Orienting Pacha: Value as Action in the Late Horizon Xauxa-Pachacamac Axis

Ridge C. Anderson
Brigham Young University

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/etd

Part of the Family, Life Course, and Society Commons

BYU ScholarsArchive Citation
Anderson, Ridge C., "Orienting Pacha: Value as Action in the Late Horizon Xauxa-Pachacamac Axis" (2022). Theses and Dissertations. 9481.
https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/etd/9481

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by BYU ScholarsArchive. It has been accepted for inclusion in Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of BYU ScholarsArchive. For more information, please contact ellen_amatangelo@byu.edu.
Orienting Pacha: Value as Action in the Late Horizon Xauxa-Pachacamac Axis

Ridge C. Anderson

A thesis submitted to the faculty of Brigham Young University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

Zachary J. Chase, Chair
John E. Clark
Charles W. Nuckolls

Department of Anthropology
Brigham Young University

Copyright © 2022 Ridge C. Anderson
All Rights Reserved
ABSTRACT

Orienting Pacha: Value as Action in the Late Horizon Xauxa-Pachacamac Axis

Ridge C. Anderson
Department of Anthropology, Brigham Young University
Master of Arts

The Andean Late Horizon (ca. AD 1438–1532) was a period of exceptionally rapid and far-reaching cultural change. Over this short span of only a few generations, the Inka ethnic group established an empire that was greater in size than any other pre-colonial American polity. The Inka accomplished their expansion without the use of certain institutions (i.e., a standing army, formal writing system, monetary system, or price-setting markets) that the received anthropological wisdom has long held as being necessary preconditions to imperial expansion. Standard explanations of Late Horizon culture change tend to overemphasize the roles of environmental constraints, social evolution, and economistic motives. In this thesis, I analyze Inka expansion beginning with the assumption that “value” was an assessment of socially-integrating creative action, rather than of objects to be exchanged and accumulated (cf. Graeber 2001). I determine that the Inkaic Late Horizon was motivated by pursuits of “vitality,” or the capacity to effect change in pacha—an Andean concept of the world as a mutable coalescence of time, space, and matter. Vitality was not captured through the production or accumulation of goods, but through intensifying their production and circulation. I conclude that Late Horizon political economy in the Xauxa-Pachacamac axis can best be understood as a socially-stratified “gift economy” in which what was ultimately transferred were not objects, but vitality.

Keywords: value, vitality, late horizon, Huarochirí, Llacsatambo, Inka, Inca, Pariacaca, Hatun Xauxa, Pachacamac, political economy, economic anthropology, David Graeber, wak’a, huaca
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis was made possible by the support of numerous friends and family members. First and foremost, I would like to thank my committee members for their patience, guidance, and encouragement. They were not only extremely helpful in the thesis review process, but also spent countless hours helping me develop as a student and scholar over the nearly six years that I was a student at Brigham Young University. I could easily fill more pages than are in this thesis with words of gratitude for my committee chair, Zach Chase. He has been a generous teacher, mentor, and friend. He consistently shows me that I have more capacity than I see in myself. Zach’s friendship was indispensable to this thesis and to my life over the past few years. John Clark can be credited with much of any good writing or thinking that appears in the text. He taught me to embrace and deeply appreciate red ink. Few professors care as much as John does about the success and development of their students. I have perhaps never been quite so intellectually stimulated by any class as much as I was by Charles Nuckolls’s course on Marx’s first volume of Das Kapital. My interest in political and economic anthropology became a passion that semester.

Of course, other BYU faculty have also been instrumental in my academic progress. Greg Thompson and Jordan Haug were two of the earliest to recognize my potential and urge me and others to see it as well. If it weren’t for them, I might still be an unsure student in the back of the classroom. David Johnson has been exceptionally willing to trust me as a crew-member and crew-chief for numerous excavations and many times as a teaching assistant. He has also been a great teacher and friend. Scott Ure took me under his wing and helped me develop critical field and tech skills. He demands little and gives freely. Mike Searcy and Cynthia Finlayson have also provided me with great field experience.
I would also like to thank my great friends, Sylvie Littledale and Jake Jepsen. Their friendship is invaluable. I have spent countless hours with these two in the field, classroom, and lab. I have been lucky to have them as friends outside of academia as well. They could never understand the significance of their companionship. Scott Cragun has also been a very supportive friend and has always been there to bounce ideas off of. Few outside of the discipline appreciate anthropology as much as Scott does.

Finally, I must express my love and gratitude to my family; especially my parents, Michelle and Kendell Anderson, and Karen Bohn. Their affection and sacrifice during my time as a graduate student were considerable. I hope that the completion of this thesis can bring them some satisfaction. This thesis is dedicated to them.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

*Title page* ......................................................................................................................... *i*
*Abstract* ............................................................................................................................... *ii*
*Acknowledgements* .............................................................................................................. *iii*
*List of Figures* ........................................................................................................................ *vi*

## 1 Introduction ......................................................................................................................... 1
   The Problem .......................................................................................................................... 2
   Methods ................................................................................................................................. 5
   Organization of the Thesis ................................................................................................. 9
   Terminology and Orthography ......................................................................................... 13

## 2 A Tradition of Andeanist Economic Anthropology ..................................................... 14
   John V. Murra .................................................................................................................... 15
   Craig Morris ...................................................................................................................... 26
   Terence D’Altroy and Timothy Earle .............................................................................. 33
   Conclusion ......................................................................................................................... 39

## 3 Value as Vitality ................................................................................................................... 41
   Value as Action ................................................................................................................... 42
   The Xauxa-Pachacamac Axis ......................................................................................... 44
   The Vitality of *Wak’a* .................................................................................................. 52
   Tokens of Value and Fetishization ................................................................................... 57

## 4 Orienting Pacha ................................................................................................................. 63

*References* ............................................................................................................................ 66

*Notes* .................................................................................................................................... 96

*Glossary* ................................................................................................................................. 101
LIST OF FIGURES

Chapter 1
Figure 1.1. Map showing the extent of Tawantinsuyu ............................................. 2

Chapter 2
Figure 2.1. Cross-section showing the major environmental zones of the central Andes ...... 18
Figure 2.2. Plan of Inka provincial center Huánuco Pampa.............................................. 28
Figure 2.3. Map showing Tawantinsuyu’s road system and Inka sites mentioned chapter 2 ... 30
Figure 2.4. Map showing Hatun Xauxa and surrounding storage sites............................. 36

Chapter 3
Figure 3.1. Map of the Xauxa-Pachacamac axis............................................................. 45
Figure 3.2. Map showing Pachakuti Inka and Thupa Inka’s conquests.............................. 46
Figure 3.3. Photograph of the snow-capped peak of Pariacaca ......................................... 50
Figure 3.4. Photograph of Inka qollqa to the southeast of Llacsatambo.......................... 51
Figure 3.5. Photograph showing Inka-style and -period storehouses facing Llacsatambo .... 53
The central Andean Late Horizon (LH; ca. AD 1438–1532) was a period of exceptionally rapid and far-reaching cultural change. Over this short span of only a few generations, the Inka ethnic group extended its economic, political, religious, and linguistic influence from its home in Cuzco across a large swath of territory they called Tawantinsuyu (“The Four Parts Together”), reaching from the southernmost parts of present-day Colombia to as far south as Central Chile, and from the Amazonian lowlands down to the pacific coast in the west (Figure 1.1). By the time the Spanish began their conquest of the region in AD 1532, the Inka had established an empire greater in size than that of any other pre-colonial American polity, enveloping nearly one hundred ethnic groups (Rowe 1946:185–192). Moreover, the Inka accomplished their expansion without the use of certain institutions (i.e., a standing army, formal writing system, monetary system, or price-setting markets) that the received anthropological wisdom has long held as being necessary preconditions to imperial expansion (Carneiro 1970; Childe 1950; Feinman and Marcus 1998). As such, the project to explain the Inka’s impressive LH expansion has proven to be “a chiaroscuro of blinding brightness and black shadows that enlightens and confuses at the same time” (Quilter 2014:261). Much of this confusion stems from Western assumptions of what ought to have driven and facilitated Inka expansion. This thesis is an attempt to explain the LH starting with an investigation of what LH Andeans felt was of value or worth pursuing.
The Problem

As one might expect, attempts to explain the LH are many. Some suggest that the Inka’s
conquest was driven primarily by ideological motives (e.g., Acuto 2022; Conrad and Demarest 1984; Ramírez 2008; Rowe 1946:280; Gose 1993), while others emphasize environmental constraints (e.g., Carneiro 1970; Murra 1972, 1980 [1956]), suggest that the LH was an inevitable stage along a “natural” course of human social evolution (e.g., D’Altroy and Earle 1985; D’Altroy 1992; Earle and D’Altroy 1982, 1989; Espinoza Soriano 1978; Patterson 1992), or assume a self-explanatory human tendency to pursue the maximization of resources and power (e.g., D’Altroy and Earle 1985; D’Altroy 1992; Earle and D’Altroy 1982, 1989; Morris 1967, 1972, 1982; Murra 1972, 1980 [1956]). The most influential contributions to popular narratives of the Inkaic LH are those produced in a tradition of Andeanist economic anthropology I recognize as being formalized in the works of John V. Murra, Craig Morris, Timothy Earle, and Terence D’Altroy. This Andeanist economic tradition has directly influenced the recent canonical introductory and summary texts on the Inka empire (e.g., Alconini and Covey 2018; Burger et al. 2007; D’Altroy 2015b; Morris and Von Hagen 2011; Shimada 2015; Urton and Von Hagen 2018) and has thereby permeated just about every academic production in which the Inkaic LH is discussed. Due to this tradition’s considerable influence on standard academic and popular understandings of the Inkaic LH, its shortcomings are especially confounding.

To be clear, there are many reasons why contributions yielded from the Andeanist economic tradition merit their place at the center of Andean studies. Critical ethnohistoric and archaeological investigations have been carried out within this tradition (e.g., Murra 1980 [1956]; Morris 1967; LeVine 1992; Earle et al. 1980; 1987), many of which inform this thesis. Nevertheless, Murra, Morris, Earle, and D’Altroy tend to characterize the LH as the product of competing “economistic” (cf. Graeber 2001:9n5) behaviors. The Inka and other LH Andeans are seen as self-interested actors strategically vying to capture maximal amounts of wealth and
power for their own sakes. The Andeanist economic tradition clearly identifies the objects that represented wealth and power, but does not explain how these objects acquired their significance, or why LH Andeans pursued them so vigorously. Moreover, this tradition treats abstract concepts such as “wealth” and “power” as objects to be exchanged and accumulated, when they are really, in fact, social relations (cf. Graeber 2001:8–9). Thus, complex social relations are needlessly reduced to things, and “all action to exchange” (Graeber 2001:46).

Ultimately, the Andeanist economic anthropologists largely strip LH Andeans of their agency and creativity, and consign them to natural determinants (i.e., biology, human nature, or social evolution). Culture becomes a function of material constraints, casting Andean religion, concepts of ayllu reciprocity and mutual aid, and social organization as simply ideology and superstructure (cf. Marx 1970a [1846], 1970b [1859]). If Andean culture was determined by natural factors, then there is little, if anything, to learn about politics or social organization from studying LH Andean peoples that cannot be learned from investigating any other society. Furthermore, investigations of the LH Andes would serve only to confirm knowledge produced by other scientific disciplines. I recognize that Murra (1995:68), D’Altroy (1992:5, 13–14), Morris, and Earle and do not completely deny the importance of meaning in Inka expansion. Nevertheless, their heuristic arguments simplify the LH to the point of disregarding defining meaningful components of Andean culture. As noted by Peter Gose,

Few would deny that [the Inka’s] was a typically theocratic archaic state, a divine kingship in which the Inca was thought to be the son of the Sun. On the other hand, the standard descriptions of Inca political structure barely mention religion and seem to assume a formal separation between state and cult [Gose 1993:480].
I see the common separation of religion and political economy by many Andeanists as part of a broader consignment of the meaningful aspects of culture to material limitations. These economistic approaches extend their relegation of meaning to materiality to all Andean social relations, including kinship and mutual aid.

**Methods**

In this thesis, I determine the motivations that facilitated Inka expansion by applying David Graeber’s (2001) theory of value as an assessment of *action* rather than *things* (49). This theory does not see value as rooted in objects that one can accumulate or exchange, but rather as “the way in which actions become meaningful to the actor by being incorporated in some larger, social totality” (xii). In other words, what is valued is socially-integrating creative action, and objects are merely reflections and representations of that valued action. Society and culture are processes and structures through which creative action is coordinated (76), as opposed to the products of behaviors determined by material constraints. As such, this approach accounts for social structure and individual action and desire and recognizes that these are dynamic processes. Furthermore, “one is necessarily seeing ‘society’ as to some degree an intentional thing” (230), preserving the agency and creative power of humans. Graeber’s theory of value also recognizes, however, that “creative action . . . can never be separated from its concrete, material medium” (Graeber 2001:54, 83); a consideration that is often trivialized in culturalist approaches (D’Altroy 1992:13–14; cf. Sahlins 1976). The application of Graeber’s theory of value to the LH Andes acknowledges both the cultural and material components of Inka expansion. Andean culture was one of many possible “symbolic schemes” (Sahlins 1976:viii) by which people made sense of and lived in their material world. Despite the singularity of LH Andean culture,
a theory that sees value as an assessment of socially-integrating creative action renders the processes of Inka expansion amenable to cross-cultural comparison. Such a theory can be applied to investigations of various cultures to see how different peoples express their desires to act in ways that integrate them into greater social totalities.

From an archaeological perspective, I find it most effective to apply Graeber’s (2001) theory to the LH Andes beginning with what he calls “value-forms” or “tokens of value” (69, 75–78). These are the desirable, tangible “forms [of value] that reflect the meaning of [one’s] actions to [one]self” (69). They serve as “media of value” (i.e., they represent value and allow it to be perceived by others), “measures of value” (i.e., they mark contrast in degrees of valued qualities), and eventually become “ends in themselves” (i.e., they become fetishized and are seen as “the origin of the values they embody and convey”) (Graeber 2001:75–76, 81; Turner 1979:31–34). Crucially, it is part of the effects of these tokens’ third quality, their fetishization, that I am trying to reverse in this thesis. Fetishization does not only conceal what the true origins of value are from the LH Andeans who pursued and transferred value and its tokens, but also from the anthropologists analyzing said tokens (cf. Graeber 2001:78–81).

To reverse the fetishization of LH Andean value, I begin with the assumption that LH tokens of value were desirable for their facilitation of socially-integrating creative action, and investigate how, exactly, the actions they facilitated were ascribed meaning “by being incorporated in some larger, social totality” (cf. Graeber 2001:xii). The tokens of value I consider in my argument include maize beer (chicha), coca leaves, marine shells and gemstones (mullu),3 llamas, fine textiles (qompi), and objects crafted from precious metals.4 These items have been unanimously identified as principal LH objects of “value” (also prestige objects, wealth items, luxury goods, special products, sumptuary items, valuables, elite objects, semimonetary goods,
monetary objects, high-value/low-bulk items, etc.) by anthropologists of the Andeanist economic tradition (D’Altroy 2015a, 2015b, 2015c; D’Altroy and Earle 1985; Morris 1972, 1979; Murra 1962, 1972, 1975, 1980 [1956]), and have consistently been borne out as such by archaeological and historical data. I focus my investigation of these objects and their uses to a geographical area that I call the “Xauxa-Pachacamac axis.” This axis was formalized by a lateral branch of Inka road (*qhapaq ñan*) that ran between the highland administrative site of Hatun Xauxa and the coastal ceremonial center at Pachacamac. This road also intersected the Huarochirí region of Perú, known for its colonial-era Quechua manuscript, and traversed the base of the region’s apical mountain *wak’a*, Paria Caca.

I focus on the Xauxa-Pachacamac axis for three reasons. First, archaeological and historical data indicate that this axis was a central zone for the production, mobilization, and consumption of LH tokens of value. On one end of the Xauxa-Pachacamac road was one of the most important centers of production in *Tawantinsuyu*, Hatun Xauxa. This site featured an immense warehousing network that was filled with goods produced by craft specialists and corvée laborers. Some of the most desired goods produced at this center included *chicha*, *qompi*, llamas, and precious metals. Of course, precious goods were produced throughout the Xauxa-Pachacamac axis. The Xauxa-Pachacamac branch of *qhapaq ñan* passed through all environmental zones of the central Andes, providing the region’s inhabitants with access to myriad products. These products were mobilized along *qhapaq ñan* and stored in and distributed from storehouses (*gollqa*) at numerous way-stations (*tampu*) and at sites of all scales. Tokens of value were exchanged reciprocally between people of similar social statuses, and between them and their superiors. These goods were also used for reciprocal exchange between humans and superhuman entities called *wak’a*, who were embodied in places such as the renowned
shrines of Pachacamac and Pariacaca. Other wak’a legitimized localized ceremonial centers like Llacsatambo. These sites were primary loci of the consumption of tokens of value in the Xauxa-Pachacamac axis.

Second, much of the data that inform the Andeanist economic anthropologists’ evaluations of the LH concern this region. Many of the documents that Murra (1962, 1980 [1956]) uses in his outline of Inka economic organization are related to important sites along the Xauxa-Pachacamac axis, especially Hatun Xauxa, Pariacaca, and Pachacamac. One of these informative documents is the Huarochirí manuscript (Salomon and Urioste 1991; Taylor 1987), a unique colonial-era account of an Andean mythohistorical tradition. While most of Morris’s work involves the Huánuco region of Perú, with its principal site just over 200 km north of the Xauxa-Pachacamac axis, it is nonetheless very influential to evaluations of the entire central Andes due to its focus on another highland Inka regional center, Huánuco Pampa. Morris (1967) also carried out critical archaeological investigations at Xauxa that are elaborated on by D’Altroy (1981, 1992) and D’Altroy and Earle (1985; 1982, 1989). D’Altroy and Earle’s work envelops all of Tawantinsuyu and involves all major sites in the Xauxa-Pachacamac axis. The data produced by Murra, Morris, Earle, and D’Altroy are of utmost importance to my argument. I also find that it bolsters my argument to support it with the same data that inform the explanations of the LH that I am critiquing.

Third, an investigation along the Xauxa-Pachacamac axis allows me to evaluate Inka expansion and LH notions of value from the perspectives of both the Inka and local Andeans using archaeological and ethnohistorical data. The Xauxa-Pachacamac axis was formalized by Inka installations (i.e., qhapaq ñan, tampu, qollqa, and administrative sites like Hatun Xauxa), and was a microcosmic expression of Inka expansion. Along the axis, the Inka intensified the
veneration of *wak’a* at pre-Inka sites like Pachacamac (Capriata et al. 2019:28–29; D’Altroy 2015b:279, 384; Eeckhout 1998, 2008, 2012; Hyslop 1990:255–261), Pariacaca (Salomon and Urioste 1991:94–97), and Llacsatambo (Chase 2015, 2016, 2018a; Salomon and Urioste 1991:102–103), to name a few. These sites embodied local *wak’a* whose veneration by the Inka and local Andeans is detailed in the Huarochirí manuscript. The Huarochirí manuscript is essential to this investigation not only for its contents, but also because it was narrated by the Huarochirí region’s local inhabitants in an indigenous language. A synthesis of (ethno)historical data from sources like the Huarochirí manuscript and archaeological data from the manuscript’s geographical horizon (i.e., the Xauxa-Pachacamac axis) provides crucial insights into LH notions of value.

*Organization of the Thesis*

This introduction is followed by three chapters. In the first (chapter 2), I outline the scholarship of major proponents of the Andeanist tradition of economic anthropology introduced above and offer critiques of their explanations of the Inka’s LH expansion. I specifically focus on the scholarship of John V. Murra, Craig Morris, Timothy Earle, and Terence D’Altroy. I highlight the contributions of these anthropologists not only because they are cogent examples of the types of theories of LH political change I am critiquing, but also because they have been the most influential to academic and popular understandings of the LH. In addition, the data produced from their investigations are particularly relevant to the questions I address in this thesis. Murra, Morris, Earle, and D’Altroy’s descriptions of LH political economy will provide context and data that validate my argument in chapter 3, and my outline of their explanations of Inka expansion will serve as its justification.
In chapter 3, I lay out my argument that value in the LH Xauxa-Pachacamac axis was an appraisal of “vitality,” or the capacity to orient *pacha*—i.e., world realities, understood as a mutable coalescence of “time, space, and matter” (Salomon 1991:14–16; D’Altroy 2015b:131–132; González Holguín 1952[1608]:268). I begin this chapter by defining the Xauxa-Pachacamac axis in greater detail. I describe the Inka infrastructure that formalized the axis as well as several archaeological sites that are of particular relevance to my argument. These sites include Hatun Xauxa, Pachacamac, Pariacaca, and Llacsatambo. I highlight data that suggest that Inka presence at Llacsatambo was primarily oriented towards the veneration of *wak’a* and engaging in reciprocal relationships with the site’s residents rather than exploiting labor or resources (cf. Acuto 2022). I argue that the Xauxa-Pachacamac axis as a critical zone for the production and mobilization of goods used to facilitate reciprocal relationships between humans and between people and their *wak’a*.

Next, I detail the role of LH tokens of value in promoting reciprocal relationships. I briefly summarize work done by Andeanist economic anthropologists on the use of these goods in reciprocal exchange, as well as that of ethnographers investigating this topic in contemporary Andean communities. I focus my investigation, however, on the use of tokens of value as offerings to *wak’a*, and examine how these actions were socially-integrating. This investigation requires a detailed analysis of the nature of *wak’a*. I outline critical work on *wak’a* carried out by ethnohistorians and archaeologists, and establish that *wak’a* were defined by their vitality. *Wak’a* were attributed with the creation and continued vitalization of *pacha*, including the earth, its living inhabitants, time, and matter. By offering ceremonial goods to *wak’a*, LH Andeans integrated themselves in the social totality that is *pacha*, altered *pacha*, and thereby demonstrated (and realized) vitality. Thus, I contend that LH tokens of value were ascribed their significance
for their facilitation of “a steady circulation of biological energy through pacha by conducting social exchange among its living parts” (Salomon 1991:16; emphasis in original).

After establishing that value in the LH Andes was an assessment of vitality, I examine why particular objects (i.e., chicha, coca, mullu, llamas, gompi, and objects crafted from gold and silver) were considered appropriate for use as tokens of value. I separate my examination into three parts and consider how these items functioned as “vital forms,” “measures of vitality,” and “ends in themselves” (cf. Graeber 2001:75–76, 81; cf. Turner 1979:31–34). First, “vital forms” were tangible objects by which vitality was perceptible to those in their possession and to their possessors’ audience (i.e., society). Certain goods were appropriate vital forms for their active properties that physically manifested vitality (e.g., the foam, carbonation, and alcohol of chicha, and the stimulating and appetite-suppressing qualities of coca), and others for their association with some of pacha’s greatest sources of vital energy (i.e., water, the sun, the moon, and elemental wak’a). For example, mullu was associated with the ocean, gold with the sun, and silver with the moon. These objects were believed to harness characteristics of those forces. Second, as “measures of vitality,” tokens of value marked differences in degrees of vitality between LH Andeans by their rank, presence or absence, or proportionality. Tokens of value such as ceremonial drinking vessels used to toast chicha were ranked by the materials from which they were made. Silver or gold aquilla vessels were considered more prestigious than wooden kero. Similarly, different fabrics of gompi signaled different degrees of vitality. In many cases, vitality was measured in amounts (e.g., flocks of llamas, festivals abundant with chicha, and stacks of gompi). Of course, some items functioned as both vital forms and measures of vitality (e.g., llamas, mullu, chicha, and aquilla). Finally, vital forms and measures of vitality functioned as ends in themselves. “Actual people tend[ed] to see these material tokens not as ‘tools’ through
which value can be measured or mediated, but as embodiments of value in themselves; even, in classic fetishistic fashion, as the origins of those very values” (Graeber 2001:75–76, 81; Turner 1979:31–34).

I conclude this thesis in chapter 4 by discussing what all of this means with respect to theories of the Inka’s LH expansion. If value in the LH Xauxa-Pachacamac axis was truly an assessment of vitality, then Inka expansion was not motivated by the accumulation of objects, but by intensifying their production and circulation (cf. Mauss 1990 [1925]). The possession and display of things such as qompi, aquilla, or llamas could indicate one’s vitality or their potential for creative action, but one’s vitality was realized through changing pacha. Pacha was altered through the transfer of tokens of value. LH Andeans formed new relationships over toasts of chicha, reimagined the past as they fed their wak’a, and summoned rain through offerings of mullu. The importance of any person, group, or object, was determined by their impact on the circulation and reorientation of pacha’s vitalizing energy. For the Inka, this meant feeding the people of Tawantinsuyu (an ever-expanding territory) and, perhaps more importantly, its wak’a (cf. Acuto 2022; Capriata et al. 2019:28–29; Chase 2015, 2016, 2018a; D’Altroy 2015b:279, 384; Eeckhout 1998, 2008, 2012; Hyslop 1990:255–261). This process required the intensified production of tokens of value that was a defining attribute of Inka expansion. I discuss how vitality became associated with violent conquest in the Xauxa-Pachacamac axis, perhaps most clearly seen in the Inka’s imagining of agriculture as the disembowelment of pacha (D’Altroy 2015b:405). I also suggest that the Inka’s pursuit of vitality approached pachakuti—the complete revolution of space, time, and matter. Ultimately, I argue that the socioeconomic relations of the LH Xauxa-Pachacamac axis cannot be accurately described in the standard terms of reciprocity or exchange, but are rather best described as a socially-stratified “gift economy” in which what
was ultimately transferred were not objects, but vitality.

**Terminology and Orthography**

The nature of this thesis requires the extensive use of non-English words. I use many of these words in reference to concepts that do not translate well into English, and others out of expediency. When a non-English term is first introduced, I define it briefly. When using these terms in the text, I mostly follow the orthography used by D’Altroy (2015b). Unlike D’Altroy, I use standardized Quechua orthography for spelling of the Inka ethnic group. When referring to the Inka ethnic group’s paramount leader, I use the term *Sapa Inka*. For the reader’s convenience, I have adapted D’Altroy’s “Glossary of Foreign Terms” (520–526) to include most of the non-English terms used in this text and have added it to the end of this thesis (p. 96).

Some proper names used in the thesis can refer to either an archaeological site or a *wak’a*. I indicate that I am speaking of an archaeological site by compounding the component parts of the site’s name (e.g., Pachacamac or Pariacaca) and that I am speaking of a *wak’a* by following Salomon and Urioste’s (1991) transcription and translation of the Huarochirí manuscript and maintaining the names’ lexical separation (e.g., Pacha Camac or Paria Caca). When speaking of the production of the Huarochirí manuscript (of which a potential multiplicity of authors is debated), I follow Chase (2016:13) in referring to the manuscript’s multiple informants (Durston 2007) as “narrators.”
The dual purpose of this chapter is to (1) introduce the anthropologists of the Andeanist economic tradition and outline their descriptions of LH political economy, and (2) offer critiques of their explanations of Inka expansion. These investigators’ descriptions of LH political economy will serve as a contextual foundation and data source for my argument in chapter 3, that value in the LH Xauxa-Pachacamac axis was ultimately an assessment of “vitality.” Of particular importance are Murra, Morris, Earle, and D’Altroy’s descriptions of state infrastructure, reciprocal exchange, and wealth. This chapter will also introduce the reader to concepts that I discuss in more detail in chapter 3, such as wak’a, llaqta, and the Xauxa-Pachacamac axis. I lay out my critiques of the Andeanist economic anthropologists’ explanations of LH culture change to justify my argument and approach.

*John V. Murra*

John V. Murra is one of the most influential scholars to Andean studies. He provided various comprehensive surveys and translations of colonial documents on *Tawantinsuyu*, formulated a concise outline of Inka political and economic organization (1962, 1975, 1980 [1956]), and developed some of the most impactful theories of Andean social organization and culture change (1972, 1980 [1956]). The influence of Murra’s academic contributions, however, has not been entirely unproblematic. For one, his work inspires a historicist approach that obscures Andean cultural variability and trivializes cross-cultural comparison. Murra also tends to overstate the role of the Andean environment on culture change and largely casts religion and custom as the superstructure of ecological constraints and political economy. Moreover, Murra consistently characterizes the LH as the product of competing efforts between the Inka and their...
subjects to acquire maximal amounts of wealth and power with as little effort as possible. He convincingly identifies the material objects that marked wealth and power in the LH Andes, but does little to explain how these objects derived such meaning or why the Inka and provincial Andeans pursued them with such enthusiasm.

Murra began his academic research of the Andes in 1941–1942 as a participant in an archaeological survey and excavation project in Southern Ecuador (Collier and Murra 1943; Murra 1980 [1956]:xix–xxx). He was not able to make it to the field again, however, until 1956 when he was finally granted a US passport after a decade of bureaucratic struggle. In the intervening years, Murra turned his anthropological eye to historical documents. This was an innovative approach at a time when anthropological research was expected to be carried out in the field and was largely ahistorical (Barnes 2009:2). Murra’s methods not only produced key insights into prehistoric Andean political economy, but also influenced the development of the discipline of ethnohistory.

Murra’s (1946, 1948) initial studies centered on Ecuador, the first of which was inspired, in part, by his reading of Louis Baudin’s (1961) characterization of the Inka empire as socialistic, which to Murra seemed erroneous. Murra, educated in Marxist economics, initially resolved that the Inka economy—considering it was pre-capitalistic and lacked major signs of slaveholding institutions—must have been feudalistic. As he reviewed ethnographic studies carried out among the pre-capitalist societies of Africa and Oceania, however, Murra liberated himself from his dogmatic view of Marx’s historical modes of production and determined that his identification of the Inka economy as feudalistic was inappropriate. Murra (1980 [1956]) formally revoked his previous analysis of the Inka economy in his 1955 doctoral dissertation on *The Economic Organization of the Inka State*, and developed a more detailed analysis of the Inka economy.
derived from his remarkably scrupulous readings of colonial-era ethnographic and administrative documents.

Murra (1980 [1956]) suggests that the Inka established a highly stratified political economy supported by a foundation of self-sufficient peasant communities called *llaqta*, which he loosely translates to mean “town.” He explains that these *llaqta* were subdivided into kinship units called *ayllu* (29).¹ Colonial documents indicate that the relationships of LH *ayllu* were organized around an ethos of “reciprocity.” Each *ayllu* household was expected to contribute labor to community projects, and in turn, was able to call on the labor of other community members. Community projects ensured the well-being of all in the community. *Ayllu* provided homes for their newlywed members and granted lands to widows, the elderly, and the infirm that were subsequently worked by the community on the beneficiary’s behalf. Community members helped one another clear their lands and plant and harvest crops. For large projects, like agriculture and house-building, productive efforts were organized through work parties or labor turns (Murra 1980 [1956]:30). *Ayllu* members were expected to compensate mutual aid extended to them with gifts of food, coca, and *chicha* (31).

*Ayllu* members were also required to fulfill an obligation to work communal lands dedicated to the veneration of local ancestor deities² called *wak’a* (Murra 1980 [1956]:90–92). These lands were mostly set aside for the cultivation of coca and maize, both of which were essential offerings. Coca was typically chewed by ritual participants and offered to *wak’a* in bundles of leaves, while maize was prepared into *chicha* and presented as libations. *Ayllu* were known to transplant residents to harvest these and other crops in valleys where climates were most suitable for the crops’ cultivation. Coca production, for example, was limited to the warm lowland *yunga* zone (300–2,300 masl) and maize was primarily farmed in the valley bottoms of
the highland quechua zone (3,100–3,500 masl) and below (D’Altroy 2015b:38–39; Pulgar Vidal 1987; see Figure 2.1). Murra (1972) highlights this practice and provides evidence to suggest that ayllu also strategically installed ecological “islands” “on as many tiers as circumstances . . . allowed” (1995:61) to maximize their access to environmentally specific goods beyond those that were used for strictly ritual or ceremonial purposes.

Murra’s influential model, commonly referred to as his theory of “vertical archipelagos” or ecological complementarity, holds that ayllu established themselves in several different ecozones to satisfy essential commodity-exchange functions normally realized by markets. In other words, ayllu settlement patterns and social organization purportedly developed as they did to meet economic needs. However, as Gose (1993:491n19) notes, “[e]cological maximization does not provide a sufficient explanation of the archipelago model, since trade could have achieved the same effect.” While the drastic variations of Andean landscapes and environmental
zones inevitably affected culture, LH Andeans responded to their material limitations in a specific way, which an assumed tendency for humans to accumulate resources does not sufficiently explain. Furthermore, many of the products yielded from these varying ecological zones (e.g., coca, chicha, mullu, or precious metals) were not biologically, but culturally essential. Thus, LH Andeans’ desire for these goods requires a cultural, not a biological, explanation.

All the same, Murra insists that ecological complementarity was the modus operandi of LH Andeans (and those that lived in earlier times). He suggests that working communal fields—whether dedicated to the benefit of local wak’a or ayllu members—was a prerequisite to laboring for the benefit of one’s own household (Murra 1980 [1956]:90–92). If ayllu members fulfilled their duties to the community, not only were they granted access to the labor of other ayllu households, but also to communal resources, including land, water, and livestock. Murra (1980 [1956]:18–19, 29–30) gathers that communal resources were allocated, and periodically reallocated, at the llaqta level based on assessments of ayllu needs, and at the ayllu level based on household needs. Ayllu were granted rights to specific fields, springs, and canals by the llaqta. Kuraka, who served as heads of ayllu, were charged with assessing their communities’ needs and managing the allocation of ayllu resources accordingly. The number of dependents in a given household played a large part in determining the size and amounts of household resource allotments. Marital status, age, and well-being were also important considerations; as mentioned above, newlyweds, widows, the elderly, and the infirm were afforded special attention.

In exchange for managing community affairs, kuraka were allegedly sustained by the labor of the communities they oversaw. While Murra (1980 [1956]:92–93) concedes that some low-ranking kuraka took part in community labor projects, he insists that peasants
nonetheless worked their kuraka’s fields, built his house, and prepared his meals. As with any ayllu member who received aid from their community, local chiefs were expected to exhibit generosity by feeding and providing drink for their patrons. Displays of generosity were also expected of kuraka outside of labor parties, often in the form of hosting frequent feasts (Murra 1980 [1956]:93–94). A kuraka’s generosity perpetuated the ayllu’s reciprocal relationships and underwrote his authority (Murra 1980 [1956]:86).

Murra (1972, 1980 [1956]) asserted that ayllu—and the measures of self-sufficiency that defined them—existed long before Inka expansion. He suggested that the Inka maintained the long-standing social organization and self-sufficient operation of ayllu as the basis of the economy and appropriated and intensified ayllu institutions at the state level. The Inka assumed the kuraka’s role in resource allocation at the state level, invoked the traditional Andean ethos of reciprocity to justify their institution of corvée labor, and formalized the transplanting of individuals and communities to maximize the production of ecologically-specific goods. Murra’s (1980 [1956]:86) insistence that the Inka state “had its roots deep in traditional Andean institutions of reciprocity and the power-wielders’ generosity” has been recognized as the origin of a specific Andean particularism that pervades Andeanist anthropology (Quilter 2014:18–19). This culturalist approach, often referred to as “Lo Andino” (“That which is Andean” or “The Andean Way”), contends that “Andean culture” can only be understood in its own terms. Not only does the concept of Lo Andino assert an absence of variability in prehistoric Andean culture, but it also trivializes attempts for comparative analyses between the societies of the prehistoric Andes and those of other culture regions and times.

Murra (1980 [1956]:85–86) insists that relationships between the Inka and subject communities were justified by the Inka as a form of reciprocity. Colonial-period accounts suggest
that—upon annexing provincial communities into their empire—the Inka appropriated all land, herds, springs, and other resources (Murra 1980 [1956]:94–95). The Inka allegedly set apart portions of the resources they appropriated to support state administration and religion, and returned the rest for the use of local communities. Lands allocated to state administration were used to support state projects and personnel while those apportioned to state religion yielded goods such as llamas, coca, and maize for the worship of the Inka’s apical Sun wak’a, Inti. Murra deduces that provincial ayllu were permitted to retain a third division of resources granted them by the Inka, continue their adoration of local religious cults, and maintain their self-sufficient communal organization insofar as they met certain labor obligations enumerated by the state. He suggests that the Inka’s indirect involvement in local communities’ internal arrangements was an expression of “remarkable self-interested insight or inertia” (Murra 1980 [1956]:131), implying that the Inka’s engagements with provincial Andeans were calculated either strategically or instinctively based on efficiency.

Murra (1980 [1956]:92) stresses that the Inka required their subjects to pay tribute in labor time rather than in kind. Households of incorporated ayllu were compelled to labor in such capacities as working the state’s administrative and Sun cult lands (surely an oversimplified distinction made by chroniclers and maintained by Murra), weaving cloth or brewing chicha from state resources, constructing and maintaining public works or state infrastructure, or taking up arms on behalf of the Inka. Peasant communities were obligated to staff the construction and maintenance of their regions’ stretches of Inka road, tampu (way-stations), and storehouses (Murra 1980 [1956]:104). The Inka generally assembled labor groups to work on state projects from the environs in which the projects took place. A notable exception to this rule was the mitmaqkuna, who will be introduced below. Murra (1980 [1956]:95–99) notes that the state was
expected to provide food, coca, and chicha to conscripted laborers, just as was expected of the beneficiaries of ayllu projects.

Corvée labor was expected of all able-bodied males and their families. Women, children, and debilitated males were required to contribute their labor depending on individual capacities and state needs. Certain tasks were considered appropriate only for individuals of a particular age or gender. For example, as a man aged, he was no longer subject to military conscription or jobs that required traveling great distances. Some aged and incapacitated men were assigned the duties of khipu kamayuq, making them responsible for keeping records on knotted string devices (khipu) of the empire’s populations (of both people and livestock), quantities and types of stored goods, land tenure, and more (Murra 1980 [1956]:110). Various tasks, including weaving and sowing crops, were assigned largely to women. Young people took part in various agricultural endeavors and herded communal flocks.

Certain subjects were required to work for the state on a full-time basis and were concomitantly assigned to new social classes. Murra documents three full-time statute labor classes: yana³, aqlla, and mitmaq (plural -kuna). Some were assigned their new status out of punishment and others for their specialized craft skills (Murra 1980 [1956]:101). Yana and aqlla were labor-status classifications used to categorize permanent retainers of the royal elite. Yanakuna and aqlakuna were oftentimes given as gifts of the crown, on occasion even to non-Inka kuraka (Murra 1980 [1956]:169). The chroniclers recorded yanakuna as working Sun lands, silversmithing, decorating temples, herding llamas, and perhaps even performing as musicians. Yanakuna were characterized in the chronicles as everything from subdued rebels, to slaves, to servants of the king, to craft specialists. Among the yanakuna explicitly mentioned by Murra (1980 [1956]:170) were fifty yanakuna granted to the highlands Huarochirí wak’a, Pariacaca,
and hundreds of yanakuna assigned to the coastal shrine of Pachacamac (both of which are featured prominently in the next chapter).

Murra determines that aqllakuna were virgin women chosen by the Inka to serve both the state and Sun in various capacities from “convents” called aqllawasi that were scattered throughout all of Tawantinsuyu. Most aqllakuna seemingly spent their time weaving highly desirable qompi or brewing chicha. Aqllakuna were required to feed the king and his guests and, on occasion, serve as concubines (Murra 1980 [1956]:164). Murra (1980 [1956]) notes that they were fed from the yields of lands dedicated to the Sun, and potentially granted fields of their own. Some of these, and other fields, were farmed by aqllakuna as determined by Tawantinsuyu or by the aqllakunas’ masters. Aqllakuna were also documented herding sacred flocks of llamas. Murra (1980 [1956]:73) gathers that aqllakuna were assigned different responsibilities according to their social status, age, and beauty. They were said to have continued serving their masters’ mummified remains after death and were occasionally assigned to the service of the state’s venerated deceased (i.e., mummified royalty).

Murra (1980 [1956]:177–178) notes that, in some cases, mitmaqkuna were described as rebels in reform and in others as privileged nobles. In light of such confusion, Murra simplifies his definition of mitmaq to denote communities of varying statuses resettled for “military or productive purposes” (181). These communities included ethnic Inka sent out as colonizers, communities tasked with defending the empire’s borders, farmers resettled to areas in need of irrigation and replenishment, and relocated rebels put to work as attendants, herders, and servants in other capacities. Mitmaqkuna were supplied from state storehouses for the first two years of their resettlement, following which they were expected to support themselves by tilling their own fields (Murra 1980 [1956]:130). Murra (1972, 1980 [1956]:144) suggests that the mitmaq
resettlement program was one expression of the LH intensification of an ostensibly long-standing Andean practice of ecological complementarity.

The defining aspect of the Inka economy for Murra (1980 [1956]) was the way the Inka handled goods after they were produced by state-imposed labor. Before putting the products of corvée labor to use for state purposes, the Inka stored the goods in numerous storehouses that comprised an expansive warehousing network. Murra outlines four LH storehouse use-types mentioned by the chroniclers: welfare storehouses called sapçi; storehouses for state use at provincial administrative centers called qollqa; qollqa at way stations along state highways called tampu; and qollqa in the Inka heartland at Cuzco.

While Murra identifies several references in colonial accounts to welfare storehouses called sapçi, he expresses skepticism as to their existence due to the fact that sapçi were primarily discussed by Spanish colonial authors Blas Valera and Garcilaso de la Vega, both of whom were motivated to establish and exalt welfare apparatuses of the Inka state. These colonial-period writers insisted that the Inka stocked sapçi to ensure the wellbeing of their subjects. Murra points out, however, that the prospect of state-subsidized sapçi contradicts the greater body of evidence pointing to the self-sufficiency of ayllu at the economy’s base. He argues that, while welfare was a defining feature of LH Andean society, it seems to have been realized at the local level rather than at the state level. If sapçi existed as mechanisms of welfare, they were most likely organized and operated by ayllu (cf. Salomon 2004). While Murra recognizes that the state may have played a very minor role in providing stimulus in the face of droughts, hard frosts, or other calamities, he suggests that state functionaries were primarily interested in controlling the exchange of goods for purely economistic reasons through a redistributive system.
Murra (1980 [1956]:121, 139) infers that the *qollqa* at administrative centers, *tampu*, and at the Inka capital were used to store surplus goods produced by self-sufficient *ayllu* prior to the goods’ subsequent redistribution according to “state logic.” He suggests that the Inka’s redistributive economy effectively functioned like a market, facilitating the exchange of surplus goods to feed “the royals, the army and those on corvée as well as by issuing a lot of it as grants and benefactions.” Murra’s insistence that vertical archipelagos and the Inka’s redistributive system nullified any use for markets in the Andes has, until recently, been taken by most anthropologists as established consensus (Hirth and Pillsbury 2013; Quilter 2014:19).

Inka elites, and apparently *kuraka*, were purportedly sustained by the contents of *qollqa*, and soldiers and state laborers were subsidized by Inka surplus while on assignment. Murra (1980 [1956]:128–130) recounts the chroniclers’ documentation of weapons, shields, clothing, and food provisioned to Inka combatants from state storehouses and stressed the principal importance of *qollqa* to the Inka’s military superiority. He notes that other state personnel, including state officials, messengers (*chaski*), craftsmen, agriculturalists, and pastoralists were also granted access to royal surplus while on state business. In addition to providing their beneficiaries with royal provisions, *qollqa* were also often associated with *tampu* that offered sleeping quarters to soldiers on assignment or travelers on state business or pilgrimage. Murra suggests that access to *qollqa* seems to have been regulated by the Inka. Each storehouse was assigned a *khipu kamayuq* to take stock of all deposits and withdrawals and monitor access to state goods (Murra 1980 [1956]:123–127, 130–134).

In addition to food, weaponry, and clothing, Inka storehouses kept “precious, special objects” for royal grants to those deemed deserving by *Tawantinsuyu*’s officials (Murra 1980 [1956]:122). These “token signs of royal favor” (130) included *qompi, mullu*, precious metal
objects such as earrings and ceremonial drinking ware. Murra attributes the desirability of these precious objects, especially qompi, to their association with Cuzco. He also recognizes the material need for cloth in the high Andes, as well as its psychological, ornamental, and ceremonial uses (Murra 1962:712; 1980[1956]:65, 69). Elsewhere, however, Murra (1980[1956]) treats the ceremonial importance of special objects as mere expressions of the objects’ intrinsic use-value. When discussing llamas, for example, he addresses their fundamental role in sacrifice and other ritual purposes, but characterizes these uses as simply reflections of the greater “socioeconomic importance” (58) of llamas to prehistoric Andeans. Of course, objects such as llamas and cloth have unquestionable material importance. Cloth and llamas were also clear markers of status. Nevertheless, as I outline in the next chapter, the social importance of these objects was derived from the creative action that they facilitated rather than their particular qualities.

In 1963, Murra launched a multidisciplinary project in the Huánuco region of Perú called the “Study of Inca Provincial Life” that had a strong archaeological component (Barnes 2009, 2010). His goal was to further elucidate LH political economy through the comparison of archaeological research with critical considerations of historical accounts, an approach that, as we have seen, Murra (1980[1956]:xxix) developed an appreciation for early on in his career (Barnes 2009:28–30). One of his closest associates on this project was archaeologist Craig Morris.

Craig Morris

Morris’s (1967:iii) greatest contribution to Murra’s “Study of Inca Provincial Life” was his systematic archaeological investigation of state storehouses (the subject of his PhD
dissertation), which he considered to be a “direct outgrowth” of Murra’s work on Inka political economy. Morris’s (1967) dissertation involved an investigation of storehouses in provincial village communities, administrative centers, and tampu in the central Peruvian highlands and at the Inka capital in Cuzco. Morris (1967:5, 131) set out to identify “what was stored, how it was stored, and in what quantities” in order to “throw some light on the Inca surplus and how it was redistributed.” The questions that formed the basis of Morris’s dissertation ultimately proved to orient much of his career, and a great deal of future Andean economic anthropology.

In provincial village settings, Morris found mostly evidence of household storage. Even storage at residences thought to be associated with village leaders “seems to have been little more than an elaborate form of household storage” (Morris 1967:20). Where structures appear to have been erected for the sole purpose of storing goods, they were constructed with local-style masonry (despite resembling state-built qollqa) and featured only locally-produced pottery, leading Morris (1967:30–31, 35) to suggest that village storehouses were, at least to some degree, controlled by the community and were not directly under state control. Morris (1967:37) further deduces that village storage was not intended to keep large surpluses. His evidence indicates that village storehousing was drastically different from that practiced at tampu and large provincial administrative centers.

While evidence of household storehousing was certainly present at the tampu and administrative centers that Morris investigated, these sites also featured large numbers of formal storage districts used for the warehousing of mass surpluses of goods. The qollqa at the large administrative center Huánuco Viejo (Huánuco Pampa; Figure 2.2) seem to have largely contained foodstuffs, primarily highland root crops and a small amount of maize. Morris (1967:138–139) attributes this small proportion of maize to the difficulty of growing the crop in
Figure 2.2. Plan of Inka provincial center Huánuco Pampa surrounding a central plaza and *usnu* and featuring numerous storehouses aligned in rows on the hills to the site’s southwest (from Morris 1992:Figure 5-1).
Huánuco’s highland environs and its minor importance to local diets, despite its use in chicha production which is clearly attested at the site.

One of Morris’s (1967:99) important achievements was his ability to confidently associate the shapes of Huánuco Pampa’s storehouses with function. Morris determines that rectangular qollqa were reserved for the storage of highland root crops and circular qollqa predominantly kept maize. While an association between storehouse shape and function has been complicated at other sites (see D’Altroy and Hastorf 1984 and LeVine 1992), the evidence at Huánuco Pampa is very convincing. Morris (1967:122) speculates that the circular storehouses associated with maize storage may have been dedicated to the Sun, or perhaps to local religious cults. Maize was frequently associated with ceramic aryballoid storage and serving vessels, and was often found above finely made floors, which to Morris (1967:138–139, 216–220) indicates heightened value and “scarcity.” Morris also highlights documentary evidence that maize was transported across Tawantinsuyu as far as from Quito to Cuzco (see Figure 2.3). He suggests that maize was prized for its use in producing chicha, “and the particular economic and political value the brew represented” (Morris 1979:27). For Morris (1979:25), the significance of chicha and other goods were determined in large part by the sociopolitical statuses of the individuals involved in the goods’ exchange. The most prestigious items in Tawantinsuyu were ostensibly sent to Cuzco “so that they could come from Cuzco. For the value of the gifts . . . was greatly increased by their association with the [Sapa] Inca himself and with the imperial city” (Morris 1967:173, emphasis in original; cf. Sahlins 1988).

At small tampu and at Huánuco Pampa, Morris (1967:42–61) found pottery (mostly aryballoid) in what he classified as a “Provincial Inca” style. These vessels were produced locally, but resembled Inka pottery manufactured in Cuzco in shape and/or decoration (209–213).
Figure 2.3. Map showing Tawantinsuyu’s road system (*qhapaq ñan*) and Inka sites mentioned in this chapter (from D’Altroy 2015b:Figure 1.1).
At Tarma, just over 200 kilometers south of Huánuco Pampa, Morris (1967:66–68) found many Inka sherds alongside variants of the “Provincial Inca” style. The qollqa at these sites were also constructed in a clearly Inka fashion. From these data, Morris deduces that these sites were Inka installations. Morris’s (1972) later work shows that the provincial administrative centers and tampu that he investigated arose rapidly in just the last few decades before Spanish arrival, were depopulated quickly thereafter, and lacked important funerary architecture, further attesting to their Inka development.

Morris found little evidence to support Murra’s (1972, 1980 [1956]) argument that Inka state redistribution played a major commodity-exchange role. He suggests, rather, that the need to “compensate” for the central Andes’ purported lack of markets was addressed at the local ayllu level (Morris 1967:172–176). He argues that the contents of qollqa at large administrative centers were not likely distributed to nearby communities but were rather intended to provision a rotating population of statute laborers—including corvée laborers, mitmaqkuna, aqullakuna, soldiers, and administrative officials—on-site (Morris 1967:175–176, 1972:398–399). Thus, Morris (1967) concludes that tampu and administrative centers in the central Peruvian highlands were artificial “urban conglomerations” (143) established by the Inka to secure political control and “mobilize the resources which sustained the elite and staffed and fed the armies of expansion,” an imperial strategy that Morris calls “compulsory urbanism” (1967:41, 1972:395–397). He sees the Inka’s encroachment into the central Peruvian highlands as motivated by purely economic objectives.

Morris (1972:401, 1982) holds that the institution of “certain minimal elements of urbanism,” including Inka roads, tampu, administrative centers, and the hierarchical sociopolitical organization by which they seem to have been operated, was essential to imperial
expansion. He suggests that the Inka refined their strategy of compulsory urbanism to combat the “communications and logistics problems” that came with the size of Tawantinsuyu, the harshness of its terrain, and LH Andeans’ “almost neolithic technology” (Morris 1972, 1982:156). He also highlights that the supply, processing, manufacture, and consumption of ceremonial goods were defining features of the Inka’s provincial installations (Morris 1982). Morris (1982:169–170) concludes that the Inka ultimately established a state infrastructure of roads, tampu, and large administrative centers in the central Peruvian highlands to facilitate the production and distribution of ceremonial and sumptuary goods intended to engage local communities in relationships of asymmetrical “reciprocity,” thereby encouraging dependence and securing heightened economic and political power for the empire. He treats the Inka’s desire for material gain, increased power, and heightened authority as self-explanatory, and the relationships that the Inka developed with local communities as purely a function of the economy.

Morris (1967) compares the results of his archaeological research at Huánuco Pampa to data he collected at two other large central highland administrative centers, Pumpu and Hatun Xauxa. Pumpu is located approximately 110 km to Huánuco Pampa’s south (on the western side of Lake Junín), and Hatun Xauxa is about 130 km southeast of Pumpu (adjacent to the modern town of Jauja). All three of these highland sites sat along a stretch of Inka road that connected Cuzco to Quito (Hyslop 1984; Figure 2.3). Morris concludes that Pumpu and Hatun Xauxa served largely the same purposes as Huánuco Pampa. He determines that Pumpu “was almost without doubt a city which was functionally equivalent to Huánuco Viejo in virtually every respect” (Morris 1967:147). At Xauxa, Morris documented roughly 15 percent more circular storehouses in proportion to rectangular storehouses than he noted at Huánuco Pampa and Pumpu. While he documented burnt kernels of maize in the sidewalls of two of Xauxa’s
circular storehouses, without more extensive excavation he could not confidently determine an
association between circular storehouse shape and maize storage as he did at Huánuco Pampa
(150–152). Morris suggested, however, that a potential greater importance or abundance of
maize at Xauxa could be attributed to the center’s association with the major religious center
Pachacamac on the coast (to which it was connected via a major highlands-coast branch of
qhapaq ñan that I focus on below), greater access to coastal products such as maize via the Inka
road, and a possibly greater availability of nearby land suitable for maize production. Morris’s
preliminary work at Xauxa was expanded between 1977 and 1986 by contributors to the Upper
Mantaro Archaeological Research Project (UMARP).

Terence D’Altroy and Timothy Earle

UMARP commenced in 1977 under the directorship of Timothy Earle. Earle and his
associates (1980; 1987) launched their project in the Upper Mantaro Valley of the central
Peruvian highlands with the goal of establishing a potential relationship between Inka expansion
and economic specialization (D’Altroy 1981). Furthermore, UMARP archaeologists—especially
Terence D’Altroy (1992:9–10, 13) and D’Altroy and Timothy Earle (1985)—intended to move
past the typical “particular or historic elements” emphasized by previous writers such as Murra
and Morris, and offer comparative “materialist and energetic” models to explain Inka expansion.
These investigators intentionally de-emphasize questions of “ideology” (D’Altroy 1992:13–14)
to address “strategic behavior,” the “most basic requirements of conquest, consolidation, and
extraction of resources and labor,” and to allow for cross-cultural comparison. While I agree
that comparative cross-cultural anthropological studies are indeed useful and necessary, I do
not share the sentiment that successful cross-cultural analyses and investigations of meaning
are antithetical (cf. Graeber 1996, 2001). I address this concern in chapter 3 by employing an anthropological approach to value “that sees society as arising from creative action, but creative action as something that can never be separated from its concrete, material medium” (Graeber 2001:54).

While D’Altroy (1992) and D’Altroy and Earle’s (1982, 1985, 1989) models mostly break free of the “radical relativism” (D’Altroy 1992:13) of Lo Andino, they (knowingly) sacrifice a certain cultural orientation in doing so. These investigators characterize Inka expansion as an inevitable stage along a natural course of human social evolution, and as the result of a self-evident human tendency to pursue the maximization of resources and power. They assume that the Inka’s economic goal was “to expand its labor and natural resources,” which surely appears to be the case, but do not explain to what end the Inka were trying to achieve this goal. Where religion is considered, Earle and D’Altroy treat it merely as a method to “foster local consent” (1989:183) and expand state authority and power (D’Altroy and Earle 1985:187). D’Altroy (1992:5, 14) recognizes the Inka’s Sun cult as a potential “impetus to conquer,” but subordinates it to the limitations of “energetic … and material needs.” He further suggests that the Inka’s relationships with provincial wak’a were the products of “an effort by the state to reduce costs of compliance with state policy” (13–14). For D’Altroy and Earle, culture is “formulated out of practical activity . . . and utilitarian interest” (Sahlins 1976:vii).

One of D’Altroy and Earle’s (1985) models was influenced by theories of energy capture and state development (from Harris 1979; Steward 1960; White 1959). They insisted that investigations of the development of social complexity must consider how increased energy capture was channeled to “finance the creation and maintenance of new social institutions and the elaboration of old institutions” (D’Altroy and Earle 1985:187). Hatun Xauxa, and
surrounding sites in the Upper Mantaro Valley, seemed to D’Altroy and Earle to be an ideal locus of investigation to test their hypotheses.

Hatun Xauxa, the largest and seemingly most important administrative center in the region (D’Altroy 1981:65–69, 2018:210; Morris 1967:148), was chosen as a site of central importance to UMARP’s purpose for its key position along the main royal road connecting Cuzco to Quito, its unique access to the coast and productive highland zones, and its expansive warehousing system (Figure 2.4). Similar to Huánuco Pampa, Hatun Xauxa’s warehousing system was systematically divided into circular and rectangular storehouse zones. However, while the division of storehouses into different shapes at Hatun Xauxa does appear to have served some accounting function, the storehouses do not seem to have shared Huánuco Pampa’s associations between circular qollqa and maize storage or rectangular qollqa and the exclusive storage of highland crops (D’Altroy and Hastorf 1984). What UMARP archaeologists did discover, in addition to the mass storage of staple goods, was evidence of a LH intensification of copper and silver production.

D’Altroy and Earle (1985:194, Table 1) use data on the LH storage of staple goods and the intensification of copper and silver production in the Mantaro Valley to develop a claim originally made by Morris (1967:173), that the Inka established a dual-component mobilization system of “subsistence” and “ritual” or “status” goods to finance the expansion of their empire. D’Altroy and Earle (1985) call these two components of the Inka economy “staple finance” and “wealth finance.” They propose that “mobilization” is a more suitable term to describe the Inka finance system than Karl Polanyi’s (1957) and Murra’s (1980 [1956]) “redistribution,” because the Inka empire had purportedly evolved to a stage of complexity at which “a larger fraction of the collected goods was allocated to support a managerial sector” than the subordinate population.
Figure 2.4. Map of Upper Mantaro Valley showing the Inka administrative center of Hatun Xauxa and surrounding storage sites. Large open circles represent storage sites with more than 300 storehouses, medium-sized open circles indicate storage sites with 50–120 storage units, and small open circles indicate storage sites with fewer than 50 units (from D’Altroy and Hastorf 1984:Figure 1).
The “staple finance” component of the Inka’s finance program involved the collection of subsistence goods (e.g., root crops, grains, clothing) produced by corvée labor and their subsequent distribution to state personnel and laborers involved in local administrative projects. Staple goods financed the empire’s bureaucracy, defense, and the physical construction of its infrastructure. “[S]implicity and directness” were the main advantages of a staple finance system, and bulk its primary weakness (D’Altroy and Earle 1985:188). They contrast the weight of staple goods to the goods’ minimal exchange-value, and highlight the inefficiencies the goods’ heft would have ostensibly presented for staple storage and transportation.

“Wealth finance,” on the other hand, denotes the distribution of “luxury goods” (e.g., *qompi*, precious metals, exotic shell goods, the feathers of tropical birds, and semiprecious stones) to reward political officials, state administrators, and to finance state projects that required compensation for labor to be transported to great distances. “Wealth goods” were obtained, in large part, through exchange with local elites. “Prestige items” were apparently only stored at administrative centers while being prepared for shipment to Cuzco after being produced by local craftspeople, or prior to being gifted by the Inka to local leaders (Earle and D’Altroy 1982:271). The obvious advantages of “wealth items,” according to Earle and D’Altroy (1985:188), were their storability and transportability, enabling the state to maintain centralized control over finance in ways that staple finance does not. Through the use of wealth finance, the state avoided the costs of facilitating and managing the transportation and storage of bulky items. Wealth goods also preserve much better than subsistence goods, thereby avoiding additional losses for the state.

I find D’Altroy and Earle’s (1985) argument that a system of “wealth finance” was
developed for its convenience and efficiency to be unconvincing. As noted by Murra (1985:200), D’Altroy and Earle’s argument is largely based on the assumption that the “long-distance transport of staples is . . . ‘heavy,’ hence difficult, hence unlikely.” However, we know that certain goods classified in D’Altroy and Earle’s (1985) article as staple goods were indeed transported over great distances. For example, it is documented that maize was, at the very least, transported from Quito and Cajamarca to Cuzco and from Cochabamba to Paria (Morris 1967; Murra 1980 [1956]; Topic 1985; see Figure 2.3); distances upwards of 1,500 km if one were to take direct routes, which of course in the Andean highlands do not exist. Moreover, despite the “inconvenience” of their cumbersome weight and shape, archaeological research has shown that building stones were transported similar distances from Cuzco to Saraguro (near the prehistoric site of Tomebamba—Tumipampa in Figure 2.3) in present-day southern Ecuador (Murra 1980 [1956]:122; Ogburn 2004).

Murra (1985) suggests that evidence of staple good transportation in the LH Andes should encourage us to “reconsider the conventional wisdom on long-distance transport.” Earle and D’Altroy (1989:196–197), however, respond by suggesting that several lines of evidence indicate that the Inka did, in fact, calculate the cost-benefit relationships of their economic activities. I think Earle and D’Altroy’s (1989) counter-argument misses the point. What I consider more important than determining whether or not the Inka made strategic cost-benefit calculations, is discovering what the Inka or their subjects deemed to be costly and what they considered beneficial.

D’Altroy and Earle also highlight the Inka dynasty’s flexibility in adapting their finance system and methods of control to efficiently maintain and expand their empire. Earle and D’Altroy (1989) and D’Altroy (1992, 2015b) insist that the Inka strategically adapted forms
of “hegemonic” (indirect) and “territorial” (direct) control to manage their empire (cf. Hassig 1985; Luttwak 1976). They suggest that the Inka employed “hegemonic control” by allowing provincial communities to continue managing their local affairs autonomously in exchange for accepting corvée labor duties and limiting their economic engagements to exchange with the Inka. Strategies of hegemonic control would ideally serve to reduce management costs and the state’s responsibility to provide security. Earle and D’Altroy (1989:187–188) suggest that hegemonic control was emphasized during the initial phases of Inka expansion and continually thereafter in “peripheral” areas such as the Amazon and northern highlands and coastal regions of Ecuador.

Earle and D’Altroy (1989) claim that, in situations where the Inka were concerned with possible rebellion or desired increased economic output, “territorial,” or direct control, was emphasized. Territorial control denotes the extensive restructuring of local political and economic structures and persistent administrative presence. Territorial strategies of control were adopted to increase political control and economic extraction. The costs of territorial strategies of control, however, are greater than those of hegemonic strategies. Earle and D’Altroy (1989:187) argue that, as imperial expansion continued and the costs of control increased, the Inka strategically imposed territorial control. Territorial control was, by Earle and D’Altroy’s models, ideal for facilitating and managing state affairs in the central highlands of Perú and Bolivia where needs for defense and heightened resource exploitation were ostensibly required.

**Conclusion**

The tradition of Andeanist economic anthropology partially outlined above has made indispensable contributions to Andean studies. Nevertheless, this tradition also has many shortcomings that directly influence popular understandings of the LH. My primary concern
with the scholarship summarized in this chapter is the tendency to characterize the LHas the culmination of economistic behaviors. Classical economic motives are portrayed as governing the defining characteristics of LH Andean culture, including settlement patterns (Murra 1972, 1975, 1995), social organization (Morris 1979; Murra 1980 [1956]), and reciprocal exchange (D’Altroy and Earle 1985; Morris 1972, 1982, 1998; Murra 1962, 1980 [1956]). Both the Inka and provincial Andeans are characterized as strategically pursuing the maximization of land, control over labor, wealth, power, and prestige with as minimal effort as possible. These actors do not pursue these things because of cultural values, but because they are compelled to do so by natural factors such as the environment, human nature, and social evolution. In the next chapter, I address these concerns by applying Graeber’s (2001) action theory of value to the LH Andes. The application of Graeber’s theory preserves the agency and creative power of LH Andeans, but still recognizes that culture is mediated through a material world.
In the previous chapter, I outlined various contributions to an Andeanist tradition of economic anthropology that describe the general organization of Inka political economy. Murra, Morris, Earle, and D’Altroy have carried out crucial ethnohistorical and archaeological investigations that reveal the Inka infrastructure that facilitated the production and mobilization of staple and special goods. Nevertheless, their explanations for how and why these goods were produced and distributed cast LH Andeans as self-interested and calculating actors adapting to natural constraints through the maximization of material resources. The Andeanist economic tradition describes how LH Andeans maximized resource extraction differently than other societies (i.e., through asymmetrical “reciprocity,” ecological complementarity, compulsory urbanism, exploitative “generosity,” staple and wealth finance, adaptive hegemonic and territorial control, and ideology), but does not explain why these institutions developed as they did, or why, for that matter, resource maximization (i.e., Inka expansion) was ostensibly inevitable.

Moreover, the Andeanist economic tradition does not sufficiently explain why the specific goods that LH Andeans were purportedly attempting to maximize were desirable to them. Of course, some of these goods were essential to life. Nevertheless, intensive agricultural strategies were mastered over millennia leading up to Inka expansion and, by the LH, “agriculture was not solely an economic means of food production (Kosiba 2018:227–231). Moreover, items such as maize (Morris 1979), llamas (Anderson and Chase 2021; Murra 1980[1956]:58; Salomon and Urioste 1991), and cloth (Murra 1962:712), were steeped in significance, and their appeal cannot
simply be attributed to biological factors. Other objects that were exceptionally alluring to LH Andeans (e.g., coca, chicha, mullu, and precious metals) satisfied no immediate biological needs.

Value as Action

In this chapter, I explain Inka expansion in a way that preserves the agency and creative power of LH Andeans, but still recognizes that culture is mediated through a material world. In doing so, I identify how the most desirable goods of the LH acquired their significance. I accomplish all of this by applying David Graeber’s (2001) theory of value as an assessment of action rather than things (49) to the LH Andes. This theory sees “society” as “the total process through which all [pursuits of value are] coordinated, and value [as] the way that actors see their own activity as meaningful as part of it” (76). Thus, value is not rooted in the intrinsic properties of things that one can accumulate or exchange, but in socially-integrating creative action. Objects are simply reflections and representations of value. Furthermore, “‘society’ [is seen] to some degree [as] an intentional thing” (230), and is not determined by economistic behavior.

I begin my analysis with objects, or “tokens” (Graeber 2001:75–78), that reflected and represented value. I examine how certain items identified through ethnohistorical and archaeological research as especially desirable to LH Andeans (i.e., chicha, coca, mullu, llamas, qompi, and precious metal goods) operated as tokens of value. That is, how these goods were prized for their facilitation or reflection of socially-integrating creative action. I narrow my investigation of these tokens of value to a specific region of the central Peruvian Andes that I refer to as the Xauxa-Pachacamac axis, formalized by a branch of Inka road that ran between the highlands and the coast. I do this for a number of reasons.

First, the Xauxa-Pachacamac axis was a central zone for the production, consumption, and exchange of the tokens of value considered in my argument. The Xauxa-Pachacamac road connected one of the Inka empire’s most consequential production centers, Hatun Xauxa, to two of the region’s most influential pilgrimage sites, Pariacaca and Pachacamac. The sites and road also featured numerous tampu that facilitated pilgrimage and the storage and transportation of
goods. Second, the region yielded much of the historical and archaeological data that informed the Andeanist tradition of economic anthropology (D’Altroy 1992; D’Altroy and Earle 1985; Earle et al. 1980, 1987; Earle and D’Altroy 1982, 1989; Morris 1967; Murra 1962, 1980 [1956]). I use much of the same data to inform my argument. Third, and most importantly, the Xauxa-Pachacamac axis was the center of the mythohistorical narratives recorded in the Huarocharí manuscript. This unique colonial-period, indigenous-language manuscript offers a critical look at the use of each token of value listed above in a cultural setting illustrated by native Andeans. While my immediate analysis of LH value systems is limited to the Xauxa-Pachacamac axis, the arguments of this thesis can surely be applied to much of the LH Andes.

Next, I outline the uses of LH tokens of value among societies of the Xauxa-Pachacamac axis. Here, I use a definition of “society” that requires the inclusion of “agentive, material . . . and originary” superhuman entities called wak’a (Chase 2015:109). Wak’a were the ancestors and makers of humans and architects of pacha. Based on my review of critical work on wak’a carried out by ethnohistorians and archaeologists, I determine that wak’a were defined by their “vitality,” or their capacity to effect change in pacha. By offering their wak’a food and drink and honoring them in ceremony, LH Andeans integrated themselves in a continuous cycle of pacha’s vitalization that gave meaning to their actions (cf. Allen 2002:240–241; Salomon 1991:16). It is through their facilitation of these activities that tokens of value derived their significance. Thus, I suggest here that “vitality” is the most appropriate term to refer to LH conceptions of value.

I then examine why chicha, coca, mullu, llamas, fine textiles, and precious metal items were considered appropriate as offerings to wak’a and for reciprocal exchange between humans. I characterize these tokens as “vital forms” (which Graeber calls “media of value”), “measures of vitality” (cf. “measures of value”), and explain how they inevitably become “ends in themselves” (cf. Graeber 2001:75–76, 81; Turner 1979:31–34). “Vital forms” were tangible objects that represented vitality to social actors and to society, and “measures of vitality” marked different degrees of vitality through rank, presence or absence, and proportionality. These tokens of value came to be seen “not as ‘tools’ through which value can be measured or mediated, but as
embodiments of value in themselves; even, in classic fetishistic fashion, as the origins of those very values” (Graeber 2001:75–76, 81; Turner 1979:31–34).

**The Xauxa-Pachacamac Axis**

The vast expanse of Tawantinsuyu was interconnected by approximately 40,000 km of roads that together formed qhapaq ñan (Hyslop 1984:224). Qhapaq ñan consisted of parallel longitudinal coastal and highland routes spanning from modern-day northern Ecuador to central Chile, various divergent branches from the main highland and coastal highways, and a series of lateral roads connecting the highlands and the coast (see Figure 2.3). One of these latitudinal branches ran between the highland administrative, production, and ceremonial center of Hatun Xauxa and the coastal administrative, pilgrimage, and ceremonial center of Pachacamac (Figure 3.1). The Xauxa-Pachacamac road traversed coastal lowlands, multiple river valleys and basins, and reached its apex in the high Andean plains at the base of the region’s tallest mountain peak, Pariacaca (5,860 masl). John Hyslop (1984:266), director of “The Inka Road Project,” considered the Xauxa-Pachacamac branch of qhapaq ñan to be perhaps “one of the most spectacularly constructed lateral routes in the empire.” This spectacular axis, consisting of the road between Hatun Xauxa and Pachacamac and its associated LH settlements, constitutes the geographical focus of this study.

**Hatun Xauxa.** At one extreme of the Xauxa-Pachacamac road was the highland site of Hatun Xauxa—one of the Inka’s most important installations in Chinchaysuyu, the most populous and prestigious of the empire’s four parts (D’Altroy 1981:65–69; 1992, 2018:210; Morris 1967:148; Von Hagen 2015; see Figure 2.3). Xauxa was constructed at a previously unoccupied site in the vicinity of scattered Wanka settlements in the Upper Mantaro Valley following Pachacuti Inka Yupanqui’s conquest of the region around AD 1460 (Figure 3.2). The site was not only connected to Pachacamac, but also sat along qhapaq ñan’s principal highland route linking Cuzco and Quito. The Mantaro Valley provided its communities with lands conducive to intensive maize, tuber, and quinoa cultivation as well as the pasturage of domestic
camelids (D’Altroy 1992:30, 34; D’Altroy and Earle 1985:189; Earle and D’Altroy 1982:272–273). Documentary sources suggest that craft specialists, including metalsmiths, aqllakuna, and mitmaqkuna, processed the resources extracted from Xauxa’s surroundings alongside local laborers (D’Altroy 1981:68, 151). The goods yielded from their labor were stockpiled in nearly 3,000 storage facilities networked throughout the Mantaro Valley (D’Altroy 2018:224; see Figure 2.4).

Historical sources indicate that Xauxa’s storehouses kept precious metals, qompi, maize, chicha, quinoa, potatoes, ceramics, birds, fruit, salt, and fish. Limited test excavations confirmed the presence of ceramics (mostly Inka-style aryballoid jars), quinoa, maize, lupines, and potatoes (D’Altroy and Hastorf 1984:339–345). D’Altroy and Earle (1985:194, Table 1) also report data that indicate increased copper and silver production in the Mantaro Valley during the LH. Spondylus was only recovered from pre- and post-LH contexts in the Upper Mantaro Valley, but
Figure 3.2. Map showing Pachakuti Inka and Thupa Inka’s conquests of the Xauxa-Pachacamac Axis (from Pärssinen 2015:Figure 15.2).
other shell objects (possibly considered *mulla*) were found associated with Inka-period structures (D’Altroy and Hastorf et al. 2002:273, Table 11.4). Hatun Xauxa’s reserves were seemingly used to provision the masses⁴ that congregated in its exceptionally large central plaza to participate in ritual performances (D’Altroy 1981:66; LeVine 1985:312–316). Associated with Xauxa’s central plaza was an *usnu*, or raised platform mound in the shape of a truncated step-pyramid, that was reserved for religious and political ceremonies (Coben 2015; D’Altroy 1981:78). *Usnu* in the central Peruvian Andes commonly featured drains or basins (Hyslop 1990:86–90) that were used to pour libations of *chicha*, water, and possibly blood (Hoopes 2009:247–248). R. Tom Zuidema (1989) suggests that a conduit for libations was a characteristic sine qua non of *usnu*. Frank Meddens (1997:7–8) argues that *usnu* facilitated the circulation of liquids between humans and *wak’a* that vitalized the earth. While much of Hatun Xauxa’s products were expended at or near the site, goods were likely mobilized for state purposes along the various roads that converged at the highland center. The road to Pachacamac began at Xauxa’s primary storage sector (D’Altroy 1992:118).

*Pachacamac*. On the coast to the west of Xauxa was Pachacamac—Chinchaysuyu’s preeminent ceremonial and pilgrimage center. Pachacamac was apparently an important religious destination by the Middle Horizon (c. AD 650–1000) and perhaps even as early as the Early Intermediate Period (c. AD 0–650), when its Old Temple was erected (Quilter 2014:250; Urton 2015b). According to the Spanish attorney Fernando de Santillán (1879 [1563]:32–33), the Inka renamed the Ychsma⁵ land at the estuary of the Lurín river, “Pachacamac” (“world maker” or “animator of the world”) (Capriata et al. 2019:28; Quilter 2014:250; Salomon 1991:16; Urton 2015b). The Inka recognized Pacha Camac’s importance and intensified his worship (D’Altroy 2015b:279, 384). Most accounts suggest that Pachacamac was annexed into the Inka empire by Thupa Inka Yupanki, son of Pachakuti Inka Yupanki, in the late fifteenth century AD (see Figure 3.2). Following their conquest of Pachacamac, the Inka remodeled much of the site and constructed several new buildings including a large temple dedicated to the sun *wak’a* Inti, an *aqllawasi*, an elite residential compound, and a likely *usnu* platform (Hyslop 1990:255–261).
All of these structures were associated with *qollqa* (Eeckhout 2012). Thus, at Pachacamac the Inka established infrastructure for the production (i.e., *aqllawasi*), storage (i.e., *qollqa*), and consumption (i.e., *usnu* and Sun temple) of ritually significant goods.

The Inka also established a large plaza, evidently to accommodate mass amounts of pilgrims. By the LH, pilgrims traveled to Pachacamac from all corners of *Tawantinsuyu* with offerings of gold, silver, and textiles (Xérez 1929 [1533]). According to Pizarro (1920 [1533]:176–177), these worshippers fasted up to a year to be permitted into the vicinity of Pacha Camac’s sanctuary (Eeckhout 2008; MacCormack 1991:55–61). The entrance to Pacha Camac’s shrine was reportedly adorned with textiles, whole spondylus shells, copper, corals, turquoise, and crystals (Gasca 1976 [1553]:53; MacCormack 1991:56; Paulsen 1974:603; Shimada 1991:XXXIV). The Inka subordinated Pacha Camac to their patron *wak’a* Inti in myth (D’Altroy 2015b:279; MacCormack 1991:60–61) and in the eclipsing of Pachacamac’s Old Temple by the Sun Temple (MacCormack 1991:56), but nevertheless adopted Pacha Camac into the Inka pantheon and revered him as an oracle of consequence; several *Sapa Inka* were reported to have sought his counsel (Hyslop 1990:255). Chroniclers Cieza de León (1996 [1551]:169–171) and Bernabé Cobo (1956-1964 [1653], II: 87) report Thupa Inka using the Xauxa-Pachacamac road to reach Pachacamac from Cuzco to offer sacrifices and to participate in festivals (Capriata et al. 2019:28–29). On his way to Pachacamac, the king was recorded passing through the region of Huarochirí and by its paramount *wak’a* Pariacaca.

**Huarochirí and Pariacaca.** The Huarochirí region is mostly known to Andeanists as being the setting and locus of production of the Huarochirí manuscript (HM). The HM is a unique colonial-period document written in Quechua. The manuscript offers an account of its narrators’ prehispanic Andean mythohistorical and religious traditions. It was commissioned around the turn of the seventeenth century by parish priest Francisco de Avila, perhaps to exact revenge on accusatory and litigious natives and to hunt down *wak’a* (Acosta 1987; Salomon 1991:24–26). To at least one of the HM’s native scribes, the manuscript was an opportunity to commit the history and religious traditions of Huarochirí’s natives to official memory (Salomon
One of these *wak’a* was Paria Caca, embodied in the tallest snow-capped peak of the Huarochirí mountain range (Figure 3.3). Paria Caca was the region’s apical mountain *wak’a* and was worshiped across the central and southern Andes (Salomon 1991:5). The manuscript’s Checa narrators reported devotees from various villages of the Rimac, Lurín, and Mala valleys making pilgrimage to his shrine (Salomon and Urioste 1991:75n267; see Figure 3.1). The Checa considered Paria Caca to be their father and recorded his expulsion of the Huarochirí region’s previous occupants to make way for their settlement of the territory (Salomon and Urioste 1991:70–76). The Checa established their ceremonial center and possible ex post facto *paqarina* (origin place; see Chase 2016:126–127; Salomon 1991:120) at the headwaters of the Lurín river, on the hilltop site called Llacsatambo. The manuscript identifies Llacsatambo as one of the loci where the HM myths were collected (Salomon 1991:99n449).

The manuscript recounts the Inka’s heavy subsidizing of ceremonial activity at both Pariacaca and Llacsatambo. Paria Caca was reportedly granted numerous retainers and abundant offerings by the Inka for his greatness and for his son Maca Uisa’s aid in conquering peoples revolting against Inka rule (Salomon and Urioste 1991:94–97). The Inka constructed multiple sites at the base of Pariacaca, including a *tampu* (Abad Pérez et al. 2009; Capriata et al. 2019). Maca Uisa was reportedly worshiped for his accomplishments at Hatun Xauxa (Salomon and Urioste 1991:98–100, 114–116). The people of Huarochirí were said to have built an *usnu* (i.e., a distinctly Inka architectural form and concept; see Gasparini and Margolies 1980:264–280; Meddens et al. 2014; Zuidema 1989) near Llacsatambo to petition for the return of Pacha Camac’s son, Llocllay Huancupa, after he had departed because of their previous neglect of him (Salomon and Urioste 1991:102). Upon Llocllay’s return, his worship was intensified with *chicha* from local storehouses that was brewed from Inka maize (103).

Inka presence at Llacsatambo is clearly visible and does not indicate violent Inka conquest (Chase et al. 2011, 2016:190). Rather, Inka-style architecture was grafted into an
Figure 3.3. Photograph of the snow-capped peak of Pariacaca, the tallest of the Huarochirí mountain range, and apical wak’a of the Huarochirí region (from Capriata et al. 2019:Foto 3).
existing site plan and was not prominently placed, suggesting the formation of an Inka-Checa alliance (Chase 2016:193–194). Furthermore, a few hundred meters to Llacsatambo’s southeast is a series of Inka-style and -period storehouses of local construction (Chase 2016:120–123, 231–232; Coello Rodríguez 2000; Coello Rodríguez and Díaz Arce 1995; Figure 3.4). In the HM, the storehouses that supplied Llocllay Huancupa with Inka maize were called sapçi, which, according to Salomon (2004:44–46), suggests that, while the maize was an Inka donation, the storehouses were managed locally. Interestingly, while recent excavations at Llacsatambo yielded Inka-style pottery (especially associated with Inka-style architecture), two test units excavated in the site’s storehouses did not (Chase 2016:186–189, 194–198, 222, 238). As mentioned briefly in chapter 2, similar data from the “village” site of Aukimarka, about 20 km south of the modern town of Huánuco, led Morris (1967:26–27, 30–31, 35) to conclude that the site’s storehouses were under community control. It is also worth noting, however, that the little botanical evidence

Figure 3.4. Inka qollqa to the southeast of the Checa’s hilltop ceremonial center at Llacsatambo (photograph by author).
recovered from Llacsatambo’s storehouses yielded no evidence of maize storage (Chase 2016:231n1).

Whether or not these were the storehouses from which Llocllay Huancupa was supplied with Inka maize, it is almost certain that they served a similar purpose. The storehouses were constructed facing Llacsatambo’s principal entrance (Figure 3.5) and, according to Chase (2016:121–122, 231), are visible from about 70 percent of the site’s built space, almost as if to advertise the Inka’s subsidizing of local ceremony and cult-worship. Llacsatambo’s numerous mortuary structures and substantial evidence of food and liquid storage vessels—including fragments of Inka-style urpu vessels used for serving chicha—confirm the site’s ceremonial function (Chase 2016:121, 190–193). The remains of coca and butchered llamas, quintessential objects of ceremony mentioned throughout the HM and in direct association with Llacsatambo, were also found in several test units at the site (Chase et al. 2011). The archaeology at Llacsatambo complements the Checa’s portrayal of the Inka in the manuscript. Where the Inka were mentioned, they were not depicted as dominant invaders (the Checa reserved that narrative for themselves), and were almost always worshiping local wak’a (Salomon and Urioste 1991:94–100, 102–103, 111, 114–116). It seems that the Inka’s primary interest in Llacsatambo was the establishment of relationships with wak’a and the site’s Checa residents. Félix Acuto (2022) makes a similar argument for the Inka’s activities in southern Tawantinsuyu based on greater evidence for the Inka’s import of ceremonial goods used in wak’a worship than exports of mineral resources. I argue that this pattern applies to the entire Xauxa-Pachacamac axis, and likely much of Tawantinsuyu. Now I examine what the relationships between LH Andeans and wak’a can tell us about value in the Xauxa-Pachacamac axis.

The Vitality of Wak’a

exchanges between the Inka and provincial Andeans in terms of “reciprocity,” but what they truly describe is not reciprocity at all (cf. Graeber 2001:225). Rather, they illustrate a system of barter or a form of social contract. They suggest that “power wielders” (Murra 1980[1956]:86), such as *kuraka* and state functionaries, took advantage of a long-standing Andean tradition of reciprocity to mobilize mass labor and production. Power wielders compensated labor with lavish gifts, and promises of military security, disaster relief, and religious mediation (D’Altroy and Earle 1985:190; Morris 1967:176–177, 1972:398–399; Murra 1980 [1956]:31, 122, 130).

A synthesis of archaeological data and a critical reading of the HM indicates that the Xauxa-Pachacamac axis was primarily a corridor of *wak’a* worship. Precious goods appear to have been produced and mobilized for this principal purpose. Here, I will examine how the transfer of goods from people to their *wak’a* integrated LH Andeans into a larger social totality, thereby imbuing action and tokens of value with meaning. An investigation of this activity also illuminates the transfer of goods between LH Andeans. First, this investigation requires a detailed discussion of the nature of *wak’a*.
The *wak’a* of the Xauxa-Pachacamac axis were “agentive, material … and originary” (Chase 2015:109) superhuman entities that took many forms. They were most commonly embodied in objects or places such as stones, mountaintops, bodies of water, constellations, ancient artifacts, or mummies (Salomon 1991:16–19). *Wak’a* were often identified by their extraordinary characteristics. The mestizo chronicler Garcilaso de la Vega (1966 [1609]:77), for example, listed “a woman who gives birth to twins,” double-yolked eggs, and “children born . . . with six fingers or toes . . . [or] a harelip” as potential *wak’a*. This is because *wak’a* were defined by their “vitality,” or their capacity to effect change in *pacha*. *Pacha*, according to Frank Salomon (1991), a foremost expert on and translator of the HM, is an Andean concept of “worldwide realities,” understood as a mutable coalescence of “time, space, and matter” (14–16). Salomon’s (1991:16) and Gerald Taylor’s (1987:24–25, 2000) critical examinations of the HM suggest that all elements of *pacha* were seen as being integrated in the cyclical flow of a vitalizing energy called *camaquen*. The flow of *camaquen* was essential to the continuation of life and required action. Through the activities of humans and *wak’a*, this vital force was mobilized and transferred from one being to another, animating extant matter and also generating new vital forms (a process called *camay*). *Wak’a* were the quintessential *camac* (agentive form of *camay*, “vitalizer”) of the Xauxa-Pachacamac axis.

The vitality of *wak’a* was deeply rooted in their creative pasts. By Salomon and George Urioste’s (1991) translation, the HM characterizes the *wak’a* of the Xauxa-Pachacamac axis as makers and animators of *pacha* and originators of people (Salomon 1991:16–19). The manuscript begins with an introduction of the Huarochirano’s primordial vitalizer of *pacha*, Cuni Raya Viracocha, who was likely a synthesis of the local *wak’a* Cuni Raya and the Inka’s creator *wak’a*, Vira Cocha (Salomon 1991:5, 10). Gary Urton (1981) glosses Vira Cocha’s name as “sea fat” or “foam of the sea” (202), while Esteban and Nancy Hornberger (1983) translate his name to mean “lake” or “pond” of fat (cf. Rowe 1960). Vira Cocha’s name suggests an association with virility; both foam—conjuring the image of semen and the rushing waters that fertilized the Andes’ many river valleys and irrigation canals—and fat were associated with life (Allen

As the Huarochirí narratives relate, it was Cuni Raya Viracocha who formed all villages, fields, and irrigation canals; gave “species essence” to the myriad animals of the Andes; and caused fish to populate the sea (Salomon and Urioste 1991:43–50). The creator wak’a “gave shape and [camaquen] to the mountains, the forests, the rivers, and all sorts of animals, and to the fields for humankind’s subsistence” (Salomon and Urioste 1991:91). He also created Paria Caca and instilled him with camaquen. Paria Caca himself was a camac of men and the “maker and sustainer” of people, while his sister, Chaupi Ñamca, was characterized as a camac of women (Salomon and Urioste 1991:84–87, 129). Numerous wak’a were assigned the epithet runa camac (maker/animator of people) (Salomon and Urioste 1991:44–45, 77n287, 84–85, 109, 129).

The preeminent creator or animator wak’a of the Xauxa-Pachacamac axis, however, was Pacha Camac, whose name can be translated as “world maker” or “animator of the world” (D’Altroy 2015b:521; Salomon 1991:15–16; Urton 2015b). He was the camac of space, earth, and time; “the vitalizer of worldwide realities” (Salomon 1991:16). The coastal wak’a was also designated Pacha Cuyuchic, or “world shaker.” The narrators of the HM insist that Pacha Camac Pacha Cuyuchic’s anger caused the earth to tremble and that “the world would end if he ever rolled over” (Salomon and Urioste 1991:113–115). In another Huarochirí narrative, when Thupa Inka Yupanqui called on the region’s wak’a to aid him in quelling provincial rebellions, Pacha Camac replied that he could not help because his power was such that he would cause the world to end. Pacha Camac’s son, Llocllay Huancupa, shared his father’s esteem as “animator of humanity and as the World Shaker … the very one who makes everything” (Salomon and Urioste 1991:109).

Throughout the HM, many encounters between wak’a result in the creation and fertilization of pacha. The manuscript’s narrators describe the region’s valleys as female wak’a and the high mountaintops from which water proceeded as male. The unions of these vital forces were the wellsprings of life. In one such scene, Cuni Raya Viracocha impregnated the female wak’a Caui Llaca and pursued her and their child down from the highlands to the
coast near Pachacamac (Salomon and Urioste 1991:46–50). According to Salomon and Urioste (1991:48n53), this narrative traces the course of the Lurín river, perhaps suggesting that Cuni Raya’s insemination of Caui Llaca symbolized the river’s “fertilization” of the Lurín valley (cf. Chase 2018b:133–135). Salomon (1991:15) referred to the manuscript narrators’ frequent illustrations of intercourse as a metaphor for irrigation and fertility as “hydraulic sex.” Other associations between sex, pacha, and fertility include Paria Caca’s widening of the beautiful woman-turned-wak’a Chuqui Suso’s irrigation canal and watering her crops (Salomon and Urioste 1991:61–63), participants of Chaupi Ñamca’s paschal festival dancing nude to usher in a fertile season (Salomon and Urioste 1991:78), and the worship of the phallic-shaped mountain wak’a Rucana Coto—known to female wak’a for his virility—by men with small penises hoping for their genitalia to grow (Salomon and Urioste 1991:78n291).

Humans played an essential role in pacha’s vitalization. By Frank Salomon’s (1991:16) assessment, “the function of ritual and sacrifice [in Huaroñiri was] to ensure a steady circulation of biological energy through pacha by conducting social exchange among its living parts” (emphasis in original). Wak’a required abundant offerings of food and drink to continue the flow of camaquen. In the HM, wak’a prefer offerings of chicha (and other maize products), mullu, coca, llamas, qompi, guinea pigs, and, when the Inka are involved, gold and silver. As people take care of their wak’a, the wak’a continue to make water flow, crops grow, and animals thrive. When wak’a are neglected, however, things turn disastrous. The manuscript tells of several occasions when Paria Caca destroyed villages with violent winds, torrential rains, and mudslides, for having been refused chicha by village residents (Salomon and Urioste 1991:61–62, 125–127). In two of these stories, the only villager who did offer Paria Caca a drink was spared. As mentioned above, the wak’a Llocllay Huancupa left Huaroñiri and returned to his father Pacha Camac until his veneration was intensified.

LH Andeans’ veneration of wak’a, however, did not merely maintain balance in pacha. It also gave people creative power. Wak’a favor endowed its beneficiaries with the capacity to influence weather and harvests, form and manipulate social relations, and revise histories. The
HM tells of many Huarochiranos summoning rain and fertile seasons through offerings, dances, and other ceremonies in veneration of their *wak’a*. The manuscript’s Checa narrators recounted how their descent from Paria Caca and Tutay Quiri rendered them elder brothers to various lowland *ayllu* (Salomon and Urioste 1991:80n312). They benefited from a similar asymmetrical relationship with the Concha, who were “the very last of Paria Caca’s and Tutay Quiri’s offspring to be born, and the least prestigious of them” (Salomon and Urioste 1991:143). The Checa’s descent from these *wak’a* also legitimized their claim to Llacsatambo and its surrounding lands and resources. Following Tutay Quiri’s mythical conquest of the Lurín valley, the Checa “danced their dance of origin” at the hilltop center, presumably establishing it as their new *paqarina* (Salomon and Urioste 1991:120). Salomon (1991) suggests that the term for multi-*ayllu* settlements, *llaqta*, was constituted by “the union of a localized *huaca* . . . with its territory and with the group of people whom the *huaca* favored” (23). Thus, LH Andeans were not only integrated in the greater social totality that is *pacha*, but were also empowered with the capacity to alter it. LH Andeans’ role in the vitalization and orientation of *pacha* gave meaning to their actions and rendered the tokens of value that facilitated these activities objects of desire. Thus, I suggest that “vitality” is the most illustrative term to describe value in the Xauxa-Pachacamac axis.

**Tokens of Value and Fetishization**

In previous sections, I discussed the production, distribution, exchange, and consumption of LH tokens of value. I specified that these products were significant for their role in facilitating socially-integrating creative action. That is, the transfer of vitality through *pacha* and its inhabitants. Here, I outline why certain tokens of value (i.e., *chicha*, coca, *mullu*, llamas, *qompi*, and precious metal objects) were suitable for their particular uses. I categorize them as “vital forms,” “measures of vitality,” and “ends in themselves.” These categories are by no means exclusive; many LH tokens of value functioned as both vital forms and measures of vitality. All of the goods discussed here seem to have been pursued as ends in themselves.
“Vital forms” were material objects that rendered vitality perceptible to their possessors and to society. The clearest examples of objects operating as vital forms include chicha, coca, mullu, and llamas. These goods were offered to wak’a and to other humans because they were physical manifestations of camay. Chicha and coca, for example, have transformative properties that affect one’s state of mind. Chicha can cause drunkenness, while coca is a mild stimulant and appetite suppressant. These products gave a new kind of life to social interactions. The properties of chicha and coca eased the burdens of a hard day’s work, removed barriers to social engagement, and brought people together in mutual aid and celebration (cf. Allen 2002:7; Morris 1979).

The vitality of chicha was also expressed in its foam which, as outlined above, was a manifestation of fertility. Foam was associated with semen and rushing water. The carbonation of the drink may have also been seen as an expression of camay. The very fermentation of chicha was a transformative process that was inaugurated by human saliva (Morris 1979:22–25). Chicha was offered to ancestor mummies—who were imagined as dry, uncultivated seeds—to nourish them and activate their life-giving potential (D’Altroy 2015b:134–137; Gose 1993:494; Salomon 1991:16, 1995:340–341). It was also poured onto tilled soil to ensure a fertile harvest (D’Altroy 2015b:405). In the HM, participants of the seasonal Chanco fertility ceremonies covered exhausted hunters returning from pilgrimage and the ground at Llacsatambo with chicha (Salomon and Urioste 1991:81). In another account, the woman Capyama accidentally spilled the beverage and caused the ground to turn into a spring (Salomon and Urioste 1991:139). Irene Silverblatt (1981:33) associates this narrative with sixteenth century myths of women creating springs through urination. Catherine Allen (2002:240–241) finds similar attitudes towards the vitalizing properties of chicha and urine in the modern town of Sonqo, near Cusco. Her ethnographic work reveals that Sonqueños view the release of chicha in sweat and urine as a transfer of energy that revitalizes the earth and the dead, integrating them in a “hydraulic cycle” (241) of life.

The thorny oyster shell, Spondylus princeps, procured from coastal waters in the north
of Tawantinsuyu (Carter 2011), harnessed similar vitalizing powers. Spondylus, and other objects that LH Andeans called *mullu*, retained the essence of the ocean and brought rain and fertility to their possessors (Bauer 1998:27; Blower 2000:217–218; D’Altroy 2015b:276; Murra 1975:257–258; Rowe 1946:307; Von Hagen 2015). *Mullu* was a common offering to springs (Blower 2000:209) and the earth (210), and was a favorite food of *wak’a* (Paulsen 1974:603). These marine goods were specifically favored in the HM by the rain gods Paria Caca and Maca Uisa. Paria Caca, after consuming an offering of “thorny oyster shells” (Salomon and Urioste 1991:66–69), created Mullo Cocha lake to extinguish the fire god Huallallo Caruincho. Maca Uisa, upon defeating the Inka’s enemies with lightning, rain, and mudslides, demanded that they feed him *mullu* as a reward (Salomon and Urioste 1991:116). *Mullu* was desirable to both *wak’a* and humans in its raw form but was also crushed into powders, mixed with llama blood or *chicha*, woven into fine textiles, made into jewelry, and carved into vitalizing figurines called *enga* that often represented llamas (Blower 2000:210n2; D’Altroy 2015b:115, 145, 205, 284, 425).

Camelids were in many ways the lifeblood of the Andean highlands. Domesticated llamas and alpacas provided meat for eating, wool and skin for clothing, fat for fuel and lubricant, dung for fuel and fertilizer, and bones for tool production (Murra 1980 [1956]). These animals were often sacrificed en masse to ensure good maize harvests and induce rain (Murra 1980 [1956]:58). Llamas were associated with plenty. The Checa told of an annual ritual procession to Quimquilla—owner of many llamas and “*curaca* among *huacas*”—to dance and sacrifice llamas saying, “we flourish!” (Salomon and Urioste 1991:119). In another narrative, llamas were raced on the backs of their owners to the heights of Ynca Caya—from where Paria Caca could be seen—the winning pair being declared as beloved and the llama-bearer as fortunate by the mountain *wak’a* (Salomon and Urioste 1991:72). Llamas were also desired for their ability to transport heavy cargo and for their use in divination. In the HM, the hearts, lungs, and entrails of llamas were inspected to communicate with the dead and prophesy of future calamities (Salomon and Urioste 1991:73–74, 96–97n425). Documentary sources tell of diviners burning llama
fat with coca leaves to tell the future (Murra 1980 [1956]:49). One mythological event from
Huarochirí portrays a llama saving his owner and humankind from a devastating flood (Murra
1980 [1956]:58; Salomon and Urioste 1991:51–52). To Huarochiranos, the camac of Llamas
was a dark llama constellation in the heavens called Yacana (“with two eyes and a very large
neck”). Yacana drank water from the ocean and carried it to the sky and heights of tall mountains
from where it flowed down to fertilize the earth (Salomon 1991:15–16; Salomon and Urioste
1991:132–133, 133n717). This dark celestial camac, reminiscent of the Inka’s Urcuchillay,
animated and multiplied llama herds and instilled them with their life-giving properties
(D’Altroy 2015b:256; Murra 1980 [1956]:50–51).

Measures of Vitality. Vitality, of course, was not an object; it was ultimately a social
relation. One’s vitality was only ratified by the perception of others. Thus, LH Andeans often
solicited the ratification of their vitality through objects of adornment or other tokens of value
suitable for display (e.g., qompi and goods crafted from precious metals) (cf. Graeber 1996).
These objects served as measures of vitality. Vitality was most commonly measured through
rank, presence or absence, and proportionality (cf. Graeber 2001:75).

Vitality was commonly measured by the materials from which an object was made as
well as its decoration. The most elegant textiles, for example, were qompi cloths fashioned by
mamakuna and aqllakuna from fine cotton, the wool of alpacas, viscacha fur, or on the rare
occasion, bat hair (D’Altroy 2015b:359, 425–429; Murra 1962). Qompi was reserved for the
Inka elite or those to whom they were gifted by the state. The prestige of these textiles was often
heightened through the incorporation of precious metals and spondylus into its fabric. Certain
textiles, such as the royal mascaypacha fringe, were restricted to the use of the Sapa Inka alone.
Cobo (1979:196) insisted that “each nation and province” wore distinctive patterns and insignias
on their clothing. Clothing marked a group’s status or prestige, as determined by their perceived
vitality. In the HM, the clothing of different ayllu associated them with the vitality of their wak’a
(Salomon and Urioste 1991:118).

Other objects of adornment were made from precious metals. Gold and silver,
respectively imagined as the sweat of the Sun and tears of the Moon, were especially prized by
the Inka (D’Altroy 2015b:145, 283; Salomon and Urioste 1991:111–115). These two precious
metals represented the vitality of the Inka’s paramount wak’a and the interdependent and
productive complements of gender—the moon wak’a Mama-Quilla being the wife of the Sun
wak’a Inti (D’Altroy 2015b:42–43, 255). Thus, gold and silver were compelling mediums by
which their possessors indicated their vitality to others. The Sapa Inka Pachakuti and Wayna
Qhapaq had “brother” statues crafted in gold to identify themselves as incarnations of Inti, whose
own icon was manufactured from the same precious metal (D’Altroy 2015b:134–135). These
metals were also fashioned into ear and nose rings, ritual paraphernalia, military costume, and
ceremonial drinking vessels, among other objects (Lechtman 2015).

The most desirable ceremonial drinking vessels were the aquilla cast for royalty in
gold and silver. Those reserved for lesser elites, such as regional and local kuraka, were keros
fabricated out of wood or ceramic (Cummins 2015; D’Altroy 2015b:447). It was not only the
material from which the drinker’s cup was made, however, that indicated vitality, but also the
designs engraved on its exterior (cf. Cummins 2002). These ceremonial vessels were always
made in pairs to be used in toasts of chicha between individuals committing to enduring
relationships (Morris 1979:25). The craftspeople that produced these items were considered
kamayuq of their trade, suggesting that they vitalized their products with camaquen (Cummins
2000:20–23; D’Altroy 2015b:418). Those who weaved the finest grades of cloth were called
qompi kamayuq while those who produced the most elegant drinking vessels were kero kamayuq.

Ends in Themselves. Objects that realized and measured vitality in its concrete form
increasingly came to be seen as original sources of value and ends in themselves (cf. Graeber
2001:76–81; Turner 1979:31–34). Mullu, for example, was not merely a means by which the
transfer of vitality between people and wak’a or other individuals was perceptible, but actual
vitality itself. Numerous spondylus shells have been recovered from elite LH burials at various
sites near the mouth of the Rímac river (Cock 2002; Cock and Goycochea Díaz 2004; Díaz
Arriola 2004: 590-591; Díaz Arriola and Vallejo 2004: 297-298; Farfán Lobatón 2000; Murphy
2004) and at Pachacamac (Eeckhout 2004:28–29, Table 7; Franco Jordan and Ponciano Paredes 2000; Shimada 1991:37–39), usually in their complete form. Mullu increased the desirability of textiles and marked sacred spaces. This process of value fetishization affected attitudes towards products such as qompi, llamas, precious metals, and chicha, to name a few. Coca seems to have possibly been used increasingly as a device for incipient market exchange, especially in Tawantinsuyu’s northern reaches (D’Altroy 2015b:164; D’Altroy and Earle 1985; Salomon 1978). The very intensification of the production, accumulation, and distribution of these tokens of value came to be seen as signs of vitality. The Inka conquered vast territories, resettled communities, and established entire infrastructures—like that of the Xauxa-Pachacamac axis—to capture and demonstrate vitality. The process of value fetishization contributed to the self-perpetuating nature of empire.
The Inkaic LH was driven by pursuits of vitality. Vitality was not captured through the production or accumulation of goods, but through intensifying their production and circulation (cf. Mauss 1990 [1925]). The accumulation or display of objects such as qompi, aquilla, or llamas, could indicate one’s historical impact in pacha or their capacity to effect future change, but value was ultimately realized through the continuous vitalization and orientation of pacha. Pacha was altered through the transfer of tokens of value. LH Andeans formed new relationships over toasts of chicha, reimagined the past as they fed their wak’a, and summoned rain through offerings of mullu. The importance of any person, group, or object, was determined by their impact on the circulation and reorientation of pacha’s vitalizing energy. People and things were perceived as prestigious (or not) based on perceptions of their history of, or potential for, creative action. For the Inka, this meant feeding the people of Tawantinsuyu (an ever-expanding territory) and, perhaps more importantly, its wak’a (cf. Acuto 2022; Capriata et al. 2019:28–29; Chase 2015, 2016, 2018a; D’Altroy 2015b:279, 384; Eeckhout 1998, 2008, 2012; Hyslop 1990:255–261). This process required the intensified production of tokens of value that was a defining attribute of Inka expansion.

The very concept of vitality became associated with conquest in the Xauxa-Pachacamac axis. The wak’a of the HM fertilized pacha through sexual conquests marked by deception and rape, and violently conquered new territories for their children (Salomon and Urioste 1991:46–50, 139). The Checa’s tutelary wak’a, Tutay Quiri, flowed down the Lurin and Rimac
valleys from Llacsatambo as yellow and red rain, expelling the region’s previous inhabitants so the Checa could settle its lands and “dance their dance of origin” once more (Salomon and Urioste 1991:79–81, 80n311). Tutay Quiri’s conquest is reminiscent of a standard huari-llacuaz sociopolitical arrangement and mythohistory of the LH highlands that favored the social statuses of llacuaces, who traced their ancestry to powerful pastoralist invaders associated with rain and thunder, over those of agriculturalist wari groups who claimed autochthony through their ancestral relations to the region’s wak’a (Chase 2018b:140; Gose 1993:493).

The Checa commemorated their claimed rights to Llacsatambo through invasion every November by recreating the path of Tutay Quiri’s conquest in pilgrimage and performing a fertility dance at their hilltop ceremonial center (Salomon and Urioste 1991:80–81). These actions served to reproduce the Checa’s reconceptualized history through semiotic performatives (Chase 2018b:145–149). Chase (2018b:2016, 2018b:153) argues that, in commemorating and recording these events, the Checa were producing “a vital, active, ongoing past” to achieve a “desired present.” To the Checa, and presumably their peers, their vitality was contingent on their descent from a vital invader wak’a (Chase 2018b:159).

Similarly, the Inka imagined agriculture as the violent disembowelment of the earth and the invading Spaniards as incarnations of the creator wak’a Viracocha (Bauer 1996; D’Altroy 2015b:405). The ultimate expression of the capacity to effect change in pacha was the ability to facilitate pachakuti—the complete revolution of space, time, and matter that often resulted in the generation of a new pacha through the destruction of the old. Pachakuti was often a product of natural calamities, and in the HM was willed by pacha itself (Salomon and Urioste 1991:51–52), but it was also the result of human action.¹ Pachakuti was the title taken by the Sapa Inka attributed with the greatest expansion of Tawantinsuyu’s borders, including most of the Xauxa-Pachacamac axis.

Ultimately, then, the socioeconomic relations of the LH Xauxa-Pachacamac axis cannot be accurately described in the standard terms of reciprocity or exchange. The movement of goods was not about direct return or equivalency. Xauxa-Pachacamac political economy can best be
understood as a socially-stratified “gift economy” in which what was ultimately transferred were not objects, but “vitality.” Inka expansion was the result of the “agonistic” (cf. Mauss 1990 [1925]) pursuits of the Inka and provincial Andeans to increase their impact in the vitalization and orientation of *pacha* and elevate their importance to society.
Abad Pérez, César, Josué González Solórzano, and Anderson Chamorro García


Acuto, Félix A.


Alconini, Sonia, and R. Alan Covey (editors)


Allen, Catherine


2002  *The Hold Life Has: Coca and Cultural Identity in an Andean Community*. 2nd ed. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C.

Anderson, Ridge, and Zachary Chase

2021  “Paria Caca Loves Him”: The Camelid and Huarochirí Sustenance and Ceremony.
Barnes, Monica


2010    John Victor Murra’s Provincial Inca Life Project and an American National  

Bastien, Joseph W.


Baudin, Louis

1961    *A Socialist Empire: The Incas of Peru*. Translated by Katherine Woods, edited by  

Bauer, Brian S.


Bergh, Susan E.


Bergson, Henri


Blower, David


Burger, Richard L., Craig Morris, Ramiro Matos Mendieta, Joanne Pillsbury, and Jeffrey Quilter (editors)


Capriata, Camila, Juan Villanueva, and Manuel Perales

2019  *Historia y uso del camino entre Xauxa y Pachacamac: Investigaciones arqueológicas*
Carneiro, Robert L.


Carter, Benjamin


Chase, Zachary J.


Chase, Zachary J., Abraham Magno Imbertis Herrera, and Luis Enrique Paredes Sánchez


Childe, V. Gordon


Cieza de León, Pedro de


Coben, Lawrence S.


Cobo, Bernabé

Ediciones Atlas (Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, 91–92), Madrid.

Cock, Guillermo A.


Cock, Guillermo A., and Elena Goycochea Díaz


Coello Rodríguez, Antonio


Coello Rodríguez, Antonio, and Ernesto Díaz Arce


Collier, Donald, and John V. Murra

Conrad, Geoffrey W., and Arthur Demarest  

Cummins, Thomas B. F.  


D’Altroy, Terence N.  
1981 Empire Growth and Consolidation: The Xauxa Region of Perú under the Incas. PhD dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of California, Los Angeles.


D’Altroy, Terence N., and Christine A. Hastorf


D’Altroy, Terence N., and Christine A. Hastorf et al.


D’Altroy, Terence N., and Timothy K. Earle


Díaz Arriola, Luisa, and Francisco Vallejo


Dumont, Louis

Durston, Alan


Earle, Timothy K., Terence N. D’Altroy, Catherine J. LeBlanc, Christine A. Hastorf, and Terry Y. LeVine


         Unpublished manuscript.

Earle, Timothy K., Terence N. D’Altroy, Christine A. Hastorf, Catherine J. Scott, Cathy L. Costin, Glenn S. Russell, and Elsie Sandefur


Earle, Timothy K., and Terence N. D’Altroy

1989    The political economy of the Inka empire: The archaeology of power and finance. In
Archaeological Thought in America, edited by C. C. Lamberg-Karlovsky, pp. 183–204.

Eeckhout, Peter

1998    Le temple de Pachacamac sous l’Empire inca. Journal de la Société de Américanistes
84:9–44.

2004    Relatos míticos y prácticas rituales en Pachacamac. Bulletin de l’Institut Français

2008    El oráculo de Pachacamac y los peregrinajes a larga distancia en el mundo andino
antiguo. In Adivinación y oráculos en las Américas, edited by Marco Curatola Petrocchi
and Mariusz Ziolkowski, pp. 161–180. PUCP, Fondo editorial/Instituto Francês de
Estudios Andinos, Lima.


Espinoza Soriano, Waldemar


Farfán Lobatón, Carlos

Feinman, Gary, and Joyce Marcus (editors)


Franco Jordán, Régulo, and Ponciano Paredes Botoni


Garcilaso de la Vega, El Inca


Gasca, Pedro de la


Gasparini, Gráziano, and Luise Margolies

González Holguín, Diego

1952 [1608]  *Vocabulario de la lengua general de todo el Perú, llamada lengua Qquichua o del Inca.* Imprenta Santa María, Lima.

Gose, Peter

1993  Segmentary State Formation and the Ritual Control of Water Under the Incas.  

Graeber, David


Palgrave, New York.

Guamán Poma de Ayala, Felipe


Harris, Marvin

Hassig, Ross


Hirth, Kenneth, and Joanne Pillsbury


Hoopes, John W.


Hornberger, Esteban, and Nancy H. Hornberger


Hyslop, John


1990  *Inka Settlement Planning.* University of Texas Press, Austin.
Kluckhohn, Clyde


Kosiba, Steve


Lechtman, Heather


LeVine, Terry Y. (editor)


Luttwak, Edward N.

MacCormack, Sabine


Marx, Karl


Mauss, Marcel


Meddens, Frank M.


Meddens, Frank, Katie Willis, Colin McEwan, and Nicholas Branch (editors)
Morris, Craig


Morris, Craig, and Adriana Von Hagen


Mumford, Jeremy


Munn, Nancy


Murphy, Melissa Scott
2004  From Bare Bones to Mummified: Understanding Health and Disease in an Inca Community. PhD dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Pennsylvania.

Murra, John V.


Ogburn, Dennis


Pärssinen, Martti


Patterson, Thomas C.

Paulsen, Allison C.


Pizarro, Hernando


Polanyi, Karl


Pulgar Vidal, Javier


Quilter, Jeffrey

Ramírez, Susan Elizabeth


Rowe, John


Sahlins, Marshall


Salomon, Frank

1978 *Ethnic Lords of Quito in the Age of the Incas*. University Microfilms, Ann Arbor.


Salomon, Frank, and George L. Urioste (translators)


Shimada, Izumi


Shimada, Izumi (editor)


Silverblatt, Irene

Steward, Julian H.


Strathern, Marilyn


Taylor, Gerald (editor and translator)


2000 Camac, camay y camasca y otros ensayos sobre Huarochirí y Yauyos. Institut Français d’Études Andines, Lima.

Turner, Terence

Urton, Gary


Urton, Gary, and Adriana Von Hagen (editors)


Von Hagen, Adriana


White, Leslie


Xérez, Francisco de

Zuidema, R. Tom

Chapter 1


1.2. “Andean culture” is an abstraction used here to denote a “total process through which all [pursuits of value were] coordinated” (Graeber 2001:76) in the LH Andes.

1.3. The Quechua term *mullu* has most commonly been conflated with *Spondylus princeps* (e.g. Murra 1975:256–257, 1980 [1956]; Paulsen 1974; Salomon and Urioste 1991). Recent scholarship (Blower 2000, Carter 2011), however, suggests that the term *mullu* may have also denoted other worked or unworked maritime objects including non-spondylus seashells, pearls, and coral. The term may have additionally encompassed objects such as food items, stone, bone, and turquoise (Blower 2000:215–217, 222), although these possibilities are more speculative. *Mullu* was commonly associated with water and fertility (217–218). *Mullu* objects usually featured colors such as red, yellow, orange, purple, white, gold, and bluish-green (213–215). In the Huarochirí manuscript, the colors red, yellow, and bluish-green are associated with *wak’a* (e.g. Salomon and Urioste 1991:62, 68, 80, 115, 127) and llamas (e.g. Salomon and Urioste 1991:55).

1.4. Graeber (2001:75) specified that tokens of value can take the form of material objects or material performances. As I am dealing with data from the past, an analysis of material objects is more feasible and concrete than one of performances. Moreover, I analyze objects as tokens
of value to explicitly make my case that value in the LH Andes was an assessment of creative action, or vitality, rather than the intrinsic properties of things. Nevertheless, I consider material performances where historical data allow it.

1.5. The manner in which I deploy the term “vitality” does not relate to Henri Bergson’s (1944 [1907]) “élan vital,” which has a more evolutionary, developmental-teleological sense to it.

1.6. Plans to carry out additional excavations at Llacsatambo and its storehouses were interrupted by the global COVID-19 pandemic. Much like Murra (1980 [1956]:xx–xxiii), my circumstances left me no options but to write a thesis from data available to me in print (cf. Barnes 2009).

Chapter 2

2.1. More recent studies suggest that the terms ayllu and llaqta cannot be defined quite so simply (Allen 2002; Salomon 1991:21–24). Salomon (1991:22; emphasis added) suggests that Huarochirí ayllu can safely be thought of as “a named, landholding collectivity, self-defined in kinship terms, including lineages but not globally defined as unilineal, and frequently forming part of a multi-ayllu settlement.” Allen (2002) defines ayllu in modern Sonqo as “indigenous communit[ies] or other social group[s] whose members share a common focus.” Kinship was (and is) certainly a factor in ayllu organization, but it was not the entire essence of ayllu. Furthermore, what constituted kinship in the prehispanic Andes is not perfectly clear and likely varied (Salomon 1991:22–23). Salomon (1991:23; emphasis in original) suggests that llaqta can be understood as “the union of a localized huaca . . . with its territory and with the group of people [an ayllu or multiple ayllu] whom the huaca favored.”
2.2. The use of the word “deity” when referring to wak’a may not be entirely accurate. I chose to use this word here to avoid a lengthy explanation of wak’a that I reserve for chapter 3 and because it is the most accurate noun offered by the English language to describe wak’a (Salomon 1991:16).

2.3. Murra (1980 [1956]:163) found yana to be the most ambiguous of the permanent labor statuses and expressed the possibility that yanakuna may not have even existed.

2.4. It is worth noting that Andeanist economic anthropologists have made recent efforts to reconcile the shortcomings of their tradition. In the second edition of his summary volume on The Incas, for example, D’Altroy (2015b:ix) added a new chapter on “Thinking Inca,” to “revisit issues about the Incas’ own notions about existence, time, causality, and power.” Much of the data he draws on come from ethnographic studies of Quechua and Aymara speakers (xi). Many of the concepts discussed in D’Altroy’s new chapter are central to the argument of this thesis.

Murra has also recognized the importance of considering meaning in our investigations of the LH. He suggests that,

long-distance, maritime exchanges of precious goods (rainmaking spondylous [sic], unworn textiles that took literally years to weave and were then buried with the dead, and fancy metals that imitated gold) took place in contexts which it is our task to unravel, not to dismiss with Western labels such as “trade,” “tribute,” or “markets” [Murra 1995:68].

Chapter 3

3.1. Where the desirability of these products is considered, it is attributed to the objects’ use
in ritual institutions, exchange-value, association with Cuzco, or scarcity (Morris 1967:138–139, 173; 1972; 1982; Murra 1962; 1980 [1956]:58–60, 65, 69, 122). No doubt, many of these factors did contribute to LH value-systems. However, one is still left to question why LH Andeans considered these products to be appropriate for ceremonial use, why llama sacrifices, for example, were superior to offerings of guinea pigs or *ticti* (Salomon and Urioste 1991:135), or how the *Sapa Inka*’s association with goods came to be significant.

3.2 Here, I use Graeber’s (2001) definition of “society” from the perspectives of social actors, being “that potential audience, of everyone whose opinion . . . matters in some way” (76, 216–217).

3.3 The Wanka were an ethnic group that occupied the Upper Mantaro Valley during the Late Intermediate Period (c. AD 1000–1460) and into the LH (D’Altroy 1992).

3.4 When Hernando Pizarro and his soldiers first laid eyes on Hatun Xauxa, they saw its plaza filled with festivalgoers (LeVine 1985:312–314; Xerez 1929 [1533]:134). The Spanish also encountered Inka general Challcochima’s army of around 35,000 soldiers (as counted by *khipu*) bivouacked at Hatun Xauxa following the *Sapa Inka* Atawallpa’s victory in AD 1533 over his brother, and rival to the throne, Waskar (D’Altroy 2015b:335; Pizarro 1959 [1533]:89). Hernando Pizarro (1959 [1533]) claimed in a letter to officials in Panama that Xauxa’s plaza could accommodate over 100,000 people (90).

3.5 The Ychsma were an ethnic group that, according to ethnohistoric accounts (Rostworowski de Diez Canseco 2004), controlled much of the Lurín Valley prior to the Inka’s conquest.

3.6 The Checa’s parentage and the expulsion of the Yunca is later attributed to Paria Caca’s son, Tutay Quiri (Salomon and Urioste 1991:119), attesting to the “partitive” (Chase 2015)
nature of *wak’a*.

3.7. One of these test units (TIUE02) measured 2x1.5 m, while the other (TIUE01) measured 2x1 m (Chase 2016:315–316, 318).

3.8. Salomon’s (1991) and Taylor’s (1987) definitions of *pacha* and *camay*, as presented here, are corroborated by various ethnohistorical (e.g., Salomon 1995) and ethnographic (e.g., Allen 2002; Bastien 1978, 1985) investigations and are generally accepted among Andeanists (e.g., D’Altroy 2015b:131–138; González Holguín 1952[1608]:268; Quilter 2014:48).

Chapter 4

4.1. According to a native account, Atawallpa’s generals killed Waskhar’s kin and his *khipu kamayuq*, along with their *khipu*, to instigate *pachakuti* (Callapiña et al. 1974; D’Altroy 2015b:2). Taki Onqoy dancers were potentially ushering in a *pachakuti* by invoking the return of *wak’a* to defeat the christian god (Mumford 1998). Spanish conquest was also associated with *pachakuti*. MacCormack (1988) recounts a story of Thupa Inka Yupanki stopping a man from blowing a trumpet lest he invoke *pachakuti*, and suggests that the story is evidence of *pachakuti* occurring “irrespective of human merit” (993). However, this story seems to provide evidence that, while *pachakuti* could be willed by pacha alone, it could also be instigated through human action.

4.2. I use the term “gift economy” here to refer to an economy in which value is transferred “without any immediate return, or guarantee that there will ever be one” (Graeber 2001:225).
GLOSSARY

This glossary is adapted from D’Altroy’s (2015b:520–526) book, *The Incas*. The glossary contains most of the non-English terms used in the text, with the preferred definition for this thesis listed first. Because translations and meanings of the terms vary, a range of definitions is provided, but this glossary should not be taken as an exhaustive survey. Specific quoted definitions, attributed in brackets, are derived from Cerrón-Palomino 1976 [CP]; González Holguín 1952 [1608] [DGH]; Salomon 1991 [FS]; Urioste’s glossary-index in Guaman Poma 1980: 1075–1108 [GP]; Hornberger and Hornberger 1983 [HH]; Hyslop 1990: 333–334 [JH]; Murra 1980 [1956]: 191–194 [JVM]; Quilter 2014 [JQ]; Santo Tomás 1951 [ST]; Salomon and Urioste 1991 [SU]; and D’Altroy 2015b [TD]. Cerrón-Palomino’s dictionary refers to the modern Quechua of the Junín region, while the Hornbergers’ dictionary is based on the modern Quechua from the Cuzco region. Languages are Arawak (Ar), Aymara (Ay), Quechua (Q), and Spanish (S). Words in square brackets in the text are Terence D’Altroy’s insertions.

*aqlla* (Q; plural *aqllakuna*) “woman chosen for state and religious service” [JH: p. 333]; “hidden” [GP: p. 1076]; *aqllawasi*: “the building or compound where aqlla lived, wove, and brewed” [JH: p. 333].

*aquilla* (Q) Ceremonial drinking vessel crafted in silver or gold [DGH: p. 26].

*ayllu* (Q) localized descent group, varying in inclusiveness, frequently subdivided into moieties, lineages, or both; “division, genealogy, lineage, or kinship” [GP: p. 1078, after DGH: p. 39]; “kinsman, family relation” [CP: p. 33]; generally, any group of things or beings.

*Aymara* (called *Haquru* by its speakers) one of three principal Andean languages, spoken primarily from far southern Peru through Bolivian altiplano.

*camaquen* (Q): vitality; *camac*: a being or thing that confers vitality; *camay*: the capacity to confer vitality.

*chaski* (Q) “postal messenger” [GP: p. 1079].

*chicha* (Ar) “a fermented beverage, generally of maize, originally a Caribbean word” [JH: p. 333]; in Quechua *aqha, aswa* [GP: p. 1079].

*Chinchaysuyu* (Q) northwestern part of Inka empire, generally corresponding to the Peruvian and Ecuadorian highlands and coast.
Khipu (Q; also sp. quipu) “cords with knots used [as a mnemonic device] in Inka accounting” [GP: p. 1086]; “knot, ancient Andean recording system” [HH: p. 89]; from “Qquipuni. To count by [use of] knots” [DGH: p. 309]

Khipu kamayuq (Q) official responsible for keeping records on knotted strings.

Kuraka (Q; also sp. curaca, kuraqka [JVM: p. 192]) native elite; “local ethnic authority” [GP: p. 1085]; “representative of the local god” [HH: p. 84].

llaqta (Q; also sp. llacta [DGH: p. 207]) “a triple entity: the union of a localized huaca (often an ancestor-deity), with its territory and with the group of people whom the huaca favored” [FS: p. 23]; “town” [GP: p. 1087]; “Pueblo” [DGH: p. 207]. A town, a nucleated settlement” [JVM: p. 192]; “town, city, fatherland, nation, country, community” [HH: p. 111].

Lo Andino (S) “That which is Andean” or “The Andean Way;” “The idea that there was a fundamental core of practices and beliefs of great antiquity throughout time and space in the Central Andes and which was unique and distinctive to the region—a form of ‘Andean Exceptionalism’” [JQ: p. 19].

Mallki (Q): mummy; planted thing, sprout ready for planting, any fruit-bearing tree, sapling [ST: p. 314; DGH: p. 224].

Mitmaq (Q; pl. mitmaqkuna) “a settler from some other place; an Inka state colonist” [JH: p. 333]; “from mit’iy to send; sent by one’s ethnic group of origin to attend to outside interests” [GP: p. 1090].

Mullu (Q) worked or unworked maritime goods associated with water and fertility, especially Spondylus princeps (Blower 2000); “colored sea shell bead, or coral of the land” [Blower 2000:211n4, after DGH: p. 249].

Pacha (A, Q): “time, space, and matter” [FS: p. 15]; space–time; “time, ground, place” [DGH: p. 268]; pachakuti: the turning over of time, space, and matter; also, a title taken by the ninth Sapa Inka (according to the conventional Inka king list, D’Altroy 2015b:6).

Puna (Q) high-elevation environmental zone, generally characterized by rolling grasslands; natural habitat of camelids and principal zone for herding.

Qhapaq ñan (Q; also sp. capac ñan) powerful road, i.e., imperial Inka highway [see GP: p. 1096].

Qollqa (Q; also sp. colca, qullqa [GP: p. 1095], qolqa [HH: p. 187]) storehouse.
qompi (Q; also sp. cumbi, qumpi [GP: p. 1095]) fine cloth.

Quechua (Q) dominant language group in central Andean highlands; also, ethnic group that inhabited the northwest side of Lake Titicaca at the time of the Inka expansion.

quechua (Q; also sp. qheshwa, qheswa [HH: p. 109]) temperate, mid-elevation environmental zone, found on eastern and western slopes of Andes, as well as in intermontane valleys; principal highland zone for maize-complex crops.

Sapa Inka (Q) “Unique Lord” [TD: p. 3].

sapći (Q) “common granaries” [SU: p. 103]; “common house for all” [DGH: p. 325].

suyu (Q) “territory, region” [HH: p. 242].

tampu (Q, also sp. tanpu [GP: p. 1101]) “Inka state lodging on the road system” [JH: p. 333].

Tawantinsuyu “the Inka empire; land of the four (tawa) parts or provinces (suyu)” [JH: p. 333].

usnu (Q, also sp. ushnu [JH: p. 334]) platform mound in a ceremonial complex or a drain into which libations were poured; “a centrally located ritual complex consisting of a drain with a stone, basin, and platform within Inka settlements” [JH: p. 334]; “ceremonial or administrative construction” [GP: p. 1103]; “a niche, usually in a wall, used for placing idols or other venerated or sacred objects” [HH: p. 274].

wak’a (Q; also sp. huaca, waqa [JH: p. 334]) shrine, sacred place, object, or power; “tutelary divinity, at the local level” [GP: p. 1104].

yana (Q; pl. yanakuna) “a servant, a young man in service [DGH: p. 363], from yanapa, reciprocal services given without accounts being kept” [JVM: p. 194].

yunga (Q) low-elevation environmental zone, above the coastal plain on the west and the jungle on the east; principal zone for coca and fruits.