

Andean thought and society

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- Review and comments on Moseley chapter 3, pp. 51-85 and Allen 2002 extracts
 - lots of important concepts and terms here
- Community-level concepts
 - *ayllu*
 - a fundamental, important social unit - but what exactly is it?
 - Moseley: "an alliance of households and kindred that exchange labor and jointly own land and other resources...based on real or fictive descent"
 - OK as a starting point, but "*ayllu*" is actually a very flexible concept that may refer to
 - people of shared descent (that is, they are relatives, maybe quite distant)
 - people of shared area of residence
 - since traditional Andean people tend not to move far from where they grew up, this is often but not always the same as having shared descent
 - members of *one* of the two moieties discussed by Moseley as *subdivisions* of the *ayllu*
 - that is, *ayllus* may be nested
 - in some contexts, one's *ayllu* might include people in a sizable region; in other contexts, it might refer to a smaller group, in opposition to another group in the same larger *ayllu*
 - and other social units
 - Catherine Allen, an ethnographer of Andean people, defines an *ayllu* as an
 - "indigenous community or other social group whose members share a common focus"
 - that is, the more you look into Andean society, the more variable you see the term *ayllu* actually is
 - essentially an economic or interest group, often identified with a kinship idiom, often approximately ethnic, often segmentary, depending on the context of action or discussion
 - segmentary refers to a nested social group organization that can split into smaller groups or join together into larger ones depending on the context
 - "me against my cousin; my cousin and I against the village; the village against an invader..."
 - "dual organization"
 - in colonial lawsuits and other records, groups were often represented by a chief plus a "segunda persona"
 - these were the leaders or spokespeople of the two sub-groups ("moieties", or halves, or *ayllus*) into which most towns, social groups, polities, etc. were divided
 - usually labeled upper (*hanan*) and lower (*hurin* or *urin* or *lurin...*) *ayllu*
 - each group has its own interests and internal hierarchy (often pretty informal), each with its spokesman or leader
 - the two subgroups are parallel to each other, but ranked, with the upper or *hanan ayllu* being of higher rank

- the whole allyu, town, region, or ethnic group is represented by both moiety leaders together, but the leader of the *hanan* moiety has the higher status.
- commonly seen as a manifestation of a pervasive “duality” in Andean thought
 - derived from seeing things in terms of opposed but complementary male and female concepts, extended metaphorically to almost any subject
 - I suspect that this is somewhat oversold by structuralists...
 - but it comes up so often that it is hard to ignore, either
- duality is common but not universal: sometimes there are 3 subdivisions, or none
- *tinkuy* and *tinku* (definitions from Catherine Allen 2002, *The Hold Life Has*)
 - *tinkuy*: to join through violent meeting; an encounter
 - *tinku*: encounter; confluence of two or more streams; ritual battle
- real violence, but with rules that limited participants and duration, roughly analogous to a sporting event
 - for example, individuals usually sought someone of similar age, status, etc. in the other group to fight with
 - certain weapons would be used, depending on the groups and traditions involved, and not others
 - example: one case in which combatants used slings to hurl a particular hard, round fruit, but not stones
 - between particular groups, usually with a common border, and not others
 - the *tinku* event was usually associated with a particular festival, that is, a scheduled, annual event
 - with modern police control, now mostly converted to competitive dancing, verbal sparring, etc.
- the blood that was shed or lives that were lost feed the earth (Pachamama)
 - these losses are necessary to continue the cycle of life, agricultural productivity, the world in general
- *tinku* affirms the unity and identity of each group by embodying its opposition to the other group
 - oddly enough, also creates affinity between the groups that *tinkuy* with each other, as opposed to outsiders who are really foreign
 - we will see how *tinkuy* may help to explain some aspects of the archaeological record
- labor reciprocity
 - private (usually among kin and friends)
 - *ayni*: 1-for-1 exchange of labor with repayment expected in the same form and amount of labor.
 - *minka*: participation in a group work project for an individual (plowing or harvesting a field, etc.), with repayment expected in two forms (like a barn-raising)
 - food, drink, and coca during the party-like work session
 - the beneficiary will in turn work in the *minkas* of the people who worked for him/her
 - unless the person calling the *minka* is of higher status, older, etc. and in practice doesn't really have to repay
 - public
 - *faena*: communal work days organized by the community, for community purposes

- people participate to satisfy social obligation or pressure, without expectation of repayment in kind except food and coca during the work.
- often, the work may be done at the convenience of the laborer, as in digging a marked-out stretch of canal any time before a certain date.
- *mit'a*: rotation labor, a “turn” of labor owed by everyone like a tax to the church, state, or high-status representatives of them
 - a more legalistic obligation
 - in return, the benefiting organization is obliged to provide food, drink, and coca (and cigarettes) to the worker during his or her “turn”.
 - *Mit'a* could be used for re-roofing a church, working on Inka fields, roads, or buildings, or being a servant to a high-status person.
- segmentation of tasks
 - a common way of organizing large work projects
 - each family or person is responsible for a certain segment of a canal, a certain part of a wall, a certain section of a field...
 - ensures that everyone does his or her share, and has a clear claim to repayment
 - visible in modern projects, but also in archaeological monuments!
- cargo system (“cargo” = a charge or responsibility)
 - rotating, temporary offices
 - such as “person responsible for the coming festival of the cross” or “political spokesperson / mayor”
 - typically assigned by popular consensus (after a lot of behind-the-scenes discussion, gossip, and negotiation; nowadays often by election)
 - heavy social pressure to do well: put on a good festival, etc. however you can
 - often very costly, but yields social prestige
- *karaka*, *curaca*, etc.
 - head of a large *allyu*, typically hereditary office, essentially a chief
 - local leaders or aristocracy, vs. ethnic Inka administrators
 - but generally *hanan* and *hurin karakas*
 - the Spanish called these *principale* (or *cacique*) and *segunda persona*
 - received *mit'a* service from others
- ancestor veneration
 - mummies (*mallqui*), processions, burial towers (*chullpas*), etc.
 - establishes a descent group's identity and longstanding claim to territory -- their ancestors are buried in prominent, fixed landmarks
- *huacas*
 - *huaca adoratorio* (as used by Moseley): place for ritual
 - *huaca sepultura* (as used by Moseley): burial place
 - not to be confused with *huaco*, a pre-Columbian ceramic vessel, often taken from a tomb
- animate landscape and supernaturals
 - *Pachamama*: feminine, nurturing spirit of the earth in general
 - likes to get frequent offerings of food, drink, and the essence of coca by blowing on the leaves
 - *apus* and *tirakuna*, or Places: usually masculine spirits, more individualized

- live in, or are, the spirits of particular mountain peaks, rock outcrops, or other geographic features
 - *apus* are the most powerful ones, located at major mountain peaks
 - have powers and concerns for certain things or places (herds, rain, human health, social relations, etc.)
 - each has his own personality, likes, dislikes, and appropriate ways to be propitiated
- these concepts of the animate landscape and spirits of particular places and rock outcrops are often invoked by archaeologists to understand apparently ritual sites
- libations: “ritual intoxication”
 - consuming excessive amounts of food and alcoholic drinks is an essential part of many social events
 - this is not just a personal amusement
 - it is often considered necessary for a ritual event to fulfill its function
 - the food and drink are considered to be passed from the consumer to the *tirakuna* (the Places)
 - feasting and drinking was a big part of Inka ceremonial activity, a pay-off to locals
 - *keru* = flaring drinking cup
- astronomical concepts
 - observations of rising and setting points of sun, moon, and stars on the horizon, as seen from a particular place; especially elaborated at Cuzco
 - observations mostly provided time of year or season, used to schedule annual ritual processions and other events
- State-level concepts
 - Inka “decimal” system of organization (details from Rowe 1946, highly recommended) (Don't worry about memorizing the terms!)
 - *Coñka kamayoq*, foreman of 10 taxpayers
 - *Picqa-coñqa kamayoq*, foreman of 50 taxpayers (i.e. of 5 *coñka kamayoq*)
 - *Pacaka koraka*, chief of 100
 - *Picqa-pacaka koraka*, chief of 500
 - *Warañqa*, chief of 1,000
 - *Picqa-warañqa koraka*, chief of 5,000
 - *Hono koraka*, chief of 10,000
 - *T'oqrikoq*, Inka imperial governor of a province
 - *Sapa Inka*, ruler of the empire
 - numbers were actually only approximate
 - but based on detailed census records used for calculating labor obligations to the state
 - taxation in labor
 - Inka state economy mostly based on labor payments, not goods
 - of course, some labor produces goods, like cloth, metals, buildings
 - agricultural and herding labor
 - farmland and pasture land was divided by the conquering Inka into three parts:
 - lands for the sun
 - the produce supported the state religious institution: priests, temples, festivals...

- lands for the Inka who had conquered the region
 - the produce supported his court, the army, political action
 - much of this went into *collca* (local storage complexes)
 - where it was available for the army if it passed by
 - or to dole out to local leaders or the populace as circumstances and politics required
 - usually highly visible building complexes on hillsides: good imperial propaganda
- lands for the local community
 - communally owned by the *ayllu*
 - divided among families with periodic rotation and adjustments
 - the produce from this land supported the people
- adult men and women were required to work on all three types of land
 - thus there was theoretically one taxation system for the Inka religious institution
 - and another, parallel one for the Inka state
 - but since the Inka was the head of both, and both were administered by the state, the difference may have been fairly academic
- *mit'a* service
 - adult men only
 - the local *kuraka* arranged teams of *mit'a* laborers and sent them where directed by Inka officials, in numbers depending on the size of the group that supplied them and other considerations
 - any given man would normally do *mit'a* service only in some years, not annually
 - often at distant locations
 - usually for a period of weeks or months
 - largely for construction projects, including roads, agricultural terracing, buildings, etc.
 - also military service
- textile taxation
 - state handed out wool and cotton to households be spun, woven, and returned as cloth
- staple finance vs. wealth finance
 - staple finance: funding state activities using food to support and reward people
 - for example, using food to support *mit'a* laborers building temples, or the army
 - also, using food produced on state lands to make meals and *chicha* beer to be served to the public at big state political and religious events
 - which reward the public for participating in the empire
 - makes them feel proud, nationalistic, etc.
 - legitimizes the empire as powerful, beneficent, supernaturally-sanctioned
 - requires rules, officials, and facilities like storehouses for the production, collection, storage, and redistribution of food for state ends
 - warehousing and transportation are big issues, since food is bulky, heavy, perishable
 - *qollqa* (*collca*) storage complexes
 - usually long rows of round or square silos on hillsides
 - in the Inka heartland, sometimes blocks of large, two-storied, gabled-roofed buildings on hillsides

- *charqui* = dried llama meat: jerky
- *chuño* = freeze-dried potatoes: can be ground to powder or used whole, often in “cork soup”
- wealth finance: funding state activities using wealth goods, like metal items, fancy clothing, etc. to reward people
 - the general scheme:
 - the state arranges for production of wealth goods by providing facilities, materials, food, even prestige to full-time or part-time specialist craftspeople
 - the state then owns the product
 - and can dole it out to imperial and local elites
 - this rewards them for their services
 - also makes them dependent on the state for desired wealth goods
 - by being showy and having a distinct imperial corporate style, these wealth goods advertise to everyone that the elite derive their wealth and power from being part of the empire
 - having these goods tends to give local leaders legitimacy and power by showing that the empire (and its army!) is backing them
 - transportation is easy, since wealth goods have a lot of value per pound
 - what allows things to serve as wealth goods may be that
 - they are made from rare, exotic materials
 - they require a great deal of labor to make, or highly skilled, specialized labor
 - they are rare, so only certain people can have them
 - they are showy, so people who have them can impress others with them
 - they have a style or iconography that is identifiable as associated with prestige, wealth, or power, like large *chicha*-serving vessels decorated in obviously Inka style
- both staple and wealth finance can be used in a single system like the Inka empire
 - in the Inka case, staple finance underwrote wealth finance by allowing the state to compensate producers of wealth goods with food
 - farmers provided labor on state lands
 - the food was used to support craftspeople
 - their fine products were given by the state to officials and local elites to reward them for serving the state
- *mitmaq*: institution of permanently transplanting entire groups to distant regions
 - in order to reduce temptation to rebel, to guard an area, or to work new or conquered lands
 - *mitmaqkuna*: the people thus transplanted
 - a relatively common practice by the Inka
- Corporate styles of ceramics, textiles, architecture, etc.
 - these are the styles that were “commissioned” by the institutions (like the Inka state) that had wealth goods made for them
 - as opposed to folk styles, which may be associated with an ethnic or other group, but are simply the shared fashion used by many independent craftspeople
 - corporate styles made objects easily identifiable as markers of the sponsoring institution
 - for archaeologists, corporate styles are often useful as horizon markers

- they would only have been made while that sponsoring institution was functioning, which was often a relatively brief period
- but during that time, they would have been widely distributed throughout the area that the institution influenced
- the Inka had distinct corporate styles of ceramics, textiles, and to a limited extent, metal goods, among others
- the Inka corporate style of architecture
 - grid plans with generally straight streets and generally rectangular (actually usually trapezoidal) blocks
 - ideally, each block was a walled *cancha*: domestic compound usually consisting of several separate rectangular one-roomed houses (*wasi*) facing inwards, joined or enclosed by a rectangular compound wall
 - a planned town usually had a more or less central open plaza, usually several (sometimes many) blocks square
 - along one side of the plaza would be a *kallanka*: long, gabled assembly hall
 - in the center, or offset from the center, of the plaza would be an *usnu* (or *ushnu*): a ceremonial platform atop which officials would sit or stand during ceremonies (*capac usnu* = head, or most important, *usnu*)
 - the more central, visible walls would be done in one of several impressive, fine styles
 - one style has rectangular stones, dead-straight courses, and a flat surface, like modern western work
 - another has irregular, interlocking stones with a fairly flat surface
 - another has irregular, interlocking stones with each stone convex or "pillowed" outwards
 - there are still other variations in fineness, size of stones, surface texture, coursing, etc.
 - actually, *not* all the walls are of fine masonry, even in Cuzco
 - doors and windows usually trapezoidal
- more on Cuzco and Inka administration: see the text; we'll look at the Inka capital more closely later in the course.
- *ceque* system
 - "lines" (often not straight at all) radiating out from Cuzco
 - often connecting series of named, sacred sites, often with shrines
 - some (all?) used for annual ritual processions
 - some may have astronomical sighting functions, many do not