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Frank Salomon

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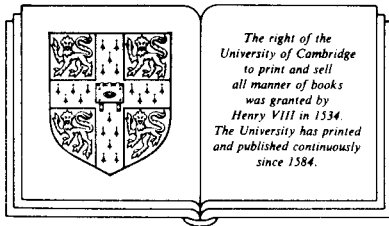
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Native lords of Quito in the age of the Incas

The political economy of north Andean chiefdoms

FRANK SALOMON

University of Wisconsin, Madison



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Frontmatter

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Frank Salomon

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Contents

List of tables, figures, and maps	page xi
Preface	xiii
Acknowledgments	xvii
Introduction	1
On the practice of ethnohistory	2
Scope of the study	9
The sources	10
Criticism and evaluation of the <i>visitas</i>	13
1. The problem of the “páramo Andes”	21
Central Andean and north Andean civilizations	22
The Quito region as a north Andean habitat	29
Vertical tiers of the inter-Andean Guayllabamba Basin	35
Vertical tiers of the outer slopes (western cordillera)	40
Complexity and the <i>páramo</i> Andes	42
2. The <i>llajtakuna</i>	45
Locating the <i>llajtakuna</i> ecologically and chronologically	45
The humid inter-Andean valleys	51
The dry inter-Andean valleys	59
<i>Bocas de montaña</i>	64
The Yumbo country	65
The regional economic constellation	70
3. Local and exotic components of <i>llajta</i> economy	72
The maize complex: local popular staples	73
The hunting complex: local sumptuary goods	81

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-04049-5 - Native Lords of Quito in the Age of the Incas: The Political Economy of North Andean Chiefdoms

Frank Salomon

Frontmatter

[More information](#)*Contents*

The Yumbo complex: exotic popular goods – cotton	83
The Yumbo complex: exotic popular goods – salt and capsicum pepper	88
Coca and wealth objects: exotic sumptuary goods	89
The hierarchy of goods and the political hierarchy	95
4. Interzonal articulation	97
The “ <i>tiangueces</i> ”: centralized exchange	97
The <i>mindaláes</i> : “merchant Indians”	102
The Yumbos: exchange at the level of domestic units	106
Amazonian contacts	108
<i>Kamayujkuna</i> : archipelago elements	111
Specialized and nonspecialized modes of interzonal articulation	114
5. The dimensions and dynamics of chiefdom polities	116
Demographic scale of the chiefdoms	117
Political organization	122
The image and ideology of native lordship	124
The revenue sources of lordly households	127
Political authority, marriage, and inheritance	131
Supralocal organization	134
How politically complex were north Andean chiefdoms?	138
Evidence from Quito and theories of chiefdom	140
6. The Incaic impact	143
Incaic Quito	144
The apparatus of coercion and defense: fortifications	148
The apparatus of transport and communication: roads and way stations	151
The apparatus of social control: <i>mitmajkuna</i>	158
The annexation of aboriginal elements in the Inca center	167
The tribute apparatus	169
Imposition and diffusion of Incaic culture	172
Reactions to the Inca presence	180
7. Quito in comparative perspective	187
Degrees of Incaic impact	188
The Puruhá case	192
The Otavalan case	201
The Pasto case	205
Toward a comparative synthesis	212

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-04049-5 - Native Lords of Quito in the Age of the Incas: The Political Economy of
North Andean Chiefdoms

Frank Salomon

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Contents

Notes	219
Glossary	237
References	242
Index	269

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-04049-5 - Native Lords of Quito in the Age of the Incas: The Political Economy of North Andean Chiefdoms

Frank Salomon

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Tables, figures, and maps

TABLES

1. Names and areas of the highland basins of Ecuador	<i>page</i> 32
2. Average temperatures, Province of Pichincha	36
3. <i>Forasteros</i> (resident nonlocal aborigines)	113
4. The <i>visita</i> in figures	119
5. Yumbo population <i>c.</i> 1580	121
6. <i>Yanakuna</i> (servitors) as percentage of population	128

FIGURES

1. (Detail of) Carta de la provincia de Quito y sus adyacentes por Don Pedro Maldonado	11
2. "Landscape belts" of the tropical Andes	23
3. Vertical distribution of climates with freezing temperatures in the tropical Andes, with relation to the upper limit of agriculture and the level of permanent snow cover	25
4. Vegetation profiles of the tropical Andes	26
5. East-west profiles, Ecuador	30
6. Basins of the Ecuadorian highlands	31
7. North-south profiles of the Ecuadorian highlands	33
8. Classifications of north Andean environments	37
9. Scheme of subregional divisions	47
10. The Quito basin	50
11. Valleys of Machachi and los Chillos	53
12. <i>Altiplano</i> (high plain) of Quito	58
13. Some sites of medium- and long-distance exchange activity	98
14. Schematic reconstruction of pre-Hispanic road net	159

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-04049-5 - Native Lords of Quito in the Age of the Incas: The Political Economy of North Andean Chiefdoms

Frank Salomon

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Tables, figures, and maps

MAPS

1. Humid inter-Andean valleys	52
2. Dry inter-Andean valleys	60
3. <i>Bocas de montaña</i>	64
4. Yumbo country in western foothills and lowlands	65

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-04049-5 - Native Lords of Quito in the Age of the Incas: The Political Economy of North Andean Chiefdoms

Frank Salomon

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Preface

If I had not happened to begin my Andean travels twenty years ago in what were once the rebellious hinterlands of the Inca empire, perhaps I would have shared most travelers' fascination with that ready-made "Andean world" about which the Incas still posthumously indoctrinate visitors to southern Peru. Instead, an Andeanist education that began at the periphery awoke me to something less familiar than the Inca empire, and, in my eyes, equally remarkable. This was the endurance, after some five centuries' alien imperial rule both Inca and Spanish, of Ecuadorian "Indian" collectivities still recognizably continuous with pre-Inca groups. How has it come about that the historical project of being "Cañari," "Caranqui," etc., went forward through so many episodes of domination, lacking as it did the armor of statecraft?

In principle, it was possible to do this achievement the homage of study via any of several Ecuadorian cases, but Quito had some advantages: a rich document record, relevance to major problems in both Inca and colonial studies, and the opportunity to combine archive work with residence in a Quichua-speaking village. Another reason for concentrating on Quito was that unlike adjacent "Indian" groups (in the regions of Otavalo and Riobamba, for example), whose societies appear distinctive to nonnative eyes because their cultures happen to include many traits we construe as "ethnic markers," the Quichua-speaking people of Pichincha Province have been all but totally neglected by ethnography. Quito, a city hungry for knowledge of its native antecedents, has so far contrived not to notice its native contemporaries.

The scene of this study may be defined historically as the colonial "corregimiento of the five leagues of Quito," that is, the jurisdiction bounded by a five-league radius around the city; or geographically, as the inter-Andean basin of the Guayllabamba River ("hoya de Quito," "cuenca del Guayllabamba") plus the western slopes of the western cordillera between the Guayllabamba's left bank and the Rio Toachi, as far as

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978-0-521-04049-5 - Native Lords of Quito in the Age of the Incas: The Political Economy of North Andean Chiefdoms

Frank Salomon

Frontmatter

[More information](#)*Preface*

the lower foothills and the easternmost part of the littoral plain; or politically, as the modern Province of Pichincha, Ecuador, with the exception of its westernmost reaches beyond approximately longitude 79° west. The vagueness of the western border is inherent in the loose definitions used in early colonial sources, which in turn reflect incomplete conquest and exploration of the Andean foothills.

To the traveler, this area presents a startling contrast between the steamy rain forests and dizzying mountain ramparts of its western part, and the cool, bright countryside of the high inter-Andean valley. Since there are cultural differences as marked as the geographical ones, most visitors are surprised to learn that the rain forest and the high inter-Andean plateaus counted as a single political unit during the colony (except for a short interval in the eighteenth century) and during the republic. After long study I am convinced that there is nothing arbitrary in this association, and that their unity is deeply rooted in prehistory.

The study has been based on the exclusive use of early colonial written sources. Preferentially I have used documents of the pre-Toledan era, 1534–1569, since these depict indigenous society before it was deformed by extensive forced resettlement in artificial nucleated villages. However, where sufficient data of this period are lacking, I have admitted some sources up to 1600, and a few later than 1600 for topics where Hispanisms are easily detected (notably crop lists).

In general textual translations have been preferred over paraphrases or summaries, in spite of the cumbersome language of the originals, in order to permit readers an independent judgment on the meaning of the texts. Unless otherwise noted the translations are my own. For all extended passages the original text is given in endnotes.

The following rules have governed the treatment of primary sources:

Paleography: Where paleographic transcriptions by other authors are used, their respective systems have been left intact. Suspected errors have not been corrected unless comparison texts were available. In particular, readers should bear in mind that the texts cited to the *Collección Vacas Galindo (CVG)* are often defective in paleography and that they should ideally be compared with their originals. For this purpose the equivalent *siglas* (classification numbers) of the *Archivo General de Indias*, as given by Vacas Galindo (in the old AGI classification), are included in the References.

Where the paleographic transcriptions were made afresh, the criterion was to conserve the text as much as possible, modernizing only in the following aspects: (1) Abbreviations were expanded; for example, “mag^d” becomes “magestad.” (2) The initial letters of place names and names of persons are rendered in capitals. (3) The initial *rr* has been replaced by *r*.

Cambridge University Press

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Frank Salomon

Frontmatter

[More information](#)*Preface*

The following sixteenth-century characteristics have been conserved: pagination by folios, to which the signs *r* and *v* have been added to indicate recto and verso sides respectively; the absence of punctuation and written accents; the cedilla (ç); and the nonstandardized orthography of numerous words, including some proper nouns.

Quichua and Hispano-Quichua usages: Following modern local pronunciation, the Quito-area dialect has been called Quichua, the Cuzco dialect Quechua. In words belonging to the technical vocabulary of Inca government the contrast of simple, glottalized, and aspirated stops has been signaled with zero, apostrophe, and quotation marks respectively: *k/k'/k''*, etc. Neither this series nor the *k/q* (velar/postvelar) contrast can be established as existing in early colonial Quito Quichua from the evidence in hand, and no attempt has been made to render them in local anthroponyms and toponyms.

In order to avoid confusion between indigenous terminology and Spanish terms derived from indigenous words, which never denote the exact original meaning, quotation marks and italic have been used to signal Hispano-Quichuisms and other pseudo-ethnological words, while the true indigenous vocabulary is signaled with italic only. For example, “*mita*” refers to conscript labor under the Spanish regime, *mit'a* to cyclical labor under the Inca system.

References: Published sources are cited in *American Anthropologist* style, using square brackets to indicate date of original publication or completion of manuscript if widely different from publication date. The same system has been modified for citation of unpublished manuscripts, in the following fashion: in, for example (AGI/S Justicia 671:f.61v–68r), AGI/S means Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla; Justicia 671 the document packet from which the material is extracted; and f.61v–68r the folio location. At the corresponding entry in the References, date and content are indicated. There are three exceptions to this system: the *visita* of 1559 is cited (M y SM 1559), the *visita* of 1557 is cited (M y R 1557), and the letter of instruction for the two *visitas* is cited (Ramírez 1557). The list of archive abbreviations appears at the beginning of the References, in which both published and unpublished sources are listed.

I hope to publish the principal manuscript sources in the near future.

Cambridge University Press

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Frank Salomon

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Acknowledgments

This book is the product of a long and on the whole happy journey through the communities, archives, and universities of several countries, originally resulting in a doctoral dissertation (*Ethnic Lords of Quito in the Age of the Incas*, Cornell University 1978) and now in a revised, updated text with translations of all non-English sources. During this venture it was my good fortune time and again to meet people who gave their help with an open hand. It was, especially, a boon to enjoy the unfailing support of Dr. John V. Murra. This study was nourished by the example of his incomparable devotion not only to Andean research, but to the cause of Andean peoples. I am also deeply indebted to my other academic advisors, Dr. Davydd Greenwood and Dr. Donald F. Solá. Dr. Greenwood, who taught the uses of anthropological self-awareness, and Dr. Solá, who opened my way into the world of Andean speech, greatly improved the fruits of research by sticking to their critical guns.

The support of the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia in Quito was of great value over several years. For this thanks are due to its Director, Arquitecto Hernán Crespo Toral. An equally cordial vote of thanks is due to P. José María Vargas, Curator of the Dominican Archive in Quito, who patiently put at my disposal the resources of the Colección Vacas Galindo. The archivists and librarians who guided my way into the Andean past are almost too numerous to name, but among them I wish to thank especially Licenciado Alfredo Costales Samaniego, former Director of the Archivo Nacional de Historia, Quito, and Dr. Juan Freile-Granizo, the current Director, whose generosity in helping me find and decipher documents there was a valuable aid. Sra. Rosario Parra, Directora, and Sra. María Teresa García, Subdirectora, of the Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla, furnished important microfilms by mail. Among the curators of ecclesiastical records my benefactors include P. Julián Bravo S.J., Librarian of the Biblioteca Ecuatoriana Aureliano Espinosa Pólit S.J. in Cotacollao, P. Agustín Moreno O.F., who tends Quito's Franciscan archive, and P. Octavio Proaño O.M. of the Mercedarian Monastery. With

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Frank Salomon

Frontmatter

[More information](#)*Acknowledgments*

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