

## THE POLITICS OF COMMUNITY AND INKA STATECRAFT IN THE COLCA VALLEY, PERU

Steven A. Wernke

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*In this paper I investigate the community-level articulation of imperial and local political structures during the Inka occupation of the Collagua Province, located in the Colca Valley of highland southern Peru. Combined ethnohistorical and archaeological analysis document the emergence of a hybrid imperial/local political formation in the shift from autonomous rule during the Late Intermediate period (A.D. 1000–1450) to the Inka occupation during the Late horizon (A.D. 1450–1532). Documentary evidence reveals considerable but uneven penetration of Inka imperial institutions across the two ranked moieties that structure local community organization, with remarkably close conformity between Inkaic ideals of rank and hierarchy among the communities (ayllus) of the lower moiety, but greater autonomy among the higher-ranking ayllus of the upper moiety. New data from a systematic survey around the provincial capital documents a decentralized Late Intermediate period settlement pattern associated with fortifications, suggesting segmentary autonomous political organization. The subsequent Late horizon settlement pattern signals overall occupational continuity, but with the establishment of an Inka administrative center and the installation of central plazas and Inka structures at large settlements with local elite domestic architecture. The two data sets combined provide a integrated view of centralized, but locally mediated, Inka administration.*

*Este trabajo investiga la articulación entre las estructuras políticas locales y los imperios en el nivel comunitario durante la ocupación de la provincia inkaica de Collagua, valle del Colca en la sierra sureña del Perú. El análisis etnohistórico y arqueológico conjunto documenta el surgimiento de una formación política híbrida imperial/local sobre un sustrato más autónomo durante la transición del Intermedio Tardío (1000–1450 d.C.) y la ocupación inka durante el Horizonte Tardío (1450–1532 d.C.). La evidencia documental revela una importante pero asimétrica penetración de instituciones inkaicas en las dos moieties que estructuran la organización comunitaria local, indicando, de un lado, una concordancia notable entre los ideales cuzqueños de rango y jerarquía entre las comunidades (ayllus) de la moiety inferior, pero al otro llado, una mayor autonomía entre los ayllus de la moiety superior. Nuevos datos procedentes de una prospección sistemática del área de la capital provincial indica un patrón de asentamiento descentralizado con fortificaciones durante el período Intermedio Tardío, sugiriendo una organización política autónoma segmentaria. El subsecuente patrón de asentamiento del Horizonte Tardío señala continuidad ocupacional pero con el establecimiento de un centro administrativo inkaico y la instalación de plazas centrales y estructuras inkaicas en los asentamientos locales con arquitectura de la elite collagua. El conjunto de las dos clases de datos proporcionan una visión de la administración inkaica centralizada pero mediada por la elite local.*

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**A**growing body of archaeological research approaches archaic empires as dynamic, flexible political formations for administering and exploiting social, political, economic, and ecological diversity (Barfield 2001:29–30). In the Americas, archaeologists are charting networks of power between expansionist states and their myriad subject peoples through greater scrutiny of provincial contexts. The agency of local or “intermediate” elites is increasingly seen as constitutive of, rather than peripheral to, the development of

imperial institutions and practices (Elson and Covey 2006). This corrective to an earlier emphasis on the monumental in archaeology parallels the incorporation of more diverse archival records and source criticism of chronicles and dynastic histories in historical research. Together these trends are contributing to greater awareness of complex, two-way negotiations between local and imperial actors, interests, and power structures in the processes of imperial expansion (Alcock et al. 2001).

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**Steven A. Wernke** ■ Department of Anthropology, Vanderbilt University, VU Station B #356050, 2301 Vanderbilt Place, Nashville, TN 37235 (s.wernke@vanderbilt.edu)

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Given local responses to expansionist strategies and the logistical constraints on the minority elite that ruled most ancient empires, it is becoming increasingly clear that imperial expansion and integration entailed not only efforts to encourage cultural homogeneity and political and economic centralization, but flexible policies for accommodating political, economic, and ethnic diversity (Barfield 2001; Morrison 2001; Pease G. Y. 1982; Salomon 1987; Woolf 1992, 2001). Policies promoting diversity prevented the development of pan-regional identities that might contest the dominant power. Horizontal alliances between imperial and regional elites and the promotion of pliant local elites to nodal positions in imperial administration deflected potentially destabilizing alliances against expansionist states. Thus, while ancient empires were often ideologically hierarchical (Morrison and Lycett 1994), they are increasingly viewed as functionally heterarchical (*sensu* Crumley 1979:144). This horizontal and vertical flexibility—as opposed to rigidly hierarchical command—in administering diversity appears to have contributed to the long-term stability of many ancient empires (Crumley 1987; Crumley and Marquardt 1987; Woolf 2001).

Such flexibility is especially apparent in the case of Inka imperialism. Earlier representations of the Inka state as highly centralized or tyrannical—themselves partial reproductions of chroniclers' comparisons with Roman archetypes (MacCormack 2001)—have been superseded by a consensus view of Tawantinsuyu as a flexible network of power relations between the state and its myriad subject peoples (D'Altroy 2002; D'Altroy and Schreiber 2004; Malpass 1993; Pärssinen 1992; Pease G. Y. 1982). As is often the case in archaic expansionist states (Feinman and Marcus 1998; Marcus and Feinman 1998; Sinopoli 2001), the initial wave of Inkaic expansion beyond the Cuzco heartland occurred rapidly (D'Altroy 2002:62–85; D'Altroy and Schreiber 2004:261–264), but the consolidation of imperial rule within a more or less coherent and integrated ideological, political, and economic system entailed a much more long-term process—one which was abruptly truncated by the Spanish invasion. The Inka thus present an especially interesting and important case in the study of imperial consolidation because archaeological and ethnohistorical inquiry can document this

incomplete process at various stages in different parts of the empire.

A large corpus of archaeological research over the past two decades investigates Inka imperial integration within a comparative framework in which the impact of Inka rule on local polities is characterized according to indices of “direct” versus “indirect” imperial control (D'Altroy 1992; D'Altroy and Earle 1985; Schreiber 1987; Stanish 1997b, 2001). Influenced by world systems theory and its application to the archaeological study of prehistoric expansionist states in other contexts (especially the near east, see Champion 1989; Chase-Dunn and Hall 1991; see Kohl 1987a, 1987b), the premise of these models is that imperial-local relations are defined by an asymmetrical structural relationship between a powerful imperial “core” (or center) and a weaker “periphery.” Direct/indirect, or “territorial/hegemonic” (D'Altroy 1992) models complement core/periphery models by focusing on the necessary compromise between the costs of state investment and the degree of its political-economic control in hinterland settings (Covey 2000; Stanish 1997b). Direct control is characterized by major reorganization of subject populations, allowing for centrally orchestrated mobilization of labor and material towards state ends, but at the cost of major investments in resettlement, infrastructure, military oversight, and state installations (Schreiber 1987; Stanish 1997b). Indirect control is characterized by relatively small changes in local political economy and minor investments by the state, but at the cost of low political control and extractive potential (D'Altroy 1992; Earle 1994; Stanish 1997b).

Given these necessary compromises, most scholars have emphasized how imperial integration should be viewed as a continuous axis of spatio-temporal variability rather than a dichotomous typology (D'Altroy and Schreiber 2004). These studies have documented a diverse pan-regional mosaic of imperial control, presenting a view that distinguishes distinct power relations in an imperial core and periphery and how these arrangements varied diachronically, as state governance in peripheral areas became more consolidated and the imperial core expanded (for summaries, see D'Altroy 2002; Stanish 2001).

Complementing regional studies, recent

research in the Andes, as elsewhere, is beginning to explore the intricacies of imperial integration from a more local, bottom-up perspective in order to trace multiple, recursive processes in local-imperial relations (Alconini 2004; Covey 2000; D'Altroy 1987; D'Altroy et al. 2000; Morris and Covey 2006; Wernke 2003, 2006a, 2006b). As a result, these detailed analyses are documenting not only a diverse range of direct and indirect imperial strategies at the subregional scale, but also the hybrid local/imperial formations that result from these negotiations. Rather than characterizing the "impact" of imperial strategies from the top down, these studies approach power relations between expansive states and subject peoples as a bidirectional, mutually constitutive process. As Morrison (2001:258) noted in a discussion of local responses to imperial expansionist strategies,

Like any discussion of imperial 'cores,' imperial 'peripheries' quickly fall apart as coherent objects of study on close examination. Incorporated peoples rarely constitute single interest groups. Nevertheless, any understanding of the dynamics of imperial expansion will require attention to local conditions and at least some attempt to untangle the diverse threads of local interest and action.

In this paper, I undertake such an "untangling" to explore how threads of local interest and action articulated with Inkaic prerogatives and institutions in the context of the Colca Valley, a major Pacific drainage located in the southern Peruvian highlands and home to the Collagua and Cabana ethnic groups. Reviewing colonial documentation, I reconstruct how specific Inkaic ideals of prestige and hierarchy were instituted in parallel with a constellation of local communities that maintained relative autonomy in a hybrid local/imperial political formation. I present data on settlement patterning and organization, mortuary treatment, and domestic architecture from a systematic survey in the core area of the Collagua polity that indicate how local political organization prior to the Inka occupation was segmentary and heterarchical in nature. Analysis of domestic and imperial architecture provides a complementary view of how Inka rule was both centrally administered and mediated through local elites, while the architectonic arrangement of Inka period settlements suggests that state largesse vis-

à-vis local communities was expressed through the idiom of commensal ritual. Thus, elements of both "direct" and "indirect" imperial control are evident, but such characterizations appear overly blunt at this detailed level of analysis. Together, the ethnohistorical and archaeological indices point toward an emergent social formation that synthesized aspects of both local and imperial political and economic organization.

### **Inka Statecraft and Andean Communities: Ideology and *Realpolitik***

The rapid expansion of the Inka empire is widely understood to have been the result of flexible expansionary strategies that relied on indirect rule through local elites and their generally large ethno-territorial blocs, referred to as "*señoríos*" or "*kurakazgos*" in the Andean ethnohistorical literature. But these terms gloss over great organizational diversity and imply a hierarchical political structure headed by a central, paramount lord (a "*señor*" or "*kuraka*"). Some coastal polities, such as the Chinchas, were apparently quite centralized and hierarchical, and the Inka strategy focused on co-opting the local elite in a rule-by-proxy arrangement (Menzel 1959; Menzel and Rowe 1966). However, most highland polities of the Late Intermediate period (A.D. 1000–1450) were composed of shifting confederations of communities whose relations oscillated between coordination and competition (Conlee et al. 2004; D'Altroy 1987; Parsons et al. 1997). Even the seemingly archetypical highland *señoríos*—the Qolla and Lupaqa of the western Lake Titicaca basin—were much more politically decentralized than their leaders' early colonial memorials depicted (Frye 1997; Julien 1983; Stanish 1997b, 2003). Ironically, their overarching ethnic and political coherence as "*señoríos*" may have been most salient when they were faced with a common external threat such as the invading Inka army (Frye 1997; Stanish 2003:210). These flexible, lateral connections between communities could become ranked and hierarchical depending on historical circumstances, and in this sense constitute a heterarchical form of political organization.

Thus, imperial integration required political institutions that could amplify and codify incipient or latent rank inequalities and the distinctive ethnic identities of local polities, both to centralize

power at the local scale and to guard against the formation of supra-ethnic alliances that might threaten state hegemony. Instituting such a horizontally compartmentalized and vertically integrated imperial administrative structure was a messy and fractious process as imperial plans were met by local responses. Rebellions and internecine conflicts were common, and imperial integration was compromised and incomplete in many locales on the eve of conquest (D'Altroy 1987, 2001; Murra 1982; Pease G. Y. 1982; Rowe 1982).

Despite the short duration of the Inka empire, the outlines of an emerging set of interrelated policies for the political, economic, and religious/ideological integration of local polities are discernible (Rowe 1982). Primary among these were policies related to the manipulation of traditional kin-based Andean community organization—specifically, the concept of *ayllu*. *Ayllu* was central to the social, political, and economic articulation of territorially discontinuous communities in the Andes (Abercrombie 1986; Isbell 1997; Murra 1972; Platt 1982; Salomon 1991; Spalding 1984). Commonly translated as “clan,” *ayllu* was actually emically conceived of as a multiscalar concept that could reference any segment along a continuum of biologically or socially related collectivities, from the consanguines of a patrilineage to clan-like groupings of patrilineages, moieties, and even an entire ethnic group (Platt 1986).

Common to all of scales of *ayllu* inclusivity, however, were two defining attributes: *ayllus* were named, resource-holding corporate collectivities, and *ayllu* membership was reckoned by reference to an actual or mythic focal ancestor. *Ayllu* members gained access to land and other resources in reciprocity for their labor in collective work projects and their participation in rituals of affiliation, including ancestor veneration (Murra 1980). As ancestor-focused kindreds, *ayllu* affiliation was reckoned by reference to a landscape inhabited by *huacas* (ancestral deities). *Ayllu* members reaffirmed their community affiliations by consulting and feting ancestral mummies, who occupied *chullpas* (mortuary towers) in “cities of the dead” (Dillehay 1995; Isbell 1997). Mummies were considered the proximate ancestors in a hierarchy of superhuman *huacas* that terminated at its apex in the origin-place (*pacarina*, or “place of dawning”) of an entire ethnic group, usually a prominent mountaintop

(Salomon 1991). *Ayllu* leaders claimed elite status through their avowed genealogical proximity to ancestral *huacas*.

*Ayllus* constituted the primary supra-household units of imperial administration, and Inka statecraft relied heavily on the representation of state/subject relations as an extension of *ayllu* relations (Murra 1980). Thus, as the ascribed status of ethnic lords derived from their genealogical proximity to ancestral *huaca* constellations, Inkaic dominion also derived from the logic of descent. By claiming direct descent from the sun, the Inkas appropriated the ultimate supra-local *huaca*, ancestral to all terrestrial, subordinate *huacas*. In this way, acceptance by subject groups of a version of the past in which the Inkas figure as their ancestors would therefore constitute their acceptance of the legitimacy of Inka rule (Silverblatt 1988).

The Inkas employed a number of strategies toward this ideological goal. According to dynastic lore, early (probably the first five) Inka rulers took noblewomen of the polities surrounding Cuzco as their primary wives (*qoya*), and later sovereigns took innumerable regional noblewomen as secondary wives, thereby simultaneously cementing affinal bonds and subordinating non-Inka ethnic groups to the Inka royal lineage (Covey 2003; D'Altroy 2002:86–106; Julien 2000; Niles 1999). The Inkas also appropriated regional *huacas* and constructed elaborate shrines dedicated to the solar cult (Bauer and Stanish 2001). Imperial policies also manipulated *ayllu* ideology by representing the asymmetrical redistributive relationship between the state and subject populations in the same terms as the balanced reciprocal arrangements between *ayllu* kin (Murra 1980; Stanish 1992). The spatial organization of state installments materialized (*sensu* DeMarrais et al. 1996) this ideological stratagem. Large, open plazas with ceremonial platforms (*ushnu*) functioned as stages for the public display of state-sponsored commensal ritual (Dillehay 2003; Moore 1996; Morris and Thompson 1985).

However, Inka policies also significantly altered *ayllu* political and economic relations, fostering the formation of new imagined communities of the state (Isbell 1997:101–135). Through time, Inka policies increasingly bureaucratized *ayllus* as standardized demographic and production units. Principal among these was the decimal administrative

system, which recast *ayllus* as nested decimal production units of 50 to 10,000 tributary households, each headed by a *kuraka* responsible for the mobilization of labor to fulfill state labor tribute levies (Julien 1982, 1988). Decimal administrative categories were flexibly adapted to extant *ayllu* structures in many cases (D'Altroy 2002), but the system underscored the extractive role of local lords, and increasingly displaced autochthony with proximity to state institutions as the criterion of legitimacy (Julien 1982, 1988; Murra 1980; Rowe 1982).

The consolidation of ethnic polities into vertically integrated provincial units also appears to have had the effect of hardening ethnic identities. The state not only encouraged but required local peoples to retain their ethnic regalia. While this state-instituted ethnic essentialism averted the formation of inter-ethnic coalitions (Schaedel 1978), the Inkas also partially disarticulated some powerful ethnic polities in order to guard against insurgency. Significant portions of especially large or hostile polities were resettled to distant provinces as ethnic colonists (*mitmaq*) who worked as farmers, soldiers, and other classes of labor specialists for the state (Murra 1980; Wachtel 1982). Other individuals and *ayllus* were moved to Cuzco, royal estates, and provincial centers to serve as attached retainers (*yanacona*) to Inka nobles and state administrators (Rowe 1982:97–102). Within imperial administration, artisans such as potters, metal-smiths, and weavers served as specialist officials (*camayos*) who produced standardized and often elaborate crafts that the state strategically redistributed in a growing wealth-finance system (D'Altroy and Bishop 1990; D'Altroy and Earle 1985; Earle 1994; Lechtman 1993; Murra 1962). The *mitmaq*, *yanacona*, and *camayo* institutions all point toward incipient formation of novel, non-ethnic identities tied directly to the state (Rowe 1982).

Each of these policies was met with varied responses from local groups, and the state's coercive force varied historically and geographically. At the time of the Spanish invasion, imperial integration was left in various states of completion throughout the empire, and each facet was differentially achieved even within particular provinces. Below I present an ethnohistorical and archaeological view of the negotiation of these policies among the Collagua ethnic group of the southern Peruvian Andes.

### The Collaguas in Regional Context

The territory of the Collagua ethnic group during late prehispanic and early colonial times centered on the Colca Valley, a major highland Pacific drainage located in the western range of the southern Peruvian cordillera (Figure 1). They were the largest highland ethnic group of Condesuyu, the southwesterly quarter of Tawantinsuyu, the Inka "fourfold domain." Colonial documentation indicates that the Collagua province was of vital regional economic and political importance during both Inkaic and Spanish colonial times (Benavides 1987; Guillet 1992; Málaga Medina 1977; Pease G. Y. 1977). It was the most populous province under the colonial jurisdiction of the city of Arequipa, with 33,900 inhabitants in 1572 (Cook et al. 1975 [1582]), and was home to perhaps almost twice that number on the eve of conquest (Cook 1982).

During the colonial period, the province subsumed two ethnic groups: the Collaguas and the Cabanas (Ulloa Mogollón 1965 [1586]). This arrangement was probably built on Inkaic precedents, and follows a common pattern of ethno-political consolidation in several other provinces of Tawantinsuyu (Pärssinen 1992). According to a description of the province in the *Relaciones geográficas de Indias* by the magistrate Juan de Ulloa Mogollón (1965 [1586]), the Collaguas and Cabanas occupied separate territories, spoke different languages, professed different mythical origins, and maintained distinct traditions in their production foci, dress, and body modifications—all hallmarks of ethnicity that the Inkas, here as elsewhere, took pains to preserve and reinforce. The Cabanas (or Cavanans) were Quechua speakers settled in the lower reaches of the Colca Valley. They practiced intensive irrigated agriculture and were especially renowned for their distinctive, high quality maize (Gelles 2000:42–44). The Collaguas were Aymara speakers who lived in the central and upper reaches of the valley. They also cultivated maize along with Andean chenopods and tubers in the upper *kichwa* (3200–3600 masl) and *suní* (3600–3900 masl) zones, but were especially renowned for their wealth in Andean camelids, which they pastured in the grasslands of the *puna* zone (3900–4900 masl) surrounding the valley (Benavides 1987; Crespo 1977; Málaga Medina 1977; Pease G. Y. 1977).

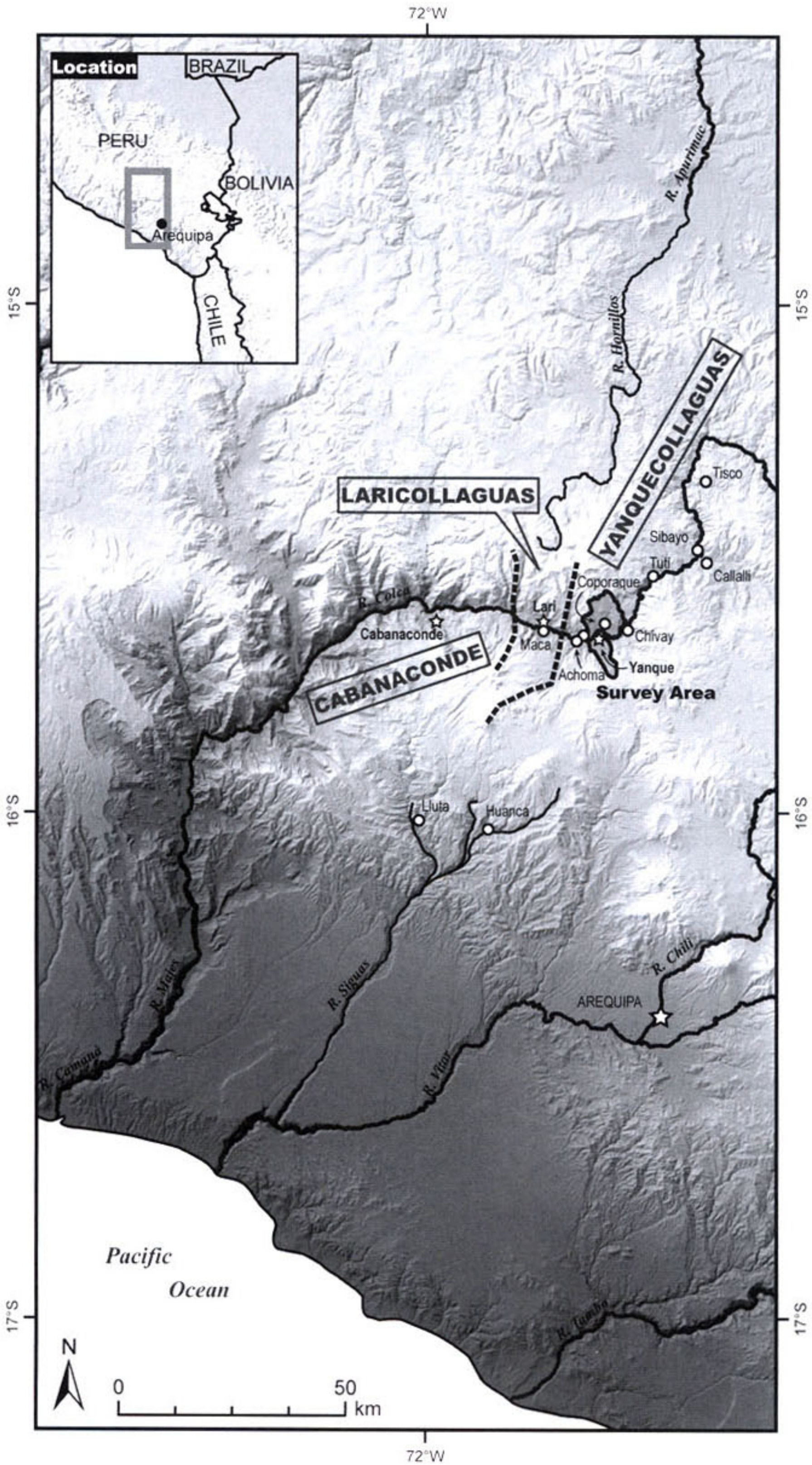


Figure 1. Overview of the Collagua Province, with provincial subdivisions and survey area.

Below this ethnic division within the province, the Collaguas were internally subdivided into two ranked groups: the higher-ranking Yanquecollaguas, who occupied the mid-to-upper reaches of the valley, and the lower-ranking Laricollaguas, who lived in the lower-central portion of the valley bordering the Cabana territory. The terms *Yanque* and *Lari* expressed kin-reckoned criteria of rank. *Yanque* (or *Yanqui*) was the honorific title of the paramount *kurakas* of the province, and was also the name of the provincial capital, where, according to Ulloa (1965 [1586]:329), these local elites “used to reside and continue to reside.” Likewise, the Aymara term *Lari* (or *Lare*) referred to the capital and the lords of Laricollaguas, and means “maternal uncle,” suggesting that the Laris were regarded as avunculates of an apical charter ancestor, while the higher-ranking Yanquecollaguas were considered agnates (Zuidema 1964:115–118). Each of these three *repartimientos* (provincial divisions)—Yanquecollaguas, Laricollaguas, and Cabanaconde—were subdivided between *Hanansaya* and *Urinsaya* ranked moieties, each of which was composed of a collection of *ayllus*.

### Collagua Ayllus and Inka Administration: An Ethnohistorical View

Although the Collaguas are mentioned only briefly in the standard chronicles, a wealth of administrative documentation, including one of the largest series of colonial censuses (*visitas*) for any locale in the hemisphere, makes possible a detailed reconstruction of the political and economic organization of the Collagua province under Inka rule. The Collaguas were prized as one of the most lucrative *encomiendas* in Peru (Cook and Cook 1991), and the earliest stratum of *encomienda* documentation hints at close ties to the Inka ruling dynasty. In the years following the conquest, they appear to have been retained among a group of highly valued estates and provinces by Manco Inca himself (Julien 1998), and were later granted in *encomienda* to Spaniards of the highest stature. The *repartimiento* of Yanquecollaguas was first granted by Francisco Pizarro to Gonzalo Pizarro (10 January, 1540), and later passed to the prominent *vecino* of Arequipa, Francisco Noguerol de Ulloa (10 September 1548) before being claimed as a crown holding in 1559 (Cook and Cook 1991:29–32, 127–129;

Málaga Medina 1977).

Consistent with Inka kin-based strategies of subordination discussed above, there is historical evidence for intermarriage between the Inka dynasty and Collagua elites. The prominent friar Luis Jerónimo de Oré, who led the Franciscan mission in the valley in the 1590s from the village of Coporaque, recounted ex-oral testimony in his doctrinal manual *Symbolo catholico indiano* (1992 [1598]) relating the marriage of a local noblewoman to the Inka Mayta Capac, and the construction of a copper-sheathed palace in the province for the royal couple (Oré 1992 [1598]:41).<sup>1</sup> This reference most likely refers to a member (perhaps the headman) of Mayta Capac’s *panaca* (commemorative *ayllu*), rather than Mayta Capac himself, since he is only the fourth ruler in the dynastic sequence, and his reign predates the expansionist imperial period by at least four generations (Pease G. Y. 1977:140–141).<sup>2</sup> But the passage clearly alludes to an important marriage alliance between Inka and Collagua nobles—as discussed above, a common stratagem by which the Inka sought to insinuate themselves as the exclusive font of legitimate rule among provincial elites. Further evidence for such inter-elite alliances is recorded in the *visita* of 1604, in which a handful of individuals are listed as exempt from colonial tribute obligations due to their avowed status of being descendents of the Inka Huayna Capac (Archivo Parroquial de Yanque [APY] Yanquecollaguas Urinsaya 1604, ff. 219v, 220v).

The Inkas also moved some Collagua elites to the Cuzco heartland to serve as *yanacona* retainers on the royal estates of Topa Inka and Huayna Capac, the tenth and eleventh Inka rulers. In testimony to the Viceroy Francisco de Toledo in 1571, one Gómez Condori, a native Collagua residing in Chinchaypuquio (near Cuzco), testified that his father had been taken from the Collagua territory to serve Amaro Topa Inga, brother of Topa Inka, and later Huayna Capac. His testimony indicates that he inherited his father’s status (Levillier 1940:113–114). Some Collagua households were also relocated by the state to serve as *mitmaq* colonists in the province of the Wankas in the Mantaro valley (Levillier 1940).

The Inkas’ keen political interests in the province were consistent with its regional economic importance. Vestiges of both staple and prestige goods sectors during Inkaic times are evident in

colonial administrative documents. The province constituted the largest single source of cash and staple goods revenue collected in the colonial regional center of Arequipa (Cook et al. 1975 [1582]; Manrique 1985). *Ayllus* of three classes of craft specialists are registered in the *visitas* of Yanquecollaguas: official state potters, silversmiths, and *cumbicamayos* (weavers of the sumptuary *cumbi* cloth) (APY Yanquecollaguas Urinsaya 1604, ff. 383v–385v; Verdugo 1977 [1591]:414–420; Verdugo and Colmenares 1977 [1591]:ff42r–44r). Four groups of official state potters, all resident in Coporaque (APY Yanquecollaguas Urinsaya 1604, ff. 268v–270r, 309v–312r; APY Yanquecollaguas Hanansaya 1615–1617, ff. 603v–611v) were listed as separate segments within *ayllus* in the *visitas*, suggesting “embedded specialization” (Janusek 1999). By contrast, *ayllus* of prestige good craft specialists—*cumbicamayoc* and silversmiths—were under the direct charge of the paramount *kurakas* of each moiety, indicating they were attached specialists (Verdugo and Colmenares 1977 [1591]:42r–44v; Verdugo 1977 [1591]:415–419; APY Yanquecollaguas Hanansaya 1615–1617, ff. 326v–338r). The provincial paramounts in Yanque also held rights to pastoralist *yanacona* retainers (Verdugo 1977 [1591]:420–422) (see Table 1).

The effects of the negotiation of local and imperial political formations are especially evident when comparing the names of the *ayllus* from each moiety. Prior ethnohistorical studies have reconstructed an ideal sociopolitical structure of the Inkaic Collagua province in which local *ayllus* were organized in a nested hierarchical structure based on Cuzco-Inka categories of prestige and rank. In this ideal scheme, *ayllus* were ranked according to a tripartite logic of high, middle, and low-status designations, called respectively, *Collana*, *Payan*, and *Cayao*. Ulloa explicitly describes this structure (1965 [1586]:330):

They governed themselves according to that which the Inka had determined, which was, for their *ayllus* and *parcialidades* [moieties], he named for each *ayllu* a cacique, and they were three *ayllus*, named *Collona* [*sic*; Collana], *Pasana* [*sic*; Payan or Pahana], *Cayao*. Each of these *ayllus* had three hundred Indians and a headman whom they obeyed, and these three

headmen obeyed the principal cacique, who ruled over all.<sup>3</sup>

The striking characteristic of this system is its direct parallel with the reckoning of prestige among the panacas of Cuzco. In the case of Inka kinship classification, the rank of each category was determined by reference to descent from an apical ancestor (Julien 2000; Kirchoff 1949; Rowe 1985; Zuidema 1977). Thus, members of the Collana group, a Quechua word meaning “of excellent quality, of primary origin” (Bertonio 1956 [1612]:50), would be most closely related to the focal ancestor, those of Payan less so, and those of Cayao only distantly so. Zuidema has suggested that Collana referred to groups that claimed both patrilineal and matrilineal descent from former Inka rulers, those of the intermediate Payan status were related only patrilineally, and those of Cayao status were not related to those of Collana (Zuidema 1964:101, 115–118, 1973, 1977).

Several researchers have also noted the close parallels between this tripartite hierarchical structure in the Collagua province and the sequencing of ritual in the *ceque* system of Cuzco, suggesting considerable reworking of local *ayllus* by the Inka state (Bauer 1998:35–37; Pärssinen 1992:362–371; Zuidema 1964:115–118). Scrutiny of the *visitas* from the Urinsaya moiety of Yanquecollaguas (Verdugo and Colmenares 1977 [1591]; APY Yanquecollaguas Urinsaya 1604) reveals that each of the *ayllus* of 300 households referred to by Ulloa (Collana, Payan, and Cayao) was actually composed of three smaller *ayllus* that were ranked according to the same tripartite ranking criteria (Table 2). This two-tiered tripartite hierarchical structure directly parallels the organization of the *ceque* system. That is, each of the four quarters that divided Cuzco’s ritual space were divided into three groups of three in the same repeating pattern of Collana, Payan, and Cayao (Bauer 1998; Zuidema 1964).<sup>4</sup>

Based on these naming patterns, prior researchers reconstructed an ideal administrative structure for the province as a whole in which each moiety was composed of three ranked “macro” *ayllus* (Collana, Payan, and Cayao) composed of three *pataca ayllus* (Cock Carrasco 1976–77; Pärssinen 1992:362–371; Zuidema 1964:115–118) (Table 2). The *pataca* rejoinder of the smaller *ayllus* means



Table 1. Villages and Ayllus in the Visitas of Yanquecollaguas, 1591/1604/1615-1617.

	Village	Hanansaya Ayllus	Urinsaya Ayllus
Agriculturalist	Achoma	Unidentified <sup>a</sup> Surcollana [Sur Collana]	Collana Pataca Collana Pataca <sup>d</sup> Yndios Cumbicamayos deste ayllu [of second Collana Pataca] Yndios Plateros [Silversmiths] [of second Collana Pataca] Taypi Pataca Taypi Pataca <sup>e</sup>
	Yanque	Unidentified Yndios Oficiales Cumbicamayos <sup>c</sup> Yndios Yanaconas de don Joan Halanoca	Collana Taypi Pataca Taypi Pataca Cumbicamayos Cumbicamayos
	Coporaque	Collana Malco Icatunga [Ila Tunga] Malco Checa Malco Iumasca [Yumasca] Calloca Cupi Cupi <sup>b</sup> Oficiales Olleros (Official Potters)	Collana Pahana Collana Pataca Pahana Taypi Pataca Pahana Cayao Pataca Oficiales Olleros de [Pahana] Cayao Pataca
	Chivay	Chapoca Collana Cayao Pataca Ilacachibaicayao Taipi Pataca [Ilaca Chivay Cayao Taypi Pataca]	
Agro-Pastoralist	Tuti	Pahana Collana Pataca Pahana Caloca Chilpe	Collana Taypi Pataca Collana Pataca Collana Paque Pahana Collana Pataca Pahana Taypi Pataca Pahana Cayao Pataca Collana Taypi Pataca
	Tisco	Collana Malco Iumasca [Yumasca] Cupi Cupi Capa Chapi [Cupi Pachapi] Anaoca	Cayao Pataca Collana Taypi Pataca Collana Cayao Pataca Pahana Collana Pataca Pahana Taypi Pataca Pahana Cayao Pataca

*Note:* This table is a summary of the primary villages in Yanquecollaguas (see Wernke 2003:357--358 for complete listing). *Hanansaya* data from APY Yanquecollaguas Hanansaya 1615-1617, except Yanque, from APY Yanquecollaguas Hanansaya 1591 (Pease G. Y. 1977). Both *visitas* are incomplete; only the second half (ff. 303r-611v) of the 1615-1617 *visita* is preserved, and the 1591 *Hanansaya visita* is a small fragment, lacking foliation. The 1591 fragment begins near the end of the accounting of Yanque. *Urinsaya* data from APY Yanquecollaguas Urinsaya 1604, except Yanque, from the 1591 Yanquecollaguas *Urinsaya visita* (Verdugo and Colmenares 1977 [1591]:191-263 [ff. 1r-44r). Ayllus within each village listed in order of appearance in the *visitas*. Original orthography preserved.

<sup>a</sup> The 1615-1617 *visita* fragment begins in the middle of this *ayllu*. Marginalia indicate that the *ayllu* is in Achoma, followed by *ayllu Surcollana*, also in Achoma.

<sup>b</sup> Two *ayllus* with the name *Cupi* are listed in succession (ff. 565v-584v, and 585r-603v) in the Coporaque section of the 1615-1617 Yanquecollaguas Hanansaya *visita*.

<sup>c</sup> Listed as subjects of don Juan Halanoca (Verdugo and Colmenares 1977 [1591]:415 [no folio number). Although Halanoca's declarations are not contained in this *visita* fragment, Ulloa (Ulloa Mogollón 1965 [1586]:326) lists him as paramount *kuraka* of the province.

<sup>d</sup> *Collana Pataca* is listed as two separate *ayllu* segments in Achoma, but due to the death of the *kuraka* of the second segment during the recording of the *visita*, they were joined under the *kuraka* of the first segment, Miguel Çapana (APY Yanquecollaguas Urinsaya 1604:ff. 366r, 387v).

<sup>e</sup> Data are incomplete for second Taypi Pataca *ayllu* of Achoma. The document fragment ends at folio 413v, in the section recording tributary households from this *ayllu*.

Table 2. Idealized Sociopolitical Structure of the Collagua Province.

I. YANQUECOLLAGUAS	
A. <i>Hanansaya</i>	B. <i>Urinsaya</i>
Macro-Ayllus	Pataca Ayllus (100 Households Each)
1. Collana (300 households)	1.1 Collana 1.2 Collana Taypi Pataca 1.3 Collana Cayao Pataca
2. Pahana (300 households)	2.1 Pahana Collana Pataca 2.2 Pahana Taypi Pataca 2.3 Pahana Cayao Pataca
3. Cayao (300 households)	3.1 Cayao Collana Pataca 3.2 Cayao Taypi Pataca 3.3 Cayao Pataca
	Structure Repeats
II. LARICOLLAGUAS	
A. <i>Hanansaya</i> (Structure Repeats)	B. <i>Urinsaya</i> (Structure Repeats)
III. CABANACONDE	
A. <i>Hanansaya</i> (Structure Repeats)	B. <i>Urinsaya</i> (Structure Repeats)

“one hundred,” signaling that they were considered equivalent tributary units of 100 households within Inka decimal administration (Julien 1988). The political corollary of this nested hierarchy is that the *kuraka* of the highest ranking *pataca*-level *ayllu* (Collana) within the upper moiety (Hanansaya) of Yanquecollaguas acted as provincial paramount, while his structural equivalent in Laricollaguas was second in charge of the province (Benavides 1989; Cock Carrasco 1976–77).

However, scrutiny of the *visitas* from the higher-ranking Hanansaya moiety of Yanquecollaguas reveals that this state-ordered ideal was unevenly achieved across the two moieties (Wernke 2003:354–359, 2006 a, 2006b). Only the *ayllus* of the lower-ranking Urinsaya moiety consistently conform to these naming patterns (Table 1). With only a few exceptions, names of the Hanansaya *ayllus* lack the tripartite nomenclature and decimal administrative designations. Of these, only variants of Collana, a common *ayllu* name among Aymara groups, occur regularly among Hanansaya *ayllus*. Based on these distinct naming patterns, I suggest that the *ayllus* of Hanansaya were composed of local Collagua *ayllus* that remained largely intact under Inka rule, while the *ayllus* of the lower-ranking Urinsaya were largely or entirely products of Inkaic social engineering.

Elsewhere I have reconstructed how this hybrid *ayllu* structure mediated regional-scale patterns of exchange and local-scale land tenure patterns using *visita* declarations (Wernke 2003:393–434, 2006a). At the regional scale, *kurakas* residing in the agri-

culturalist villages collected tribute from outlier *ayllu* segments resident in the herding villages of the valley’s upper reaches (Table 1). *Visita* declarations also register how the paramount *kurakas* resident in Yanque, Lari, and Cabanaconde held authority over an extensive archipelago of *ayllu* segments settled in lower-lying valleys, including maize production enclaves in the villages of Huanca and Lluta, located 55 km to the south (APY Yanquecollaguas Hanansaya 1615–1617, ff. 464r–479v), and large colonies of Collagua agriculturalists totaling over 2,000 individuals in the valley of Arequipa, 90 km to the south (Benavides 1995; Cook et al. 1975 [1582]; Galdos Rodríguez 1984; Pease G. Y. 1977; Wernke 2006a).

Households also maintained direct access to a variety of agro-pastoral produce, but their land tenure patterns were mediated by *ayllu* organization through patterns of marriage and inheritance. Local-scale analysis of *ayllu* land tenure patterns in Coporaque shows more discrete landholding constellations among the *ayllus* of Hanansaya and more dispersed land tenure patterns among the Inka-engineered Urinsaya *ayllus* (Wernke 2003:393–434, 2006a). The naming and land tenure patterns of these *ayllus* reveal an underlying dualistic organization, while more widely distributed fields among the Urinsaya *ayllus* hint at an Inkaic policy aimed at dispersing agricultural and hydraulic interests (Wernke 2003:354–359, 393–434, 2006a). Distinct outcomes of local-imperial negotiations are therefore evident between the moieties, resulting in a hybrid local/imperial political formation. Both

“direct” and “indirect” forms of imperial administration are apparent, as Urinsaya *ayllus* were organized according to Inkaic ideals, and Hanansaya *ayllus* maintained relative organizational autonomy and overarching authority.

### Archaeological Research in the Colca Valley

Despite this strong documentary evidence for political hierarchization and locally mediated rule under Inka administration, archaeological indices of imperial occupation from prior research were somewhat ambiguous. Local ceramics show obvious Inka influence (Malpass and de la Vera Cruz Chávez 1986, 1990), but no major administrative center had been identified in the central or upper sections of the valley (Brooks 1998; Malpass 1987; Neira Avendaño 1961; Shea 1987; Treacy 1989). Overall, settlement during the Late Intermediate period and Late horizon appeared to be characterized by a dispersed pattern of hamlets and villages with little evidence for major change or reorganization.

Only the ridgetop site of Kallimarka near Cabanaconde, a large settlement with a central plaza, ceremonial architecture, and probable *ushnu* platform produced evidence for Inka settlement planning in prior reconnaissance (de la Vera Cruz Chávez 1987; Neira Avendaño 1961). Based on the apparent dominance of this site in the local settlement pattern, de la Vera (1987) hypothesized that state investments were concentrated in the lower valley, perhaps owing to an Inkaic interests in increasing maize production. Most recently, research by Doutriaux (2004:294–298) in the lower valley suggests that more discrete settlement boundaries and nucleated Late horizon settlement patterning in Cabanaconde area may instead derive from distinct pre-Inkaic patterns of residence and land use between Cabanaconde and Laricollaguas.

Ironically, indices for Inka installations from prior archaeological research around the ethnohistorically documented capital of the province in the *repartimiento* of Yanquecollaguas were more limited. The largest settlements in this part of the valley, such as Juscallacta near Chivay (Brooks 1998; Guerra Santander and Aquize Cáceres 1996), Escalera near Achoma (Shea 1987), and Uyu Uyu and San Antonio near Yanque and Coporaque (Neira Avendaño 1961), were reported as local vil-

lages composed of well-preserved domestic structures built in the distinctive Collagua style.

However, most archaeological research in the central portion of the valley has focused on the valley’s agricultural infrastructure, especially the spectacular terrace complexes that cover the valley sides. This research established that an early phase of unirrigated terracing dating to at least as early as the Middle horizon (A.D. 550–1000) was superseded by irrigated bench terrace complexes during the Late Intermediate period (A.D. 1000–1450) and Late horizon (A.D. 1450–1532) (Brooks 1998; Denevan 2001:185–205; Malpass 1987; Treacy 1989). Trench excavations in irrigated bench terraces showed evidence for extensive terrace remodeling and expansion throughout the Late Intermediate period and Late horizon (Malpass 1987:63–64; Shea 1987; Treacy 1989). Noting the Inkaic proclivity for maize production, Malpass (1987) and Shea (1987) hypothesized that the Inkas may have focused on expanding terracing along the lower, less frost-prone valley slopes. But given the apparent absence of Inkaic installations, Brooks (1998) hypothesized that the downslope shift in terracing was tied not to Inka policies but rather to climatic cooling during the Little Ice Age. Thus, while the historical trajectory and functional aspects of the agricultural landforms in the Colca Valley are among the best documented in the Andes, their relationship to diachronic changes in settlement patterning and politico-economic organization have remained unclear.

### Survey Area and Methods

To complement this large corpus of landscape research, I designed a spatially integrated archaeological and ethnohistorical investigation of settlement and land use patterning in the core area of Yanquecollaguas. The ethnohistorical component reconstructed how the hybrid Collagua/Inka *ayllu* organization discussed above mediated regional and local systems of production and exchange (Wernke 2003:344–434). The archaeological component centered on a systematic 90 km<sup>2</sup> survey surrounding Coporaque and Yanque, the villages identified as the Inkaic and colonial provincial capitals in the ethnohistorical literature (Figure 1). The survey registered 169 archaeological sites with 300 temporal components using full-coverage methods (Wernke 2003:99–107).

Architectural preservation at most late prehispanic sites is excellent, and the survey methodology was aimed at balancing the richness of the architectural data against the overall scale of survey coverage to record intermediate-scale data of higher resolution than traditional regional survey, but lower resolution than site- or household-scale studies. Given these objectives, we produced architectural maps at selected settlements and recorded detailed formal, metric, and stylistic observations for every visible structure (Wernke 2003:99–107).

### *Chronology*

The ceramic sequence I developed divides local Collagua ceramics into four stylistic categories—Collagua I, II, III, and Collagua Inka—grouped into two chronological components: Late Intermediate period (Collagua I and II) and Late horizon (Collagua III and Collagua Inka). The sequence builds on the preliminary chronology developed by Malpass and de la Vera (de la Vera Cruz Chávez 1987, 1988, 1989; Malpass and de la Vera Cruz Chávez 1986, 1990), and the work of Brooks (1998:317–356), who differentiated Collagua ceramics from Chuquibamba (Cardona Rosas 1993; Kroeber 1944; Morante 1939; Sciscento 1989), Churajón (Kroeber 1944; Lumbreras 1974:208), and other regional styles (see Wernke 2003:447–537 for more detailed discussion).

The sequence is derived from changes in formal and decorative elements, and bolstered by cross-dating with related styles in surrounding locales. However, there are no local radiocarbon dates from undisturbed contexts associated with decorated Collagua I or II ceramics, so the Late Intermediate period portion of the sequence must be considered provisional. Bowl and plate forms dominate the diagnostics, and forms generally change from more constricted, globular bowls of Collagua I, to more open, flat-bottomed bowls and shallow plates of Collagua III and Collagua Inka from the Late horizon (Figure 2). Accompanying this morphological change is a shift in the placement of decoration from the external to internal surface between Collagua II and Collagua III. Collagua I decorations, executed in black on red and black and white on red on the vessel exterior, are organized in horizontal design fields and show some decorative continuity from local Middle horizon ceramics, such as Q'osqopa and other regional Wari variants (Cardona Rosas

1993:55–57; Lumbreras 1974:155–157, 174–175; Neira Avendaño 1990; Owen 2006; Sciscento 1989). Collagua II bowls are decorated in black on red only and are generally not delineated as horizontal design fields. The thick-lined curvilinear motifs of Collagua II are broadly similar to Altiplano period styles of the western Titicaca Basin, such as Pucarani Black on Red (Stanish 1997a:47–48, 153 [230.001–3]), Kelluyo (Stanish 1997a:46–47), and Tanka Tanka Black on Orange (Hyslop 1976:431–435). Collagua III and Collagua Inka ceramics exhibit clear indices of Inka influence. Collagua III bowls show continuity in slip color, surface treatment, and design motifs with Collagua I and II, but with formal details typical of Inka plates, such as rim protuberances (e.g., Bray 2003; Stanish 1997a:47). Collagua Inka vessels are local variants of Cuzco pottery, executed in bichrome and polychrome, and are well-crafted and more standardized than the local LIP wares in terms of firing, surface treatment, and decoration.

### **An Archaeological View of Imperial-Local Relations in the Collagua Heartland**

#### *Late Intermediate Period Settlement Pattern*

Major changes in settlement and land use patterning occurred during the four centuries spanning the Late Intermediate period. The previous Middle horizon occupation is characterized by a small hamlet and village settlement pattern associated with valley bottom agriculture and “agro-mortuary” wall features (large field division walls with mortuary and storage features) (Wernke 2003:150–157). Although evidence for Wari imperial influence is stronger in the lower Colca (Doutriaux 2004:208–224), Majes (Tung 2003), and Chuquibamba (Cardona Rosas 1993; Sciscento 1989) drainages, the upper portion of the central Colca Valley appears to mark a local terminus of Wari influence. Given the predominance of obsidian from the nearby Chivay source at Tiwanaku and other altiplano sites (Brooks et al. 1997; Burger et al. 1998; Burger et al. 2000), the upper Colca probably constituted a buffer zone between Wari and Tiwanaku political and economic spheres (Wernke 2003:167–169).

The survey registered a proliferation of small hamlets and larger village- and town-size settle-

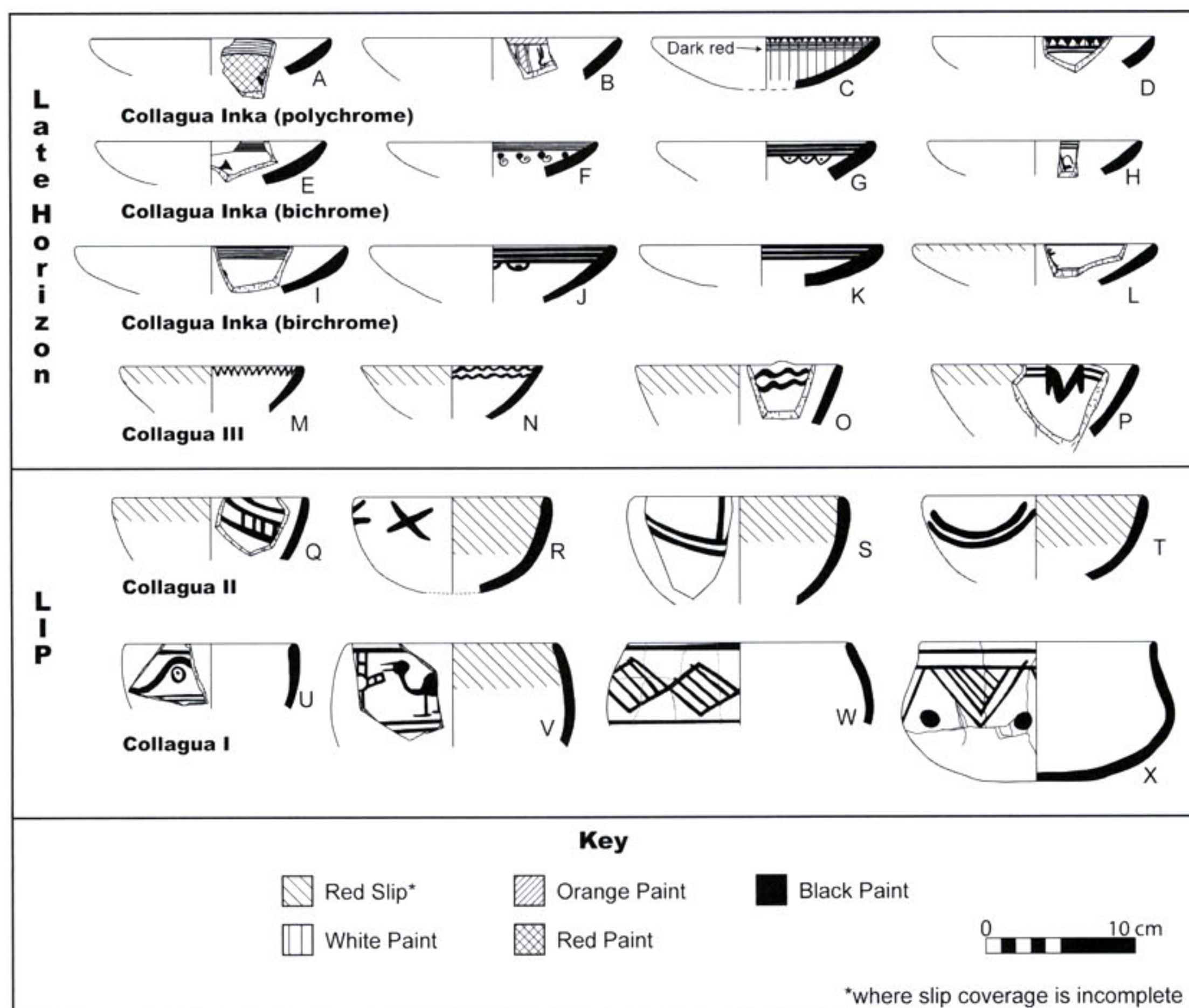


Figure 2. Examples of local Late Intermediate period and Late horizon ceramics.

ments amidst the valley's irrigated terrace complexes during the Late Intermediate period. Late Intermediate period settlements are composed of residential compounds with fieldstone domestic structures situated around terraced patios. As I discuss below, there is strong evidence for social inequality during this period, but political and economic organization appears not to have been centralized. Rather, political and economic relations appear to have been fluid and unstable as relations between local communities oscillated between conflict and coordination.

Within the survey, we registered 53 sites with Late Intermediate period components, 28 of which were settlements (including nine ceramic concentrations), while the remainder were cemeteries ( $n = 10$ ), fortifications ( $n = 3$ ), and sites composed of agro-mortuary wall complexes ( $n = 9$ ) (Figure 3). Settlement was concentrated on the north side of the Colca River, including the two largest Late

Intermediate period settlements—San Antonio/Chijra (CO-100) and Uyu Uyu (YA-050)—in promontory and hillside contexts, and a cluster of large villages on the pampas to the south of modern Coporaque.

Overall, the Late Intermediate period settlement pattern is noncentralized; no site is dominant in terms of size, centrality, or elaboration of architecture. The largest settlement by areal measure, San Antonio/Chijra (CO-100) (8.65 ha) is nearly twice as large as the second largest settlement (Table 3), but domestic structures are more dispersed at this site than at other settlements. Dating their construction and use is imprecise, but given the excellent architectural preservation at most sites in the survey, domestic structure density and counts probably more accurately reflect relative differences in the size of their populations. By this measure, San Antonio/Chijra, with 136 structures, and Uyu Uyu (YA-050), with 139 domestic structures

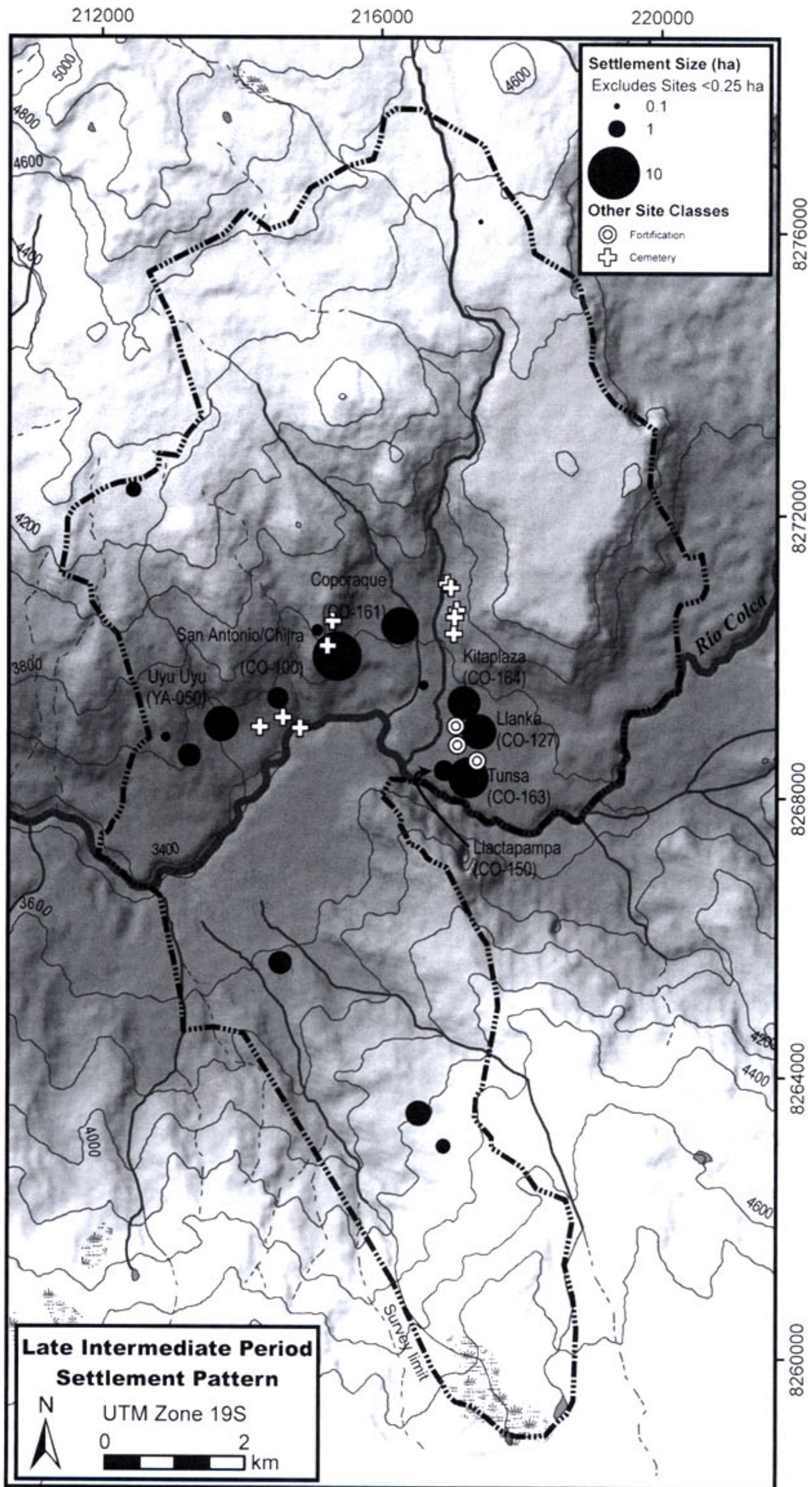


Figure 3. Late Intermediate period settlement pattern. Settlements smaller than .25 ha excluded.

Table 3. Late Intermediate Period and Late Horizon Settlement Data.

Site No.	Occupations	Site Class	Altitude	Ecozone	LIP Area	LH Area	House Count
82	LIP	Rockshelter	4623	<i>Puna</i>	.01		
88	LIP	Small Village	4286	<i>Puna</i>	.7		
45	LIP/LH	Hamlet	3556	<i>Kichwa</i>	1.51	1.51	6
48	LIP/LH	Hamlet	3554	<i>Kichwa</i>	.04	.04	2
53	LIP/LH	Hamlet	3674	<i>Suni</i>	.25	.25	
103	LIP/LH	Hamlet	3558	<i>Kichwa</i>	.25	.25	12
105	LIP/LH	Hamlet	4348	<i>Puna</i>	.06	.06	
151	LIP/LH	Hamlet	3822	<i>Puna</i>	.4	.4	
32	LIP/LH	Large Village	3665	<i>Suni</i>	1.86	1.86	
34	LIP/LH	Large Village	4187	<i>Puna</i>	2.19	2.19	
66	LIP/LH	Rockshelter	3864	<i>Puna</i>	.06	.06	
156	LIP/LH	Rockshelter	4448	<i>Puna</i>	.01	.01	
54	LIP/LH	Small Village	3572	<i>Kichwa</i>	1.75	1.75	7
93	LIP/LH	Small Village	4292	<i>Puna</i>	.75	.75	12
150	LIP/LH	Small Village	3513	<i>Kichwa</i>	1.4	1.4	20
41	LIP/LH	Town	3484	<i>Kichwa</i>	?	17.96	
50	LIP/LH	Town	3527	<i>Kichwa</i>	4.26	4.26	139
100	LIP/LH	Town	3666	<i>Suni</i>	8.65	8.65	136
127	LIP/LH	Town	3563	<i>Kichwa</i>	4.23	4.23	88
161	LIP/LH	Town	3626	<i>Suni</i>	?	4.85	
163	LIP/LH	Town	3528	<i>Kichwa</i>	5.75	5.75	70
164	LIP/LH	Town	3556	<i>Kichwa</i>	3.76	3.76	74
1	LH	Hamlet	3444	<i>Kichwa</i>		.51	
6	LH	Hamlet	3471	<i>Kichwa</i>		.04	1
25	LH	Hamlet	3666	<i>Suni</i>		.03	
40	LH	Hamlet	4149	<i>Puna</i>		.15	
89	LH	Hamlet	4233	<i>Puna</i>		.26	
90	LH	Hamlet	4300	<i>Puna</i>		1	
94	LH	Hamlet	4254	<i>Puna</i>		.04	
109	LH	Hamlet	4340	<i>Puna</i>		1	
111	LH	Hamlet	4355	<i>Puna</i>		.07	
159	LH	Hamlet	4419	<i>Puna</i>		.36	5
61	LH	Large Village	4360	<i>Puna</i>		2.83	8
102	LH	Rockshelter	4068	<i>Puna</i>		.01	
106	LH	Rockshelter	4397	<i>Puna</i>		.01	

Note: Excludes scatter/midden sites of unknown function. House count excludes Colonial and Republican Period houses.

were virtually the same size. Thus, the top tier of the settlement hierarchy was shared by these two settlements. The largest Late Intermediate period settlements documented in other parts of the central and lower sections of the valley are in the same size range or smaller than the largest settlements within the survey (Brooks 1998; de la Vera Cruz Chávez 1988; Doutriaux 2004; Guerra Santander and Aquize Cáceres 1996; Neira Avendaño 1961; Oquiche Hernani 1991; Shea 1987), so this decentralized Late Intermediate period pattern in the core area of the province is almost certainly reflective of the settlement pattern for the valley as a whole.

#### *Evidence for Conflict*

Accompanying these indices for decentralized Late

Intermediate period political organization, defensive site locations and the presence of hilltop fortifications indicate that conflict was common during the Late Intermediate period and probably extended to Inka imperial incorporation. The large settlements of Uyu Uyu (YA-050) and San Antonio/Chijra (CO-100) are located in defensible promontory or hillside contexts, and the cluster of settlements on the valley bottom on the north side of the river are situated adjacent to hilltop fortifications.

Local historical accounts are unequivocal regarding the nature of conflict in the province. Both Oré (1992 [1598]:39) and Ulloa (1965 [1586]:330) specifically allude to internecine warfare, fortifications, and weaponry during late pre-hispanic times. Oré (1992 [1598]:39) describes

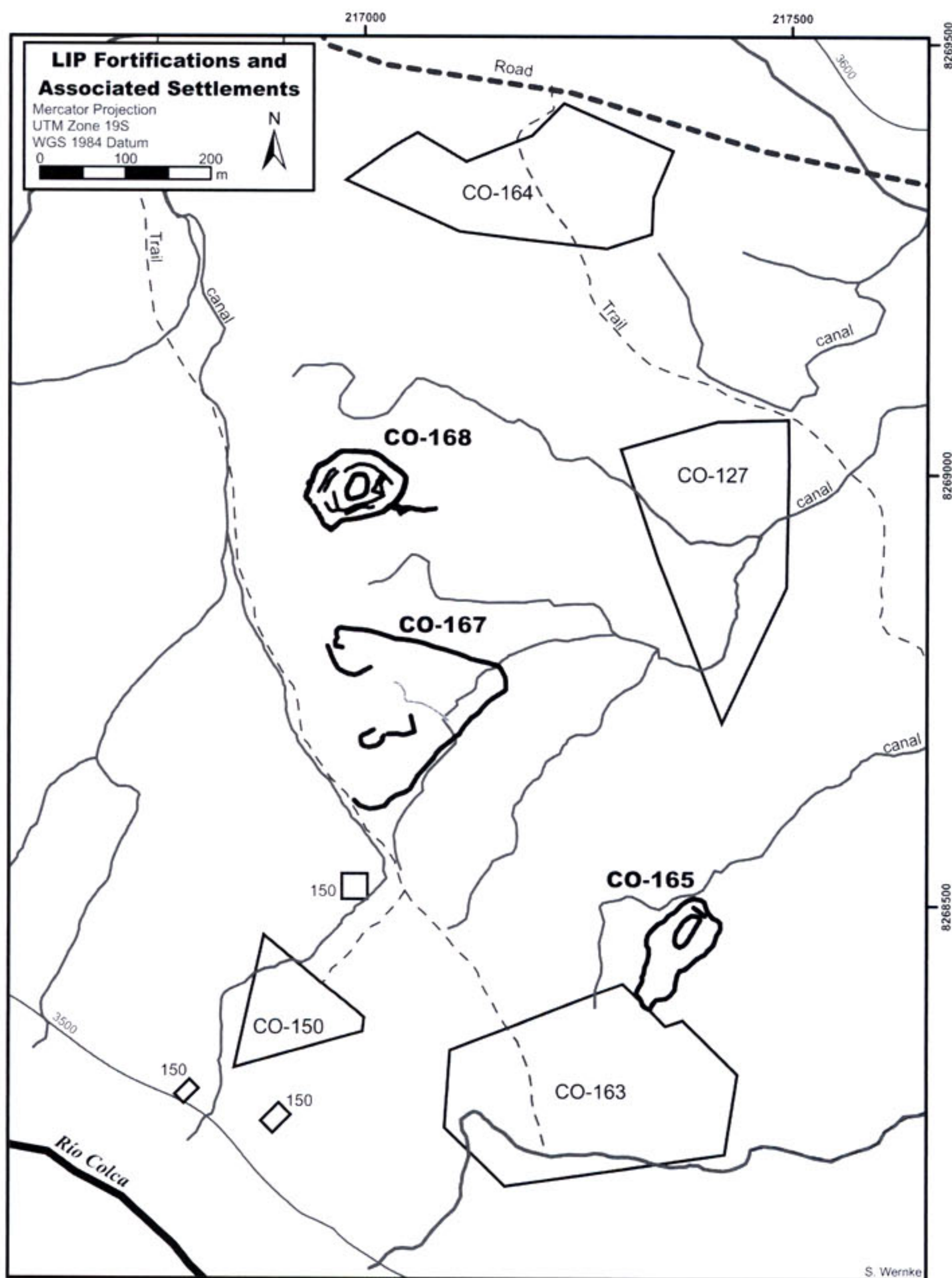


Figure 4. Three *pukara* fortifications (CO-165, CO-167, and CO-168) between Late Intermediate period/Late horizon settlements.

how the population lived in or near hilltop forts that they defended with slings. He described a bellicose period of pre-Inkaic "barbarism" characterized by local conflicts over agricultural resources, and describes warfare in terms of defense against field raids by competing *ayllus* (Oré 1992 [1598]:39).<sup>5</sup> Ulloa also mentions hilltop forts and gives a detailed account of Collagua weaponry, including copper-headed maces, copper axes, slings, and *bolas* (Ulloa Mogollón 1965 [1586]:330, 332).

The local pattern of Late Intermediate period and Late horizon hilltop fortifications—*pukaras*—is similar to that found in many other locales in the central and southern Andes. The survey documented five *pukaras* associated with settlements on the north side of the river. Of these, three (CO-165, CO-167, and CO-168) are situated on hilltops overlooking the cluster of settlements on the valley bottom to the southeast of Coporaque (Figure 4). A fourth is located upslope of the residential sector



of San Antonio/Chijra (CO-100). This hilltop is encircled by a wall and is further fortified by two large walls spanning its upslope ridge. The fifth *pukara*, high atop the 4,696 masl peak of Pumachiri (CO-158), is much larger and provides views far up and down the valley.

The four smaller fortifications are typical *pukaras* consisting of concentric wall fortifications encircling hilltops. Formal doorways remain preserved at CO-165 and CO-168, and appear to have been strategically located to create maze-like alleys between the concentric walls. The interior space on the hilltops themselves did not enclose residential areas, but looted remains of rectangular *chullpas* and collared tombs were present (Wernke 2003:257). Ceramics recovered from these contexts pertained to both the Late Intermediate period and Late horizon.

Given the absence of residential architecture within the *pukaras* and their proximity to settlements, they were probably used as temporary bastions for the inhabitants of the surrounding settlements. The three *pukaras* on the hilltops are located virtually equidistant between the five settlements on the valley bottom, each within 600 m of a settlement, and given access patterns and the local terrain, no settlement appears to have held a strategic advantage against the others in terms of access to the forts. Thus, the perceived threat was probably external to the populations of the immediately surrounding settlements.

The fifth *pukara*, Cerro Pumachiri (CO-158), dominates the northern horizon of Coporaque and today is the principal *apu* (mountain deity) of the village. This *pukara* is composed of three fortification walls—an outer perimeter wall and two internal concentric walls enclosing the peak itself. The perimeter wall is massive for such a high and remote peak, flanking some 350 m across its upper slopes. Like the other *pukaras*, there were no formal residential structures at Pumachiri; however, small (6–10 m<sup>2</sup>) ovoid fieldstone windbreaks are scattered throughout the site, and a dense cluster of over 100 shelters is situated downslope of the outer concentric wall on the northeast side of the peak. Thus, large parties probably camped at the site for short periods. The ephemeral nature of occupation at the site is also reflected in its very low artifact densities: only five diagnostic sherds—all from the Late horizon—were recovered.

Both small and large fortifications have been documented elsewhere in the valley as well. In Achoma, to the adjacent west of Yanque, two fortifications have been identified, including one small hilltop *pukara* (identified as Koricancha by Oquiche Hernani 1991:143–149) and the large fortification of Aukuinikita on a prominent ridgeline descending from the *puna* into the valley (Oquiche Hernani 1991:143–149; Shea 1987). In Maca, to the adjacent west of Achoma, Neira (1961:181) has documented the large *pukara* of Pachamarca (or Pachamarquilla). Interestingly, evidence for conflict drops off considerably in the lower sections of the valley around Lari and Cabanaconde, where Doutriaux observed no fortifications or defensive features at Late Intermediate period or Late horizon settlements (Doutriaux 2004:243). Fortifications thus appear to have been concentrated in the central and upper sections of the valley, suggesting greater intra-valley conflict in the core area of Yanquecollaguas, or perhaps oriented toward external threats from the *puna* heights to the north and east. The patterning of smaller *pukaras* near the valley bottom and large, high fortifications overlooking the valley rim may reflect local- and regional-scale defense networks similar to those documented in the neighboring Titicaca Basin (Arkush 2005; Frye 1997; Stanish 1997a, 2003:209–216).

#### *Cemeteries and Mortuary Architecture*

In parallel with the expansion of settlement during the Late Intermediate period was the construction of *chullpas* in the upland scarps surrounding habitation sites. Several sites composed of single *chullpas* produced only Late Intermediate period ceramics, while we recovered both Late Intermediate period and Late horizon ceramics at larger sites with rows of up to 40 abutting *chullpas* under cliff overhangs. The largest groups of *chullpas* are found in the overhanging cliffs at the sites of CO-154 and CO-098 (Fatinga), both upslope of San Antonio/Chijra (CO-100). Other rectangular free-standing *chullpas* are scattered throughout the hills above the valley bottom near Tunsalactapampa (CO-163/150), including some within hilltop forts (discussed below) and agro-mortuary wall sites.

Most local *chullpas* are situated under overhanging cliffs and boulders, enclosing spaces behind a fieldstone facade sometimes two or three



Figure 5. Large, three-storey chullpa at Fatinga (CO-098).

storeys in height. Small doorways gave access to each level, belt courses or cornices mark most second floors (and any subsequent floors, where present) (Figure 5). Interior walls were plastered, and well-preserved cases show remnants of red pigment applied to the plaster surface.

As in other highland Andean locales, the *chullpas* we documented were designed for continued access for feting the dead and adding subsequent

interments. Their scale and elaboration suggests that they were reserved for high-status individuals. Most commoners probably continued to be interred in subterranean, rock-lined collared tombs that are scattered throughout settlements, and in the agromortuary walls that divide agricultural fields in large areas of the valley bottom.<sup>6</sup> These collared tombs are generally ovoid in plan view and cylindrical in profile, ranging in size between 50–125

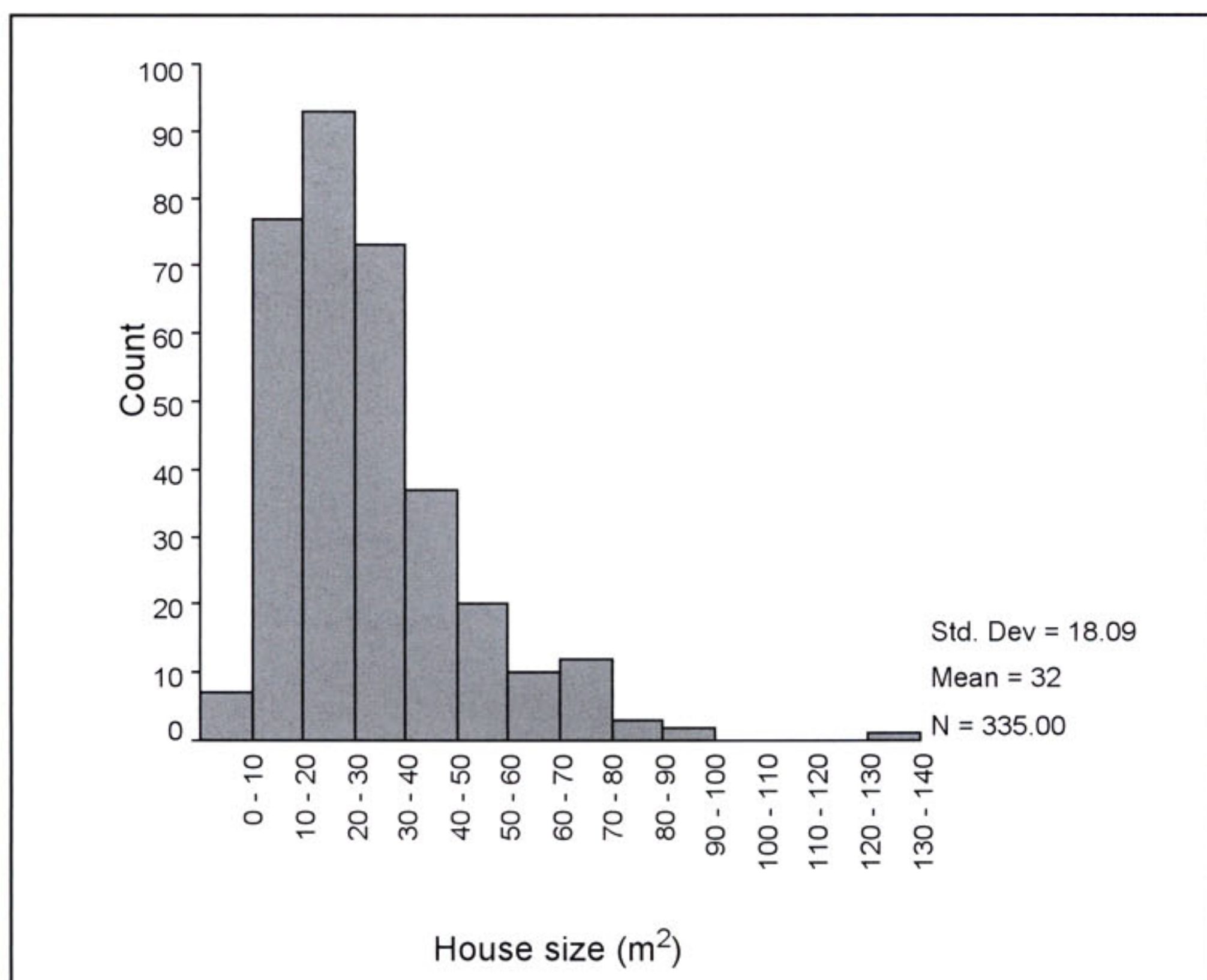


Figure 6. Late Intermediate period/Late horizon house size histogram.

cm in diameter, and 75–100 cm deep. Clearly there was a broad range of tomb elaboration during the Late Intermediate period and Late horizon, likely reflecting disparities in social status.

#### *Local Domestic Architecture*

Researchers working in the Colca Valley have long noted the distinctive characteristics of local late prehispanic domestic architecture, especially the unusually narrow and tall doorways, high gabled rooflines, and finely worked tabular masonry of many buildings (Brooks 1998; Guerra Santander and Aquize Cáceres 1996; Neira Avendaño 1961, 1990). While this research differentiated local Colagua architecture from the architectural traditions of surrounding polities, domestic architecture was clearly also a medium for expressing wealth and power within local communities. The large architectural sample we registered during the survey permits analysis of both stylistic and metric variability of local domestic architecture. We collected architectural data from all superficially visible structures ( $n = 654$ ), 91 percent ( $n = 593$ ) of which I cat-

egorized as “houses” (i.e., undivided, single room architectural spaces that could have served primarily as residential structures). Of these, 580 were dated to the Late Intermediate period and/or Late horizon based on construction attributes (the remaining 13 were dated to the Colonial or Republican periods).

Differences in house size and elaboration also permit the identification of elite dwellings. A histogram (Figure 6) of house footprint area shows a broad range of house sizes, with the largest cases over ten times as large as the smallest cases.<sup>7</sup> However, the modal size is between 20 and 30 m<sup>2</sup>, and the great majority—73 percent (246 out of 335)—fall between 10 and 40 m<sup>2</sup>. These small- to medium-sized structures probably housed the bulk of the commoner population. The low number of houses greater than 40 m<sup>2</sup>, representing the top quartile, suggests that they make up a distinct class, many of which I identified as elite houses in the field.

The high status of the inhabitants of the houses larger than 40 m<sup>2</sup> is also reflected in the quality and style of their masonry. A boxplot illustrates that

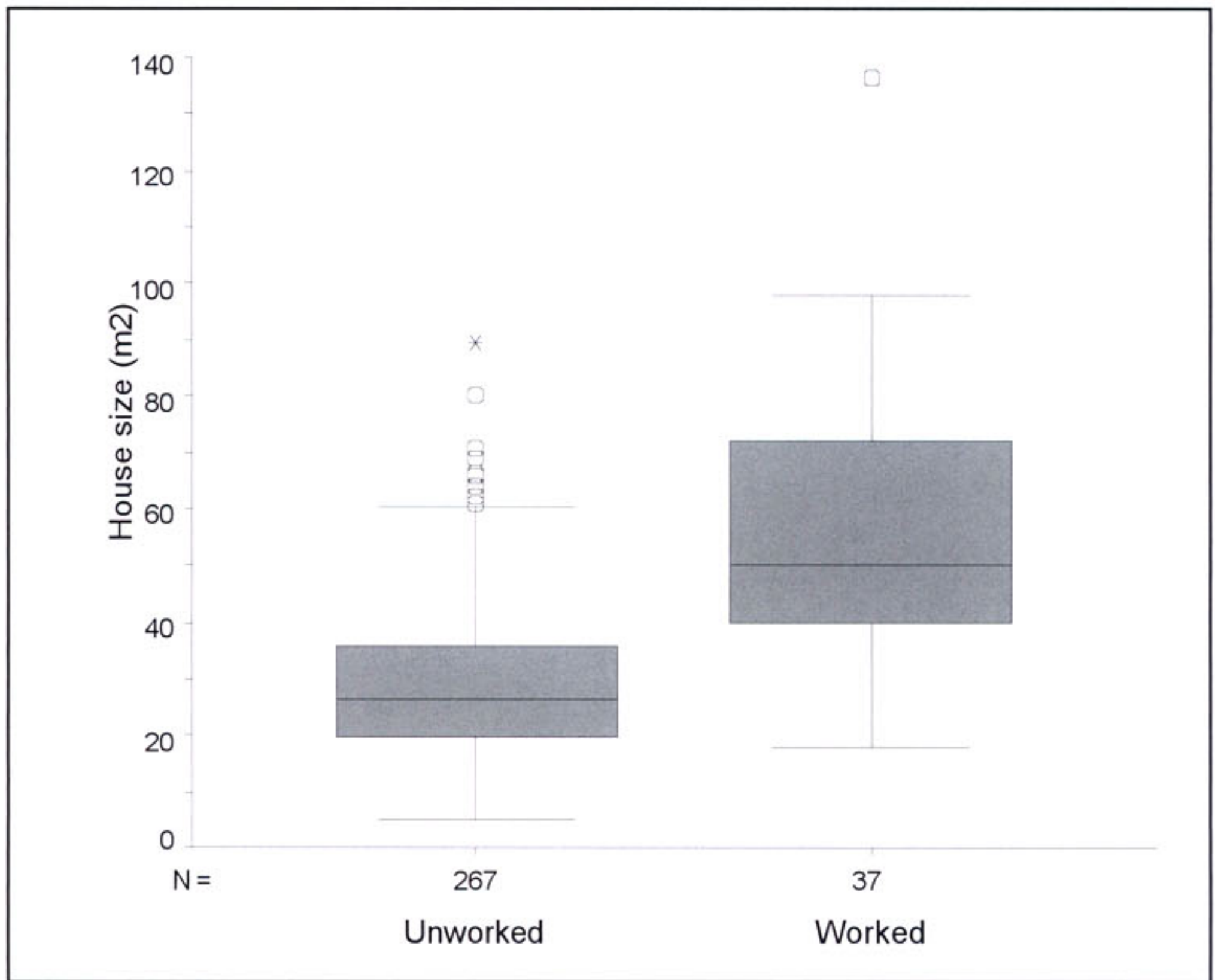


Figure 7. Boxplot comparing sizes of houses made of unworked and worked masonry.

houses of worked masonry are larger overall (Figure 7), and a t-test of the difference between the size distributions of unworked ( $\bar{X}=29.66$ ,  $s=14.22$ ) and worked ( $\bar{X}=55.04$ ,  $s=24.08$ ) masonry houses is statistically significant ( $t=6.26$ ,  $df=39.55$ ;  $p<.01$ ). So houses of worked masonry not only required more labor per unit of construction but were also significantly larger on average than houses of unworked masonry, reflecting the ability of their inhabitants to marshal labor for their construction.

A comparison of house sizes by site shows a broader range of house sizes at large settlements than at small settlements, reflecting greater disparities in wealth and status (Figure 8). The two largest Late Intermediate period settlements, Uyu Uyu (YA-050) and San Antonio/Chijra (CO-100) stand out for their larger median house sizes, high midspreads, and extremely high upper quartiles and outliers. Another group of elite houses is located at the site of Llactapampa, which, although recorded as a separate site from the neighboring Tunsá (CO-163) according to the survey site bound-

ary criteria, is less than 200 m distant and probably functioned as a single settlement with two residential sectors. When grouped together, Tunsá/Llactapampa (CO-150/163) constitutes the third-largest settlement by house count and shows an intermediate size distribution with very large outlier elite houses on a par with the top quartile at San Antonio/Chijra and Uyu Uyu. Thus, no single settlement stands out for its size or elaboration of domestic architecture. Elite households made up a greater proportion of the population at the two largest settlements, but were also present at medium-sized settlements.

#### *Late Horizon Settlement Pattern*

The local settlement system reached its apogee in terms of the number of settlements and occupied area during the Late horizon. We registered 72 sites with Late horizon components, including 29 settlements, 14 ceramic concentrations, 12 agromortuary wall sites, eight cemeteries, five rockshelters, and four fortifications. Overall, the Late horizon settlement pattern can be character-

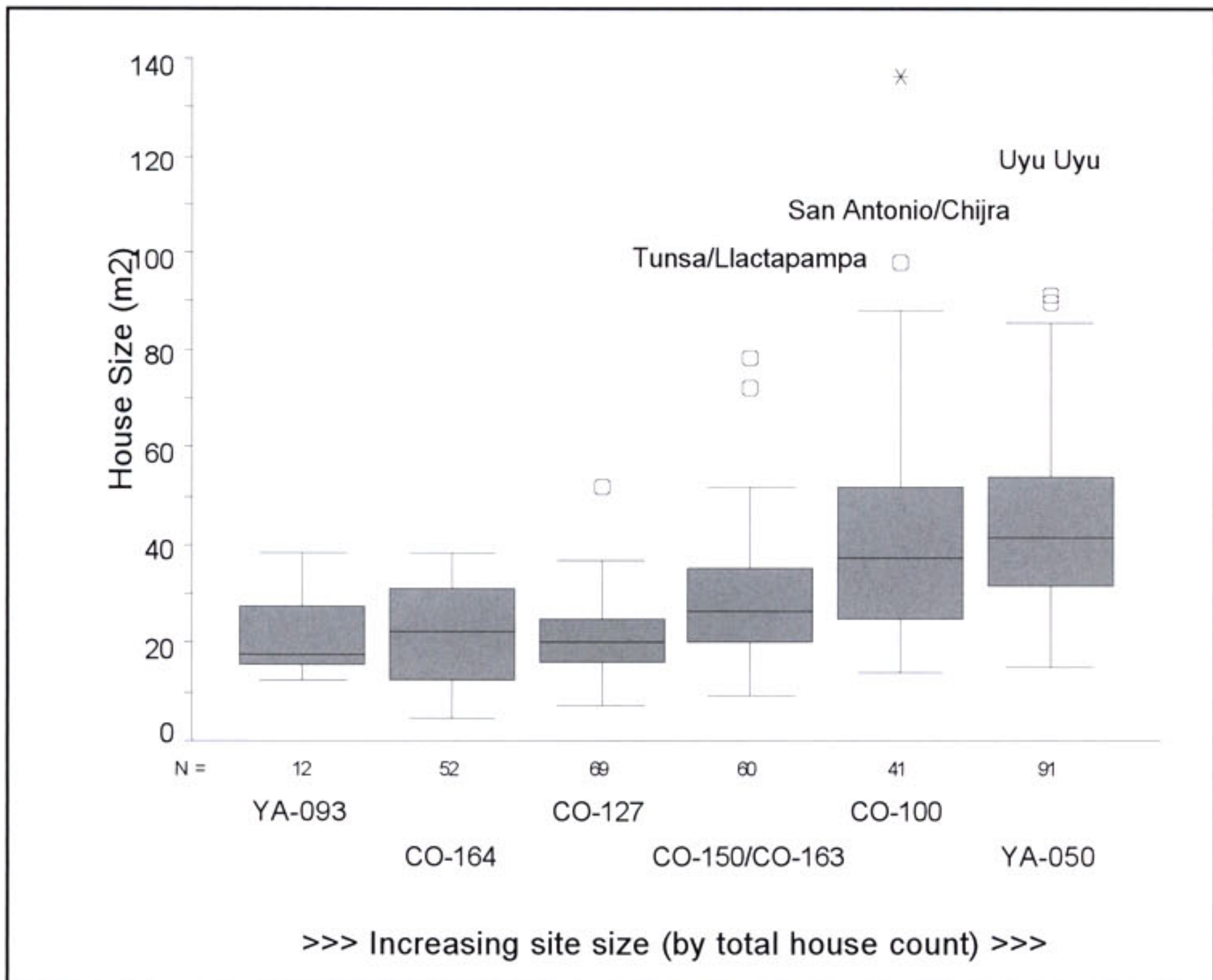


Figure 8. Boxplot of house footprint area by settlement. Excludes sites with less than 12 cases.

ized as an outgrowth of the settlement pattern established during the Late Intermediate period—there was not a major episode of site abandonment and resettlement that would indicate fundamental reorganization of the local settlement system by the Inka. Fully 87 percent (46 of 53) of Late Intermediate period sites also had Late horizon components.

Despite this continuity in settlement, important changes signal a shift from the decentralized organization of the Late Intermediate period to a more centrally administered, hierarchical form of political organization under Inka rule. Most notably, the settlement pattern became more centralized during the Late horizon, as a major site was established in the location of the village of Yanque (YA-041) on the south side of the river (Figure 9). This 18 ha site marks a break in site scale compared with the largest Late Intermediate period settlements—over twice as large as San Antonio/Chijra (Table 3). The scatter of Collagua Inka and other Inka imperial ceramics that defines the extent of the site is composed of a significantly higher percentage of poly-

chromes than at other settlements (17 percent, or 31/210, vs. 8 percent, or 68/895 at other settlements;  $p < .01$ ). The original layout of the site was obliterated by the construction of the *reducción* village in the early 1570s, but the only Inka cutstone masonry in the survey is found in Yanque. Although the masonry is not in its original structural context, its presence, together with the site size and ceramic evidence, suggest that Yanque was an important administrative center. As discussed above, Yanque was also the provincial capital during colonial times, suggesting continuity in its administrative function.

#### *Inka Imperial Architecture*

While Yanque became the primary administrative center, architectural evidence indicates that the three largest Late Intermediate period settlements—Uyu Uyu (YA-050), San Antonio/Chijra (CO-100), and Tunsu/Llactapampa (CO-150) appear to have functioned as secondary centers. These formerly dominant Late Intermediate period sites all bear the stamp of Inka occupation

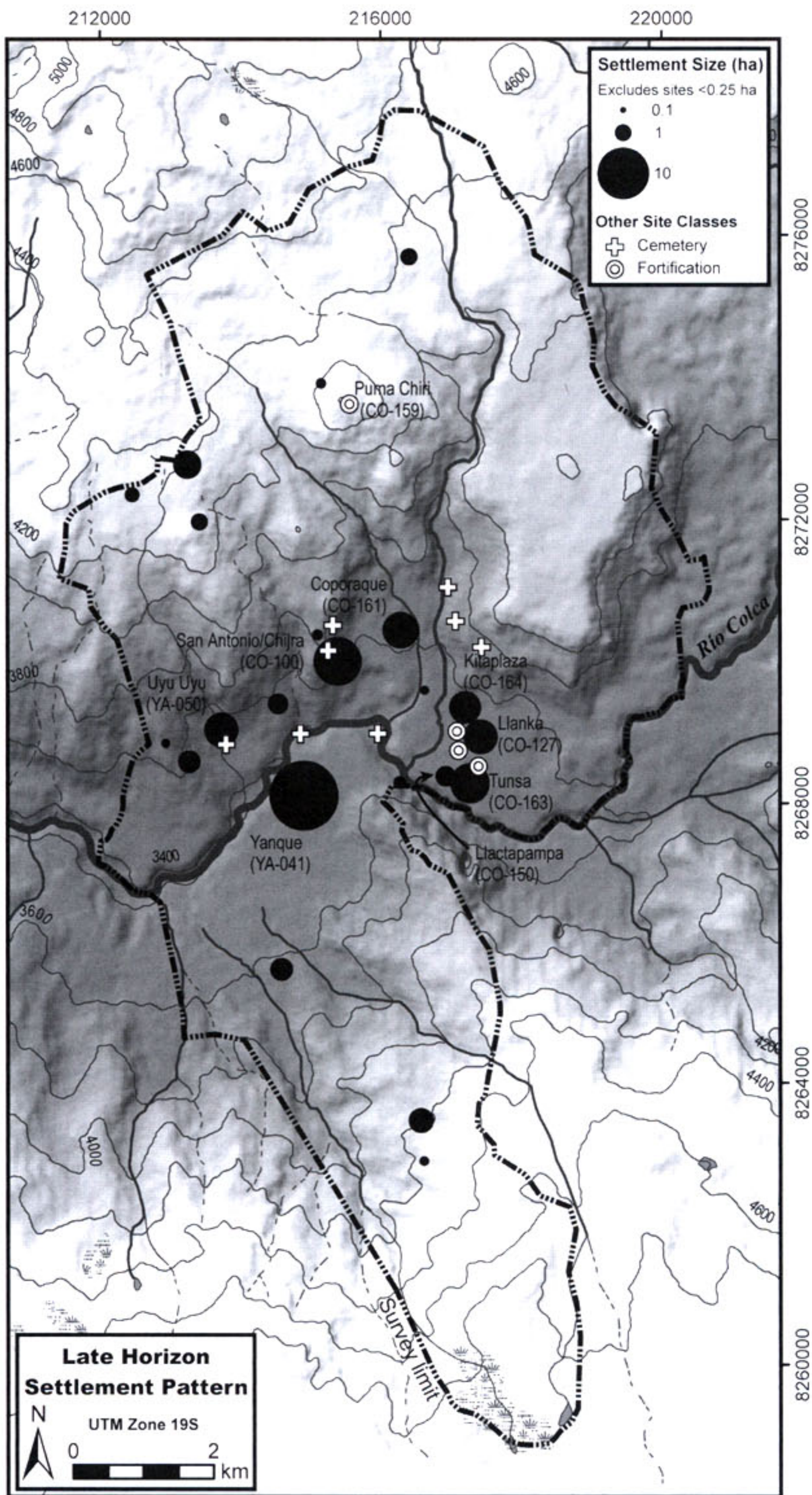


Figure 9. Late horizon settlement pattern. Settlements smaller than .25 ha excluded.



Figure 10. Architectural map of Uyu Uyu (YA-050).

in the form of prominently located, large, multi-door *kallankas*, or great halls—a distinctive imperial architectural form. As is common at Inka installments, these *kallankas* are situated with their doorways opening onto plazas, which, as discussed above, often served as stages for state-sponsored commensal ritual.

The largest and best-preserved *kallanka* is located at Uyu Uyu (YA-050). The structure, constructed of uncoursed fieldstone with dressed cor-

ners, doorways, and niches, measures  $29.0 \times 6.8$  m and spans the western side of a plaza near the center of the site and adjacent to a group of elite houses (Figure 10). It is much larger and more elongated than Collagua houses, and has seven trapezoidal doorways. This structure was subsequently modified, probably during the colonial period, by dividing the interior into two rooms, with an adjoining, external room built against the facade. A large colonial structure, which I have identified as a chapel

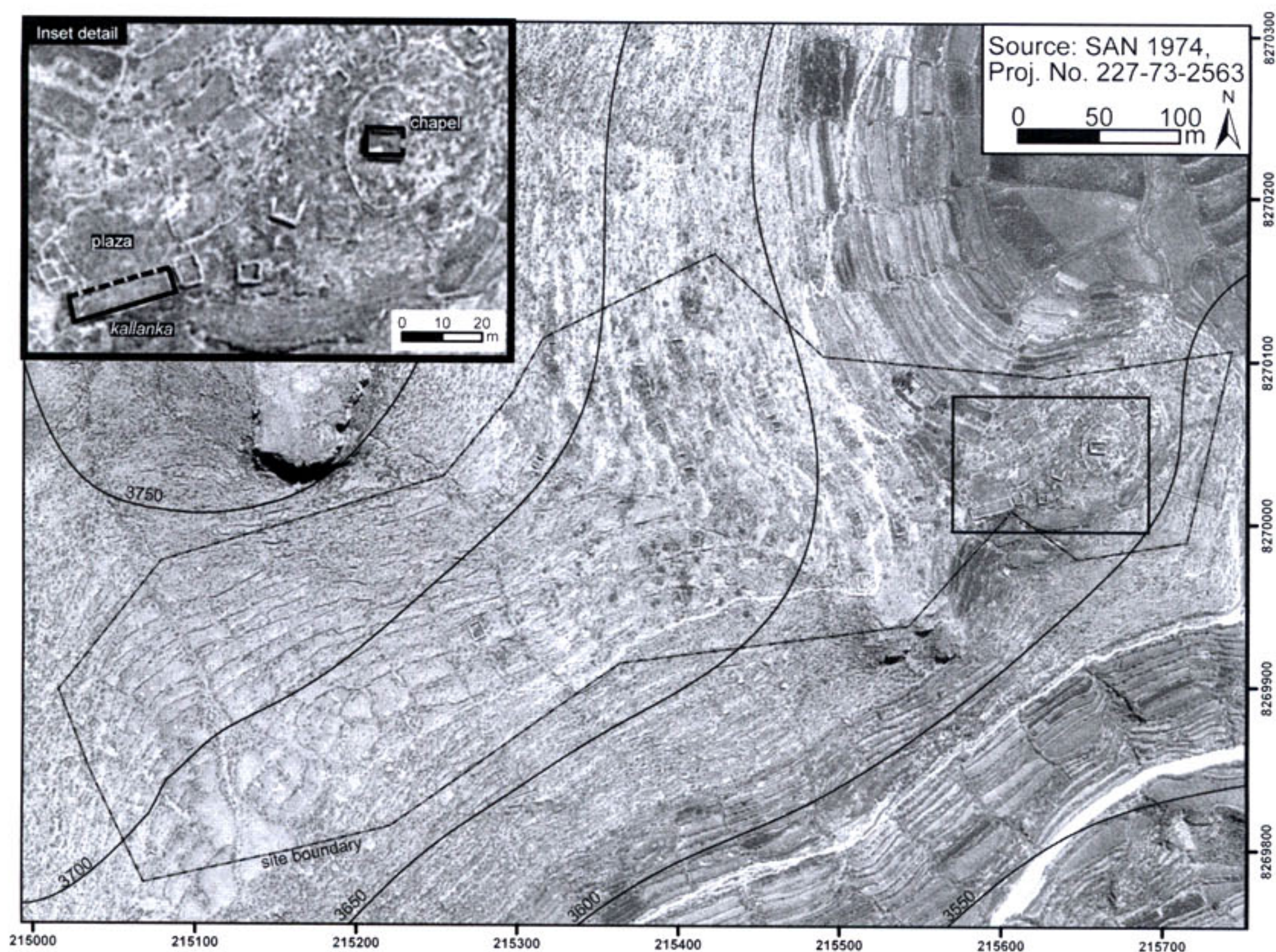


Figure 11. Georectified airphoto of San Antonio/Chijra (CO-100), with detail of *kallanka* area. *Kallanka* sketch based on field map.

established by Franciscan friars prior to the *reducción* resettlement program (Wernke 2003:312–325), is situated on the opposite side of the plaza.

At San Antonio/Chijra (CO-100), a *kallanka* of similar dimensions and construction quality, measuring  $24 \times 7.5$  m, is similarly situated alongside a plaza space that occupies a prominent saddle between a promontory and an elite housing sector (Figure 11). Only its three northernmost doorways are currently visible, but based on their regular spacing, there were probably six in total. As at Uyu Uyu, an early colonial chapel—identified as the chapel of San Antonio in Franciscan documentation (Echeverría y Morales 1952 [1804]:80)—was built near this *kallanka*, occupying the top of the adjacent hilltop.

A third *kallanka* is found at Tunsá/Llactapampa (CO-163/CO-150), the third-largest settlement during the Late Intermediate period. The *kallanka* at this settlement is similar in size and proportion to those from Uyu Uyu and San Antonio; portions of

four regularly spaced trapezoidal doorways remain visible in the preserved section of its long axis, and its width measures 7.2 m on the exterior. It is situated between these two housing areas with its doors again opening to an open plaza space that connects with the main path to the site.<sup>8</sup>

As discussed above, houses at these three settlements were larger and more elaborate on average than at the other Late Intermediate period settlements, and included the largest elite houses in the survey. The apparent association between local elites and imperial administration is more evident when aggregating the house size data by the sites with *kallankas* and comparing them to houses at sites without *kallankas*. A boxplot comparing these two groups illustrates the greater median and higher (and broader) midspread at sites with *kallankas* (Figure 12). A t-test shows that the difference between the larger mean house size at sites with *kallankas* ( $\bar{X} = 40.3$  m<sup>2</sup>,  $s = 19.8$ ) than at sites without them ( $\bar{X} = 22.6$  m<sup>2</sup>,  $s = 8.7$ ) is statistically significant ( $t = 10.78$ ;  $df = 252.98$ ;  $p < .01$ ). The



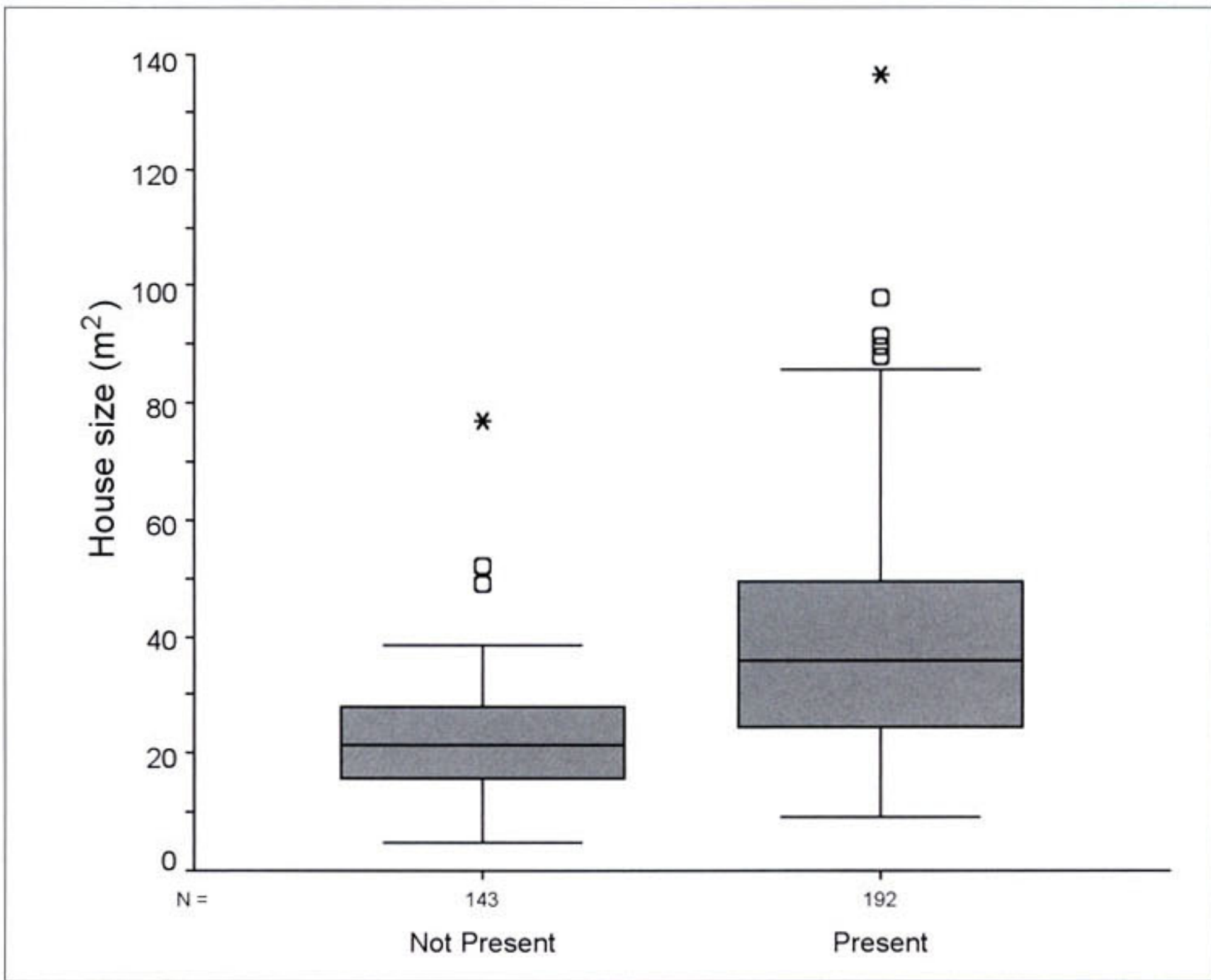


Figure 12. Boxplot comparing house sizes at settlements where *kallankas* are not present and those where *kallankas* are present.

close spatial association between the *kallankas* and elite housing compounds further suggests that Inka rule was coordinated by local elites at these formerly dominant Late Intermediate period settlements. Their adjacency to central plaza spaces also hints at the role that state-sponsored ritual may have played in local-imperial relations.

### Discussion

The survey results clarify several issues regarding the organization of the Collagua polity and its articulation with Inka administration in the Colca Valley. Settlement pattern, architectural, and mortuary data signal the growth of social inequalities and the presence of an elite class at the largest Late Intermediate period settlements, but the absence of a dominant settlement in terms of size or centrality, coupled with strong evidence for conflict, suggest that political organization was not integrated into a centralized hierarchy before the Inka occupation. The two size classes of *pukaras* apparent in the survey are similar to the “minor refuge” and “major

fortification” *pukaras* found in the western Titi-caca Basin (Frye 1997; Stanish 1997a, 2003:209–216). Researchers working there have suggested that the patterning of small *pukaras* indicate a more decentralized form of pre-Inkaic political organization than their leaders’ depictions recorded in early colonial documents would suggest (Arkush 2005; Frye 1997; Stanish 1997a, 2003:209–216). By contrast, major fortifications appear to have been occupied later as the Qollas and Lupaqs unified when faced with the major external threat of the Inka military (Arkush 2005; Stanish 2003:210). The emerging pattern of minor and major *pukaras* in the Colca Valley hints at a similar scenario. Intriguingly, the only diagnostic ceramics recovered from the major fortification at Pumachiri were from the Late horizon, but collections were scant. Thus, in a manner similar to the Qollas and Lupaqs, the Collaguas may have unified as a larger ethnic collectivity in the face of an invading Inka military.

While the initial Inka conquest of the valley may

have activated pan-ethnic identity, political integration within the imperial administrative system would have involved a more long-term process of negotiation. Changes in settlement patterning and organization signal a shift from decentralized, heterarchical political organization during the Late Intermediate period to more hierarchical, but locally mediated, Inkaic administration during the Late horizon. The overall continuity of occupation and introduction of Inka architectonic forms suggest that Inka administration was closely coordinated through local elites. The prominence of *kallanka* structures and their association with plaza spaces created new, hybrid local/imperial settlement configurations that would have facilitated public rituals as a means of enacting the Inkaic ideology of state largesse.

The survey also documented what was almost certainly the provincial administrative center in the location of the *reducción* of Yanque. This site constituted a distinct class in terms of size and centrality within Yanquecollaguas. Looking beyond the survey area, locally centralized patterns are also apparent in Laricollaguas and Cabanaconde. Recent findings in the lower valley by Doutriaux indicate that major Inka sites with imperial architecture (including cutstone masonry) were similarly situated under and around the *reducciones* of Lari and Cabanaconde. (Doutriaux 2004:278–287). Thus, the documentary and archaeological evidence both point toward a system in which the province was administered as three subdivisions forming a locally centralized settlement system within each provincial subdivision, but a more decentralized system at the scale of the province as a whole.

Generally similar forms of political consolidation are found in other provinces. In the central Peruvian Andes, the division of the Wanka province between three subdivisions and two ethnic groups—Anananwanka, Lurinwanka, and Hatunxauxa (D'Altroy 1987, 1992; Pärssinen 1992)—resembles that between Yanquecollaguas, Laricollaguas, and Cabanaconde. But Late Intermediate period settlement patterning there was much more nucleated (D'Altroy 1987; 1992:55–62; Hastorf 1993:65), and the Inka occupation effected a dispersion of settlement and the establishment of the major regional administrative center of Hatun Xauxa (D'Altroy 1987, 1992:102–116). The greater con-

tinuity of settlement in the Colca Valley suggests a more locally mediated form of articulation between local communities and the state despite these gross-level similarities in provincial organization. The site we documented at Yanque was large by local standards, but pales by comparison to Hatun Xauxa and other regional centers along the highland imperial highway. The administrative centers of the Colca Valley are closer in scale to Hatunqolla and Chucuito, the Inkaic and colonial capitals of the Qolla and Lupaqa provinces of the neighboring western Titicaca Basin (Hyslop 1976; Julien 1983). But again, changes in settlement patterning under Inka rule were much more dramatic in the Titicaca Basin than in the Colca Valley (Frye 1997; Stanish 1997a, 1997b).

Overall, the Collagua province does not fit comfortably into the categories of “core,” “periphery,” or “direct” and “indirect” forms of imperial administration. Clearly, imperial administration did not alter pre-Inkaic forms of settlement, land use patterning, and politico-economic organization to the same degree as other locales that can be more properly considered as part of the imperial heartland. But just as clearly, given its regional economic and political prominence, the indices for considerable state investments in local settlements, and the reorganization of Urinsaya *ayllus* according to tripartite and decimal administrative ideals, the province was not administered indirectly or considered “peripheral.” The close-in view afforded by this study suggests a two-way process of negotiation between the state and local interest groups that generated an emergent politico-economic formation that was the product of both but controlled entirely by neither.

### Conclusion

Together, the ethnohistorical and archaeological analyses presented here traced several “threads of local interest” in the process of negotiation between imperial and local agents and institutions. While documentary data permitted reconstruction of how specific state and local institutional structures and actors interacted, archaeological analysis provided a complementary view of the physical “stage” that emerged from and structured those power relations.

The available documentary evidence registers several strategies of imperial integration, such as

elite intermarriage with Cuzco nobles, *mitmaq* and *yanacona* resettlement, and the presence of official state craft specialist enclaves. A close reading, however, demonstrates that state penetration into local community organization was uneven across the two moieties of Yanquecollaguas, the provincial seat of governance. While the *ayllus* of the lower moiety (Urinsaya) were comprehensively reorganized in the image of Inkaic ideals of rank, hierarchy, and decimal bureaucratic order, those of the higher-ranking upper moiety (Hanansaya), which maintained overall political primacy at the provincial level, retained much of their pre-Inkaic character. Thus, state prerogatives augmenting and institutionalizing hierarchy and political centralization were tempered by local political exigencies, resulting in a hybrid imperial/local political arrangement. Much like the Qolla and Lupaqa “señoríos,” the idealized image of an elegant hierarchical political structure in the Collagua province provided by local elites in Ulloa’s account appears to have reflected their elevated, post-imperial position as provincial officials, rather than the nature of their predecessors’ chieftaincy during pre-Inkaic times.

Several lines of archaeological data point to such a decentralized pre-Inkaic local political landscape. The absence of a dominant Late Intermediate period center and presence of strong evidence for conflict suggest fluid political relations prior to Inka conquest. I have hypothesized that, in a manner similar to neighboring locales, the Inka conquest itself may have initiated local centralization by submerging local rivalries and activating pan-ethnic identity. The imperial task of integration probably proceeded by encouraging this trend away from segmentation and heterarchy and toward centralization and hierarchy. Changes in settlement patterning between the Late Intermediate period and the Late horizon signal political centralization under Inka administration, and the installation of Inka ceremonial structures and plazas next to elite compounds suggest that, in a complementary manner to the documentary record, Inka rule was mediated by local elites and communicated through a ritualized idiom—an important insight into local processes of imperial integration not evident in written texts.

Characteristics of both “direct” and “indirect” Inkaic imperial strategies are clearly evident in the

Colca Valley, although such heuristic categories—despite their demonstrated utility in regional and comparative studies—do not appear to account adequately for the complexity of the interactions between state and local actors and institutions at this more fine-grained scale of analysis. With such local soundings, researchers are beginning to fill between the broad brush strokes of regional studies to view with greater specificity how ancient empires such as Tawantinsuyu responded to, managed, and exploited diversity.

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## Notes

1. Writing subsequent to Oré, Cobo (1979 [1653]:119) also listed the primary wife of Mayta Capac as the daughter of a Collagua lord, naming her as Mama Tancaray Yacchi. However, this information, and the accompanying account of the construction of a copper palace in the royal couples' honor, was clearly derived from Oré rather than an independent source in Cuzco.

2. The Collaguas were most likely incorporated into Tawantinsuyu during the reign of Pachacuti, the ninth Inka,

around A.D. 1450 (Julien 1991; Pärssinen 1992:136), coeval with the consolidation of Inka rule in the neighboring Lake Titicaca basin (Bauer and Stanish 2001:251–255).

3. “Gobernábanse conforme a lo quel inga tenía puesto, que era, por sus ayillos e parcialidades nombraba de cada *ayllo* un cacique, y eran tres *ayllos*, llamados *Collona*, *Pasana*, *Cayao*; cada *ayllo* destes tenía trescientos indios y un principal a quien obedecían, y estos tres principales obedecían al cacique principal, que era sobre todos.”

4. This *ceque* naming pattern is followed most closely in three of the four quarters (*suyus*) of Cuzco: Chinchaysuyu, Antisuyu, and Collasuyu. The *ceques* names of the fourth quarter, Cuntisuyu, deviate from the tripartite scheme (Bauer 1998; Zuidema 1964).

5. Oré’s account also provides a graphic example of the warrior ethos of late prehispanic times in an account of a man who displayed to him an antique (presumably prehispanic)

shirt embroidered with the fingernails of the men that his ancestral kinsmen had killed in battle (Oré 1992 [1598]:39).

6. We observed disturbed human skeletal remains in several of the collared-tomb features and in agro-mortuary walls.

7. I use building footprint area—that is, the total area enclosed by the exterior of a house foundation—to measure house size. It was not possible to obtain the interior dimensions of many structures, given survey time constraints, due to dense cactus growth and danger of wall collapse. Most structure’s walls ranged between 60 to 80 cm in thickness.

8. A possible fourth kallanka is found in front of a plaza space at the site of Kitaplaza (CO-164); however, only the foundation of its back and facade walls were visible on the surface.

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