

Andean Archaeology and Ethnohistory
The Inka: The lens through which we see the Andean past
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- Announcements
 - Chelsea Bahr has the readers?
 - The contact list is posted
 - please check it for accuracy, email me for fixes, changes, additions, deletions, etc.
 - A handout with some help on pronouncing Andean terms is available on the class web page under "Handouts"
- Quiz
- Today we'll look briefly at the Inka as they existed when Francisco Pizarro and his men arrived in 1531, taking the capital, Cuzco, by late 1533
 - This is the Andean society that we know by far the most about
 - As such, it provides clues and models for understanding earlier societies
 - Obviously, the distant past was not just like the recent past
 - But using the Inka as a starting point beats using only our European preconceptions as a source of models
- First, let's think about the two eyewitness accounts we just read
 - What kinds of written sources are there?
 - letters, reports and other narrative accounts by *conquistadores*
 - such as the extract from Pedro Sancho de Hoz's *An account of the Conquest of Peru*, 1534.
 - Sancho was one of two scribes or secretaries to Francisco Pizarro
 - he was there at most of the important events of the conquest
 - he recorded what happened as official reports to the Spanish crown
 - sometimes specifying that Pizarro and others had reviewed his account, approved it, and attached their signatures
 - early scholarly works (Cobo, Cieza)
 - such as the extract from Pedro de Cieza de León's *Chronicles of Peru*, 1553
 - Cieza came to South America at age 13 in 1535, served with explorers and soldiers in what is now Colombia, and entered what had recently been the territory of the Inka in 1547
 - By this time, the conquistadors had already splintered into factions and fought battles among themselves and their supporters, murdered some of each other, and so on
 - the stories makes the Wild West look like a picnic
 - In 1548 in Lima, Cieza was appointed "Chronicler of the Indians"
 - he was granted access to papers captured from various of the defeated conquistadores
 - and given letters of introduction so that officials throughout Peru would share their stories with him

- *visitas* (census/inventories of specific regions, to tally resources and labor available to the Spanish Crown)
 - often list individual, named people and households, landholdings, professions, and so on
 - very useful but usually dry documents
 - we won't read any of these
- colonial court documents from disputes over land ownership, labor demands by the Spanish, etc.
 - also very useful, but we won't read any
- other colonial reports and correspondence, requests, etc.
- And a special case: *The First New Chronicle and Good Government*, 1613, by Felipe Huaman Poma de Ayala
 - Huaman Poma was an ethnic Inka
 - he wrote a long letter to King Philip III of Spain around 1600, explaining Andean society and pleading for respect and better treatment of the native people
 - it is illustrated with many drawings full of details that would otherwise be unknown
 - It is a somewhat idealized, propagandistic view
 - based on his upbringing in early Spanish colonial times in a family of moderate-level Inka nobility, which gave them only minimal status in colonial society
 - also based on what he heard from old people about how things had been in their youth
 - Huaman Poma's letter is dated 1613, 80 years after the fall of Cuzco
 - he would have been at most a small child at the time of the conquest, if he had even been born yet
- A few terms in the readings
 - *cacique*: chief, local ruler, often coopted into the Inka governmental hierarchy
 - *orejón*: a high-status Inka male. Literally means "big-ear", from the practice by such men of wearing large ear ornaments that stretched their earlobes
 - *molle*: a common Andean tree, *Schinus molle*, the very same California Pepper tree that grows here. Produces bunches of red berries that can be fermented into a kind of *chicha*, a beer-like drink
- What did you think of the extracts by Sancho and Cieza?
 - Sancho says "[in and around Cuzco] there are more than five thousand houses, many of them for ... the caciques of all the land who dwell continuously in the city."; Cieza says it was their sons who lived there. What do you think the Inka were up to with this?
 - Cieza (p. 148-149) describes how many ethnic groups lived in Cuzco, and how they were treated. Again, what do you think was the strategy behind this?
 - even just these few pages are very rich in clues about the Inka empire, and we will return to them near the end of the course when we look at the growth of the Inka empire.
- Inka "history"
 - why might we suspect that the traditional Inka "history" summarized by Moseley (pp. 14-15), from Manco Capac through Wayna Capac, might not be completely factually correct?
 - why might we suspect that the rest of the written sources could contain some misunderstandings, unconscious bias, intentional spin, propaganda, even lies?
 - who wrote these histories? for whom?

- for what purpose?
- We'll look more at the Spanish conquest near the end of the course, but for now:
 - how could the 260 Spanish and 62 horses conquer the Inka empire?
 - also note: horses, armor, steel swords, guns, war dogs (?)
 - the number of Spanish soldiers depends on when in the process you count; reinforcements arrived at various times, and groups split off and stayed at various places during the conquest
 - how would what they saw have differed from the Inka state of 15 years earlier?
- What the Spanish saw when they reached Peru
 - The Inka empire
 - a realm from northern Ecuador to the middle of Chile, 5,500 km (~3,400 miles) long
 - considerably farther than from here to New York City (about 4,150 km or 2,570 miles)
 - stretching across vast barren deserts and extremely rough mountains
 - that had until recently encompassed around 9 million subjects, as documented by Inka census records (Parssinen 2003)
 - Spain at the time of the Conquest had about 8 million people
 - but by the time the Spanish arrived, Old World plagues sweeping before them had reduced the population of the Inka empire by an estimated 50% (roughly 4.5 million)
 - ruled by a divine king, the Inka
 - A military conquest empire uniting diverse ethnic and political units
 - at different levels of size, complexity, organization in different areas
 - *parcialidades* (a flexible term for a group, political unit, population of a region, etc.)
 - *señorios* (chiefdoms or kingdoms)
 - lots of ethnic, cultural, linguistic, ecological, and economic diversity
 - called *Tawantinsuyo*, or *Tahuantinsuyo*: Quechua for roughly "Land of the Four Quarters"
 - it was divided for administrative purposes into four "*suyos*", roughly the regions to the north, west, south, and east of Cuzco.
 - illustrated by slides of Inka and contemporary ruins visible today
 - remember that for the most part, the Spanish saw these Inka settlements, temples, etc. not as ruins, but well maintained, with tall thatch roofs, full of people, in use
 - in some cases, with sheets of gold covering part or all of the walls
 - Subsistence and economy
 - mostly peasant farmers
 - steep slopes, human power for plowing - no cattle, oxen, horses
 - *andenes*: agricultural terraces (hence "Andes" mountains)
 - irrigated with canals
 - important crops, depending on the elevation and local environment:
 - highlands
 - potatoes - said to be several hundred varieties
 - various other tubers: *oca*, *olluco*, *mashwa*...
 - *quinoa*, a grain; also a similar grain, amaranth
 - various beans

- maize (corn) up to moderate elevations
- lower valleys and coast
 - *ají* (chili peppers)
 - squash
 - *yuca* (NOT yucca!) (also called manioc or cassava: a root crop)
 - various beans
 - maize (corn)
 - coca (the leaves are chewed for medicinal and possibly dietary effects, and are crucial for certain rituals and offerings)
 - cotton (for fishing line, nets, textiles)
 - gourd (for small containers, net floats, etc.)
- in the highlands, often also kept llamas and/or alpacas
 - this common, mixed adaptation is called "agropastoralism"
 - four kinds of camelids:
 - *llama*: domesticated, for carrying cargo, ordinary wool, and occasionally meat
 - *alpaca*: domesticated, for fine wool and occasionally meat
 - *vicuña*: wild, have the most prized, finest wool
 - under the Inka, wild vicuña herds were managed for periodic roundups for shearing their wool, then released
 - *guanaco*: wild, occasionally hunted for meat
 - the early Spaniards called these all "Peruvian sheep"; there were no other large domesticated animals
- also specialized herders
 - mostly in the high elevation grasslands above the upper limits of where farmers can grow crops
 - complex symbiotic relationship with farmers and even coastal people
 - some involved in long-distance exchange, using llama caravans
- also relatively specialized fishers
 - in some regions, they were a separate ethnic group
 - with their own language, religious beliefs, etc
 - generally endogamous (farmers and fishers rarely intermarried)
 - yet farmers and fishers typically depended on heavy trade of basic foods and materials between the two groups
- some part-time and some full-time craftspeople
 - potters
 - metalworkers
 - woodworkers
 - many worked for the Inka state or local leaders
- other production was dispersed, done at a household level
 - especially textile production
 - textiles were also produced for the Inka state by "aklla" ("chosen women") in closed, managed state facilities
- generally no money, marketplaces, or market economy

- these were common in Mexico, but not Peru
- although there may have been some exceptions, esp. on the coast, for certain kinds of goods and people
- instead, goods were generally exchanged through reciprocity and redistribution
 - reciprocity: many variations, but basically one person or group gives some goods or services to another, expecting the recipient to provide appropriate goods or services in return, either on the spot or some time later
 - I come into town with some llamas loaded with maize
 - You give me two sacks of dried fish in exchange for three sacks of maize
 - in addition to the trade, we are building a relationship; we come to trust each other and seek each other out for future exchanges
 - reciprocity also works with labor
 - You call on me to help you plant potatoes in your field
 - I expect to be served lunch
 - but I also know that I can now call on you to help me with a farming task
 - we'll look at this again in a later class
 - redistribution: people supply goods to some central institution (say, the Inka administration), and those goods are doled back out again
 - I turn over some fraction of my potato harvest each year to the Inka administrator
 - I expect him to throw big feasts for the community on certain festival days
 - and to help my family out with food if I have a bad year
- overseen by representatives of the Inka state
 - relatively few Inka officials in most places
 - marked by dress and fancy goods
 - respected, obeyed, considered to be legitimate
 - yet had to quell frequent rebellions, too
 - we will look at the organization of the Inka state more fully later
- Cities
 - Cuzco
 - estimated over 100,000 inhabitants (Hyslop 1990)
 - 3,395 m asl (meters above sea level) (~11,100 feet)
 - Coricancha: temple of the sun
 - Sacsahuaman: "fortress" overlooking the city
 - Cajamarca: the provincial center in the northern highlands of Peru where Pizarro's men captured the Inka Atahualpa
 - Other provincial centers: Huanuco Viejo, Pumpu, etc.
- Inka architecture
 - fine cut stonework for the most important buildings and parts of buildings
 - various grades of stonework and adobe for lesser buildings
 - rectangular buildings with trapezoidal doorways, tall peaked thatch roofs, interior trapezoidal niches, very rare trapezoidal windows
 - typically organized into *canchas*, or cuadrangular walled enclosures with one entry and rectangular buildings along the interior walls, but not into the corners

- narrow streets, the important ones paved, with a drain canal down the center
- gridplanned towns with streets and cross-streets, but trapezoidal, not right angles; sometimes with streets spreading out in a fan-like or radial fashion
- central plaza, often with an *ushnu* (ceremonial platform) in the center or near one edge
- cities mostly occupied by high-status people; most commoners lived on outskirts, in rural villages, and in isolated homesteads
- Reverence for rock outcrops, often modified into shrines
- Gold and silver
 - associated with the deified sun and moon, respectively
 - sheets on walls of coricancha
 - gold and silver garden in the coricancha
 - ornaments, vessels, figurines, etc.
- The Inka and his entourage
 - Multiple meanings of the term Inka (or Inca):
 - The Inka, or Sapa Inka: “son of the sun”, divine ruler, king, or emperor
 - Inka: a noble or elite person of the Inka ethnicity (as opposed to members of the local populations incorporated into the Empire)
 - Inka: relating to the Inka empire
- Inka army
 - large, well-equipped, organized, and effective; often did not have to actually fight to scare local groups into joining the Empire
 - by the time the Spanish arrived, the army had a permanent, standing, professional core largely drawn from a few designated ethnic groups that were exempted from other forms of taxation and service
 - moved as one or a few large units along the road system
 - led by generals, sometimes by the Inka himself
- *Collca* (storage complexes)
 - usually located on high slopes, both for best storage conditions and to make them obvious, visible symbols of the Inka state's wealth and power
 - nominally for the good of the local population
 - actually used to support the Inka army when it was in the vicinity
- Roads
 - 30,000 to 40,000 km of main roads!
 - ~19,000-25,000 miles. Upper estimate is roughly the circumference of the Earth!
 - some paved; some walled on both sides to keep animals in/out and limit access; often with stairs in steep sections; generally leveled to form a flat pathway even on steep slopes or cliff faces
- Bridges
- *Chaski* (relay runners for messages)
 - *tambo* or *tampu*: relay posts manned by chaskis; way-stations for official travelers on Inka roads
 - located at roughly one-day walking intervals along the roads
- lingua franca: State Quechua, “Runa simi” (“language of the people”)
- *kipu* or *quipu*

- record-keeping system of knotted strings
- definitely used for keeping accounts of contents of collcas, labor taxes owed and paid, census information, etc.
- possibly used to record stories or other non-numerical information, but this is debated and was probably limited at best
- no other form of writing before the Spanish
- The conquistadors were impressed, in spite of the fact that they were seeing a society that was
 - decimated (literally) by European diseases before they arrived
 - and ripped apart by a civil war of succession
 - we will cover this in more detail at the end of the course
- Some names of important archaeological pioneers (there are many others that could be listed here)
 - Max Uhle
 - German
 - early scientific archaeology in Peru
 - recognized that there were ruins of societies much older than the Inka
 - recognized the general chronological sequence of local - Tiwanaku - local - Inka
 - Julio C. Tello
 - Peruvian highland mestizo
 - Father of Peruvian archaeology
 - Excavated many crucial early sites on the coast, Chavín de Huántar, others
 - proposed a highlands / jungle origin of Andean civilization
 - Hiram Bingham
 - Adventurer, mountain-climber, photographer, writer, and archaeologist, working for National Geographic and Yale University
 - “found” Machu Picchu in 1911, excavated in subsequent years
 - published a lot, with beautiful photos, popularized Inka studies
 - John Rowe
 - author of several of our readings
 - Founder of “Berkeley school” of Andean archaeology
 - Pottery seriation from Ica valley solidified Uhle’s Period-Horizon chronological framework
 - His ethnohistorical and archaeological reconstruction of Inka society and its antecedents is the fundamental basis of virtually all other Inka work, and a lot of pre-Inka research, even when it is critical of his conclusions
- Moseley makes a nice case of how Uhle based his conception of a Tiwanaku state or empire on the model of the Inka
 - What evidence did Uhle find for a sequence of distinct societies prior to the Inka?
 - What evidence did Uhle find for a Tiwanaku empire?
 - by the way: *Tiahuanaco* is the old-style spelling of the modern town, archaeological site, art style, and culture

- *Tiwanaku* is the newer orthography for the same thing
- recently, some scholars have been using *Tiahuanaco* for the ancient city and things directly related to it (that is, the place named on maps with the traditional spelling), versus *Tiwanaku* for the culture, state, art style, etc. (the archaeological construct)
- What does Moseley mean by the *origin center* -> *civilization horizon* concept?
- Moseley says the *origin center* -> *civilization horizon* model is based on Inka propaganda. It is, but can you think of any reasons why this might have seemed natural to Spanish conquerors and to later historians?