fully immersed within the biblical narrative, and thereby presenting the Andes as a preexisting Christian religious landscape (González Díaz 2014; see also MacCormack [2001] for a comparison of Cuzco as a sacred, imperial capital in the same mold as classical Rome).

By way of contrast with Andean animistic polytheism, sixteenth-century Spain had a very different vision of religion, the world, and Spain’s place in it. This Spain was a highly militarized, increasingly monotheistic, early modern state that had extinguished the last independent Muslim kingdom and expelled the Jews from its realms as recently as 1492, the same year in which Columbus made landfall in the Americas (Harvey 1992). This consolidation of Spain ushered in a golden age (1492–1659) in which the rapacity of conquest was accompanied by the righteousness of Christian evangelization, a righteousness founded on the belief of being God’s chosen. With the rise of European Protestantism—also in the early sixteenth century—Spain increasingly saw itself as the Catholic bulwark against heresy and unfaith (Kamen 2014). Importantly, while Protestantism emphasized that communion with god was possible anywhere, Catholicism reiterated that this was only possible within the physical institution of the church and through the intercession of the priest. Spain’s religious colonization of the Andes has to be seen against this stark background.
Indeed, it seems that while processional festivities had existed in Spain in some limited manner prior to the sixteenth century, the rise in Catholic processions—especially those associated with Holy Week—in western Europe came into their own as a reaction against the rise of Protestantism in northern Europe (Barnes 1988; Ortega Sagrista 1956). Prior to this, these types of festivities had been undertaken within the church or just outside, under the cover of the portico—a strong reminder that sixteenth-century Spanish Catholicism was very much a religion of place, even if via crucis pilgrimages and processions formed an integral component of overt displays of faith (Thurston 1914:20–21, 46). This emphasis on the physicality of the church to the general detriment of the wider environment was a feature that the Spanish attempted to introduce into the Andes.

Yet the reality remained that during the early Spanish colony, numbers were not on their side. Therefore, Spanish religious colonization during this early period often favored accommodation over imposition. Steve Wernke (2007) has observed the same pattern of occupation and repurposing of earlier prehispanic sacred places in the Colca Valley, south-central Andes. As such, a Spanish religion of place felt it necessary to occupy indigenous places, thereby evoking and preserving the link to a local religion of space, even if in time this indigenous religion of space was subverted and altered to fit Spanish colonial needs. This incremental change can be appreciated at the site of Kipia.

**KIPIA: PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT AND SITE**

Kipia (Puk 9) is located in the Pamparomás district of the Cordillera Negra of the north-central highlands of Peru. These mountains represent the westernmost range of the Andes (Map 6.1). Kipia itself is set on the threshold between three ecozones (as defined by Pulgar Vidal 1946). The lowest, the *kichwa* (2,000–3,500 masl), is considered the last major, predominantly crop cultivation zone. Above lies the *suni* (3,500–4,000 masl), a mixed-economy transitional area between the lower *kichwa* and the herding alpine tundra grasslands (puna) above. Finally, we have the puna (4,000–5,200 masl), the highest ecozone before the snowline. The puna is considered a major pastoralist grassland area. This region of the Ancash highlands lies at the ecological boundary between the wet
Map 6.1 Map of the study area, showing the major ecozones, geographical features, and modern towns.
puna and the wetter paramo ecozones (Custred 1977). Average rainfall is therefore high, between 500 and 1,000 mm annually (INRENA 2000). During the prehispanic period, a complex series of natural and artificial lakes captured this water for economic use (Lane 2009, 2017).

The site of Kipia is set on a ridge to the east of modern-day Pamparomás, within a bowl-shaped, midvalley area below the Cordillera Negra summits to the east. Strategically, the site dominates this area and is located on a ridge that runs west to east extending out from the eastern Shunak Massif. The Shunak Massif rises to over 4,000 m and is the natural division between an important lake zone located entirely within the upland puna and the kichwa and suni fields around and below Kipia. Situated between 3,150 and 3,400 m, Kipia is in the upper bracket of the kichwa ecozone, straddling the kichwa and suni, while providing an important conduit to the higher puna. The site is located at the juncture between major farming and herding zones, thereby highlighting these mainstays of the late prehispanic economy combined in its egregious South American manifestation—Andean agropastoralism.

Kipia is divided into four sectors (A to D) spread across four low hills along the ridge (Figure 6.1). Sector A comprises the westernmost area of the site and includes habitational terraces along its western, northern, and southern flanks. A banked and walled ditch physically separates A from B. I have interpreted Sector A as an Inca/Spanish colonial settlement hub (Lane 2011a).

Sector B represents the cosmological core of the site (Figure 6.1). The sector includes a large, relatively flat natural terrace interspersed with four natural rock outcrops (another one is located on the eastern extremity of Sector A). Approximately 40 m wide, this terrace is also roughly 60 m in length. The rock outcrops have been extensively modified through carving and the digging out of small niches (37) along their base. In addition, the level surfaces of these rocks were also sculpted to render channels and small pits: many of these pits contained offerings. It is probable that in the past these outcrops represented key focus points for ritual libation sessions dedicated to water worship (sensu Carrión Cachot 1955).

Among the five outcrops registered at the site, attention seems to coalesce on Rock Face 5 (RF5), which is the easternmost rock outcrop of the group. It juts out of the ground and therefore presents both ample horizontal and vertical surfaces. Furthermore, the relatively flat area
Figure 6.1 The site of Kipia, showing sectorization (top). Detail of Sector B, showing the huaca-huanca (RF5) and the Spanish church (Pit 4) (bottom).
behind this rock has a later, intrusive, Spanish colonial shrine/church in a classic case of sacred space appropriation. This further highlights RF5’s centrality and importance within the site. It is the juxtaposition of these two features that I will consider in greater detail below.

Farther to the east is a heavily overgrown low hill, Sector C. This sector, along with Sector D, is also known locally as Corpus Rumi (body of stone). Sector C has been tentatively interpreted as a local Huaylas settlement. The last sector, D, is located at the far east of the ridge and includes a series of rock outcrops containing subterranean tombs, known as *pukullo* -type tombs (Herrera and Lane 2004).

Material culture remains from stratigraphic excavations support a Late Intermediate period (A.D. 1000–1450), Late Horizon (A.D. 1450–1532), and early Spanish Colonial occupation (A.D. 1532–1615) for the site, while objects found by locals in the area and deposited at the Pamparomás Museum indicate possible Early Intermediate period (A.D. 1–700) and Middle Horizon (A.D. 700–1000) occupations as well. This chronology is bolstered by eight radiocarbon dates (Table 6.1) that span the period in question and the prehispanic period preceding it (A.D. 1000–1615). These dates were calibrated using the SHCal curve (Hogg et al. 2013), as it better represents Southern Hemisphere dates (Ogburn 2012). Here I discuss these dates at 2-sigma (95 percent) standard variation.

Of these, MAMS15861 (A.D. 1421–1463), MAMS15865 (A.D. 1224–1285), and MAMS15867 (A.D. 1427–1464)—all three from offering pits associated with the carved rock faces in Sector B, the first two from Pit 2 (the *huanca-huaca*), and the last from Pit 6—amply straddle the late prehispanic period, including possibly early Inca occupation at the site. Following Dennis Ogburn (2012), who has argued for an earlier date for Inca imperial expansion, I propose that MAMS15861 might actually be dating an Inca offering. This would seem to be supported by a similar ranged date, MAMS15862 (A.D. 1430–1494), which dates a floor surface within which only Inca material culture items were recovered. Two further dates taken from stratigraphic deposits within the Christian chapel itself—MAMS15866 (A.D. 1498–1636) and MAMS15868 (A.D. 1497–1636)—fall mostly within the early Spanish colonial period. The final two dates, both from Sector A—MAMS15863 (A.D. 1031–1161) and MAMS15864 (A.D. 1457–1626)—date a secure Late Intermediate period and a colonial context, respectively; they complete the dates for the site.
Table 6.1 $^{14}$C Dates from the Site of Kipia (PUK9)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lab No. MAMS</th>
<th>Sample No.</th>
<th>Sector</th>
<th>Pit</th>
<th>Stratigraphic Unit [Cut]</th>
<th>$^{14}$C Date</th>
<th>$\delta^{13}$C</th>
<th>Cal 1-Sigma A.D.</th>
<th>Cal 2-Sigma A.D.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15861</td>
<td>Ca-8</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>34 [22]</td>
<td>489 ± 22</td>
<td>−21.3</td>
<td>1435–1454</td>
<td>1421–1463</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15862</td>
<td>Ca-21</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>469 ± 23</td>
<td>−24.2</td>
<td>1440–1462</td>
<td>1430–1494</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15863</td>
<td>Ca-22</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>28 [48]</td>
<td>976 ± 22</td>
<td>−18.7</td>
<td>1046–1152</td>
<td>1031–1161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15864</td>
<td>Ca-23</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>394 ± 22</td>
<td>−20.2</td>
<td>1464–1620</td>
<td>1457–1626</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15865</td>
<td>Ca-25</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>72 [71]</td>
<td>802 ± 22</td>
<td>−19.0</td>
<td>1230–1280</td>
<td>1224–1285</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15866</td>
<td>Ca-27</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>358 ± 18</td>
<td>−17.1</td>
<td>1506–1626</td>
<td>1498–1636</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15867</td>
<td>Ca-28</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>6 (RF4)</td>
<td>20 [19]</td>
<td>482 ± 19</td>
<td>−27.9</td>
<td>1440–1455</td>
<td>1427–1464</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15868</td>
<td>Ca-29</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>359 ± 20</td>
<td>−17.9</td>
<td>1506–1626</td>
<td>1497–1636</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Dates were processed at the CEZ Archäometrie gGmbH, Mannheim, Germany, and were calibrated using Oxcal v4.3.2 Bronk Ramsey (2017); r:5 SHCal13 atmospheric data are from Hogg et al. (2013).
Taken in tandem, then, these dates would seem to provide a seamless occupation of Sectors A and B that spans the early eleventh century through the early seventeenth century. Indeed, the two dates from the chapel (MAMS15866 and MAMS15868) with their end date of ca. A.D. 1636 would seem to suggest a plausible *terminus ante quem* for the colonial abandonment of the site. Unfortunately, to date I have no extant archival material that would further delimit the final chronology of the site.

**BETWEEN A HUANCA AND A CHURCH**

Prehistoric and Spanish colonial devotion at Kipia centered on Sector B, specifically on the central *huanca* RF5 and the adjoining church (Figure 6.2). A *huanca* was a sacred, upright stone that doubled as an ancestor or deity-oracle (otherwise known as a *huaca*), intimately linking the people to their past and landscape (Curatola Petrocchi and Ziółkowski 2008:3). Recent research on modified or otherwise stone outcrops in the Andes has added considerable data toward understanding the pivotal cosmological importance of these features within the indigenous religious environment (Christie 2016; Dean 2010). They served as landscape referents, especially for processions that included them within a ritual setting that invoked the totality of the encompassing landscape, such as with the Inca *ceque* systems and the pilgrimages associated with them in the vicinity of Cuzco (Bauer 1998; Zuidema 1964). RF5 is a large, natural sandstone outcrop rising ca. 2 m from the ground and oriented to the northeast. The church is small (9 m long and 6 m wide), oriented on a southwest to northeast axis, and gable roofed, and an altar is set into the northeastern wall. This last fact is crucial, given that, like RF5, the church is also facing toward the northeast, thereby directly referencing the Andean landscape with which RF5 is also associated.

Both the front and the top platform of RF5 are carved. The front presents a series of lines and pitted indentations, while along the base of the rock are three sculptured niches and other additional pitting in the area immediately before the rock face. These various anthropogenic actions—the pitting, niche, and channel carving—serve to map out both a real and an idealistic plan of the nearby landscape and environs. The carved lines on the rock face appear to represent the contours of three nearby mountains, as well as a pass that can be observed from this perspective along
the neighboring Shunak Massif. Other features in the landscape are also referenced. The upper platform is likewise heavily modified through channeling and pitting. This is accompanied by offerings of local and river-rolled stone, ceramics, and seashells (*Spondylus*). These channels and pits could be a metaphoric representation of lakes, ponds, streams, and rivers (Lane et al. 2018).

Taken together, these elements suggest that RF5 was a feature used in water rituals, linking the local community to the nearby highland lakes and the sea as part of identity-reaffirming rituals that would have

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**Figure 6.2** Detail of Sector B at Kipia, showing the *huaca-huanca* (RF5) and the Spanish church (Pit 4).
tied the local population to their *pacarina* (place of origin/emergence) (MacCormack 1991:428). Rituals enacted at the site would then cosmogonically link the *huaca-huanca* with the mountains and lakes and, through them, with extralocal bodies of water such as the Pacific Ocean and major highland lakes, including nearby Lago Conococha, and ultimately Lake Titicaca. The latter is seen as the main origin point of major highland deities, ancestors, and people, including the Inka (Urton 1999).

As mentioned previously, water veneration was widespread throughout the Andes (Carrión Cachot 1955). At a local level, this standing stone could be interpreted as a *tableau vivant* of its surrounding landscape. In a sense, Sector B was the animated theater from which local people ventured to create a profound engagement with their surroundings. In essence, the RF5 *huanca* was reimagining the physical and cosmological landscape while coincidentally reaffirming Kipia’s nodal cosmogonic importance; essentially, it formed a hermeneutic circle in which projected reverence and understanding of the landscape reflected back onto the site itself. In this sense, veneration at Kipia was intrinsically externalized and linked to existing and imagined spaces, all the while centered on the structure and place of the central *huanca* (RF5). This is evidence that religions of space and place are always linked at some level. Basically, what we are discussing here is where the interrelationship between religions of space and place for Spanish colonial Kipia lies. Within the Andean context, I argue that religion of space often overshadows religion of place, but this does not correspond with early Spanish colonial imagining of the local context.

In theory, the construction of a church at this site should have served to cut local ties to the indigenous sacred landscape. Yet in practice, many of the referents of the church at Kipia maintained a direct connection to local preexisting beliefs (Figure 6.3). The church and altar were aligned along the same axis as RF5, thereby preserving the link to the mountains and lake area to the east. It is also entirely possible that given the early Spanish colony’s limited understanding of Andean cosmological landscapes and their own preference for a religion of place, they viewed occupation of Kipia as the fulcrum around which their cosmological (and thereby political) control of the area would eventually pivot. Indeed, one could say that this was and continues to be an age-old practice among groups that normatively ascribe to a religion of place. In fact, at its most
Figure 6.3  Detail of Rock Face 5 at Kipia: *huanca-huaca* (A) and Santiago Chapel (B and C).
extreme, this deliberate erosion, suppression, or reinvention of a people’s previous identity of place and space to reflect a new one imposed by a hegemonic or wannabe-hegemonic group has been termed “identicide” (Meharg 2001).

In this sense, one can see Christian conquest of the Iberian Peninsula and the conversion or supplanting of mosques for churches as a form of attempted identicide (see Echevarría 2003; López Guzmán 2000:132–133; Pérez Ordóñez 2005, for examples of this conversion process). Indeed, it is also Islam’s—incidentally, another monotheistic religion—strong attachment to a religion of place that made it relatively easy for Christianity to sever direct architectural or place links to the supplanted religion through the repurposing of mosques and holy sites as Christian structures. Given that the conquest of the Americas was perceived by Spaniards as a continuation of the reconquista crusade bringing Christianity to heathens and heretics (Todorov 1984:10–13), and given Spanish Catholicism’s engagement with places, it would seem that they similarly attempted to supplant and convert Andean sacred places. I argue that Spain’s partial failure in repurposing the high Andes to Christianity was due to the inability to understand the indigenous connection to the totality of their cosmological landscape. Instead, the Spanish fixated on nodal places, the place making equivalent of missing the woods for the trees.

Importantly, the church itself was consecrated to Santiago (St. James the Great), patron saint of Spain. In the Hispano-Andean Christian tradition, Santiago replaced local Andean lightning deities at sites sacred to them (Hernández Lefranc 2007). The Andean lightning deity was the main godhead of water, rain, and herds, being especially sacred to pastoralists (Cardich 2000). Kipia is located within an important agropastoralist landscape, and the overt association to water of the site itself would seem to underpin its adscription to veneration of a lightning deity, resulting in the Spanish imposition of Santiago on the site.

The action of direct replacement of an Andean entity by a Christian one has been described by Wernke (2007) as a process of erasure and analogy whereby overt reference to the prehispanic past was first erased and then subverted through analogizing the Andean entity with a Christian one. In this sense, the fact that Western European Catholicism was always saint-heavy must be seen as a distinct advantage (Brown 1982), opening up myriad saintly possibilities, with accompanying attributes
and feast days. So finding the “correct” saint was not random but probably an exercise of study. Therefore, saints could be co-opted to fill the role of the soon-to-be-erased local deity. If we accept as genuine Spanish and indigenous attempts to claim the Andes as a lost, previously Christian land (see above), we should not then necessarily see these substitutions as purely a cynical ploy on the part of the Spanish. There was a real sacred need by the new colonial authorities—as they saw it—to save the souls of the indigenous populations (Las Casas 1992).

Nevertheless, while the new church seems to fit into the preexisting indigenous concept of cosmology and landscape, it also constituted a definite break with the past. First, the location of the church alongside RF5 is a clear signal of sacred appropriation (see above), and second, alongside appropriation comes transformation. Therefore, veneration would increasingly have been centered on the church and its patron saint, Santiago. As elsewhere in the Andes, the intention would have been to delink indigenous belief from the wider landscape, their gods and ancestors (Gose 2003). The latter was represented at the site by the necropolis, located in Sector D. Furthermore, rather than evoking the landscape, the construction of the church and the placing of Santiago within it were clear moves toward a Spanish religion of place, with the Catholic priest as the intermediary between the Christian god and the people. Early Spanish colonial material evidence from Sector A (glass, cutlery, etc.) points to the physical presence of Spaniards at the site, possibly a priest and native attendants. While at present the area does not have a resident priest, receiving an itinerant priest from the coastal bishopric of Chimbote, it is possible that given the amount of colonial material found at the site and the importance of the area as a conduit between the coast and highlands, especially the rich inter-Andean Huaylas Valley to the east, in the early Spanish colony, religious presence in the area was more ubiquitous. That said, there were limits to what the spread and presence of this Spanish Christianity actually meant on the ground.

**DISCUSSION**

The imposition of the Santiago chapel on the site of Kipia was the beginning of a transformative process through which the indigenous population was meant to shed its animistic and ancestor belief system and
embrace Spanish Catholicism. Even so, the process was never completed. The lack of permanent priests, coupled with ever-changing and sometimes contradictory policy guidelines from the archbishopric of Lima, as well as the viceroyalty’s need for economic produce over religious conversion, meant that the evangelization of the Andean hinterland progressed in fits and starts throughout the Spanish period.

In fact, the early imposition of Christianity also met with local pushback in the form of rebellions against the Spanish and their religion, the most serious of these being the Taqui Oncoy movement (ca. 1564–1572) in the south-central Andes. The Taqui Oncoy believed that dancing, spiritual possession, and a renewed veneration of the old gods in local contexts would usher in the disappearance of the Spanish and their Christian god (Roy 2010). Yet the Taqui Oncoy’s messianic ethos, while tapping long-standing Andean concepts of renewal, also harked back to Christian ideals of apocalypse and resurrection, showing how far these movements were already hybrid Hispano-Andean phenomena (Andrien 2001:171). Nevertheless, inherent to the Taqui Oncoy movement was the fact that the local *huacas*, deities materialized in place or in object, were replaced by deities materialized in persons. This was so because many of the places and objects used to symbolize *huacas* before the Spanish colony had already been destroyed (Varón Gabai 1990). This shift from places/objects to people serves to underscore that while places did have an importance within Andean cosmology, that importance was not necessarily transcendental; it was the relationship of the *huacas* to the local environment and its *spaces* that prevailed.

With time, the Spaniards became much more effective in their attempts at eradicating indigenous religion, whether through the destruction of idols and mummies or the proscription of native priests under the *extirpación de idolatrías* (extirpation of idolatries) pogroms beginning in the early seventeenth century. This process went hand in hand with settlement reductions (*reducciones*). While there were economic reasons for these *reducciones*, especially when faced with a collapsing native population, “most modern commentators understand *reducción* . . . as church-based settlement consolidation, . . . religious conversion and political subjugation. . . . The policy’s foremost announced goal was to improve Indians’ evangelization” (Gose 2016:15). It is indeed at this time, during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, that one can
say that the Spanish colonists effectively started making and shaping the Andean hinterland more into their desired image, even if the emergent society was always highly syncretic. In this sense, Guaman Poma de Ayala’s (1993 [1615]) panegyric to a lost, seemingly more virtuous prehispanic society would seem to date to the end of this early colony, where overt indigenous beliefs coexisted, however uneasily, with alien Spanish imperial impositions.

These externally driven processes—reducción and extirpación—led to the eventual abandonment of Kipia and its church. Our three colonial $^{14}$C dates (see Table 6.1: MAMS15864, MAMS15866, and MAMS15868) and the fact that the cists within the church went unused suggest that Spanish occupation of Kipia was short, probably ending sometime in the early seventeenth century. With the site’s abandonment the links between Santiago, the church, the huaca-huanca, and the landscape were progressively severed.

According to local history, the statue of Santiago now residing in Pamparomás was originally from Kipia (Moreno Rodríguez 1966:27, 39). Local sources interviewed during my field research (Gonzalez Rosales and Lane 2007) state that originally at the site two saints were venerated: Santiago and San Lorenzo. Sometime in the past, San Lorenzo was “exiled” to Cosma, in the adjacent northern valley, while Santiago “came down” to the reducción of Pampac after appearing in local people’s dreams requesting this move. It now resides in Pamparomás. According to Estanislao Moreno Rodríguez’s thesis (1966:27, 39) Santiago appeared to a little girl who brought him flowers, but the end result is the same. While we do not have archival and therefore chronological evidence for when the saints were split up, it is possible that this took place during or shortly after the settling of the population into the colonial towns of Cosma and Pampac. Therefore, it is likely that this occurred during the early seventeenth century. The fact that Kipia might have been holy to two saints is not surprising, given the duality at the heart of Andean religion. Effectively, this duality at Kipia most likely represented aspects of the local lightning deity (Andean deities tended to be multifaceted). With the coming of Christianity and the slow disarticulation of Andean beliefs, these various aspects became in turn different saints for different towns.

This fracturing of multifaceted deities into saints of different components of a society is not uncommon and was observed by Karsten
Paerregaard (1992) in the community of Tapay (Arequipa), where farmers increasingly venerated San Isidro (who had the power to stop the rain, bring the sun, and provide bountiful crops), while the herders maintained their devotion to St. Mary Magdalene (an aspect of the Andean earth goddess, Pachamama). Nevertheless, both communities still celebrated the Virgin of the Candelaria (another aspect of Pachamama) together. Other examples of partitioning saints into different communities exist, such as at nearby Huari, in Conchucos, where three communities subdivided themselves into the sons of Huari, each with their own particular saints and concomitant celebrations or fiestas (Venturoli 2011).

In the case of Kipia, the subsequent separation and removal of San Lorenzo and Santiago provide the strongest evidence yet for Spanish attempts to erase as many vestiges and connections as possible between the indigenous population, their religion, and the spaces and places sacred to them. This was part of late sixteenth-century state policy, as is remarked on by Gabriela Ramos (2010:89): “The concentration of often-scattered native populations into urban settlements was intended to make the teaching of the Christian doctrine easier, separate the Indians from their sacred places, and disrupt the continuity of their religious practices.” In so doing, Spanish actions reveal the cosmological charge that this site of Kipia enjoyed in the local prehispanic imagination.

Even so, this delinking was never perfect, with local association with Kipia lasting well beyond its physical abandonment. Even today, Santiago is still paraded during an annual festival in his honor (July 22–24), and until recently (1970s) this parade of the modern town’s patron saint included transit through Kipia. Profound changes in the religious composition of Pamparomás, essentially the rise of modern Protestant evangelization, led to the abandonment of this practice. Aside from the parading of Santiago through the town, there exists no other wider engagement with the landscape, demonstrating how far local Christianity had become a religion of place rather than one of space. Indeed, similar short processions or pilgrimages are conducted across the Central Andes, indirectly evoking prehispanic rituals, such as the Festival of the Crosses, which is celebrated in different towns during May (Mayer de Millones and Millones 2003). In an enduring reflection of the past, Santiago, like the lightning deity that preceded him, is still used as a guarantor of rains and plentiful herds.
CONCLUSION

The sixteenth century was transformational for the indigenous population of the Central Andes and its religion. Likewise, it changed the way Spanish Catholicism would henceforth imprint itself on the land. Kipia exemplifies this shift during the liminal period of the early Spanish colony (A.D. 1532–1615). Indigenous strength, coupled with sparse Spanish presence, meant that early moves toward evangelization and place making were measured and cautious. These included appropriation but also, more importantly, accommodation within the existing religious setup. This accommodation was to become a permanent feature of Hispano-Andean Catholicism.

Overt reference to the prevailing Andean religion of space belied the subtle but incremental movement to a Spanish religion of place. Subsequent political actions at the state level—reducciones and extirpación de idolatrías—cemented this changeover, leading to the abandonment of Kipia. While the move to Pampac and, subsequently, to Pamparomás of the statue of Santiago heralded the end of regular and direct veneration at Kipia, it did not end indigenous ties to the wider landscape or the imbuing of the natural with supernatural symbolism. Indeed, the emergent Hispano-Andean Christianity was always syncretic and hybrid, in turn reflecting the syncretic and hybrid identity of the locals themselves. Ironically, it is only with the rise of new evangelical churches in South America and in Peru especially since the 1970s that the original mission of the Spanish evangelizers—that of a Christian religion shorn of Andean leitmotifs—is being realized (Amat and Pérez 2008) and with that a definite hardening of a Christian religion of place.

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