CHAPTER 20

COMPETING AND COMMENSURATE VALUES IN COLONIAL CONDITIONS:

HOW THEY ARE EXPRESSED AND REGISTERED IN THE SIXTEENTH-CENTURY ANDES

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Abstract

The late fifteenth and the sixteenth century are perhaps a unique historical period, in which the values (numerical, ethical, and economical) of two worlds hitherto unknown to each other (Europe and the Americas) were forcefully brought into relation with each other. Certain values were commensurate, others were completely at odds, but in either case, sets of values of each culture were brought into relief by their encounters with each other. This essay explores how differing values, within their multitude of meanings, could come to reside simultaneously in concept and materiality—that is, in word and thing—in the colonial worlds of Mexico and the Andes, such that there could be a mutual yet possibly competing and sometimes antagonistic set of interests and understandings that could produce differing desires depending on the cultural arena in which it was appraised.

Valer un Peru

If we include the Inca, the Maya, and so many others in America as peoples and cultures of the ancient world, then the ancient world and the modern world existed simultaneously and unknown to each other in 1491. The values of each ancient world—economic, ethical, moral, quantitative, aesthetic—existed freely, unencumbered, and unchallenged, as if absolute in certainty of history and geography. Then, in less than a wink of Cronos's eye, the ancient world of the Americas became a New World, as early modern Europe began to expand beyond the classical world of Hercules to place those values in open competition.

Two manuscript illustrations, from sixteenth-century Peru and sixteenth-century Mexico, manifest this temporal and geographic passage within the mythological terms of both ancient worlds and the differing values they came to have in the early modern world. The first image (Figure 20.1, *see color plates*) appears in Bernardino de Sahagún's *Historia General*, an encyclopedic work about Aztec history, customs, and culture that was ordered to be seized in 1577 by Philip II before it could be completed. Written in both Spanish and Nahuatl, the texts are arranged in parallel columns of mutually unintelligible words—languages with no common linguistic origin. The images are normally interspersed within the column of Spanish text. The full intent of their illustrative function is still to be determined, but at one level they clearly and succinctly mediate between these two languages, which often record different accounts about the same subject.[1] However, before the bilingual texts begin, on folio 1, the gods of the Aztec are depicted. The first image represents the Aztec titular deity Huitzilopochtli. He is identified by his Nahuatl name, written to the left, and the ritual paraphernalia that he wears is described in the text. Nonetheless, to make him at all comprehensible to a European audience, Sahagún has glossed the figure with a text that labels the Aztec god as being another Hercules ("otro Hercules"), as if the two pagan religions were in some way analogous; as if the religion and peoples of classical antiquity were in some fundamental way equivalent to the peoples and religion of the Aztec.

The other image (Figure 20.2, *see color plates*), from Martín de Murúa's manuscript, begun around 1589 and originally titled *La Famossa Ystoria y probanza hecha de el origen e cri[acion] e primera posesion de los grandes señores Reyes yngas*, also includes a reference to the classical hero Hercules, this time connected with the mythic Inca and the source of Spanish wealth, the mine of Potosí.[2] The mine, discovered in 1545, transformed the global notion of wealth and value. It was the envy of all other European states and enabled a new global market. In 1600, luxury and violence were the hallmarks of this city of some 200,000 residents, located at an altitude of more than 3,600 m.

In the image, we see the mountain rendered rather schematically, as two Andeans appear on the slopes, climbing upward along the paths. The figure on the right slope follows and pushes a loaded llama. The scale of the figures is not proportional to the

mountain; a realistic image is not intended. Rather, this is also an allegorical composition that combines several different images to evoke the connection between Spain and Peru, between the Inca past and colonial present and the ancient legacy of Spain. The figures ascending the mountain are to be read as personifying the human force that extracts silver from the dark interior mine shafts, depicted as a set of crisscrossing black lines set against a dark green background. This last color is deceptive; before oxidation, it would have been bright and shimmering—as actual silver, probably silver from the mine itself, was used to represent the plentitude of Potosí's riches. The allegorical reading of the image, however, is dependent on the figure of an Inca who stands behind and dwarfs the great mountain, embracing the two columns that represent the Pillars of Hercules. While this figure has an allegorical function, it is quite specific in iconographic detail and figural rendering. Dressed in a green *uncu* (tunic) with a V-neck, a red cape, large spool earrings, and the *mascaipacha* (Inca crown), the figure has a strikingly portrait-like countenance. He grasps the Pillars of Hercules, which have crowns placed above the capitals, just as they do in Seville, where they are placed on the walls of the town hall. Above the pillars is written "Plus Ultra." The Inca, however, enunciates something else: "Ego fulcio collumnas eius" ("I hold its columns upright"). That is, the Andeans who produce the new wealth of Peru, by working the mines, are first shown as they march up that horrible hill to extract the silver. This realistic image is superseded in scale and detail by the allegorical image of the Inca, who stands for all Andeans and their imperial past, a past that now supports the Spanish empire. This allegorical image presents no small truth to the intended viewer, Philip II, and the Pillars of Hercules, a part of his royal iconography, are no longer the gateway to the New World. The New World now supports the Old, and without it the pillars would collapse.

The two images, either by analogy or allegory, bring the two ancient worlds together to express visually the two driving energies of the early modern colonial expansion: the intolerance of monotheism and the destructive avarice of merchant capitalism. This is the unique moment of a clash of values and the triumph of one set of values over the other. Sahagún's image is about the imposition of the religious values of Europe. The image of Postosí is about transformation of the Inca understanding of silver, as an expression of the sacred, to the universality of silver in terms of exchange value. As soon as the silver of Potosí entered into this arena of value, it caused inflation in China and Turkey and financed wars around the world. This value is literally incorporated into the surface of the image.

What is of interest, then, for the theme of this volume, is that the values (numerical, ethical, and economical) of the ancient and the early modern worlds were brought into relief by their encounters with each other. It is in part what Franz Fanon meant when he wrote about North Africa's struggles against Europe: "The phenomena of counter acculturation must be understood as the organic impossibility of a culture to modify any one of its customs without at the same time re-evaluating its deepest values, its most stable models" (Fanon 1967:41–42). That

is, values are always at risk in the struggle over power. And, more importantly for this volume, values in all their myriad incantations and what they are understood to mean become revealed at maximum historical points of confrontation as conditional, arbitrary, and dangerous.

In this often violent encounter, the systems of value of both worlds could be revealed as being not absolute or impermeable. They could, in fact, be commensurate and incommensurate simultaneously and therefore transformative and transformed. Often, of course, the transformative value and the transformation of value was by writ of force, in which one set of values was deemed superior, and therefore superiority was both claimed and realized by the heirs of the ancient classic world. One need only read Anthony Pagden's *The Fall of Natural Man* to understand how Aristotle's hierarchical values for the definition of a civilized society were used to measure New World society—which "surprisingly" came up rather short.

But in this paper I am not so interested in these metavalues—values by which a civilization or culture is consciously defined through the well-articulated reflection of philosophy, custom, and/or law. Rather, I am interested in how differing values within its multitude of meanings can come to reside simultaneously in concept and materiality—that is, in word and thing—in the colonial worlds of Mexico and the Andes, such that there can be a mutual yet possibly competing and sometimes antagonistic set of interests and understandings that can produce differing desires depending on the cultural arena in which it is appraised. I shall concentrate on examples from the Andean world, but similar examples could be found throughout the Americas.

It is important to start with the word "value" itself, what it meant in sixteenth-century Spanish and English and then its Quechua (the language of the Inca) equivalents, as recorded in bilingual dictionaries, before discussing examples of specific things and images, the material arena where values are manifested within a colonial condition of simultaneity. There is no structural hierarchy or causal relationship implied in this order; rather, the simultaneities and transformations I want to address are most easily understood first within an examination of these dictionary entries. Nonetheless, the definition of words should never be thought of in abstract etymological terms. Languages are spoken by people who more or less understand the meanings of words, regardless of the controlling force of a dictionary. For example, Spanish and Quechua and the value systems they express were embodied by the *mestizo* and *indio ladino* (bilingual and bicultural) Andean. There are myriad documents (wills, trials of extirpation, lawsuits) in which the multilinguistic and multicultural value systems are put on public display. In colonial Peru, this condition reached the maximum expression both textually and visually in the person and image of Guaman Poma de Ayala (Figure 20.3). In his 1,000-page illustrated manuscript, *Nueva coronica i buen gobierno*, one sees his own self-presentation as author, dressed in Spanish and Andean clothes, surrounded by the figures of his ancestors, whose

ancient values he seeks to transmit through writing and drawing to his modern audience: the king of Spain. However, what and how these values were defined is at question.

Figure 20.3. "Pregunta El Autor" ("The Author Inquires"), ink on paper (Guaman Poma de Ayala *El primer nueva coronica y buen gobierno*1615:366 (368); Royal Danish Library).

It is therefore important to point out that the noun "value" and the verb "value" have two main meanings in both Spanish and English: principles and worth. Worth is further divided into two different ontological but related categories, the summation of numbers and the quantity of exchange value. I cite, for example, two abbreviated entries from the first Spanish dictionary, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española*, compiled by Sebastían de Covarrubias y Orozco and published in Madrid in 1611, that are related to the word *valor* (value), a word not defined in the dictionary.

The first term, *estimar*, is defined as "vale apreciar, preciar, ponderar, revenciar" and refers first of all to value in terms of price and summation. The second term, *honra*, is defined as "vale reverencia cortesía que se haze a la virtud"—that is, value as the quality of virtue recognized in the character of a person. In this context of meaning, values of a culture reside in a person; they are personified by the character of a person. These values may be intangible, unexchangable, but they are collectively held and embodied in individuals, whom we might call heroes. Hercules is the paradigmatic persona of a hero, embraced by the Hapsburgs as expressing their virtues as leaders; hence, the Pillars of Hercules come to represent the exceeding of Hercules himself by Charles V and his descendants.

The Spanish words and definitions found in Covarrubias's Spanish vernacular dictionary appeared three years earlier in a bilingual Spanish–Quechua dictionary composed by González Holquín (1980 [1609]). They are discussed in Gary Urton's essay (this volume) in terms of how the quipu was used. These words are not just restricted to numerical calculation, however. I begin with the word *yupani*, a verb:

- *yupani = contar y hazer cuentas:* to sum up
- *yupay = cuentas:* summation
- *yupana qquelca o qquipu = las cuentas por* ñudos *o por escrito:* summation by quipu or writing
- *yupa o yupay = el precio de la cosa*, *el valor*, *o estima:* the price, worth, or value of something
- *yupa = lo que es contado o tenido por algo*, *o equivalente y igual:* what is counted or exchanged, or is equivalent and equal (exchange value)

- *yupay yupay = la honra o estima o aprecio honoroso:* to honor or hold in high regard or honorific esteem
- *yupayok yupaniyok = honarado:* honored
- *yupayçapa o checa manta yupayok = honoriadissimo:* highly honored

Immediately, one overriding question comes to mind: How is it that the Quechua noun *yupay* and verb *yupani* express the same disparate concepts of value (summation and esteem) as their Spanish equivalents? Moreover, the Aymara term *haccu* also conveys the concepts of counting, numerical value, honor, and esteem (Bertonio 2006 [1612]). Is this simply a coincidence? Is there an intrinsic relation between summation and moral quality and hence something natural about value that explains this commensurability in the concept of value as defined in the language of dictionaries? Or is there a historical condition, a colonial condition in this case, in which the varying concepts of value as held by two radically different cultures can be seen to reside in the same object and/or practice, even though, within a colonial context, the values of each culture, when brought into relation with each other, may express profound difference and antagonism and even spark aggressive conflict? But the fact that sometimes competing values continue to reside in the same object type and/or practice might, among other things, allow for the study of the origins of practices and things, which allows for the illusory academic practice of ethnographic analogy. That is, there can be commensurate and incommensurate qualities that simultaneously express values and beliefs.

Before examining a few material cases, it is important to remember that as far as we know, there was no market or money in the Andes. Gold and silver, as well as the highly developed metallurgical techniques used by Andeans, were directed toward metaphysical expression (Lechtman 1996). The materiality of gold and silver, in terms of their inherent qualities, such as brilliance and degrees of quantity, could of course be used to express a hierarchy of political esteem within a set of religious and social mores (Cummins 2002). The Spanish discovery and quick exploitation of the rich deposits of gold and silver quickly changed that, and a Spanish expression still used today, *vale un Peru* (worth a Peru), means to hit the jackpot. For the Spanish, this meant first acquiring gold and silver objects from the ransom of Atahualpa and then converting that value to its intrinsic exchange value by melting it down into bullion, by which Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor, could raise a mighty army against Barbarossa, Suleiman the Great's admiral, who possessed Tunis. But *vale un Peru* can also be phrased as *vale un Potosí*, which recognizes the discovery in 1545 of the richest silver mine ever encountered, which, as mentioned, caused worldwide inflation and spurred international trade. The wealth of this mountain is the subject of Murúa's allegorical image (see above, Figure 20.2), but in reality, the discovery and the colonial organization to exploit its riches meant drawing on the same form of labor recruitment that had been used by local Inca community leaders, *curacas*, who were compelled to produce human labor for the mines. These leaders, in turn, called

upon the traditional values of the communities (obligation, respect, communal reciprocity) to fulfill their obligations to the state.

For Spaniards, this process meant respecting certain traditions that sustained authority and thereby integrating systems of value in terms of human esteem. For Andeans, it meant this as well, but it also meant being brought quickly into the sphere of mercantile capitalism while maintaining Andean economic forms of reciprocity at the same time. Gold and silver now took on a new expressive value: exchange value, alienated labor, and the symbolic value of the shape of the coin and the images of royal authority stamped into the metal itself. Again, we can turn to the drawings of the Andean Guaman Poma for the new role that metal is given in the Andes (Figure 20.4). Although the drawings illustrate the presence of money and its exchange value, what is interesting in the manuscript is how many times money and its exchange are depicted; there is an almost obsessive quality to this repetition. The issue of counting the numerical as well as the monetary value of coins is something new and intrusive, but it becomes a part of the colonial Andean's life. His images of money exchange also imply a different concept of labor time. Labor time is no longer measured through reciprocity, in which its value is returned immediately and in kind, or is put off into the future. Labor time is given a new value, based on things such as coca, corn flour, cloth, and their price.

I will leave these issues temporarily and return to one of the expressions of value in Quechua: "yupana qquelca o qquipu" (las cuentas por ñudos o por escrito; summation by quipu or writing). It is no coincidence that this relationship between traditional Andean and European forms of accounting is conflated in a single image by Guaman Poma de Ayala (Figure 20.5). The image depicts a colonial

Figure 20.4. "Indio Capritan Aquila a otro indio por el yndio enfermo azogado porque no se acaue de murir" ("A mine labor captain 'rents' another Indian for an ill Indian who is at the point of dying from mercury poisoning"), ink on paper (Guaman Poma de Ayala, *El primer nueva coronica y buen gobierno* 1615:531 (535), Royal Danish Library).

Figure 20.5. "REGIDORES TENGA LIBRO QVIPO, CV[EN]TA" ("Native administrator has the book and knotted strings [quipu] he keeps accounts") ink on paper (Guaman Poma de Ayala 1 *El primer nueva coronica y buen gobierno* 615:800 (814); Royal Danish Library).

native official responsible for keeping the accounts of his community. The standing figure holds a staff of authority in one hand and a ledger and quipu in the other. The text alongside reads: "REGIDORES TENGA LIBRO QVIPO, CV[EN]TA" ("Regidor must have book and quipu [to keep] accounts"). What we read and see in Guaman Poma's image is that these two forms, book and quipu, become commensurate loci of the register of numerical value. We can see that together they imply a deep and perhaps unconscious realignment of values in Quechua, such that two things are able to be commensurate. We must then think that the issue of value is being realigned so that the Quechua term that unites moral value, in terms of honor, and money value is expressed by the same terms in relationship to silver extraction and the market and that they have a dramatic effect on the nature of Andean things of high symbolic value.

The effect of the colonial market system on the expansion of the production and use of a traditional object is perhaps best exemplified by the transformation (or commodification) of the role of coca in colonial native society.[3] Coca leaves were highly restricted under the Inca. Only the elite had access to them, and all coca fields were owned by the Inca (see Pizarro 1965:270 [1571]). Coca was considered sacred and had a divine origin. It was not only chewed by the elite but was offered to the gods, as seen in an image, again by Guaman Poma, of an Inca's sacrifice to an Andean deity (Figure 20.6, *see color plates*). There is no pre-Hispanic representation of the offering of coca in a ritual offering. This act was performed in earnest and with respect and awe for the supernatural. The colonial image of this ritual act takes as its subject this Andean value and casts it within an entirely negative connotation. Coca is being offered to a false god, a demon, and coca itself is therefore possibly demonic (Toledo 1874:11 [1571]).

Under Spanish suzerainty, coca was still masticated primarily by Indians, but it no longer functioned only as a divine substance and it was no longer a royal privilege to chew it. The coca leaf became a commodity that was sold to Indians for its narcotic properties and its ability to prolong labor under arduous conditions and to suppress hunger and cold. The Spaniards not only tolerated the expanded use of coca, which was a cash crop under their control, but actively fostered it. Forty years after Pizarro's arrival, Polo de Ondegardo wrote that coca use and production had increased more than 50 times over (cited by Markham 1977:158 [1910]). Cieza de León records that in the years of 1548, 1549, and 1551, coca was already a lucrative crop and that there had never been a plant in the entire world that was so highly valued. Coca from the various *repartimientos* (administrative districts) of Cuzco and La Paz brought in an income of between 20,000 and 80,000 pesos. Most of the coca was taken to Potosí, the rich mining center in southern Bolivia, where it was sold to the Indians (Cieza de León 1553:chapter 110, 292). Cieza goes on to note that many a Spaniard had retired to Spain on the proceeds of this crop.

The extreme wealth generated by coca in the late 1540s and early 1550s was due to a limited supply controlled by those Spaniards who had Inca coca fields in their

repartimientos encominedas (areas in which specific Spaniards had access to the labor and tribute of the natives living there). With an understanding of the commercial value of coca, everyone who could set about planting coca fields. Cieza says that the price of coca dropped with increased productivity (Cieza de León 1553:chapter 110, 292). The volume grew, however, so that overall, capital realization increased.[4]

The commerce in coca did not mean that coca lost its sacred aura to native Peruvians; in fact, it became more accessible as a divinatory offering by natives of all social levels.[5] In addition to its earlier "Andean" value, it acquired a distinctly Western economic value. Acosta (1940:144 [1590]) says that not only did Indians spend their money for the coca leaves, but they used the leaves themselves as money. Commercialization (secularization) of coca (an act of acculturation) meant wider distribution and use. It also meant that the circulation of coca exceeded the social exchange value it had within traditional contexts and now circulated as a kind of universal equivalent and that it could be exchanged for something of equal monetary value. Acculturation was therefore effected as much through the commercialization of traditional objects or substances as by their prohibition. Such commercialization was in fact more effective because it made Andeans dependent, at least partially, upon a market system to acquire what had previously been obtained through redistribution—however restricted that might have been. To enter into a market system, most Indians needed to sell their labor, an act that tied them more closely into an economic relationship with the Spaniards based solely on European terms. What is equally important is that coca, once purchased, reentered the Andean value system in the sense that it would be either ritually offered to the *apus* (mountain divinities that controlled metaphysical forces) or shared with communal members. At the same time, the sharing of such a substance represented a system of wealth and/or expenditure that was new and different yet was now fully intertwined with the preconquest system of value, both economic and ritual. Nothing binds competing and even antagonistic values better than the need to sustain integrity. This is the full meaning of Fanon's discussion of values (see above) and their alteration.

Traditional items such as coca and their colonial use might seem from a historical distance as evidence of native resistance to colonial acculturation, yet they can also be categorized as the opposite, becoming a sign of reduced independence.[6] In this sense, there was again a certain permissiveness, this time by political authorities, toward native products that were at the same time deemed pagan, idolatrous, or reactionary. Time and again, Spanish authorities equated coca with pagan practices, drink with idolatry, and native textiles with reactionary politics, yet at the same time these items were often openly produced and sold in the marketplace. That is, exchange value of the market trumped moral Christian value, which in turn allowed Andeans to continue to use sacred entities such as coca and *aqha* (corn beer).[7] Coca was an entirely new substance for the Spanish, so its Quechua name was continued. *Aqha*, as it came into the colonial orbit as a commodity, became known as *chicha*, a Caribbean term used by the Spanish for all American fermented drinks.

Part of this permissiveness was the result of pure economic pressure that was sometimes at odds with, and often outweighed, both state and church prohibitions. The sale of coca, for example, could not be stopped because, according to Santillán, it was too closely linked to the mining industry (Santillán 1950:108–109 [1563]). Coca, however, was not the only native product that was sold in mining areas to mollify Indian laborers. *Chicha* (*aqha*) production and consumption were also tied to mining commerce. Because of this, Viceroy Toledo, fifth viceroy of Peru (1569–1581), encountered a similar problem in his campaign to eradicate native drunkenness. But here the difficulty was also intimately linked with the contradiction of Western technical progress and the mercantile capitalism brought to Peru. The production of *chicha* as a commodity was increased through Western technology, and since *chicha* increasingly functioned as a commodity, the *kero*, a type of cup used to drink *chicha*, also became an object of commerce.

The mines of Potosí were the single most important source of income in Peru, and Toledo organized the Mita de Potosí, which annually sent about 14,248 Indians, or one-seventh of the male population in the provinces, to work there (Rowe 1957:172). By 1620 nearly oneninth of the entire Indian population of Peru lived in Potosí.[8] The mines were discovered only in 1545, but already by Toledo's time, Potosí had a very large Indian population; some of the early *mita* laborers were sent specifically to make *chicha* for those who worked in the mine.[9] The workers probably produced *chicha* in the traditional manner—that is, by either chewing or grinding the corn by hand and then fermenting it.[10] As Potosí's Andean urban populace grew, demand for *chicha* outpaced the traditional means of production. There was no longer the kind of social and political infrastructure to produce mass quantities of *chicha* as there had been under Inca rule. The demand for *chichi*, therefore, had to be supplied in a different, Western, way.

Production was augmented by the introduction of European mills powered by water. With these, vast quantities of corn brought to Potosí, where the *chicha* was made, could be ground into flour. Toledo realized that he could not stop the natives from making *chicha* for themselves in the traditional manner, but because "corn flour causes more than anything else the drunkenness of the Indians," he forbade that water mills be used for grinding.[11] Too much was at stake for such a law to have any force, however. By 1603 there were 58,800 Indians working in Potosí (Cook 1981:245). There was just too much of a profit to be made by selling *chicha* to them, and the mills owned by Spaniards and Indians kept operating.[12] In 1603, only 30 years after Toledo tried to close the mills, one Spaniard wrote:

> Each year they make such an infinity of chicha in this city . . . that it is impossible to imagine it, yet one can calculate the amount of chicha made and the true amount of money spent in this way. Every year 50 thousand fanegas [1.6 bushels] of corn flour enters the city which is used only to make chicha and from each fanega is produced 30, 32 or 34 jugs such that a fanega averages 32 jugs, which calculates to be a million six hundred thousand

jugs and each jug is sold at 8 reales which makes one million and twenty thousand *pesos ensayados*.[13]

This is a tremendous expenditure when one realizes that the income for the royal treasury at Potosí in 1603 was 1,688,308 *pesos ensayados* (TePaske and Klein 1982:2:272.). The generation of an income meant that corn for *chicha* production was no longer just a traditional crop for ritual use. It became, like coca, a cash crop in areas where there was a major concentration of labor. Just as with coca, it put into circulation a substantial portion of native wages not collected in taxes. A single bottle of *chicha* cost two-thirds of a day's pay for a free worker and double a day's wage for a *mitayo*.[14] The transformation of *chicha* into a commodity as well a need to placate a large native populace, brought about a tolerance toward, or at least an ignoring of, Andean drinking.[15]

But drinking in this form was something new. That is, *chicha* as a commodity was drunk in *chicherías* of cities with large native populations, such as Cuzco and Potosí. In the *chicherías*, native residents as well as transients drank a socially distinct beverage; rather than a drink shared within a familial or communal setting, *chicha* became something that was bought. It was primarily produced by *chicheras*, Andean women who hired themselves out to make the *chicha* (see Glave 1989:354–355).

It is within the context of this commoditization that colonial production of some traditional objects, such as *keros* and *aquillas* (drinking cups), occurred (Figure 20.7). The Inca produced *keros* (wood) and *aquillas* (silver or gold) to drink corn beer (*aqha*) to express ritually all kinds of religious, political, and social relations. And even though the Inca state apparatus, which had produced a standardized vessel

Figure 20.7. Inca *aquilla* (silver drinking vessel) (a); Inca *kero* (wooden drinking vessel) (b); both ca. 1500 (private collections).

type in vast quantities, was gone, throughout the colonial period, the same vessels were produced in even greater numbers and with equal uniformity in terms of imagery and size. This fact argues for a systematized production of *keros* rather than piecemeal fabrication by individuals. The mechanism for this production remained partially within a traditional context, but it was also partially altered by the commoditization of the colonial market system. It is clear from several pairs of *aquillas* recovered from the shipwreck of *Nuestra Señora de la Atocha*, a treasure ship that sank off the coast of Florida in the late summer of 1622, that *aquillas* were being produced in Potosí and could be gotten through a market system (Cummins 2002). Several *aquillas* depict Potosí itself on panels around the rims. By their material, *aquillas* could be classified as luxury items, restricted by price and Andean custom to the native elite, but they were now available to curious Spaniards, who bought or were given them for the trip to Spain. *Keros* could be found in every Andean household, if we are to believe Cobo, and native craftsmen were still making *keros* for native consumption. But access to these traditional items did not necessarily come through internal community patterns of redistribution. *Keros*, like *aquillas*, were irrevocably bound to *chicha*, and they became commodified as *chicha* itself became a commercial object.

This commercialization can first be inferred by a document from the Ayacucho area. In a 1611 document, Don Bernabé Sussopaucar, a wealthy native of Sucos, testified that he was owed two *keros* that year by all the Indians of the community. He did not collect them but gave them to the church.[16] There are three key points to this document. First, *keros* are treated here as a kind of income. The debt is couched in terms of a specific object and quantity, and the terms are therefore distinct from traditional debt, which was couched in terms of time. This difference is important because Sucos was situated in the highly commercialized Huancavalica-Huanta mining area; the accumulation of so many *keros* there implies that Don Bernabé was able to convert native labor into cash through the *keros* (Stern 1982:248–249, note 51). Second, although the *keros* were now being treated as a kind of currency, they were still valued for their traditional role. Don Bernabé does not mention one but rather two *keros*. The quantity that each Indian owed cannot be considered arbitrary. Rather, it demonstrates that whatever commercial value a *kero* now had, it was still predicated on its use in a pair, as was true of the production and use of *keros* in the pre-Columbian Andes (see Cummins 2002). That is, a single *kero* would not have halved the value received; it would have made the entire stock useless. Finally, the fact that *keros* are mentioned in relation to the church demonstrates that *keros* were secularized to the extent that they could be openly collected and used.

The importance of *keros* as secular objects constituting personal wealth becomes evident in other wills of elites and nonelites. *Keros* and *aquillas* appear in these mundane documents as legitimate objects, openly listed throughout the viceroyalty as things to be either inherited or sold. For example, in the 1608 *testamento* of María Guarza, an *yndia natural* living in Santiago del Cercado, the Indian section outside

of Lima, María declares that she owns "a pair of painted wooden cups."[17] The 1628 will of Ysabel Chumbicarba (1628: no folio number), natural of Santaorlla but living in Santiago del Cercado, is even more specific, stating that she possesses "tres llimpis del Cuzco," or three (pairs?) of painted *keros* from Cuzco (Cuzco style). Ines Guamguan, a widow from the Pueblo de San Bartolomé de Guacho, declared in 1614 that she possessed, among other things, "a black *lliclla* [shoulder cloth] and another new black and white cotton *manta* [carrying cloth] and a pair of old silver *cocos* [aquillas] of the ancient style and also a wooden crucifix, it is my will that it all be sold."[18] The money was to go for a Mass to be said for her soul. Clearly, the conversion of a pair of *aquillas* into cash in the market had an uncompromised Christian telos.

Painted *keros* are also found in the wills of *curacas* as far north as present-day Ecuador and southern Colombia, even from areas where the Inca had not reached. The will of the *curaca* of Otavalo, Don Alonso Maldonado, states, "I have four pairs of painted keros [and] I ask that the three large pairs be sold at auction and the small pair be given to my daughter Doña Gregoria." To his son, Don Pedro Maldonado, he left "a pair of aquillas."[19]

In a 1592 will, Don Cristóbal Cuatin, principal of Tusa, declares that he has "two pairs of painted keros of the Cuzco type" and "two cocos of silver that in the language of Cuzco are called aquilla ("Dos pares de limbiquiros del uso de Cuzco; dos cocos de plata que en la lengua del Cuzco se llama aquilla" Cuatin 1592)."

In a will of 1598, Don Diego Collin, age 80 more or less, swore that he was from an ancient line of *curacas* from Panzaleo and that he had been confirmed as a *curaca* by the Inca.[20] He mentions several imperial Inca objects in his possession, such as feathered tunics, bells, and a silver headdress, that still had symbolic importance 60 years after the conquest. Among other things, he lists at least eight pairs of painted *keros* ("queros pintado") and one pair of unpainted *keros* ("queros negros"), which he dispersed to his nephew, son, and wife (Collin 1598:fs. 32v-34r).

In these documents, *keros* are understood to be, among other things, the property of an individual, who freely and openly lists them in a colonial legal context. Some may have been bought by or given to the owner. Some may have come into the owner's possession as the inheritance of Inca gifts given to an ancestor prior to the conquest. In the wills, *keros* constituted a legally recognized form of inheritance that was especially important for *curacas* and their descendants. Such objects, as first given by the Inca, could help substantiate a colonial claim to an unbroken descent from a *curaca* at the time of conquest. This primordial time was named in colonial legal documents as "el tiempo del Inca." An object such as a *kero* or *aquilla* that was listed in a will as "del uso de Cuzco" could be interpreted as material proof for hereditary claims to contemporary political power.

The vessels, listed in wills from Ecuador to Bolivia, equate at one level to all other things listed in wills, such as land, houses, cattle, and saddles. They are all forms of property, things of monetary value. Whatever symbolic value they might

also have been understood to possess by the owners is veiled, glimpsed only in the Quechua terms that name them, as well as in oblique phrases such as "del uso de Cuzco" and the fact that they are listed in pairs.

What is it, then, that ontologically links these vessels if not material or production technology, criteria we normally impose on Inca art to categorize various objects from an analytical framework?[21] First of all, *keros* and *aquillas*, regardless of their material, do have a commonality beyond their vessel shape. There is no such thing as an individually produced *kero* or *aquilla*. They are always made in pairs and are almost always used in pairs because, as Garcilaso explains:

> They had . . . cups for drinking that were paired [*todos hermanos*], two by two: be they large or small, they had to be of the same size, of the same form, from the same metal, gold or silver, or wood. And this they did so that there would be equality in what they drank.[22]

Production in pairs is thus an intrinsic attribute of *keros* and *aquillas*. Although *aquillas* are made differently than *keros*, their production is linked in that they are always made as pairs. Equally importantly, the pair must be made from the same material and perhaps from the same source. That is, the pair of *keros* seems to have been made from the same block of wood, and it may be that silver and gold *aquillas* were thought to have been made from a single source of metal. As Garcilaso de la Vega makes clear, the production in pairs is based upon the social relations enacted through ritual drinking. That relationship is predicated upon the moiety division of *ayllu* (kin group) communities into *hanan* and *hurin* (respectively, upper and lower), such that each pair of vessels is a materialization of this social division; the pair is even personified as *hermanos* (brothers). And although one could believe that Garcilaso de la Vega is using the seventeenth-century understanding of the word,[23] he is actually referring to the Quechua term *yanantin yanantillan*, which Holguín translates as "dos cosas hermanadas" (two things intimately related). *Yanantin* is a term and concept critical to social identity in the Andes, as discussed by Platt (1976); it finds its materialization in the production of *aquillas* and *keros*. In other words, this aesthetic principle, deeply rooted in how objects were produced and used, expressed social values in the Andes.

Values: Commensurate and Incommensurate

We think of certain materials as having intrinsic qualities that give them seemingly universal value. Gold may be the substance most identified as being endowed with such value, because of its qualities. It is incorruptible, divisible, portable, scarce yet sufficient, and aesthetically desired for its color, brilliance, and malleability. Gold clearly carried commensurate value for Spaniards and peoples of the Americas, as already discussed. Other materials did not ordinarily have such value, but they could quickly acquire such status. In Mexico, feathers and the working of surfaces

in feathers quickly came to have such status, as recognized in 1560 by Felipe de Guevara, who wrote about paintings (Guevara 1788 [1560]). Already by that time, images based upon woodcut prints were being given as prestigious gifts and as ambassadorial exchanges in Europe. Guevara also expounds on the wondrousness of the new red that came from the cochineal of Mexico. It was greatly prized for its quality and price.

The Aztecs already understood materials such as feathers and paintings to be commodities, which were bought and sold in the marketplace. Thus they had a commensurate place within a market economy in which their exchange value was realized. However, it was the changing nature of the market itself, in terms of far greater demand than had ever been realized in Mexico, that accounted for the fact that monetary value outstripped social values. It is here that values are not absolute and that excess of exchange value can undermine social values. This issue is clearly indicated in the 1553 debates of the *cabildo* (town council) of Tlaxcala concerning the cultivation and sale of cochineal, a red dye produced by an insect that grows on the cactus plant.

Tlaxcala, a Nahuatl-speaking community to the east of Tenochtitlán/Mexico City, had aided Cortés against the Aztecs. In recognition of their allegiance to Cortés and Charles V, the Tlaxcalans were given expanded privileges within the viceroyalty and were classified as semi-independent. Nonetheless, their prestige and power did not alleviate the same clash of values in Mexico that occurred in Peru, as discussed above. Thus we read in the *Actas de Cabildo* that:

> The cabildo deliberated about how everywhere throughout Tlaxcala the cochineal cactus, from which cochineal comes, is being planted. Everyone does nothing but take care of cochinel cactus; no longer is care taken that maize and other foods are being planted. For food—maize, chiles and beans—and other things people need were once inexpensive in Tlaxcala. It is now because of this neglect that the cabildo members saw that all the foods are now expensive. The owners of the cochineal cactus merely buy maize, chiles etc., and they definitely feel that it is with their cochineal, by which [they gain] their money, are acquired cacao beans and cloth [they need]. They no longer want to cultivate their fields; they just stopped doing it out of laziness. Because of this, now many fields are overgrown with grass, and already famine has arrived. Things are no longer as they were long ago for cochineal is making people lazy [Restall et al. 2005:130–132].

The quality of the red color meant that cochineal quickly became a much sought-after commodity within the arena of an international economy. As with the silver of Potosí, the demand for cochineal altered social practices and community economies. The expanded market for cochineal meant abandoning subsistence farming for a cash crop, or at least that is the complaint of the indigenous political leaders of Tlaxcala. It may be in fact that fields were left uncultivated to harvest the cochineal bug; however, the real complaint is about the shift in values. The complaint about attention to a market crop and the accumulation of monetary wealth is really a complaint about the creation of the individual who stands outside the values, both

economic and ethical, of the community. This text has as its subtext the dissolution of the *alteptetl* (the Nahua concept of social community).

Returning to the questions posed at the beginning of this essay concerning how disparate concepts of value understood by Europeans seem to find equivalent concepts in Quechua and Aymara, as expressed in bilingual dictionaries, I believe it is a more complex issue. The issue revolves around a colonial imposition of values in general, but most especially economic, human (esteem), and moral (ethical/religious) values. These values become entangled in objects, which in turn can be quantified numerically as well as economically and recorded in any number of quasi-commensurate systems, be they quipus, written documents, or pictorial manuscripts. The objects themselves, however, can be understood to enact and/or express values that were deeply held by competing interests groups. In the conquest and settlement of the Americas, it becomes clear how the disparate concepts of value of the conqueror come to stand for a common set of values for all.

Notes

1. Sahagún states as much at the beginning of the manuscript. When addressing the reader about the first book, which details Aztec deities, he writes: "Al Lector. Para la intelligencia de las figuras, o ymagines que estan aqui adelante: notara el prudente lector, que son las ymagines de los dioses, de que se trata en este primero libro: los quales adorauan estos naturales desta nueva españa, en tiempo de su ydolatria: cada una tiene su nombre escrito junto a la cabeça, y el capitulo, y numero de hojas, donde se trata del mismo dios, o ydolo: esta junto a los pies" (Sahagún 1577: folio 9v).

2. The manuscript as it now exists was authored and illustrated in part by Martín de Murúa, a Basque Mercedarian friar. The original 1590 title page was reused, pasted onto a blank folio, so that the original title, *Famossa Historia*, could not be read. The title as it now appears on folio 1r reads, *Historia del origen y genealogía real de los reyes ingas del Perú*, *de sus hechos*, *costumbres*, *trajes y manera de gobierno*. The manuscript is known as the *Galvin Murúa*, after its present owner, Sean Galvin. It was begun sometime before 1590, and Murúa continued to work on it until perhaps 1615. The Potosí image, created by Murúa, seems to have originally appeared at the beginning of the manuscript of 1590. It was later copied by Guaman Poma for his manuscript *Nueva Coronica I buen Gobierno*. (See Cummins forthcoming, a 2012, b2013; and Cummins and Ossio in press, 2012).

3. The analysis of coca, *chicha*, and *keros* first appeared in my book (Cummins 2002). Mangan (2005:92) gives a masterful account of the how the commodification of *chicha* in Potosí had direct influence on gender roles and the independence of women, as they controlled the distribution in *chicharías/pulperías*. One finds the same transformation in gender roles in Quito in numerous documents that detail the independence of native women who owned and ran pulperías.

4. José de Acosta (1940: 181 [1590]) says that traffic in coca leaves around 1570 in Potosí amounted to more than 500,000 pesos a year. Coca plantations continued being a major source of revenue for a number of seventeenth-century Cuzco residents such as Juan García Durán, Pedro González Tadeo, and Martín García. They owned fields in Paucartambo, where they employed a number of natives for harvesting and transportation. Coca was a labor-intensive industry, second

only to mining, and was thus a major source of native income (Bastidas 1645: fs 632, 633, 649, 676, 677, 764, 766).

5. Coca and *chicha* are still the quintessential elements in most Andean rituals. See Allen 1988; Wagner 1976:193–224.

6. Francisco de Acuña records that part of the increased coca production was a direct result of a need to acquire hard currency: "Se dice [for the Pueblo de Capamarca 14 leagues from Cuzco] que después por los visorreyes destos reinos les ha sido mando pagar tasa . . . que el dinero que dan para su tasa, lo van a buscar a los Andes, donde se da la coca, aquilandose para trabajar en las chacras y en otras cosas que les Mandan" (Acuña 1965:319 [1586]. See also Stern's [1982:35–40] discussion of the commercialization of coca.

7. Albornoz 1967:22 [1582] says that both textiles and *keros* were used by the natives to remember the past. Toledo, after the execution of Tupac Amaru in 1572, forbade Indians to wear native clothes as a part of his suppression of Inca resistance (cited in Zimmerman 1943–1944:37).

8. Cook (1981:245–247) estimates a population of 670,000 Indians in Peru in 1620. In 1611, nine years earlier, Potosí had an Indian population of 76,000, most of whom were permanent residents.

9. According to the 1567 testimony of Don Martín Cari, *hanan curaca* of Chucuito, every year he sent to Potosí 500 Indians, some of whom were to make *chicha*. See Díez de San Miguel 1964:19 [1567].

10. I say "probably" here because Cari says that *mita* workers made *chicha*. This implies that men made *chicha*, because only males were subject to *mita* obligations. If indeed men were making *chicha*, this would be a departure from sierra tradition, in which women made *chicha*. Only on the coast is there evidence for men practicing this craft: "En los llanos son hombres y en la sierra son mujeres los que fabrican la chicha" (Arriaga 1968:106 [1621]. It is more than likely that in this case, Cari was including as *mitayoc* wives who accompanied their husbands to the mines and who would have made the *chicha*. Cari's accounting of the females as *mita* laborers would have been according to Andean rather than Spanish reckoning and thus suggests that *chicha* was being made within a traditional context.

11. "Que lo que mas causaba las borracheras a los indios era la harina de maíz" (Toledo 1889:517–518 [1572]).

12. Mills were owned by wealthy *curacas* very early on in the colonial period, as evidenced by the 1588 will of *curaca* Don Diego Caqui of the pueblo San Pedro de Tacna (see Cuneo-Vidal 1977:334).

13. "Hácese cada año en esta villa tanta infinidad de chicha . . . que parece cosa imposible imaginar en ello, cuanto y mas averiguar la cantidad que se hace; y la averiguación verderadera de la cantidad que se gasta se hace en esta manera. Entran en cada año esta villa 50 mil fanegas de harina de maíz que sólo gasta en hacer chicha y se averigua que cada fanega se hacen 30, 32, 34 botijas de chicha, y puesto que una fanega con otra den 32 botijas, viene a ser toda la chicha que se saca de las dichas 50 mil fanegas de harina un millon y 6000 mil botijas y se vende cada botija a 8 reales que hace ensayados un millon y 24 mil pesos" (Anonymous 1965:380 [1603]).

14. An Indian working as a free laborer was paid 12 reals a day in 1596. Wages for free laborers fluctuated, but this is approximately the wage paid in 1603. The wages of a *mitayo* were fixed by law at four reals a day. However, a *mitayo* Indian worked only one week out of three at this rate and could work the other two as a free laborer (see Rowe 1957:172–173).

15. Marie Helmer notes that according to contemporary testimony during the viceroyalty in Potosí, the Indians "celebravan sus fiestas, taquies y borracheras." There is no trace of any intervention by authorities to stop them. This broad tolerance is attributed by Helmer solely to the desire to avoid conflicts that would disrupt silver production. She reports that in the 1610 city of 160,000 people, 75,000 were Indians, coming from all parts of the altiplano. The relative

freedom they enjoyed explains in part why they never revolted, even though there was a large proportion of Indians to Spaniards (see Helmer 1978:231). In fact, the proportion of Spaniards to Indians was relatively high in comparison to the rest of Peru, so that this would have been the worst place to revolt. Moreover, the permissiveness of the Spaniards toward native celebrations and drinking could not have outweighed the misery of serving in the mines. What kept natives at Potosí or brought *forasteros* (Indians who had abandoned their *ayllus*) was economic pressure, either indebtedness or the accumulation of capital. Potosí, located at unusual height, was spawned by capital and was in many regards a "wide-open" town for Spaniards as well as Indians. There, rival gangs of Spaniards were constantly dueling in the streets, killing each other and innocent passersby. The permissiveness toward many aspects of native behavior did have an element of social control, but the production of *chicha* was also a major economic concern that would have gone on regardless of any law (see Saignes 1987, 1989).

16. "Declaro que me deue a todos los yndios dos queros." (Cucichimbo 1611: folio 22r.)

17. "Un par de basos de madera pintada," (Guarza 1608: no folio numbers)

18. "Una llicla color negro y otra manta pintada de negro y blanco de algadón nueva y un par de cocos de plata de beber de antiguos ya viejos y mas una escultura de crucifixo de madera, todo es mi voluntad de vender." (Guaman: 1614: no folio number).

19. "Tengo quatro pares de limpi quiros mando que los tres pares grandes se benden en el almoneda y un par pequeña mando a mi hija Doña Gregoria," (Maldonado 1609: Folios 69 V, 70 R) (1726), transcribed from an early eighteenth-century copy in Caillavet 1982:38-55.

20. "Autos de los Indios de Panzaleo contra el Colegio de la Compañía de Jesús," in which is found the el Testamento de Don Diego Collin en el Panzaleo a cinco dias del mes de Julio de mil quinientos y nobenta y ocho años. Folios 29R–42R, Caja 7 III-22 1657 Archivo Histórico Nacional Quito. See also Caillavet 1983:5–23.

21. The Inca were not the first Andean culture to produce highly charged symbolic objects in different materials. For example, Chimu and Sicán funerary vessels of the same form and size are found in both ceramic and metal. It is not simply that one copies the other, according to a hierarchy of values, but that they also participate in this hierarchy of values through their form in a shared field of symbolic value.

22. "Tuvieron . . . los vasos para bever todos hermanos, de dos en dos: o sean grandes o chicos, han de ser de un tamaño, de una misma hechura, de un mismo metal, de oro o plata, o de madera. Y esto hazian por que huviese igualidad en lo que beviesen" (Garcilaso de la Vega 1990:53 [1609]).

23. Sebastián de Covarrubias Orozco (1995:531 [1611]) first defines *hermanos* as "siblings" but immediately goes on to write, "Ermanos suelen lamarse los que están aliados o confederados," which could be what is implied by Garcialso de la Vega's use of the term to describe the condition of being paired.