

## **The Late Preceramic period: Analogy to ethnographic Mapuche ceremonialism**

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- Dillehay 1990: Mapuche ceremonial landscape, social recruitment and resource rights
  - there is a lot of detail here; don't sweat it too much
  - the point is to get some idea of the kind of social relations and maneuvering that might be behind the building and use of early monumental architecture
  - this is surely not exactly like our archaeological cases, but it might be in the same ballpark
- Interpretations of monumental architecture (as in the Late Preceramic period) tend to stress
  - the control of labor and surplus production to finance it
  - the role of elites trying to legitimize and advance their status
- Dillehay wondered
  - how and why people whose society is *not* very stratified build and use monuments
  - how standardized types of monuments can spread over a broad area without any central authority organizing it
- So Dillehay studied ceremonial monuments produced by the Mapuche of southern Chile
  - the Mapuche
    - are traditional, low-tech farmers
    - now live on reservations in Chile
    - have little formal political organization or hierarchy
    - although through determined and fierce resistance, they have managed to remain somewhat independent from domination by the Inka, the Spanish, and now Chile
  - we can know a lot about this case, since it is recent and ongoing
    - 16th through 19th century historical documentation
    - "memory culture" of old Mapuche people
    - modern ethnographically observed practice
    - mound building apparently started in 12th-13th century AD, and is just now fading from memory
- kinship words you need to know to follow the details of the paper (if you want to!)
  - *patrilineage*
    - a patrilineage is made up of all the relatives who can trace their male ancestors back to a shared ancestor
      - like "the Smith clan", versus "the Jones clan"
  - *consanguineously* related
    - being descended from the same ancestor
  - *affines*, or affinal relatives
    - related by marriage
  - *agnates*, or agnatic relatives

- related through the male line
- Background
  - the Mapuche organize themselves as patrilineages
    - members of a patrilineage tend to live in the same area, so they are also geographic groups
      - you can be in "Smith territory" or in "Jones territory"
  - Land use rights are inherited
    - so couples combine the land rights of both spouses
      - and a man who marries multiple wives may accumulate even more land rights
      - setting up a "good" marriage to maximize access to land is a matter of strategy
    - so some people have access to more land than others
    - and some patrilineages have access to more land than others
  - Mapuche patrilineages have chiefs (*lonko*)
    - Chiefs have their position by virtue of
      - being (theoretically) the most senior member of the male line
        - like the Smith family patriarch
    - Chiefs have some limited authority among their kin
      - due to their position of seniority and respect
      - their ability to persuade people
      - and their right as the senior male to
        - schedule and organize ceremonies
        - influence and approve marriages
    - This means that the chief's authority is based
      - not on being wealthy himself
      - but on his ability to influence the distribution of marriage partners, inherited land rights, and therefore, wealth
    - the chief's authority extends only to his own lineage
      - except when he is organizing a ceremony that involves several patrilineages
      - this is the one time when a chief has some influence outside his own patrilineage
      - so this is where a chief can try to build up his own position
    - A chief's prestige, influence, etc. depends on
      - the size of his patrilineage
      - the amount of land they have rights to
      - the degree to which members of his patrilineage respect him
    - so, to advance himself and his people, the chief will try to improve on all those things
      - especially by encouraging women from other prestigious patrilineages with large land rights to marry men from his own patrilineage
      - and discouraging less prestigious or land-rich women from marrying in
      - while also being careful not to bring in too many outsiders
        - who tend to have less respect for the chief than his own relatives
      - Dillehay implies that there are other factors that chiefs can manipulate, too
        - having to do with where a newly married couple will live (whether they go to the groom's or the bride's patrilineage)

- details of how land rights inheritance works
- maybe others
- Mapuche also have shamans (*machi*)
  - their authority is based on specialist knowledge of
    - historical events and genealogy, especially beyond their own patrilineage
    - rules of inter-group alliances
  - chiefs typically don't know a lot about other patrilineages' histories and interrelationships, so they need the shamans' knowledge to best influence inter-patrilineage events
- ceremonies associated with construction of ceremonial fields and mounds
  - you should notice some interesting parallels to Late Preceramic and Initial Period ceremonial sites and social organization
  - *Nguillatun* (fertility rite)
    - the main local and regional ceremony
      - happens twice a year around planting and harvest time
      - lasts 4 to 6 days
    - brings together 150 to 8,000 people at a shared, permanent ceremonial field
      - variable size, may be very large
        - up to the size of the central SSU campus, from the clock tower to the pool
      - people set up temporary houses around the field in a U shape
        - huts are arranged as a microcosm of actual family settlement pattern
      - central altar for ritual acts, sacrifices, etc.
  - purposes
    - ritual
      - propitiate ancestors
      - worship gods and celestial beings
    - social
      - maintain and recruit marriage alliances
      - maintain and recruit trade alliances
      - formerly, to pray for or celebrate a victory in battle
        - the Mapuche successfully resisted the Inka, and later the Spanish, through the 19th century
  - put on by 3 or more neighboring patrilineages that form a permanent association for this purpose: a *trokinche* group
  - responsibility for hosting rotates among the chiefs of these neighboring lineages
  - who attends
    - members of the three lineages
    - plus outsiders (potential marriage and trade partners) invited by chiefs or group members with chief's approval
    - any given person is thus invited to several ceremonies per year, for their own 3 lineages and as an outsider in others
      - this creates an interlocking network of relationships
      - within the lineage, within the 3-lineage *trokinche* group, and crosscutting lineages
      - independent of any centralized authority or institution

- the chief in charge of the ceremony can influence marriage and trade alliances by influencing who is invited
  - or, by strategic scheduling, who can or cannot come
  - since there are only about 6 months a year for farming, and about 1 month total is typically committed to attending numerous ceremonies
- *Awn* (burial rite) and *Cuel tun* (mound construction rite)
  - only involve one lineage, usually not at the big ceremonial fields
  - held at small tomb sites of deceased chiefs
  - when a chief dies, he is buried in a shallow grave
  - every four to eight years, a shaman organizes a soil capping rite (*cuel tun*), producing a mound
    - all living relatives (members of his patrilineage) are supposed to come and bring one container-load of soil to pile on the grave
    - the rites establish the deceased as a true ancestor
    - and maintain a link between the living and the ancestor
  - when the next chief dies, he is buried nearby, and the capping rituals move to the new grave
  - results:
    - the size of mound is not well correlated to chief's power
      - but rather to duration of his *successor's* rule
        - since the longer his successor lives, the longer the previous chief's mound accumulates soil
      - and the number of participating relatives
        - may be large, given polygenous marriage and very extensive kin groups
    - groups of mounds are formed if a patrilineage remains reasonably large and stays in the same territory for several generations of chiefs
- One place has both a mound and a ceremonial field
  - thus integrating all three types of ceremony (fertility, burial, and soil capping)
  - in this case, the chiefs of a single lineage control the *Nguillatun* rite, rather than having responsibility rotate among three lineages
  - it is presumably their ancestor who is buried in the mound at the ceremonial field
  - those chiefs have also taken on regulation of non-ceremonial events (harvest, sports, road building)
  - Dillehay argues that this came about through the skillful exploitation of the chief's authority to schedule ceremonial activities
    - since attendance is virtually obligatory
    - and time is limited
    - scheduling can control who goes where, what contacts are made, maintained, and decay
- So, to answer the question: how and why do they build and use monuments?
  - ceremonial fields
    - are part of the large ceremonies which people use to network for marriage and trade

- chiefs encourage these because their control over invitations and scheduling gives them influence over marriage and trade alliances, which they manipulate to benefit the wealth and prestige of their patrilineage
- mounds
  - if a series of chiefs are successful, the patrilineage grows in numbers and land area
  - as more affines (relatives by marriage) come in, automatic respect for the chief due to his being the senior member of the lineage declines, because there are more outsiders in the group
  - to compensate for this, the chief increasingly emphasizes the long-standing connection of his lineage (and ancestors) to the territory
    - justifying his lineage's status, and his own as senior member of it
    - versus the newcomers who marry in and don't have that aristocratic heritage
    - by connecting the patrilineage to the land, the chief, as senior patrilineage member, embodies the patrilineage's land rights, rather than their being just the collection of individual land rights
      - this is what Dillehay means by turning the chief into a patron
  - chiefs emphasize their lineage's connection to the land by
    - putting more effort into mound-building ceremonies
    - and depending more on shamans who
      - are responsible for the mound-building rites
      - have the detailed knowledge of other lineages history and relationships necessary to
        - successfully handle the outsiders in the group
        - organize bigger multi-lineage ceremonies
        - validate the chief's genealogical claim to his status
    - Dillehay does not say so, but it is easy to imagine how the increasing importance of shamans to the status of chiefs might feed back into the chiefs' encouraging more elaborate building for ceremonies at which the shaman can advance his public image
  - the most extreme case: combination mound and field complex
    - a successful chief (we assume) organized the establishment of a ceremonial field at the mound of (we assume) one of his ancestors
    - he or a descendent parlayed this into permanent control of the ceremonies there
    - thus even greater prestige and control over scheduling, invitations, social networks, trade alliances, marriages, and land rights
    - was this the emergence of centralized power at greater than lineage level?
- And: how do standardized monuments spread over a broad area without any central authority?
  - the large fertility ceremonies involve not only people in the three main lineages, but also invited guests from other lineages, creating a cross-cutting set of links
  - this is one of the essential purposes of the gatherings
  - many people at one ceremonial field have also recently been at others
  - so ideas spread quickly, and many differences tend to blend away
- How could ideas like these have been involved in the early monument construction at, say, Aspero? What about Caral?