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

Steven A. Wernke

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 analyses 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 incaica de Collagua, valle del Colca en la sierra sureña del Perú. El análisis etnográfico y arqueológico conjunto documenta el surgimiento de una formación política híbrida imperial/local sobre un sustrato más autónomo durante la transición del Medio Tardío (1000–1450 d.C.) y la ocupación inca durante el Horizonte Tardío (1450–1532 d.C.). La evidencia documental revela una importante pero asimétrica penetración de instituciones incaicas en las dos moieties que estructuran la organización comunitaria local, indicando, de un lado, una concordancia notable entre los ideales cosqueninos de rango y jerarquía entre las comunidades (ayllus) de la moieties inferior, pero al otro lado, una mayor autonomía entre los ayllus de la moieties superior. Nuevos datos procedentes de una prospección sistemática del área de la capital provincial indican un patrón de asentamiento descentralizado con fortificaciones durante el período Intermedio Tardío, sugiriendo una organización política autónoma segmentaria. El subsiguiente patrón de asentamiento del Horizonte Tardío señala continuidad ocupacional pero con el establecimiento de un centro administrativo incaico y la instalación de plazas centrales y estructuras incaicas en los asentamientos locales con arquitectura de la elite collagua. El conjunto de las dos clases de datos proporcionan una visión de la administración incaica centralizada pero mediada por la elite local.

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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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 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 hierarchical (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). 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 Collaguá 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 Collaguá polity that indicate how local political organization prior to the Inka occupation was segmentary and hierarchical 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 ethnopolitical 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 federations 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 hierarchical 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. Revolts 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 ayllo. Ayllo 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,” ayllo 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 consanguineous of a patrilineage to clan-like groupings of patrilineages, moieties, and even an entire ethnic group (Platt 1986).

Common to all of scales of ayllo inclusivity, however, were two defining attributes: ayllo were named, resource-holding corporate collectivities, and ayllo membership was reckoned by reference to an actual or mythic focal ancestor. Ayllo 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, ayllo affiliation was reckoned by reference to a landscape inhabited by huacas (ancestral deities). Ayllo members reaffirmed their community affiliations by consulting and feting ancestral mummies, who occupied chullpa (mortuaries 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). Ayllo leaders claimed elite status through their avowed genealogical proximity to ancestral huacas.

Ayllo 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 ayllo 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 Incas 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 Incas figure as their ancestors would therefore constitute their acceptance of the legitimacy of Inka rule (Silverblatt 1988).

The Incas employed a number of strategies toward this ideological goal. According to dynastic lore, early (probably the first five) Inka rulers took noblemen of the polities surrounding Cuzco as their primary wives (goya), and later sovereigns took innumerable regional noblemen 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 Incas also appropriated regional huacas and constructed elaborate shrines dedicated to the solar cult (Bauer and Stanish 2001). Imperial policies also manipulated ayllo ideology by representing the asymmetrical redistributive relationship between the state and subject populations in the same terms as the balanced reciprocal arrangements between ayllo kin (Murra 1980; Stanish 1992). The spatial organization of state installations materialized (sensa DeMarrais et al. 1996) this ideological stratagem. Large, open plazas with ceremonial platforms (ushnu) functioned as stages for the public display of state-sponsored communal ritual (Dillehay 2003; Moore 1996; Morris and Thompson 1985).

However, Inka policies also significantly altered ayllo political and economic relations, fostering the formation of new imagined communities of the state (Isbell 1997:101–135). Through time, Inka policies increasingly bureaucratized ayllo 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 politics 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 politics 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, metalsmiths, and weavers served as specialist officials (camayos) who produced standardized and often elaborate crafts that the state strategically distributed in a growing wealth-financing 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 Collaguas 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 Coica 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 ethnopolitical 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 Cavanas) 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 suni (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 (1665 [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 aylus.

**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). This reference most likely refers to a member (perhaps the headman) of Mayta Capac’s panaqa (commemorative aylus), 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). But the passage clearly alludes to an important marriage alliance between Inka and Collagua nobles—as discussed above, a common strategem 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 Inca 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 Chinchaypuchio (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 *cumbicamayoc* (weavers of the ceremonial *cumbi* cloth) (APY Yanquecollaguas Urinsaya 1604, ff. 383v–385v; Verdugo 1977 [1591]:414–420; Verdugo and Colmenares 1977 [1591]:42r–44r). Four groups of official state potters, all resident in Coporáque (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 *yanacora* 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*, *Payar*, 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 *Collana* [sic; Collana], *Pusana* [sic; Payan or Payana], *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.3

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).

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.

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<th>Village</th>
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<td>Achoma</td>
<td>Unidentified&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Collana Pataca</td>
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<td>Surcollana [Sur Collana]</td>
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<td>Yndios Cumbicamayos deste ayllu [of second Collana Pataca]</td>
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<td>Yndios Plateros [Silversmiths] [of second Collana Pataca]</td>
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<td>Taypi Pataca</td>
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<td>Taypi Pataca&lt;sup&gt;e&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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<td>Yanque</td>
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<td>Taypi Pataca</td>
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<td>Yndios Yanaconas de don Joan Halanoca</td>
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<td>Icatunga [Ila Tunga] Malco</td>
<td>Pahana Collana Pataca</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cupib&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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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. 303v-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 (Vedurgo and Colmenares 1977 [1591]:191-263 [ff. 1r-4r]). Ayllus within each village listed in order of appearance in the visitas. Original orthography preserved.

* The 1615-1617 visita fragment begins in the middle of this ayllu. Marginalia indicate that the ayllu is in Achoma, followed by ayllu Sureollana, also in Achoma.

<sup>a</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>b</sup> Listed as subjects of don Juan Halanoca (Vedurgo 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>c</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 Capana (APY Yanquecollaguas Urinsaya 1604:ff. 366r, 387v).

<sup>d</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.
“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 kurake of the highest-ranking pataka-level ayllu (Collana) within the upper moiety (Hanansaya) of Yanquecollaguas acted as provincial paramount, while his structural equivalent in Larihollaguas was second in charge of the province (Benavides 1989; Cock Carrasco 1976–77).

However, scrutiny of the visitas from the higherranking Hanansaya moiety of Yanquecollaguas reveals that this state-ordered ideal was unevenly achieved across the two moieties (Wernke 2003:354–359, 2006a, 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 agriculturalist villages collected tribute from outlier ayllu segments resident in the herding villages of the valley’s upper reaches (Table 1). Visitas 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 Huancaya 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]; Galdós 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 Cопораque 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 ayllu were organized according to Inkaic ideals, and Hanansaya ayllu 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 Aizqui Cáceres 1996), Escalera near Achoma (Shea 1987), and Uyu Uyu and San Antonio near Yanque and Coporaque (Neira Avendaño 1961), were reported as local vill-ages 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 km² 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 surveys, 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 Chuquiramba (Cardona Rosas 1993; Kroeber 1944; Morante 1939; Scisciento 1989), Churajón (Kroeber 1944; Lumbreiras 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'osqop'a and other regional Wari variants (Cardona Rosas 1993:55–57; Lumbreiras 1974:155–157, 174–175; Neira Avendaño 1990; Owen 2006; Scisciento 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 Pucaraní 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 Chuquiramba (Cardona Rosas 1993; Scisciento 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-
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.

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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 interincan warfare, fortifications, and weaponry during late pre-hispanic times. Oré (1992 [1598]:39) describes
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 aymas (Oré 1992 [1598]:39). 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 pre-
served 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 con-
texts pertained to both the Late Intermediate period
and Late horizon.

Given the absence of residential architecture
within the pukaras and their proximity to settle-
ments, they were probably used as temporary bas-
tions for the inhabitants of the surrounding
settlements. The three pukaras on the hilltops are
located virtually equidistant between the five set-
tlements 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 imme-
diately 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 fortifi-
cation 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 for-
mal residential structures at Pumachiri; however,
small (6–10 m²) 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 occu-
pation 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 for-
tifications have been identified, including one small
hilltop pukara (identified as Koricancha by
Oquiche Hernani 1991:143–149) and the large for-
tification 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 hori-
zon settlements (Doutriaux 2004:243). Fortific-
tions thus appear to have been concentrated in the
central and upper sections of the valley, suggest-
ging greater intra-valley conflict in the core area of
Yanquecollaguas, or perhaps oriented toward extra-
nal threats from the puna heights to the north and
east. The patterning of smaller pukaras near the
valley bottom and large, high fortifications overlook-
ing the valley may reflect local- and regional-scale defense networks similar to those
documented in the neighboring Titicaca Basin
(Arkush 2005; Frye 1997; Stanish 1997a,

Cemeteries and Mortuary Architecture
In parallel with the expansion of settlement during
the Late Intermediate period was the construction of
chullpas in the upland scarp surrounding habi-
tational sites. Several sites composed of single
chullpas produced only Late Intermediate period
ceramics, while we recovered both Late Interme-
diate 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 (Patinga), both upslope of San
Antonio/Chijra (CO-100). Other rectangular free-
standing chullpas are scattered throughout the hills
above the valley bottom near Tunsa/Llactapampa
(CO-163/150), including some within hilltop forts
(discussed below) and agro-mortuary wall sites.

Most local chullpas are situated under over-
hanging cliffs and boulders, enclosing spaces
behind a fieldstone facade sometimes two or three
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 agro-mortuary walls that divide agricultural fields in large areas of the valley bottom. These collared tombs are generally ovoid in plan view and cylindrical in profile, ranging in size between 50–125
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 Collagua 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 surficially visible structures ($n = 654$), 91 percent ($n = 593$) of which I categorized 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. However, the modal size is between 20 and 30 m², and the great majority—73 percent (246 out of 335)—fall between 10 and 40 m². These small- to medium-sized structures probably housed the bulk of the commoner population. The low number of houses greater than 40 m², 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 m² is also reflected in the quality and style of their masonry. A boxplot illustrates that
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 Llaetapampa, which, although recorded as a separate site from the neighboring Tonsa (CO-163) according to the survey site boundary criteria, is less than 200 m distant and probably functioned as a single settlement with two residential sectors. When grouped together, Tonsa/Llaetapampa (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-
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 polychromes 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 Tunsalldactapampa (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.
in the form of prominently located, large, multi-door *kallanka*, or great halls—a distinctive imperial architectural form. As is common at Inka installments, these *kallanka* 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 corners, doorways, and niches, measures 29.0 × 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.
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 × 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 Tunsia/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.

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$^2$, $s = 19.8$) than at sites without them ($\bar{X} = 22.6$ m$^2$, $s = 8.7$) is statistically significant ($t = 10.78$; $df = 252.98$; $p < .01$). The
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 Titicaca 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 Lupaqas 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 Lupaqas, 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 inte-
gration 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, het-
erarchical 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 sug-
gest that Inka administration was closely coordi-
nated through local elites. The prominence of
kallanka structures and their association with plaza
spaces created new, hybrid local/imperial settle-
ment configurations that would have facilitated
public rituals as a means of enacting the Inkaic ide-
ology of state largesse.

The survey also documented what was almost
certainly the provincial administrative center in the
location of the reducçao of Yanque. This site con-
tinued a distinct class in terms of size and cen-
trality 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 archi-
tecture (including cutstone masonry) were similarly
situated under and around the reducciones of Lari
Thus, the documentary and archaeological evi-
dence 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 consolida-
tion 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; Parrisinni 1992)—resem-
bles that between Yanquecollaguas, Laricollaguas,
and Cabanaconde. But Late Intermediate period set-
tlement patterning there was much more nucleated
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 stan-
dards, 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 Chucu-
cuito, 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 com-
fortably into the categories of “core,” “periphery,”
or “direct” and “indirect” forms of imperial admin-
istration. Clearly, imperial administration did not
alter pre-Inkaic forms of settlement, land use pat-
terning, and politico-economic organization to the
same degree as other locales that can be more pro-
perly 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 reor-
ganization of Urinsaya ayllus according to tripart-
tite 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 gen-
erated 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 Lupaq “señorios,” 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 Tancaryac 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,

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

4. This ceque naming pattern is followed most closely in three of the four quarters (stayer) 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 Kitaplaça (CO–164); however, only the foundation of its back and facade walls were visible on the surface.

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