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Symbolic structure, social strategies, and the built environment of an ancient Andean village: A.D. 1250-1460

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ABSTRACT

As archaeologists we are necessarily concerned with the symbolic dimension of social practices. The significance of house design, village layout, ceramic decoration, lies in their symbolic meaning within a particular social and historical context. This study is concerned with the relationship between the physical layout and the symbolic structure of Carcas, a late prehistoric village (A.D. 1250-1460) in the Central highlands of Peru. The social structure of this village is inferred from field data obtained from test excavations, mapping and the classification of architectural features, and is compared with data on social relations and their symbolic dimension in social practice from ethnohistoric and ethnographic sources of the same region. The concept of stratified capital - economic capital (one’s position in the production process), cultural capital (one’s speech, dress, values) and social capital one’s ancestry and concomitant patrimony) - is employed to define elites and commoners. The main thesis put forward is that the social structure consisted of two classes, commoners and elites, and that the social relations of inequality between these two groups are embodied in the physical layout of the village and justified by the cosmology of Andean peoples. The study, based on both published material and my own research, is intended to be an exploration and application of theoretical ideas which give preeminence to social practice and associated symbolic dimension (in the sense of systems of meaning and representation) which penetrated daily life at the village in the service of the perpetuation of an Andean hierarchy.
Dedicated to my mother, the late

Grace M. Cascadden Sykes.
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I INTRODUCTION

This thesis reconstructs a social relation - one of social inequality. It describes and analyzes the relation and demonstrates how it is embedded in the immediate landscape, the cultivation terraces, the village layout and the architecture of a Late Intermediate Period (A.D. 1200-1460) village site. The site is named Carcas and was a village of the former polity of Canta located on the western slopes of the Andean Cordillera Occidental of the Central highlands of Peru (Fig. 1). Ethnohistoric, ethnographic, and archaeological data relevant to this site are all employed in this study and are examined from theoretical perspectives concerned with understanding complex society in terms of social and material conditions which reside in relations of power and authority and how they are defined culturally.

More than a single community is actually involved. For example the relation of domination gleaned from information in the Canta visita of 1553 and described in chapter two, holds for the entire polity of Canta, not just Carcas. The same is true for the distinction made between the llajta type village (of which Carcas is a representative) and the "temporary work site" type village. The relation of social inequality, described in chapter two, based on differential labour relations between the dominant hereditary "native lords" and subordinate commoner group was also a principle of sociopolitical organization at the level of the polity of Canta.

Theoretical Framework of the Thesis

Two important and related theoretical concerns of the thesis are: first, the conceptualization of the interrelation of elites and commoners to culture (the symbolic structure) in a non-state socially stratified society. And secondly, the related problem of how does culture matter in daily life, in the maintenance and perpetuation of social stratification in a society with an archaic economy, i.e. in a society with "no self regulating market" (in Karl Polyani's sense), no educational system and no state (Bourdieu 1977:183). With regard to the first concern, conventionally the interrelation of elites and commoners to culture are placed within a theoretical opposition between culture and production as in the substantivist formal debate, which is the non-class debate, or in the context of class (Sider 1988:5, Lipuma and Meltzoff 1989:313). It is argued that the problem centers around the fact that these two perspectives appear, at least in
their current formulations, to be antithetical (Lipuma and Meltzoff 1989:313 Sider 1988:5).

Sider (1988:5) has cogently formulated the problem inherent in the use of the anthropological concept of culture to analyze socially stratified societies with archaic economies where class relations can emerge in the absence of state formation (Gailey and Patterson 1988:81). Sider writes how the concept of culture itself, is ahistorical, nonprocessual and totalizing.

First, [culture] is a totalizing concept because everything becomes, or is considered, culture. There are material culture, symbolic culture, ritual culture, social institutions, patterned behaviour, language as culture, values, beliefs, ideologies, meanings, and so forth. Second, not only is everything or almost everything in a society culture, but the concept is also totalizing because everyone in society is supposed to have the same culture (as in the concept of culture as shared values) or at least to be measured by its standards (as in the concept of cultural deprivation or the subtler notion of subculture).

Sider (1988:5) explains that because culture is totalizing and all inclusive it appears to be independent. Thus when culture is given a strong definition in relation to class or that of elites to commoners, it appears as an autonomous and independent system far removed from the practice and dynamic of social classes or relations of domination in socially stratified societies. This totalizing aspect of the concept of culture in terms of shared values, is evident in an anthropological/archaeological concept of chiefdoms defined by Service (1962:144). In this model of the chiefdom, status and power are allocated by differential rank within a common genealogy, yet without entailing differential access to the means of production. High-ranking lineages are seen as acting on behalf of a social whole in coordinating special activities, planning and supervising public works, managing redistribution and leading in war. In the words of Wolf (1980:97), "[T]he society as a whole appears to be laced together through common interests, common descent, and general redistribution. . . ."

There is no dynamic or processual core in such conceptualization, that is apart from the concept of redistribution. In contrast, when the concept of production becomes the analytic tool -- or at least those close to or deriving from
one of the Marxist positions -- there is available a concept of class that is relational, processual, and specific, i.e. any particular class can only be understood in relation to other social classes, to the material forces of production, and to the property relations through which surpluses are formed, transferred and transformed (Sider 1988:5). Such theorizing is at ease in portraying opposition and conflict between social classes. But as Sider (1988:6) notes even with this more specific set of labels, there still remains in this theorizing the base-superstructure problematic; "that is, is the cultural-legal-political superstructure simply derived from the political-economic base?"

Rather than adopt a theoretical position which opposes production and culture, I moved to the writing on culture and power and authority by Bourdieu (1977, 1984) where he has mapped concepts to link the construction of class relations or modes of domination to the social and symbolic orders. Critical in this respect is his notion of capital. Bourdieu has argued that class position and position-taking should be analyzed as the intersecting of forms of: economic capital (for example, wealth and position in the process in production), cultural capital (such as speech and manners) and social capital (ancestry) because the forms of capital mutually define class distinction and hierarchy, and can be converted from one form to another. Cultural and social capital are rare and worthy of being sought after, "in the same terms as an economy, i.e. as a system governed by the laws of interested calculation, competition, or exploitation" (Bourdieu 1977:173).

In Bourdieu's conceptualization not only is economic capital defined in cultural terms but social and cultural capital are essential and internal to the definition of power relations between social groups. The advantage of focusing on interrelations between forms of capital is that it creates a concept for talking about class relations or modes of domination that does not presuppose an opposition between production and culture. By defining power relations between social groups in terms of forms of capital, class fractions may be distinguished (Lipuma and Meltzoff 1989:319).

Bourdieu (1979) proposes that symbolic systems function as: a means of communication, an instrument for the knowledge and construction of the objective world, and predominately as modes of domination. All relations of domination however are encapsulated by symbolic meaning structures which vary in different historical times and contexts and the significance of specific material symbols is a problem for investigation in any given social and historical
context. Braithwaite (1984:93) argues that the significance of material symbols in social practices, particularly those of political importance cannot be assumed \textit{a priori} and therefore become a problem for investigation in any given social and historical context.

I subscribe to this position which is a refinement of the general direct historical methodology. Accordingly, roles assigned to specific objectified material symbols in the thesis, such as the political role assigned the house of the "native lord" (social capital) in setting up and perpetuating Andean hierarchies, is grounded in Andean myth, ethnohistory, and cosmological notions. This holds for symbolic systems assigned specific meanings such as the ceque and specific meanings of landforms and placement of buildings in space inferred from the telluric nature of Andean religion or belief systems.

In taking capital in its various forms as a focus of analysis, material culture and social agency are not regarded as analytically separate problems. It also promotes sensitivity to the socially and historically specific relationship between a particular prestige system (symbolic capital) and the conditions of its reproduction in terms of the production system (economic capital). Agency and social action is confirmed in social and cultural production in the archaeological village of Carcas where there is material reiteration of the relation of domination which is also given depth and continuity by the long use and reuse of the houses and their continual spatial placement in the village according to organizational principles which, it is argued in the thesis, are imposed by the dominant ruling class. Agency is reconstructed in the thesis within an explicit consideration of a class relation in the (curacazo) chiefdom of Canta. I assume the explicit consideration of agency, to be that of the private particular interests of the ruling \textit{kurakas} and their lineages versus those of the commoner.

The argument in the thesis that the spatial configuration of the village is the "idea" of the dominant ruling class at Carcas is a principle theoretical proposition evident in the co-authorship of Bourdieu and Passeron (1977:vi). Briefly the proposition is that not only are "the ruling ideas, in every age, the ideas of the ruling class", but that the ruling ideas themselves reinforce the rule of that class, and that they succeed in doing so by establishing themselves as "legitimate", that is, by concealing their basis in the (economic and political) power of the ruling class (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977: vi). It is from this initial proposition that others may be formulated especially concerning objectified social and cultural capital. A case in point is the work of Weiner (1985). Her
study of "inalienable objects" (objectified social capital) demonstrates how "wealth" embodied in such objects works to sustain marked hierarchical relations between individuals and groups through generations.

Such theorizing becomes particularly powerful when combined with the idea of social closure, "...which is the attempt of one group to secure privileges for itself through tactics which give rise to a social category of social ineligibles or outsiders" (Rowlands 1985, cited in Miller, Rowlands and Tilley 1989:6). Affinal strategies of closure, made it legitimate only for members of certain lineages of families of the Canta polity to compete for the ruling official offices. This is suggested from an analysis in the thesis of the patronyms of kurakas enumerated in the polity in 1553 A.D. Ethnohistoric information suggests strongly that recruitment for ruling offices was through inheritance in many parts of the central Peruvian highlands prior to the Inca.

Social closure may also be inferred at the archaeological village of Carcas on the basis of prestigious architectural elements (social capital) being confined to houses located in clearly defined sectors of the village which are impermeable and assumed to be inalienable objectified social capital of agents of the "native lord" class. To conceive of power as a built-in attribute of closure, means that it is not something distributed or allocated in society, but is constituted by forms of action that define eligibility and ineligibility of it (Miller, Rowlands and Tilley 1989:7).

The curacazgo or chiefdom of Canta falls within the category of complex society which has received considerable attention in archaeological investigation, attested by inumerable discussions of chiefdoms, the origin of the state, civilization, literacy and so on. It is suggested that two main trajectories have arisen which attempt to deal with the issues raised within such a broad interdisciplinary framework (Miller, Rowlands and Tilley 1989:1-17). The one which dominates contemporary archaeological theory and practice approaches the notion of complexity through the construction of large series of abstract modelling procedures which produce a "logic" of complexity against which actual historical developments may be compared (Renfrew & Cooke 1979, Hillier & Hanson 1984, van der Leeuw 1981). The mathematical sophistication of the models is not matched by an equal sophistication in their "translation" in social terms. (Miller, Rowlands and Tilley 1989:1, Shanks and Tilley 1987:51-56, Boast and Yiannouli 1986:137-40).
An alternative direction, taken up in this thesis, presumes that all concepts such as complexity within the social sciences are about the forms taken by social relations. As already noted above, all social relations (including class relations or those of domination) are encapsulated by symbolic meaning structures. In other words culture matters, but particularly where it enters the dynamics of class. I will explore in the study how the village layout is related to labour discipline, and argue a connection between the reciprocal labour relation of the commoner and the homogeneity of their houses. I have sought to show through cultural practice how commoners represented a form of self assertion against the appropriation of their labour. "From this perspective we may begin to see "culture" [the symbolic structure] situated within the social relations of daily life and production and that thus enable contradictions to emerge within culture, between culture and daily life. . . " (Sider 1988:193).

The thesis then, is a rendering of symbolic orientation and practices in terms of anthropological explanatory concepts indispensable to our own system of thought (agency, intentionality, scarcity, labour relations, capital etc) which make foreign peoples' historic acts intelligible in a way that meets our standards for explaining the sociocultural world. It is not my intention, to simply lapse into hermeneutics and resultant interior dialogue at the expense of illuminating ethnohistoric reality. There would be little point in following a craft as arduous as archaeology if one did not have higher hopes for it. The goal of the research has been to strive for as much objectivity as possible in practical terms through rigorous on the ground documentation of the symbolic structure which then may be combined with Andean practices, in the form of ethnographic and ethnohistoric analogy. This approach is in a sense more a method than a theory, the primary purpose of which is to dialectically examine the ways in which social practices symbolically shape, negotiate, manipulate, and portray the social relation of inequality at Carcas.

**Ethnohistoric Data**

In the Andean area, the written record was begun near the time of the last native Andean state by the Spanish who invaded Peru in 1532. From early written sources it is clear that the polity (curacazgo) under study was named Canta and that it controlled territory between the Arahuy and Chillon rivers,
from the confluence of the two rivers north into La Viuda mountains and beyond to the headwaters of the Chillon (Rostworowski 1988:56).

The Central Peruvian highlands was a mosaic of curacazgos or relatively small polities, administered by a kuraka or local non Inca "lord" in immediate pre-Inca time (Marcus and Silva 1988:25). They are further described as interacting alternately in either a cooperative or competitive manner (Dillehay 1976) and the "incipient" social stratification manifest in them was derived from leadership in war (LeBlanc 1981; LeVine 1979; Earle 1987). The decade of the 1460's saw these small-scale, curacazgos conquered and incorporated into the territorially extensive centralized Inca state of Tawantinsuyu, which was conquered by the Spanish in 1532 (Marcus and Silva 1988:25).

From testimony presented in a sixteenth century litigation between Canta and the Chaclla over lands in the warm chaupiyunga region near Quive Viejo we know that these polities had been involved in conflict over the lands since the late part of the Late Intermediate Period (A.D.1250-1460), prior to their subjugation by the Inca (Rostworowski 1967-8; Murra 1972:447; Netherly 1988:266). The curacazo or polity of Atavillos was immediately north of the Canta. During the time of the Inca, Canta was one of a number of curacazgos united under the hegemony of the Atavillos as was Socos (Xecos) located on the north side of the Chillon River, in the middle valley (Rostworowski 1978:154).

Huarorchí province to the southeast of Canta is well documented (Spalding 1984). A collection of local myths and rituals gathered under the direction of a Spanish parish priest at the end of the sixteenth century in the province, not only affirms the geographic placement of Huarorchí, but gives much insight into the social organization and belief systems of the indigenous people located on the western slopes of the Central highlands of Peru which includes Canta (Avila [1598] translated by Arguedas 1966). These citations are not exhaustive, but comprehensive enough to place Canta geographically with some certainty during the latter part of the Late Intermediate period (A.D.1250-1460) and during the time of the Inca or Late Horizon (A.D.1460-1532) at the time of the arrival of the Spanish in 1532.
Fig. 1. Canta and neighbouring *curacazgos* (polities) located on the western slope of the Cordillera Occidental of the Central Andes of Peru during the latter part of the Late Intermediate Period A.D. 1250-1460, and Late Horizon A.D. 1460-1532.
The Visitas

Two documents called visitas (administrative field studies) must be singled out and described to clarify their status as they are central to many aspects of my Andean research: in the reconstruction of the relation of domination and political organization of the curacazgo (chiefdom) of Canta, and in archaeological field work I conducted there. Briefly, the basic sociopolitical form through which the Spanish conquerors dealt with local society was the encomienda.

The encomienda altered the initial plunder of the Spaniards' first forays into the Andes, refining the practice to a more institutionalized and regular form of plunder in which the right to appropriate the goods and labour of the native population was restricted to one man alone, the encomendero (Spalding 1984:124).

How did the encomendero organize the extraction of goods and labour from the Andean population? How did he give orders and present demands to those people and expect them to be obeyed? With regard to the last question it appears on the basis of the material available, that it was done through the cooperation and participation of the ethnic leaders of Andean society (Spalding 1984:126). The kuraka (non Inca, local ethnic leader) who accepted the Spanish encomendero as a local overlord, built up a relationship with him which was reminiscent of the ties of ceremony, reciprocal gifts, and feasting which had linked the local ethnic elite to the former representative of the Inca state. The Inca had conquered these same local polities for a period of less than a century prior to the Spanish conquest. In the case of the polity of Canta from about A.D. 1460 to 1532.

The Spanish encomenderos on their part, assumed a panoply of traditional ceremony and marks of status of Andean society: "[the encomendero] has himself carried in litters like the Inca with drums (taquies) and dances when he arrives at their (the people's) communities (Huaman Poma de Ayala, cited in Spalding 1984:128). "These encomenderos each set themselves up as an Inca, and appropriate by virtue of the encomiendas all of the rights, tributes, and services granted by that land to the Inca" (Santillán, cited in Spalding
It is evident from this information that some local Andean symbolic structure of the earlier Inca governor or toc’ricoq, who was also a dominator from outside, provided precedent for the relation between the Spanish encomendero and the local kuraka (Spalding 1984:127).

With regard to the question of how the encomendero organized the extraction of goods and labour, it is important to note that the encomienda was a grant of labour, i.e. the grantee, or encomendero was assigned the labour of a population in terms of a kuraka (local non-Inca ruler) and all the people subject to him, the repartimiento (Spalding 1984:124). The encomendero owned no title to the land on which Andean people worked and lived, he was entitled only to a fixed share of the fruits of their labour (Kubler 1963:364). Although the Inca had been involved in expropriation of the territories they conquered outside the Cuzco valley, these were of little value without access to labour for its cultivation (Spalding 1984:82). The Inca secured the required labour through the institution called mit’a which was cyclical (rotative) corvée labour, described in detail in chapter two of the thesis. Encomenderos utilized this same Andean institution.

The encomenderos did not necessarily receive holdings commensurate with their status, rank, or ambition. Thus complaints were lodged, some encomiendas were abandoned and others were changed from one encomendero to another (Rostworowski 1978:151). Canta was held in encomienda various lengths of time by five different Spaniards, the last of whom, Nicolas Ribera, was granted the encomienda of Canta in 1549, some 20 years after the conquest. Many people were still active who had been important adult participants in the polity when it was under Inca rule. This is an important factor because Spanish legislation denied the encomendero from extracting goods and labour in excess of that tributed the Inca (Salomon 1986:18).

Ribera immediately sent a representative to the village of Quive (Fig. 1) to meet with representatives of the kurakas (non Inca, native rulers) in order to formulate what tribute and mit’a labour was his due (Rostworowski 1978:227). In this first visita on July 29, 1549 the inspectors did not journey through the Canta territory, instead they were content to compile their data at the village of Quive probably from the khipu (knotted string record) of the assembled kurakas. A second visita to Canta began June 18, 1553 and continued for 20 days during which time the men who compiled it actually journeyed to the
villages of Canta and as a result produced a very comprehensive document (Rostworowski 1978:Appendix II).

Both visitas are in text form with no tables or maps. The comprehensive 1553 visita has a consistent format. A separate section is provided for each of the villages visited and the first paragraph of each gives the date of the visitation, the name of the village and the parcialidad (major social unit) to which it belongs. The enumeration at each village begins with the highest ranking kuraka followed by those of lesser rank when more than one is on site. The kuraka being enumerated was named and his wife acknowledged but not named, their children are enumerated according to age and sex. Secondary wives (yndia de servicio) of the kuraka are counted but not named and their children are enumerated according to age and sex. This format is followed for each of the kuraka on site. Enumeration of the commoners is not according to households, lineages or families to which they have membership, as was the case with the kuraka. Nor are they identified with anthroponyms (names). Rather, commoners are enumerated according to age sets and sex, with males enumerated first in each age set. Physically handicapped adults are noted.

The next part of the visita questions villagers under oath on selected points which include: the rights to tribute of their local kurakas, the tribute which had been given to the Inca during Inca rule, the fields which had belonged to the Inca, and the occurrence of mineral resources in the area. The enumerators demanded to see the livestock which they counted and recorded according to age and sex. A count of houses and storehouses is undertaken and the condition of houses is noted i.e., whether they are roofed and occupied, or roofed and unoccupied, and so on. Fields in the immediate neighbourhood of the village are described on the basis of the crops being cultivated.

The Canta visitas tell us how the villages were grouped, and their names as already mentioned which is probably quite accurate prehispanic information due to the fact that the Canta visitas predate the reducción (resettlement) of the 1560's and 1570's. In those decades indigenous Andeans were forced by decree from their traditional villages, often at high elevations, to new towns at low elevation which were designed and organized according to Spanish principles. Although the forced resettlement represented a real attack upon traditional ritual practice and was meant to make it easier to collect state levies and control the population, it did not effect the landholding patterns of the social
groups to any degree in Huarochirí and I assume this to have been the case for Canta their immediate neighbours (Spalding 1984:179).

Archaeological evidence from my fieldwork in Canta in support of this conclusion is the recurring settlement pattern I encounter wherein the placement of the prehispanic village site is at a high elevation, often more than a thousand meters above the present day village. Furthermore the present village frequently bears the name of a parcialidad (corporate group) listed in the visitas which allows me to situate the major local traditional non Hispanic social units (parcialidades) and their individual villages geographically. Examples of this settlement pattern are seen in the location of the present day towns of Lachaqui, Carhua, and Viscas each of which is several hundred meters below its ancestral village ruin which predates the reducción. Huaros, another village of the Canta, follows this pattern and is at a lower altitude than its ancestral village of Aines (Fig. 3). Carcas, the archaeological village site analyzed in detail in this thesis, is situated in like manner.

An outstanding feature of the Canta settlement organization lies in the existence of sixteen "seasonal work sites" that were inhabited temporarily when labour moved onto them. Upon completion of production at the sites they were deserted. Both visitas mention this movement of labour as rotational. In my field work I have probably located one of these sites and have preliminary data from it. However, analysis of it, or of any such "seasonal work sites" is beyond the scope of this present work.

As an archaeologist concerned with an analysis of social relations of inequality and the mechanisms securing their perpetuation, the visita of 1553 is invaluable as it gives the major outlines of local level of socio-political organization. This is particularly important in socially stratified society where the various levels and their articulation cannot be determined with any precision by archaeology alone (Morris and Thompson 1985:49). Nevertheless the visita has limitations as is apparent from the questions asked of the villagers by the investigators which were concerned with topics that could be translated into "levies". The visitas reflect vested interests and the aboriginal peoples' main defence against increased tax was feigned poverty in local wealth and human resources. For example the inspectors of the 1553 visita accused villagers of hiding people, animals and information from them (Rostworowski 1978:262). Visitas are susceptible of technical errors which may occur when the document is copied. Anthroponyms (personal names) are another source of error.
particularly when a non-Inca language was spoken as was the case in Canta where *kauki* or "A'karo" was spoken along with *quechua* the language of the Inca (Villar Cordova 1935:57).

In defence of the *visita* in the reconstruction of protohistoric ethnographies we may look at the work of Murra (1964) who first demonstrated the utility of these documents. They continue to be used as important sources of information in Andean regional studies of polities conquered by the Inca (Murra 1968; Morris 1974; Rostworowski 1978; Spalding 1984; Morris and Thompson 1985; Salomon 1986; Earle 1987). Finally a singular merit of the *visita*, is that it is not just a synchronic picture of contemporary conditions but a restricted ethnohistorical study in its own right: "Because Spanish legislation forbade tribute in excess of the Inca levies, the *visita* compilers were obliged to study pre-Columbian political economy in some detail" (Salomon 1986:18).

All tables and figures in chapter two (The Political Subsistence Base of Carcas) are my original work based on information contained in the Canta *visitas*. Of these, Figures 9 and 10 are important as data contained in them indicate that the smallest political unit (i.e. the villages), were ruled by a few politically powerful families. From the questions directed at the villagers in the *visita*, it was apparent that they gave only labour to their *kurakas* which alerted me to the fact that the Andean *mit'a* labour relation was exclusive to the *kuraka* social category -- or some form of it -- during the late prehispanic period. This relation of ruler to ruled in terms of differential access to social labour and concomitant size of work parties which could be mounted, is taken up in detail in chapter two in order to demonstrate how it is possible to distinguish terraces of the ruling group from those of the commoner at Carcas.

Ethnographic analogy as well as ethnohistory are employed in this thesis. Archaeological inference may be based upon ethnographic analogy but the quality of the ethnographic data will place limits upon archaeological inference. Since the seminal paper, "Analogy in Archaeological Interpretation" by Ascher (1961), the literature has emphasized the advantages or indeed the necessity of choosing analogs among living cultures where actual ties can be demonstrated to the prehistoric society being studied. The assumption being that if historical continuity is established, then historical context can be assumed to be more or less constant.
This direct historical approach is adhered to in the thesis and where analogs have been required they have been selected from ethnographies of the Central highlands of Peru and from the Andean highlands. For example, the commoner reciprocal labour relation is described in the thesis as practiced among living residents of the community of Tangor located in the Central highlands of Peru. When dealing with the approximate amount of land which had to be controlled by a household at Carcas in order to produce the potatoes it needed over a "lifetime", Tangor was the preferred analog for several reasons: the people of Tangor cultivate potatoes on ancient terraces which date to Inca and pre-Inca time, they depend on rainfall rather than irrigation, they use no pesticides or fungicides and their potato cultivation is for subsistence production (Mayer 1974:11, 32). Tangor villagers cultivate potatoes within the context of traditional Andean production which combines rotation and fallowing systems, as do the Obrajillo people who cultivate the terraces at Carcas today.

The ayni reciprocal labour relation of the commoners of the curacazgo or polity of Canta is not directly evident from the Canta visitas, but is assumed to have been practiced exclusively by commoners on the basis of information in the sixteenth century chronicles (Rowe 1963:255; Wachtel 1977:66; Murra 1980:90). The practice continues to characterize the economic system of Central Andean communities (Mayer 1974:1). In fact it is the crucial practice that defines a commoner existence today (Stein 1961:227).

Ethnographic examples from the central highlands of Peru are cited (Mayer 1974:45) with evidence from the chronicles to reconstruct land tenure practices in the Late Prehispanic time period. Myths introduced and analyzed in the thesis to illucidate strategies or mechanisms which legitimized power or implies social agency, such as the founding myth of Cuzco, and the origin story of the ayllu of Concha are relevant to the time period under study and are from the Andean highlands.

Archaeological Fieldwork

Archaeological data presented in the thesis are the outcome of four field seasons undertaken by me in the Upper Chillon Valley. The different goals and concomitant techniques of inquiry set for each season are best understood within the framework of a long term multistage research programme. Although I had first journeyed to Peru with the Simon Fraser University Andes Field School
during the summer of 1981, neither the Latin American Studies Program nor the Department of Archaeology had research projects in Peru. I remained in Peru at the end of the field school to learn Spanish and it was at that time that I began to consider the possibility of undertaking archaeological research in the country. My first brief visit to Canta in November of 1982 was prompted by a long meeting with María Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, an eminent Andean ethnohistorian, who advised me of the Canta visitas which she had found in archival research and the advantages this type of information held for an archaeologist. I considered her advice and found in Lima her 1978 study, “Señorios Indígenas de Lima y Canta” to which the two visitas, which she transcribed into modern Spanish, are appended.

My archeological field work began in 1983 with a field reconnaissance (I.N.C. Credencial #008, 1983). With assistance from many Peruvians such as Dr. Ramiro Matos Mendieta of Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos and in particular Dr. Carol MacKey of the University of California, I became informed about how to set up a project and how to obtain official permission to implement it. The first such permit I received, issued by Instituto Nacional de Cultura, Lima, Peru, was in recognition of my research proposal to conduct a reconnaissance of archaeological sites in the Upper Chillon Valley during the months of June and July of that year. I remember how jubilant I was upon receiving it because the official administrative course leading to the procurement of a credencial is long and arduous. Letters from Dr. Richard Shutler Jr. and Dr. Roy Carlson of the Department of Archaeology at S.F.U. introducing me to Dr. Carlos Guzman Ladron de Guevara of Instituto Nacional de Cultura were positive documents, influential in the decision of that body to grant the permit.

A strong informal component of that initial field work was a feasibility study; not only was I interested in locating archaeological sites and evaluating their state of preservation, but I had to determine their accessibility and amenability to future study. Transportation costs, accommodation, vehicle rental, gasoline costs, weather conditions, and laboratory space were concerns at that time. Of primary importance too was the reaction of the people living in the area to the presence of outsiders walking over their fields and “ruinas”. Local officials were recognized through short formal meetings at which time they were given letters on my behalf from Instituto Nacional de Cultura. But as is the case with much archaeological field work the acceptance of it by the community at large is really important to make a project work. It soon became evident that we were not
abrasive and people would initiate conversation when they encountered us. Mapping sites at which time they offered information about names of topographic features, the location of sites etc. (I was only physically chased by a woman from a corn field on one occasion).

Prior to leaving for the field aerial photos of the upper Chillon River (#22773-A-2727 and #22773-A-2728) at a scale of approximately 1:17,000, were obtained from Servicio Aerofotográfico Nacional, Lima. The map used was quadrangle 23J1Canta, issued by Instituto Geográfico Nacional reprint 1982. Upon locating a site, it was assigned a discrete number, its position located on the air photo and its approximate distance from the town of Canta along the Cerro de Pasco road calculated. Notes were taken on the pertinent features of the site such as: architectural features, presence and incidence of ceramics and lithic artifacts, and state of preservation. Photos in black and white documented sites with remains of built structures, which were then drawn using a compass for directional orientation. Measurements were taken with a steel tape and in some instances obtained by pacing. The preliminary report of the reconnaissance was completed and required copies registered with Instituto Nacional de Cultura in September of 1983.

Site mapping began in 1984 (I.N.C. Credencial #027, 1984). On the basis of information gathered during the initial reconnaissance of 1983 and from the earlier work in the area by Villar Cordova (1935) it was evident that late prehispanic sites with standing architecture were in many instances well preserved and in terms of logistics amenable to further investigation. This was particularly true of the archaeological village site of Carcas which was named as a settlement of the parcialidad of Canta in both the 1549 and 1553 visitas as shown in Fig. 4., of the thesis. It is described as a fortress of definite pre-Inca age by Villar Cordova (1935:301). My first encounter with the site was brief, it occurred on the final day of the 1983 reconnaissance, but a cursory overview of lower levels of the site confirmed the presence of complete houses at the site.

Archaeological studies of specific sites are quite numerous in Peru and some of the shortcomings of this type of archaeology are dealt with by archaeologists Moseley, and MacKey (1972). They underscore a redeeming aspect of study of small sites by hailing back to the work of Kroeber who observed that large sites often produced pottery collections that were heterogeneous and mixed; heterogeneity being the result of cosmopolitan populations at big cities (Moseley, and MacKey 1972:75). On the other hand,
... Kroeber noted that small sites of short occupational duration frequently had ceramics that were straightforward and unmixed. Because they reflected a relatively clear and unadulterated picture of the local ceramic tradition. Kroeber referred to assemblages from small sites as being of "pure style"... Kroeber then went on to advocate the use of small sites with "pure style" as a backdrop for unravelling the ceramic history of bigger more complicated settlements. (Moseley and MacKey 1972:75)

At this time in my research it seemed that the same rationale could be applied to architecture which I was hoping to describe for comparative purposes in the Canta polity. Further, from the accumulating data it was apparent that the polity was hierarchically ordered and the question as to how that might be reflected in material conditions such as architecture were foremost considerations which lead to my decision to map the site and begin describing the architecture there. My project was not funded and with limited resources this nondestructive less expensive technique, although time consuming, had extra appeal.

Prior to going out into the field and through the consideration of Dra. Mercedes Cardenas, coordinator of the Instituto Riva Aguero in Lima, I had the opportunity of studying ceramics housed at the Institute collected during a project undertaken by the Seminario de Arqueologia, La Universidad Catolica de Peru, in the mid seventies. At that time, sites in the middle and upper valley of the Chillon, which dated to the Late Intermediate Period (A.D.1000-1470), were identified on the basis of surficial ceramic finds (Mercedes Cardenas n.d.). This project had not involved Carcas.

The mapping of Carcas began with the establishment of a datum which is a bedrock outcrop on the lower side of a recently constructed canal at elevation 3600 m above sea level (Quadrangle 23J11 Canta). The site is too steep to use a traditional alidade and plane table with ease. Some sitings were done with it but mainly a compass was used for directional orientation. Measurement was with a 20 meter tape and stadia rod and all elevations above datum were calculated from the top of the downslope retaining walls of terraces which had been constructed for the siting of houses. Floor measurements of structures were taken from the outside of outer walls.
In 1986 fieldwork centered on the systematic collection of architectural data (I.N.C.Credencial # 1251). A major task was to develop a means for systematically recording descriptive and continuous data for the architecture at the site of Carcas and others in the curacazgo or polity of Canta. The study of such immovable features demands their accurate and systematic description in the field. This fact has long been recognized and a few typologies for the Andean region have been invented to assist archaeologists in this endeavour. I found them to be too generalized for my purpose and developed a method of recording this data in code form on sheets of grid paper (24 rows and 60 columns). This code, in the form of a manual, was the instrument which insured systematic collection of data at the sites and is submitted as appendix 1 to chapter three of the thesis.

Through this instrument it was possible to separate local traditional Canta architecture from an Inca overlay. To explain briefly how this was achieved, architectural forms and elements included in the manual were from three sources. First, from Canta itself where the manual was cumulatively documenting those which were encountered. Second, architectural forms and elements gleaned from archaeological investigations conducted in the Central highlands of Peru were entered. Thirdly architectural forms and elements from Cuzco, the heartland of the Inca, were included. By including the latter I met the prerequisites demanded in the culture history migration paradigm (Trigger 1968:39-47). Although I was not dealing with a migration problem per se, the conquest of the polity of Canta by the Inca about A.D. 1460 (Rowe 1944, Earle 1987:105 Note 1) may be conceptualized in terms of a culture history "organized" migration paradigm wherein the donor population is Inca.

Recording architectural data in this code form was the main thrust of my fieldwork in 1986. However, I did manage to map the site of Ojomarca/Pariamarca, which has an Inca component, and started coding descriptive and continuous architectural data from that site. I hiked to the late prehispanic sites of St. Cristobel located at the pinnacle of the same mountain on which the present day site of Carhua is located and visited the ancestral site of the present day town of Lachaqui which is also located at an elevation above the present town, but no mapping or compilation of architectural forms was undertaken at those sites.

In 1987 the manual was refined (I.N.C.Credencial #009). Seventeen students, participants in the Simon Fraser University Archaeological field school
under my supervision assisted at Carcas for 15 days in 1987. A small crew of students worked at the logistically more difficult site of Pariamarca Ojomarca. I believe the data from the Canta district is more rigorous as a result of the student participation. From their input the manual was refined and expanded. Further, the data gathering bias has been reduced through having a larger number of people interpreting the sites.

Three small test excavations inside houses at Carcas proceeded as follows. Each structure with its discrete number was considered an excavation unit. The structure was drawn in plan to scale. Using a compass, a north south transect was established across the centre of the structure. A second transect at right angles to it produced four wedge shaped sections within each of the round buildings. The southwest section was designated 'A', and moving clockwise the other wedges were designated 'B', 'C', and 'D'. Each of the wedge shaped sections was an archaeological subdivision (ASD). One of the four sections (one ASD) was excavated according to natural or cultural stratigraphic levels, for the purpose of determining successive floors and to give an overview of the depositional history of the unit. No excavation at Carcas advanced beyond this stage of investigation while students were on site due to time constraints. Excavation started by students in H31A was completed by Nilo Torres, a Peruvian archaeologist later in the season. The stratigraphy of that excavation and a preliminary report of selected ceramics from it, useful in establishing the age of Carcas, are included in the thesis.

The provenience system consists of a hierarchically organized number string in the following format: 01/H31/A/2/15. The first number 01 refers to the sequential number of the site (Carcas is 01, Ojomarca Pariamarca is 02 etc). The capital letter and number identifies the structure as shown on the site map. The following A in the sequence identifies the particular ASD which in this case is sector 'A' or the southwest wedge. Following this is the level being excavated and the final number is the artifact's discrete number determined sequentially as recovered. Only diagnostic pottery was given a discrete numbers. All excavated ecofacts were bagged separately and each bag was clearly identified using the string number format. Non diagnostic ceramics were also bagged separately and labelled with the string number format. The artifacts were registered in a common registry book which was divided into three sections, each of which was reserved for one of the excavation units. Screening was through 1/4 inch mesh or smaller.
The clearing of patio 12 (PX11) did not follow the procedure just outlined as I was primarily concerned with clearing rock from the patio which had fallen from walls and stone facings which surround it. In this manner it was possible to expose remains of an elaborate cantilevered stair and burial pit in the patio. All excavations were backfilled. Skeletal material was analyzed and interred in the same places from which it had been uncovered with offerings of coca leaf and libations with local people present. Nilo Torres attended to these rituals for me. The exterior wall of structure H31 was shored up with a banking of stone to insure the preservation of the building. All processed artifacts are housed at INC in Lima.

The llajta of Carcas was registered in both visitas as a llajta which belonged to the parcialidad of Canta. The latter was the foremost of seven or eight parcialidades which comprised the polity of Canta (Fig. 4). Persons of both the elite and commoner categories were enumerated at the village in June of 1553 (Rostworowski 1978:240). Carcas was abandoned circa 1570 A.D. when the Viceroy Francisco Toledo instituted forced resettlement and congregation of the inhabitants of high elevation villages such as Carcas into accessible towns at lower elevations designed according to Spanish building codes (Villar Cordova 1935:62).

Today many descendants of the forcefully relocated villagers of Carcas live in the village of Obrajillo at an elevation about 1000 m lower than the Carcas ruins and 12 km west of it. According to 1987 figures from the "Microregion of Canta Organization", Obrajillo has a population of 486. Certain people of the population still lay claim to the ancient village site, to the terraces associated with it, and to other fields and plots of land in the general vicinity of the ruins (A. Icochea personal communication).

Claim to the site of Carcas by Obrajillo people is recognized by Peruvian law and it is necessary for me to contact the representative of the community to gain permission to work at the site. The Obrajillo people still refer to the site as Carcas and thus perpetuate its prehispanic name. I am certain that the archaeological site of Carcas is the same llajta of that name mentioned in both the 1549 and 1553 Canta visitas.
II. THE POLITICAL SUBSISTENCE BASE OF CARCAS VILLAGERS:
Polity of Canta: Late Intermediate Period
_circa._ 1200-1460 A.D.

Carcas clings to a steep rock strewn slope on the northwest face of Puruncarcas mountain (76° 33' west longitude, 11° 026' south latitude) between elevations 3,600 and 3,700 meters above sea level. Below the village are flights of non irrigated terraces which were probably built and maintained to overcome the chief disadvantages of slopes for farming in areas with a pronounced dry season - thin soils and inadequate soil moisture (Donkin 1979:34). Lands located above the village and extending northeast along the southern edge of the Chillón River provided high elevation tundra like pasture (_puna_) for the grazing of camelids villagers raised.

In this chapter it will be argued that despite the villagers' proximity to terraced land and to that of the _puna_, which was instrumental to camelid husbandry, villagers had differential access to these resources. The differential was primarily between two socially stratified groups: that of a dominant or elite minority made up of members of the polity of Canta who inherited political authority, and a social group subordinate to it comprised of the majority of _Canteños_ (the people of Canta).

The two social groups can be determined from colonial documents compiled in the Canta polity in 1549 and 1553 called _visitas_. These documents contain both demographic data and pre-Columbian political economic practices of Canta polity. Spanish colonial terminology which describes the elite personages of the dominant group include the terms "_caçique_" and "_principales_." Salomon (1986:45) writes that "_caçique_" is equivalent to 'chieftain' and "_principales_" to 'subchiefs', 'leaders' or 'notables'. The term "_kuraka_" is _Quechua_ (language of the Inca) and describes a local "chief" of a non-Inca subjugated polity. But most importantly all these terms distinguish local authority acknowledged as members of the local group (non-Inca) as opposed to outside rulers.

To underline such a distinction Salomon (1986:45) refers to the social category of authority as "native lord". The term is used here in the same sense but I will also describe the locally acknowledged social category of authority as
the elite, or privileged. The majority of *Canteños* who comprised the disadvantaged group, subordinate to the elites, is termed commoner.

To make the argument that these two groups had differential access to the subsistence base, the ecologic/efficiency model first proposed by Murra (1980:4) is critically examined. Aspects of this approach are considered useful, but the political/symbolic dimensions of Andean social organization call for a less ecologically deterministic view.

Historic information brought to bear on the subject includes the 1553 Canta *visita* wherein data is compiled from which we may ascertain differential access to camelids between the two categories in the polity of Canta. The context in which camelid bone was encountered at the archaeological site of Carcas allows us to infer how the two social groups used the camelids differently.

*Chacras* (small plots) in the vicinity of Carcas and their produce are mentioned in the 1553 *visita*. From my reconnaissance of the northwest face of Puruncarcas mountain I have confirmed what was conveyed in aerial photos, that the *chacras* in the immediate vicinity of Carcas were the level surfaces provided by terraces. The variability of the terraces is analyzed in terms not only of the agriculture regime and ecologic zones of the Central Andes but from the critical inter-relationship between land tenure practices and control over labour.

The latter practices are reconstructed from ethnohistoric information and from utilizing ethnographic studies of contemporary rural communities in order to uncover unequal social relationships in the patterns of control over land/labour during Inca or Late Horizon and late Late Intermediate time periods.

**The Ecologic/Efficiency Model**

The Andean subsistence base combining tuber and grain agriculture with camelid pastoralism is described within an ecologic framework by Murra as one of two coexistent production systems practiced during the Late Horizon or Inca period and earlier.

One is old and autochthonous: the Andean highland growing plants (potato, oca, and ulluco) grown on fallowed land and dependent on rainfall. This is a subsistence agriculture practiced by *ayllu* members who became peasants after the Inca conquest. The other is newer, is imported and based on maize (essentially a
warm weather crop, clinging to the lower and protected reaches of the highlands and in need of irrigation, terraces and fertilizers to survive in Andean circumstances). It may have been known to ayllu members, but its large-scale cultivation became possible only when the [Inca] state made it its own (Murra 1980:12).

The same author writes how tuber cultivation was coupled with llama breeding undertaken in the high puna pasture lands. The latter is cold, dry steppe with most of it too high for agriculture or any human habitation other than the occasional alpaca herder (Murra 1980:4). As one gets close to the puna, one enters a zone known today as the sierra.

These are the slopes of the upper valleys and the more protected lower reaches of the altiplano (puna) where Andean agriculture (potatoes, oca, quinoa) can be practiced not too far away from the pastures. (Murra 1980:4).

This optimum area at the interface of two ecologic zones is where the population has tended to cluster in aboriginal as well as modern times. "Thus, historically as well as in modern times, the puna and the quishua, the altiplano and the sierra, the tundra-like pasture and the high valley, form a unit and a single cultural life zone" (Murra 1980:5). Implicit in Murra's statement is that effective space (close to resources) is the overriding principle of geographical and social organization of Andean societies in both prehistoric and historic times. This model, although useful in some cases, fails to come to grips with Andean historical complexity: politics, ideas, religion, nor does it address the deployment of social labour which are forces at work in any society and need to be reckoned with in order to understand a society's configuration in space.

**Political Dimensions of the Subsistence Base of Canta**

My purpose here is to consider the inner political constitution of the polity of Canta: What was the demographic scale of the polity? On what scale were the people of Canta organized into explicitly political units? How were the elite and commoners distributed within these units? What were the mutual rights and obligations within each of the two socially stratified groups and between them, particularly in terms of deployment of labour and land tenure? What
appropriation of production is apparent in the mode of domination present in Canta? By addressing these questions we address at the same time the politics of subsistence production.

Fig. 2. Raw demographic figures compiled from the text of the 1553 Canta visita. Each llajta (village) is identified with its distinct parcialidad (ayllu). "Elites" are not required to pay tribute while "commoners" must. Children are included in the figures.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parcialidad</th>
<th>Llajta</th>
<th>Elite</th>
<th>Commoner</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Canta</td>
<td>Cantamarca</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Causo</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>027</td>
<td>030</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Carcas</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>019</td>
<td>021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Racas</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>006</td>
<td>006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yaso</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>028</td>
<td>030</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locha</td>
<td>Rocha</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>071</td>
<td>089</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pinche</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>020</td>
<td>020</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ayas</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>024</td>
<td>031</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hurco</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>080</td>
<td>084</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lachaqui</td>
<td>Lachaqui</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copa</td>
<td>Copa</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ysquibanba</td>
<td>Ysquibanba</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Quiso</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>012</td>
<td>014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Caranuaylo</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>017</td>
<td>017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carua</td>
<td>Carua</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>087</td>
<td>095</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bisca</td>
<td>Bisca</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All parcialidades</td>
<td>Quiby</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>030</td>
<td>035</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Totals 204 1286 1490
The Demography

The *visita* of 1553 is superior to that of 1549 in data concerning the demography of the Canta polity. The population of 1553 (Fig. 2) is not correct for the late prehistoric period as there is every reason to believe the population was severely depressed by warfare and epidemics of European diseases. The latter had been introduced into Caribbean populations and had already undercut the population of the Inca state by the 1520s. If one also takes into consideration the Inca wars of conquest, followed by that of the Spanish, it becomes clear that the populations of 1553 are greatly reduced from that of the fifteenth century.

It might not be too out of place to use a depopulation ratio of 3:1, which is similar to an estimate for the highland area of Chucuito (Salomon 1986:118). Such an adjustment would increase the population of Canta polity to about 4,470 people which is probably a more realistic demographic portrayal of the Canta polity in prehispanic time.

The *Llajtakuna* and "Specialized Work Sites" of Canta Polity

The *Canteños* lived in nucleated villages -- *llajtakuna* and *llachuas* -- dispersed over the triangular shaped territory of their polity which fanned out from an apex at the village of Quive, to encompass the land between the Chillon and Arahuy Rivers (Fig. 3). The term *llajta* (*llajtakuna*, plural) is of Quechua origin and may be loosely translated as "town" or "village" and was used by the early Spaniards to denote what they called *pueblo de naturales* (native town or village) and "community" by modern social scientists. (Salomon 1986:45).

Through the work of Zuidema (1978) and Duviols (1973) we have a further refinement of the political organization of prehispanic villages in the Central Andean highlands. They distinguish *llajtakuna* as the villages inhabited by the people of local origin, as opposed to *llachuas* which were villages whose inhabitants were people who came from abroad (Zuidema 1978:139). At this stage of my archaeological research I am unable to distinguish such politically distinct types of villages. The 1549 and 1553 Canta *visitas* distinguished villages on the basis of the *parcialidad* to which they belonged. To simplify terminology I shall refer to them as *llajta* singular and *llajtakuna* plural, or simply villages. The important point is not to confuse them with what I term "specialized work sites".
Fig. 3. Known Late Intermediate Period and Late Horizon villages of Canta Polity. Stippling indicates the territory probably controlled by the polity.

* Stippling indicates Canta Polity, but it held/used land in Yauli area.
Specialized work sites of the Canta polity, replete with domestic structures were, according to testimony of the people of Canta in 1549 and 1553 *visitas*, given to specialized production which took place seasonally. Briefly, 16 such "specialized work sites" were described as being inhabited only temporarily when labour moved onto them. Upon completion of production at the site they were deserted, "relinquishing their occupation to some previous plan" (Rostworowski 1978:169). These temporarily occupied "specialized work sites", fall outside the definition of *llajtakuna* just given and their analysis is beyond the scope of the thesis. Therefore the following discussion is applicable to *llajtakuna* each of which is distinguished in the Canta *visitas* as belonging to a particular *parcialidad*.

To understand the Andean social form to which the Spanish term *parcialidad* may have referred it is useful to consider it in the context of the Quechua (official Inca language) term *aylluchani* which means, "... to divide people according to their segments (*parcialidades*) or put them into their separate places" (Spalding 1984:29). This implies that enumeration was according to the local practice of segregating groups of people. Ethnohistorian Salomon (1986:18) agrees that the term *parcialidad* reflects ethno-categories proper to Andean social organization. He points out how community enumeration in the *visitas* begins with the highest "noble" family, always polygynous, followed by his dependents and various servitors. The listing of social units subject to him follows, and then in turn similar listings headed by each *principal* (sub chief) containing his subordinates in like order. Each of these units is termed a *parcialidad*. Upon the enumeration of these "ethno-categories" that of foreigners proceeds:

Following the enumeration of the *parcialidades* foreign or anomolous groups are dealt with in appendices. Such segregation of "outside" groups in appendices where their Inca or post Inca origin is specified suggests that the remaining *parcialidades* are ethno-categories proper to the area. (Salomon 1986:17).

The 1549 Canta *visita* followed this format., and at the end of the document when the Spanish *visita* compilers asked if there were outside immigrant groups and how many, they answered there were none, all were
native to the land. ("aya mitimaes y que cantidad son dixieron que no tienen ningunos que todos son naturales") (Rostworowski 1978:228).

Further bolstering the position that the term parcialidad referred to an ethno-category is the fact that the compilation of the earlier Canta visita took place at the town of Quives. There the visitadores met with representatives of the cacique(s) of Canta who, no doubt, gave demographic and economic information about the polity from a khipu (knotted cord) record. Thus ethno-categories of the khipu probably ordered information in the early visita (see Salomon 1986:122 for similar arguments which apply to Quito areavisitas).

**Fig. 4.** Presumed ethno-categories (parcialidades) proper to the social organization of the Polity of Canta circa 1550 A.D. Information is compiled from the text of the 1549 and 1553 Canta visitas.

---

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Parcialidades and Their Llajtakuna:</strong></th>
<th>Polity of Canta circa 1550 A.D.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1549</strong></td>
<td><strong>1553</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Parcialidad</strong></td>
<td><strong>Parcialidad</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Villages)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. CANTA</td>
<td>1. CANTA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cantonmarca, Carcas</td>
<td>Canta, Causo, Carcas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jajon</td>
<td>Racas, Yaso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. *UNNAMED</td>
<td>2. LOCHA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lococho, Pynchiaco</td>
<td>Rocha, Pinche, Ayas, Hurco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. UNNAMED</td>
<td>3. CARUA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caracic, Guincho, Guancarpo</td>
<td>Canua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. UNNAMED</td>
<td>4. BISCA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vico, Yais</td>
<td>Visca</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. VISCA</td>
<td>5. LACHAQUI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visca</td>
<td>Lachaqui</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. LACHAQUI</td>
<td>6. COPA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lachaqui</td>
<td>Copa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. **UNNAMED</td>
<td>7. ESQUIBAMBA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copamarca</td>
<td>Cararuayllo, Quiso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. UNNAMED</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guancar Calla, Guanallay</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Probably the parcialidad of LOCHA; **Probably the parcialidad of COPA*
One can see how the names of Ilajtakuna belonging to the different parcialidades do not always correspond in the two visitas but, the names of the parcialidades are very consistent. Eight were reported, although not all of them named, in 1549 and seven in 1553: Canta, Locha or Lococha, Carua, Visca, Lachaqui and Copa are listed in both visitas. No parcialidad was given in association with the town of Copamarca in the early visita. However, Copa appears as a parcialidad in the 1553 visita in conjunction with a village of the same name. It seemed reasonable to assume that the two names, Copamarca and Copa, referred to a single village which was of the Copa parcialidad (Fig. 4).

The modules termed parcialidades seem to resemble the Peruvian ayllu, a localized descent group or lineage (Salomon 1986:122). If this was the case each of the villages was the coresidence of members linked through a genealogical relationship as outlined below:

In tenure terms, a settlement controlling certain fields was a llajta, loosely translated as "town"; it consisted of a group of ayllu or lineages. Thus the land was identified not only with subsistence but with bonds of kinship. It was owned and cultivated "ayllu by ayllu". As the Jesuit, half-Andean Blas Valera has put it so well, ownership also consisted in, and was justified by, communal working of particular fields (Murra 1980:29).

The term ayllu became a part of the Spanish colonial administrative jargon ("haillo," "aillo") and whether it is historically correct to apply the social form to llajta as been raised (Salomon 1986:122). Regardless of whether it is or not, it seems important to query what is implied in defining the ayllu by the genealogical relationship linking its members.

The Politics of Kinship

Crucial to an understanding of precolonial Andean inequality is the critical examination of what is implied in defining an ayllu by the genealogical relationship linking its members. These definitions may implicitly treat kinship as the necessary and sufficient condition of group unity. For example Silverblatt writes:
The *ayllu* embodied this intricate interplay of social responsibility and kin expectations, and in so doing guaranteed every Andean man and woman access to community lands, herds, and other material resources needed to reproduce their existence (Murra 1956:53, 56; Spalding 1984, 1967:63, 68 cited in Silverblatt 1987:4).

Such statements should not mislead us; social responsibility and kin expectations may break down. I will offer the origin story of the Andean *ayllu* of Concha to demonstrate how three brothers of that *ayllu* took advantage of two of their brothers and left them and their descendants landless! Thus the assertion that genealogically linked *ayllu* members were guaranteed access to community lands, herds and other material resources at the time of Inca conquest need not have been an Andean reality.

The story was recorded in the sixteenth century about an actual *ayllu* of the polity of Huarochirí, which abuts Canta on its southwest border (Avila, *Dioses y hombres de Huarochirí*, pp. 169-83, in Spalding 1984:29). The Inca conquered Huarochirí late in the fifteenth century, about 1460 A.D. (Spalding 1984:79) and thus the origin story of the Concha *ayllu* fits the time frame to which Silverblatt refers (an important point because the *ayllu* form has changed historically). Excerpts of the story which follow are from Spalding (1984:29).

To put the story in context Spalding writes how the *ayllu* Concha, like the majority of other groups of Huarochirí, was formed by conquest. Concha's lands and resources were the spoils of war, wrested from the lowland peoples who had occupied the land which the new Concha *ayllu* now claimed through conquest. The new *ayllu* Concha was composed of five lineages, the descendants of five warrior brothers who had expelled the coastal people and took their lands and resources.

However, the lands were held by only three of the lineages, and the lack of access to land of the others was explained with the tale that the remaining two brothers had gotten lost and had to retrace their steps, arriving at the site that had been occupied by the coastal people too late to claim any of the spoils (Spalding 1984:29).
The descendants (lineages) of the non land holding brothers remained in the area, which can be adduced from other information regarding Concha ayllu. Powerful men with control over resources and thus with position in the ayllu could recruit heirs if they had none. This was the case of the leader of the Concha ayllu who adopted a "son" from one of the landless lineages (a direct descendant of one of the five warrior brothers). Upon adoption the recruit relinquished his name to take the name of his benefactor, and of course his land rights (Spalding 1984:29).

This story demonstrates explicitly how the closest genealogical relationship, that between brothers, is also the point of greatest tension. Only incessant work can maintain a community of interests among them. Genealogical relationship is never strong enough on its own to provide a complete determination of the relationship between the individuals it unites (Bourdieu 1978:34). Implicit in this story is that a conflict of interests existed within the five lineages comprising the ayllu Concha which were egoistic, and particular (notions only definable within the relationship between the dominant social unit, made up of the three landed lineages and the dominated social unit comprised of the two landless lineages). The officializing strategies aimed at transmuting those private interests into collective, legitimate ones within the ayllu of Concha is not known. Bourdieu argues that such officialization presupposes:

... the competence (in the sense of a capacity socially recognized in a public authority) required in order to manipulate the collective definition of the situation in such a way as to bring it closer to the official definition. (Bourdieu 1977:40).

If we apply this to the case of the ayllu Concha the official group, the landholding lineages, must have possessed the capital of authority necessary to impose a definition of the situation, i.e. that the two lineages were disenfranchized from ayllu Concha's land on the basis of their late arrival. Another story of ancestor-brothers whose descendants were hierarchically organized, and which demonstrates the political aspect of kin relationship, also comes from the western slopes of the Andean cordillera Occidental near the modern village of Chilca. It is located in the present day department of Ancash.
which forms the north boundary of the current department of Lima where the ancient polity of Canta is located (Zuidema 1978:139).

The following information is from the writing of Hernandez Principe who in 1622 was a priest working in the Chilca area as an exterpitor, ferreting out and erradicating traditional Andean religious practices:

He mentioned four-ancestor brothers, who came from abroad as sons of the Thunder God. Parana, the first brother, and Caha Yanac, the second brother, were ancestors to the kurakas (chiefs) and the "upperclass" people in Chilca and Ocros; the descendants of the third and fourth brothers were "commoners" who lived intermingled with the others (Zuidema 1978:139).

The first two ayllus in this story were more important than the other two, although all ayllus stemmed from the four-ancestor brothers. Thus although the coresidents of the llajtakuna were linked through kin relationship, those relations provided a field for the playing out of relations of force and authority between contemporary kin as they appropriated the "emblems" symbolizing the whole symbolic capital accumulated by a lineage. In this sense they take possession of a title giving special rights over the group's patrimony (Bourdieu 1978:36).

The state of the relations of force and authority between contemporary kin determines what the collective history will be; but this symbolic projection of the power relations between competing individuals and groups also plays a part in reinforcing the initial state of affairs by giving those who are in the dominant position the right to profess the veneration of the past which is best suited to legitimate their present interests (Bourdieu 1978:36).

A conclusion drawn from this discussion is that to view kinship as a necessary and sufficient condition bringing about unity to a coresidential group even when coupled with the convenient language of norms and obligations (must...cannot...etc.) "must not mislead us: thus a younger brother has been known to take advantage of a favourable balance of power in order to give his children the first name of a prestigious brother..." (Bourdieu 1978:36).
POLITICAL ORGANIZATION OF CANTA POLITY

The seven or eight partialidades or ayllus which were aggregated to form the political unit of Canta were hierarchically arranged. The partialidad or ayllu of Canta occupied a superior rank to the others and its local headmen called cacique(s) held "court" in the llajta of Cantamarca, which had for itself the same name as the foremost partialidad or ayllu of the polity. Headmen of remaining llajtakuna had less power and were called principales.

The smallest political unit in Canta polity was the llajta made up of a number of households headed by principales. They varied in size and if we modify the raw demographic figures given above (Fig. 3.) by applying a depopulation ratio of 3:1, the smallest of the units must have been very small, like Racas or Quiso, with fewer than 50 people. On the other hand Cantamarca, and Ysquibamba had possible populations of 800 and 567 respectively.

Dual Caciques and Principales at Each Llajta of Canta Polity

In the Canta polity the social group comprised of the cacique and principales and their usually polygenous families represented about 14% of the Canta population (Fig. 3.). The percentage is twice that of the Quito area where similar groupings represented on an average 7.35% of the population (Salomon 1986:127). The difference may relate to the practice in Canta of having two principales in each of the llajtakuna which was not the case in the Quito area (Salomon 1986:122). The conclusion of dual authority per llajta was drawn from the enumeration of 32 principales in the 1553 Canta visita, while only 15 llajtakuna (villages) were recorded. And the enumeration of more than one principal in many of the villages (Fig. 5).

Dual authority was probably the case at the supra community level i.e. the cacique level (Rostworowski 1978:181). It has been noted that "two lords at every level of authority" was a widely spread custom in the Andes in prehistoric time (Murra 1968:11). A small village in the Huanuco region of the Central Andes had two headmen in 1549 (Morris and Thompson 1985:138).

The differential occurrence of patronyms and stems of patronyms of kurakas (local non Inca chiefs i.e. principales and caciques) is of interest as a means from which to infer the existence of a few strong families/lineages from which kurakas in the polity were recruited. A list of all patronyms and stems of
Fig. 5. Patronyms and stems of patronyms of caçiques and principales of Canta Polity identified with their llajtakuna. Information from text of 1549 and 1553 visitas.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Patronym</th>
<th>Office</th>
<th>Visita</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cantamarca</td>
<td>unknown, (first name Felipe)</td>
<td>Caçique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Yauri</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Guaranga</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Aynamehuy</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Ananba</td>
<td>Principal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Poma</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Yupas</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Canua Poma</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Guanape</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Vilcamychu</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Pariona</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Guaranga</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Guaranga</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Causo</td>
<td>Chagua</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carcas</td>
<td>Ricra</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yaso</td>
<td>Caxapoma or Cajapoma</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rocha</td>
<td>*Cajiguaranga</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Caruyiica</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Paucaryiica</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pinche</td>
<td>*Cajiguaranga</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ayas</td>
<td>*Cajiguaranga</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hurco</td>
<td>*Cajiguaranga</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Capchi Yauri</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lachaqui</td>
<td>Guar or Yauri</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Paucaryiica</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copa</td>
<td>Chuqybiica or Chuqyviica</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Ayna</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Arco</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Esquivamba</td>
<td>Arco Poma</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carua</td>
<td>Yauri</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Tunq</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Chunbibiica</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quive</td>
<td>Caxapoma</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quiso</td>
<td>Aynamarca</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Caxiguaranga (Cajiguaranga) refers to one man enumerated as principal of three llajtakuna.

Total: 15
Total: 35
Fig. 6. Patronyms and patronym stems (Fig. 5) are expressed as a percentage of a possible 35 patronyms of *caçiques* and *principales* circa A.D.1550.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Patronyms and/or Stems</th>
<th>Occurrences</th>
<th>% of Possible Patronyms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vilca or Bilca</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>(7/35) = 20.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guaranga</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>(7/35) = 20.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poma</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>(5/35) = 14.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yauri or Guari</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>(4/35) = 11.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ayna</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>(3/35) = 8.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chagua</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(1/35) = 2.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ricra</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(1/35) = 2.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tunq</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(1/35) = 2.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Condornisa</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(1/35) = 2.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arco*</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(1/35) = 2.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ananba</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(1/35) = 2.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yupas</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(1/35) = 2.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guanape</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(1/35) = 2.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 13 Total 35 Total 99.5%

Patronyms of *caçiques* and *principales* and their villages, which I gathered from the texts of the *visitas*, were compiled (Fig. 5). A total of 4 *caçiques* were mentioned in the texts and of these, patronyms of three were given: Yauri, Guaranga, Aynamnhuy (Fig. 5, first four entries).

The *visita* of 1553 enumerated 32 *principales* at 15 *llajtakuna* (villages). One of the 32 *principales* with the patronym Cajiguuaranga (Caxiguuaranga), was enumerated as the *principal* of four different villages:
Rocha (Locha), Pinche, Ayas, and Hurco (Fig. 5). I did not make any allowance for this when counting the number of times the stem or patronym Guaranga occurred as it in itself an indication of how strong that particular lineage must have been (Fig. 6).

A total of 35 different patronyms is possible for the kurakas, i.e. if each cacique and principal had a unique patronym (Fig. 5). The maximum possible number of 35 patronyms for the kurakas is clearly not realized in the data, as fewer than half that number occur (Fig. 6). In fact four patronyms and stems of patronyms account for 65.7% of the total possible patronyms, they are: Vilca or Bilca, Guaranga, Poma, Yauri or Guari (Fig. 6).

Patronyms of caciques are well represented among those of the principales. The patronym "Guaranga", of a cacique enumerated in the 1549 visita is carried either as a patronym or stem by six principales in the later 1553 visita. Similarly the patronym "Yauri" of a cacique mentioned in the 1549 visita was also the patronym of three principales enumerated in the 1553 visita. We conclude that the two kin groups (families/lineages) were politically powerful.

The patronym "Guaranga" was geographically confined in the 1553 visita to the principales who held office in llajtkuna on the south side of the Chillon river located well upstream. The latter had been registered as villages belonging to the parcialidades or ayllus of Canta, and Locha (Fig. 4 and Fig 5). All four llajtkuna of the ayllu of Locha had a principal with a "Guaranga" patronym. A person named Libia Guaranga held the office of cacique in 1549 (Rostworowski 1978:236) and two principales registered in Cantamarca in 1553 were also named "Guaranga". I conclude the "Guaranga" kin grouping to have been politically powerful.

The patronym or stem Yauri (Guari) was entrenched in the large llajtkuna of Carua and Lachaqui located nearer the upper reaches of the Arahuyar river. However a principal of the Yauri kin grouping shared the office of principal with Cajiguaranga at the llajta of Hurco of the ayllu of Locha. A member of the Yauri kin group was recorded as a cacique in the 1549 visita. The stronghold of kurakas with the "vilca" stem was the village of Bisca where the two principales were named Caravilca and Chunbibilca. A principal with the patronym Chuqybilca was enumerated at the llajta of Copa which was listed in the 1553 visita as a llajta of the ayllu of Copa (Fig. 4). Finally the llajta of Rocha, which was a village of the ayllu of Locha, had two principales each with the "vilca" stem in their patronyms: Paucarvilsca and Caruvilsca (Paucarvilca
of Rocha may have been the same principal who was registered as Paucarvilca at Lachaqui as shown in Fig. 5). The patronym "Poma" was represented at Cantamarca and Yaso which were llajtakuna of the Canta ayllu: located upstream on the Chillon River in the northeast part of the polity. Two other principales of that kin group were enumerated at Quive and Esqibamba (Arco Poma and Caxapoma) located at the southwest limit of the polity.

In summary, my reading of the data suggests that internal hierarchy of each of the ayllu of Canta polity had generated politically strong families and they in turn were hierarchically positioned. Recruitment for the political offices of caqique and principales were drawn largely from the most powerful of these kin groups. Although we are able to pinpoint the location of the strong families geographically, the distribution of the patronyms of principales of these families or lineages, were not restricted to holding office in the llajtakuna of their own district. Rather the data shows how the principales of the politically powerful kin groups held office in llajtakuna which were widely dispersed and which belonged to other ayllus. The conclusion to be drawn is that the political power of the largest kin groups was not localized but crosscut the llajtakuna of Canta polity.

Recruitment of Caqiques and Principales

In the Canta polity during the time of the Inca or Late Horizon (1460 A.D.-1532 A.D.) the office of principal kuraka called caqique(s) was inherited, and succession was within a single generation, i.e. a brother of the deceased inherited the office. In instances where a brother didn't exist an adult son of the caqique was chosen (Rostworowski 1978:180).

It is not certain from information contained in the Canta visitas whether the office of principal was inherited. But, even if the principales of Canta did not inherit their office, we can see that the trend or pattern of such a practice had already emerged in the polity, as the office of the primary kuraka i.e. the caqique was inherited. Thus a prerequisite limiting recruitment mechanism was in place in Canta polity under which a separate hereditary elite could exist. The conclusion from the analysis of patronyms and stems of patronyms wherein kuraka at both levels of authority were mainly recruited from a few powerful families supports the position that the office of principal was also inherited. Testimony of chiefs in Huanuco (the Central Andean highlands) declared
inheritance of offices at all levels of authority formed a separate hereditary elite prior to the expansion of the Inca i.e. the Late Intermediate Period from A. D. 1000-1470 (Spalding 1984:33).

An egoistic, particular interest, that of inheritance of the use of certain chacras (plots of land) practiced at the llajta level of organization historically and probably prehistorically continues in Andean communities today. Inheritance of the right to use certain lands of the community is a current mechanism within Andean communities which leads to social differentiation (Mishkin 1963:456). For a contrary explanation of this phenomenon see Berdichewsky (1979b:13-17) who points to the complete articulation and incorporation of the Andean peoples [except for regions in the Amazon] into the capitalist mode of production as the reason for social differentiation of Andean peasantry.

Evidence suggests that the practice prevailed in the time of the Inca and probably earlier (Murra 1980:37). First, to get a sense of how this type of land tenure may have operated prehistorically, we will turn to ethnographic data which describes how rights to particular chacras (small plots) is validated ritually at annual "reallocations" in the communities of the central Andean highlands (Mishkin 1963:456, Fonseca 1972:11, Mayer 1974:40-43).

An ethnographic account of reallocation of land in the Central Andean highlands placed the event before the reopening of sectors of land for cultivation which had been lying in fallow (Mayer 1974:40). In this region a long fallow period combined with plant rotation is essential to productivity of land. At Carcas the terraces lie in fallow for seven years after a cycle of plants have been cultivated over successive years (n.d. information from Obrajillo residents who continue to plant the terraces below the site). It is this long fallow period which has been recognized as a factor promoting ambiguity over land and which activates annual reallocations of it (Mayer 1974:40).

Land Tenure in Central Andes: Ethnographic Information

In the mountain community of Tangor in the central highlands of Peru a household's chacras (fields) are spread among the different sectors of land held corporately by the comuneros (villagers in good standing). There are four such sectors at Tangor and each year a new turno (sector) is opened and one is put to fallow. This means that in a developmental cycle of a family, a
lapse of twelve years may occur between plantings on a single *chacra*: To explain, we may follow a family cycle beginning at marriage:

... a person may work his inherited fields and those of his wife in a given *turno* the first time. Twelve years later he may have more land to work since his parents have died and the descendants divided the remaining property... The third time around he assigns some of his fields to his married children and thus works fewer plots, while on the fourth round he may work one small plot and distribute the rest to his descendants. By the fifth time, 60 years later, his working time as a farmer is over, even if he is still alive. (Mayer 1974:36)

Mayer (1974:40-43) shows how, in this system, individual rights to cultivate particular plots of land receive public and ritual sanction every year at a ceremony called *Chacra Jitay*. The ceremony is held outside the village limits where the villagers publicly discuss the merits and shortcomings of the various sectors of land to determine which of them is to be officially opened. At the same time individuals validate their claims to their *chacras* (plots) in the newly opened sector through confirmation as deserving members of the community (in this case for being there).

A similar ceremony is recorded from the village of Yacán located near Tangor where authorities toss pebbles over the field repeating the names of the owners of the plot. The ceremony ends at the *kichwa papa* (communal field) where vacant lots are assigned to "poor" people (Fonseca 1972:11 cited in Mayer 1974:43). Similarly Mishkin (1963:422) describes the practice of "repartición" in the Central Andes during early Colonial time when the Governor called out the names of the landowners and indicated boundaries of individual and family plots.

Clearly the community controls overall rights to land allowing individuals to use it when they have satisfied the conditions imposed by the community. However, their right to cultivate "inherited" plots assures differential access to the community's corporate land as already mentioned. We will now pose the question - Were similar land tenure principles in place during the Late Intermediate and Late Horizon times in the Canta polity?
Prehistoric Land Tenure at the Llajta (Village) Level

Little is known about land tenure during the late prehistoric period at the level of the Llajta. Reallotment of land and the affirmation of rights to cultivate inherited plots was an Andean reality in the time of the Inca. Murra (1980:29) gives the following quotation from the chronicler Huaman Poma who singled out reallocation as the most important part of all the preparations for the forthcoming planting season which included fertilizing soils, cleaning and repairing irrigation ditches, and offering sacrifices to "purify the land":

... when they inspected said plots and fields and those left over they distributed to the poor... "In this month" all set boundaries to what was theirs from their ancestors and parents " (Huaman Poma [1613], 1936:249 cited in Murra).

It is clear that women as well as men gained access to land through the kin group of their birth, "In the myths and tales of Huarochiri, women appear frequently as the cultivators and holders of lands and water sources, although those who marry in the tales commonly leave their family to follow husbands" (Spalding 1984:27). Spalding writes of the similarity between traditions and practices of the Huarochiri tales and the Andean Aymara women who tend to move to their husband's lands, but they retain their claims to lands and properties of their own parents and can pass such claims onto their children.

Although it is impossible to determine with any precision what additional rights were acquired by individual households of the community, with regard to land and wealth it has been written that:

There was continuity in family and lineage holdings as occasionally we read of testamentary rights in land. Castro and Ortega (chroniclers) indicate that at Chincha, the father's choice among the sons inherited his 'wealth.' If no son was available, it was inherited by brothers and sisters, relatives and even friends. . . If all this European-type terminology about inheritance and wealth does not adequately describe Andean realities, at least it points to continuity in family and lineages within the peasant community (Murra 1980:30).
We conclude from the foregoing discussion that land tenure practices existed which ensured differential access to land in the polities such as those of Huarochiri and its neighbour the Canta, prior to and during their subjugation by the Inca. Later in the chapter I will show how the differential is embodied in the physical layout of the terraces at Carcas.

It is difficult to reconstruct particular rights to land which the kuraka had in the aboriginal context prior to being subjegated by the Inca using documentary evidence alone, "...because documentary sources did not distinguish between traditional rights and those granted by the Inca king after conquest. The chroniclers Castro and Ortega write of kuraka "receiving" estates from king Topa but fail to clarify if they were "new" grants or merely a "restatement" at the "native lord's" level of the legal fiction that all lands belonged to the crown after the Cuzco conquest. "We should be prepared to discover that the 'grants' to kuraka were no more than state confirmation of existing rights in land" (Murra 1980:36).

In a society such as Canta in which the severity of the climate (where the major work ploughing and harvesting have to be done in a short space of time) and limited technical resources exist (ploughing undertaken with a taclla or foot-plow, hoes or mattocks with a blade set at an angle to the handle) collective labour is a necessity. The forms in which collective social labour was deployed in the polity of Canta can be reconstructed by combining data contained in the 1553 Cantavisita with ethnohistoric information.

THE DEPLOYMENT OF SOCIAL LABOUR IN CANTA POLITY

Perhaps the single most important criterion which distinguished the two main social categories of the polity of Canta was the mutual aid symmetric relation of ayni which was practiced exclusively by the commoners. It characterized all of the work done on their lands during the growing cycle. Commoners also worked the land of the caciques and principales but through an asymmetric labour relation which is described and discussed below as a mit'a type labour relation. In this relation the commoners were obliged to work in rotation for a day's food (or successive days) with no obligation on the part of their caciques or principales to reciprocate labour.
The Asymmetric *Mit'a* Form Labour Relation of "Native Lords" of Canta Polity

To begin the discussion of differential access to social labour accorded the "native lords" of Canta polity it is necessary to turn to the visita of 1553 where the compilers of the document asked the commoners what they gave to the *caçique* (the foremost chief of the polity) and to the *principales* (lesser chiefs) who together are referred to as *kuraka* and who comprised the dominant social group in the various *llajtakuna*:

... we the investigators asked the people what they contributed to the ruler of the polity, and also to the lesser lords of their villages and they replied, to Mr. Hernando the primary lord they gave labour in his corn and potato fields and also that the same service went to the lesser lords of their villages. (Rostworowski 1978:243. [My translation]).

Was this a labour tribute particular to the polity of Canta in the Central highlands? Definitely not, as similar information is reported from a visita compiled in Huamanga (in the area of today's Ayacucho) in 1557, where the local *kuraka* received no tribute other than labour. The commoners, "...worked a certain number of fields for his subsistence, and when needed, built his house; and they [also] gave them [the chiefs] in rotation [*ayllu* by *ayllu*], men and women to serve them and bring water and wood" (Murra 1980:92). At Juaja (Fig. 42), *kurakas* received no tribute of any kind save respect and the working of their fields (Murra 1980:92). In Quito a major part of the chief's revenue was derived from the labour of common people. At times it was in the form of work of individuals but more characteristically deployed specific collective "corvees" (Salomon 1986:130).

Upon what did chiefly authority rest to perpetuate this type of social inequality? A variety of theories generally couched within an evolutionary framework and therefore concerned with the rise of "pristine chiefdoms", the discussion of which is beyond the scope of this paper (but see Gillman 1981), often offer concepts as a basis of chiefly power which cloud our understanding of "secondary" chiefdoms such as Canta polity. A case in point is the concept of "redistribution" of the kind which Service (1962) saw as that which gave rise to chiefly authority (devoid of genuine coercive power) which is quite
unsatisfactory to many writers as a basis for chiefly authority on several counts. It is a vague concept: "[r]edistribution shades into tribute collection. This tribute is then selectively disbursed, both through chiefly alliance and ceremonial exchange networks, and to retainers, warriors, and personal clients. It becomes a "fund of power" (Gledhill 1988:12).

Wolf (1982:97) suggests that redistribution in this sense can constitute a "strategy of class formation". He proposes a distinction between two types of chiefdom: those which are based on what he terms the "kin ordered mode of production" in which the chief and his followers are still embedded in kinship arrangements and bound by them, and chiefdoms in which the form and idiom of kinship may be maintained even as a dominant group transforms divisions of rank into divisions of class-in fact, using kinship mechanisms to strengthen its own position. He writes:

Polyani, to whom anthropology owes the introduction of the concept of redistribution, allowed us to visualize mechanisms of exchange beyond those covered by "reciprocity" or "market" exchange. It is, however, necessary to qualify the concept of redistribution in three ways. First, the different kinds and spheres of redistribution must be specified. Redistribution through feasting is not identical with the redistribution of supplies for public works or warfare, or with the redistribution of specialized resources through the agency of the chief. Second, it is important to be precise about what gets distributed, how much -and most importantly- to whom. . . .Third, redistribution can also serve to "buy allies" pacify rivals. . . In this light, redistribution appears not as a kind of normative altruism characteristic of a type of society, but rather as a recurrent strategy in the process of class formation (Wolf 1982:98).

In my opinion Canta polity is best conceptualized as the second type of chiefdom. Affinal mechanisms of closure, such as recruitment for official offices of authority through inheritance, was in practice in some parts of the Central Andean highlands prior to the Inca (see above under heading, Recruitment of Caçiques and Principales ). This was probably the pattern of recruitment for Canta polity during the Late Intermediate Period (immediately prior to the Inca),
which may be inferred from the archaeological study of the *llajta* of Carcas where "native lord" residences are confined to impermeable and spatially discrete residential areas which I interpret as a mark of their social distance from commoners.

No "communal" storage facilities, which might attest to redistribution on the part of the "native lords", exist at Carcas. Rather storehouse placement suggests the control of produce was at the household level of organization: i.e. commoner and elite households alike appear to have had their own storage units. Wanka settlements of the Upper Mantaro drainage of the Central highlands had a similar storage pattern in the Late Intermediate Period which is described as "personalistic control of surplus" (Earle 1989:708).

The labour relation between the commoner and their hereditary rulers in the Late Intermediate Period appears to have been a form similar to the labour relation between commoner and the Inca known throughout the Andes as *mit'a*. During the expansion phase of the Inca, i.e. the Late Horizon, the Inca mode of production was a fully blown tributary form, with tribute exacted from the subjugated people through the institution of *mit'a* (Berdichewsky 1979:13-17, Wolf 1982:82). Data which I have do not allow me to see "shifts" in the *mit'a* labour relation in the polity of Canta following the Inca conquest. In fact as the reader will note upon reading chapter three, little Inca influence remains at the village under study. The term *mit'a* is used in the thesis to refer to the asymmetric labour relation between local elites and commoners in the Late Intermediate Period and between the Inca and commoners in the subsequent Late Horizon when Canta was under Inca rule.

*Mit'a* tribute demands were applied by the Inca at the time a territory was conquered. Communal lands held by the *llajtas* were appropriated for the "crown" and then divided it into three parts as described in 1653 by Father Bernabé Cobo:

One part he assigned to Religion and the cult of his false gods, another he took himself, and the third he left for the common use of the people. . . The third division of the land according to the partition described above was assigned to the people in the nature of commons, it being understood that the land was the property of the Inca, and the community only had usufruct. (Rowe 1963:265)
To validate usufruct right, subjugated villagers were obligated to work the confiscated crown and church lands, the produce of which went to the Inca state: "When the chacras (fields) of Religion were finished, the fields of the Inca were immediately sown, and, in their cultivation and harvest, the same order was followed" (Father Bernabé Cobo in Rowe 1963:266). Apparently the local elites participated in some token way in the working of such fields but one can see from the following quote how minimal a contribution they made in the production process itself:

If the Inca himself, or his governor, or some high official happened to be present, he started the work with a golden taclla or plow... and following his example, all the other officials and nobles who accompanied him did the same. However, the Inca soon stopped working, and after him the other officials and nobles stopped also, and sat down with the king to their banquet... The common people remained at work, and with them only the kurakas-pachacas, who worked a while longer than the nobles; thereafter they supervised the work, giving orders that were necessary (Father Bernabé Cobo in Rowe 1963:265).

In the Canta polity mit'a tribute exacted by the Inca from the commoner was over and above traditional labour given by commoners to their local (non-Inca) hierarchy of "native lords" as attested in the 1553 Canta visita. A further tribute to the Inca made by the villagers of Tawantinsuyu (the Inca state) was a varying amount of time to service in the Inca army, on public works, or in personal service to the Emperor and the nobility (Rowe 1963:265). With regard to agricultural production at the llajta level of organization, regardless of whether commoner labour was in the form of tribute to the Inca or to local kuraka, the beneficiary of the day's work was expected to furnish the seed or cuttings, to feed the workers and provide them with maize beer, "... this applied to the crown and church as well as fellow villagers or kuraka" (Murra 1980:3).

The salient point of this asymmetric labour relation for my analysis of Carcas is that "elites", whether Inca, or local kurakas, were not obliged to reciprocate commoners with their labour. Therefore work parties mounted by the Inca and local kuraka had the potential of being very large scale. A commoner beneficiary who mounted a work party had to repay each member an equal
amount of work time, as discussed below. Thus a commoner was restricted in the scale of any work party he or she was able to organize.

The Reciprocal Ayni Labour Relation of Commoners: Ethnographic Data

In Central Peruvian highland villages there is a labour shortage during the peak periods of agriculture work. During harvest periods for example, everybody is busy harvesting their own fields, families have difficulty in obtaining extra help even more so than when the land is broken. "When maize is harvested the situation gets desperate" (Mayer 1974:91). Farmers have to cultivate the relationships with their workers in order to be able to obtain labour as needed (Mayer 1974:91,111).

The traditional reciprocal labour relationship of balanced reciprocity characterizes the commoners of the villages and is known by different terms in the Andes. In the region of Tangor (Central highlands of Peru) waje-waje describes the practice (Fonseca and Mayer see subscript Mayer 1974:91). Ayni is another term in both Quechua and Aymara languages which describes the relationship (Rowe 1963:255). Mayer (1974:92) writes of the relationship that a day of labour is returned by a day of the same kind of work and that account is kept of how many wajes are owed and how many are returned. It is strictly reciprocal exchange which involves four exchanges for the cycle to be complete:

Time 1    A ---------gives work to ----------> B
          <---------- food, etc.

Time 2    A <-------receives work from ---- B
          food etc. -------->

The person who helps must be fed an appropriate meal which is specific to the task at hand. In addition coca, cigarettes and aguardiente (cane alcohol) must be provided. Thus at time one A owes B a meal and B owes A one day of work. The pattern of rewarding the service performed with a meal does not cancel the obligation to return the service at time two, even if time two is years apart from time one (Mayer 1974:92).

Stein (1961:227) defines the reciprocal relationship involving balanced reciprocity as the crucial practice that defines commoner existence. He
counterposes it to the form known currently as jornal where there is no reciprocal work obligation and the worker receives a daily wage. In both, however, eating and drinking occur (Stein 1961:78). One last word regarding balanced reciprocity is that it involves the evaluation of equivalent work. The quantity and quality of the food is more or less fixed so the waje-waje relationships are evaluated in terms of how hard the person works and whether he promptly pays back his obligation (Mayer 1974:93).

The Ayni Labour Relation In Late Prehispanic Time

The practice of ayni is mentioned by the chroniclers Garcilaso and González Holguin and therefore we may assume it is ancient (Rowe 1963:255). That mutual aid of ayni type characterized the structure of the Inca state at the village level is also acknowledged by Wachtel (1977:66):

The land was worked essentially by the the family assigned it, but there was also a system of co-operation between relatives and friends. This mutual aid (which still exists today in the form known as ayni) took different forms: work performed by an associate might be rewarded on the spot by a 'gift of food'. . . it might also become a 'debt', paid back later by an equal amount of work.

A description of such reciprocity being practiced in the villages of Tawantinsuyu (Inca state) is given by Murra (1980:90). Further, he concludes that the system predates the Inca because it would have been impossible for the Inca to have introduced ayni as the expansion of the empire was so rapid. Accordingly, I assume the ayni reciprocal labour to have characterized commoners in Canta polity during the Late Intermediate Period.

Labour of Women

In Canta polity polygyny was practiced by both the cacique (primary chief) and principales (the lesser empowered chiefs). In Fig. 7, is a list of these men, which I compiled from information in the 1553 visita. They were enumerated in 1553 at the 16 llajtkuna of the polity. Each of them is identified by llajta, patronym and by official title (columns 1, 2 and 3). Each was registered in the 1553 visita with a wife and often with one or more "yndia de serviço" or "serving woman", which was the usual phrase given secondary wives by the
Fig. 7. Polygenous and Nuclear Families of the *Caçiques* and *Principales* of Canta Polity. Compiled from the text of the 1553 visita.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Llajtakuna (villages)</th>
<th>Patronym</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Possible Elite Widows</th>
<th>No. of Wives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cantamarca</td>
<td>Aynamehuy</td>
<td><em>Caçique</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ananba</td>
<td><em>Príncipe</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Poma</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yupas</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Carua Poma</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Guanape</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vilcamychu</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Pariona</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Guaranga F.</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Guaranga</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Secondary wives-widowed?</td>
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<td>Causo</td>
<td>Chagua</td>
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<td>Carcas</td>
<td>Ricra</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Arco Poma A.</td>
<td><em>Príncipe</em></td>
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<td>Bisca</td>
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<td>Caravilca</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Chunbibilca</td>
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Adult elite males (*caçique* and *principales*) for whom this information is recorded = 30

Elite polygenous families = 12 . Elite nonpolygenous families = 18

48
Spanish (Salomon 1986:Note 120). The last column shows the number of wives each of the chiefs had. There were 26 women enumerated as secondary wives but without their respective spouses and they are listed under the heading possible widows. A wife of the Inca Guayna Capac was enumerated in the *llajta* of Cantamaraca with five servant women who are not included in figure seven (Rostworowski 1978:236).

Salomon writes that polygamy was unquestionably a pre-Inca institution since it occurs in Andean communities irrespective of Inca presence or absence (Salomon 1986:130). Thus we may assume the males of the elite social category of the polity of Canta to have been further privileged economically relative to the commoner, through the labour of women in the form of multiple wives. This exploitive advantage as already noted, probably predates the Late Horizon or Inca period.

**Differential Scale of Work Parties Mounted by Elites and Commoners**

The advantaged position of the elite with regard to deployment of social labour in the polity of Canta clearly had implications for the potential size of work parties that its members could organize. According to our information elites could activate work parties involving the entire community through the asymmetric labour relation similar in form to *mit'a*. Commoners, on the other hand, linked in the reciprocal labour exchange of *ayni*, were dependent upon small scale work parties comprised of their particular household members, bolstered by labour of kin and neighbours. Also, there must have been some threshold with regard to the amount of land a commoner held below which it would have been impossible to participate in the *ayni* relationship due to the food and alcohol required in this labour exchange. I will demonstrate how the terraces at the *llajta* of Carcas embody the social relations of inequality between the privileged elites and disadvantaged commoners in Canta polity.

**AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION AT CARCAS**

**On Site Tuber Production**

In late prehispanic time Andean tubers such as potato (*Solanum tuberosum*), oca (*Oxalis tuberosa*), ullucu (*Ullucus tuberosus*), and mashuwa
(Tropaeolum tuberosum) were cultivated by the inhabitants of Carcas (Rostworowski 1978). We envisage the use of plant rotation with a long fallow period to maintain land productivity at the site, not unlike that which is presently followed by the inhabitants of the modern village of Obrajillo who maintain ancestral rights to the terraces at Carcas. In this system when terraces are opened after a seven year fallow period, potato is the first crop to be planted. It is followed by the planting of early maturing potatoes occasionally intercropped with legumes; the third year Andean tubers other than potatoes are grown, such as oca, mashua and ullucus and finally a grain can be planted. Similar plant rotation and long fallow period is documented throughout the Central Andes of Peru (Fonseca 1972, Mayer 1974, Mallon 1983).

Archaeological study at Carcas found no evidence for irrigation of the terraces, they are dependent on rainfall. This too conforms to the ancient Andean agriculture system for the production of highland tubers which, as just mentioned, involves crop rotation and fallowing of land to maintain its fertility. "The potato of this system (both fresh and dehydrated as chuño ) supplied the people with their staple food and was within the confines of the rural community in Inca times" (Murra 1980:12).

The 1553 visita confirms that tuber production was indeed within the confines of the rural community while maize (corn) production was farther off site:

Then we saw the plots or gardens of the village for potatoes and oca which were adequate, looking downhill there were no plots or gardens for corn or grain within a league below the village  My translation (visita 1553, Apéndice II, Rostworowski 1978:241).

**Off Site Maize Cultivation**

The distance represented by a league, from the village to the corn fields, is not certain because 'league' has many different interpretations in different centuries. The best discussion I have found of the sixteenth century Spanish 'league' in the Andes is that of John Hyslop.

In short, the league might be a fixed, scientifically established distance but in practice it was defined by the length of a walk, which would vary with terrain and the person doing the estimating.
This is confirmed by Raymondi, who travelled very extensively throughout Peru and knew conquest-era itineraries. He judged the league to be "more or less five kilometers" and where the terrain was rugged "the league is shorter, and one could say it is no longer than four kilometers." He summarized that the "league is more a measurement of time than of distance." (Hyslop 1984:295).

On the basis of this explanation of the distance represented by a league, corn fields were four or five kilometers from Carcas, a distance which places them below Carcas at a lower elevation. The description in the 1553 visita of tuber fields situated at high elevations and those of corn at lower ones, is consistent with contemporary land use in the area of the upper Chillon valley where cultivation of corn, which is not frost resistant, is restricted to lower elevations around 2700 meters. The elevation of the valley bottom immediately below Carcas is 3000 meters which suggests that maize was grown even further downstream (Fig. 9).

The Social Significance of Terrace Variability at Carcas

Archaeological study of the terraces on Puruncarcas mountain show them to be variable along a number of different lines. For example discrepancy exists among them with regard to their potential productivity. The terraces are located at different distances from the village a fact which facilitates or deters the work of planting, cultivating, and harvesting crops grown on them. Terraces at Carcas differ in shape, in size and in their permeability. Yet this variability has a logic when we consider it in terms of the social conditions that obtained in Carcas during late prehispanic time.

A significant aspect of the social conditions in the polity of Canta was as already outlined above, the economic power of the elite. The relation of domination it had over fellow villagers was no longer one based on strictly personal qualities - men with a reputation for honour, trust, good faith etc. - rather it was a relation mediated by objective, institutionalized mechanisms such as the exclusive right of the elite to the mit'a form of labour. It is this privilege, although only one of many the elite had, which I will focus on now to infer how the building of various terrace complexes was organized.

It is possible to separate terracing that involved the social labour of large scale work parties, which could only be orchestrated by the elite at Carcas, from
that which was the product of piecemeal, small scale work groups characteristic of the commoner household dependent upon its members' labour, augmented when resources permitted by reciprocal forms of labour exchange from other households. Rowe (1963:210) distinguished diachronically terraces built by individual family groups and those built by mit'a labour in the Inca period.

Once commoner and "native lord" terraces are distinguished we may study discrepancy between them in terms of their permeability, their distance from the village and their different productivity potential. By following these avenues of investigation we can suggest further economic advantages enjoyed by the Carcas elite derived from the spatial positioning of their terraces. Ethnohistoric, ethnographic and archaeological information from the Central highlands of Peru will be drawn upon repeatedly in this section to make the arguments.

Cultivation terrace complexes "A" and "B" discussed below, were measured and partially mapped during field work at the site of Carcas, the calculation of surface planting area provided by the two complexes is quite accurate. A reconnaissance of cultivation terraces designated "C" was undertaken but the terraces were not mapped. However, it was possible to determine the presence and extent of "C" terraces in rough terms from one aerial photo (Servicio Aerofotografico Nacional no. 22773 - A2727-3). A tracing of the aerial photo is given with agricultural terrace complexes designated "A", "B", "C", and "D" marked on it in figure nine.

 Territory situated below Carcas is of steep, unstable gradient given to rockslide activity. The lower portion of the rock crest immediately west of Carcas appears to have broken off and in the process to have produced rock slides of considerable size. Debris in the form of great chunks of stone sometimes the size of boxcars, is tumbled around the base of the rock crest and far below it into the valley. This area is indicated by diamond hatching (Fig. 9).

Immediately west of the rock crest is an extensive unconsolidated scree slope much too unstable for terracing and also defined with diamond hatching. One must walk beyond it to reach the first continuously terraced land west of Carcas which is marked with regular parallel oblique lines and designated "D". The distance between the rock crest and the scree at the level of Cerro de Pasco road is about one kilometer.
Fig. 8. Aerial Photograph of Upper Chillon Valley (Servicio Aerofotografico Nacional No. 22773-A2727-3).
Fig. 9. Agricultural terraces at Carcas drawn from aerial photograph of the Upper Chillon Valley (Servicio Aerofotografico #22773-A2727-3).
East of Carcas there are few opportunities for terrace construction. The sheer cliff face which defines the east limit of the village is very unstable with a gradient which does not relax until it reaches a point well below the Cerro de Pasco road. Downvalley, between the road and the bank of the river, one finds terraces dispersed throughout the rock debris. On the drawing (Fig. 9) they are represented by basket weave markings and designated "C". As one can see on the areal photograph, the upper Chillon valley is sharply incised in the vicinity of Carcas and the narrow flood plain in the valley bottom is not terraced. It floods annually and is too poorly drained for tuber cultivation. Any terracing near the river is also indicated by basket weave hatching and designated "C".

"NATIVE LORD" CULTIVATION TERRACES

Complex "A" Cultivation Terraces

This complex is the best preserved of the cultivation terraces at Carcas. It consists of about 30 terraces which are graduated in their overall length only slightly throughout the complex i.e. longest benches are near the bottom. The benches of the complex, set one above the other as a flight of stairs, completely fill a natural bedrock trough like depression in which they are sited. The latter trends northeast-southwest and runs upslope for 200 meters.

The eastern edge of this extraordinary landform in which the terraces are built, rises as a five to eight meter high ridge of bedrock for the total length of the complex and from it the sheer cliff face falls (Fig. 9). Paralleling and opposing that outer high ridge along the western edge of the complex, is a continuous stony spine. Although it is less pronounced in height, it too forms an effective natural wall inhibiting entry into the complex and distinguishing it from all other terrace complexes on Puruncarcas mountain (see aerial photo and Fig. 9).

The retaining walls of complex "A" are nearly vertical, and they are consistently two and a half to three meters in height. The masonry in each is similar, with large unworked boulders, often more than a meter in diameter, placed in the lowest third of the wall. Higher up the walls are of smaller unworked rock, neatly set without mud mortar. No coursing is evident, but the stone has been placed carefully to achieve an even outward face. No service stairways exist between levels, nor do pegs project outward from the facing wall to facilitate movement from one surface to another.
The planting surfaces of terraces in complex "A", have an average maximum width (from front to back) of five meters. The length of the surface of the terraces does not exceed thirty meters. A generous calculation of the planting surface of a single bench is 120 m². The discrepancy between the quoted dimension of the terraces: 5 m x 30 m yielding an area of 150 m², and the quoted area of 120 m² is due to the lenticular shape of the terraces. The total surface area provided by the terraces in the complex is about one acre or 0.36 of a hectare (30 x 120 m² = 3600 m²).

Social Significance of Architectural Elements of Complex "A" Terraces

Although I cannot prove indubitably that the produce from complex "A" was for the benefit of the elite, there are a number of characteristics exclusive to it which makes me draw that conclusion. Whether complex "A" is viewed from the air or inspected on the ground it appears as a complete unit. This sense of unity is achieved because the complex is a naturally walled feature, further each bench in terrace flight is similar in form and construction.

The great uniformity of the terraces leads me to conclude that each was constructed as part of a large scale planned and closely supervised project with each terrace of the unit designed in form and height to completely and precisely fill the natural trough landform in which the terraces rest. It was not a piecemeal venture! Thus I posit that a large scale work party (or successive large scale work parties) possibly involving the whole community, was recruited to provide the energy required to execute and bring to fruition this ambitious project. Only the elites, with exclusive right to the mit'a form of labour relation could have orchestrated a project of such scale. Thus I conclude the terraces served some goal of that group.

I assume social agency to have been involved in seizing upon this land form as the site for the cultivation terraces of "A" complex. The potential it held for supplying the complex with a 'natural' stone wall boundary must have been recognized and incorporated into the plan of the complex. Further it seems reasonable to argue that when the dominant group can lay hold of a 'natural boundary', such as that of the landform surrounding complex "A", it succeeds in making its particular interests and benefits ambiguous. By this I mean a shift of focus would have been achieved among the Carcas villagers as they
apprehended the bounded terraces, not as the result of the existing relation of social inequality in the community, but as the outcome of nature itself.

Productivity of non-irrigated terraces, (i.e. all terraces at Carcas) is partly determined by the amount of rainfall such terraces receive. In the Central Andes rainfall increases with elevation in narrow valleys such as that of the Chillón in its upper reaches (see below under heading, "Differential Productivity of Terraces" for more detail). Therefore terraces of complex "A" are placed to receive maximal rainfall. This fact coupled with its convenient location near the village further suggests the complex to have been that of the privileged social group.

The prime terraces of complex "A" would have produced potatoes for very few households due to its small total area. This conclusion is reached from ethnographic information discussed in detail below under the heading, "Land Required Per Household For Potato Production". According to this information, within the context of traditional Andean production, a household requires 22 plots (each having an area of about 60 m²) to ensure that it can produce on a yearly basis its subsistence crop of potatoes for the duration of the life of the household. Each terrace surface in complex "A" has an area of about 120 m² thus a nonpolygenous household would have required continuous access to 11 of the terraces to meet a subsistence level of potato production for the duration of the household. This calculation assumes a seven year fallow period, which is used at Carcas today by people from Obrajillo who cultivate there.

Obviously not all terraces would have been cultivated by the household at any one time as terraces planted on slopes are planted in a sequence of crops usually in the following order: potatoes after the fallow period, then early maturing potatoes occasionally intercropped with lima beans; the third year is dedicated to Andean tubers such as ocas, mashua, and ollucos. The fourth year a grain might be grown. After that they are left to fallow from seven to twelve years (Mayer 1974:33).

As one can see from the cycle of plants grown, potatoes can only be cultivated for two years of the four cultivation years on any given terrace and every two years new terraces must be opened from those in fallow which the household controls. Thus to work within the framework of the minimum seven year fallow period, it would have been necessary for a household to have controlled 11 terraces (each having an area of 120 m² ) in order to ensure sufficient yearly potato production for its subsistence needs. Thus two
nonpolygenous households would have required all but 8 terrace benches of complex "A".

Mayer (1974:36) writes how Tangorinos prefer to have half their plots upslope and the other near the river. If we take this preference into consideration and suggest that only half the number of terraces of "A" complex was required by our hypothetical household because the other half of the land it required for potato production was located elsewhere on Puruncarcas mountain, then some five or six nonpolygenous households could have been supported by the 30 terraces of the complex.

In summary complex "A" is distinct among the terrace complexes at Carcas due to its unique setting which provides it with a natural surrounding wall. I have argued that the complex was for the benefit of the elite at Carcas on a number of counts. The great uniformity of its terraces in terms of shape, area, height and stone masonry suggest it was built as a unit requiring a large scale work party indicative of a mit'a form of asymmetric reciprocity, which was an exclusive right of the privileged elite in the Canta polity. The position of the complex close to Carcas facilitated the working and surveillance of its terraces which were potentially the most productive terraces at Carcas due to their location at a high elevation where maximum rainfall occurred. Finally the complex was small in area and could have met the land requirement of from two to five or six nonpolygenous households. On the basis of these arguments, I would reiterate that the few households who benefited from the terraces were of the elite social group.

Complex "B" Terraces

"B" terrace complex is comprised of some 25 contour terraces located between complex "A" and the imposing rock crest which runs downslope from the village of Carcas to just above the Cerro de Pasco road (Fig. 9). The length of any bench of "B" complex is determined by the extent of fallen rock lying at the base of the rock crest. Usually the benches are about one and a half times longer than those of "A" complex, about 45 meters. Maximum width of "B" complex terraces does not exceed eight meters and the average width is six meters. I calculate the planting surface of the complex to be about 0.60 of a hectare.
Masonry construction of facing walls in "B" complex is similar to that of complex "A", with largest boulders set near the ground level and smaller unworked stone reserved for the upper part of the walls. The retaining walls of "B" complex are of dry masonry and although neatly made show no regular coursing. Despite the similarities in construction the overall patterning of complex "B" terracing is much less uniform than that of "A" complex.

More variation in length and width of individual benches was observed in complex "B" than in complex "A" (see aerial photo). The height of several terrace facing walls in "B" complex exceeded those of "A" which is probably due to the steepness of the terrain where they are located. As was noted earlier the benches are not as well preserved as those of "A" complex, which may be an indication of inferior workmanship (or supervision) in the building and repair of "B" complex terraces. Each bench of the complex "B" was discrete, no connecting service stairs facilitated movement from one level to the next, nor were there projecting pegs which could have acted as such aids.

Social Significance of Architectural Elements of Complex "B"

Terraces of complex "B" are dramatically walled along their western limit by the sheer face of the rock crest as shown in Fig. 9. But, this landform protects the terraces from intervillage encroachment. It does not surround the terraces of "B" complex to separate them from all others at the site. Despite this open, communal appearance of terrace complex "B", it is quite probable that large scale work parties were required to construct the high facing walls of certain terraces built at points of steepest grade within the complex because, "as a rule, the steeper the natural slope, the deeper the foundations must be and the more massive the facing walls" (Donkin 1979:32).

The long benches in the complex may be another indicator of large scale work groups. Such an indicator has further credibility in light of the fact that none of the surfaces of the terraces in "B" complex are broken over their length. There are no low dividing walls, service stairs or other mechanisms which could have served to divide the surface of the terrace. If the long terrace surface was ultimately to have been shared by more than a single household, one would anticipate some kind of break along it, a sort of line of demarcation, to indicate both a household's building and repair obligation and also its segment of the planting surface. It is probably better to think of a household utilizing the whole
surface of a terrace given that in the Central Andean highlands today each household knows its terraces and even names them (Mayer 1974:34-37).

The total surface area of terrace complex "B" is small, about 2.4 hectares. Using the same formula and rationale which was applied to the "A" terrace complex, slightly more than two nonpolygenous households and no more than ten, (depending upon whether a household had all its land requirement in the complex or only half) could have sustained a lifetime subsistence level of potato production from the terraces. As is the case with the "A" terrace complex, those of complex "B" are situated at a high elevation on Puruncarcas mountain which increases the potential rainfall they receive. Their proximity to the village is another advantage in terms of working and guarding the fields. Thus one concludes that "chacras" (small fields or planting surface of a terrace) of this complex were highly valued and probably controlled by elites.

It is not my intention to argue indubitably that the complex served the elite exclusively. However, given the fact that local principales had rights to multiple wives, their land requirement for potato production was potentially greater than that of the formula which was generated from land requirements of nonpolygenous families. Thus it is not unreasonable to suggest that a large part of "B" complex, if not all, was to benefit the dominant "native lord" families.

**Permeability of Terrace Complexes "A" and "B"**

As indicated in the drawing (Fig. 9) complexes "A" and "B" are closest to the village and are the most easily cultivated and protected of terraces on Puruncarcas mountain. Their placement relative to the village and to the single path which connected them to the village made them amenable to monitoring. To elaborate briefly, any Carcas householder needing to reach cultivation terraces not only had to walk through the village but was channelled past the outlier structure (H1 on site map) onto the single downhill path. The path was the sole means of entering terrace complexes "A" and "B"; two obvious points along the path gave access to the "A" terrace complex, whereas entry into terrace complex "B" could be had at several levels. Nevertheless, the opportunity for a villager to enter either complex without being detected was remote. It would appear that both units were spatially placed to ensure close surveillance (see below for a more detailed discussion of this practice in late prehispanic time).
COMMONER CULTIVATION TERRACES

Commoner "C" Terraces

The task of terrace building also lends itself to piecemeal and discontinuous effort over extended periods of time by members of households and the small work parties that their limited resources could organize. The terraces marked "C" on Fig. 9, appear to have resulted from such effort. Labour for the building of "C" type terraces does not appear to have been orchestrated in an all encompassing large scale communal endeavour such as envisaged for the creation of the uniform benches of complex "A". Rather the planning and building of this type of terrace seems to have been the result of small scale informal work parties better attributed to commoner households dependent exclusively on the ayni balanced, reciprocal labour relation.

Other lines of evidence support this conclusion for example, the gradient is more gradual nearer the valley bottom which negates construction of high terrace facing walls with the concomitant large work party requirement. Terraces near the bottom of the valley receive the least potential rainfall and thus are the least productive over the long term. Thirdly, the land upon which "C" type terracing has been constructed is the most unstable of any terraced land in the vicinity of Carcas. Lastly, but importantly, "C" terraces, built up wherever a suitable location is salvageable on the rock strewn slope, give the appearance that individual benches are 'naturally' restricted in size.

The planting surface shape of "C" type terracing is highly variable. The height of facing walls and the range in quality of masonry one sees in them is more variable than in either "A" or "B" terrace complexes. It seems reasonable to suggest that the lack of uniformity within the "C" sectors is a reflection of planning, building, cultivating and maintenance projects developed within the confines of limited labour which a commoner household could realistically guarantee at any moment in its developmental cycle given its restrictive ayni reciprocal labour relation.

A reconnaissance of terraces designated "C" was undertaken but they were not mapped. However, it is possible to determine the presence and extent of these terraces in rough terms from an enlargement of the aerial photograph Servicio Aerofotografico Nacional no. 22773-A2727-3. If we assume the greatest width of the planting surfaces of the terraces marked "C" averages five
meters, a rough estimate of the surface planting area provided by "C" dispersed terraces is about five hectares.

If we apply our formula that 22 plots of 60 m² each is required per nonpolygenous household for subsistence potato production during the life of the household, the five hectare planting surface area of "C" type terracing would have supported about 38 households of this type. The large discrepancy in size between "C" type terraces with a five hectare planting surface and "A" and "B" terraces which together provide only one hectare of planting surface, negates the possibility of all Carcas residents of having had their plots (which had to be sufficient in number to yearly produce potatoes at a subsistence level for the household) divided between "C" complex near the valley bottom and the prime upslope complexes "A" and "B".

As already explained above, under Andean conditions of root crop production--with a four year plant cycle of which two produce potato and a seven year fallow period between the four year cycles--a nonpolygenous household would have had to control five terraces in complex "A" to have produced only half of its potato need (i.e., 0.06 of a hectare). If we consider the one hectare of surface area provided by both "A" and "B" complexes, then about 15 nonpolygenous households could have produced half of their potato requirement yearly from the two complexes.

These calculations are approximate, but for our purpose they are sufficient to demonstrate how prime terrace complexes "A" and "B" simply could not provide land enough for all households of Carcas. This further strengthens my argument that commoner households were dependent upon terraces designated "C". Conceivably "D" terraces complex may have been utilized by villagers of Carcas. Also potato could have been grown on slopes which were not terraced located in the puna. In those fields potatoes are produced once or twice and the land is left to "rest" for ten to twenty years (Mayer 1976:33). But households producing subsistence potato crops under these latter conditions would have incurred successively more hardships on their members.

**Permeability of "C" Type Terraces**

Householders journeying to work terraces in the "C" sectors were confined to the single pathway out of Carcas until they reached the bottom of "A" and "B" terrace complexes. At that point a number of opportunities opened up
for gaining access to the different cultivation terraces dispersed throughout the rockslide area and along the river bank. This network of ill defined paths adds to the informality of the "C" terrace sectors.

No boundary walls surround "C" type terraces which give them the appearance of being open and 'communal'. However, without surrounding walls "C" terraces are vulnerable to encroachment by other people and animals. Their vulnerability is further increased by their location far from the village. Another drawback for Andean peasants who cultivate fields which lie from a half to three quarters of an hour from their village is the added strain of carrying heavy loads of seed and other supplies to and from such fields (Stein 1961:37).

On all counts, "C" complex terraces are inferior to those of complexes "A" and "B". Even in terms of susceptibility to frost *chacras* upslope and out of valley bottoms are advantaged. This is due to temperature inversion at night, which protects upslope plantings and brings a frost hazard to valley bottoms with elevations above 2500 meters in the Central Andes, which applies to the Chillon river valley in the area of Carcas (Donkin 1979:25).

"D" Type Terraces

Contour terraces designated "D" in Fig. 9, were not mapped. It is possible that they were associated with the Late Horizon site of Acarhuay (shown as Carhuay on the map *Carta Nacional Departamento de Lima Hoja 11c*). The site was first described by Villar Cordova (1935:299) who identified it on the basis of its architecture and pottery as a *tampu* or small Inca installation. In my initial reconnaissance of archaeological sites in the Canta region I recorded extensive terracing associated with Acarhuay at the elevation of the Cerro de Pasco road (Sykes 1983).

Acarhuay terraces started at km 12.9 (driving northeast on Cerro de Pasco road out of the modern city of Canta) and continued to km 14. Separating the eastern limit of these terraces (Terraces "D" Fig. 9) from Carcas, at the level of the road, is a distance of about 1.2 km. Three quarters of that distance is made up of the scree covered slope and the rock crest as shown in Fig. 9. Often topographic features delimit territorial boundaries in the Andes and it is possible that the combined landforms functioned as a boundary between the terraces of the two communities. Alternately if the "D" terraces were cultivated by Carcas
villagers difficulty in the planting, cultivating and monitoring of them would have been comparable to that of terraces of "C" complex.

Field Surveillance in Late Prehispanic and Modern Time

I have discussed the variation in distance of the terraces from the village of Carcas and suggested that the potentially most productive chacras in terrace complexes "A" and "B" were further advantaged because they were the most easily monitored of terraces at Carcas. Historically and ethnographically surveillance is a significant factor to be dealt with by Central highland villagers. Theft from fields was a crime in the eyes of the Inca. Especially was this the case if government fields were robbed, "stealing from the Imperial fields...was punishable by death (Rowe 1963:271). To protect fields Rowe (1963:223) writes that "in addition to permanent houses, the Inca built small pole and grass shelters, especially as guard houses in the fields".

The custom of building shelters in fields persists in the Andes. A comprehensive ethnographic study of the villagers of Hualcan in the Central highlands of Peru informs us that there is much robbery in that village. A resident's testimony about the threat of robbery of produce in fields and the guarding of them by building a cuklla or grass hut from which an individual could monitor the fields follows:

There are some people who make a cuklla in their cornfields because they are being robbed. They do this so that they can watch every night. And other people do not make them because nobody steals from them. One goes to watch at night, just at certain hours. In the same way, people put them up on the hills where they have planted potatoes, ocas, or ullucus. They go off very early in the morning to guard their fields so that nobody will take nothing out of them. Then when it is dawn they go back to the house. Every night they go by turn in the household, to watch. There are many thieves who wait until the one who is guarding the field goes down to the house (Stein 1961:56).

Guarding fields is not a straightforward proposition. The problem facing the household, especially when the crops are ripe, is the recruitment of guards: "...no household has enough members to distribute over all its fields, which may
be scattered through the community and even outside in the neighbouring areas. The mere presence of the *cuklla* is sometimes an effective deterrent for a thief. . . " (Stein 1961:56).

Guard houses are common in the upper Chillon valley especially in the fields of ripe maize near Canta. I have photographed guard houses similar to the Inca type, consisting of a high tripod frame with a grass covering, but plastic as a covering is now common. The presence of guard houses in the fields at Canta suggests that surveillance is still a necessity. From a theoretical point of view Stein (1961:55) writes:

> It is clear that pure economic necessity forces some people to steal. Yet others steal from personal and extra-economic motives. In a community where interpersonal hostility is not manifested freely, stealing is one undercover method of aggression.

If thieving is a form of aggression in communities today, it would seem that thievery may have functioned in that capacity during late prehistoric time in the polity of Canta where the social condition of inequality between the dominant "native lords" and commoners had the potential of fostering rancor between the two groups.

**Variable Productivity of Cultivation Terraces**

Factors that effect crop production are chiefly: soil fertility, temperature and amount of rainfall. We may begin our discussion by noting how temperatures vary with altitude: the lower the altitude, the warmer it is. Throughout the central Andes above about 2500 meters, frost is a hazard (Troll 1958:31-40). Frost-resistant varieties of potato, oca (*Oxalis tuberosa*) and especially ullucu (*Ullucus tuberosus*) mitigate against this threat but these crops, grown on non-irrigated lands, are dependent on rainfall, which is also affected by altitude.

In the region of the upper Chillon valley the river banks can get very hot during the day and that warm air in the canyon creates a convection current that pushes the moisture bearing clouds up and out. These get caught by the mountains and the cold air causes them to precipitate on the higher slopes. The deeper the gorge the drier it is. Planting surfaces placed highest on the slopes get more rain.
If we apply this micro environmental situation to the terrace complexes at Carcas, the two higher ones A and B, which I have argued are terraces of the dominant elite social category, are in the favored position in the valley to receive rainfall. Terraces in the least advantageous position for rain near the valley floor, are the "C" type terraces designated as those built and cultivated by the households of the commoner class.

THE HOUSEHOLD AS THE BASIC PRODUCTIVE UNIT IN ANDEAN SOCIETY

Spalding (1984:24) writes that the basic productive unit in Andean society that emerges from myths and historical records is the household. She cites Huaman Poma de Ayala writings wherein he describes marriage as the time when both men and women became full members of the society, bringing to the organization of a new household the property they had accumulated both from parents and relatives. As adults they could take possession of the fields and other resources passed on to them as they grew, and assumed responsibilities that carried with them obligations to aid, support, and maintain the people who had helped bring them to adulthood.

At a general level the same emphasis upon the household exists today in Tangor. There according to Mayer, "...The cultural norm is that each family should produce its own food in its own fields. What is exchanged is mutual help in production rather than in products" (Mayer 1974:12). Access to land prehistorically has already been discussed and here I will draw from Mayer's study to make some inferences about the number of households which might have been supported through cultivation of terraces at Carcas. The discussion will confine itself to land required for potato production as we are informed by the 1553 visita that maize production was off site (see above under heading Cultivation Terraces at Carcas).

The 74 foundations and in some instances almost complete single-structures recorded at the ancient site of Carcas which probably had a domestic function, attest to this emphasis on the relatively small household unit, with its rights in land tenure as already described above. We may start the discussion by considering the land requirements for potato production of the elite at Carcas.
Land Requirement for Subsistence Potato Production of a Household: An Ethnographic Analog

It is difficult to compare different ethnographies in an attempt to establish the amount of land needed by a household to produce the potatoes it requires. Ethnographers from the Central Andes do not usually distinguish between cultivated land in the lower puna, terraced land along the valley walls, or irrigated land of the valley bottom. Nor do most ethnographies include actual measurements of fields.

The comprehensive ethnography by Mayer (1974) of the people of Tangor in the Central highlands of Peru is a case in point. He describes the farmers' chacra or terrace as being on an average small, "the size of a largish room in a middle class house." (Mayer 1974:35-36). Mayer experienced middle class living rooms in three parts of the world: in Peru where he was born, in England where he received a degree from the London School of Economics and Political Science, and in United States of America while earning his doctorate degree at Cornell (Mayer 1974:ii). The concept of space, living room size and so on is different in each of these cultures and at times the concept of middle class is fuzzy. Nevertheless I was able to convert his "largish living room of a middle class house" into the metric realm by pacing my bachelor apartment in Canada which is at least lower middle class, and came up with a dimension of 25' x 25' = 60 m².

The Formula

Mayer (1974:35) writes that each year most farmers plant two or more jalka papa, which are plots planted with potato, located on upslope terraces. The ecology of the upslope potato plots differ from the kichwa papa plots near the river where the farmers plant two more plots of potatoes each year. In other words each household requires a minimum of four plots (each plot with an area of 60 m²) planted in potatoes per year to produce its yearly subsistence potato requirement.

This pattern is complicated by the fact that the central Andean highland production system is a four crop system. In this system when terraces are opened after a seven year fallow period, potato is the first crop to be planted.
Early maturing potato is the next crop planted. In the third year Andean tubers other than potatoes are grown, such as oca, mashua and ullucus. A grain may be grown in the fourth and final planting before the exhausted land is put to fallow for a seven to ten year period (Fonseca 1972, Mayer 1974, Mallon 1983).

Under this plant rotation cycle a household must open four plots every two years, from those it controls which have completed their fallow period. Twenty-two plots 60 m² is the minimum number which a household must control to accomplish this if we assume a seven year fallow period. (That is, two years planted in potatoes, two years in a root crop other than potato, then a seven year fallow: (2+2+7) = 11 year period. However only two years out of the 11 grow potatoes, the staple. Hence to have four plots growing potatoes yearly requires 4(11/2) = 44/2 = 22 plots each 60 m²).

The Suitability of Tangor as an Analog

At the central Andean highland village of Tangor, potato plots are located on upslope terraces (jalka papa plots) and others are located near the river (kichwa papa plots). Such a pattern fits the situation at Carcas where terraces also occur upslope and near the river. Nor is irrigation a problem when developing a comparison between the two locales because Mayer writes of Tangor, ". . . All agriculture in the region is dependent on rainfall. There is no irrigation, no fertilization by artificial means, nor are pesticides and fungicides used. . . "(Mayer 1974:32).

Tangor and the ancient site of Carcas further correspond in that the chacras of both are ancient terraces. Mayer (1974:32) writes that the plots under cultivation today at Tangor are the same terraces already in use in 1562 and which probably predate the Inca period. We are informed by the 1553 visita that the chacras (plots) of potatoes were adjacent to Carcas. The slopes are so acute and rugged on Puruncarcas mountain in the vicinity of Carcas, that it would have been impossible to cultivate near the village without terracing. Thus I reason the terraces at Carcas to have as a minimum date 1570, but they too probably predate the Inca.

Also of importance when using Tangor as an analog for generating household land requirements for potato production at Carcas is the fact that the land presently under cultivation at Tangor is destined only for subsistence production (Mayer 1974:11,32). Thus the land requirement for potato production
per household for life was calculated by Mayer under conditions which approximates the type of potato production I visualize at Carcas during the latter part of the Late Intermediate Period and Late Horizon.

The main problem with using the Tangor land requirement for potato production at Carcas is that at Tangor terraces in the valley bottom are more productive than the upslope terraces which is the reverse at Carcas which is explained above under heading Variable Productivity of Terraces.

CAMELID HUSBANDRY IN THE POLITY OF CANTA

Differential Access to Camelids in the Canta Polity

The compilers of the 1553 visita wrote they were in Carcas on the 23rd. of June of that same year. They described it as being a village of the parcialidad of Canta whose principal was named Ricra (Rostworowski 1978:240). Ricra was ordered on threat of penalty to bring forward cattle and camelids that he held:

Then we ordered the principal to bring before us his stock including native cattle [camelids] and the principal brought two sheep and of the others [camelids] there were ten, male and female young and adult (My translation) (Rostworowski 1978:240).

On the basis of the information just quoted it is not possible to determine whether the animals were a communal herd or the property of the principal Ricra. If we turn to the information in the 1553 visita compiled in the llajta of Canta we are informed that camelids were held separately by the cacique and principales who formed the elite social category in that village. To explain briefly, the village of Canta or Cantamarca (Fig. 2.) was politically important in the polity. It was the largest of the llajtakuna which were of the parcialidad of Canta. The latter was described in both visitas as the formost of the several aggregated parcialidades or ayllus which comprised the polity of Canta.

In 1553 the most powerful local chief of the Canta polity, referred to in the document by the colonial term cacique, was the chief of the parcialidad or ayllu of Canta. He resided at Cantamarca surrounded by the less powerful chiefs referred to in the visita by the colonial term principales. They probably had dual residences, in the locale of their respective villages where they acted as chiefs,
as well as at the "court" of the cañique (Salomon 1986:124). Eleven principales were recorded at the village of Canta in June of 1553 (Rostworowski 1978:236).

The compilers wrote how they ordered the cañique to bring before them, "el ganado que tiene suyo propio y de los naturales del dicho pueblo de Canta" (the stock that is your own and those camelids which are of the village of Canta. My translation). In response to the command, 39 camelids were produced by the cañique. The compilers next recorded 29 head of camelid which belonged to the principales present at Canta and a final herd comprised of 86 camelids was brought forward and recorded (Rostworowski 1978:238).

If the compilers of the visita wrote more about this final herd it is lost to us as the sentence(s) containing the information was incomplete (Rostworowski 1978:239). Nevertheless the salient point is that three different groups of camelids were identified at Canta and two of which were clearly associated with the elite of Cantamarca: the cañique and the principales. This evidence suggests very strongly that certain herds of camelids were distinguishable from communal herds and appear to represent particular interests of the elite social group of the Canta polity.

Archaeological Evidence of Differential Access to Camelids at Carcas

Camelid bones were recovered from the limited excavation undertaken at the archaeological site of Carcas. A probable camelid metapodial was included among skeletal remains of a mass grave located in patio XII. The patio adjoins and is exclusive to the most prestigious structure at Carcas designated that of the principales’ (H31a and H31b). No other cultural material in the form of nonperishable grave goods had been interred with the burials to enable temporal designation of the feature.

Excavation was undertaken in the house (H31A) just mentioned, and within this influential structure (excavation unit B) two camelid long bones were exposed below the plaster floor (level 5). Unfortunately they were adjacent to a disturbed area where clandestine digging through the floor had taken place and thus were not absolutely stratigraphically secure. If the bones had been placed below the floor at the time of the pouring of it, the act would meet expectations based on ethnographic information from late prehispanic time. I refer to the work
of ethnohistorian Frank Salomon (1986:124-27) which informs us that the offering of animals, maize, coca and other goods accompanied the construction of the house of the "native lord" in the area of Quito during late prehispanic time.

No complete long bones of camelid, or indeed of any animal were recovered from excavation undertaken in the commoner structure H20. Recovered faunal remains from that structure were typically small from all levels excavated. According to the field notebook of an excavator, "all but a very few have been smashed or broken" and "we recovered 101 bone fragments from this level" (field notebook of H20 excavator Shannon Mark). The size of the bone fragments were under 5 cm long and 2 cm wide (field notebook of H20 excavator Jack Grey). Bone was usually burnt according to the field notes of the excavators just cited. We cannot rule out the possibility that the bone fragments from H20 were camelid, if that was the case we may posit that camelid was a food within the commoner household.

In the elite house (H31) excavated bone was similar to that of H20 being fragmented and often burnt. The bone could not be identified as camelid, if it was then we may posit similar use of camelid as food by the inhabitants of both structures. However, in this prestigious structure, which is designated as a house for the Carcas principales (H31, H32), complete identifiable camelid long bone was recovered both in the house proper and in the adjoining patio exclusive to it. This points to a wider and more important role for camelid within the dominant elite social category: that of ritual and mortuary offerings. Although these data are tentative and remain to be tested more fully, we may suggest that the principales had at their command a sufficient camelid resource to satisfy not only ordinary dietary purposes, but to provide for extraordinary 'ritual consumption' of this valued animal.

No free standing walls or wall remnants, which may have functioned as corrals, were found in the village proper. A number of large corrals are discernable on air photographs but not in the vicinity of Carcas. The closest one visible is located eight or so km west of the village near the ancient political center of Cantamarca.
CONCLUSIONS OF CHAPTER

In this chapter I have argued that the subsistence base of the people of the polity of Canta was characterized by a mode of domination whereby the social category comprised of elites appropriated labour and services of the disadvantaged social category which were referred to as commoners. This was mainly evidenced in the exclusive right to a mita type labour tribute by the elites or kurakas of the polity. Through this form of labour relation the dominant social group was ensured the labour of "others" for its sectional interests, which was embodied in the terrace complexes at Canta.

Perpetuation of the social relation of inequality between the two social groups was also a result of land tenure which guaranteed family and lineage holding of rights in certain plots held ultimately by the community. Even ayllu membership need not have assured the individual rights in corporate land as was so dramatically shown in the story of the formation of the Concha ayllu. In terms of gender the founding of Concha ayllu demonstrates how official power could be set up only between men i.e. the five warrior brothers as contenders while women's power was by definition obliged to remain unofficial. The disadvantaged position of women relative to men was further evidenced in the right by the elite to practice polygyny.

In the llajta type communities of Canta individual commoner households were not capable of self-sufficiency, commoners were compelled to join in the balanced reciprocal labour relation of ayni to mount small work parties to build terraces, to maintain them, and to cultivate and harvest subsistence crops on them. Terraces were variable in terms of their productive potential and in their ease of working at Carcas. Those located in the most advantageous position with regard to rainfall required the greatest amount of labour to build. We concluded a mita large scale work party, the prerogative of the elite, would have been required to construct them. The small area of planting surface which prime terraces (complexes "A" and "B") provided was too small to meet even half the villager's land requirement if we assume the Tangor analog to be relevant to Carcas. Thus we have further evidence to suggest that prime terraces served the elite sectional interest.

Camelid resources were differentially controlled, and as was the case with regard to deployment of labour in the Canta polity, the elites were
advantaged. On the basis of these arguments, I have reached the conclusion that the subsistence base of the people of Canta polity is best understood in terms of a political economic model. The ecologic/sufficiency model, explaining social organization in terms of environmental factors, "slights the basic point that social organization -- delineates and defines -- the environment from which the appropriation can take place." (Sider 1988:20).
III. AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL STUDY OF THE LLAJTA OF CARCAS: Symbolic Structures, Cultural Capital and Social Strategies.

Carcas is a nucleated settlement located on the northwest face of Puruncarcas Mountain which stands on the south side of the Chillon River (76° 33' west longitude, 11° 26' south latitude). The site covers an area of less than two hectares at elevations between 3600 and 3800 m above sea level and the 101 structures described and mapped at the site are mainly houses. To reach the ancient village today one faces a steep climb upward from Cerro de Pasco highway via an ancient pathway. It follows a sinuous course along the rocky ridge that forms the western boundary of terrace "A" complex (Fig. 9). In particular places where the pitch is steep, flights of steps with narrow treads and low risers are carved into the bedrock. And where the rock ridge is especially narrow, walls of rock have been erected to widen the path. It is in a good state of preservation until just below the foundation of an outlier structure designated H1 (Fig. 10).

An unimpeded view of the Chillon valley opens at house H1, as this structure is sited only a few meters back from the sheer cliff face which plunges two hundred meters into the valley to define the eastern limit of Carcas. One's eye follows the upstream course of the Chillon river for a great distance until the snow wrapped peaks of La Viuda range, where the river is born, figure on the skyline. In sharp contrast only restricted views in other directions can be had from the village. The view west is blocked by a most spectacular dark colored rock crest which defines the west limit of Carcas. It rises dramatically 30 meters or more from above the village and runs straight downslope to a point just above the Cerro de Pasco road (Fig. 9). The crest is unbreached and effectively restricts downstream views of the Chillon river valley from the village.

Northward across the valley the horizon line is visibly close and one sees clearly a system of footpaths connecting the ridges, slopes and terraces of the mountains on the other side of the Chillon. One parallels the river at an elevation of about 3600 m and connects the hamlets of Huaros and Huacos where the prehispanic llajta of Aines is located (Fig. 3). From Carcas it is possible to follow the miniature figures of villagers in their progress along these trails. South or upslope from Carcas is the actual summit of Puruncarcas mountain, below which are major footpaths which connected Carcas villagers to
LEGEND FOR SITE MAP OF CARCAS (Fig. 10)

Structure: foundation discernible

- **H8A**
  - H = house; 8 = house number
  - Δ = complete with roof

Small structure: foundation discernible

- **G5**
  - G = storehouse (floor area < 9m sq)
  - 5 = storehouse number

Structure with leanto: foundation discernible

- **D2**
  - D = leanto
  - 2 = leanto number

Entry

Those indicated on map are at times arbitrarily placed

Rockshelter

Symbol refers to deep and shallow shelters

Rockcairn

Pyramidal in shape

Burial

Terrace

Line with X = top of terrace downhill facing wall

Elevation

A = m over datum at top of terrace

Pathway

Stairs are discontinuous in pathways

Bedrock outcrop

Slump area

Refers to slides and gravity movement

Canal

Recently constructed (1940s)

DA datum

Elevation 3600 m ASL
Fig. 10. Map of the *llajta* of Carcas; residential sectors indicated.
their larger juro-political sphere. One has only to consult the Instituto Geografico Militar topographic map to see how the many footpaths connect the ancient remote villages, placed at lofty elevations, which were main arteries of communication in Inca and early Colonial times. Today local residents travelling on foot continue to frequent them.

Each structure at Carcas is discretely identified (Fig. 10). Those marked with capital "H" followed by the structure's number are designated houses. Lean-tos built onto them with a single outside entry are marked "D", followed by the lean-to's number. Buildings marked with capital "G" refer to free standing structures which may have functioned as storehouses.

**Fig. 11.** Distribution of Floor Areas of Structures at Carcas.

Distribution of the size of structures in terms of floor areas was continuous (Fig. 11). This provoked the problem of having to establish a minimum floor area for those buildings which could have served a domestic function. Nine square meters of floor surface area (calculated on outer wall measurements) was the arbitrary cutoff point established for houses at Carcas. It was arrived at from ethnographic information cited in Gasparini and Margolies (1980:133) which led
those authors to posit an interior area for Inca houses of between 6 m² to 15 m². Niles (1987:41) argues for a larger interior surface area from 22 m² to 55 m².

The smaller minimal floor area of Gasparini was in keeping with information from partial excavation of a structure (H20) at Carcas which had a floor area of nine square meters. Although no indubitable living floor was exposed, material recovered included utilitarian ceramics, stone tools and refuse of prepared food, which suggests the structure had a domestic function. Accordingly the arbitrary floor area of buildings thought to have functioned as houses is nine square meters.

**Fig. 12.** Distribution of House Floor Areas at Carcas.

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Excavation will be required to confirm if the small freestanding buildings (floor area less than 9 m²) at Carcas were used as burial structures (*chullpas*) as well as for storage at Carcas. My observations indicate that burials do not occur in such structures. Rather, they occur in a wide range of contexts in the village. Human skeletal remains are partially exposed under a rockshelter at the extreme east side of Carcas at elevation 95 m. Elements of human skeletons are in caves, occasionally interment is behind downslope facing walls of building terraces, for example between H5 and H9 at elevation 36 m (Fig. 10). In
structure H1, a secondary burial was uncovered resting in a stone crypt under the house floor. Burials are also in the scree immediately west of the rock crest at the elevation of the village and higher (Fig. 8). The categories "house" and "storehouse" conform to the functional categories of structures recorded for the village of Carcas in the 1553 visita (Rostworowski 1978:240).

Residential Sectors at Carcas

Fourteen main building terraces at different elevations provide flat surfaces for the siting of houses at Carcas (Fig. 10). They run east-west and are variable in form, length and height. The building terrace walls do have some common characteristics: they are of dry masonry and display little coursing. Stone incorporated into the walls is not worked nor have rectangular shapes been collected for the building of them to achieve a uniform look. Bedrock outcrops are often incorporated into the terrace walls. This strategy appears opportunistic as it reduces labour required for wall construction and stabilizes the terrace. Rocks more than a meter in diameter are present in the lower courses of some of the terraces with high facing walls. Rock rubble is used as a filler at the far west end of terrace five and I presume rubble and stone fill was used in the construction of most of the building terraces at Carcas.

The height of the building terraces is from two to five meters, and the slope of the mountain is steep and rough. In many instances stairs, ramps or other architectural devices are mandatory to facilitate movement from one locale to another in the village. It seems reasonable to suggest that movement of villagers was purposely impeded in instances where high facing walls of terraces and steep rough slope lacked stairways, ramps, or stair pegs etc. But even where such architectural devices exist they can still be placed in restrictive contexts to control and monitor movement of the villagers. Conversely where such devices were present and in contexts which were not restrictive, discrete enclaves for social interaction may have been fostered. I propose such enclaves exist at Carcas and will demonstrate how the distribution of objectified social capital among them, in terms of architectural forms and elements as well as objectified symbolic values involving land and landscape, can be understood in terms of the conditions of power relations in the polity.

Four commoner enclaves or discrete residential sectors and two "native lord" residential sectors are distinguishable at Carcas which are shown
schematically in the profile of Puruncarcas mountain (Fig. 13). A "natural" zone devoid of terraces and buildings traverses Carcas on an east-west plain between elevations 62-77 m (Fig. 10). Below it are commoner residential sector "A" which includes structures sited on main building terraces two, three and the east side of terrace four and commoner residential sector "B" made up of houses and storehouses located on terraces five and six. "Native lord" residential sector "A" located on main building terrace four is also located in the lower half of the village.

**Fig. 13.** Fourteen main building terraces at Carcas run east-west and are numbered here according to their elevations above datum. Terraces T4 and T7 provide building sites for the elite. The profile is not to scale.

The area of Carcas at elevations above the natural spatial division of the *llajta* contains "native lord" residential sector "B" located on main building terrace seven, and commoner sectors "C" and "D". The former includes structures built on terraces eight, nine, ten, and eleven. At the highest elevations at Carcas is commoner sector "D" comprised of buildings located on terraces twelve, thirteen and fourteen.
COMMONER RESIDENTIAL SECTORS

Commoner Residential Sector "A" Located in the Lower Half of the Village

Commoner residential sector "A" occupies the lower third of the village between 24-50 m above datum. There are 19 visible house foundations in the sector which make up 25% of the total number at Carcas. Five storehouses which represent about 19% are dispersed through the sector and three lean-tos or 60% of those recorded at Carcas are also in this area. Outlier foundation H1 at elevation 13 m near the eastern edge of the village (Fig. 10; Fig. 13:T1) is excluded. There is a continuous distribution of house floor areas in commoner residential sector "A" which range from 9-23 m². The average floor area for all houses in the sector is 15 m² which is two square meters less than the average of the site which is 17 m² (Fig. 12). For convenience I will refer to the foundations as houses.

Arguments for designating this a discrete commoner residential sector include: similarities among terraces in the sector, placement of paths which facilitate interaction among householders in the sector, similar siting of houses on the building terraces, and the poor state of preservation of the houses. No complete structures are present in commoner residential sector "A", only lower courses of fallen stone walls under a meter in height are in place to reveal the former shape and size of the structures. The poor state of building preservation points to the possibility that a small labour expenditure was given to the construction of houses and storehouses in the sector (Fig. 14).

The terraces of sector "A" are curvilinear in form (Field Manual Part A, 22a-1v). Rough dry masonry of unworked stone with no coursing characterizes their facing walls. The terraces are low and large stones are rarely used in their construction. The width of the terraces is under seven meters. No pegs or stone slabs project from their downslope facing walls to assist passage from one terrace level to the next and stairways and ramps are generally absent.

Two main groups of terraces are designated two and three, while terrace four is a single terrace. The longest of those designated terrace two (Fig. 13:T2), is markedly curvilinear and follows a diagonal course across commoner sector "A" from elevations 28-33 m above datum and associated terraces lie one level
up or down from it (Fig. 10). Five houses sited on the long diagonally oriented terrace are from east to west: H5, H9, H10, H11, H12. Six houses on the associated terraces from east to west are: H2, H3, H4, H6, H13, H14 (Fig. 10).

Main building terrace two is collapsed between houses H9 and H5 at elevation 31 m (Fig. 10). One of the shorter building terraces east of house foundation H13 and below H8 at elevation 39 m (Fig. 10) has been destroyed by slide activity, otherwise the terraces of main terrace two are intact. The height of the long curvilinear terrace is constant at just under two meters from its farthest east extent, where house foundation H5 is located, to its western limit beyond house foundations H9, H10, and H12. The shorter terraces on which foundations H6, H4, H2 and H13 are sited are also about two meters high. The terrace on which remains of house H3 sits is two and a half meters high.

Main terrace three (Fig. 13:T3) of commoner sector "A" is between 39-50 m, and refers to short, low building terraces upon which house foundations H7, H8, and H13 are built. The low terrace on which house H7 is situated at elevation 49 m, is only preserved below the downslope (north) wall of the building. A comparable terrace provides a site for H8. At elevation 43 m, house H15 is located on a terrace which is built on a bedrock outcrop (Fig. 10).

Other houses included in commoner sector "A" occupy the eastern half of main terrace four at elevation 52 m (Fig. 13:T4). The most easterly of these, very near the cliff edge of the village, are houses H20, H21, and H22 which are associated with the elite house H23 located immediately at the cliff edge. But the three houses are not cut off from commoner houses of sector "A", and indeed connect more directly with them via a path and stairs at the far east end of building terrace four, than with the "native lord" residential sector "B" on their same elevation at the west limit of terrace four, as will be explained below.

There is a definite break in the downslope facing wall of main building terrace four between house foundations H16 and H17. When we are on site we access terrace four at this break, which presents itself as a natural entry, but there is no visible evidence now of either a built stair or ramp at this point. Nevertheless, as was the case with the group of houses at the east end of the terrace, houses H16 and H17 articulate more readily with the commoner sector "A" below them than they do with the elite sector on the west end of the terrace. From houses H16 and H17 one may walk east on the terrace to H20 to take the path to commoner sector "A" which avoids elite house H23 (Fig. 10).
Sixteen house foundations of commoner residential sector "A" (H2, H3, H4, H5, H6, H9, H10, H11, H12, H13, H14, H8, H7, H21, H16, H17) are placed on the terraces so that the lower coursing of the stone wall of the house sits directly on top of the downslope facing wall of the terrace, as shown in the diagram at the right (Field Manual Part A, 22a-iv). The diagram is given to demonstrate the placement of the house on top of the terrace downslope facing wall and does not necessarily depict the form of either the house or roof of the structure which stood there initially. The circle under the house represents a crypt built in the terrace fill, a feature which may not be present in the houses of commoner sector "A".

Siting of houses in this manner occurs in the Upper Mantaro region during the latter part of the Late Intermediate period (Earle 1987:21). Such siting prevents the entrance from facing downslope, that is from "facing out". During the subsequent Late Horizon period, structures in the Mantaro region were partially built into the natural slope and "faced out" (Earle 1987:21). The placement of houses back from the downslope facing wall of terraces and with the main entry "facing out" characterized commoner houses at the Inca village of Callachaca in the Cuzco region (Niles 1987:21). Construction there was undertaken during the greatest expansion of the Inca Empire and, "the architecture of the village should exemplify traits that were exported as the empire grew" (Niles 1987:21).

Seventeen foundations of houses in commoner sector "A" are round single chamber forms with one entry. The round form was rarely constructed by the Inca for domestic buildings in the buildings in the Cuzco region during the Late Horizon (Field Manual, Part C:32-33). However, in areas conquered by the Inca which had a strong tradition for building round domestic units, these may be found in association with Late Inca architecture.

One such territory is that of the Upper Mantaro River region (Earle 1987). Another is the Inca administration site of Huánuco Pampa in the north part of the Central Andean highlands described over a number of years by Morris and Thompson who write that round single structures of probable domestic function at this Inca administrative centre were, "...one imprint of local architecture custom", in an urban centre which, "[otherwise] imitates the architecture and ceramic styles of Cuzco" (1985:57, 62). An earlier report about the same site by...
these authors and a recent book (1985) describe the round structures as small, rather crude and situated on the outskirts possibly, "... for squatters and the like and in some cases they may be post conquest in date" (Morris and Thompson 1970:362).

Three foundations, H8, H15, and H13 are single room units of rectangular form with rounded corners inside and outside (Field Manual Part A, 1a-vi). Such a form dates to the Late Intermediate Period in the Urubamba region near Cuzco (Niles 1980:57; Kendall 1976). Therefore I conclude that it was not a style diffused by the Inca in the Late Horizon, but rather a local traditional form of the Late Intermediate Period at Carcas.

Preservation of structures in commoner sector "A" is poor, all have fallen walls and the roof type of any house in the sector is unknown. Roofs of the houses in this sector may have been of thatch as no large stone slabs which are needed for the building of stone roofs were encountered near the foundations of the structures. Nor were stone slabs uncovered in the test excavation of H20.

Round single room dwellings with thatch roofs in the Canta region have stone walls built to a uniform height. The conical roof rests on top of the wall and is composed of a framework of small poles lashed together to form a peak (Field Manual Part A, 3a-iv). The frame is interlaced with branches and covered with grass thatch. Ropes cross the roof and are secured to wooden pegs driven into the outside of the walls. In this way the thatch is tied down. Also in Canta region there is a hip style thatch roof which occurs on single room dwellings more rectangular in shape as shown in Fig. 14. The construction of it is also a framework of thin poles which rests on top of the house walls (Field Manual, Part A, 3a-i). The drawing shows the four slopes which characterize this roof.

Local roof types just described provide analogs for thatch roofing which may have occurred in commoner sector "A" at Carcas. In Andean ethnographic literature thatched roofs have been sited by a number of authors as an indicator of poverty and low status: Stein (1961:71), Burchard (1980:598), Brush (1977:28), Flores (1979:49).
Fig. 14. Ethnographic rectangular houses with thatch roofs near Carcas. The stone walls are slightly more than a meter high on all sides to allow the pole frame for the thatch to rest directly on top of it. The doorway is at ground level outside and at the dirt floor level inside. Floor area of each house is 12 m².
Masonry walls or foundations built with a double row of stones bound together with mud mortar characterizes the house remains in commoner sector "A". These walls are from 30-61 cm thick, and sometimes have a rubble fill in the interior. Actually all houses but four have a wall width from 51-61 cm (the average wall width is 52 cm). Thin walled houses: H20, H21, H4, and H7 have walls from 30-45 cm thick. The largest houses in the sector do have the widest walls, but small houses H9, H10, H11, H12, H13, H15, H14, with floor areas that range between 9-12 m² have walls which are 52 cm thick, only 8 cm less than the houses which are twice their size.

Double row masonry foundations may have had sod walls on them in the time of the Inca (Late Horizon). Such are reported from the Inca site of Huánuco Pampa (Morris 1976:140). Moorehead (1978:91) reports stone was used interchangeably with adobe brick in constructing buildings of lower status in the Cuzco area. In Peru the use of a double row of stones for wall construction as described, with or without adobe, is of great antiquity and predates the Late Horizon (Hyslop 1984:288). The double wall construction of a commoner house wall or foundation is shown in Fig. 29.

Complete houses at Carcas are of corbel construction where the diameter decreases in each successive course in the wall. The resultant dome is closed with large slabs of stone which also tie the walls (Gasparini and Margolies 1980:147). The first meter or so of the wall of complete houses at the site are slightly inclined and the corbel technique is applied to the walls above that level. Thus where walls are fallen and only lower courses stand, it is impossible to determine if the structure was of corbel technique. Superficial investigation around house foundations in commoner sector "A" did not uncover the long stone slabs needed in corbel houses for roof closure. The corbel technique had been used in the construction of House H7 which was established from the curvature of a well preserved wall segment. The excavation undertaken in house H20 of the sector did not reveal any stone slabs but did uncover rough masonry walls which lacked inward curvature. The evidence is slight but we may tentatively suggest both corbel and non corbel structures were built in commoner residential sector "A".

In instances where the house is situated directly on top of the downslope facing wall of a building terrace, an exterior decorative element in the form of a continuous course of thin stone slabs which projects 20 cm or more, may be
visible. It distinguishes the exterior house wall from the downslope terrace facing wall. The element is referred to as a cornice and it actually projects at the level of the living floor of the house. In the drawing at the right, the cornice which marks the living floor is the lower one (Field manual Part "A", 13a-ii). House remains in commoner residential sector "A" which feature this architectural element are: H8, H3, H15, H6, H7, H9, H11. There appears to be no correlation between floor areas and the presence of this decorative element if the floor area of the structure is greater than 9 m². For example, small houses H9 and H11, with floor areas of 10-11 m² respectively, have remnants of the cornice as do houses H3, H8, with floor areas from 20-23 m². However, structures designated storehouses with floor areas less than 9 m² do not have this architectural element.

Placement of the houses on top of the downslope facing wall of the terrace helps to determine the approximate location of their single entry when no direct evidence of doorways remain. In most instances careful scrutiny coupled with clearing and superficial digging, revealed possible doorway placement which are indicated on the site map by a break in the outline of the house (Fig. 10).

**Storehouses**

Six small free standing structures designated storehouses, have an average floor area of 3.5 m². Storehouse G4 at elevation 54 m, may be associated with H17. Storehouse G19, at elevation 39 m is near H13 and storehouse G7, on the east side of the sector at elevation 32 m, may be associated with H6. The storehouse designated G24 at the outer edge of patio seven (Fig. 10: 49 m) is accessible to both H7 and H8 which face onto that patio. Storehouse G1 at elevation 33 m is closest in distance and elevation to house H6. More problematic is storehouse G25 which is isolated.

If these small structures did function as storehouses their scattered distribution through commoner residential sector "A" and limited storage capacity suggests control of them was at the household level of organization. They do not meet the requirements of storage facilities one associates with a redistribution system controlled by a village *kuraka*. Storage of this type would
probably be of greater capacity and certainly placed in a context which would allow for strict control of the storage units.

**Physical and Symbolic Articulation of Commoner Sector "A"**

It is relatively easy to approach all houses in commoner sector "A". Giving access to houses H2, H3, H4, and H6, is a path which is picked up above H1 at elevation 13 m and can then be followed through patio two (PII at elevation 24 m) as indicated by a broken ladder design on the site map (Fig. 10). Upon leaving patio two, the path divides into a west and east branch. The west path passes H9 and continues along the surface of the long curvilinear main terrace two passing houses H10, H11, H12, H13, and H14. Beyond H14 the path crosses patio four (PIV elevation 36 m) and makes an "S" curve to take advantage of a break in the bedrock outcrop which assumes an "L" shape below H15. From this point on, the path is steep and below house H39 it converts into a narrow stairway which negotiates the five to six meter high terrace-cliff complex which forms a boundary between commoner terrace "A" and the west end of main terrace four, the residential sector of the privileged "native lords" (Fig. 10).

The east fork is not as readily discernable in commoner sector "A". Remnants of it join G24 and house H7 on the east side of the sector at elevation 48 m. The path continues at that elevation until just below H20 where its gradient is more acute in order to join patio eight on the east end of main terrace four at elevation 52 m (Fig. 10, PVIII). There it leads to commoner houses H20, H21, and H22 near the cliff edge. Commoner houses H16 and H17 can be reached by walking west along terrace four. No major obstacles such as bedrock outcrops, high terraces, free standing walls around buildings or controlled pathways impede movement over this part of the village. The exception is the stone outcrop below H15 on the west path, but there movement is aided by stone steps and the "S" shaped path.

**The Connection of Material Culture with Production Organization.**

In commoner sector "A" no single house or group of houses is surrounded by a free standing wall. Thus there is no evidence of large extended kin groupings who intentionally portray themselves architecturally as particular discrete groups within the sector with sectional interests. Instead householders
build round single chambered forms, or on occasion rectangular forms with rounded corners, all of which have foundations of double rows of stone bound with mud mortar. Similarity among the houses is expressed in sector "A" by the fact that the houses are spaced quite evenly along the terraces (Fig. 10). The preferred siting of these houses is directly on top of the downhill facing wall of the building terrace as demonstrated by the fact that 16 of the 19 houses are placed in this manner. The only decorative element on houses in commoner sector "A", is the lower cornice which distinguishes the terrace facing wall from that of the house and observed on seven of the 16 houses sited on on the outer edge of the terrace.

On the basis of the preserved architectural forms and elements, it is apparent that there was suppression on the part of the householders of any desire they might have had to to express themselves very differently architecturally from their immediate neighbours. This homogeneity coupled with the general "openness" of sector "A" and with the narrow, low terraces of the sector where minimal labour was expended, is compatible with the reciprocal ayni labour relation of commoners in Canta polity.

In such a labour relation each household is dependent on kith and kin for the making and remaking of small reciprocal work parties. Thus commoners of sector "A" display themselves as culturally similar, keeping their lives "open" to a series of new potentials for relations of symmetrical reciprocity. The making and remaking of such work parties is faced by every commoner household in order to achieve productivity and to reproduce its Andean life. It is through an understanding of the production process and labour relations that we understand the openness and cultural similarity in commoner residential sector "A" and at a theoretical level the close tie between social and productive organization and material culture.

Commoner Residential Sector "B" of the Lower Half of Carcas

Main building terraces five and six provide sites for the twelve houses of commoner residential sector "B" or 15% of houses at Carcas. Two small storehouses G21 and G5 and a modified rockledge G30, have floor areas under two square meters and make up 12% of storehouses in the village. There is a continuous distribution of house floor areas in commoner sector "B" which range from 10-23 m², and average 13 m². This average size is two square meters
smaller than that of the houses of commoner residential sector "A" and four square meters smaller than the average of all houses in the village (Fig. 12).

Reasons for designating this a discrete commoner residential sector include: the similarity in form and size of houses, placement of paths and stairs to facilitate movement within the sector, and evidence of a degree of isolation the sector has from other commoner residential sectors. The terraces of "B" sector are from two to three meters in height and their surface width is under seven meters. Such low, narrow terraces suggests they required a small investment in labour which is indicative of the commoner ayni labour relation. Houses are not well preserved in the sector, with the exception of house H29, which also points to the possibility that minimal labour was expended in their building.

A suite of four terraces comprise main building terrace six. The longest is curvilinear and traverses the village from 61-65 m (Fig. 10). The height of the longest of the terraces is from 2-3 m and it is well preserved except for a break west of house H48 (Fig. 10). Two short terraces above it at its eastern limit, provide sites for houses H52 and H27. At its western end a short terrace provides a flat surface for house H36 (Fig. 10). Houses located on the east half of main building terrace six are: H27, H24, H52, H26, H25, H46, H47, H48. Those on the west end of main terrace six are H43 and H36 (Fig. 10).

Main building terrace five of commoner sector "B" is a single terrace centrally placed in the village at elevation 56-58 m and two houses H28 and H29 are located on it. House H28 is poorly preserved while house H29 is a complete corbel house with a slightly damaged roof. These two houses are assigned to commoner sector "B" although, as explained below, they articulate as well with commoner sector "A". The stone slab roof of house H29, appears to exceed roof treatment of the majority of commoner houses. Nevertheless, I am very sure it is a commoner house because it lacks the durable stone architectural elements which are exclusive to the houses of the "native lords". In other words, a villager of Carcas upon entering house H29 would not confuse its visible, objectified symbolic capital with that of "native lord" houses at the village.

About 90% of house foundations (H36, H48, H47, H46, H25, H26, H24, H27, H28, H29, H52) are either placed on top of the downhill facing wall of the
terrace or so close to it that entry is precluded from the valley side of the house. This pattern conforms to the siting of the majority of houses in commoner sector "A", and appears to be a principle of Late Intermediate Period building practices at Carcas. A conclusion strengthened by the fact that in the well preserved house H29, which is sited in such a manner, the single entry faces upslope.

The foundations, partial walls and complete house in sector "B" indicate the presence of two buildings forms which characterized commoner residential sector "A". Of those two forms, the preferred is the round single structure with one entrance (Field Manual, Part A, 1d-ii). Nine houses (H36, H48, H47, H46, H25, H26, H28, H27, H52) take this form which is a traditional, local pre-Inca form at Carcas and in the Canta polity. Excavation is required to see if the houses just described are semisubterranean (i.e. sunken into the building terraces).

Houses H24, H43 and H29, are rectangular in form but with rounded interior and exterior corners (Field Manual, Part A, 1a-vi). This form is a local pre-Inca architectural tradition of the Late Intermediate Period.

House H29 is a complete house with only a small portion of its roof collapsed. The house is of corbel construction. Lower courses are double rows of stones bound with mud mortar and little coursing occurs. In each of the two rows the stones lie longwise, "on their backs", metaphorically speaking, with one side facing the interior of the room. Once the "serious" corbeling commences in higher courses, the orientation of the stones shifts 90°. In these courses the stones selected are longer and narrower and placed side by side with the "head" of each pointing toward the center of the room and the "toe" away from it. In this manner the diameter of successive rows decrease rapidly.

The effect created in the interior of the house is one of roughness near the top of the wall where the marked arching occurs (Field Manual Part "A", 3a-iv). Also a flat ceiling is created as the walls are not allowed to meet through corbelling and a hole is left. It is closed over and the walls are tied by placing long slabs of stone parallel to each other across the opening. A thick capping of dirt then seals the roof.
Superficial clearing of grass and brush from the remainder of house foundations in sector "B" did not expose the long stone slabs needed for roof closure of corbel buildings. This fact, along with poor wall preservation of the houses, lead to the possibility that the roofs of these structures in commoner residential sector "B" may have been of thatch (Field Manual Part "A", 3a-i). Walls of all houses in commoner sector "B" are from 38-51 cm thick with an average thickness of 47 cm. This is slightly narrower than the average thickness of house walls of commoner sector "A" which was 52 cm.

House H29 has remnants of a projecting row of thin worked stone slabs at roof level which is described as an upper cornice or eave as shown in the diagram at right. The midway cornice between the terrace facing wall and house wall is absent on H29. But it is present on the remnants of the exterior walls of houses H26, H48 of commoner sector "B" located at the east end of building terrace six (Fig. 10:65 m).

A rectangular niche in H29 located midway up the wall inside the house is oriented horizontally (Field Manual Part "A", 7a-iv) and located midway up the interior wall (Field Manual Part "A", 8a-1). When facing the entry from inside, the niche is located one meter to the left of the doorway. Dimensions are: width 23 cm, height 11 cm, and depth 25 cm. It is well made and has a lintel stone slightly larger than width of the niche. The interior shelf surface is made of a single smooth stone.

Opposite the entry of H29 and at floor level is a rectangular opening oriented with the long side upright, which accesses a large hollow area inside the outer wall of the house which is sketched at the right in plan view (see Field Manual Part A, 5c-ii). Dimensions of the entry are: height 48 cm, width 42 cm, depth 30 cm. The hollow area inside the wall runs in both directions from the entry and has an overall length of 120 cm. The height of the hollow is from 50-55 cm.

Entry into house H29 is by a doorway slightly trapezoidal in shape with the maximum width at the bottom. The doorway is small: height 84 cm, maximum width at sill 57 cm and minimum width at the top of the entry is 52 cm. A well made lintel of stone stretches beyond the actual width of the top of the doorway on both sides. Each of the jambs on either side of the door are made of
three worked stones set one on top of the other (Field Manual Part "A" 5b-i). The sill stone is at ground level outside house H29, but above floor level inside the house. Thus one steps from outside down into the house i.e. it is a semisubterranean structure.

This is the only house which yields direct evidence as to the form and placement of doorways in commoner sector "B". The fact that it faces upslope further confirms this to have been the preferred orientation during the Late Intermediate Period at Carcas.

Two storehouses G5 and G30 and a possible third, G21, have an average floor area of 3 m$^2$. Storehouse G21 is the largest (5 m$^2$) but not clearly associated with any commoner house of the sector (Fig. 10, 65 m). On the east side of commoner sector "B" storehouse G5 is located next to H25 while G30 is associated with the main cluster of houses on the east side of the sector on main terrace six. I conclude that if these small structures are storehouses their distribution in sector "B" suggests they were controlled at a household level of organization.

**Physical and Symbolic Articulation of Commoner Sector "B"**

Householders of houses H27, H24, H26, H25, H46, H47, H48, H52 located on the east end of building terrace six had ready access to each other's houses. Labour in this area had not been given to building free standing walls to either isolate any houses of the group or impede movement between them. Instead, a pathway with steps had been constructed near the cliff edge to ensure easy movement between patio PXX and houses H24 and H27, the two farthest removed houses of "B" sector at the east end of main terrace six (Fig. 10).

It is important to note that these paths end abruptly at houses H24 and H27, they do not connect with east side houses H49, H51, and H53 located on the next higher building terrace (Fig. 10). In fact the sole artery connecting householders of commoner sector "B" with higher elevations is a well constructed inverted "Z" shaped path the foot of which is at house H48. The area is steep and not stabilized by the construction of any terraces and as a result downslope movement of unconsolidated materials is unimpeded in the area (Fig. 10). My interpretation of this feature, which will be taken up in more detail
later in the chapter, is that it forms a "natural" spatial boundary which functions to divide Carcas into two major zones.

House H43 at the extreme west end of building terrace six and house H36 above it at elevation 68 m are definitely peripheral to the other houses of commoner sector "B" and may have had a role in the surveillance of the "native lord" complex on the west side of the village, a possibility which is discussed later when the elite residential sector is described. Alternately they may be considered outlier houses of commoner sector "B" as it is not difficult to walk the surface of main terrace six in order to reach these outlier houses.

Whether one would group houses H28 and H29 with commoner sector "A" or "B" is probably not too important. I definitely think they are commoner houses of either "A" or "B" sectors whereas house H35, also located on terrace five, is better associated with "native lord" residential sector "A" situated immediately west of it. My reason for suggesting this, is that although commoner houses H28, H29, and H35 are all sited on building terrace five, house H35 is isolated from the other two by a bedrock outcrop which takes on an inverted "L" shape (Fig. 10). Although a narrow passage between the "L" shaped bedrock outcrop and the downslope retaining wall of terrace six exists, the occupants of houses H28 and H29 probably walked east along their terrace or downslope from it to take paths which were readily accessible and which linked them to other commoners particularly of residential sectors "A" and "B" of the lower half of the village.

The tone of commoner sector "B" is one of homogeneity evidenced in the form of the houses where 75% of them are the single chambered, round house form with one entry. Remaining single chamber houses H24, H29 and H43, take a rectangular shape but have rounded corners inside and outside and convey "roundness". The building terraces undulate in the sector and 90% of the houses are sited on top of their downslope facing walls, which is also the practice in commoner sector "A". We may infer from such siting of houses that the entry into the houses face "upslope" or at least face in one or other direction along the terrace surface.

Greatest discrepancy among houses of commoner sector "B" may have been in the roof form of the houses. The flat stone slab roof of corbel house H29, not only provides extra work space, but more accumulated labour (objectified capital) is congealed in it. However, even if house H29 differs in this respect, it conforms to other houses of the sector in that it is placed on top of the facing
wall of the terrace, and its doorway is oriented to face "upslope". Furthermore, no freestanding wall separates it from other commoner houses in sectors "A" and "B". Indeed, the main barrier working in this capacity is the large "L" shaped bedrock outcrop west of H29 which effectively shields from its view house H35 which appears to be associated with "native lord" residential sector "A" (Fig. 10).

In order to understand the openness of the siting of houses in commoner sector "B" and their similarity in architectural expression, we must consider the role of material and symbolic culture as it relates to the labour relations between commoners and the production process. I have already touched upon the symmetric reciprocal labour relation called ayni of commoners in the Canta polity and have emphasized the relation between culture and production when discussing the role of openness and homogeneity in commoner sector "A" as facilitators in the creation of incessant short lived work parties required to produce the goods and resources required by the householders to reproduce their Andean life.

But there is another aspect of culture which relates to production which may be understood if we consider the houses under discussion as objectified symbolic values, i.e. the round house, with a single doorway, which is built on top of the downhill facing wall of a terrace, with its entry facing "upslope" etc. These objectified values are ideology in material form which serve to increase the predictability of specific relationships. As Weiner (1985) and Munn have so elegantly shown in kin-based societies, objects which include houses are not property in our sense of the word, they are "inalienable".

Objects 'belonged to particular ancestors, were passed down particular descent lines, held their own stories and were exchanged on memorable occasions' (Weiner 1985, cited in Rowlands 1987). They 'anchor' and 'celebrate' a 'socio-moral' order in which authority runs from the ancestor to the senior to the junior in an unending process (Munn 1970 cited in Bender 1989:88).

It is possible to think about the house as an inalienable object which 'anchors' and 'celebrates' a social order. Here the child is witness to and becomes embodied of the symbolic values of the society; first, of the immediate householders and later, of their social relations in the larger sphere. The house
is an opus operatum, the "book" from which the children learn (em-body) their vision of the world (Bourdieu 1977:91).

Thus when a man needs field labour for which the labour force in his household is not sufficient he goes about the village looking for people in whom he may be assured as sharing his symbolic values, i.e. the customary patterns of exchanges which includes rhythm of work, foods anticipated for certain tasks and so on required of the ayni reciprocal labour relation (Mayer 1974:363). The house of the prospective work partner, when similar to that of his own inhabited space, adds a dimension of predictability in terms of these expectations being fulfilled. Through this reasoning we may see how similarity in house form and architectural elements increase predictability in the production process. Thus the commoner house form and the ayni labour relation are mutually reinforcing.

THE CENTRAL SPATIAL BOUNDARY AT CARCAS

The village of Carcas is organized with a central space that divides the village along an east-west axis. Not in the form of a formal plaza, but as a band of space which stretches east-west between elevations 62-77 m (Fig. 10). Building terrace six, of commoner sector "B" which traverses the village at elevations from 62-65 m (Fig 10), defines the lower limit of the spatial boundary. The high downslope facing wall of long terrace seven at elevations which vary from 71-77 m (Fig. 10) marks its upper edge. Terrace seven also provides the setting for a discrete "native lord" residential sector.

Only the inverted "Z" path crosses the "center boundary" to bridge the upper and lower halves of the village. Careful examination of this area on both sides of the inverted "Z" path gave no indication of any terraces having been built to modify the space. Rather, it is left in a "natural" state so that when it is apprehended the space has the potential of "naturalizing" the social division of the people at Carcas, of making it appear as a division in "nature" rather than the outcome of human agency.

Two large natural shallow caves at the extreme west end of this spatial boundary are recognizable as ritual space. One, identified on the site map as a rockshelter with a burial and a possible storehouse G17, is at the upper limit of the spatial boundary (Fig. 10:73 m). The entrance of the cave is almost completely closed by a dry masonry stone wall 60-70 cm high. A small opening
is left at the east end for entry. Human skeletal elements are scattered along the west side of the shelter. The shelter is 6 m deep and against the back wall, a large rock is placed in a "ceremonial fashion" (field notebook D. Kwong, p.16). The interior of the shelter is carbon stained and a fire area is near the ceremonial stone.

A second large modified rockshelter is situated at the lower limit of this central space (Fig. 10:68 m). There is no surface evidence of human burial in the cave but dark staining on the walls may be attributed to fire. A dry stone wall about a meter high built under the drip line, almost closes the mouth of the shallow cave. Such sites are described in the earlier archaeological study of the Canta region by Villar Cordova. He found common domestic pottery in association with cave burials, and at Carcas specifically recognized caves as a foci for burial and ritual (Villar Cordova 1937:364-367). The association of caves with ritual is in keeping with Andean religion which has a tradition of telluric symbolism in the form of sacred geography where, "... passes, waterholes, rivers, mountains, lakes, rocks, and caves are ritual sites " (Bastien 1978:197).

To understand the association of these caves with the central spatial boundary at Carcas we may consider the distinctive mark of Andean culture which is the application of metaphor to land and society (Bastien 1978:189). Early Peruvians planned the space in their ancient cities according to the metaphors of birds and animals (Schaedel 1978). The Incas designed Cuzco in the form of a Puma (Rowe 1967:60). The mountain metaphor, wherein Andeans understand their own bodies in terms of the mountain and the mountain in terms of their own anatomy, is universal and of great time depth (Bastien 1978:xxii). The early Huarochiri legends, i.e. those of the polity of Huarochiri which borders Canta on its south side (Fig. 1), depict the mountain as a human body with the summit as the head, the central slopes as the chest and shoulders and the places where the two rivers diverge below the central slopes as the crotch and legs (Bastien 1978:189).

The mountain metaphor is considered by Bastien to be a basic symbolic organizing principle or pattern not only of Andean social life but territorial ties (Bastien 1978:xxiv). He writes how three communities -- Apachita, Kaata, and Ninokorin -- of the ayllu Kaata, each placed at a different ecologic zone on the mountain, are symbolically understood as the head, trunk and legs of the mountain. Through this metaphor the three communities were united as an
organic entity brought together by exchange, work and ritual. Shrines on all parts of the mountain were mainly for feeding the mountain ritually. Blood and fat empower the mountain "body": "... blood is the life principle and fat the energy principle" (Bastien 1978:46).

Villagers of Kaata, located midway up the mountain, were embued (through the alchemy of culture) with a socially recognized "competence" as the major ritualists for feeding the mountain's body due to their geographic location. "These ritualists can best circulate blood and fat, because they live where the vital organs of the mountain produce these charged symbols of life and energy" (Bastien 1978:46). Perhaps the central spatial boundary at Carcas was conceived as the central or body part of Puruncarcas mountain and the caves propitious sites geographically for feeding the mountain. Admittedly Carcas was the sole llajta located on Puruncarcas mountain, but the village layout is divided and the "native lord" residential areas in each half are hierarchically organized relative to each other. It is possible that the mountain metaphor was in place at the village to foster unity. The metaphor gives unity and the rationale for communities hierarchically arranged relative to one another in the southern Andes:

These communities have long been hierarchized with respect to each other. Graphically, both those who belong to the lowest section [of dual organization argued by these authors to have been imposed by the Inca] and those who belong to the upper take the form of a concept of the human being: head, shoulders, trunk and feet. This organization is translated into the prerogatives of the 'head' community over the rest. . . (Bonilla and Fonseca Martel 1967:16, cited in Schaedel 1988:772).

Dual Organization of Carcas

Regarding the dual organization at Carcas, this type of village-level moiety organization is known in the region of the Canta polity today. The extant town of Arahuay is divided into two ayllus one of which is named Copa and the other Collana (Fig. 1). The two function independently of each other in terms of administration and economy. People of Arahuay say their ayllus originated in the Inca period ("Revista Huaros" voz y alternativa de un nuevo Peru: 3, 1988; Rostworowski 1978:165). Canta which is now the chief administrative town in
the region of Canta, is divided into two residential zones separated by a central plaza. It dates to the time of the Spanish *reducciones* (circa 1570 A.D.). I was informed by Antonio Icochea, a sociologist born and raised in the town, that until quite recently the two *ayllus* operated separately and that each fostered endogamy.

Each of residential zones of extant Pariamarca fans out at an angle from a central plaza, while the two parts of Carhua are divided in terms of elevation. The higher part of town where I stay has a central plaza, administrative building, church and school. The lower part of the village well down the mountainside does not have a central plaza and people who reside in that sector are perceived as having lower status by residents of the upper part of the village.

Lavallée and Julien (1983:48-52) who studied Late Intermediate village sites in the Central Andes report that villages built over a double promontory featured a central plaza centrally placed to divide the population in two. These authors contemplate the possibility that traditional Quechua organization of towns was in two halves (Lavallée and Julien 1983:49). On the east bank of the upper Mantaro River between Jauja and Lake Junin, in the territory of the Huanca and Tarama-Chinchaycocha ethnicities (Fig. 41) villages of the Late Intermediate Period are reported to show at least suggestions of dual organization at the village or supra village levels:

Many sites are comprised of two spatially distinct subdivisions, some of which are separated by a major stone wall bisecting the settlement. Distinctive site pairings can be recognized in a number of cases, in which two settlements of comparable size and complexity occur close together along a single ridgecrest, or atop a pair of closely spaced hills (Parsons and Hastings 1988:208-9).

The Late Intermediate Period site of Tunamarca in the Upper Mantaro region of the Central Highlands of Peru is described as a site of two residential zones separated by a special precinct devoid of buildings (Earle 1980:22).

Commoner Residential Sector "C" of the Upper Half of Carcas

Main building terrace seven between elevation 71-77 m (Fig. 10) defines the upper limit of the central spatial boundary at Carcas. It is a residential sector of the "native lord" group at Carcas to be discussed later. The concern here is
with a group of 13 houses and three storehouses in the center of the village between elevations 77 m and 88 m which form a commoner residential sector but with internal differentiation greater than that of commoner sectors "A" and "B" (Fig. 10). Houses in the sector represent 17% of those at Carcas and their average floor area of 17 m² is larger than the average floor areas of commoner sectors "A" and "B" in the lower half of Carcas.

Main building terraces 8, 9, 10 and 11 arranged in a flight of closely spaced, short, slightly undulating building terraces provide sites for the structures of the sector (Fig.5:T8, T9, T10, T11). Main building terrace eight actually refers to two terraces, one on which house H55 is sited and another immediately above it where house H60 sits (Fig. 10:88 m). Three houses located on building terrace nine are from east to west: H63, H81, and H59. Building terrace ten has one house H64 (Fig. 10:85 m) and terrace eleven (Fig. 10:88 m) provides space for houses H66, H62, and H65. A final terrace where storehouse G18 is located is also referred to as terrace eleven. Four houses, two west of the above group (H45, H44), and two east of it (H53, H56) complete commoner sector sector "C".

Preservation of structures is variable in the sector, only lower courses of the stone walls of round houses are preserved but the rectangular house H62 on terrace eleven at 87 m is complete (Fig.15). The poor preservation of round houses may reflect inferior workmanship and the limited amount of labour which went into their building and maintenance. It also strengthens the possibility that the round houses in the sector were roofed with thatch which, upon abandonment, would deteriorate quickly and leave house walls vulnerable to the forces of rain, frost and other agents of erosion. No indicators of stone roofs in the form of long stone slabs for roof closure occur near house foundations located on these terraces.

With the exception of houses H56 and H66 all of the uses in sector "C" are set on top of the downslope facing wall of the terrace or very near the front edge of the terrace. Such placement, is in keeping with Late Intermediate Period building practices in Canta polity and in the region of the Upper Mantaro valley of the Central highlands of Peru.

Information of house H56 is scant as the house is almost totally destroyed. House H66 is set back far enough from the downslope facing wall of main building terrace eleven to insure room for people to walk comfortably.
between the outer edge of the terrace and the house (Fig. 10). It is also the one
house at Carcas for which there is evidence of it having been built after Canta
polity was incorporated into the Inca State (A.D.1460-1533). House H66 is a rectangular two room form similar to the Inca "side by side" double structure in which the two independent units share a common side wall as shown in A of the diagram on the right (Field Manual, Part A, 1b-iv). This Inca form is referred to as a closed type in which each front wall is pierced by a single doorway (Kendall 1985:14).

An exterior doorway is discernable in H66 midway along the front wall of the west unit in the structure (diagram B). It faces downslope which is the preferred orientation of the Inca: "It appears that the Inca rules of construction were designed to take into account variations in the terrain. In any given group the buildings are oriented so that they face downslope" (Niles 1987:44). Preservation of the walls in H66 is poor but enough of the wall stands to determine that corners of the structure are angular both inside and outside, even though they are somewhat irregular.

House H66 of Inca style structure has a floor area of 19 m², slightly larger than the average for the sector, but when we consider each of its units separately they are among the smallest at Carcas with only 9 m² of floor space each. Placement of the house at the periphery of the sector, may be further evidence that it dates to the time when Canta was under Inca rule (A.D. 1460-1532). Immediately west of this Inca style structure and at the same elevation (Fig. 10:88) is another unique house, H62. It features three connected rooms. Masonry in the building is of unworked stone bound sparingly with mud mortar. The stone is laid carefully but is without pronounced coursing (Fig. 15). The house is rectangular in form and even though it falls within the definition given in the Field Manual (Part A, 1c-ii), it is distinctive in that the long upslope side wall is mainly bedrock which remains exposed in the interior of the house. The opposing side wall of stone masonry, which faces down valley, rests directly on top of the downslope facing wall of the building terrace, in the manner of Late Intermediate Period building precepts (Fig.15). Marked angularity is present on the outer corner which joins this long
outer side wall and the front wall where the entry is located. The other two exterior corners of the building are rounded as are all outer wall interior corners.

**Fig. 15.** Structure H62 has a small rectangular doorway placed above ground level. The outer wall of H62 is built on top of the downslope facing wall of main terrace 11. No midway cornice is present on the outer wall of the structure.

Two interior dividing walls of house H62 are neatly made of unworked stone blocks set in mud mortar. Each has a small slightly trapezoidal shaped doorway at floor level and the two are oriented in a direct line with the exterior entry. Measurements of the interior doorways of the first and second dividing walls are: height 68 cm, maximum width at base 47 cm, minimum width at top 44 cm; height 64 cm, maximum width at base 45 cm, minimum width at top 40 cm. A small communication vent pierces the dividing wall between the back and middle rooms below the ceiling where the dividing wall joins the outer wall. In
the back room of house H62, a small rectangular niche oriented with the long side upright is placed in the upper third of the outer wall midway between the dividing wall and back wall of the room. Measurements are: height 16 cm, width 12 cm and depth 11 cm.

Thin stone slabs, remnants of an eave or upper cornice, are in place on house H62 as can be seen at roof level in the photograph of the house (Fig. 15). No lower cornice made up of a similar course of protruding stone slabs, which distinguishes terrace wall from house wall at the level of the house floor, is present on house H62. The sole house in this sector with traces of the latter midway cornice is house H60 located on building terrace eight.

Entry into house H62 is through a doorway placed off center in the short end wall of the house (Fig. 15). Such asymmetrical positioning of doorways was not usually practiced by the Inca, who arranged their doorways symmetrically in front long walls (Kendall 1985:25). The doorway of house H62 is placed 58 cm above the exterior ground level (Fig. 15), which again is contrary to Inca practice, which reserved small doorways above ground level for entry into their storehouses or *qollqa* (citations given in Field Manual, Part A 1d-i). Measurements of the rectangular doorway are: height 75 cm, width 43 cm. A flat roof of stone slabs with a dirt capping is completely preserved on house H62. The building walls employ the corbel technique already explained and the long stone slabs used to close the slight doming of the structure run at a right angle to the long axis of the building and are visible from the interior.

The question arises as to whether house H62 had a domestic function or not and if it may be distinguished as a commoner house. Evidence which suggests a domestic function includes the floor area of the structure which is 15 m², a floor space comparable in size with that of houses in commoner sectors "A" and "B". Headroom is about 1.58 m which is probably sufficient for a population of short stature. On the negative side is the fact that the interior of the structure is divided into three rooms which cuts work and living space. For example, the entry room has a floor area of 5.5 m², the middle room provides some 3.3 m² of floor space while the floor space of the back room is 2.8 m².

Regarding its categorization as a commoner house, the exterior of the structure follows a number of building practices I am finding at Carcas associated with commoner houses: the house is built on the extreme outer edge of the terrace, it is of corbel construction and the doorway is similar in form, size
and placement above ground to the exterior door of corbel constructed house H29 of commoner sector "B". Also house H62 lacks the symbolic capital of "native lord" houses, such as a central column and false arch chimney. Given our two social categories of "native lords" and "commoners" in the polity of Canta, house H62 probably housed commoners at Carcas.

Thirteen of the fifteen houses which comprise sector "C" are round, one room structures with a single exterior entry. Whether these structures are built into the terraces as semisubterranean has not been determined. This form is a pre-Inca form in the polity of Canta. Probable doorway placement is shown as a break in structure's outline on the site map (Fig. 10). As is the case in commoner sectors "A" and "B", doorways of the circular house "face inward", either upslope or lengthwise along the building terrace.

**Storehouses**

Storehouse G15 is a modified rockledge with a floor area of 2 m$^2$ and is associated with house H55 of building terrace eight. Storehouse G14 is slightly larger and has a floor area of 3 m$^2$. It abuts patio PXXXIII and is associated with houses H81 and H59 of building terrace nine (Fig. 10). The largest of the storehouses in commoner sector "C" is G26 with a floor area just under 9 m$^2$. It is centrally placed among the upper four houses of commoner sector "C" (H64, H65, H62, H66). Excavation is required to determine if the building served a storage function. The diffused distribution of the storehouses throughout the sector suggests their control was at the household level, a conclusion reached on the basis of storehouse placement in commoner sectors "A" and "B".

**Physical and Symbolic Articulation of Commoner Sector "C"**

Upon crossing the central spatial boundary at Carcas, the inverted "Z" path channels pedestrians across main building terrace seven upon which the "native lord" houses of the upper half of the village are confined (Fig. 10: 71-73 m). The curved top end of the path connects with patio PXXXV and houses H55 and H60 of main building terrace eight. This path ends here and to proceed to higher elevations one takes the path directly west of houses H55 and H60 which articulates with patio PXXXIII on main building terrace nine (Fig. 10).
10:83 m). The patio affords easy access to the three houses of building terrace nine (H63, H81, H59).

Building terrace ten is but one meter high and provides a foundation for house H64. I did not find a step or ramp to facilitate passage between it and terrace nine. However a few crude steps hewn out of the bedrock immediately east of H64 connect building terraces ten and eleven. Once an individual has climbed these steps, houses H62, H66, H80, and H65 of main building terrace eleven and storehouse G18 are at hand.

I have argued above that the round single form of the majority of commoner houses and the production process at Carcas which ties commoners through the *ayni* reciprocal labour relation were mutually reinforcing. But these arguments do not help in understanding the distinctly different interior design of house H62. The division of the interior floor area of a house into three or more rooms may be a pre-Inca building practice in the upper Atavillos region which bordered the polity of Canta on the north and which held territory between the north bank of the Chillon river and the south bank of the Chancay river (Fig. 1).

Canta polity was aligned in some way with the Atavillos during the time of Inca rule (Rostworowski 1978:154) and it is possible that building H62 is somehow related to that time period. The fact that it and the Inca style house H66, which must post date the Late Intermediate Period, occupy the same terrace and are less than six meters from each other lend weight to this possibility. If the householders of H62 were commoners affiliated with the Atavillos they would have to depend upon the immediate villagers at Carcas to provide a practical network of reciprocal relationships for survival.

Full participation in the network at Carcas by householders of H62 may have been jeopardized by the interior design, and to a lesser extent exterior appearance of the house. They could be perceived by Carcas villagers as being "less predictable" in the sense of values required of the *ayni* labour relation. However, if the building of the house had as its aim a political one, to extend and maintain a wider potential network of "extraordinary" social relationships for example between commoners of Carcas and a "distant" Atavillos group, the differences in the house might have been symbolically profitable. In my field work in the Canta region, much of which has been given to mapping village sites, I have not come upon a house with the main floor divided into three rooms such as H62 at Carcas, which further suggests that its occupants had an affiliation with one of the neighbouring *curacazgos*. 
Commoner Residential Sector "D" of the Upper Half of Carcas

Located at elevations from 95-103 m are nine houses and seven storehouses which make up commoner residential sector "D". The houses represent 11% of houses at Carcas while storehouses in the sector make up 27% of those in the village. The spread in house floor area is from 13-23 m² and the average house floor area is 16 m². The range in floor areas of storehouses is 1-8 m², with an average floor area of 3 m². Three main building terraces: T12, T13 and T14, provide sites for these buildings (Fig 13). Building terrace T12, refers to three terraces grouped together in the extreme southeast corner of the village (Fig. 10). Terraces of this group are similar in that they are short, curved, and low, under 1.5 m in height. They have no large stone blocks in their lower courses which when coupled with the shortness and lowness of the terraces point to a small labour expenditure in their building and upkeep.

Fallen walls of five structures are visible on main terrace T12 which are from east to west: H54, H69, H70, H68 and H71. The remains of these structures are constructed of double rows of stone bound with mud mortar. There is a high incidence of storehouses on main building terrace T12: G8, G9, G10, G11, G12, and G27. A modified rockshelter which contains a burial, located east of H71 may too have been for storage purposes.

Main building terrace T13, west of building terrace T12 at elevation 99 m, provides a surface for houses H75, H73 and storehouse G13 (Fig. 10). Immediately above it at elevation 100 m is main building terrace T14 with houses H72 and H74. Building terraces T13 and T14 are short, curvilinear in form, about a meter high and have been built and maintained with a small labour expenditure. The foundations of houses built on main terraces T12, T13 and T14 are placed immediately on top of the downhill facing wall of the terrace or so close to it that entry is precluded from that side of the house. It has been noted above how this pattern of house placement conforms to the building canons of the Late Intermediate Period. Placement of houses on "outer edges" is portrayed in the extreme by house H54 of main terrace T12, which is built on the top of a bedrock outcrop which projects out from the cliff edge (Fig. 10:97 m).
Houses of commoner sector "D" are all the round single form with one entry. Whether any of the houses are set into the building terraces as semisubterranean structures has yet to be established. No direct evidence of the type of roofing used for houses of the sector remains. Poor preservation of building walls and the lack of large stone slabs in the vicinity of these foundations which are required for stone roofs, suggest that they were of thatch.

No direct evidence for the form of the exterior entry of houses remains in sector "D", and the placement of doorways of houses as shown on the map are tentative. One observation is that house entries never face directly that of a neighbour's located on the same terrace.

The lower cornice (Field Manual Part A, 13a-i) which demarcates the terrace facing wall from the house wall, is present in five of the nine houses in commoner sector "D". They are houses: H71, H68, H54, H69 H74. However, no structure in the sector designated a storehouse has a lower cornice. Even storehouse G12 which is built on top of the downslope facing wall lacks this architectural element. In fact, not one of the 26 storehouses at Carcas has this decorative architectural element. Which suggests the element was reserved for houses at Carcas.

**Storehouses**

Whether small structures H70 and H71 functioned as domestic units is debatable. The presence of a lower cornice on H71 and its absence on structure H70 may indicate that the latter was indeed a storage unit or at least had a function other than a domestic one. If this is the case, the arbitrary assignment of a domestic function to structures having a floor area greater than 9 m² at Carcas could be refined by taking this factor into consideration.

Storehouses 8 and 9 (G8, G9) are complete and do not provide headroom, their interior height is under 1.25 m. The floor area of G8 is 1 m² and that of G9 is 3 m². Walls are of double rows of unworked stone bound with mud mortar and from 30-35 cm wide. Roof closure is provided by three stone slabs placed parallel to each which rest on the top of the wall. The slabs hang over the wall edges as eaves or an upper cornice.
Physical and Symbolic Articulation of Commoner Sector "D"

Slide activity on the east side of Carcas below building terrace 12 has obliterated all traces of paths leading to it from lower elevations. Nor are paths found which connect building terrace thirteen with lower elevations. However, it is possible to walk east and west between terraces 12, 13 and 14 from elevations 95 m and upward. But again no official path was located. An inclined pathway across the terraces of main building terrace 12 between 97-103 m connects the area with higher reaches of Puruncarcas mountain and is definitely constrained where it cuts between high bedrock outcrops past house H71 and below storehouse G11 (Fig. 10).

Once entry is had onto terrace 12 from lower elevations all houses and storehouses are readily accessible (Fig 2). Movement among the four houses of terraces 13 and 14 is easy. In terms of symbolic articulation, there is but one house form present which objectifies the commoner values of the *ayni* labour relation.

Culturally Marked Identity of Commoners Determined on Properties Labeled: Economic Capital, Cultural and Social Capital

The construction of class in the polity of Canta has been conceptualized as linked to the social and symbolic orders. In this view of class, identity begins with the hypothesis that class itself should be treated as a set of culturally marked properties. The properties are labeled economic capital, social and cultural capital. By virtue of participating in class identified practices and in a particular way, commoners at Carcas exhibited forms of economic, social and cultural capital which may be reviewed.

Commoners at Carcas and in the polity of Canta participated in subsistence production and had use right to a number of *chacraas* or small terraced plots which were ultimately controlled by the community. Commoner households cultivated their fields in a particular way; they sought commoner work partners for the cultivation of their own fields, and other labour intensive projects, within a symmetric reciprocal labour relation referred to as *ayni*. The size of *ayni* work party a commoner might instigate was small.

Commoners participated in the construction of specific house forms which objectified their social capital expressed in the thesis mainly as values.
required of the *ayni* labour relation. Their houses display remarkable homogeneity in interior and exterior form: they are round, with one room and a single doorway which faces upslope or sideways along the building terrace. The orientation of the entry is due to siting the house directly on top of the downhill facing wall of the building terrace or very near it. Houses are evenly spaced along the building terraces and no free standing walls surround them.

The commoner house is a one storey structure with a dirt floor. It has no window, chimney or center post. An exterior architectural element referred to as a midway cornice is the sole "stone" and hence enduring exterior decorative element. Wall construction is of double rows of unworked stone with no coursing, bonded with mud mortar. Commoner houses may be of corbel construction with a flat stone roof, but it is probable that the majority of them had slightly sloping outer walls upon which rested a pole framework covered with thatch. No freestanding walls surround these houses. The size of commoner house floors at Carcas are continuously distributed and range in size from the arbitrary cut-off mark for domestic structures of 9 m² to 26.5 m².

"NATIVE LORD" RESIDENTIAL SECTORS

The principle of dual organization manifest in some Peruvian Central highland villages during the Late Intermediate Period as two residential nuclei separated by an open space midway between them, has been discussed above. At Carcas the principle informs not only the village layout, but the number and placement of "native lord" residential sectors in the village. "Native lord" residential sector "B", is physically associated with the "upper" half of the *llajta* while "native lord" residential sector "A" is located in the lower half of the village below the east-west spatial division (Fig. 10).

Objectified cultural capital, in the form of prestigious architectural elements are confined to both of these "native lord" residential sectors however, the cultural capital of "A" sector of the lower half of the *llajta* exceeds that of "B" sector located in the upper half of the village. Also, both sectors have restricted access but that of the lower native lord residential sector "A" is more protected and restricted than that of the upper residential sector. If the symbolic structure of the society is portrayed physically in the ground layout, which is very much in the Andean tradition as already noted and which appears to be the case at Carcas, it is possible to deduce another principle of dual organization at the
village, one based on an east-west dichotomy, wherein the west half appears to be dominant. The east-west factor will be taken up later in the chapter.

"Native Lord" Residential Sector "B" Located in the Upper Half of Carcas

"Native lord" residential sector "B" is confined to main building terrace seven which traverses the village between elevations 71 and 77 m (Fig. 10). The undulating terrace marks the upper limit of the east-west central space which divides the village into two parts. It is three meters high just west of house H37 and doesn't decrease in height until it reaches the "Z" path east of house H57 (Fig. 10). Criteria for designating houses of terrace seven as those of the "native lord" social group include their difficulty of access, the occurrence of prestigious objectified cultural capital in many houses and the marked difference in house size and their arrangement in the sector.

Seven of the nine houses which comprise "native lord" sector "B" form a closed semi-circle around patio PXXXVI (Fig. 16) which I refer to as the "core". At the extreme west limit of this formation are houses H37 and H79, placed near the front of the terrace and close to each other (Fig. 16). Immediately east of house H79, but back two meters from the outer edge of the terrace, is a pseudo two storey house H58. Its' counterpart H57, at the west edge of patio PXXXVI, is also a pseudo two storey structure. Between the two and against the slope of the mountain, some eight meters back from the outer edge of the terrace, is small, freestanding house H78. The crescent shaped patio is deepest at this point.

The pseudo two-storey structures are really four separate houses: part of house H77 is built under the living floor of H57, and nearly all of house H76 is underneath house H58. In both instances the lower units are separated from the upper by a solid stone floor. Doorways of houses H77 and H76 are placed at the patio level, while entry to houses H57 and H58 is some two meters higher at the roof level of the three small houses (Fig. 16). The four units are described here as distinct houses.

Preservation of these buildings is variable. A central column and part of the upslope wall to which it was tied survived slides or other kinds of downslope movement which destroyed the rest of house H37 (Fig. 18). The wall where the entry to H79 was situated is fallen, but the remainder of that house is intact.
Fig. 16. The map is "native lord" residential sector "B" taken from Fig. 10. The far left house in the photograph is H57. To the right of it is house H77 part of which is built under H57. The northeast corner of freestanding house H78 is the final building shown. People are standing on the lower cornice of H57. Entry to H57 is on the upslope side of the house above the patio. Those of houses H77 and H78 open onto patio PXXXVI.
Fig. 17. Drawing A is the exterior view of a round, single chambered house with a column stone slab roof. Drawing B is a cross-section of this style of house. Both drawings are from Villar Cordova (1935:297, 305). A flat roof of a column house is seen in the lower right hand corner of the photograph.
House H58, which is the upper level of a pseudo two-storey house, has an interior central column still in place, but the walls of the house are down. House H76 underneath it is complete. Little remains of pseudo two-storey house H57, and as can be seen in the photograph of this structure only a few lower courses of the wall built above the cornice are preserved (Fig. 16). Peripheral to the "core" grouping of houses around patio PXXXVI, is house H49. It is fallen but prestigious architectural elements still discernable assure that it is of high status.

Three houses H57, H58, H79 and probably H37 are round, single chambered forms with one entry (Field Manual Part A, 1d-ii). Upper level houses H57 and H58 are not semi-subterranean structures nor is H79, it has not been determined if H37 is a semisubterranean structure.

The three small houses H77, H76 and H78, of this residential sector have a single chamber and one entry (Field Manual Part A, 1a-vi). They are rectanguloid in form but have rounded exterior and interior corners. The quality of stonework in them is inferior to the larger "native lord" houses with prestigious architectural elements. The difference in quality is readily seen in the photograph the core group where remaining courses of house H57 is much superior to that of small house H77 below it and to that of house H78 west of it.

Complete houses of "native lord" sector "B" are of corbel construction but their walls do not close as an arched dome. They are flat as the result of one of two methods, determined by the presence or absence of a masonry column placed centrally in the interior of the house. If the column is absent as in small houses H77, H76 and H78, the walls are corbeled to a desired height and slabs of stone are placed on top of the walls parallel to each other to close the hole and form the flat roof. The roofs have a capping of dirt which levels them on the outside and provides a flat work area on the roof (Field Manual Part "A", 3a-iv).

If a column is present, it supports long well dressed stone slabs which radiate from it to span the distance between the column and wall and tie the two elements (Field Manual Part "A", 3a-v). The radial slabs, often a meter and a half long, create a remarkable ceiling in the interior of the house. Outside a thick capping of dirt seals the stone roof. Roofs of column houses are mechanically strong and their outer flat surface can be used as a work area. It is an important
addition when one considers that flat land is at a premium on the slopes of Puruncarcas mountain. Houses H58, H37, H79 and house H49, have this prestigious architectural element as drawn in Fig. 17.

The lower cornice, shown in the diagram, usually occurs on houses which are put directly on top of the downslope facing wall of a building terrace. In the photograph of house H57 (Fig. 16) of "native lord" residential sector "B", the lower cornice is present but under different circumstances. Here it separates the living floor of house H57 from the ceiling of H77 which is partly underneath it, instead of distinguishing it from the retaining wall of a terrace which it does in most instances. The function of the exterior cornice has not changed and it continues to separate the living floor of the house from its foundation.

Exterior doorways of the circular columnar houses are not preserved in this sector. Doorways of the three small rectangular houses H77, H78, and H76 are slightly trapezoidal with the maximum width at the base or sill of the doorway (Field Manual Part "B", 5b-i). They are similar in size and variation in any measure does not exceed 6 cm. Average maximum width of the doorways is 40 cm, and average maximum height is 69 cm. Each doorway has a lintel stone but none is well worked. Doorway sills of houses H77 and H76 and H78 are at various depths below the level of patio PXXXVI due to the accumulation of slope wash (Fig. 16).

No niches are recorded for the small rectangular houses. Columnar house H79 has two rectanguloid niches oriented horizontally and a third oriented with the narrow sides upward (Field Manual Part "A", 6a-i and 6a-iv). The former are 15 cm to 20 cm long and half that width, the latter is 13 cm by 16 cm. All are placed at midheight along the wall and are not equally spaced (Field Manual Part "A", 7a-i; 8a-i).

Niches are present in the fallen columnar house H37, (Fig. 18). Three rectangular niches are irregularly spaced at midheight along the remnant of the wall. Two have their long side parallel to the floor which measure from 25-30 cm. The short sides are 13-15 cm. One vertical niche of the three is smaller and measures 13 cm by 11 cm.
Fig. 18. Remains of house H37 of "native lord" residential sector "B".

The photograph to the right is the column of H37 which survived downslope movement (photograph courtesy of Jack Grey). The off angle shot is of the column of H37 tied to a curved wall of the house by two stone slabs. The wall and column are of very well executed stone masonry with some chinking.
Distribution of floor areas in "native lord" sector "B" is bimodal. The largest floor area was probably that of house H37 which could be estimated at greater than 24 m². Houses H57 and H58 have floor areas of 24 m², while house H79 is 20 m². Their average floor areas is 23 m². In contrast, the three small rectangular houses are half that size. Houses H77, H78, H76 have floor areas of 10 m², 10 m², and 14 m² respectively with an average floor area of 12 m². This discrepancy in size is accentuated in the sector by the fact that the small houses are directly underneath the large houses, or in the case of H78, with a roof line at the living floor level of the larger houses. Such placement accentuates the inferior size and status of the small houses (Fig. 16).

The small floor area makes two of these rectangular houses (H77 and H76) marginal in terms of providing enough room for domestic activities. Despite this, a number of factors strongly support a domestic function for them: headroom is from 175-190 cm and is probably sufficient for a population short in stature, the form and size of their doorways are comparable to other doorways of complete houses at Carcas, and stone slab roofs are associated with houses rather than with storehouses at Carcas.

These small houses of inferior stone masonry may have served as dwellings for secondary wives. Polygamy is unquestionably a pre-Inca institution since it occurs in Andean communities irrespective of an Inca presence or absence (Salomon 1986:130). The practice was perpetuated in the Canta polity during the time of the Inca and persisted into the early Colonial period as witnessed by the fact that 12 principales were registered in the 1553 visita as heads of polygenous families (Fig. 7). Alternately the small houses could have provided shelter for commoners who were obliged to give rotational mit'a type labour to the kurakas as described above. The salient point however, is that the material condition of the people who inhabited these small houses was certainly inferior to their immediate neighbours. We also see in this sector how social inequality between elite and commoner was spatially represented with superior houses of the "core" cluster of houses on terrace seven at a higher elevation than inferior commoner houses.

Permeability of "Native Lord" Sector "B"

"Native lord" sector "B" is not readily accessible to villagers at large. The arrangement of the houses of "native lord" sector "B" west of the point where the
inverse "Z" path joins with terrace seven, insures that people entering and leaving the area are under surveillance. Entry into the sector from higher elevations is dependent upon a single artery out of patio PXXXlll at elevation 83 m (Fig. 10). It articulates with terrace seven immediately above house H57. The latter is strategically placed so that two alternatives for entering patio PXXXVI and accessing houses west of it present themselves at the house.

One alternative is to cross in front of the entry of house H57 and proceed down the inclined, narrow, curved path wedged between the house wall and the outer edge of the terrace. In this constricted pathway secure footing is had only when patio PXXXVI is reached (Fig. 16). An alternate route is via a path which runs behind houses H57, H77, H78 and H58 - actually the path is at the roof level of small houses H77 and H78 and at floor level of houses H57 and H58 - and once those four houses have been passed a narrow inclined passage between houses H58 and H79 connects with patio PXXXlX and patio PXXXVI (Fig. 16).

Entry into "native lord" sector "B" from lower elevations utilizes the same alternate routes. Briefly, the inverse "Z" path is the one means of crossing the rough east-west spatial division of the village immediately below "native lord" sector "B". The path joins the surface of terrace seven slightly east of the strategically placed house H57, but once this house is reached the narrow passages as described above must be negotiated to enter the sector (Fig. 16).

Physical and Symbolic Articulation of Elite Residential Sector "B"

Upper storey elite houses H57 and H58 are connected directly to each other by the elevated path which runs back of, and at the roof level of houses H77, H78, and H76. The same path continues behind houses H58 and H79 to connect with house H37. The latter is very rich in "social capital" as is evidenced in the fine stone masonry shown in the photo of the wall remnant and central column which still stand (Fig. 18). These three elite houses also articulate with column house H79 via the corridor between houses H58 and H79 which branches off the high level path (Fig. 16).

Interaction among the householders of the low "inferior" houses H77, H78 and H76 is facilitated by the fact that their entrances face directly onto patio PXXXVI. Articulation with the high status houses (H57, H58, H79 and H37) is more indirect for them. Householders of the small houses of patio XXXVI must
walk up one or other of the controlled inclined paths, described above, to reach
the high level path which connects elite houses H57, H58 and H37. Elite house
H79 is the exception, but even it is spatially removed from patio PXXXVI and
has a small discrete patio PXXXIX at its entrance (Fig. 16).

It seems reasonable to suggest that tension between "commoners" and
the dominant elite is potentially high in this core area of the "native lord" sector
"B", where members of the two groups are spatially close. I would suggest that
within this limited physical space the arrangement of houses and pattern of
traffic flow accommodates the relation of domination by keeping "commoners"
and "native lord" houses separate in terms of elevation. But at the same time
reinforcing, in the very bodies of the householders of the sector, the
superior/inferior reality of the relation of domination through the constant
running up and down along the restricted passageways between the higher
level of the elite and the lower one of the commoner.

The Connection of Material Culture with Production Organization

An obvious inference to be drawn from the "closure" expressed in the
configuration of the houses of "native lord" sector "B", is that it objectifies
spatially the "social distance" which existed between the dominant "native lord"
and subordinate "commoners" at Carcas. A main difference between the two
social groups was their differential access to social labour discussed in chapter
two. The mit'a asymmetric labor relation exclusive to the elite assured their
appropriation of commoner labour to work their fields and to provide labour in
their houses. Unlike commoners compelled to remain "open" to new potentials
for the making, unmaking, and remaking of small scale work parties based on a
reciprocal labour relation, elites under the shield of the mit'a type relation, could
withdraw, make themselves impermeable and exclusive.

Strategies of objectifying social capital through the mechanism of a
house can only be understood in terms of the social goal it aims at. The strategy
of the "native lords" in the impermeable core area of the sector appears to be
one of distancing the objectified prestigious social capital which they
monopolize from commoners. By setting themselves apart spatially they
accentuate their cultural/social difference. One prestigious house H49, is placed
in a more open context than the elite houses of the the core. It is located east of
the clustered group of elites on the east side of the "Z" path but, is on main terrace seven (Fig. 16).

I do not know what social relations may have been the aim in the construction of house H49, but can offer a hypothetical one to understand why agents who were members of the advantaged class may have chosen a strategy which suppressed mechanisms of closure. For example, in order to gain power a potential elite competitor for official office requires a following and might find it advantageous to maintain an open and accessible house such as house H49. In this sense we see control of labour as a political instrument in factionalism. Regardless of "native lord" motives and related house building strategies, there are strong symbolic (cultural) constraints which inform the siting of "native lord" houses at the llajta of Carcas. This is borne out by the fact that houses rich in social capital and assumed to be elite housing, whether of the core cluster or peripheral to it, are confined without exception to building terrace seven in the upper half of the village.

"Native Lord" Residential Sector "A" Located in Lower Half of Carcas

Main building terrace four (Fig. 10) at elevation 51 m to 55 m, provides the siting of the most prestigious houses of those which make up the llajta of Carcas. The terrace is proposed as a residential sector of the "native lord" on the basis of many criteria: its siting on the topographic high in the village, the fact that the chiefs' house is in the sector, the difficulty of access afforded the sector from all parts of the village through construction of high terraces and patios, the quality of masonry in the houses of the sector, the concentration there of architectural elements which are discrete to the sector or scarce at the site and which demand skilled labour and long periods of time to execute. Such objectified symbolic capital is even more evident here than in "native lord" sector "B" just described.

The tone of this "native lord" sector "A" is one of durability; solid immovable houses of high quality masonry are cemented to immovable "fabric" - that of bedrock outcrops and an awesome rock crest. Thus a sense of continuity is created which makes such immovable material objects part of the process by which the landscape is socialized and "claimed" in terms of the prevailing social relations. We can be fairly sure that the built environment and landscape of

The landscape claimed by the "native lords" of residential sector "A" at the west end of the building terrace four is the east-west topographic high at Carcas due to the proliferation of bedrock outcrop formations concentrated there (Fig. 10). The most striking of which is a linear rock crest that rises at the extreme west end of terrace four and then runs straight down the mountain to a point just above Cerro de Pasco road. It is a great unbreached wall, which "protects" and defines the western limit of the lower quarter of the village and the cultivation terraces which lie below it (Fig. 9). "Native lord" residential sector "A" is located on the west end of terrace four which is much elaborated to make it appear as an appendage to the linear rock crest. No other building terrace at Carcas is connected to this outstanding natural feature.

The execution of the west end of terrace four is such that three large bedrock outcrops, rising in a line at a right angle to the rock crest, are incorporated as main upright stanchions of the terrace. The spaces between them have been filled with yards of stone and dirt held in place by high facing walls of dry stone masonry. The overall effect is a cliff terrace complex of considerable height which solidly couples the west end of terrace four and the linear rock crest. Careful planning was required to accomplish this fusion and an enormous amount of labour expended in the building of the facing walls and in the moving of the yards of stone fill on the site.

Main building terrace four is bonded to the linear rock crest by patios PXIIIa and PXIIIb (Fig.10). Actually patio PXIIIb is built out from the side of the rockcrest while PXIIIa is the result of filling the depression between the linear rockcrest and the first of the bedrock outcrop stanchions, on which remains of a possible house designated H39 are located (Fig. 12). The downslope facing wall of patio PXIIIa is at least four meters high and presents a smooth surface which is not readily scaled.

A narrow deep gap between the first and middle bedrock stanchions, on which houses H39 and H38 are sited, is filled with rubble and faced with a high stone masonry retaining wall. A convex contour is built into terrace four between the middle bedrock outcrop and that on which house H34 is built (Fig.19). Pronounced width in the terrace is needed to accommodate the largest building
at Carcas, which is a semisubterranean structure comprised of two units (H31 and H32) and designated in the thesis that of the *principales* (Fig. 19).

Prestigious social capital, i.e. objectified architectural forms and elements are not present in all houses in the sector. As was the case in "native lord" sector "B" commoner buildings thought to have housed secondary wives or commoners serving in rotation the households of "native lords", are included in this precinct. Poorly preserved houses H41, H39, H33, H35, and H34 are cases in point. These five houses may have had perishable roofs of thatch as no large slabs required for stone roofs were located around their foundations. Poor wall preservation is another indication not only of thatch roofing but signals a limited labour investment which is in keeping with commoner status houses at Carcas.

Floor areas of the five commoner houses is variable: H33 is 14 m², H34 and H41 are 17 m² and 18 m², respectively. House H35 is the largest with a floor area of 23 m². These are comparable to floor areas of houses in commoner residential sectors at Carcas. These five houses are similar too in that they are round one room forms with a single entry.

A ramp with stairs winds round the bedrock outcrop on which a possible house H39 is sited. The outer surface of the ramp is faced in stone which can be seen at the bottom of the ramp in the photograph of the area (Fig. 20:line 'c'). The foundation of house H39 is poorly preserved and it is tentatively placed on the site map pending further investigation (Fig. 19). Remaining houses of the sector (H40, H38, H31, H32) are well preserved and rich in "social capital".

Extending east from patio PXllla between 55-58 m is a short *cul de sac* which ends at house H33 obviously sited in a position to impede entry into patio PXll, associated exclusively with the structure designated that of the *principales*. The long "inside" edge of the *cul de sac* is of dry stone masonry a meter to a meter and a half in height which shores up the mountain side and which provides a base for the pathway indicated on the map by a horizontal ladder symbol (Fig. 19). The opposing wall of the *cul de sac* is defined by the first and
Fig. 19. Map is the "native lord" residential sector "A" (Fig. 10). To orient photograph with map, locate H40 in upper left hand corner of photograph. The rockcrest runs straight downslope from it and is represented by grey hatching on the map. People shown are in collapsed corner of H31, (see broken line on map). The round yellow circle beyond H31 is patio PXIIIb. Houses H33, H38 and H39 are not visible. The landscape is awesome here.
middle bedrock outcrops and the stone masonry walls between them which form the foundations of houses H38 and H33 (Fig. 19). Foundations are defined from house walls when they are built as a continuous unit by an exterior cornice. Houses in "native lord" sector "A" with this element are: H38, H33, H31, H32, and it is present on the outlier house H23.

Fig. 20. The photograph is looking up (southwest) at the rockcrest from "commoner" residential sector "A". Straight line 'a' points to the roof of H40 which has grass growing out of it. Line 'b' points to the rock outcrop where H39 is sited. A ramp with stairs also with grass growing from them, winds around it and leads to patio PXIIIa as indicated by line 'c'. Stone work over the lower part of the ramp is visible. Line 'd' marks patio PXIIIb built onto the linear rock crest.
Fig. 21. The photograph is of the midway cornice of the structure designated that of the *principales*. It is present along the valley side (north side) of the house and visible to villagers at lower elevations.

The structure designated that of the *principales* comprised of houses H31 and H32 is sited directly on top of the downslope facing wall of building terrace four. A well executed and continuous midway or lower cornice is present to distinguish the terrace wall from that of the building. Siting of the *principales* house in such a manner follows pre-Inca local, orthodox, traditional practice (Fig. 21).

Peripheral to the core group of elite houses clustered on the west end of terrace four is house H23 located at the extreme eastern edge of the village but at the same elevation (50 m). Unlike the core area which is impermeable and exclusive, outlier elite house H23 is situated in an open context near the main pathway which accesses the village and runs near the cliff edge at this point (Fig 10). The house is poorly preserved, but remnants of a false arch chimney and a central column identify the house as that of the dominant group. It is small with a floor area estimated between 15 and 20 m².
All elite households but one of the upper half of the village appear to be involved in strategies of "closure" which distance them spatially from commoner households. This same pattern occurs in the lower half of the village where all "native lord" houses but one, house H22, are in the core area of the elite residential sector "A" at the extreme west end of main building terrace four. Why mechanisms of social closure are ignored in the siting of house H22 is not known. However, it is important to note that the "symbolic" informs the placement of elite houses in both halves of the village. Regardless of whether elite houses are in an open or closed context they are confined to a single elevation in each half of the village.

Prestigious house H40 is built on top of the linear rock crest. It is sited on a low platform made of selected stone blocks laid with little mud mortar with no coursing. The platform levels the surface of the bedrock and is only a few centimeters larger than the house except on the entry side where it projects some two meters to form a stoop which facilitates entry into the house (Fig. 21). No midway cornice is present to distinguish the living floor of house H40 from its platform.

House H40, is an ovoid, one chambered, single entry form of corbel construction. The stone masonry in the building is of very high quality and stone used in the building has been carefully selected and at times slightly worked (Fig. 23). Little mud mortar binds the stones which are neatly laid. Only light chinking is necessary to stabilize the stones. Little coursing is evident. Several stone blocks regularly placed at different levels project from the exterior wall as aids in climbing to the roof. The roof cornice is particularly prominent as shown in the lower photograph (Fig. 23), and is one of the best examples of this element at the site. The small doorway under a meter high is well executed with a sill stone which is pitted over the whole of its surface. The floor area of H40 is 30 m², among the largest at Carcas.

An inverted pyramidal shaped column placed off center in the interior of the house supports stone slabs which radiate from it to close the roof of the structure. A plain, non obtrusive false arch chimney is hidden from view by the central column (Fig. 22). Six niches at mid height along the interior wall are rectanguloid, a seventh is set into the column. The floor finish is unknown.
Fig. 22. The low platform of H40 projects two meters in front of the entry. The floor plan of H40 shows a small false arch chimney behind the off-centered column. Niches are present. The large worked ceremonial stone is to the right of the house.
Fig. 23. Exterior views of house H40, "native lord" sector "A".

At right high quality stone masonry of house H40 features rectangular shaped stone with some working. Little mud mortar is used and chinking is present. Four stones are visible at different levels which project from the wall.

The photograph to the left is of the remnant of an upper cornice or eave at roof level of house H40.
House H38 is a rectangular two room structure of corbel construction with a single entry (Field Manual Part A, 1c-i). Its floor area is 26 m². A full doorway in the dividing wall connects the two rooms. The exterior corners of the structure are nearly at ninety degrees but the corresponding corners inside the building are rounded. The exception are those corners of the dividing wall to the right of the column, which are at right angles. None of the exterior corner blocks have been worked to achieve a sharp angled corner as in Inca built structures which I have seen at other sites in the polity of Canta. Nor are they carefully interlocked at the corners as is the case in the Inca structures.

Selected rectangular stone sometimes lightly worked is carefully placed in the walls of house H38 and little mud mortar is used for binding. Chinking is minimal in the building and the resultant exterior surface is smooth without obvious coursing. The stone work in the foundation of the building is much rougher with large irregular shaped stones set without coursing. In the diagram the foundation is marked "A" and is 1.5 m high. The thick vertical line of the foundation indicates the long back wall of the house.

An exterior cornice at the top of the foundation, not shown in the diagram, is continuous where the foundation wall is exposed, i.e. along the long side of the house, and distinguishes the living floor of the house from the foundation. Actually that side of the building faces upslope but due to the inclination of the bedrock outcrop marked "C" on the diagram, a trough like formation, marked "B", is formed between it and the incline of the mountain slope as shown at the far left of the diagram. This trough is referred to as a cul de sac and runs behind houses H38, H33 and the structure of the principales comprised of units H31 and H32 (Fig. 19).

The other exterior decorative architectural element of house H38 is an eave (cornice) which is at roof level and continuous around the house. A small trapezoidal shaped doorway is on long side of house H38 and faces "outward" into the valley. The doorway is well made, with a lintel and sill of stone. Maximum width of 52 cm is at the base, a minimum of 49 cm is at the top and it is 86 cm high. The doorway is at ground level outside the house but above floor level inside. In other words the house is semisubterranean, which is not indicated in the diagram.
Interior walls of house H38 are rough as are all interior walls at Carcas which are of corbel construction. Two niches are set at midheight along the interior wall and another is set into the central column. The latter is a truncated inverted pyramidal shaped column of high quality masonry. It supports long stone slabs which span the distance from the column to the outer wall and to the dividing wall which also support them. This achieves a radial pattern as already described (Fig. 17). The ceiling of the smaller room differs and long slabs placed parallel to each other close the ceiling. The outer roof of house H38 is capped with a layer of dirt and provides extra flat work space.

House H38 features two rooms which are connected by a full doorway that extends from the floor to the ceiling. This is not a usual building design of the Inca. "Partition walls were rarely used to divide a larger building, although occasionally a small additional room was built, with an outside access as part of an original plan (Kendall 1985:18). The smaller room of house H38 was not an addition. The exterior wall was built as a unit and the dividing wall inserted, which has resulted in right angled corners which are present on either side of the partitioning wall. Also the false arch chimney is planned to utilize both the partitioning wall and the exterior wall which is further evidence that the house
was constructed as a two room unit. Finally both rooms are of the same height just slightly under two meters.

The structure designated that of the *principales* is an ovoid form of corbel construction which contains two discrete and similar units: houses H31 and H32 (Field Manual Part A, 1e-iv) which are shown in Fig. 25. The floor area of house H31 is 30 m² and that of house H32 is 31 m², which is the maximum size of any single chamber at the site. A solid dividing wall of stone masonry bound with mud mortar is shared by the two houses. Each of the units contains comparable architectural elements of high prestige (social capital).

The greatest labour expenditure of all houses at Carcas has gone into this building. Stone masonry is high quality and is similar to houses H40 and H38 with selected and slightly worked rectangular stone blocks used for its construction. There is little mud mortar utilized in either the outer wall or in the interior architectural elements made of stone masonry. Chinking occurs but is minimal. Main entries of both are of quality stone masonry with the lintel stones of each well shaped. A column of worked stone bound with mud mortar stands in the centre of the single chamber of each house. The column takes the shape of an inverted, and truncated pyramid in each of the units.

A large false arch chimney protrudes from the wall in each of the units. In house H31 the chimney is on the east wall of the single chamber of the house, and in house H31 this prestigious element is built on the west wall of the room. Whereas the false arch chimneys of houses H40 and H38 are small and simple, those of the houses of the *principales* are large, elaborate features as shown in Fig. 17, which is a picture of the false arch chimney in house H31.

Inside houses H31 and H32 niches are placed at mid height along the walls. They are not regularly spaced from each other but there is a correspondence in their position in each unit. For example each unit has a niche on the entry wall and there is a niche beside the false arch chimney in each unit. Niches are built in both units at the juncture of the shared wall and into the long north wall of each unit. A large niche penetrates the column of both units. Niches are irregular rectangular or irregular trapezoidal shapes. No extra work has been given to any of the stones which frame these features, but they do have discernable lintel stones. The dual arrangement of houses H31 and
Fig. 25. Ovoid structure made up of two discrete units (H31, H32) is designated that of the *principales*. Entry shown in photograph is that of H31. Stippled areas in the drawing of H31 are excavation units. Photograph is courtesy of Jack Grey.
H32 and complementary placement of architectural elements of the two units will be taken up in detail later in the chapter.

Ceilings in both houses H31 and H32 are remarkable and there are in these two units slabs of stone over two meters in length which radiate from the centrally placed columns to form a spoke and hub pattern which is discussed below as the Peruvian ceque pattern.

Doorways of all the columnar houses are preserved in this sector (Field Manual Part "A", 5b-i). In the double unit structure with houses H31 and H32 the sills of the doorways are at ground level outside the house but above floor level inside the house, i.e. the building is semisubterranean. Each doorway has a well made lintel of stone and the jambs are usually three or four large dressed stones stacked on top of one another. The doorways of all houses are rectangular to slightly trapezoidal in shape and small: the maximum height ranges from 70-90 cm, maximum width from 50-55 cm, and minimum width from 45-50 cm.

Chimneys are present in the four columnar houses in "native lord" residential sector "A" (H40, H38, H31, H32). They are decorative and referred to as a false arch chimney (Field Manual Part "A", 16a-ii). The chimney cuts through the roof and opens at ceiling height into the main chamber of the house where it is framed by a decorative false arch built out from the wall. The false arch forms a hood which starts slightly higher than midway up the wall. The false arch hood is a half barrel shape in some houses and flares out at the bottom in others (Fig. 28). In houses H38 and H40 the false arch chimney is shallow and not elaborated as they are in houses H31 and H32 of the principales' structure.

Niches are plentiful in the columnar houses within "native lord" residential sector "A" (Field Manual Part A, 6a-i,iii: 7a-i). All are placed in the interior of the houses midway in height between floor and ceiling and are not evenly spaced (Fig. 22). At times niches are built into the columns as shown in the lower photograph of Fig. 26. The shape of the majority of niches is rectangular and they may be oriented with the long side in either a horizontal or vertical position. They are small with any measure generally under 20 cm.

Well worked pegs of stone protrude from the wall into the interior of the house near the ceiling (Field Manual Part "A", 10a-i, 10a-ii). The amount of work
Fig. 26. The top of the column of H40 is shown with several of the long radiating stone slabs which together with the column form a *ceque* pattern. The lower photograph is an inside view of the single entry which is above the floor level of the house.
Fig. 27. Architectural elements of elite houses: a stone peg is shown in the upper photograph and niches in the lower.

The lantern hangs from a thin notched stone peg at ceiling height behind the column of house H40. The radiating stone slabs of the ceiling which rest on top of the column and outer wall are shown. The figure in the background of upper shot is six feet tall and has full head room in the house.

The column is placed close to the outer wall in H40 and niches are placed in it as shown in lower photograph.
Fig. 28. Photographs are of the false arch chimney in house H31. The 30 cm ruler is placed where false arch begins. It is deepest near the ceiling.
on them varies but they are easily recognized (Fig. 27). These were probably used for hanging textile *bolsas* (bags). It is possible that wooden pegs were driven into the walls as they are in the ethnographic houses built of stone which are in use in the Canta district at present.

Construction of walls in structures at Carcas features double rows of stone held with mud mortar (Fig. 29). Wall widths of columnar houses is from 48-55 cm. Round single house forms have thinner walls from 38-48 cm, but they too are usually of double rows of stone with mud mortar.

**Fig. 29.** Photograph of the remains of a wall with double rows of stone masonry which characterizes houses at Carcas. The structure was a round, single entry house.
Permeability of "Native Lord" Residential Sector "A"

Those seeking entry into this sector are restricted to official routes which are constricted, easily controlled and impossible to walk along without being under surveillance. Furthermore they are both located below the main east-west spatial division of the Illajta. We will first consider the west entrance which is represented on the site map by a continuous curved ladder symbol (Fig. 10). The lower limit of the path starts at the end of main building terrace two of "commoner" residential sector "A" just below the bedrock on which house H15 is sited. There an "S" curved path negotiates openings between outcrops and rock debris between elevations 40 m and 45 m. The pathway climbs rapidly and leads onto the ramp with steps which encircles the outcrop of rock on which H39 is sited (see line 'c' of Fig. 20) which points to the ramp). The ramp is narrow with a dangerous outer edge and a limited number of people are able to use it at any one time. At its upper limit the ramp joins patio PXIIla of the "native lord" residential sector "A".

The route just described is certainly the main entry into the sector from commoner sector "A" which occupies elevations immediately below it. Another entry along main building terrace four which is controlled and restricted, primarily accesses the structure designated that of the principales. Terrace four may be entered at the cliff edge or east limit of the terrace (elevation 51 m) where houses H21, H22, H23, and H20 cluster and provide surveillance of entrants onto the terrace (Fig. 10). A break in terrace four occurs between houses H16 and H17 which may have afforded entry onto the terrace. However, immediately west of the break and west of house H17, one is confronted by the large bedrock outcrop on which H34 is sited and which forms a bulwark protecting the house of the principales'.

Between the sheer face of this outcrop and the downslope facing wall of terrace four, threads a narrow path which turns abruptly into a tight passage between the masonry wall of H31 and the vertical face of the outcrop, that joins patio PXII (see the photograph in Figure 37 where a person is shown in this passage). The patio, an elaborate walled confine, exclusive to the structure which is designated that of the principales', does not access readily other houses of native lord sector"A", in fact from the patio those houses are not even visible.
It is more likely that an east entry into "native lord" residential sector was along main terrace six (elevation 65 m) which defines the lower limit of the main east-west spatial division of the village. But even here, people approaching "native lord" sector "A" were monitored in their passage as it is necessary to circumvent house H43 at the west limit of the terrace, immediately below house H36 at elevation 68 m. West of house H43 a path leads to the *cul de sac* and the pathway on its upslope side which connects with patio PXllla from where it is possible to reach other houses of the sector.

Occupants of house H35 (58.5 m), associated with storehouses G2 and G3, and just east of patio PXll appear to have been strategically placed probably to monitor this patio of the *principales* (Fig. 10). No pathways link the building terraces of Carcas on the west side of the village, a fact which is confirmed by the Obrajillo townspeople who claim the site and who continue to cultivate the terraces below the village. Therefore I think it reasonable to conclude that the area on the west end of terrace four connected to the linear rockcrest, with its houses rich in objectified high status social capital, was an impermeable residential sector of the dominant ruling "native lords".

A peripheral high status house H23, is at the eastern limit of terrace four a few meters from the cliff edge. As was the case of house H49 of "native lord" sector "A" on terrace seven, it is open and accessible to villagers. I have already given some reasons of how placement of elite houses of "native lords" in an "open" context may meet strategies of agents within this group. But again it is important to underscore how cultural or symbolic principles inform the placement of high status houses and, regardless of whether they are in "open" or "closed" contexts, restrict their placement from terraces other than terraces four and seven in the village of Carcas.

**Communication Within "Native Lord "Residential Sector "A"**

Leading west from patio PXllla is a short path which connects with elite house H40 (Fig. 19). It is possible to continue upslope from house H40 to the house foundation of commoner house H41, which may have been a part of the sector. On the east side of patio PXllla, one is forced through a narrow passage, between the rock on which house H39 is located and another outcrop a few meters upslope from it into a U shaped channel running east west (Fig. 19). The south edge of the channel is a two meter high retaining wall on top of which is a
Fig. 30. Looking east from house H40 along the path situated on top of the wall which forms the south edge of the U shaped cul de sac between patio PXIIla and house H33 of "Native Lord" residential sector "A" (Fig. 19).

The upslope side of the narrow path is almost sheer bedrock outcrop as seen in the photograph and one can appreciate how protected the narrow pathway is. The edge of the path is eroded in some places but generally maintains a height of from 1.5-2.0 m above the bottom of the U shaped channel.

path indicated on the map by a discontinuous ladder symbol oriented horizontally and shown in the photograph in Fig. 20. The opposing edge of the U shaped channel is defined by the bedrock on which house H38 is sited, by the retaining wall built on top of it to level the surface for the siting of H38, and by the foundation/terrace wall of house H33 (Fig. 19).

Elite houses H39, H38, and H33 of this exclusive residential sector appear to be relatively accessible along this east-west channel (Fig. 30), but patio PXII of the principales' is not. A freestanding wall surrounds it and precludes direct entry into the precinct. It is the only freestanding wall in the
Ilajta of Carcas and is impressive. The wall ties into the bedrock outcrop on which house H34 is sited and arches back into the mountain west of house H35 (Fig. 19). It rises between patio PXII and house H33 and ends against the west end of the structure of the principales'. The wall clearly separates and distinguishes the patio and house of the principales' from other elite houses of "native lord" sector "A" and demonstrates increased exclusivity within the very sector itself.

Against this surrounding wall on the patio (PXII) side, are a flight of stairs which run down from the top of the wall to the patio surface as shown in the reconstruction of the patio in Fig. 33. This stairway is accessed by the path which runs the length the U shaped cul de sac on its south side. (Fig. 19 and Fig. 30).

**Culturally Marked Identity of "Native Lords" Determined on Properties Labeled: Economic Capital, Cultural and Social Capital**

The construction of class in the polity of Canta has been conceptualized as linked to the social and symbolic orders. In this view of class, identity begins with the hypothesis that class itself should be treated as a set of culturally marked properties and those are labeled economic capital, social and cultural capital. By virtue of participating in class indentified practices and in a particular way "native lords" at Carcas exhibited forms of economic, social and cultural capital which may be reviewed.

"Native lords" at Carcas held use right to a number of chacras or terraces which were ultimately controlled by the community. They had their fields cultivated by commoners who were obliged to give a days work to the local rulers for a days food and drink. This arrangement is referred to as mit'a. The scale of the work parties mounted through the mit'a relation was potentially large because the "native lord" was not required to reciprocate labour. "Native lords" appropriated the labour of multiple wives through the affinal strategy of polygamy. On the basis of distribution of storehouses at Carcas "native lords" appear to have controlled only the produce from their own land, that is subsistence produce was not controlled at a suprahousehold level.

"Native lords" were involved in housebuilding strategies which objectified their social capital and their sectional interests. With regard to the former "native lords" incorporated prestigious social capital in the form of architectural
elements monopolized by them such as: the central column and attendant ceque patterned ceiling, the false arch chimney in several variant forms, plastered floors, niches of several shapes placed mainly in the interior house walls and in the central column. They participated in the enclosure of these prestige markers in their houses -- i.e. took them out of circulation -- and thus kept the status objects from commoners. These markers of a social moral order had to be guarded to ensure the sectional privilege of appropriation of labour enjoyed by the dominant group which these prestigious markers legitimated.

"Native lords" participated in the execution of the outer shell of their houses to include a number of architectural elements found at large in the village. These included the building of one storey structures without windows and with a single entry. They planned their houses with corbel walls and a flat exterior roof built of stone from Puruncarcas mountain. The "native lords" participated in distancing themselves from the commoner. In both the upper and lower zones of the village they located their houses in impermeable residential sectors where entrances are constricted, and readily placed under surveillance. In the case of the house of the principales' a surrounding wall encloses the entries to the house which renders it even more exclusive.

This dominant group participates exclusively in the competition for positions of authority. On the basis of affinal mechanisms, commoners are restricted from legitimate participation in this competition i.e. recruitment for offices of authority is inherited. The elites produce dual cultural forms such as the physical division of the village in order to ensure productivity of appropriated labour. Dual symbolic material culture in architectural forms and "art" forms such as the dias/stairway complex is confined to "native lords" at Carcas.

The Symbolic (Cultural) Logic of the Location of the House of the Principales' at Carcas

The house designated that of the principales' is given this distinction on a number of counts. The structure is in a good state of preservation which is the result of high quality workmanship which has gone into its building. It is the most "protected" and "impermeable" of any building on the site, its actual siting at Carcas is culturally significant on at least two other counts. First, the chiefs' house is located on the west side of Carcas, the side nearest the important llajta of Cantamarca, located a few kilometers southwest of Carcas (Fig. 1).
Cantamarca was the political center of Canta polity and also the main *llajta* of the *parcialidad* of Canta to which both Carcas and Cantamarca belonged (Fig. 4). It seems reasonable that the primary political structure of the smaller *llajta* of Carcas, i.e. the *principales* (chiefs') house, would be located physically close to its larger counterpart where the foremost *kurakas* of Canta polity, the *caqíques*, held court.

Secondly, the chief's house at Carcas is located on the topographic high side of the village, in terms of its east-west axis. A quick perusal of the site map bears this out as we see huge outcrops of bedrock concentrated along the west side of the village (Fig. 10). In contrast the east half of Carcas has few outcrops and its "lowness" is accentuated by a sheer cliff which drops off many hundreds of feet to define the east limit of the village. Standing at the edge of the cliff, one's eye gravitates to the Chillon river below and upvalley to the white peaks of *La Viuda* mountains where it is born.

**Fig. 31.** Looking east from the cliff edge of the village of Carcas the Chillon river is seen in the valley strath and *La Viuda* mountains rise in the distance.
What this "east-west", "low-high", configuration at Carcas might mean in terms of structural analysis and the relationship between social and geographic systems of classification in the Andes during the period under study is hard to say, but it has been argued that a correlation is often made between natural topographies and social hierarchies (Jacques and Morisette and Luc Racine [1973] cited in Urton 1981:42).

In a structural study of peoples of Andean communities in the region of Lake Titicaca by Bastien (1978:89) revealed marked geographic differences between male and female "earth shrines" to which infants of those communities were dedicated at birth.

Female earth shrines are lakes and low places, while those of men are rocks, hills and high places because men are thought to be permanent like the mountain: they settle on the land of their male ancestors. Qualities of erectness and permanence are associated with Kataan men.

If Bastien's findings have pan-Andean historical relevance, the site of the house of the "native lords' " may also be understood in terms of gender. We have noted how the house of the principales' is built on a bedrock outcrop complex which creates an extension of the dramatic, permanent and erect linear rockcrest feature (Fig. 19). Also it has been pointed out that its location is a topographic high in the village; no water is visible from this locale as the rockcrest effectively blocks a view of the Chillon below. It is possible that to avoid being interpreted as female, the principales' house is well away from the low east side of Carcas where a splendid view of the Chillon river is had. Thus we may suggest that the Andean cultural symbols of gender may have informed the structure of class relations, i.e. in the political hierarchy of Canta during the Late Intermediate Period, official power is set up among men.

Carcas does not seem to correspond with some archaeological sites in the Peruvian Central Highlands as the topographic highs in those villages are not in relation to an east-west axis, rather they appear to be the topographic highs in terms of raw elevation. For example, in the Upper Mantaro river valley during the last one or two centuries of the Late Intermediate period (1250-1460 A.D.), "elite households could be recognized in the larger settlements because they were clustered in central locations, often at the highest point of settlement.
A similar finding is recorded by Morris (1985:139) who writes how the importance of a building is emphasized by its placement on the highest place feasible. I will take this point up later in the chapter when discussing dual and complementary phenomena at Carcas.

Landscape may take on cultural or symbolic value over and above its technical value. For example if fields among several are to be given up, and if they have equal technical value, i.e. have similar potential fertility, are located near the village for easy cultivation etc., the one inherited from an important forebear will not be relinquished. It will be valued above the others. Cultural value of a similar type will be noted ahead (p. 143) in a founding myth of Cuzco. In the myth, Mancocapac siezed Cuzco by slaying its former lord and destroying his house. He then commanded that his own new house be built on the land where that of the former lord had stood. I suggest the placement of the house of the principales' at Carcas carries cultural symbolic value.

The house of the principales is built between the last two of three bedrock outcrops situated at a right angle from where the outstanding linear rockcrest rises. An enormous expenditure of labour has modified the three outcrops to make them appear as an extension of it. It is highly likely that the rock crest was venerated: "Andean religion has a tradition of telluric symbolism... Their oral tradition speaks of the divinities as incarnating into rocks (Huarochiri ms. 3169), and a large rock was the principal shrine for important pre-Columbian rituals on the Altiplano ([Bandelier 1910:237] cited in Bastien 1978:197).

Venerated shrines or holy places called wak'as (huacas) might take the physical form of an oddly shaped rock or other natural formation,

... for wak'as were regarded as hero-deities who had performed great exploits (such as constructing the irrigation canals that watered community fields, or opening springs for water) and had then turned themselves to stone to guard the resources they had created for their people. A wak'a might be the guardian of a particular community... (Spalding 1984:63).

Huarochiri oral traditions make it clear that the people in the area of the Canta polity regarded wak'as as the sources of prosperity or good fortune, and the invasion of the western Andean slopes by the highland people in their expansion toward the coast in pre-Inca time, involved not only the capture of
productive resources (particularly land) but also the appropriation of the *wak'as* defined as the guardians and protectors of those lands, which continued to be honored and served by their new possessors (Spalding 1984:63).

On the local level, the most important and powerful *wak'a* was generally that of the *ayllu* or kin group, which was often regarded as the founding ancestor and such *wak'as* carried the name of the *ayllu* (Spalding 1984:64). Agreement with this position is found in the work of Sharon who writes of Andean cosmology:

No stone huaca, for instance, was thought to be the progenitor of all mankind; it was rather the ancestor of a particular tribe, more specific and less ideal. . . (Sharon 1978:137).

Small sherds of local brown and red non-decorated domestic pottery, which are trapped in crevices and divots over the surface of the linear rockcrest at Carcas, are possible indications of past veneration of this outstanding rock feature. The small size of the sherds may indicate purposeful breakage by the persons who deposited them and in that way demonstrate that the sherds were not the result of random loss.

The large worked rectangular stone placed near house H40 (Fig.22) sits very near the point where the stone crest commences and may have been a focal point for ritual. Flat space for people to congregate exists between the rectangular stone and house H40 and can be appreciated from the photograph of that area given in Fig. 22. Even where the cliff first begins its plunge downwards into the valley it is possible to stand or be seated comfortably on it.

Communal veneration of the rockcrest is suggested by the fact that the pottery on the crest is local plainware. Although pottery wasn't systematically collected from this feature we had a good look at it and found no painted sherds. The ambience of the rockcrest is one of "openness", at least once villagers gained entry via the pathway and ramp/stairway onto patios PXllla and PXlllb of "native lord" sector "A". Therefore it is likely that any social knowledge transmitted in this area through ritual expression was probably open to all members of the village.

*Wak'as* were recognized at the household level of organization in the Late Intermediate Period on the western slopes of the Central Andean highlands:
At the household level, the oldest member held the guardians of the welfare of the household—small idols, stones, or odd-shaped objects called conopas. The conopas were the material representation of the family’s resources, passed down from father to son and wife to daughter. They oversaw family behaviour and, properly fed and propitiated, ensured the welfare of the immediate members of the household (Arriaga pp 28-30, cited in Spalding 1984:63).

Conopas were worshiped in private. Households with higher rank in the community had more conopas. A Spanish priest at the beginning of the seventeenth century noted that, "... they are the principal inheritance of the family and sometimes they have two, three, or four of them. A cacique [kuraka] I know showed me eleven, and his wife five, each with its own name" (Arriaga p 68 cited in Spalding 1984:63). The powerful family was one that claimed the support of more conopas to intercede for its members with the wak’as and mummies of the larger group (Spalding 1984:63).

It is apparent from this ethnohistoric information that conopas are not property in our sense of the word, they are "inalienable". As Weiner (1985:210) argues so cogently:

... whatever happens to these objects, they are perceived to belong in an inherent way to their original owners. Inalienable possessions are imbued with affective qualities that are expressions of the value an object has when it is kept by its owner and inherited within the same family or descent group. Age adds value, as does the ability to keep the object against all exigencies that might force a person or group to release it to others.

The primary value of inalienability is expressed through the power these objects have to define who one is in an historical sense. "The object acts as a vehicle for bringing past time into the present, so that histories of ancestors, titles or mythological events become an intimate part of a person’s present identity" (Weiner 1985:210). Such objects belonged to particular ancestors, were passed down particular descent lines, held their own stories, and were exchanged on various memorable occasions. As such the individual in
possession of the inalienable object, "becomes more than she or he is because
the self is enlarged and enhanced by the power of the past" (Weiner 1985:212).
She notes how Mauss called attention to the importance of understanding the
person in relation to his or her past. "What is at stake... is more than the
privilege and authority of the chief or clan; it is the very existence both of the

She sees the primary function of such inalienable objects as that of
reproducing a political order and points out that the linking of persons with
inalienable objects as a, "... major step in sustaining marked hierarchical
relations between individuals and groups" (Weiner 1985:224). These objects
acquire value and represent, "... the capital stock of substance belonging to a
family which makes keeping them the primary element in the creation of value"
(Granet 1975:89 cited in Weiner 1985:212). The concept of inalienable objects
corresponds with the notion of the objectification of social capital argued by
Bourdieu (1978:184) which:

...[objectification] guarantees the permanence and cumulativity
of material and symbolic acquisitions which can then subsist
without agents having to recreate them continuously and in their
entirety by deliberate action; but because the profits of these
institutions are the object of differential appropriation,
objectification also and inseparably ensures the reproduction of
the structure of the distribution of the capital which, in its various
forms, is the precondition for such appropriation, and in so doing,
reproduces the structure of the relation of domination and
dependence. (Bourdieu 1978:184).

Inalienable objects or objectified symbolic capital are relatively
autonomous fields capable of imposing their necessity on the agents (Bourdieu

Those who are in a position to command these mechanisms and to
appropriate the material and or symbolic profits accruing from their
functioning are able to dispense with strategies aimed expressly
(which does not mean manifestly) and directly (i.e. without being
mediated by the mechanisms) at the domination of individuals, a
domination which in this case is the condition of the appropriation of
the material and symbolic profits of their labour. (Bourdieu 1977:184).

It seems reasonable to suggest that during late prehispanic time, the house of the Andean highlanders -- which was inherited (Wachtel 1977:70), and where life was reproduced and the critical socialization process undertaken -- was both an "inalienable" object and objectification of the social capital of the householders. In a recent paper I took up the theme of "the house of the native lord" as a strategy in the perpetuation of Andean hierarchies (Sykes 1989). Building on the initial formulation of the theme by Salomon (1986:124-27) the paper showed through the use of an Andean myth and ethnohistoric information how the house of the native lord figured in the legitimization of a ruler (Sykes 1989).

The House of the "Native Lord" Symbol of Power

A myth of the founding of Cuzco, indicates that a conqueror in order to acclaim title of lord over the land, had to possess the body and house of the conquered lord. The myth is included in the writing of Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamaygua, an indigenous cacique (local ruler) who lived in a town halfway between Cuzco and Lake Titicaca (Harrison 1982:68). Given his status and attendant right to "compete" for official power one would assume him to be conversant in traditional Andean modes of "power taking".

This Inga Mancocapac was hostile to the uacas (huacas, holy site) and for this reason destroyed that belonging to the curaca (chief) Pinaocapa (Pihua Capac) with all its idols. In the same way he destroyed that belonging to the Tocaycapac, who was a great servant of the idols, and then ordered it to be built (the holy site? the house?) on the spot where he had been born. The Indians in the end built it at the orders of Mancocapac, destroying the house and rebuilding it in stone, in the shape of a framework which consisted of three windows, which referred to the house of his parents (or ancestors?) from whom they descended (Pachacuti Yamqui [1613?] 1950:217-18, in Zuidema 1964:69. Words and phrases in parenthesis interposed by Zuidema).
This excerpt allows us to infer how the native lord's house functioned to objectify and legitimate relations of domination. The possession of "it" won (at least partially) the means of transmuting particular interests (those of the "native lord" category definable only within the relationship between it and a social unit which it encompasses at a lower level) into collective, publicly avowable, legitimate interests. In other word those people who built the "native lord's" house sanctioned the relation of domination the house symbolized. The taking of the body and the house of a vanquished lord demonstrated a, "...competence (in the sense of a capacity socially recognized in a public authority )" and is referred to as symbolic capital by Bourdieu (1977:40).

The founder of Cuzco in the myth, possessed the authority of power or symbolic capital, which would have include his regalia, his lineage i.e. his reputation, his disposition to rule -- the em-bodied aspect of symbolic culture -- developed as a part of his socialization process etc., to enable him to command warriors, defeat opponents and subsequently rule. It is apparent that this definition of competence is an ideology of a dominant warrior group who enjoy very real profit through its perpetuation. Weiner states in her study of inalienable objects, "[i]n any situation, however, loss of an object through warfare or theft, diminishes ones ancestral identity as a social and political force in the present" (Weiner 1985:212).

**The Principales’ House at Carcas as Ritualized Space.**

At a structural level of analysis Salomon (1986:125) has partly reconstructed from extant documents a pre-Incaic ideology of chiefdom in the Quito area of the northern Andes.

The government they had in former time (pre-Incaic), was that the chief, each in his territory, was feared more than words can say, being a harsh man, and what he wished had to be done without a thought of disobedience; for if the chief suspected any such, the vassal would die for it (Anónimo [1537] 1965:226).

Coupled with this ideology is a second “heme; an association between abundance and the "native lord". Especially was this the case with regard to food and maize beer expressed in terms of "institutionalized generosity"
(Salomon 1986:125). Such institutionalized generosity, i.e. the "ostentatious" sharing out of "gifts" to subjects is exposed by Bourdieu (1977:192) as symbolic violence employed to set up relations of domination. In his theorizing institutionalized generosity is a strategy interchangeable with overt strategies of violence in societies having archaic economies wherein mechanisms of objectification are not fully developed to reproduce differential appropriation of labour or production without the agents having to recreate them continuously (Bourdieu 1977:184).

The structural definition of chiefship we have before us is a fairly standard depiction of a form of domination termed paternalism, "... the mixture of sternness and benevolence so characteristic of paternalism that it is taken as definitional" (Sider 1988:54). Culture enters this form of domination as it provides the context for acts of benevolence (Sider 1988:54-55). For example in the case of Andean society in late prehispanic time, the kuraka (local non-Inca chief) mitigated appropriation of labour from commoners by giving food and drink to assembled members of mit'a work parties, as prescribed culturally and described in chapter two.

Inalienable objectified symbolic capital entered these events to further reinforce the social relation of inequality in the guise of: sumptuary dress of the "native lords", in highly decorated storage jars and serving bowls which were, "... visible in daily and ceremonial use, indicating the importance of such items in display context beyond their functional roles in storage and serving" (Earle and Costin 1989:699). They took the form of decorated keros and large beakers for drinking maize beer which are described in sixteenth century documents: "The Machachi lord owned four separate heirloom collections of "painted" keros. He also had a set of black keros, a set of painted drinking gourds, and a set of "Mexican" gourds" (Salomon 1986:124).

Ceremonial cups were probably kept in the house of the kuraka along with his conopas. But, the house of the "native lord" is postulated as being more than a repository for inalienable objects in the Quito area of the Andes. On a political level, the building of a chief's house was a metaphor for the structure of a compound community:

... for the house of the chiefs and captains, the Indians bring the lumber that is needed, and if it is heavy structural timber, a certain number of Indians subject to each captain go to the chief, having
been recruited according to the number of subjects each captain has" (Anónimo [1537] 1965:226) cited in Salomon 1986:126).

On a cosmological level, ". . . the ceremony went beyond purely political recognition of rank, exalting the house and by extension the institution it housed, as a living thing greater than the sum of the political contributions to its making" (Salomon 1986:126).

Another example of the connection between making an elaborate dwelling place for the ruler and religious ceremony was the building and repair of the chief's houses, and especially their roofing of thatch, which was both a universal element in the tribute of commoners and a major ceremony (Salomon 1986:126). In the Central Andean highlands today the contribution of labour to roof building is an act of homage to kinsmen, rich in connotations of rank and loyalty (Mayer 1974:214-327).

Great ceremony attended the building and repair and design of the house of the kuraka (chief) as is evident from this sixteenth century testimony.

When they build an important house for a lord who is a powerful chief, the job takes a long time, but nonetheless there is never any lack of ceremonies, all directed to the devil, sun, and moon, so that the house will be firmer and durable. . . .they sacrifice some of the most valuable animals they own, for example live deer, llamas, guinea pigs, and coca, removing the hearts from these animals while they are still alive. These, together with the blood, are the foremost offerings . . . They anoint the walls of the house with the blood and ground maize (Anonímo [1573] in Salomon 1986:126).

Sixteenth century documents mentioned religious specialists such as witches, oracles, conjurors, and healers but there is no testimony of any special religious buildings having existed in the Ilajtas (Ilajtakuna) in the area of Quito. Thus Salomon hypothesized that the house of the chief along with shrines and deified landscape, was likely to have been the main place ceremonial action (Salomon 1987:126). Houses of past Inca rulers continued to be held as objects of veneration (and the institution they housed) into the sixteenth century in the Cuzco area (demonstrating their inalienability as well). This information comes from a list of principle shrines of the official Inca state religion by Cobo (Rowe 1980, Conrad and Demarest 1984:102).
We are informed by Cobo’s list that a house which had been designated by Inca Yupanqui for his sacrifices and in which he died was a shrine, as was another in which he had lived (Rowe 1980:19). Two more house shrines of Inca Yupanqui included a house where he had slept and one which he had used as a hunting lodge (Rowe 1980:19, 23). A house which formerly belonged to the said Tupa Inca (Rowe 1980:19) and a house which was a residence of Manco Capac (Rowe 1980:47) received sacrifices. Finally a house which had belonged to Guayna Capac was listed as an official shrine and sacrifices were made there (Rowe 1980:19). In light of this information firmer ground is had upon which to build an argument that the house of the "native lord", an inalienable object which objectified the social capital of its occupant and which was associated with ritual and ceremony, functioned to reproduce social relations of inequality in Andean hierarchies.

The structure designated that of the principales’ at Carcas is of high quality stone masonry and is the largest structure at the village. Two complete houses (H31 and H32) are contained in the structure which combined, have a floor area of 61 m². This is more than twice the floor area of other elite houses in both "native lord" sector "A" and "B" (Fig. 12). Large scale work parties set up over long durations of time with attendant ceremony, drinking and feasting, would have been required to supply the labour needed to construct the wide building terrace for the siting of the house and the house itself. Only the asymmetric mit’a form of labour relation could have mounted such work parties, which in the polity of Canta was exclusive to the "native lord" class.

Direct evidence of ritual and ceremony in the house of the principales at Carcas is in the form of a stone lined recess with a capping stone which was uncovered during the excavation carried out in quadrant "D" of the east unit of the structure, i.e. house H31 (Fig. 25). It is situated midway between the column and the entry, as shown in the photograph in Fig. 32, and lay immediately below the prepared plaster floor. The recess was probably for some offering to the house and the fact that it was empty suggests the offering to have been of perishable material such as coca.

The plaster floor of the principales house may have provided a medium for transgenerational ideological imprinting of the social relation of inequality at Carcas. It is a very hard greyish white prepared plaster floor (10YR4/2) which covered excavation units "D" and "B" of house H31, and is assumed to have covered the whole floor of the house (Fig. 17). Perhaps the uneveness in the
Fig. 32. Photograph of the capped recess, below the plaster floor of house H31. Drawing of the feature is courtesy of Nilo Torres.
thickness of the floor was the result of the floor being successively renewed. The fact that ceramics were dispersed through this level also supports the latter possibility. If this was the case, each time a new floor was prepared an opportunity for ceremony and ritual would have been created through the mit'a labour relation.

Prepared floors of mud plaster are not mentioned by Kendall (1985:22) in her description of Inca floors of the Late Horizon Period, nor by Gasparini and Margolies (1980). They occur in the Cusco area in important buildings from the Middle Horizon onward (Nilo Torres personal communication).

**Duality at Carcas and Its Structural Meaning**

The division of Carcas is accomplished physically by a band of land, left in its "natural" state, between elevations 62 m and 77 m (Fig. 10). Commoner residential sectors "A" and "B" are located below the spatial boundary and two commoner sectors "C" and "D" are sited on building terraces above it. Duality also informs the number and placement of "native lord" residential sectors in the village: "native lord" sector "A", is situated below the central boundary and "native lord" sector "B" is located above it.

Duality, in the sense of a pair i.e. belonging together, occurs in the structure of the principales', which contains two similar houses H31 and H32. The presence of two units in the structure can be deduced when viewed from the exterior, as each has a discrete entry which faces onto patio PXII. Inasmuch as all other houses at Carcas have a single entry, villagers upon seeing the two doors, would probably equate them with two dwellings. Size and form of each of the doorways of the pair are equal: they are slightly trapezoidal in shape with the maximum width occurring at the base of the doorway (Field Manual Part "B", 5b-i). Maximum height of the doorway of house H31 is 83 cm, its maximum width is 50 cm and its minimum width is 48 cm. That of house H32 is 84 cm high, its maximum width is 53 cm and its minimum width is 48 cm. The eye does not pick up these slight differences; the doors are basically equal. The doors pierce the long wall of the structure at an equal distance from the its halfway point (Fig. 17). The latter marks the position of the interior dividing wall. It is a solid wall of slightly worked selected stone, bound with mud mortar. Niches are built into the wall but no airways or communication holes perforate
it. The two houses of the *principales*’ structure, H31 and H32 are physically separated.

Although the pair of houses are separated they are a pair and equal. This message is expressed in many ways. The floor area of each house is between 31 m² and 32 m² and for our purposes the same size. Architectural elements are paired in the structure. A central column (Field Manual Part A, 12a-i) is placed in each of the houses and they take the shape of an inverted, truncated pyramid. In the cross section sketch given at the right, two radial slabs of a dozen or more which tie the column and walls and which form a ceiling are shown. There is only a slight discrepancy in the measurements of the columns of both houses: maximum width (which occurs at the ceiling) of H31 column is 1.48 m, and that of H32 is 1.52 m, the minimum width of H31 column is 0.65 m while that of H32 is 0.69 m. The height of each is just under two meters. In short, the columns are a pair, which may be conceptualized as equal parts of the same larger structure.

Duality in the sense of a pair which form equal parts of a larger whole is expressed in the false arch chimney which occur in each of houses H31 and H32. The chimney photographed in Fig. 28 is that of house H31 and the one in house H32 is similar in form. The maximum width, where the first stones project from the wall to form the false arch in house H31, is 85 cm. The same measure in house H32 is only 5 cm wider. Other measurements of the false arch chimneys in both units are equally close. Niches in the units show the greatest variability: H31 has six built into the interior walls and one which is set into the column. House H32 has four placed along the interior walls and one in the column. All niches in both houses are situated midway between floor and ceiling and are not spaced regularly (Fig. 17).

There is however, similarity in their placement in the two units. Each unit has a single niche located on the entry wall of the room. A niche is placed beside the false arch chimney in both units, and niches penetrate the column in each. The shapes of the niches in both houses are rectangular, triangular and trapezoidal. Maximum width of any of the shapes is from 20-25 cm, while their height is consistently from 10-25 cm and they are from 20-30 cm deep. No significant preparation of stone occurs which has been used in the niches. House H31 has a prepared plaster floor and it is highly likely that H32 does, inasmuch as the units are nearly identical in all other respects.
It is obvious that the structure of the principales’ was carefully planned and executed in order to create through its form and architectural elements a material expression of dual, identical houses, which may symbolically portray the "native lords" at Carcas. But if that is the case the portrayal, depicting the two "native lord" residential sectors as equal, is a misrepresentation; residential sector "A" is more prestigious than "B" on three counts. First, objectified social capital is more marked in sector "A" than "B"; secondly, the association of "native lord" residential "A" with the remarkable stone crest gives it greater symbolic value. Finally, the placement of sector "A" on the east-west topographic high of the village also asserts its dominance. It will be argued in the description of duality at Carcas, that there are several symbolic attempts to conceal this faction within the dominant social category at Carcas.

Patio PXII, exclusive to the dual houses H31 and H32, gives an overall impression of exclusivity and closure. Its perimeter is completely walled. Bordering the patio on its east side is a five meter high bedrock outcrop. The stone masonry wall of the principales’ structure defines the north (valley) side of the patio, and a two meter high dividing wall faced with stone masonry separates the patio from house H33 on its west side (Fig. 19). In the southwest corner of the patio this west wall joins another stone masonry wall built behind a stair/dias arrangement on the south (upslope) side of the patio (Fig. 33). The only break in the surrounding wall of patio PXII is the small passage in the northeast corner of the patio, wedged between the east end of the principales’ structure and the bedrock outcrop on which house H34 sits. In the photograph in Fig. 25, a person is shown walking through the passage approaching the patio.

Duality is portrayed unequivocally in the dias/stairway arrangement set out from the south wall of patio XII. The feature faces north, in the direction of the valley and Chillon river, which is not visible from the patio or its immediate environs. At ground level of the dias/stairway at its east end, a large rectangular slab of stone in an inclined position, has one end resting on the surface of the patio and the other raised about 40 cm and supported by a low masonry wall (Fig. 33). The slab forms a roof over a common burial pit with human skeletal elements of three adults and one sub adult. No skeleton was complete, nor were any grave goods included in the burial to indicate age of the feature, or to assist in determining sex and status of buried individuals.
Fig. 33. Photograph of PXII of "native lord" sector "A" and a drawing of its reconstruction. The area was cleared sufficiently to allow the reconstruction as drawn. The person in the photograph is backfilling the burial pit which is shown as a black triangle below the stair/dias in the drawing.
Long, thin, rectangular, stone slabs of comparable size, are laid parallel to each other across the stone slab which covers the burial pit and across the top of the curved and gradually inclined masonry wall which forms the base of the stairway/dias feature (Fig. 33). This feature is semicircular in shape and divided into two equal arcs by two superimposed fan shaped stones. One of which is set midway along the stone masonry foundation wall of the stairway immediately below the central tread of the stairway, and the other is placed directly above it with its base just below the tread level of the stair. A groove cut along the lower edge of the higher focal stone helped stabilize the large central stone tread of the curved stairway. The maximum height of the stairway is 1.5 m above the surface of the patio and occurs at the centrally placed tread stone.

The dual fan shaped stones superimposed and physically separated by the large central stone tread of the stairway, and by extension the stairway itself, form a focal point in the patio. I suggest it is very likely a multivocal symbolic portrayal of the dual organizational principle which underlies the sociopolitical organization of Carcas, the polity of Canta with its dual leaders at every level of authority (see above p.31), and the actual layout of the llajta of Carcas.

A basic tenet of this thesis is the view that symbolic structures function predominantly as modes of domination. In this view symbolic capital is subject to manipulation by agents not only in competition for official power, but in the perpetuation of power relations. An example of this mentioned in the thesis was the creation by the dominant lineages of the Andean ayllu of Concha of a world view story which explained why some lineages of the ayllu were disenfranchized from usufruct right to land. Similarly the building of the stone stair/dias symbol within the precinct of the highest fraction of the elites at Carcas, i.e. sector "A", appears to mask the hierarchization of the elites at Carcas, portraying it as "hierarchized equality" by placing it within the framework of a pair, something like primus inter pares.

the way, "... in which the Inca converted complementarity between right and left the essentially reciprocal notion of duality (meaning an organic complementarity between right and left) into one of superiority" (Schaedel 1988:170).

Although Schaedel accepts the notion of "hierarchized equality" he suggests this notion of duality was probably Inca in origin. From the perspective of Carcas, which certainly predates the Inca time period, and if my interpretation of duality expressed at the village is acceptable, the notion of primus inter pares seems to be of some greater age in the Andean Central highlands. The utility of this structural form is that it may be applied to, and hence mask the hierarchical relation between male/female, commoner/elite, and elite factionalism to mention but three "complementary relations".

In the llajta of Carcas, the material expression of "duality" appears to have been monopolized, produced and perpetuated by the dominant "native lord" group. This conclusion is inferred from the fact that within the confines of patio PXII, the most impermeable, private, and exclusive patio of the "native lord" residential sectors at Carcas, duality is scrupulously objectified in both the house designated that of the principales and the dias/stairway arrangement which dominates its exclusive patio (PXII). Furthermore, the limited space of enclosed patio PXII appears to have worked as a mechanism of exclusionary closure. The small size of the patio and its inaccessibility precludes large congregations in its confines. Art in the form of the stairway/dias arrangement and any ritual knowledge transmitted in the patio was necessarily circumscribed as certain members of the community were - by gender, age or status (i.e. the inelligibles) excluded from the spatially limited area. In such situations: "Access to social knowledge is curtailed and thereby inequalities, however minor, are institutionalized and legitimizd. (Bender 1989:90).

If we accept the role of the house of the "native lord" as providing a center for ritual in the Late Intermediate Period as outlined by ethnohistorian Salomon (1986:124-126) we have an example of how the house of the "native lord" may have reinforced the initial state of affairs by giving those who were in a dominant position the right to profess the veneration of the past and the present which is best suited to legitimate their present interests (Bourdieu 1977:36).

Occupation of the structure designated that of the principales was probably from the latter part of the Late Intermediate Period (circa 1350-1470 A.D) through the Late Horizon (1470-1532) which has been ascertained on the basis of controlled archaeological excavation and analysis of recovered
ceramics. Use and reuse of the house with its dual symbolism over such a long time period demonstrates not only a reiteration of the dominant group's production of duality, but implies the legitimation of this organizing principle at Carcas and its role in the necessary masking of the social relation of inequality, not only between the two hierarchically arranged social groups, but in the hierarchization of the "native lord" group itself. In the words of Bloch (1977:289):

"Some inequality is often manifested as unadorned oppression, but, as Weber pointed out, it is then highly unstable, and only becomes stable when the origins are hidden and when it transforms itself into hierarchy: a legitimate order of inequality in an imaginary world which we call social structure. This is done by the creation of a mystified 'nature' and consisting of concepts and categories of time and persons divorced from everyday experience, and where inequality takes on the appearance of the inevitable part of an ordered system.

A further argument to support the assertion that duality at Carcas had as one of its functions the promotion of solidarity within the dominant elite group is derived from one of two patterns of duality recorded at the site, which I refer to as complementary patterning. It is the positioning of dual elements in complementary opposition, and on the basis of evidence recovered to date, appears to be associated exclusively with the elites at Carcas. For example complementary patterning is expressed in the dual entries into patio PXII of the principales. One entry in the northeast corner of the patio is "low" and occurs at the surface level of the patio (Fig. 19). Opposing it in the southwest corner of the patio is a "high" entry, at the level of the top of the surrounding wall on the west side of the patio, which leads onto an inclined ramp with stone slab treads built against the west perimeter wall of the patio (Fig. 33). Both are controlled entrances and give limited access to the patio.

Inside the structure of the principales the ornate false arch chimneys express a similar patterning (although they differ slightly in that they are on the same elevation). The chimney of house H31 is located near its southeast corner while its counterpart in the other unit of the structure, house H32, is situated near the opposing and complementary northwest corner of that house (Fig. 19). I suggest these two examples are symbolic attempts to mitigate the division and
social differentiation between "native lords" of Carcas: those of residential sectors "A" located in the lower half of the village and "B" in its upper half. The latter asseration may better be appreciated in light of the complementary placement of the two native lord residential sectors in the village.

Earlier in the chapter mention was made of the possible relationship Andeans made between social and geographic systems of classification and that a correlation occurs between natural topographies and social hierarchies (p 83). There is such a correlation at Carcas however, it is expressed as an inversion and the less prestigious "native lord" sector "B", is located at a higher elevation 72-75 m, than is the more prestigious "native lord" sector "A", situated at elevation 62-65 m (Fig. 10). This dilemma is balanced or complemented by the siting of "native lord" sector "A" on the topographic high in the village vis a vis the east-west plane of the village. Such complementary placement of dual elements sets up ambiguity and the fact that there is a "first" among equals, in terms of the hierarchical organization of the "native lords" at Carcas, may not be fully apprehended.

**Duality as a Form of Labour Control**

If we leave aside the complementary patterning associated with the native lord sectors it is possible to analyze another aspect of the major dual division of Carcas which is also related to the "native lord" class, in terms of the *mit'a* labour relation wherein the labour of the commoner is appropriated. Briefly, the two major zones on either side of the central spatial division at Carcas each contain commoner residences and a discrete native lord residential sector. I propose that this configuration relates to the fact that "native lords" in the polity of Canta and of course at Carcas, were faced with the problem of controlling the productivity of work parties brought together through their *mit'a* type labour relation with attendant food and drink.

Commoners were not powerless in this labour relation and could effectively control their productivity at such times by working slowly and minimally. A description by a sixteenth century chronicler of community participation in projects both within the group and in conjunction with other members of the larger community notes:

... although many lineages go to do a community task, they never begin without figuring out and measuring what each should do,
and among the same lineage they also share up the labor into shares that they call suyos, and no one helps another for any reason even though he completes his task first (Polo de Ondegardo, "Informe," p. 181 cited in Spalding 1984:56).

The presence of the kuraka ("native lord") hovers in the background of Polo’s description according to Spalding, as he was probably the supervisor of his communities participation in such projects. The cultivation of reserved fields under mit’a service during the time of the Inca and described by Father Bernabé Cobo confirms the supervision of labour by kuraka: Under the administrative system of the Inca kurakas were classified according to the number of taxpayers for whom they were responsible and the pacaka koraka cited below was in charge of 100 workers (Rowe 1963:263).

The people assembled to cultivate them in the following way. If the Inca himself or the governor, or some high official happened to be present, he started the work with a golden taclla or plow, which they brought to the Inca, and, following his example, all the other officials and nobles who accompanied him did the same. However, the Inca soon stopped working, and after him the other officials... and sat down with the king to their banquets and festivals which were especially notable on such days.

The common people remained at work, and with them only the caracas-pachacas [pacaka-koraka], who worked a while longer than the nobles; thereafter they supervised the work, giving orders that were necessary (cited in Rowe 1963:265).

Mit’a type labour could shift from that of an organized work party to a drunken fiesta if food and drink was introduced too soon and in too large quantities ( for an ethnographic description of the expense involved in bringing together a large work party in the Central Andes for the purpose of housebuilding and the inefficiency of such labour due to alcohol consumption see Stein 1961:111). Thus appropriated labour of the Andean mit’a type labour relation required direct supervision and control from its beneficiaries.

The division of the llajta of Carcas into two residential zones located on either side of a central "natural" space and the location of a single and discrete "native lord" residential sector in each is, I suggest, a design to ensure
productivity of labour in the *mit'a* relation. The late prehispanic archaeological site of Aukimarca appears to support this proposal. It is located north of Lake Junin (Fig. 41) in the drainage of the Huallaga river, south of the modern city of Huánuco and is clearly separated into an upper and lower zone with distinctive architecture in each of the sectors (Morris and Thompson 1985:143). Morris and Thompson are undecided if this division is a spatial division which signals Inca moiety planning. In such social organization, one moiety known as *hanan* is considered of higher prestige than the lower or *hurin* and the two are spatially discrete. But these moieties are rare in the Huánuco area except in places established by the Inca themselves. In Huánuco dual organization is taken over by the *allauca* (right) and *ichoc* (left) divisions.

The *allauca*-*ichoc* division is a system that antedates the Inca in this area and is referred to in the chronicle of Guaman Poma, who is believed to have come from the Huánuco region . . . In remote villages a modified version of the old local *alluaca-ichoc* division still survives in the context of the religious fiesta system (Morris and Thompson 1985:117).

The *alluaca-ichoc* system of the highlands appears to have been a social organizational mechanism associated with the control of labour. This is deduced from a litigation brought to Lima by a local town over the question of who should be responsible for the maintenance of the bridge of Huánuco Viejo. An official inspector was sent out to investigate the problem in A.D. 1596 and he described the division of labour employed in bridge construction.

This involved the social divisions of *alluaca-ichoc* (right and left). As Espinoza Campos was told: 'The river separated them; those of Alluaca Guanuco were on the side toward Huánuco Viejo [the right side looking downstream] and those of Ichoc Guanuco on the side of the river . . . ' It is apparent from the text that the work on the bridge was evenly shared between the villages on the right and left sides of the river (Morris and Thompson 1985:117).

The salient point from the ethnohistoric information from Huánuco is how labour was controlled through dual organization. Dual division of villages may be considered homologous, i.e. similar in symbolic structure but different in the
level of execution. Although at Carcas it is possible to think about the village in terms of a right and left rather than up and down, if we use the "native lord" residential sectors as our indicators. Prestigious "A" sector of the lower half is the most westerly of the two and "native lord" sector of the upper half of the village is east.

The information from the region of Huánuco strengthens my argument that the division of Carcas into two residential zones was for the purpose of ensuring productivity of commoners in the mit'a form of labour relation when their labour was appropriated by "native lords" in preInca time. Dividing commoners into two groups fosters competition between them. Competition as a stimulus to group effort is a subject addressed by the narrator of the tales of Huarochiri, which speak of the ceremonies performed in honor of a wak'a (deity) of the group and carefully lists the ranked order of the participants. It was in this order that the ayllus competed with one another in the performance of ritual or other joint activity, testing the established order (Spalding 1984:56-60).

The same author notes a more current myth explaining the origin of ayllu divisions recorded in the province of Ayacucho in the south central Andes.

Before, when there were no ayllus and everyone was equal, the people had gone to Jajamarca to carry the church bell 'Maria Angola' and some rosewood beams for the construction of the church. Since everyone was equal, no one had the energy to work, so they thought, 'Let us compete with each other. Well, you are going to be Qullana and we, Sawqa. . . .' (Spalding 1984:57).

Ethnographically the division into two parts of Tangor village, in the central highlands of Peru, is thought to be a mechanism to promote and accelerate work through rivalry (Mayer 1974:369). Dual organization of Carcas could well have promoted competition between the two halves of the village and thus facilitated productivity. But this promotion of competition would mainly apply to mit'a type work parties - the means by which commoner labour was appropriated by the "native lords". Commoners linked through the reciprocal, symmetrical ayni labour relation would not require such competitive incentives.

Division of Carcas divided not only commoners but the "native lords". It is possible that stationing members of the dominant group in each zone addressed the need for assertion of power in daily life. Sider (1986:124) cites
daily behaviour such as the tipping of hats, or the giving of pardons, or the flogging of folks who profaned the Lord's Day, as direct involvement in the daily affairs of people and was part of the domain of display, the recurring "theater of power" one associates with appropriation of labour (cf. Thompson 1974, cited in Sider 1988:124). If these authors are right, effective supervision of workers in the mit'a relation is predicated on daily exercise of authority in each zone of Carcas.

On the basis of my documentary evidence from the polity of Carcas I do not know what power "native lords" held during the Late Intermediate Period in the polity of Canta which would be elements in this domain of display. Salomon (1986:138) argues that the Lords of Quito possessed the power to dispossess commoners, confiscate their goods, or severely punish them and confiscate their land. The kurakas of Huarochiri located next to Canta (Fig. 1) intervened at the household or minimal group level, when, "... normal practice broke down and the "law of good behaviour" failed to function" (Spalding 1984:34). It does not seem unreasonable to suggest that the location of "native lord" residential sectors in both zones of the village would facilitate display of power at the daily level of village life. Sumptuary dress as a means of legitimating status is lost without an audience to view it.

Co-operation and solidarity within the "native lord" class was required to ensure the appropriation of labour. A task more difficult to achieve when they were spatially divided and when there was fractioning within the group as is demonstrated at Carcas. Given these conditions, it is possible to understand why symbolized duality figured so prominently in patio PXII, the most protected, and exclusive area of the native lords'. In this confine dual forms are portrayed as equal parts of a single unit, as in the two similar houses contained in the single structure designated that of the principales, and in the stair/dias configuration. Complementary patterning of dual forms, such as the positioning of the dual entries into the patio and similar complementary treatment of the false arch chimneys in the house of the principales' probably convey a message of mitigation and unity.

But this duality symbolized as unity in patio PXII, does not mark a co-operation and solidarity that exists within the "native lord" class at Carcas. Rather, it reinforces symbolically the solidarity required of "native lords" at Carcas to ensure their continued appropriation of commoner labour. "Native lords" had to foster their solidarity, but at the same time they worked against it
through their strategy of dividing commoners - and per force themselves - to ensure productivity of commoner labour. Such contradictory situations require much ritualizing, which we see in the precinct and the house of the principales'.

THE OUTER/INNER HOUSE FORM OF THE NATIVE LORD HOUSES AS IDEOLOGY AT CARCAS

If power relations are to persist they must be masked (Bourdieu 1977:188; Bloch 1977:289). I suggest that concealment of the social relation of inequality between the local "native lords" and commoners at the village of Carcas was partially achieved through the outer, visible, shell of the house and start my argument by introducing a typology of structures forms and their frequencies which comprise the group of buildings designated houses at Carcas.

Fig. 34. Five house forms and their distribution among the 71 structures and foundations designated houses at Carcas are shown in the pie chart.

In the planned village of Carcas, systematic examination and documentation of structures has provided a data base which allows separation
of structures that could have served a domestic function in the village. The criteria for such designation has been given above (p. 22) and five categories of houses are distinguished from that grouping and are described as follows.

**Form 1.** Refers to a house with one room, round in plan, and with a single entry (Field Manual, Part A, 1d-ii). Of the 71 structures designated houses at Carcas, 58 (82%) have this form.

**Form 2.** This category is also a single room structure but rectangular in form with one entry on the long side. The significant aspect of this form is that all interior and exterior corners are rounded (Field Manual Part A, 1a-vi). Six houses (9%) fall into this category one of which (H29) is a complete house with minimal roof damage.

**Form 3.** At Carcas, this category includes a rectangular two room structure and a possible variation of an Inca rectangular, closed, side-by-side structures, in which a side wall is shared (A in diagram). No doorway is present in the shared wall and each unit has an entry (Field Manual Part A, 1b-iv). A second type of two room rectangular structure included in form 3, has a single entry located either in an end or side wall (B of diagram) with rounded corners inside and outside. A doorway in the dividing wall connects the rooms (Field Manual Part A, 1c-i). These two rectangular forms represent 3% of structure forms at Carcas.

**Form 4.** Form 4 is a rectangular three room structure with a doorway in each of the dividing walls. The single entry is at one end of the structure. One exterior corner on the entry wall is right angled as shown in the bottom sketch in diagram, others are rounded (Field Manual, Part A, 1cii). Interior corners of the structure are rounded. One house is of this form at Carcas.
Form 5. This is an ovoid form, which has two complete separate units which share a side wall. The dividing wall has no doorway, windows or connecting vents. Each unit has a discrete entry (Field Manual, Part A, 1e-iv). One structure of this form is present at Carcas.

House Form Distribution Among Commoners and "Native Lords" at Carcas and Its Social Significance

*Kurakas* (caciques and principales) made up 14% of the population of the polity of Canta in A.D.1553 (see above p.31) and commoners 86%. Those percentages are consistent with the distribution of commoner and "native lord" houses at the *llajta* of Carcas. Nine houses or about 14% of the 71 recorded, are of the prestigious columnar type which cluster spatially at Carcas in "native lord" residential sectors "A" and "B". Four of the nine columnar houses: H37, H79, H58 and H49, are located along building terrace seven in the upper half of Carcas. The remaining five: H23, H31, H32, H38, and H40 are sited on main terrace four in the lower half of the village. All other houses at Carcas are designated those of commoners and distributed in both halves of the village.

Commoner houses are primarily of Form 1, which accounts for 82% of all houses at Carcas (Fig. 34). This simple dwelling is the least complex of the house forms and may have had a roof of thatch, laid onto a framework of small timbers interleaved with branches, resting directly on top of the stone masonry wall of the house (Fig. 14). Alternately Form 1, could be of corbel construction with concomitant stone roof. Irrespective of roof form, the ubiquitous round, single chambered dwelling, must represent the traditional house form of commoners at Carcas in the Late Intermediate Period.

The house of the commoner represents a "commoner culture" which has been analyzed in the thesis mainly in terms of the social organization of production. From this perspective it has been argued that the commoner house objectified symbolic values of the ayni reciprocal and symmetric labour relation. The "openness" of commoner houses with no freestanding walls surrounding either a single house or group of houses at Carcas, suggests that commoners did not portray themselves as distinctive from other commoner household units. This "openness" of the commoner houses facilitated the social relation of ayni, i.e. the making, unmaking and remaking of small work parties through which
commoners were able to produce their livelihood from the land over which they had use right.

It was argued that predictability was increased when a commoner established a reciprocal work relation with another commoner of a similar house to his/her own and by extension with similar values required of the *ayni* labour relation. On these premises and those mentioned in the preceding paragraph it was proposed that the single house form of the commoner and the *ayni* relation were mutually reinforcing.

I would suggest that the symbolic structure or culture of the commoner and the material form it takes at Carcas differs from that of the "native lord" social category which will be elaborated later in the chapter. Granted a degree of social differentiation exists at Carcas among commoner houses, for example the complete commoner house H29, is of corbel construction and of very good masonry, and may exceed in congealed labour that of other commoner houses. Nevertheless, the house is in an open context and lacks interior architectural elements which are indicative of high status houses of the local *kurakas* at Carcas.

Foundations and lower courses of walls of commoner houses are of double rows of stone masonry, bound with mud mortar. It is highly probable that walls of all commoner houses were of such stone masonry, as there is an abundance of rock on Puruncarcas mountain and little soil for the making of adobes. Placement of the houses on building terraces with the outer wall directly on top of the terrace downslope facing wall is another characteristic shared by commoner houses at Carcas. Such placement required the single doorway of the house to look "inward" away from the valley and face either directly upslope or along the building terrace.

Commoner houses were one storey structures. On the basis of analogy with local single chambered, stone walled, thatch roofed houses in the district of Canta today and the complete commoner houses at Carcas (H29, H62, H76, H77 and H78) it is highly probable that commoner houses had no windows or chimneys. The complete doorways of commoner houses just mentioned are small, under a meter in height and less than 60 cm wide. These entries are rectangular to slightly trapezoidal in shape and have a stone lintel and sill.

I believe it useful to consider the house of the commoners, which represents the symbolic values of this group particularly in terms of the production process, as a competitor in the arena of confrontational claims upon
the dominant "native lords" in that same production process, who appropriate
their labour and who are also expressed materially in their houses. The strength
of the claims of commoner households at Carcas is acknowledged by the
"native lords". This assertion may be deduced from the practice by the dominant
group of portraying themselves very much as commoners outwardly, that is in
the outward shell of their houses.

To elaborate, "native lords" built houses of Form 1, Form 2, Form 3 and
Form 5 in their discrete and impermeable residential sectors. In "native lord"
sector "B", all houses of the upper level of the pseudo two storey houses are of
Form 1 (Fig. 16: photograph) the most frequently occurring house form of the
commoner (Fig. 48). Remaining high prestige elite houses of this sector are also
Form 1. In "native lord" residential sector "A", Form 1 is present in both
commoner and elite structures. Here too "native lords" respect the commoner
concept of "roundness" as is attested by buildings H38 (Form 3B), and H31 and
H32 (Form 5), which have rounded exterior corners.

All complete elite houses with the exception of pseudo two storey houses
of "native lord" sector "B" (houses H57 and H58) are one storey buildings. And
even the upper level of the pseudo two storey houses appear to be but one, as
the exterior walls of upper and lower levels are not continuous (Fig. 16:photograph). Thus "native lord" houses approximate those of commoners in
this respect as well.

Exterior doorways of the "native lord" houses are similar in form to those
of commoner houses: they are rectangular to slightly trapezoidal in form with the
greatest width occurring at the sill. Both the sill stone and lintel are of slightly
worked stone. There is a difference in the quality of workmanship which has
gone into the stone work of the exterior entries of houses at Carcas. That of
small houses H76, H77, and H78 of "native lord" sector "B" is inferior to
workmanship of all other doorways at the site. However, the size of doorways is
markedly consistent and the range in height is from 65-91cm (Fig. 35). The
height of doorways does vary with house size and the smallest doorway is that
of house H76 of "native lord" sector "B" which is built underneath house H58
and which has a floor area of 13.58 m². Larger houses with floor areas between
25-30 m² have the higher doorways. Despite these differences, the average
height of doorways is 75.8 cm with a standard deviation of 9 cm (about 3.5 in)
and all doorways but one fall within the first standard of deviation.
Fig. 35. Eleven complete doorways from both commoner and "native lord" residential sectors at Carcas are under one meter in height as shown in the bar graph.

Elite houses usually adhere to the commoner practice of siting their houses on top of the downslope facing wall of the building terrace, or so close to it that entry into the house from the outer edge of the terrace is precluded. Most importantly, this aspect of commoner culture at the *llajta* of Carcas is strictly subscribed to in the large prestigious dual structure, designated the house of the *principales* (houses H31 and H32). Its outer shell rises as a continuation of the downslope facing wall of terrace four and a midway cornice which distinguishes the house wall from the terrace facing wall is carefully constructed and highly visible to villagers passing below the house in commoner residential sector "A" (Fig. 21; Fig. 10).

The midway cornice is an architectural element which occurs often in all commoner residential sectors and one which is present in many elite structures. The importance of the element is appreciated from the photograph of house H57 of "native lord" sector "B" (Fig. 16) where it separates the wall of the house from its foundation platform. I would like to remind the reader that house H57 is strategically placed in the sector as a pivot around which one walks either to
enter patio PXXXVI of the elite sector or to bypass the sector and enter those of commoners at higher elevations (Fig. 10). In this position house H57 is strongly visible in the upper half of the village. This elite house is unusual in that it is a pseudo two storey house. But the upper elite living floor of the structure is the ubiquitous round shape of the commoner house, its doorway faces upslope in the commoner tradition and this attribute along with the well built cornice convey an unmistakable message of a connection with commoner culture.

Commoner houses at Carcas which are well preserved have no windows as described above. Accordingly, houses of the "native lords" follow this practice and no complete elite house has this architectural element. Again the evidence supports my position that "outwardly" elites present themselves repeatedly as having "commoner culture". We see that the outer shell of the houses of the local "native lords", and especially the structure designated that of the *principales*, is similar to the commoner house.

To understand this paradox it is useful to review two points argued above. First, that the objectification of social capital through the construction (or inheritance) of a house has a social strategy as its goal. And secondly, that commoners at Carcas had as a primary goal the social labour relation of *ayni* which was critical to the household's survival. Commoners constructed homogeneous type houses to represent their institutionalized values of the *ayni* labour relation. Homogeneous Form 1 commoner houses increased predictability and worked to heighten confidence among commoners forced to engage other commoners of the village reciprocally in the many small scale work parties, of short duration which were crucial to their survival. The *ayni* social relation and the homogeneous Form 1 house were mutually reinforcing.

"Native lords", on the other hand, who appropriated commoner labour through the *mit'a* asymmetric labour relation and that of women through the mechanism of polygyny misrepresented these exploitive relations by building their houses outwardly to imply the *ayni* relation. It appears that the mechanism of house building on the part of the elite, had as its ultimate aim the masking of this appropriation of labour at Carcas (Sykes 1989). By portraying themselves partially and publicly in their outer house form as commoners "native lords" at Carcas, were thus supposed to politically, culturally and economically serve the interests of the commoner, and they in turn were supposed to serve the elite, or both together were to serve a higher cause (Sider 1988:30).
I have described how the elite constructed their houses in impermeable contexts at Carcas and yet managed to build the house of the *principales* so that its outward characteristics, which assiduously resemble the commoner house, are conspicuously visible from outside the "native lord" residential sector. Commoners upon apprehending the house with its architectural elements similar to their own, receive a message of being included in elite culture. Commoners at Carcas being excluded from and included in elite culture, could also have used their commoner culture to express confrontational claims upon their dominators. Thus we see the contradiction which arises from this practice, which on the one hand has the potential of attenuating commoner confrontational claims upon the dominant social group, but at the same time ensuring them.

At a more general level of analysis but also significant is the manner in which architecture at Carcas generally may have diminished confrontational claims on the part of the commoner. This concerns the subdued, bland and formal outward, expression of the houses. All forms are round at Carcas, and the few rectangular buildings conform to this in that their exterior corners are rounded. The austerity of house walls, their evenness in height and color must have limited visual "discourse" in the village. Visually the monochromatic homogeneous formal tone created at Carcas through the use of few geometric forms in its architecture, is one of uncontroversial discourse which may be likened to that kind of "ritualized authority" that Bloch (1977) noted of ritual, which uses formalism as a protection from evaluation. "It attempts to gain an abstraction and a closure that is beyond critique" (Miller 1984:42).

Furthermore the fact that the houses were built of the material of Puruncarcas mountain itself gives the houses the appearance of being contours of the mountain and differences among the buildings at the village may have been apprehended as "natural" phenomena, the result of nature itself. Regardless of the last mentioned aspects of the architecture which may have muted confrontational claims at Carcas. No form of domination is probably ever wholly legitimate and perhaps it is the realities of coercive power which ensure that cultural practices typify the "normal" forms of inter-class resistance.
The Ceque Radial Pattern of Columnar House Ceilings

The overall effect in the interior of the columnar house is that the ceiling is a ceque, i.e. a configuration of lines radiating from a central nexus (Fig. 18). The ceque or seqe system (in Quechua, line or ray) has been most systematically investigated by Zuidema who argues it is a representation of the spatial, temporal and hierarchical aspects of the Central Andean cosmology that was adopted and perhaps elaborated by the Inca (Shimada 1986:176).

A recent discussion of the ceque system includes information from the seventeenth century writer Bernabé Cobo which informs us that, . . . in Inca Cuzco there were forty-one imaginary straight lines which radiated out from the ceremonial center of the city to the horizon around the city and beyond. The forty-one lines, or ceques, were delineated by a number of huacas, each entrusted to perform rituals at specific times of the year. Two of these lines, of course, served to divide the Inca Empire (Tawantinsuyu) into four suyu or quarters. ([1663] 1964 II:169 cited in Shimada 1986:176).

In addition to organizing the space within Cuzco, the Valley of Cuzco, and to a lesser extent the empire, the ceque and huacas were associated with different sociopolitical groups and marriage classes (Zuidema 1964 cited in Shimada 1986:176).

In support of the pre-Inca nature of the ceque radial patterning system and its pan-Andean distribution Shimada (1986:pp 175-177) notes the presence of the form among ground drawings at Nazca plateau (A.D.100-800) in the south coast area of Peru. He sites a Wari textile (A.D. 700-1100) with a calendrical design with organizational principles characteristic of the ceque system which would suggest knowledge of the ceque in the Andean highlands. And finally incised radial patterns (which may represent the ceque system) on a terrace wall at Huaca Soledad on the North Coast of Peru which date to A.D. 1100 and place it in the early part of the Late Intermediate Period.

Ceque lines are hypothesized to have functioned as "sight lines" intimately related to astronomical observations but others insist that the lines have both an astronomical and cosmological or structural significance.
I have not attempted to relate the *ceque* pattern expressed in the arrangement of the ceilings in prestigious houses to the social organization of the polity of Canta. On this level of social organization, evidence is accumulating from my field work to suggest strongly that the columnar house expresses power at the polity level of organization. I assume this because documentary evidence, as explained in chapter two, places the *parcialidad* of Canta first among those which comprise the polity. On the basis of my field work I can say quite confidently that columnar houses are confined geographically to the upper reaches of the Chillon valley above the village of Cantamarca which was the territorial stronghold of the *parcialidad* of Canta. The one instance I have of a columnar structure occurring outside this area is at the type of village identified as a "temporary work site" type village.

**The Ceque Ceiling as a Symbol of Gender Relations**

Whereas the exterior of the houses at Carcas can be understood in terms of the commoner *ayni* and "native lord" *mit'a* social relations in the production system, I suggest that the interior of the houses at Carcas may have informed gender relations. To be consistent with the interest of the thesis in the objectified symbolic dimension of social practice and especially as it applies to prop up, mitigate or restructure those important social relations which are most apt to come apart, or where greatest confrontational claims arise such as in the appropriation of labour I would like consider the central column/ceque complex and how it might mitigate differential claims to official power that arise through gender. We may consider the commoner household first as it relates to gender tension ethnographically.

The commoner household was the main unit of production and consumption at Carcas in the Late Intermediate Period as discussed above in chapter two, and was probably often comprised primarily of a single married couple and their children, plus at times parents and unmarried siblings of the pair (Harris 1986:265). Household composition in the village of Tangor in the Central Andean highlands in 1971, showed 47 of 77 households to be of the nuclear family type, families with husband away numbered 4 of the 77, 11 were comprised of women alone and there were 14 extended families (Mayer 1974:59).
The ubiquitous small single dwelling of the commoner at Carcas with no surrounding walls or fences which might distinguish larger commoner families, is resonant with households of the compositions just described. Women today in such households manage the household supplies in the Central Andean highlands, "They are in charge of the disposition of the crops and other foods stored in the attics of the houses" (Mayer 1971:63). When writing of the highland Andean household of northern Potosi Harris writes:

The economic importance of the married couple as a cooperating unit is restated at a symbolic level by the ritual insistence on the couple. They must perform most ritual actions together, and in the case where a ritual sponsor has no spouse, he or she must find a sexual complement from among his or her close kin in order for the ritual to be performed properly. At a central moment in many rituals the pair stand together. . . they pour libations for the ongoing fertility of all: the crops, livestock, and human beings. The survival of the community is thus symbolically incarnated in the conjugal pair, who both directly reproduce its members and whose labour brings earth and animals to fruit (Harris 1986:266).

It would appear that the "unity" of husband and wife in economic production does not apply to participating in public offices of authority in other than a symbolic way; official public power is that of the male domain.

In each local community or cabildo, and also at the level of the ethnic group as a whole, it is men as a group who take the decisions and take their turns as jilanqu (leaders) within the community . . . .Men as a group exert control over women that cannot be contained within the symbolic representation of male and female as relationship between individuals. (Harris 1986:276).

This pattern is consistent among the Andean Yura of Bolivia where male female ritual complementarity is apparent in inumerable aspects of ritual but official authority is vested in men. During the festival of the Reyes, which celebrates the investiture of the alcaldos (local male leaders or kuraqkuna) a ritual table to support the staff of authority named kinsa rey (known as vara
among other Andean groupings [Rasnake 1986:668], is separate from that viewed as "female" which is placed on the ground (Rasnake 1988:239).

Although no Yura said as much to me directly, its physical form, and certain joking references they made, indicate that the kinsa rey is at one level conceived to be a phallus, one so filled with potency that women cannot approach it. . . The kinsa rey, represents symbolically the person in the authority role (Rasnake 1988:239-40).

Furthermore the kinsa rey is linked to fundamental cosmological and supernatural forces which are identified with the person in authority (Rasnake 1988:268). The fundamental cosmological principle of Yura social organization is that of the Andean ceque system analyzed by Zuidema (1964) which is evident in the manner in which the Yuras picture themselves and their territory as,

. . . corresponding in a vague way to the four cardinal points--or at least dividing the territory into four slices of a pie. If the ayllu "islands" (those fragments of ayllus set off from the main clusterings) are discounted then this perception is not without some truth. . . This description of ayllus is of course highly reminiscent--although on a much smaller scale--of the organization of Tawantinsuyu. The renowned ceque system is an analogue (although perhaps a distant one) to the actions of the festival of Carnaval. . . (Rasnake 1988:58).

Briefly, these four slices are pictured by the Yuras as a set of dual divisions arranged in tiers of pairs: "...the entire Yura ayllu is divided into two moieties each of which is correspondingly segmented into two. Three of these is likewise divided into two groups" (Rasnake 1988:58). One way to picture this kind of organization is in the manner of a circle which, like a pie, is first divided into four parts according to cardinal directions and then each slice is again divided into two or three parts. The end result is a ceque with a central point from which lines and slices of space radiate.

The center of the Yura "ceque" on the ground is the village of Yura which is designed with a central plaza in which a Rollo is erected. The Rollo is a red
stone cylinder standing some three meters tall and built on a square base of the same material. It is a common construction in Spanish reducción towns: "This monument, in its form and position is male and phallic in ritual and the dancing around it takes the same form--males in the interior and females on the outside" (Rasnake 1988:206). The role of the Rollo in Andean ritual suggests that they may have been identified with the ushuña of Inca time, which was the structure found in the center of many cities and which may have been used as an alter or dias (Zuidema cited in Rasnake note #7:286).

During the Yura festival of Carnaval, the ayllu authorities (kuraqkuna) accompany the symbolically powerful kinsa rey, staff of authority, through the households of the ayllus out to boundary markers and back to the central plaza. In this activity the Yura enact the ceque principle territorially. When the kinsa rey returns to the center it is held at the base of the Rollo (Rasnake 1988:250-259). In this ritual activity the territorial center of the ceque and the male kuraka in possession of the kinsa rey are brought together.

Among the Yura the kuraka (who no longer inherits his position), is the symbolic nexus of the Yura (Rasnake 1988:237). Although the kuraka position is made up of a husband and wife and portrayed as a dual role:

The staff of authority is identified with the kuraka, more precisely the male half of the kuraka pair. This identification is apparent in several ways. The kurakas...wear a folded poncho on their shoulders as a sign of office; no one else wears the poncho in this way. Likewise, the kinsa rey must always be wrapped in its poncho the vicuña scarf. This male emphasis is strengthened by the fact that the kinsa rey, being owned only by men, can be touched and carried by men. . .the kinsa rey becomes the kuraka "sacralized," . . (Rasnake 1988:239).

My fieldwork in the polity of Canta is still fragmentary and, as already mentioned, is not adequate to reconstruct the ayllu organization at the polity level nor its configuration in space. The documentary evidence contained in the visitas tells us that the polity was comprised of seven or eight ayllus which is partitioning suggestive of ceque organization as discussed by Rasnake (1988). On the basis of my field work to date, there appears to be two "elite" architectural styles which are separated spatially and which suggests a major moiety division.
in the polity, which is another important aspect of the ceque organization. Also the fact that the ceilings of the columnar houses of the "native lords" at Carcas are a ceque pattern further hints at such organization in the polity.

At this point it seems appropriate to introduce the possibility that the column and ceiling ceque complex may have informed gender relations in light of the ethnographic information just given, and particularly to the center of the ceque being perceived as male, as it probably was during the time of the Inca (Rasnake 1988:286, note 7 which identifies Zuidema as the source of this view).

It has been argued in the thesis that houses are objectified social capital, i.e. they mark the ancestry of the householders. Lineage was critical to social identity and to inheritance of offices of authority in the polity of Canta. We may recall in the founding myth of Cuzco how victorious Mancocapac ordered his house to be built with three windows to symbolize his lineage and his own social identity. But such objectification has its reverse side in that such objectification connoted a social unit and not just Mancocapac. The windows and house symbolized a lineage which was not exclusive to him, rather he was but one of a set of individuals who by dint of having the same relationship to the same ancestor, at the same level on the genealogical tree, qualified as agents to struggle for political power vested in the office of the leader.

Did sisters qualify as agents in the struggle for these offices? Silverblatt writes how two chroniclers speak of the "jurisdictions" of Inca noble women, but do not provide details about what their sphere of authority was and quotes the chronicler Murua who stated the Inca queen ruled in Cuzco in the absence of the king (Silverblatt 1987:59). Even if this was the case the position of the queen as supreme authority was contingent upon the action of her male counterpart.

At Carcas we might expect the greatest female confrontational claims to official authority against males to occur in the households of the dominant social group. Accordingly one would anticipate significant ritual or symbolization to maintain the status quo. The column of the "native lord" house can quite readily be conceptualized as representing both a center of power and a phallic symbol. If this was the case we see at the domestic level of organization the daily reminder of the male being central in terms of official or legitimate authority and females relegated symbolically through the central column/ceque ceiling complex to a peripheral position in terms of official authority.

Official authority was beyond the legitimate grasp of the commoner, as recruitment for such offices was through the mechanism of inheritance.
Accordingly no central post, which could be interpreted as a homologous symbol, breaks the circular floor of commoner household. Excavation of a commoner house (H20) at Carcas, did not uncover a central posthole to support a roof of thatch. Ethnographically houses with thatch roofs in the Canta region do not have central posts. Significant excavation was undertaken in circular, one room, single entry structures with masonry walls in the Asto curacazgo which dates to the Late Intermediate Period in the Central Andes. Archaeologists Lavallée and Julien (1973:61) suggest, on the basis of ethnographic analogy, that roofs of Asto structures were thatch, and not a single trace of a posthole or depression was uncovered in any excavation to suggest a centrally placed pole to support the roof. As already mentioned these structures had an average floor area of 11 m$^2$ which falls near the lower end of the arbitrary cut-off floor area of commoner houses at Carcas and further strengthens the definition of the commoner house of that period as being one without either partitions or a central post. If central posts are to be interpreted as phallus symbols

The production of culture as I see it at Carcas, where the community is the main locale of work organization, validates claims and counter claims of the members of the two main classes. Upon considering cultural production at this micro level of analysis where the conjunction between work and the appropriation of labour takes place, it has been possible to get a firmer grasp on how the symbolic, and especially objectified social capital enters the daily lives of the people and asserts at that level, a degree of autonomy; in the sense that the symbolic has intrinsic contradictions. This has been demonstrated in the case of the "native lords" who, in their bid toward closure, are unable to meet this objective as they still must portray themselves outwardly (partially) as commoners as explained above. Commoners upon seeing themselves as both excluded and included in "native Lord" culture have an avenue through which they may assert confrontational claims against the dominant group.

It has been argued that strategies of dual organization of house building and even the appropriation of the landscape on the part of the dominant "native lords" go beyond the mitigation of the appropriation of labour through prestations of food, alcohol and other acts of symbolic violence. Andean mechanisms of objectification of social capital tend, up to a point, to assure the reproduction of the dominant group by their very functioning independently of any deliberate intervention by these agents (Bourdieu 1977:185). In these
mechanisms we see material culture (objectified social capital) employed to extend appropriation of labour beyond work into the residential sectors, into forms of consumption and into daily life. As anthropologist Sider writes: "... the conjunction of force and meaning in the service of appropriation, when faced by resistance, must extend into daily life (Sider 1988:121). The analysis presented here confirms both assertions generally, but in the case of Carcas the symbolic also has the potential of ensuring confrontational claims against the dominant social group by the commoners of the *llajta*.

**THE AGE OF THE *LLAJTA* OF CARCAS**

Study of house forms and their architectural elements, of the spatial organization of the village and ceramics from excavation at the site, lead me to conclude that Carcas was probably first occupied during the latter part of the Late Intermediate Period (circa A.D. 1250-1460). This is further reinforced by the small accumulation of midden in the houses and in patio PXII where limited excavation was undertaken. An immense investment in labour has gone into the making and maintenance of the built environment of Puruncarcas mountain - in the construction of the flights of agricultural terraces below Carcas village; in the building of terraces in the village proper on which the majority of structures at Carcas are sited; in the working of huge stone beams for roof construction of buildings; in the erection of stone masonry columns to support roofs of elite houses; in placement of stone stairways, ramps and paths throughout the village. Therefore it seems unlikely that buildings once erected would have been abandoned, nor does it seem correct to conclude that the village was built during the 70 years or so when the polity was under Inca rule.

Material remains to document occupation of the site of Carcas during the time of the Inca or Late Horizon (A.D. 1460 - 1532) are sparse. With the exception of one building, no structures imitate Inca forms at the village. Remodelling and modifications to buildings such as adjustments to doorways or niches which might be construed as attempts to emulate the new dominant Inca order are not present, and there are eight houses (11 %) at Carcas which are almost completely preserved.

Architectural forms are consistently of the Late Intermediate Period throughout the site and there is similar preservation of houses and building terraces in both the upper and lower halves of the village. Thus it appears that
preservation of houses at Carcas is more a function of the quality of workmanship which has gone into the construction of them and the type of roof they had rather than to a time factor. The fact that Carcas was listed as a *llajta* of the Canta *parcialidad* in the earliest *visita* of 1549 is significant because the information compiled in that document very probably came from a *kipu* (Inca noted string record) which suggests that the village was occupied during the Inca or Late Horizon time period (A.D. 1460-1532). Carcas was recorded again in the later 1553 *visita* and was actually visited at that time. Villagers were forced to abandon the village under Spanish decree in 1570. This information suggests that the village was a viable settlement occupied continuously from its inception.

Ceramics of Late Horizon style introduced by the Inca are few and tentative at Carcas, which may be due in part to the small sample taken from the site. The site of Carcas has never been intensively collected for ceramics as dense ground cover precluded such controlled surficial sampling. The small ceramic sample discussed here is from three limited excavations undertaken in structures H1, H20 and H31 at Carcas. Ceramic type descriptions from the sample are not particularly detailed since the various categories of sherds are small, often with few diagnostic elements.

**Previous Research of Ceramics in the Canta Polity**

Early archaeological research of ceramics in the Upper Chillon river valley was included in a larger work by Villar Cordova (1935) who focused on ceramics produced by prehistoric populations who inhabited the area between the Chancay and Chillon rivers (Fig. 41). The study separates ceramics gathered from sites in the upper reaches of the Chancay and Chillon river valleys, and the mountainous lands between them, from those of the lower reaches of the valleys. We will briefly review the former (Villar Cordova 1935:364-385).

A limitation of Villar Cordova's study is that it is confined to pottery recovered from burials and includes no material from controlled excavation (Cordova 1935:364). That limitation aside, we may appreciate the importance of his work because of its geographic propinquity. For example "domestic" and "ritual" ceramic vessels were recovered a mere 15 km upstream from Carcas at the village of Culluhuay ("Kappur") located on the south side of the Chillon river,
Fig. 36. Ceramic vessels associated with burials, described by Villar Cordova (1935), are from Culluhuay ("Kappur") 15 km upstream from Carcas on the south side of the Chillon river and from cave burial sites in the polity of Atavillos Bajo located immediately north of Canta polity between the Chillon and Chancay rivers (Fig.). Vessels A, B, C, D, L, M, N, are one third actual size (Villar Cordova 1935:374). Vessels E, F, G, H, J, K, are one seventh their size, i.e. from 20-25 cm in height (Villar Cordova 1935:373).
as is Carcas (Villar Cordova 1935:365). There is a good possibility that Culluhuay was part of Canta polity (Rostworowski 1978:154). Villar Cordova documented ceramics from Huayopampa, Huascoy, Chiprak and Añay in the region of the Atavillos Bajo (Fig. 1). The latter, with the Canta and other local polities may have formed an Inca province during the Late Horizon from A.D. 1460-1532 (Rostworowski 1978:156-157).

Three burial types proposed by Villar Cordova were interpreted as representing different time periods on the basis of their associated ceramics. Burials in caverns, which Cordova thought were the graves of the "clase popular" or commoners (Villar Cordova 1935:321) are younger than the interment in a cyst or hole situated under the floor of a house which he refers to as "habitation tombs" (Villar Cordova 1935:365).

**Domestic Ceramic Types From "Cavern Burials"**

Vessels recovered from cavern burials (the most recent in age of the sample) were judged by Villar Cordova to be largely "domestic vessels" on the basis of carbonized material which adhered to their outer surface and on the basis of ethnographic analogy (Cordova 1935:365-366). These were not molded vessels and were probably coil built. Two functional categories within this domestic pottery are cooking jars or *ollas* (Fig. 36.: E, F, G, H, J, K,) and water jars or *cántaros* (Fig. 36.: L, M, N). The cooking jars occur in a variety of sizes: miniature "votive" offerings measure 5 cm or 6 cm in height; those destined for food preparation are 20 cm to 25 cm high with a breadth just slightly less (Villar Cordova 1935:373).

**Cooking Jar (Olla) Form and Decoration From "Burial Caves"**

Two body shapes of cooking jars or *ollas* are: a spherical body (Fig. 36: E, F, G, H) and a mixed spherical-conical shape with a flat base (Fig. 36.: J, K). Paste of jars having a globular body is grey or blackish, compact and thick (Villar 1935:365). The *ollas* of both forms have short necks which vary in terms of their curvature. Rims are not emphasized with the exception of G, and K (Fig. 36.). Handles are flat (strap) when they are attached solely to the body of the jar and are placed horizontally (Fig. 36.: F, G, H). The vertical handle attached to
rim and body of jar E (Fig. 36.) is tubular. Handles described for the mixed body
form type J are described as imitation bird heads (Villar Cordova 1935:366).
Decoration includes monochrome coloring of jars through application of
paint (slipping?). This treatment is seen in Jar G, which is black and in H, J, K
which are red. Only jar J (Fig. 36.) has a painted design in the form of a
geometric line decoration on the neck. A final form of decoration shown is a ring
of five separate bosses which encircles the body just above the handle level as
shown on jar F (Fig. 36.) was singled out as a fundamental design recovered
from the Atavillos Bajo region (Villar Cordova 1935:374).

Comparison of Domestic Ceramics of Burial Caverns with Carcas Sample.

The spherical body form of cooking jars of the Burial Caverns sample
appears to be a main form of such jars at Carcas. This conclusion is reached by
the fact that no sherds having structural evidence of a flat base were recovered
from the site. For example, in the excavations in H31A at Carcas the greatest
number of ceramics were recovered from the interface of levels 2 and 3, i.e. on
the top of the prepared plaster floor (Fig. 40). Carbonized material was present
on some 25 non-diagnostic sherds and the largest of these were from globular
forms.

These carbon bearing fragments had either black or dark reddish brown
outer surfaces and thus were similar in color to the spherical cooking jars
described by Villar Cordova for the burial sample (Villar Cordova 1935:368-
369). Finally, the pastes of both samples are similar in that neither is fully
oxidized. Villar Cordova notes that the walls of the spherical cooking jar is thick.
The Carcas fragments average 6.5 mm which is slightly thicker than the other
"storage jar" which is tentatively defined for Carcas and described below.

Mention was made above of cooking jar F (Fig. 36.) which featured
bossing around the body of the jar. A well defined boss on a red to reddish
brown fragment was recovered from the prepared plaster floor of H31A (Fig. 40,
level 3). Another was collected from the "special work site" of Paronmarca
(Ojomarca). In both instances the boss appears to have been formed by adding
clay to the surface of the vessel. They are similar in size being between 3.0 cm
to 3.5 cm in diameter and about one centimeter thick. Such relief decoration
may have some affinity to the Late Intermediate Period style Patan Qoto, which
Fig. 37. Diagnostic ceramics from excavations at Carcas. Late intermediate Period ceramics A, B, C, D, E and F. Late Horizon ceramics G, & H.
Fig. 38. Ceramic forms recovered from Carcas, (A) small serving bowl of redware with stamped circle design; (B) large redware bowl with stamped circles below the rim; (C) small serving bowl slipped reddish brown with no decoration; (D) jar of reddish-brown plainware.
according to some researchers may have been the antecedent in the Mantaro River basin region to Mantaro Base Roja. Patan Qoto features, "... black-and-white on red painting, appliqué nubbins, incision, and circular stamping" (Lumbreras 1974:200, Lavallée and Julien 1983). The related Base Roja style of the Jauja region has cane-stamped appliqué strips at the collar juncture of jars (Earle 1980:17). Chronological placement of these ceramics are shown in Fig. 40.

Carcas Slipped Jars (Fig. 38. D)

Fifteen rim sherds of the 74 recovered from is not as well finished. No thickening occurs at the tip of the rim in this grouping of sherds, rather the thickness of the sherds is consistent throughout the fragment. The rim is not sharply inverted as in the Inca arybaloid. Orifice diameter of this jar ranges from 10 cm to 22 cm and the thickness of the sherds is 0.5 cm to 0.6 cm. (Fig. 38. D).

Body shape of the jar cannot be established as few sherds recovered carry structural elements. This tentative slipped jar grouping appears to have been in general use in the village as it was recovered from each excavation unit at Carcas. Stratigraphic placement of the jar in levels 2, 3, and 4 of structure H31A, (Fig. 40) suggests that the slipped jar dates from the earliest occupation of that structure. The jar is probably a local pottery used in sites in the Carcas polity with both Inca and non Inca components (i.e. it occurs at Paronmarca where there is an Inca component). The neck shape of the Carcas jar is similar to a storage jar (Costin and Earle 1989:Figure 5 a) which dates to the Late Intermediate Period in the Upper Mantaro Valley near Jauja (Fig. 42).

Small Bowls

At Carcas small flat based bowls (diameter of orifice from 6 cm to 10 cm and height from 2 cm to 3 cm) with low, slightly excursive walls are both decorated and plain. The smallest of this form recovered at Carcas is red on both exterior and interior surfaces and decorated on the outer surface with a row of stamped circles just above the base (Fig. 38, A). Another rim sherd from Carcas is red on both surfaces and has stamped circles just below the edge of the rim (Fig. 38, B). The circles in both specimen were pressed into the clay before it was leather dry as the pressure of the stamp displaced enough clay to
form a slight convex mounding in the inner part of the circle. Circular stamping is not an Inca trait and, as already mentioned, characterizes the Patan Quoto style of the Late Intermediate Period (Lumbreras 1974:203).

The Lauri style too of the Chancay valley (Fig. 41) is distinguished principally by decoration impressed with a cane or blunt instrument on an unpainted red surface. It may constitute the domestic Chancay pottery which is a Late Intermediate Period style with a spatial distribution between the lower reaches of the Chillon and Chancay rivers (Lumbreras 1974:191). It is premature to determine to which culture Carcas may have had the greater historical affinity, the important aspect to note is that both Patan Quoto and Lauri styles which incorporate impressed design in their ceramics are of the Late Intermediate Period and thus predate the Inca ceramic style.

Southwest of Canta polity in the vicinity of the town of Sisicaya (Fig. 41) flat based bowls with slightly excursive walls are comparable in size and form to the Carcas sample. An illustrated bowl from Sisicaya is redware and decorated with solid circles or "V's" painted in white on the outer surface (Feltham 1984:57-58, Figure 5, f). This type of bowl is described as being peculiar to the area of Sisicyaya, i.e. it is neither an Inca or coastal Pachacamac form. The small size and association of the bowl with burials leads Feltham to suggest it had a ritual function (Feltham 1984:57).

In the Upper Mantaro river valley in the area of Jauja (Fig. 41) of the Central Andean highlands, flat based bowls, twice as large as those of Carcas, date to the later part of the Late Intermediate Period and are described as small serving bowls (Costin and Earle 1989:699 Figure 5, g). They, along with storage jars, were the most highly decorated ceramics of the region in that time period. These forms were visible in daily and ceremonial use, indicating the importance of such items in display contexts beyond their functional roles in storage and serving (Costin and Earle 1989:699).

To elaborate upon the role of small bowls in display context, we may note how the decoration of serving bowls at Carcas differs from that of Sisicaya and the Upper Mantaro valley, nevertheless they share significant similarities. First, the serving bowls are of the Late Intermediate Period, they are decorated on the exterior surface and are associated with ritual. Costin and Earle (1989:699) emphasize the role of the bowls in the institutionalized "largesse" required of the elite of the Late Intermediate Period (see above under the heading, "The
Central Andean Chiefdom of the Late Intermediate Period as a Paternalistic Mode of Domination).

The small circle stamped bowl from Carcas holds about one third of a cup of liquid (70 ml). We may consider its small size in light of a drinking pattern which I have witnessed in many parts of Peru (in the Canta district, Ayacucho, Cusco, Cajamarca, and on the coast). Briefly, the drinking party stands and only one glass and one bottle of alcohol are circulated at any time among the participants. An individual invited to drink, fills the glass, quaffs it, and then passes the bottle and the glass to another in the group. One can appreciate the utility of the small serving bowl if this pattern of drinking was practiced prehistorically, not only because of the small portion it holds, but also the small size of the serving bowl requires much pouring and passing which maximizes both the visual and tactile sensing of the emblem or the objectified "symbolic capital" among the participants of the drinking party.

Painted Ceramics As Age Indicators at Carcas

A number of sherds have been grouped together on the basis of their similarity in paste, surface color and decoration. The grouping was first recognized from ceramics recovered at the interface of levels 2 and 3 in H31A (Fig. 40) and subsequently recognized in ceramics from levels 3 and 4 of the shallow excavation in structure H20 which is designated a commoner house. The sherds measure between 0.05 cm to 0.06 cm in thickness, they are carefully finished on both surfaces with no finishing tool marks present. The paste is light grey to pink, it is fine, and has a few small white angular inclusions. A light beige ground color applied to the surface is decorated with painted geometric designs in red. The fragments of this style are either small or badly eroded and do not give many clues about design elements. One small sherd has parallel curvilinear lines painted red on a light beige ground color (Fig. 37, A). A rim sherd from a small bowl (orifice 6 cm) is light beige with thin parallel red lines painted on it near the rim and at an oblique angle to it (Fig. 37, B).

Parsons and Hastings (1988:202) mention a distinctive red on buff pottery which marks the Late Intermediate Period in the Tarama-Chinchaycocha region east of the Mantaro River between Jauja and Lake Junin (Fig. 41). The light beige colored ceramics with red painted geometric design from Carcas are
possibly historically related to the red-on-buff style of the Late Intermediate Period which characterizes its northeast neighbour.

**Inca Ceramics at Carcas**

Excavation of the northwest quadrant of structure of the outlier house H1 (Fig. 10, elevation 11 m) gave the best ceramic evidence for the *llajta* of Carcas having been occupied during the Late Horizon period (1460 A.D. to 1532 A.D). The significant ceramic fragment came from the surface level 1, and is a lug with a zoomorphic design such as those which characterize the Inca narrow necked jar called aryballoid. The width of the wall of the vessel is 5.6 cm, and the lug protrudes 1.5 cm. The zoomorphic face is widest (2.7 cm) at the top where the animal ears are indicated and the height of the face is 2.5 cm (Figure 23 D). The lug and whole outer surface of the sherd is tactually smooth and painted dark brown (7.5YR4/2) however, no luster is apparent on this outer surface.

The paste of this sherd is completely oxidized to a very dark red (2.5YR3/6). White angular inclusions and others which are also angular, but a lighter red color than the paste, are present. Size of these inclusions is similar, about 13/20 of a mm, and one could count approximately 35 to a centimeter. No finish has been applied to the inner surface of the fragment which is the red color of the paste. That surface is tactually rough with the inclusions often protruding. Parallel striations occur on the inner surface of this large ceramic fragment, produced by dragging particles when smoothing with a yielding tool while the clay was in a plastic state.

Fully oxidized paste with white angular inclusions and the light red angular inclusions (perhaps ground pottery?) similar to the paste of the Inca lug just described characterizes a rim sherd of an Inca style plate recovered from the "special work site" of Paronmarca of the Canta polity which has an Inca component. The plate is not painted and is red on both surfaces (the color of the oxidized paste). Although a fully oxidized paste may be a good indicator of Inca style pottery we have evidence that this is not always the case. A ceramic fragment collected from the same "special work site" of Paronmarca is not fully oxidized. This fragment, definitely influenced by Inca style, is a rim sherd from an Inca aryballoid form, which features a zoomorphic head, probably a llama, which drops from the rim and which is perforated (Figure 23 D). The paste of this...
Fig. 39. Painted and appliqué pottery from Carcas and the "special work site" also of the Canta polity named Paronmarca. Painted sherds A, B, are from lower levels of structure H20, Carcas. Inca applique fragment D is from the uppermost level of H1 at Carcas. Illustration C is a rim fragment from a locally made narrow neck jar of the Inca style called aryballoid which was collected from the site of Paronmarca.
Fig. 40. The general chronological framework for this study follows Rowe (1960) which divides the ceramic stage into alternating Horizons and Periods. The earlier term distinguishes time periods characterized by a wave of stylistic influences sweeping beyond parochial boundaries (Horizons) and time periods characterized by regional styles with much less pan-Andean impact (Periods). These are given in column one of the chart. The Middle Horizon or Wari State dates from A.D. 600-1000. The Late Intermediate Period extends from A.D. 1476-1553. The final date marks the arrival of the Spanish in Peru.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CULTURAL SUBDIVISIONS</th>
<th>CENTRAL COAST</th>
<th>CENTRAL HIGHLANDS OF PERU</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ancon - Chillon</td>
<td>Upper Chillon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Late Inca</strong></td>
<td><strong>Late Inca</strong></td>
<td><strong>Late Inca</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Cusco Ceramic Series (Rowe 1963)</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>+ Inca imitation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Late Intermediate Period</strong></td>
<td>Chancay</td>
<td>Canta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blackish paint on a whitish background</td>
<td>Red on Buff (Sykes 1990)</td>
<td>? Lauri style</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lauri style</td>
<td>Unpainted red-ware decorated by impression with cane or blunt instrument (Lumbreras 1974:192)</td>
<td>Unpainted red-ware bowls with impressed cane circles. (Sykes 1990)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Middle Horizon Wari State</strong></td>
<td><strong>Tri Color Geometric</strong></td>
<td><strong>Tri Color Geometric</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black-white-red (Sykes 1990)</td>
<td>Black-white-red</td>
<td>Opaque red incised design</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Epilgonal</strong></td>
<td><strong>Epilgonal</strong></td>
<td><strong>Pachacamac</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polychrome soft surface (keros)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Kero of orange paste, red slip, geometric design black band (Isla and Guerrero 1987:26-27)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Earle (1980:16) divides the LIP into an early and late phase. The latter is marked by the appearance of Mantaro Base Roja at about A.D. 1250.
Inca style sherd, although fired to a yellowish red on the outer edges of the paste is still not fully oxidized and a core, dark grey in color, is present.

Both surfaces of the not fully oxidized Inca style rim sherd are painted dark red (5YR 3/6) and the paint or slip is micaceous. The inner surface carries parallel striations produced by dragging particles when smoothing with a yielding tool while the clay was in a plastic state. Finger prints are still visible on the modeled llama head. The outer surface of the fragment is tactually smooth except for just under the inverted lip where inclusions protrude. The micaceous slip of this fragment coupled with the fact that the paste is not fully oxidized suggests that Inca style pottery was being produced locally. Until a larger excavated or collected ceramic sample is available from Carcas and other sites of the Canta polity we can only begin to adumbrate the influence Inca style had on the local ceramic forms at Carcas and identify it with any security.

Stratigraphic Deposits of Excavation Unit B H31 (H31A) Carcas.

One must appreciate that the roof of H31 (H31A) is partially collapsed (Fig. 25). As a consequence the northeast part of quadrant C and the northern section of quadrant B are covered with worked and unworked stone blocks and slabs from the fallen roof. Added to this is stone and rubble from the outer wall which was damaged when the roof collapsed. Upper courses of it are fallen around the northeast corner and along the north wall. The second room of this structure (H32), is perfectly preserved (Fig. 25).

Level 1 of H31 (H31A), refers to a surface deposit of very fine sediment not more than 3 cm to 4 cm in depth. Rock debris from roof and wall fall sticks up through this level in quadrants B and C. Also in those quadrants, where light permits, nettles grow and a humus layer with roots is noted around the plants. Sectors A and D, are free of the stone from the collapsed roof and walls and few nettles grow here as there is not sufficient light. In those two sectors level 1 was judged moderately compact and texturally more homogeneous than layer 2 which it overlays.

Level 2 is a deposit of fine sediments with small angular gravels (less than 1 cm) and fragments of mud mortar (Fig. 41). The level varies in thickness from 3 cm to 8 cm. The deposit is thinnest at the south side of quadrant "D", and reaches a maximum thickness much farther north where the
Fig. 41. Profile of Excavation Unit B, Structure H31 (H31A), Carcas. The profile includes the complete east face of excavation unit B, which exposes the southwest corner of the base of the central column. The profile of the south face is incomplete and the vertical line on the drawing marks the southeast corner of the unit.
collapsed roof fall begins. This pattern of change in depth, plus the fact that level 2 contains fragments of mud mortar, small gravels and fine sediments, suggests that much of the deposit was originally the thick (30 cm to 50 cm) layer of soil which capped the collapsed roof. If this is the case artifacts recovered from level 2 may have been deposited initially on the roof top prior to its collapse onto, and and subsequent spread over, the floor. Alternately successive thin layers could have been deposited intermittently while the house was occupied.

Level 3 is a very hard, light grey (10YR4/2), prepared plaster floor which extends over the whole of "D" quadrant and that of excavation unit "B". The deposit is irregular in thickness; in most of excavation unit "D" it is from 8 cm to about 15 cm thick but around and below the central column, where it appears to act as a footing, the deposit is 25 cm thick (Fig. 41). Unevenness in the thickness of the floor may have resulted from the plaster being mounded up and mixed with water inside the structure and then spread outwardly over the floor.

Level 4 probably extends over most of the floor area of H31 (H31A) (Fig. 41) and forms a bed upon which the prepared floor rests. The gravels of this level are fairly well sorted and are of a light color. I assume the material was transported from off site as no evidence of a gravel deposit occurs in the immediate vicinity of Carcas. Level 4 appears to be thickest near the center of the building but is not present below or around the base of the worked stone central column.

Level 5 is rocky fill which has been placed in the space behind the downslope facing wall of building terrace 4 on which H31 (H31A) is sited. Rocks in this terrace fill have not been worked and are generally of a size that would allow them to be carried by one person. Interspersed through the fill, is a rubble of smaller angular pieces of rock and dirt which do not completely fill the interstices between the larger rocks. Nondiagnostic ceramic sherds were recovered from this deposit.

The south wall of H31 (H31A) is perfectly preserved and bars downslope transported soil and debris entry into the house. Sediments deposited in H31 (H31A) after the roof had fallen, with concomitant damage to the upper courses of the northeast wall, were probably wind transported. Levels 1, and 2, are disturbed in some areas: a clandestine excavation about 65 cm by 45 cm and 30 cm deep is located between the north end of excavation unit "B" and the interior wall of the building.
IV CONCLUSIONS

Social inequality is one of the central concerns in social science. The thesis reconstructed a social relation of inequality, described it in the production process and showed how it was symbolically inscribed onto the landscape, and in the cultivation terraces, the village plan and the architecture at a microlevel of analysis. The archaeological unit of analysis was a small llajta type village of a non-state, small-scale, Andean society with an archaic economy. The population of this curacazgo (chiefdom) or polity of Canta was small, some 4000 or so persons. The population was divided into two distinct social groups hierarchically arranged: a dominant group of hereditary, local rulers referred to as "native lords" kuraka, cacique and principal -- about 14% of the population -- and the remaining subordinate commoners. Members of both groups were enumerated by the Spanish at Carcas in A.D. 1553 (Rostworowski 1978:240-241).

Drawing from ethnohistoric and ethnographic studies it was possible to reconstruct criteria which distinguished "native lord" from commoner in the subsistence production process. The archaeological study allowed a firmer grasp on the social relation of inequality in the polity of Canta and in particular at Carcas as it opened the window through which the symbolic dimension of social practices - its connections, disjunctions and contradictions - between the dominant "native lord" and commoner classes could be viewed. The social relation of inequality appeared on the basis of ceramics and architecture analysis to predate Inca rule in the polity of Canta. It is probable that the village of Carcas was built and continuously occupied for the bulk of the Late Intermediate Period (A.D. 1200 to 1460), through the Late Horizon (A.D. 1460 to 1532) and the early part of the Colonial period until A.D. 1570 when residents of the village were forcefully relocated at lower elevations in the Chillon valley.

Rather than conceptualize the class relation between "native lord" and commoner in the polity of Canta through theoretical frameworks which assert either production or culture as the organizing principle of society I relied particularly on the theorizing of Bourdieu (1977, 1984) which links the construction of class to the social and symbolic orders. In this view of class, identity begins with the hypothesis that class itself should be treated as a set of culturally marked properties: the properties are labeled as economic capital,
social and cultural capital. By virtue of practicing or participating in class identified social practices (for example, commoners at Carcasas were subsistence producers who had use rights to particular community held land and cultivated the fields of the "native lords") and by doing this in a particular way (commoner householders sought reciprocal labour partners for the cultivation of their own fields and constructed specific house forms) an agent exhibits forms of economic, social and cultural capital which, as has been demonstrated in the thesis, is an output of the structural unity of culture and production. From this standpoint, what was called class status in the thesis was the objectification of these capital forms within the objective structure simultaneously determined by the production process and cultural traditions (Lipuma and Meltzoff 1989:322).

The thesis was able to look at the position of the ruling "native lord" and commoner social groups in terms of their participation in different activities in particular ways and the symbolic objectification of their agency. Chapter two focused on economic capital, i.e. the participation of the "native lords" and commoners was examined in the process of production. Their particular and different access to social labour and use rights of communally held land was reconstructed. Perhaps the major distinction in the production process was the *ayni* reciprocal and symmetric labour relation which was practiced exclusively by the commoners and which probably characterized all the work done on their land. Commoners also worked the land of the "native lords" or *kurakas* (*caçiques* and *principales*) but through an asymmetric labour relation, probably similar to that of *mit'a* which was characteristic of the entire Andean region in late prehispanic time (Gledhill 1988:14). In this relation the commoners were obliged to work a day for a day's food and drink but with no obligation on the part of the caciques or *principales* to reciprocate labour.

Work parties mounted by the commoner *ayni* relation were small as the commoner was forced to repay in kind workers who made up these parties. Terraces near the bottom of the Chillon valley below the site are suggested as representing such projects on several counts: their planting surface shape is highly variable, height of benches and the stone work in them is variable. They appear to have been built as a result of piecemeal discontinuous effort. Finally these terraces are built up wherever a suitable location is salvageable on the rock strewn slope which gives the appearance that individual benches are "naturally" restricted in size rather than the outcome of the social relation of inequality in the polity. In sum they appear to be of a size and scope which the
majority of commoner households could build and realistically guarantee the labour required to cultivate and repair them.

Freed from having to reciprocate labour, "native lords" in a *mit'a* type relation had the potential of commanding large scale work parties of long duration. Uniform cultivation terraces built along steep terrain require deeper and wider downslope facing walls which implies a larger labour investment. Such terraces were at the highest elevations which are potentially more productive due to local climatic conditions which promotes greater rainfall higher along the slopes of the mountains. One set of uniform terraces, "complex A", is contained within a landform which provides a "natural" surrounding wall. This phenomenon not only makes the terraces impermeable but again we see a "naturalizing" effect because when apprehended by villagers the boundary wall appears to have been the result of nature and not the product of existing unequal social relations and social agency.

Ecological conditions are inextricably interwoven with the central Andean highland agricultural production system which combines a plant rotation mainly of tubers over four years at which time the soil is exhausted and the land is allowed to lie fallow for a period of from seven to ten years. It is this long fallow period which has been recognized as a factor promoting ambiguity over land and which activates annual reallocations of it (Mayer 1974:40). Reconstruction of reallocation practices combined with ethnohistoric sources suggested very strongly that although land was communally held, rights to the use of certain terraces were inherited assuring differential land use. On the basis of the positioning of the two groups in the economic process I reached the conclusion that the subsistence base of the people of Canta polity is best understood in terms of a political economy model. The ecologic/sufficiency model, explaining social organization in terms of environmental factors, "slights the basic point that social organization -- delineates and defines -- the environment from which the appropriation takes place (Sider 1988:20).

The position of the two groups in terms of objectified symbolic capital was pursued in chapter three of the thesis. As archaeologists our object of study are the symbolic dimensions of social practice. The significance of pottery form and design, burial practices, architecture and village design lies in their symbolic meaning at a particular time in history and within a particular society. Symbols and systems of symbols, as major elements in social agency may be seen as functioning in different ways. Bourdieu argues that there are three functions of
symbolic structures: as a means of communication, as an instrument for the knowledge and construction of the objective world, and as instrument of domination by establishing and legitimating, through its ideological effect, the dominant culture. In Bourdieu's thinking symbolic structures or systems are not so much in true dialectical relationship with social action as they are orchestrations or mystifications of power relations or of relations of production (Knauft 1985:361).

Implicit in such a view is the notion that not only are the ruling ideas in every age the ideas of the ruling class, but the ruling ideas themselves reinforce the rule of that class. This appears to be partially the case at Carcas when applied to objectified cultural and social capital, if my interpretation of the connection between the houses of the "native lord" and commoners is accepted. This reservation will be taken up later but first mention of Weiner's (1985) work regarding inalienable objects will be discussed as it supports this position taken by Bourdieu (1977:189).

The primary value of inalienability, however, is expressed through the power these objects have to define who one is in a historical sense. The object acts as a vehicle for bringing the past into the present, so that the histories of ancestors, titles, or mythological events become an intimate part of a person's present identity (Weiner 1985:210).

And finally her important insight that the creation and possession of wealth that has inalienability as a major step in sustaining marked, hierarchical relations through successive generations (Weiner 1985:224).

Weiner's theorizing strengthens the argument taken up in the thesis of the strategy of the house of the "native lord" as one which legitimated and perpetuated Andean hierarchies. One point which needs clarification relates to the specific roles that material culture plays in any given historical time and social context, which I contend cannot be assumed a priori and is a problem for investigation. The strategy of the house of the native lord was an Andean practice as attested in myth, ethnohistory, and history and one which surely predates the Late Horizon as documented in the thesis. It is clearly stated in the myth how the house of victorious Mancocapac objectified his social capital (his ancestry) as it was built according to Mancocapac's specifications: that is of
stone and in the shape of a framework which consisted of three windows, which referred to the house of his parents (or ancestors?) from whom they descended (Zuidema 1964:69). It may be deduced from Mancocapac's action that houses generally objectified the householder's lineage or ancestry, i.e. one's historical position in the collective history. On the basis of this reasoning I assumed the house to be a symbolic projection not only of the power relations between competing individuals and groups but representative of different values and beliefs and in the case of Carcas, values associated with the ayni and mit'a form of labour relations in particular.

From this position I was able to theorize about why commoner houses were similar in form, and why they were in an "open" context without surrounding walls. Briefly, building on ethnohistoric and ethnographic material from the Central Peruvian highlands, it is apparent that survival and the perpetuation of the household, the basic unit of production, depended upon each unit having access to labour of other similar units during the peak agricultural periods such as planting and harvesting times (Spalding 1984:24-25; Mayer 1974:62). Commoner householders had to remain open to potential reciprocal relations and as was seen at Carcas, commoners did not build walls around either single houses or groups of houses which could have had the effect of restricting these vital interhousehold labour exchanges.

In the thesis it is suggested that there was on the part of commoner householders, suppression of any desire that they may have had to construct houses appreciably different from those of other commoner householders. It was argued that this practice increased predictability in the sense that a commoner seeking a reciprocal relation would experience a degree of assurance that persons from houses similar to that of her or his own would be cognizant of the patterns of the ayni reciprocal relation. Work in the ayni relation is standardized, "... for example, the work in chacmoo is standardized rhythmical work in which the pace is set by members of the team. No one works more or less than his team mate" (Mayer 1974:363). The customary pattern furthermore becomes a standard of value against which the economic worth of the exchanges can be judged (Mayer 1974:363). It is through an understanding of such commoner practices that we see how their similar houses (i.e. objectified symbolic capital) and the ayni labour relation are mutually reinforcing and indeed part of an objectified structure determined by the production process and cultural traditions.
At one level of analysis the thesis looked at the Andean practice of house-building during the Late Intermediate Period as a strategy whereby "native lords" of the polity of Canta, living in the village of Carcas, legitimated and perpetuated their appropriation of commoner labour and their privileged social position. But this concept of agency when gleaned solely from historical documents and when bereft of the symbolic dimension of such practice,

... is too direct, too pragmatically rooted, and too conscious to merge very comfortably with any anthropological approach that has pondered the intricate weavings and complex causal links that occur within the domain of culture (Sider 1988:9).

Upon actually seeing the cultural form of houses of the "native lords' " at Carcas relative to those of the commoners, it was possible to theorize at an even deeper level of analysis as I was able to consider the symbolic dimension of house-building strategies. To elaborate, at the village of Carcas the dominant "native lords" incorporated - through agency or social action - architectural elements of the commoner house into the outward, visible, shell of their own houses. It was proposed that the ultimate aim of this practice on the part of the "native lords" was to mask their appropriation of labour at Carcas by portraying themselves publicly - outwardly - as commoners, and thus appear to serve commoner interests politically, culturally and economically.

Such practice, no doubt, reinforced the rule of the ruling class at Carcas but at the same time, as was elaborated in the thesis, had the potential of facilitating confrontational claims of the subordinate class; commoners at Carcas upon seeing themselves as both being excluded and included in elite culture could use their own culture as an avenue through which to express confrontational claims upon the dominant class. Thus we see the contradiction which arose in this instance from material culture (the objectified symbolic dimension) which on the one hand had the potential of attenuating commoner confrontational claims upon the dominant social group but at the same time ensuring such claims.

My point in emphasizing this example of a contradiction which arises in the symbolic dimension of social practice is not to suggest that the notion is wrong that ruling ideas of the ruling class reinforce the rule of that class, and
that this is accomplished mainly through agency. Rather, it is to move forward
and seek to discover the dynamics of the interrelationship between symbolic
and sociopolitical factors, to grasp in this social instance a more penetrating
understanding of how the objectified symbolic, shapes and generates social
relations. In this case it contains contradiction which opens the possibility for
restructuration. Thus we may begin to understand the symbolic structure not
only as a system of domination, but to understand the system of domination as
having a potential dynamic as the locus of mediation between daily life and
appropriation (Sider 1988:193). This last assertion was borne out at Carcas
where the "shared values" (i.e. architectural elements) of commoner and "native
lords" were "values" linked to the subsistence production system where the
labour appropriation occurred.

Bourdieu's (1977) theorizing accommodates notions that economic
capital such as land will have a cultural value over and above its technical value
(fertility, ease of cultivation) which may inform practices or the structure of class
relations. We saw how this was the case in the myth of the founding of Cuzco
where the victorious Mancocapac built his house on the very land where the
house of the vanquished ruler had stood. This implies that a cultural or symbolic
value was attached to the land and it was this cultural value which informed
Mancocapac's action which claimed the land as a part of his own social capital.

Landforms too take on symbolic value and inform relations of power in
terms of gender. This was presented in the thesis when discussing the
placement of the chief's house on the topographic high side of the village.
Structural analysis depicts male earth shrines in Andean cosmology as rocks,
hills and high places furthermore qualities of erectness and permanence are
associated with men (Bastien 1978:239). The location of the house of the
"principales" well away from any view of the Chillon river and adjacent low
valley lands, would not be equated with femaleness. Female earth shrines, on
the other hand are lakes and low places in Andean cosmology.

Given the telluric nature of Andean religion, which is apparent from myths
and legends contained in the Huarochiri documents, landforms were often
deified (Spalding 1984:69). There is a good possibility that the outstanding
rockcrest associated with the village generally and with the most prestigious
"native lord" residential sector in particular, could have been a wak'a and as
such imbued with a cultural value over and above the technical value of the
value of the landform which informed the placement of the most prestigious "native lord" houses at Carcas as argued in the thesis.

I postulated in the thesis that duality was a cultural ethos or theme produced and controlled by the "native lord" social group at Carcas as a means to ensure productivity of appropriated labour in the mit'a labour relation. By dividing commoners of the village into two parts competition between the two halves of the village was promoted. This practice resonates with the ethnohistoric information cited in the thesis as to why ayllus were divided. Also the reluctance to work on the part of the commoner when his/her labour was being appropriated was evident from ethnohistoric sources which were cited in the thesis.

Dual division of the village divided not only commoners but "native lords" at Carcas; a "native lord" residential sector is situated in the upper and lower residential zones of the village. I believe stationing members of the dominant group in each zone addressed the need for assertion of power in daily life. Sider cites daily behaviour such as the tipping of hats, or the giving of pardons, or the flogging of folks who profaned the Lord's Day, as direct involvement in the daily affairs of people and was part of the domain of display, the recurring "theater of power" (cf. Thompson 1974, cited in Sider 1986:124).

On the basis of my documentary evidence from the polity of Carcas I do not know what power "native lords" held during the Late Intermediate Period in the polity of Canta which would be elements in this domain of display. Salomon (1986:138) argues that the Lords of Quito possessed the power to dispossess commoners, confiscate their goods, or severely punish them and confiscate their land. The kurakas of Huarochiri located next to Canta (Fig. 1) intervened at the household or minimal group level, when, "... normal practice broke down and the "law of good behaviour" failed to function" (Spalding 1984:34). It does not seem unreasonable to suggest that the location of "native lord" residential sectors in both zones of the village would facilitate display of power at the daily level of village life.

The imposition of "duty" onto a subordinate social group is not automatically engendered at times of appropriation of labour, i.e through receipt of food and drink which accompanied the mit'a form of labour appropriation. Installation of duty, and compliance is ordinarily attempted through a combination of political, economic and cultural pressures. I believe this is partially borne out by the fact that there is a lack of evidence at Carcas for
control of a surplus, i.e. control of storehouses, at the village level of organization which may be indicative that the social relation of inequality is perpetuated through mechanisms of objectification and display of power as just described.

Display of power through the manipulation of prestige goods or objectified social capital in the forms of decorated *keros* or drinking cups, in small serving bowls was also touched upon in the thesis. Given the limited excavation undertaken at Carcas it is impossible to say at this time how the prestige goods of this type were distributed among commoner and elite households. Domination through a process of closure is evident in the polity of Canta where "native lords" had been successful in closing eligibility to ruling offices from commoners by implementing recruitment through inheritance.

. . . in this type of chiefdom the use of kinship mechanisms are employed to strengthen the chiefly lineages. . . In such chiefdoms . . . the function of kinship changes from that of ordering similarly organized groups in relation to one another to that of drawing a major distinction between one stratum and another (Wolf 1982:97-98).

"Native lords" at Carcas participated in the monopolization of prestigious architectural elements which included: the stone masonry central column with *ceque* patterned ceiling, the false arch chimney and plastered floor. Furthermore they kept these out of circulation by enclosing them inside their houses which, with the exception of but two houses (one in each half of the village), were clustered in impermeable residential sectors at the site. The lifestyle of the "native lord" as objectified in the categories labeled economic capital, cultural and social capital was distinctive from that of the commoner at Carcas.

Native lord residential sectors at the village are impermeable with controlled entries which attests further to the process of closure. Pathways leading to both "native lord" residential sectors are narrow and planned in such a manner that persons travelling along them are under surveillance at all times. Bottlenecks such as the long, narrow and steep stairway which accesses "native lord" residential sector "A" from elevations below the sector certainly places limits on the number of persons walking along it at any one time. Although less
dramatic, the narrow stairway skirting house H57 of "native lord" residential "B" effectively controls entry onto exclusive patio PXXXVI of the sector.

This exclusivity participated in by "native lords" at Carcas emphasizes the social distance between "native lord" and "commoner" and we see at Carcas a conjunction of social and spatial distance. It was argued in the thesis that this form of exclusionary closure was an attempt by one group to secure privileges for itself through tactics which give rise to a social category of ineligibles or outsiders (Rowlands 1985, Bender 1989). The salient point from conceptualizing power as a built-in attribute of closure means that it is not something distributed or allocated in society, but is constituted by forms of social action that define eligibility and ineligibility to it.

As reflected in the previous chapters of the thesis neither the differential access Carcas residents had to terraced land, to camelids that pastured on the puna and to social labour, nor a formal portrayal of the built environment was sufficient in itself to explain in social terms what the built environment at Carcas was about. To understand the latter, the village plan, its architectural forms and elements -- which I assume represent concrete social practice -- had to be considered in terms of Andean religion, ideology and cosmological systems, that is, in terms of the symbolic domain which is intrinsically linked with social practice.

A growing number of Andean archaeologists and ethnohistorians are directing their energy and ability in this type of approach. Perhaps Zuidema has been foremost among them in his exploration of the various dimensions and implications of ethnohistorically reconstructed Inca social and cosmological systems. In various publications, he has demonstrated the intricate and close relationships among ritual calendars, cosmologies, kinship systems, ancestor cults, mortuary practices, and architectural organization (Shimada 1986:163).

Inca organizational principles embedded in cosmology provide the underpinnings in other recent publications on prehistoric Andean ideology and symbolism. For example Isbell's (1978; cf. Williams 1978 - 80) analysis of U-shaped ceremonial/religious structures dating from the Initial Period to the Late Horizon which argues for a strong continuity in Andean cosmology as noted by Shimada (1986:163). Continuity in institutions governing Andean statecraft is proposed by Anders who seeks antecedents to Inca administrative strategies in earlier Andean states (1986). Conrad (1981) combines archaeological and ethnohistorical Inca models in his reconstruction of the Chimú Kingdom in which
he argues for the importance of split inheritance and ancestral worship (cited in Shimada 1986:163).

In Andean prehistory this increasing sensitivity to the role of culture in complex society may be the result of a growing dissatisfaction with older types of materialist theory (Bawden 1989:327). However, it need not force archaeology into a headlong rush to idealism or a cultural determinism which would be just as reductionist as its predecessors (mechanistic evolutionism and techno-economic determinism of the "new archaeology"), and perhaps more historically particularistic than many would feel desirable (Gledhill 1988:26). The challenge is to conceptualize or think in more synthetic and less doctrinaire ways.

Thus the first step in understanding the built environment of Carcas in terms of the social, has been to accept a multidisciplinary approach. It is through such an approach that one is able to confer meaning and significance to a concentration of "traces of the past" which are otherwise meaningless and non-significant objects in terms of the social. This reciprocal "reading" of material culture, ethnohistory and social theory is not simply a process of eclectic nominal summation, rather, it reengages the analysis at progressively deeper levels. This yields what Bateson (1979:75) has called the "... bonus or increment of knowing [that] follows from combining information from two or more sources" (cited in Knauft 1985:349). It is by empirically confronting such problems of combination that one is forced to break new ground, try out new explanations, and come to wider more penetrating understanding.

The type of analysis presented in the thesis is dependent upon excellent ethnohistoric and ethnographic studies of the unit of study, upon unusual site preservation and a thorough systematic description of it. When I was gathering data at Carcas and recording one round house form after another, the notion of redundancy was ever present. It is obvious now that such painstaking (and at times boring) field work is required to capture as much empirical data as possible. It was as a result of seeing the village on paper that it became evident that the built environment of Carcas portrayed consistent form and planning.

A main problem archaeologically was how to study the immovable architectural features and other aspects of the built environment at Carcas. Few typologies for the Andean region have been developed to assist the archaeologist in this endeavour. I decided to develop an inventory of architectural forms and elements in the form of a field manual. The manual is in
four parts, the first two of which are given here: Part "A" is a compilation of selected architectural forms and elements attributed to the Late Horizon time period (Inca) and to local traditions of the Late Intermediate Period and Late Horizon time from the Central Peruvian highlands.

Part "B" of the manual describes the collection of continuous data from the various architectural forms and elements. Noncontinuous data were scored in the field onto gridded sheets (24 rows and 60 columns) and were keyed to the field manual which is appended to the thesis (Appendix 1).
APPENDIX 1

FIELD MANUAL OF ARCHITECTURAL FORMS AND ELEMENTS
Late Intermediate Period (A.D. 1100 to A.D.1460) and
Late Horizon Period (ca. A.D. 1460 to 1533).

Material culture does not so much signify a relationship between
people and nature, since the environment itself is socially
constituted, but relationships between groups, relationships of
power. The form of social relations provides a grid into which the
signifying force of material culture becomes inserted to extend,
define, redefine, bolster up or transform the a grid (Shanks and
Tilley 1987:103).

INTRODUCTION

My study defines architecture in the broadest sense of the term, as the
"practice" of building which is manifest in houses, ceremonial centers, free
standing walls, terraces, platforms, bridges, and mechanisms to facilitate
movement such as steps and ramps. This broad definition is important to the
concept of space being socially produced, of it being, in the terms of Lefebvre
(1973 chapter 1), "a second nature".

The study of such immovable features demands their accurate and
systematic description in the field. This fact has long been recognized and a few
typologies for the Andean region have been developed to assist the
archaeologist in this endeavour. The earliest of these by Bennett (1946)
introduced some order into studies of Andean architecture by setting up a
classification according to subsistence strategies of various social groups: food,
gatherers, farmers and so on. The Andean is vast and as more information
about architecture accumulated Engel (1978) developed a typology based on
technological aspects of the structures themselves. The purpose of his work
was "... to simplify the task of the investigator" by setting up a catalogue of the "...
technological situations encountered in the field" (Engel 1978:413). Engel's
systematic descriptions and illustrations cover all time periods and areas in the
Andes. Both typologies just described are too generalized for my research
interests.
My decision was to develop an inventory of architectural forms and elements in the form of a field manual. Such an instrument would insure systematic gathering of data at the sites and at the same time separate the local traditional Canta architecture from an Inca overlay. I selected certain forms and elements to be included in the field manual. My choices were partly a function of what was available in the literature, however, I was guided by prerequisites demanded in the culture history migration paradigm. Although I was not dealing with a migration per se, the conquest of the polity of Canta and its subjugation by the Inca about A.D. 1460 (Rowe 1946, Earle 1987:105 Note 1) can be broadly conceptualized in terms of a culture history "organized" migration paradigm for the purpose of separating the local Canta Architectural style from that of the Late Inca or Late Horizon.

Briefly the paradigm as outlined by Trigger (1968:39-47) requires demonstration of a significant break or change in the archaeological record. The recognition of such a change must come from a thorough understanding of the culture history of the region in question (with an assemblage complete enough to reasonably recognize change). If a break or change is detected and explained in terms of a migration, the archaeologist must locate the origin of the migrant population. Chronology is important here, as the origin of donor sites must be correlated with the time period of the receiver population. Also the migrant route must be determined and evidence of the donor culture be noted along it. Acceptable evidence along the migratory route of the donor culture are single component sites or occupation levels which represent the donor people at a single place at a single time.

Requirements of the culture history migration paradigm are pretty well met when applied to the case of the Inca military expansion in the Andes. Internally differentiated settlement "understandable only in reference to a larger system and to politically based direction coming from far away" is the description Morris (1972:393) gives to Inca state installations in Tawantinsuyu. He writes how such installations follow Inca building canons and there is "a profound difference between the imperial and local sites in stylistic attributes of both architecture and ceramics" (Morris 1972:394).

Such Inca installations were located along Qhapaq-ñaän, the official Inca state road, the "migratory" route (Fig. 42). According to one documentary source 170 such settlements were built along this communication network controlled by the Inca (Poma[1615] 1936:1084-93 in Morris 1972:394). The weak spot to date
Fig. 42. A map of the western slope of the Central Andes with the official Qhapaq-ñan Inca road and lateral roads connecting with it.
in meeting the requirements of the paradigm is the paucity of information regarding the household and the village matters in regions subjegated by the Inca but located away from Cuzco and from the qhapaq-ñan (Murra in the introduction to Gasparini and Margolies 1980:x).

In order to address this weakness and to meet the requisites of the migration paradigm, architectural information from the immediate Cuzco region, the donor culture, was required for the field manual. Particularly I needed architectural information about Late Inca (A.D. 1476-1553 Fig. 40) planned village sites where emphasis would be given to domestic buildings and their arrangement in space. Finally, information about the architecture of Canta, the receiver culture, and neighbouring polities in the central Peruvian highlands were requisites for the field manual to get a firmer grasp on the role they may have played in the Canta polity. Major works I drew upon for the latter include those of: Pedro E. Villar Cordova (1935), Ramiro Matos Mendiata (1958), Donald Thompson (1968), Teodoro Casana (1976), Timothy Earle (1980), Graciano Gasparini and Luise Margolies (1980), Danièle Lavallée and Michèle Julien (1983), Craig Morris and Donald Thompson (1985).

Late Inca architecture is not only described from the Cuzco heartland but from Inca installations along the qhapaq ñan which were destination points for Canteños when serving their mit'a labour obligations as mentioned in the 1549 visita (Rostworowski 1978:223-24).

Format of Field Manual Part "A".

Kendall (1976, 1985) is the only researcher to focus on Inca planned villages relatively close to Cusco (Niles 1987:2-4). Also Kendall's work has illucidated how the Inca remains relate to those of both the earlier Late Intermediate Period and subsequent Colonial Period (Niles 1987:4) which is of further utility for archaeologists attempting to separate the local architecture from an Inca overlay. Kendall's comprehensive work entitled "Aspects of Inca Architecture" provided me a format for the field manual. I refer particularly to her inventory of Inca architecture which organizes and describes structural forms and elements of Inca architecture located in the Cusichaca area of the lower Urubamba valley, heartland of the Inca Empire (Kendall 1985).

This classification system is based on formal attributes of Inca structures. The buildings are first grouped according to their overall exterior form, most of
which translate into geometric shapes. The rectangular, round and ovoid forms are examples. Each form is then subdivided on the basis of further formal segregating criteria such as number of rooms, or placement of them in the structure. Illustrations of the architectural forms and elements clarify written descriptions of them.

Architectural elements such as storeys in buildings, roofs, floors, walls, doorways, windows, niches and other exterior and interior details form main groups in Kendall’s classification system. And, as was the case with structure forms, each architectural element is subdivided on the basis of different attributes accorded it. For example roofs are subdivided on the basis of specific roof types: hip, gable, sloped, natural rock or corbel vaulted roof (Kendall 1985:20).

The field manual was the basic tool for systematic collection of quantitative and formal information about the built environment at the villages of the polity of Canta. The manual keyed grid sheets (60 columns and 24 rows) on which the data was recorded in the field. Application of the system at the sites was as follows. Each site and all its structures were mapped. preferably with a plane table and alidade. At Carcas steepness and ruggedness of the site precluded exclusive use of the alidade and much of the site detail was mapped with a compass, stadia rod and metric chain.

A discrete number was given each building and that number was painted on the structure in the field. On the map a building classified as a house was marked "H" followed by its discrete house number. Storehouses which were not attached to houses were distinguished by the letter "G" plus the structure's number. Storage units attached to the outside of houses were designated "D" which was then followed by the unit's number (Fig. 10).

**Coding Method.**

Each building is recorded along one row of a grid sheet (24 rows and 60 columns). The first two columns of the row locate the structure within its village: site 01 is Carcas. The number of the patio with which the building is associated is recorded in columns three and four. The functional category of the structure, i.e. if it is a house, storage unit etc., is entered in column five. The next three columns are reserved for the building's discrete number, which of course corresponds to that shown on the site map.
Continuing along the same row, and hence describing the building identified in the first eight columns of the row, we commence to record the exterior form of the building. Should the building be a "rectangular single form" column nine is the appropriate column for that information. The building is further described in column nine according to its "state" which is given in the manual. For example, if the building being described is a single room, rectangular building with an open form (with three walls ) it is described as number one in the manual. Number one then, is placed in column nine. However, if the building being described is a single room, rectangular form with four walls, number two, which describes that state in the manual, is recorded in column nine.

Each architectural element is also assigned a column on the grid sheet and the various states of each are described and numbered in the manual. They are recorded for each structure as described in the preceeding paragraph. A field notebook was also kept to further record or illustrate architecture at the sites.

The manual which follows and concomitant grid sheets were utilized during the 1986 and 1987 field seasons. All information has been transferred from the grid sheets to Microsoft Excel for easy handling.

PART "A": SELECTED ARCHITECTURAL FORMS AND ELEMENTS

1. BUILDING FORMS

a) The Rectangular Single Forms
 (column 9 of grid sheet)

i) Single structure, rectangular, with three walls. This "open" structure, or masma, has an open or almost open front. It may be free standing or may use an enclosure wall or a terrace wall as a back wall (Kendall 1985:13), (Gasparini and Margolies 1980:173).

ii) Single structure, rectangular and "closed" has a trapezoidal shaped doorway in the front wall (Kendall 1985:13).
iii) Large hall or *kallanka*, is a single rectangular room, with multiple trapezoidal shaped doorways in a long wall (Gasparini and Margolies 1980:255).


v) Single rectangular structure with rounded corners in the interior of the building (Morris and Thompson 1985:119,155).

vi) Single rectangular structure with rounded corners in the interior and on the exterior of the building.

vii) A row of small rectangular structures called *qollqas*. Doorways are small and above ground level (Morris 1974:135-45).

viii) A rectangular room with a single entrance, the long walls extend to form a porch (Morris and Thompson 1985:152).

b) **Rectangular Double Structures**  
   (column 10 of grid sheet)

i) Back-to-back, open, double structures, share a common back wall (Kendall 1985:14).

ii) Back-to-back structures, closed, share a common back wall (Kendall 1985:14).

iii) Side-by-side double structures, open, share a common side wall (Kendall 1985:14).

iv) Side-by-side structures, closed, share a common side wall (Kendall 1985:14).
c) **Rectangular Multiroom Structures**  
(column 11 of grid sheet)

i) Rectangular two room structure has a single entry located either in an end or side wall. A doorway in the dividing wall connects the rooms.

ii) Rectangular three room structure with doorways in dividing walls and single entry doorway.

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d) **Round Single Structures**  
(column 12 of grid sheet)


iii) U-shaped form is without a front wall (Kendall 1985:15).

iv) Irregularly formed single room structure without a front wall (Kendall 1985:15).

v) Oval form single room with one entrance (Kendall 1985:15).

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e) **Round Multiroom Structures**  
(column 13 of grid sheet)

i) A round room is joined to a round, smaller annex. Access to the annex is from the main room (Lavallée and Julien 1983:67).
ii) Single round room joined by a smaller annex. There is no access to the annex from the interior of the structure.

iii) Three rooms in form "en shanki" (Lavallée and Julian 1983:67).

iv) Oval form structure with two discrete units. A dividing wall has no doorway, or window to connect the units. Each unit has a separate exterior doorway.

v) An oval form has one large room with an exterior doorway. A dividing wall runs the length of the room. Space behind it (stippled area) is split horizontally into two levels, like bunk beds. A ledge of stone slabs forms the floor between the levels. Each level is about a meter wide and two or more meters long. Each level is entered by a small window like entry large enough for an adult. I refer to it as a "split-level".

v) An oval form, similar to form iv above, has two complete separate units which share a side wall. The dividing side wall has no doorway or window.

f) **Structures of Compound Forms**
   (column 14 of grid sheet)

i) Semicircular form consists of a semicircular back wall with a straight front wall (Kendall 1985:16).

ii) Compound form consists of concave parallel long walls joined by straight short walls. A doorway may be placed in any of the walls (Kendall 1985:16).

g) **Irregular Compound Forms**
   (column 15 of grid sheet)

i) Forms which vary in complexity usually built as a continuation or integration with terrace walls.
ii) Irregular forms take their shape partly from the natural features at the site: caverns, rockshelters, and stone outcrops.

2. STOREYS IN STRUCTURES

a) Structures with a Single Storey (column 16 of grid sheet)

i) Single storey structures of any form.

b) Structures with Multiple Storeys (column 17 of grid sheet)

i) Single storey with full attic. The end walls are extended to support a gable roof. The second storey is not full (Kendall 1985:18).

ii) Structure with full second storey. Entry to upper floor is outside from an upslope level. Doorway of second storey is full height (Kendall 1985:19), (Morris and Thompson 1985:159).

iii) A "false" two storey structure consists of a building which has been placed forward on a terrace so that it's facing wall extends upward to form part of the building's wall. Masonry lined crypts (shown as a circle in the cross section sketch) may occur in the rubble fill of the terrace.

iv) A "pseudo" two storey structure features a lower discrete unit partially built under another discrete unit. No opening exists between the two structures.

v) Three storeys or two full storeys and an attic (Kendall 1985:19).
vi) Cross section of the "split level" structure described above (1, e, iv and v).

3. ROOFS

a) Pitched, Angled, and Flat Roofs
   (column 18 of grid sheet)

i) The hip roof slopes in four different directions from a longitudinal support. Walls of the structure are of an equal height (Kendall 1985:20).


iii) The shed roof slopes in one direction.

iv) A conical roof which consists of a framework of small poles interlaced with branches and covered with grass that rests on top of a round single roomed dwelling with a wall of even height.

v) Cross section of a round corbel building with a flat roof. The diameter decreases in each successive course in the wall. The resultant dome is closed by large stone slabs which also tie the walls. A capping of dirt seals the roof (Gasparini and Margolies 1980:147), (Morris and Thompson 1985:165).

vi) A centrally placed masonry column supports many stone slabs which span the space from it to the wall of the round corbel building. The roof is dirt capped (Villar Cordova 1935:305).

vii) Natural bedrock overhang serves as a roof (Kendall 1985:21).
4. FLOORS

a) Ground Floors of Buildings
   (column 19 of grid sheet)

   i) Ground floor paved with smooth water worn pebbles
      (Kendall 1985:22).

   ii) Ground Floor paved with worked stone slabs (Kendall
       1985:22).

   iii) Ground floor of prepared plaster.

   iv) Ground floor of beaten earth.

b) Second Storey Floors
   (column 20 of grid sheet)

   i) Second storey floor of stone slabs (Morris and
      Thompson 1985:159).

   ii) Second storey floor of wood.

5. EXTERIOR DOORWAYS

a) Doorway of Trapezoidal Form
   (column 21 of grid sheet)

   i) Single trapezoidal doorway is symmetrically located in
      the front wall of rectangular form buildings. Lintel is of
      stone or wood wrapped in fibres (Kendall 1980:25).

   ii) Many trapezoidal doorways arranged symmetrically in
       long wall of rectangular buildings.

   iii) Trapezoidal doorways located in walls other than the
       long front wall of rectangular building.
b) **Doorway Rectangular or Slightly Trapezoidal**  
(column 22 of grid sheet)

i) Small rectangular-trapezoidal doorway with a stone lintel and sill. The sill is at ground level outside but above floor level inside the structure (Villar Cordova 1935:296).

ii) Doorway shape indeterminable, but sill is at same level as the floor inside the building.

iii) Irregular doorway of modified cave or rockshelter.

c) **Interior Doorways**  
(column 23 of grid sheet)

i) Small rectangular-trapezoidal doorway(s) with stone lintel and sill located above floor level which connect interior rooms.

ii) Small entry at floor level inside building, to access a hollow area inside the outer wall of a corbel building (Villar Cordova 1935:295).

iii) Full height doorways located in dividing wall to connect interior rooms of a structure.

6. **WINDOWS**

a) **Exterior Windows**  
(column 24 of grid sheet)

i) Exterior window, more or less trapezoidal in shape, has a stone lintel and sill. Usually located 1.25 m above ground level (Kendall 1980:27).

ii) Narrow rectangular windows, located in gable ends of buildings.
iii) Rectangular windows located in gable ends of buildings.

iv) Small ventilation windows to the exterior, placed near the ceiling level of rooms.

b). **Interior Windows or Openings**  
   (column 25 of grid sheet)

i) Small openings which penetrate walls between rooms in buildings are angled and prevent visual contact between rooms.

7. **NICHES**

a) **Niche Form**  
   (column 26 of grid sheet)

i) Rectangular form ........................................

ii) Trapezoidal form ......................................

iii) Inverted trapezoidal form .............................

iv) Horizontal form ......................................  
   (base two and a half times greater than height)

8. **NICHE LOCATION**

a) **Interior of Structures**  
   (column 27 of grid sheet)
i) Niches located midway in the walls.

ii) Niche located in column.

iii) Niches located in both column and midway in walls.

b) **Exterior Niches**  
   (column 28 of grid sheet)

i) Niche located on the exterior surface of building wall.

ii) Niche located in free standing wall.

iii) Niche located on terrace facing wall.

iv) Niche located in association with natural feature.

9. **NICHE ALIGNMENTS**

a) **Interior of Building**  
   (column 29 of grid sheet)

i) Niches of any form about 1.25 m high on wall which are not equidistant from each other (Kendall 1980:32).

ii) Niches of any form about 1.25 m high on wall in a row and equidistant from each other (Kendall 1985:32).

iii) Double row of niches of any form placed diagonally along a wall (Kendall 1985:32).

10. **PEGS**

**a) Interior Pegs**
(column 30 of grid sheet)

i) Well worked stone peg which protrudes from wall inside a building.

ii) Roughly shaped stone peg which protrudes from wall inside a building.

**b) Exterior Pegs**
(column 31 of grid sheet)

i) Well worked stone peg on outside wall of building.

ii) Roughly shaped stone peg on outside wall of building.

11. **PROJECTING STONE SLABS**

**a) Slabs in the Interior of Buildings**
(column 32 of grid sheet)

i) Stone slab projecting from wall inside a building.

**b) Exterior Projecting Stone Slabs**
(column 33 of grid sheet)

i) Stone slabs projecting from the exterior wall of a building to form stairs.

ii) Projecting stone slabs run diagonally along face of a terrace wall which act as a stairway.(Kendall 1985:35).
12. **COLUMNS**

a) **Interior Columns**  
(column 34 of grid sheet)

i) Pyramidal truncated masonry column placed centrally in the circular corbel structure to support roof.

ii) Column centrally placed in a corbel structure as shown in diagram above but the column is cylindrical in shape.


13. **CORNICES**

a) **Exterior Cornices**  
(column 35 of grid sheet)

i) Continuous course of thin stone slabs which projects 20 cm or more from building wall just below roof level as the higher cornice or eave (Villar Cordova 1935:297), (Hyslop 1977:155).

ii) Continuous course of thin stone slabs which projects 20 cm or more from exterior wall of house to mark the floor of the house from the terrace facing wall. It is the lower cornice or the midway cornice as shown in the illustration above.

iii) Both cornices described above are present on the building.
14. BARHOLDS

a) **Location of Barhold**  
   (column 36 of grid sheet)

i) Barhold, or small niche in which a stone rod is vertically set so that a cord can pass behind it. The barhold is located inside a building.

ii) Barhold is located outside the building beside a doorway where it is thought to have functioned as a hinge (Kendall 1985:36), (Gasparini and Margolies 1980:321).

15. PERFORATED STONES

a) **Location of Perforated Stones**  
   (column 37 of grid sheet)

i) Located on exterior wall of building.

ii) Located on surface of free standing wall.

16. CHIMNEYS

a) **Interior Hearths and Chimneys**  
   (column 38 of grid sheet)

i) Chimney flume continues through roof and outer wall of building to connect with hearth. The latter is at floor level (Villar Cordova 1935:333).
ii) Chimney flume continues through stone slab roof but does not continue down outer wall of the building. It opens at ceiling height into a decorative false arch built out from the wall into the main chamber of the building.

17. WALLS OF BUILDINGS

a) Inclination of Walls of One Storey Buildings
   (column 39 of grid sheet)

   i) Straight walls but inclined inwards (10% per meter in height of wall) in relation to a plumb (Gasparini and Margolies 1980:310), (Kendall 1985:23).

   ii) Vertical walls.

   iii) Slightly incurvate walls.

b) Condition of Wall Remains
   (column 40 of grid sheet)

   i) Walls of field stone, no more than two meters high and uniform in height, may have been the lower part of a wall that supported an upper adobe portion (Niles 1987:26).

   ii) Building walls of fieldstone are uneven in height.
18. CORNERS OF STRUCTURES

a) Exterior Corners
   (column 41 of grid sheet)

i) Sharp angled corners built by stacking stones in a nearly columnar fashion (Niles 1980:57).


19. MASONRY

a) Masonry of Structures, Exterior surface
   (column 42 of grid sheet)

i) Fitted stone masonry of large blocks of polygonal shape that interlock.

ii) Rectangular fitted masonry laid in regular courses.

iii) Semi-fitted rectangular masonry, with some dressed stone but stones are mainly selected because of their shape. Approximate coursing and little mud mortar evident.

iv) "Pirka", describes a construction technique which utilizes fieldstones set in a mortar of mud, pebbles, sherds and other impurities. Little coursing occurs (D'Altroy and Hastorf 1984:334-339).

v) Fieldstone in conjunction with partially worked blocks utilized in construction of corners, edges, and lintels.
20. WALL CONSTRUCTION

a) Walls of Buildings
   (column 43 of grid sheet)

   i) Single wall construction.

   ii) Double wall construction with a filling of stone or dirt rubble (Lavallée and Julien 1983:61).

21. FREE STANDING WALLS

a) Perimeter Walls
   (column 44 of grid sheet)

   i) Perimeter wall surrounding the village, probably for defense.

   ii) Walled rectangular block enclosing a group of one room buildings, designated for dwelling and other purposes. The complex is referred to as a kancha (Gasparini and Margolies 1980:181), (Niles 1987:46-50).

   iii) Walled circular area enclosing several round buildings designated for dwelling and other purposes (Earle 1987:28).

   iv) Other walled areas.

22. MUD WALL SURFACES

a) Interior Surface of Structures
   (column 45 of grid sheet)

   i) Plain mud stucco.

b) Exterior Surface of Structure  
(column 46 of grid sheet)

   i) Plain mud stucco.

   ii) Colored mud stucco.

23. WOOD IN STRUCTURES

a) Use of Wood in Conjunction with Stone Masonry  
(column 47 of grid sheet)

   i) Wooden lintel.

   ii) Wooden roof frame.

b) Use of Adobe in Buildings  
(column 48 of grid sheet)

   i) Total structure of adobe.

   ii) Structure of adobe on fitted stone base.

   iii) Upper storey constructed of adobe.

   iv) Gable constructed of adobe.

24. TERRACE FORMS

a) Walls of Building Terraces  
(column 49 of grid sheet)

   i) Linear terrace (straight rectilinear forms).

   ii) Curved formation.
iii) Zig-zagging formation are usually massive (Kendall 1985:24).

iv) Convoluted form.

v) Linear but undulating.

25. FREE STANDING FEATURES

a) Cairns (column 50 of grid sheet)
   i) Cairns of stone built in truncated pyramidal form. Apex stone is worked and points slightly west of north.

b) Modified Bedrock Features Inside Buildings (column 51 of grid sheet)
    i) Mortar bowls or depressions in bedrock.
    ii) Bedrock modified to serve as a bench.
PART "B": MEASUREMENTS OF SELECTED ARCHITECTURAL FORMS AND ELEMENTS

Continuous data collected are metric (to the nearest centimeter) and unless otherwise stated are outside measurements of structures. Measurements were recorded in the field on grid sheets (24 rows and 60 columns) following the format described in part "A" above. The first eight columns of a single row identify the structure and its specific measurements are recorded along that row in designated columns as given below.

1. LENGTH

a) Length of Rectangular Building Forms
   (columns 9,10,11 of grid sheet #2)

   The greatest overall outside measure of all rectangular buildings to the nearest centimeter. The measurement is taken at ground level after clearing ground cover.

   Rectangular form -Part A, 1a,vii,- is the greatest outside measure not including the "porch" formed by the extension of the long walls. Porch measurements are recorded in the field note book. Measurement is taken at ground level after clearing ground cover.

b) Length of Round Building Forms
   (columns 9,10,11 of grid sheet #2)

   The greatest overall measure of the round forms to the nearest centimeter. Measurement is taken at ground level after clearing ground cover. In the case of circular building forms this is the diameter of the building.
2. WIDTH

a) Width of Rectangular Buildings
(columns 12, 13, 14 of grid sheet #2)

The smallest overall outside measure of all rectangular forms. The measurement is taken at ground level after clearing ground cover.

b) Width of Oval Forms
(columns 12, 13, 14 of grid sheet #2)

Smallest overall outside measure of oval form.

3. AREA OF BUILDING
(columns 15, 16, 17 of grid sheet #2)

Not computed in the field.

4. HEIGHT OF BUILDING TERRACE OR PLATFORM

a) Height of Terrace
(columns 18, 19, 20 of grid sheet #2).

Measure from ground to the cornice which marks the floor level of the building.

b) Height of Platform
(columns 18, 19, 20 of grid sheet #2).

Where buildings are sited on bedrock outcrops or away from terraces they may be built on platforms. The height of the platform is from the ground to the floor level of the building.
5. EXTERIOR HEIGHT OF BUILDING
   (columns 21, 22, 23 of grid sheet #2).

   Measure from the cornice which marks the floor level of the building to the top of the roof of the building.

6. MAXIMUM WIDTH OF PRINCIPAL DOORWAY
   (columns 24, 25, 26 of grid sheet #2).

   Measure of distance between the doorway jambs at floor level of the principal doorway.

7. MINIMUM WIDTH OF PRINCIPAL DOORWAY
   (columns 27, 28, 29 of grid sheet #2).

   Measure of distance between jambs just below lintel, at the top of the principal doorway.

8. HEIGHT OF PRINCIPAL DOORWAY
   (columns 30, 31, 32 of grid sheet #2).

   Measure of perpendicular distance from the floor level to the bottom of lintel at the top of the principal entry.

9. WIDTH OF SILL OR SILL STONE
   (columns 33, 34, 35 of grid sheet #2).

   A measure of the long horizontal side of a sill stone which indicates a former doorway. In some instances only jamb stones remain and the measure is the distance between them.
10. WIDTH OR THICKNESS OF OUTER WALL OF BUILDING
(columns 36, 37, 38 of grid sheet #2).

Thickness is determined by averaging three measures (A-A', B-B', C-C') of wall thickness at various places along the wall.

11. MAXIMUM WIDTH OF INTERIOR DOORWAYS

Measure of distance between the doorway jambs at the base of the doorway.

a) First Doorway (between rooms)
(columns 39, 40, 41 of grid sheet #2).

b) Second Doorway
(columns 42, 43, 44 of grid sheet #2).

12. MINIMUM WIDTH OF INTERIOR DOORWAYS

Measure of distance between jambs just below lintel, at the top of the doorway.

a) First Doorway (between rooms)
(columns 45, 46, 47 of grid sheet #2).

b) Second Doorway (between rooms)
(columns 48, 49, 50 of grid sheet #2).

13. HEIGHT OF INTERIOR DOORWAYS

Measure of perpendicular distance from the base of the doorway opening to the bottom of lintel at the top of the doorway.
a) First Doorway (between rooms)  
(columns 51, 52, 53 of grid sheet #2).

b) Second Doorway (between rooms)  
(columns 54, 55, 56 of grid sheet #2).

14. NUMBER OF NICHES IN WALL OF BUILDING  
(column 57 of grid sheet #2).

15. NUMBER OF NICHES IN COLUMN  
(column 58 of grid sheet #2).

16. MAXIMUM WIDTH OF COLUMN  
(columns, 9, 10, 11 of grid sheet #3).

Measure of greatest width at the top of the column.

17. MINIMUM WIDTH OF COLUMN  
(columns, 12, 13, 14 of grid sheet #3).

Measure of smallest width of column at floor level as  
shown in illustration immediately above.

19. HEIGHT OF COLUMN  
(column, 15, 16, 17 of grid sheet #3).

Measure of overall perpendicular distance of the column  
as shown in the illustration under number 17.

20. INTERIOR HEIGHT OF BUILDING  
(column, 18, 19, 20 of grid sheet #3).

Measure of maximum perpendicular distance between  
the floor and ceiling in the interior of a building.
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