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PREHISPANIC USE OF DOMESTIC SPACE AT LA HUERTA DE HUACALERA

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INTRODUCTION

From the end of the first millennium A.D. the human occupation of the Humahuaca Quebrada was marked, as was that of all of northwestern Argentina, by a sudden rise in large urban centers exhibiting a high degree of internal structural complexity (Nielsen 1996, 1997a; Palma 1987/89, 2000). La Huerta de Huacalera (SJujTil12) is a typical example of one of these settlements. Situated in the Department of Tilcara in the Province of Jujuy, it is a multi-component site that has revealed pre-Inca (A.D. 900-1400), Inca (A.D. 1400-1536) and Spanish colonial (A.D. 1536-1655) occupations, with internal spatial differentiations based on chronological, architectural, and contextual criteria (Palma 1996).

Because of the site's nature, it is desirable to examine the different sectors and structures for modifications in the use and distribution of interior spaces. These modifications would correspond to sociopolitical aspects because, during the period being studied, the region's populations were politically organized into ranked, or complex societies. This social stratification is demonstrated by the use of intra-site space for funerary and residential purposes (Palma 1997/98) in a fashion that is characteristic of this type of society (Wright 1984:43-44).

The term complex society can be understood in two basic ways: (a) as a society whose members develop functional specializations

necessary for subsistence activities; or (b) as a society marked by differentiation of status among its members with unequal access to goods and resources. The first category arises from the implicit assumption that societies naturally require a hierarchical division of labor (Earle 1987; Johnson and Earle 1987; Service 1984; Wright 1984). This position is strongly held by those who consider change to be an adaptive response to environmental pressures (Binford 1972; Flannery 1976). These studies, derived from strictly technological perspectives or environmental paradigms, have constrained many investigations within their tight methodological confines (Carneiro 1970; Spencer 1990). These viewpoints have a common characteristic: the elimination of ideological components, which are categorized as unapproachable (Binford 1972). It is usual to consider ideology an epiphenomenon set by material culture, which one uses as the sole element of any analysis, and thereby applies an epistemological brake to anything like a broad interpretation of the archaeological record.

The second interpretive category examines human actions in the light of the ideological and political stances taken by factions or groups of individuals with shared interests (Brumfiel 1989). This analytical approach also treats concomitant symbolic aspects as important (Drennan 1976; Conrad and Demarest 1984; Marcus and Flannery 1994). This interpretive focus emphasizes the study of symmetrical and asymmetric relations between individuals and

groups and their roles in the changes that develop within societies. These changes are not viewed simply as reactions to exogenous forces, but are seen as having their own dynamic (McGuire 1983). The inequality that marks long-lasting social and economic differences between individuals and associated groups is expressed through differential access to a society's goods and resources (Paynter and McGuire 1991).

My view is that the widely disseminated concept of material culture allows one to envision the existence of non-material culture (is this the unapproachable epiphenomenon?). I maintain that a community's culture is its, alone, and that its artifacts are not its material culture but rather, material manifestations of its culture (Palma 1998). This reflection leads me to another that, based on Miller and Tilley (1984), I have termed fetishism of the artifact. One conscientiously studies the distribution and concentration of artifacts; one measures them and, on occasion, weighs them, but along the way one loses all sense of the notion that the relationships between artifacts fundamentally reflect relationships between people. As cultural goods, artifacts bear the ideological imprint of the society that produced them (Marcus and Flannery 1994).

This work seeks to analyze the changes in domestic units at La Huerta de Huacalera during successive occupations from the pre-Inca periods to the time of Spanish contact. I include new information on the management of space in a domestic unit, and on the site's main activity areas. I also present new radiocarbon dates to refine the chronological determinations for their associated contexts.

THE QUEBRADA DE HUMAHUACA

Argentina's Cordillera Oriental, along the edge of the puna massif, is an orographic system subdivided into various hydrographic basins that

form valleys, quebradas, and hollows. These features are marked with rivers and streams, fed by summer rains and running in deep, narrow beds that, because of the steep slopes, produce torrential currents (Figure 1). Part of this system is the Quebrada de Humahuaca), a narrow corridor some 150 km long, bounded by mountain chains reaching over 5000 masl to the west (Nevado de Chañi, Sierra de Aguilar) and sometimes attaining 4000 masl to the east (Tiraxi, Tilcara, Zenta). The extreme southern end of the Quebrada is at San Salvador de Jujuy, and the northern boundary is considered to be the point at which the Río del Cóndor meets the Río Grande de Jujuy.

To define the boundaries from an anthropological and archaeological standpoint, one starts from the premise that the Río Grande's hydrographic basin imposes a unity on the whole quebrada which, through the river's tributaries, incorporates the subsidiary streams flowing into it. The quebrada has an average width of two to three kilometers, and contains the bed of the Río Grande that runs from north to south. The river bed itself is constricted, a condition heightened at various places known as "narrows" where the hard Paleozoic rocks have resisted being eroded and have constrained the river's passage. The valley sides are steep, sometimes reaching a slope of 30°. The eastern slopes are more abrupt than those on the west, which is seen in the differing natures of the tributary valleys: those on the west are long, with gentle slopes (Huichiras, Yacoraite, etc.), while those on the east have short, steep valleys (La Huerta, Calete, etc.).

The valley soils are poorly developed, due to their origin in the physical decomposition of the valley's rock walls. Furthermore, the scarcity of vegetation reduces the amount of organic material in the soils. Shortage of water contributes to the valley's impoverishment, while the torrential nature of the summer streams hinders the

maintenance of a fertile soil layer. For their part, the tributary valleys reproduce the environmental conditions of the main valley, albeit on a smaller scale.

The climate is that of a continental semi-desert, with an intense dry period. Rains are scarce and depend on seasonal factors, with 80 percent of the rains falling between December and March and feeding into the Río Grande de Jujuy's network. Annual temperatures normally range from a maximum of 24°C to a minimum of 2.3°C, although there have been extremes above 45°C and below 3°C. The prevailing winds during the summer are from the south, and in the winter these switch to blowing from the north.

THE ENVIRONMENT

Environmental diversity and continuously changing and unpredictable climatic conditions are characteristic of the Andes. Over even short distances, there are rapid changes in altitude and great variations in environmental and resource conditions. Today, the local economy relies on these variations, in that indigenous farmers grow crops in distinct altitudinal sectors to reduce their risks of failure.

The Quebrada de Humahuaca is mostly in the *q'eshwa* ecozone (2000-3200 masl), and most of the prehispanic sites in the valley are found in this zone. Within this ecozone, one can discern two distinct portions of the landscape: the middle valley, from Volcán to Uquía (2818 masl), in which the site of La Huerta stands, and the high valley, from Uquía to the confluence of the Río Condór and Río Grande de Jujuy, near Iturbe. Trees and shrubs dominate the middle valley, with few grasses. The base of the valley has stands of *arca* (*Acacia visco*) and *algarrobo* (*Prosopis alba*, *Prosopis nigra*), with thickets of *molle* (*Schinus areira*). In patches of ground with permanent water one finds rushes (*Juncus balti-*

cus), totora reeds (*Typha latifolia*) and *cortadera* (*Cortadera speciosa*). On the slopes, the vegetation is steppic shrubs with *chilca* (*Baccharis bolivianensis*), *tusca* (*Acacia aroma*), *tolilla* (*Fabiana densa*), *añagua* (*Adesnia horrida*), *chachacoma* (*Proustia cuneifolia*) and *rica-rica* (*Acantholippia hastulata*), which are found with the first *pasacana* columnar (*Trichocerus pasacana*) and *candelabra cacti* (*Trichocerus tereshaldi*). On the rocky parts of the slopes, bromeliads such as *amara* (*Deuterochnia strobilifera*) and columnar cacti (*cardonales*) are the dominant vegetation (Figures 2-3).

In this sector one comes across "volcanoes", enormous cones of accumulated sediment left by the torrential summer floods coming down the valley tributaries. Some of these cones are superimposed one on another, as a result of repeated episodes of fluvial erosion and deposition. The vegetation on these cones consists of *añagua*, *tolilla*, *palán palán* (*Nicotiana glauca*), *algarrobo* (*Prosopis alba* and *Prosopis nigra*), and stands of *cardon* (*Trichocerus volcanensis*). On the lower terraces and the floodplain one finds *cortadera* (*Cortadera speciosa*) and *chilca* (*Baccharis salicifolia*). Average annual rainfall is less than 200mm.

These sedimentary debris cones could be used in cultivation, thanks to the sorting effects of the depositional process. The coarsest deposits are in the upper layers and the finest sediments are at the bases of the cones. These natural formations were also useful for human occupation, which benefitted from the security offered by their elevation above the valley floor, and their safety from the debris flows that move down the basin during the rainy season.

At dusk, a common phenomenon in the upper parts of the quebrada's tributary valleys is the formation of a thin mist. This mist is heavier during the rainy season, and as the temperature falls daily, water condenses on the ground and

seeps through to the water table, which is close to the surface here. Pools that form in this way freeze during the night, and their contents, thawing in the daytime, gradually soak into the soil, creating conditions that are ideal for cultivation.

The local fauna consists of llama (*Lama glama*), guanaco (*Lama guanicoe*), vicuña (*Vicugna vicugna*), the huemul deer (*Hippocamelus antinensis*), puma (*Puma concolor*), wildcat (*Orifelis geoffroyi salinarum*), lynx (*Oreailurus jacobita*), Andean mountain cat (*Lynchailurus pajiros colocolo*), mountain fox (*Cerdocyonthus jucundus*), the Andean skunk (*Conepatus rex*), mountain vizcacha (*Lagidium lockwodi*), chinchilla (*Chinchilla intermedia*), the chinchillón (*Lagidium vulcani*), guinea pig (*Cavia tschuri*), the Andean brush-tailed rat (*Octadontimys gliroides*), and armadillo (*Charitophractus nationis*).

PREVIOUS STUDIES OF THE SITE

The first archaeological investigations in the study area were carried out by Salvador Debenedetti (1917/18, 1918), who excavated 67 deposits, recovering 692 artifacts and 169 human skeletons, all from tombs. He also produced a sketch map of two small sectors of the ruins and another of the whole site showing, broadly, the areas in which he excavated. Apart from a brief note in 1918, he wrote nothing more on the site. In 1954, as part of his doctoral research, Ciro Lafón excavated several tombs. These stood outside the sector dug by his predecessor. This work led to a description of the tombs and a typological classification of the associated artifacts. The site was not excavated again until 1983, when Rodolfo Raffino (with whom I worked for several years) once more took up work there. During the course of five field seasons, the investigators built up an understanding of the site's architecture. They made a surveyed plan of the entire site, collected surface

material, and excavated a rubbish dump and three residential sectors. The results of these studies, including six new radiocarbon dates, were issued in book form (Raffino *et al.* 1993).

In 1994 Hugo Yacobaccio excavated a second rubbish dump, and I analyzed the ceramic material (Palma 1996). In 1995, as part of a stand-alone long-term project, I restarted systematic work that continues (Palma 1996, 1997/98, 1998, 2000) and that has a micro-regional focus in that it is also examining other sites in the vicinity, such as the *pucará* (fort) at Campo Morado. During this project, my team and I made new plans and carried out further surface collections that, in conjunction with an analysis of the segregation of funerary materials, have allowed me to define sectors within the site. Likewise, we have planned the storage areas and excavated various domestic units, one of which I present below, along with eleven radiocarbon dates.

CERAMIC TYPOLOGY

The ceramics have been classified into five ceramic groups (Palma 1996), which we are assemblages that can be disaggregated into diachronically variable sub-groups that are sufficiently flexible to permit one to evaluate changes in production. The ceramic groups take into consideration all characteristics of Huacalera pottery including firing, paste, surface treatment, and shape. Eight basic shapes have been discerned. These are indicated by Roman numerals. These are also names (platters, pitchers, etc.). In addition, the ceramics are grouped into twenty shape subcategories, represented by Arabic numerals. Some of these subcategories also have names (*aribalos* vs. *aribaloid*, for instance) (Figure 4). This mode of analysis is distinct from traditional classifications based on the concept of "style" (Bennett *et al.* 1948). Bennett's system of stylistic classification has been questioned (Nielsen 1997b; Palma 1996;

Rivolta 1997). The validity of our ceramic groups spans the Late or Regional Development Period, the Inca horizon, and the Spanish colonial horizon.

Stepping away from the project's objective of making a detailed study of the region's ceramic technology, the following description is of a general nature. Color codes correspond to Munsell Soil Color Charts (1994).

1. Ordinary group

- Firing: predominately in an oxidizing atmosphere, commonly incomplete. Reduction firing is found in only a minority of cases.
- Paste: generally has mid-sized to large inclusions (crushed potsherds and ground stone) and a porous structure. Breaks are irregular. Colors are faded red (10R:4/3, 2.5YR:5/3, 5YR:6/4), black (1Gley:5.5/N) or gray (2.5Y:5/1, 4/1).
- Surface treatment: one surface is usually smoothed, and in exceptional cases both are. The color is the same as the body paste. Occasionally, pottery fragments have an outer surface that is gray (2.5Y:4/1, 5YR:6/4, 2.5YR:5/3) or black (2.5Y:2.5/1), and the inner surface is mostly reddish brown (5YR:5/4). Some examples are decorated with incised dashes.
- Associated shapes: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 14.
- Observations: Most of the potsherds show the effects of prolonged exposure to fire, which has degraded the surfaces and made a more refined classification difficult.

2. Reddish polished ware (Figure 5)

- Firing: in a oxidizing atmosphere.

- Paste: has fine- to very fine-grained inclusions, of sand or crushed stone. Texture is commonly porous, and sometimes compacted. Fractures are usually irregular, but are sometimes regular and occasionally friable. Colors are reddish gray (10R:5/1), dark reddish gray (10R:4/1) and reddish brown (5YR:4/3).
- Surface treatment: painted, smoothed and burnished. Colors are black (2.5Y:2.5/1) over red (10R:4/6, 2.5YR:6/6), faded red (10R:4/3, 4/4, 5/4, 5/6) or dark red (10R:3/3).
- Associated shapes: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 15, 16.

3. Polished gray group

- Firing: reducing atmosphere, or oxidizing (exterior) and reducing (interior).
- Paste: medium/fine-grained to medium-grained inclusions. Texture is porous with air bubbles. Cleavages are irregular. Colors are dark gray (1Gley:1.4/N; 2.5Y:4/1) and gray (2.5Y:2.5/1).
- Surface treatment: commonly, the exterior is slipped and the interior is highly burnished to an almost graphite-like appearance. Some examples have both surfaces either slipped or polished, and a few examples have a polished exterior surface. Colors are gray (2.5Y:5/1), dark gray (2.5Y:4/1; 1Gley:4/N), very dark gray (1Gley:3/N); dark red gray (10R:4/1), and black (2.5Y:2.5/1). Occasionally there are incised dashes as decoration.
- Associated shapes: 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 8, 14.

4. *Provincial Inca group*

- Firing: oxidizing atmosphere.
- Paste: medium/fine-grained inclusions; compact texture; regular cleavages. Colors are very dark red (10R:3/3, 3/4; 2.5YR:4/4), dark reddish gray (10R:4/1), yellowish red-brown (10YR:5/4), and dark yellowish brown (10YR:5/6).
- Surface treatment: burnished paint on both surfaces; exterior colors are reddish brown (5YR:4/2, 4/3, 5/4) and black (2.5Y:2.5/1); interior reddish yellow (7.5YR:7/8) and black (1Gley:2.5/N) over dark red (10R:3/3, 3/4), reddish brown (2.5YR:3/1), or faded red (10R:4/2, 4/3, 4/4, 5/3, 5/4; 2.5YR:4/2, 6/4).
- Associated shapes: 6, 9, 12, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20.
- Observations: this group includes copies of Inca ceramics of varied origins (local provincial and regional pieces) and some imported from Cusco, which explains the variations in color tones and surface treatments.

5. *Altiplano group*

- Firing: oxidizing atmosphere.
- Paste: fine- to medium/fine-grained inclusions; compact texture; regular cleavages. Colors are yellowish red-brown (10YR:5/4) and dark yellowish brown (10YR:5/6).
- Surface treatment: polished to highly polished paint. Colors are black (2.5Y:2.5/1) over reddish yellow (5YR:6/6), dark red (10R:3/3, 3/4), faded red (10R:4/3, 4/4), reddish brown (5YR:4/4, 5/4), and yellowish red (5YR:5/6 or 10R:5/6, 2.5YR: 5/6).

- Associated shapes: 1, 6, 9, 13, 15, 16.
- Observations: this group consists of ceramics from the northern puna, especially from the extreme north of Argentina and southern Bolivia.

Recent analytical studies of the designs on the materials recovered were undertaken to illuminate La Huerta's social, economic, and political processes (Runcio 2001).

LA HUERTA DE HUACALERA

The archaeological zone of La Huerta consists of the quebrada of the same name—which opens into the Huamahuaca quebrada at Huacalera—and its physiographic and ecological surroundings. Within this space lies the prehispanic site of La Huerta, three kilometers east of the junction of the Humahuaca and La Huerta quebradas. The site occupies a triangular spur on a slope of Cerro Sisilera (Figure 6), some thirty meters above the river and at 2790 masl (65° 19'W, 23° 27'S). The site is a large, partially planned urban agglomeration on a natural rise of difficult access, marked by complex internal arrangements of corrals, roadways, and sectoral divisions (Palma 1987/89). Its layout is an irregular grid that covers 8.12 hectares, (Raffino 1988). Population has been variously estimated from 700 inhabitants (Raffino and Alvis 1993) to 1200 (Palma 1987/89). La Huerta is one element in a regional pattern that is regularly repeated, with similar sites separated by intervals of between four and ten kilometers.

One may distinguish four separate architectural assemblages (*estratos*) within the site's enclosures (Raffino and Alvis 1993):

- Assemblage 1 (19 enclosures): these are the largest in size (more than 150 m²) and are public areas, with easy entry and exit, and are connected to the Inca road. They served

as corrals for penning camelids, as localities for loading and unloading llamas, or as space for slaughtering animals and dressing meat and hides.

- Assemblage 2 (276 enclosures): these are internal courtyards within living units. Their size ranges from 25 m² to 150 m², and some were partially roofed. These had multiple uses in the site's everyday domestic life, as places for grinding grain, making artifacts, etc. Burials were placed beneath these courtyards.
- Assemblage 3 (239 enclosures): these spaces measured between 10 m² and 25 m², and were intended for shelter and rest. Potentially roofed, they were domestic resting places and also held the hearths for heating.
- Assemblage 4 (80 enclosures): these were spaces of less than 10 m², roofed over and used in cooking and food preparation, and for storing tools and raw materials for artifact-making.

Beyond the classification of the site's enclosures, the architectural survey permitted identification of three periods of prehispanic construction (Palma 1996), which represented distinct cultural and chronological episodes, and whose distribution has permitted the detection of sectors within the site. The borders between these sectors should not be interpreted as markers of restriction or exclusivity among the site's inhabitants. Rather, any such architectural distinctions are consequences of successive phases in the history of the site's human occupation (Figure 7).

Sector A consists of buildings whose quality of construction is clearly due to an Inca presence. Signs of imperial remodeling are still visible in the site's central area, which extends to the south, east, and north-east from a space

(perhaps a plaza?) that was partially cleared. The structures that most plainly show their Inca roots are two buildings that between them, cover 1440m² (Raffino and Alvis 1993). The main body (E-1) to the west has a surface area of 640m² and an esplanade (R.582) that covers another 350m² at its entrance. This last feature stands in front of the southern façade and forms an embankment that is the only way into the building, through a wide enclosure (R.185). The façade, which in some places stands to a height of 2.5m, was built with a double wall of cut stone with banked reinforcement. The access points were marked by pairs of enormous stone jambs: two in the main span and two over the passage that separated the esplanade from the main entrance, which was reached up a small set of stone steps. In this building one may note profuse Inca architectural elements including, in addition to those already mentioned, niches, gables, and mortared walls.

One characteristic that distinguishes La Huerta from the other sites in the Quebrada de Humahuaca is the abundant evidence of textile production. As many tools related to textiles have been recovered at this site, as have been found at all other sites in the region together. Of a total of 150 such implements in the collections of the Juan B. Ambrosetti Ethnographic Museum at the University of Buenos Aires' Faculty of Philosophy and Letters, some (48.7%) are from La Huerta (Palma 1997/98).

The importance of textile technology in the Andes derives from the fact that textiles were the single product most appreciated by society, and textile production rose during the period of Inca domination. The Inca state delivered wool to the women in each domestic unit for them to make into ordinary cloth, as part of the tribute demanded by the *mit'a* or episodic labor requirement. The cloth thus produced was warehoused in state storerooms, from which it would be

delivered to the *mitimaes*, who served in the army or worked the state's own fields.

Special attention was paid to *cumbi* cloth, sumptuous textiles of high ritual value, made only in state centers by the *aclla* (sequestered women devoted to sacred tasks) and *cumbi-camayoc* weavers (Lorandi and del Río 1992:74). Use of this cloth was confined to those persons the Inca wished to reward, and to grant some personal distinction. I suggest that the site's central public complex was an *aclla huasi*, or a set of workshops dedicated to the production of textiles for the state (Rostorowski 1995:7).

The *aclla* had an additional duty: the preparation of massive amounts of alcoholic drink, used in ritual celebrations and as part of the process of reciprocity (Rostorowski 1995:7). The presence of great numbers of chicha jars (20% of the La Huerta ceramic material) indicates that the Inca gave feasts to those that labored for them (Palma 1997/98).

The eastern building (E-2) has an area of 450 m² and has many fewer Inca attributes than the former (Raffino and Alvis 1993). Nevertheless, from its preferential location and the richness of its tombs—which are of higher quality than those in the main structure—it could have been the residence of someone in local authority. The location of his residence was tied to the ideological maintenance of the chief's control.

As an indication of the civic structure one may note the separation of funerary monuments, in that here one finds the grandest tombs (Palma 1997/98; Raffino *et al.* 1993:48). Surface collections in this area yielded greater proportions of provincial Inca ceramics than in other sectors. It is possible that this was already an area of elite residences in the pre-Inca periods.

The origin of Sector B can be attributed to an earlier period. This area includes sets of

buildings that relate predominantly to the pre-Inca period. There are also structures from the earliest occupation of the site and thereafter, that were in use up to the the Spanish conquest and even later. This segment includes the residential complexes in the site's southern and western sectors, in which excavation did not reveal any tombs of high-ranking individuals. This would have been a residential area occupied by non-hierarchically structured groups. Sector C, in the northern part of the site, was linked to a constructional episode that was notably late, contemporaneous with, or slightly earlier than the Inca presence. In this sense, it is significant to note the relationship of the two major assemblages with the road network that links them. In surface collections in Sector C the altiplano ceramic group is heavily represented, more so than in the other sectors of the site. As in Sector B, the groups that lived here were non-hierarchical.

The available archaeological materials indicate that this was a multi-component settlement (Palma 1996) where there were architectural and artifactual remains of local, Inca, and Spanish origin.

When taken together with what is revealed by the architectural materials, the excavated ceramics show that the Inca occupation of the site was of unequal density (Palma 1998). It is clear that the Red Polished wares were the dominant ceramic type on the site. See Table 1.

Pottery type	Sector A	Sector B	Sector C
Provincial Inca	7.9%	2.7%	5.1%
Altiplano	8.2%	3.1%	3.6%
Red polished	43.2%	49.6%	33.1%

Table 1. Distribution of pottery groups, by sector and type

Excavation of domestic areas in separate sectors allowed us to establish the functional

internal differences between them, shown in the use of space in the enclosures they incorporated. The excavations revealed the very extensive presence of domestic units of the *unequal associated enclosure* type, which combined a smaller covered enclosure used for shelter with a larger open space, or two or more small covered enclosures in association with several larger open spaces (Madrazo and Ottonello 1966).

Thus, our work allowed us to identify some of the enclosures as *multiple-use spaces* (Assemblage 2), probably not roofed over, and others as *restricted spaces* (Assemblage 3), that were securely roofed and used for shelter and overnight occupation, such as enclosure R.308 in Sector C.

Enclosure R.98 (Stratum 1) was a large (400 m²) rectangular area identified as a space for the slaughtering and butchering of animals. The identified specimens were mostly large adult camelids, and the minimum number of individuals (MNI) was 111: *Camelidae*, 105 (94.5%); *Cervidae*, 5 (4.5%); and *Dasyposidae* or *quirquincho* (armadillo), 1 (1%). The camelid remains were of all parts of the animals (Palma 1998).

ENCLOSURE R.293 (SECTOR B)

So as to develop a more complete understanding of a domestic unit in Sector B, I examined that formed by Enclosures R.293 and R.308, both in the northwestern part of the site (Figure 7). R.308 is an example of a *restricted space*, of rectangular layout and covering some 24 m². This zone was excavated by Debenedetti (1917/18; 1918), who erroneously interpreted the space as an internal track or road. The excavated remains consisted of “. . . a black, bottomless pot, a bone mouthpiece and a bone pin in the form of a bird” (Debenedetti 1917/18).

Enclosure R.293 (Palma 1998) was trapezoidal in plan, and its western wall was oriented at 45° east from north. Its surface covered 110 m² (Assemblage 2). As with other cases already mentioned, this was a *multiple activity space* that was partly roofed over, in which there were hearths, milling artifacts, weaving tools, and burials in funerary chambers and (of children) in urns, etc. (Figures 8-9).

In the course of the excavation the presence of a sandy deposit was first noted between 3cm and 6cm in depth. This lay above a second compact greyish clayey layer some 22cm to 25cm in depth that was a settlement deposit. Below that was a further layer between 22cm and 25cm and 35cm and 40cm deep that was also rich in cultural materials, and which, in turn, lay above the rocky base of the mountain.

In the central sector we found a sub-rectangular space (1.88m by 3.95m by 1.84m by 3.93m) whose corners were marked by posts held up by stone supports, and where the enclosure's stratigraphy had been altered. Under 2cm to 3cm of the initial sandy deposit we found a consolidated layer of variable thickness (3cm to 8cm), below which there was some 3cm of mixed sandy and reddish clay deposit, and then a layer of ashes that was the same depth as, or slightly deeper than, the reddish layer above it. Finally, we encountered a compacted consolidated floor built on a less aggregated deposit that was rich in cultural materials and that extended down some 30 to 40cm to the site's natural rocky base.

Beneath the greyish clayey floor, the surface was covered by a thick ashy layer that appeared to be the remnants of a burnt roof, some of whose fragmentary remains were found *in situ* (burnt fragment of a rafter made of columnar cactus). It was possible to determine that the structure whose roof had been destroyed by fire had originally been dug several centimeters into

the grey clayey deposit detected between 3cm and 6cm and from 22cm to 25cm in the enclosure's general stratigraphy.

In the northwest sector there was another collapsed roof (1.85m by 2.64m by 1.78m by 4.91m) that was originally held up by only two posts, which suggested that the rest was supported by the wall. Next to tombs 77a and 77b four tie beams of *cardón* cactus that in a good state of preservation were recovered.

Several radiocarbon samples correspond to the enclosure's various strata. The estimates for Levels 2 and 3 spanned a date range of 1647 and 1954 cal. years AD, which correlates them with the hispano-indigenous and colonial occupations. Level 1, closest to the modern surface, did not produce any radiocarbon dates because it was less than 200 years old and consisted of burnt carbon produced in the destruction of the roof in the center of the enclosure. For this reason, its alteration could be due to contamination stemming from the reconstruction of the clayey floor, and to the removal of debris after the fire. The two remaining dates are notably late, which suggests that the site had an indigenous occupation into colonial times.

Laboratory and Code	Date BP	Cal. years AD at 1 sigma	Cal. years AD at 2 sigma	Stratum	Materials
LATYR – LP-1016	210±50	1651-1954	1525-1954	Level 3	Charcoal
LATYR – LP-980	230±40	1647-1954	1523-1954	Level 2	Charcoal
LATYR – LP-1042	Modern		Modern*	Level 1	Burnt <i>cardón</i>

* Age less than 200 years BP.

Table 2. Radiocarbon dates from the site's occupation levels

Tombs

In Enclosure R.293 were discovered nine funerary assemblages marking distinct inhumation episodes from the period 1220-1438 cal. years AD, which makes them pre-Inca. Debenedetti (1917/18; 1918) excavated the first tomb in the northwest corner of Enclosure R.293 (Habitation 77), which was a quadrangular room (1.90m by 1.90m) with two adjoining burial assemblages. The first, T.77a, which could have encompassed more than one burial episode, consisted of two adults accompanied by a wooden gauntlet or *manopla*. The room's second burial, T.77b, produced an exceptional result. It consisted of an adult interred in a "... large black cooking pot" accompanied by "... fragments of sheets of oxidized silver, a squared

wooden object, four *pucos* (handled plates), one red plate with internal decoration and two jars" (Debenedetti 1917/18). The rest of the enclosure was not excavated. Encountering a burial could have led Debenedetti to decide not to continue excavating, and the sense that the trench had been emptied probably slowed the activities of tomb robbers. This set of circumstances allows R.293 to provide information on an archaeological deposit that had not been greatly disturbed.

Clearing the brush from the enclosure's southeastern angle produced traces of a quadrangular structure that had been hidden by the vegetation. Excavating this structure to a depth of 35cm revealed an infant burial (T.77d) deposited in a sub-globular pitcher of reddish

polished ware, decorated in red-on-black, and some 25cm in height, that had been used as an urn. This burial was of a perinatal individual, about two months old, whose remains were generally well preserved (Paula Novellino, personal communication, 1997). The burial pot showed signs of having been exposed to direct flames (perhaps it was a cooking pot), which suggests that it had been reused for burial. A radiocarbon date of 1220-1287 cal. years AD from this tomb marks it clearly as pre-Inca.

A little deeper, at some 48cm below the surface, were the roof slabs of a rectangular burial chamber 1.49m (N-S) by 1.06m (E-W). The chamber's depth was 85cm and the walls began to narrow towards the roof some 40cm from the floor, so that the roof of the chamber was 1.42m (N-S) by 0.85 m(E-W). The walls were filled with clayey lime mortar and the wall footings had a mixture of lime and mud mortar. Below this was a floor of slabs that covered the whole base of the tomb.

This burial is T.77c, and included a skeleton that was missing its first and second neck vertebrae and its cranium. The body was that of a male some 24-31 years old, 1.60m tall. The body was in an extended position adjacent to the north wall, with the body straight and the legs flexed to the side toward the north. The state of preservation was between average and poor and the right femur, pelvis, and heel bone were in a worse condition than the rest of the skeleton. Of the upper skeleton, only the bone of the left side remained. We found no indications of infectious processes, osteoarthritis, or any other pathological elements (Paula Novellino, personal communication, 1997).

We found as part of the funerary assemblage two large pins of the type used to close bundles, which had been employed to fasten the funeral wrappings; a bone pin, was beside the right arm, the other, wooden pin, was near the left hip.

Beneath the body we found a thin layer of reddened sediment from within which we recovered five small maize cobs (three of flour corn and two of blue corn; Julián Cámara Hernández, personal communication 1998). The body was also accompanied by three manos on sandstone mortars, and two camelid bones that bore the marks of usage as artifacts. The grinding stones had the following characteristics: one is circular, oval or elliptical in cross-section, with dimensions of 18.2cm by 8.3cm by 7.8cm, and weighs 2151gm. The second is also circular, oval, or elliptical in cross-section, has dimensions of 9.3cm by 5.4cm by 4.5cm, and weighs 360gm. The third is circular, oval or elliptical in cross-section, has dimensions of 11.5cm by 8.3cm by 6.3cm, and weighs 890gm.

The relative lack of accompanying goods, the presence of millstones and maize fragments, and the paved floor, suggest that Tomb 77c originally served as a storage area and was only later used as a burial site. The earlier date of the maize (1264-1298 cal. years A.D.) than of the interred individual (1301-1411 cal. years A.D.) reinforces the hypothesis that a storage area was later reused as a tomb. The presence of local ceramics is consistent with the dates.

The deliberate absence of the cranium in T.77c has profound symbolic-ritual implications, in that this feature leads once to consider what has been termed the "cult of skulls" that is marked by "trophy heads", traditionally understood to be the heads of enemies that had been converted into victory trophies (Vignati 1930:132). This practice was extensively followed in the Quebrada de Humahuaca: 36 "trophy heads" have been recovered from 12 sites, and a further 30 cadavers without heads have been found in 11 sites (Palma 1987/89). These skulls were first studied by Milánides Vignati (1930), who contended that they were exclusively those of adult males. Vignati further argued that these skulls did not belong to the

indigenous population of the quebrada, but were, he believed, a product of fighting with people from the Chaco, with the Chincha Indians of northern Chile, and with groups from the Atacama Desert. However, more recent work on these skulls by Concepción Bordach (personal communication, 1998) has established that half of these trophy heads were females (T.46c, T.73b, T.75c, T.79, T.106a), while the rest were those of adult males (T.61c, T.67b, T.101c) and one juvenile (T.101d).

Vignati's conclusions could have been influenced by models derived from ethnographic information, to which he turned to interpret his findings as evidence of head-hunting. The archaeological record supports Bordach, who has shown that women could also become victims of this practice. In a cylindrical burial chamber in Juella, Roberto Cigliano (1959) discovered a female with the remains of a fetus within the bones of the pelvis. The female's skeleton lacked its skull. Similarly, when excavating at Volcán, Santiago Gatto (1946) recovered two bodies (a female and a male child) without skulls, deposited on a rock.

By way of an alternative hypothesis that does not invalidate the practice of taking trophy heads, I suggest that these activities could relate to the ancient pan-Andean tradition of ancestor worship, which constitutes the central element of Peruvian religion (Zuidema 1973). Linked to the concept of the *huaca*, or sacred space, ancestors protected and legitimized the occupation of territory and the community's prosperity. Rituals included sacrifices and the periodic repetition of funerary rites in which offerings were renewed (Conrad and Demarest 1984:89).

The Andean area's oldest-known examples of decapitation date from about 2000 B.C.E., and were recovered at the preceramic Peruvian site of Asia (Engel 1963). The practice was associated with agricultural fertility, to which

mortuary rituals were apparently joined. Death and fertility were linked with the ancestors through a ritual in which trophy heads served as the integrating element, as has been noted for Nasca iconography (Carmichael 1994:83), where the anthropomorphizing Harvester, from whose body there spring plants, is the classic expression of the theme of vegetable fertility (*ibid* 1994:81).

In Early Nasca, iconography expressed concepts of fertility. The relationship of trophy heads, ancestors, and the cycle of death centered on fertility. Late Nasca iconography suggests that the elites used trophy heads ritually as elements of power and to legitimize their position (Browne *et al.* 1993; Silverman 1993).

In the eastern corner of Enclosure R.293, at a depth of 32cm, were recovered the remains of an infant in a sub-globular jar (height 34cm) of reddish polished ware that was decorated in black-on-red. This burial is T.77e. The infant was about nine months old at the time of death, and the remains were poorly preserved. At a depth of 27cm in the enclosure's western angle was another jar burial of an infant. This burial, T.77f, was in a sub-globular jar of the ordinary group (height 19cm). In contrast to the usual practice, the jar had not had its rim broken off to introduce the body. In this case, it was missing its base, which was being used as a lid. The most significant point here was that this infant, two to three years of age at the time of death, and in a good state of preservation, was accompanied by a stone pendant in the shape of a loop pierced by a suspension hole (3cm by 1.8cm), made of greyish-green, very homogeneous compact fine-grained stone.

Almost connected to this and at a depth of 54cm was an ellipsoidal burial chamber roofed with three large slabs. The chamber measured 79 cm (major axis) by 60 cm and was 1.30m deep. At a depth of 90cm was a further burial,

Tomb T.77h. This consisted of a secondary burial of a female of about 20 or 21 years of age. The cranium was missing its mandible and had been intentionally obliquely deformed. The burial was accompanied by a simple jar of the reddish polished group and a malachite collar.

At 1.10m two slabs separated this burial from another, burial T.77g. As with burial T.77h, this was a secondary interment, of a female of between 30 and 34 years of age. She was accompanied by a collar of bivalve shells, two flat vases of the grey polished group, and a very deteriorated piece of calabash shell that could have been a spindle whorl. At a depth of 1.60m was a partially burnt layer of the resinous high-altitude plant *yareta* (*Azorella compacta*). This could have been placed there so that the agreeable odor produced by its combustion would at least partly have offset the smell of decaying flesh.

A radiocarbon date placed the body in T.77h within the range of 1315-1431 cal. years A.D., at the transition point between the pre-Inca and Inca periods. There are no absolute dates for the deeper burial T.77g but, if both are secondary burials, the arrangement of both bodies could have been altered by exhumation and reburial.

The last burial was tomb T.77i. This consisted of a sub-globular pot 1m northeast of Hearth 4, at a depth of 1.46 m, that contained an infant of 2-4 years of age. The burial was covered with a metate (*conana*).

Laboratory/Code	Years BP	Cal. years BP 1sigma	Cal. years BP 2 sigma	Tomb	Material
CASI – UGA-7388	600±50	1301-1411	1288-1432	T.77c	Human bone
CASI – UGA-7839	720±50	1264-1298	1218-1391	T.77c	Burnt maize
CASI – UGA-7348	770±50	1220-1287	1164-1299	T.77d	Human bone
LATYR – LP-1398	560±60	1315-1431	1280-1406	T.77h	Human bone

Table 3: Radiocarbon dates for the tombs.

Hearths

Within the enclosure were five burnt areas that were associated with hearth structures, distributed across two segments: one to the east, with Hearths (*fogones*) F.1, F.2, and F.3, and the other to the west, with Hearths F.4 and F.5. Their distribution seems to have been associated with the tombs, probably in an effort to mask the stench of decay.

In the case of Hearth F.3 (the only one from which we were able to recover a radiocarbon date, of 1631-1656 cal. years A.D., which was

colonial), the base of the hearth was formed by a vase of reddish polished ware decorated in black-on-red. For its part, Hearth F.5 leaned against the southeast wall of Tomb T.77a-b, within a stone-walled structure 1 m² in area and 70cm deep.

This was completely filled with ashes in which were scattered small burnt maize cobs. This appears to have been a dump for cinders.

Laboratory/Code	Years BP	Cal. years BP 1sigma	Cal. years BP 2 sigma	Locus	Material
LATYR – LP-1129	290±40	1631-1656	1490-1954	Hearth F.3 - N4	Charcoal
LATYR – LP-1121	Modern		Modern *	Hearth F.2 - N2	Charcoal
LATYR – LP-1101	Modern		Modern *	Hearth F.1 - N2	Charcoal

* Age less than 200 years BP.

Table 4: Radiocarbon dates from the hearths.

Milling areas

Two areas that had been used for milling were identified. The better-defined area was close to Hearth F.1 and associated with the roofed central sector. Here we found a flat, granitic millstone (51cm by 29cm by 8cm) and a well, partially surrounded with stones, in which there was a *mano* of sandstone of circular, oval or elliptical shape (9.6cm by 8.7cm by 7.2cm, weight 875gm), fragments of camelid bones and the remains of a ceramic receptacle of reddish polished ware decorated in black on red. The second milling area was around Hearth F.4, and consisted of a flat granitic millstone (46cm by 38cm by 11cm).

Textile making

Five bone artifacts provided evidence of textile working. All of these were examples of the instrument known in the Argentine-Bolivian highlands as the *wichuna* or *wich'uña*. This consists of the flat metapodial of a vicuña or small llama, with a pointed end. It is used to compact the weft threads of a textile. We recovered one of these inside the storage jar and another close to Hearth F.5. It is notable that we found the remaining three tools beneath the central roof, which could indicate that this was a textile-production area.

Archaeozoological analysis

The animal remains within enclosure R.293 amounted to a minimum number of individuals (MNI) of 18, divided as follows:

Faunal remain type	MNI	% of total
<i>Camelidae</i>	11	61.0%
<i>Canidae</i>	2	11.1%
<i>Lama vicugna</i>	1	5.6%
<i>Hippocamelus antinensis</i>	1	5.6%
<i>Chinchillidae</i>	1	5.6%
<i>Avis</i>	1	5.6%
<i>Gasteropod</i>	1	5.6%

Table 5: R.293 – animal remains

On comparing this body of data to other multiple-use spaces on the site, Enclosure R.107 (Area “A”) produced an MNI of 16, of which 15 were *Camelidae* (93.7%) and one *Cervidae* (6.3%). For its part, Enclosure R.487 (Sector “C”) had an MNI of 15 specimens, of which 12 were *Camelidae* (80%), one was *Cervidae* (6.6%), one was *Octodontomys sp.* (*chozchori* or Andean brush-tailed rat) (6.6%), and one was a gasteropod (6.6%). As was the case in R.293, the cervids were represented by phalanges, metapodials, and antlers.

The remains were from the sector associated with the skeletons. The scarcity of these data renders difficult any attempt to establish differential utilization for animal husbandry of the various sectors, but the garbage dumps do provide some answers.

Rubbish dumps

There is a suite of ^{14}C dates taken from materials recovered from rubbish dumps (Raffino 1993; Palma 1997/98). PS.1 was a large pile in the vicinity of Building E.1. PS.2 was also a garbage dump in Sector A, although it was smaller than the former (Palma 1996).

Laboratory/Code	Years BP	Cal. years BP 1sigma	Cal. years BP 2sigma	Locus and stratum	Source
INGEIS AC-0960	480±100	1409-1627	1307-1660	PS.1-3	Raffino (1993)
INGEIS AC-1069	540±90	1397-1463	1297-1635	PS.1-6	Raffino (1993)
INGEIS AC-0963	580±80	1315-1441	1292-1483	PS.1-9	Raffino (1993)
LATYR LP-700	660±40	1289-1390	1280-1406	PS.1-12	Palma (1997/98)
LATYR LP-165	1150±100	880-1014	726-1042	PS.1-16	Raffino (1993)
LATYR LP-289	740±110	1264-1396	1063-1436	PS.2-E1	Raffino (1993)
LATYR LP-335	680±90	1212-1347	1228-1441	PS.2-E2	Raffino (1993)

Table 6: Radiocarbon dates from rubbish dumps.

The earliest date from PS.1 corresponded to Level N.1, PS.1-16, or the first occupation of the site, with a date range of 880-1014 cal. years A.D. at one sigma. The second date, for Level N.12, PS.1-12, was of 1289-1390 cal. years A.D. A most interesting point in connection with this date was the abrupt rise (490%) in the quantity of ceramics per cubic meter of deposit (Palma 1996). This circumstance indicated an increase in population on the site, a product of the concentration of settlement in the largest sites that occurred in the period before the arrival of the Incas and which led to the abandonment of smaller sites. From a political point of view, this shows that social stratification began in the region before the Inca conquest (Palma 1998, 2000). The subsequent levels (N.6 and N.9; PS.1-6 and PS.1-9) produced dates ranging from 1315 and 1463 cal. years A.D., which placed them in the period of Inca occupation.

This time segment was also marked (Raffino and Alvis 1993) by (a) the appearance of provincial Inca ceramics; (b) the appearance of

altiplano-group ceramics; and (c) the greatest diversity in ceramic designs. This last period also saw a shift in the practice of camelid slaughter to primarily individual adults. The most recent date for area PS.1 (N.3, PS.1-3) is 1409-1627 cal. years A.D., which covered the Inca and colonial occupations

In area PS.2, which yielded dates between 1212 and 1396 cal. years A.D., we found a ceramic sequence similar to that in PS.1, in that the Inca provincial group appeared in all the upper levels and the altiplano group was present in the entire sequence. There was a spectacular rise in the density of ceramic deposition (455%) with the arrival of the Inca empire (Palma 1996).

The inversion in the dates noted in Table 6 could be a result of post-depositional changes made by burrowing rodents that did not appear in the rest of the dated deposits.

Laboratory/Code	Years BP	Cal. years BP 1sigma	Cal. years BP 2sigma	Locus and stratum	Source
LATYR LP-1042	Modern *	Modern *	Modern *	N.1	Palma (2001)
LATYR LP-1101	Modern *	Modern *	Modern *	N.2-Hearth F.1	Palma (2001)
LATYR LP-1121	Modern *	Modern *	Modern *	N.2-Hearth F.2	Palma (2001)
LATYR LP-1016	210±50	1651-1954	1525-1955	N.3	Palma (2001)
LATYR LP-980	230±40	1647-1954	1523-1955	N.2	Palma (2001)
LATYR LP-1129	290±40	1631-1656	1490-1956	N.4-Hearth F.3	Palma (2001)
LATYR LP-1398	560±60	1315-1431	1297-1447	T.77h	Palma (2001)
CASI-UGA-7388	600±50	1301-1411	1288-1432	T.77c	Palma (2001)
CASI-UGA-7389	720±50	1264-1298	1218-1391	T.77c	Palma (2001)
CASI-UGA-7348	770±50	1220-1287	1164-1299	T.77d	Palma (2001)

* Age less than 200 years BP.

Table 7: Radiocarbon dates from Enclosure R.293.

The faunal examination (Madero 1993) revealed that the most abundant remains were *Camelidae* (94%). Genera such as *Canidae*, *Cervidae*, and *Chinchillidae* are barely represented and their remains appear almost exclusively in the pre-Inca levels of both rubbish dumps. For the pre-Inca levels, the MNI was 11, of which five were *Camelidae*, three were *Canidae*, two were *Chinchillidae*, and one was *Cervidae*. The Inca levels had an MNI of 21, of which 18 were *Camelidae*. There was one example each of *Canidae*, *Chinchillidae*, and *Cervidae*.

The age profile of the camelids varied according to the period from which they dated. Non-fused bones predominated in the pre-Inca occupation, while fused bones were more common in the Inca period. Sacrifice of young animals as part of the pre-Inca exploitation of herds suggests that young animals were chosen for their meat. Following the Inca conquest, older animals were chosen, which suggests that the economic exploitation of the herds underwent a shift in which animals were used more as cargo animals and for wool production (Madero 1993).

800	900	1000	1100	1200	1300	1400	1500	1600	1700	1800	Stratum
[Redacted]											PS.1 N.16
[Redacted]											PS.1 N.12
[Redacted]											PS.1 N.9
[Redacted]											PS.1 N.6
[Redacted]											PS.1 N.3
[Redacted]											PS.2 E.1
[Redacted]											PS.2 E.2
[Redacted]											R.293 N.1
[Redacted]											R.293 N.2-F.1
[Redacted]											R.293 N.2-F.2
[Redacted]											R.293 N.3
[Redacted]											R.293 N.2
[Redacted]											R.293 N.4-F.3
[Redacted]											R.293 T.77h
[Redacted]											R.293 T.77c
[Redacted]											R.293 T.77c
[Redacted]											R.293 T.77c

Table 8: Distribution of radiocarbon dates, with 1sigma standard deviation (years A.D.).

CHRONOLOGY

An analysis of the data in Tables 6, 7, and 8 prompts several observations

- The first is that there is one very early date (880-1014 cal. years A.D.), which might correspond to the earliest occupation of the site and which was taken from the lowest level of PS.1.
- The second observation is that there were two dates of between 1220 and 1298 cal. years A.D. that were recovered from a tomb (T.77d) and from a possible storage deposit in a domestic unit. These dates correspond to the Early Regional Development Period (A.D. 900-1300; Palma 2000).
- A third group of dates spanning the period 1212-1431 cal. years A.D. came from PS.1, PS.2 (2), F.3, and T.77c (2), and represented episodes of the Late Regional Development Period (A.D. 1300-1410; Palma 2000).
- Two dates from PS.1, of 1315-1463 cal. years A.D., were from the transition from the Late Regional Development to the Inca periods.
- A single date from PS.1 revealed the subsequent gap between the Inca period (A.D. 1410-1536) and the Hispanic-Indigenous occupation (A.D. 1536-1655; Palma 2000).
- Finally, two dates from the enclosure's upper stratigraphic levels and one from F3, spanned a range of 1631-1956 cal. years A.D. and confirmed an indigenous presence at the site through the colonial period. We fixed the the beginning of the colonial period at A.D. 1655, with the foundation of the Huacalera chapel. It was during this

time that the Spanish completed their occupation of the quebrada.

- Three ^{14}C samples could not be dated because they were for ages less than two hundred years. They came from the surface levels of R.293 (0cm-20cm), and that they could have been contaminated, so we discarded these.

CONCLUSIONS

The archaeological materials recovered from excavations in Enclosure R.293 have aided greatly in building our understanding of the use of domestic space in La Huerta de Huacalera between the ninth and seventeenth centuries A.D. During the extended human occupation of the site, utilization of the space within the domestic areas underwent changes. Over the long term, this process is seen in the differential utilization of multiple-use spaces such as Enclosure R.293.

During the pre-Inca occupation, the enclosure was used for open-air activities such as food preparation and artifact manufacture, and for sub-surface burials of infants in pottery vessels used as urns, and of adults in stone funerary chambers. However, the chronological shift in tomb T.77c from maize (earlier) to a skeleton (later) strengthens our interpretation of the reuse of some of the storage bins as tombs. That is, we found evidence of the reuse of structures for different purposes within domestic contexts. This condition could have been an outcome of the increasing complexity of regional societies that is seen more clearly from A.D. 1300 (Palma 2000).

Differences in size and complexity mark some sites apart from the rest. The growth noted at various central sites such as Tilcara, La Huerta, Los Amarillos, and Peñas Blancas, which probably took place within a context of

armed conflict, would have favored the abandonment or subordination of smaller settlements. Rivalries led the inhabitants of smaller sites to look for security in the larger settlements. This rise in population, which we detected through the explosive growth of amounts of human rubbish, could have led to greater power for the elites, leading in turn to a rise in the occurrence of patron-client relationships (Palma 2000). This increase in social power is seen in the replacement of private domestic storage by new communal usages controlled by hierarchical groups. This observation suggests that local internal political structures led to the observed changes in resource use, before the arrival of state-level organizations. The dates for PS.1 and PS.2, where there are found provincial Inca ceramics before the conventionally accepted dates of A.D. 1470 or 1480 for the Inca expansion into the southern Andes, are not unique (Williams *et al.* 1995; Nielsen 1997b; Fumagalli and Cremonte 1997).

In summary, La Huerta de Huacalera is an example of how political circumstances can affect the functioning of domestic space through an extended time. The site helps us to recover social life through its associated material production. We are also able to read beyond this to gain some idea of how the inhabitants adapted to the local environment, and how they came to use the available resources.

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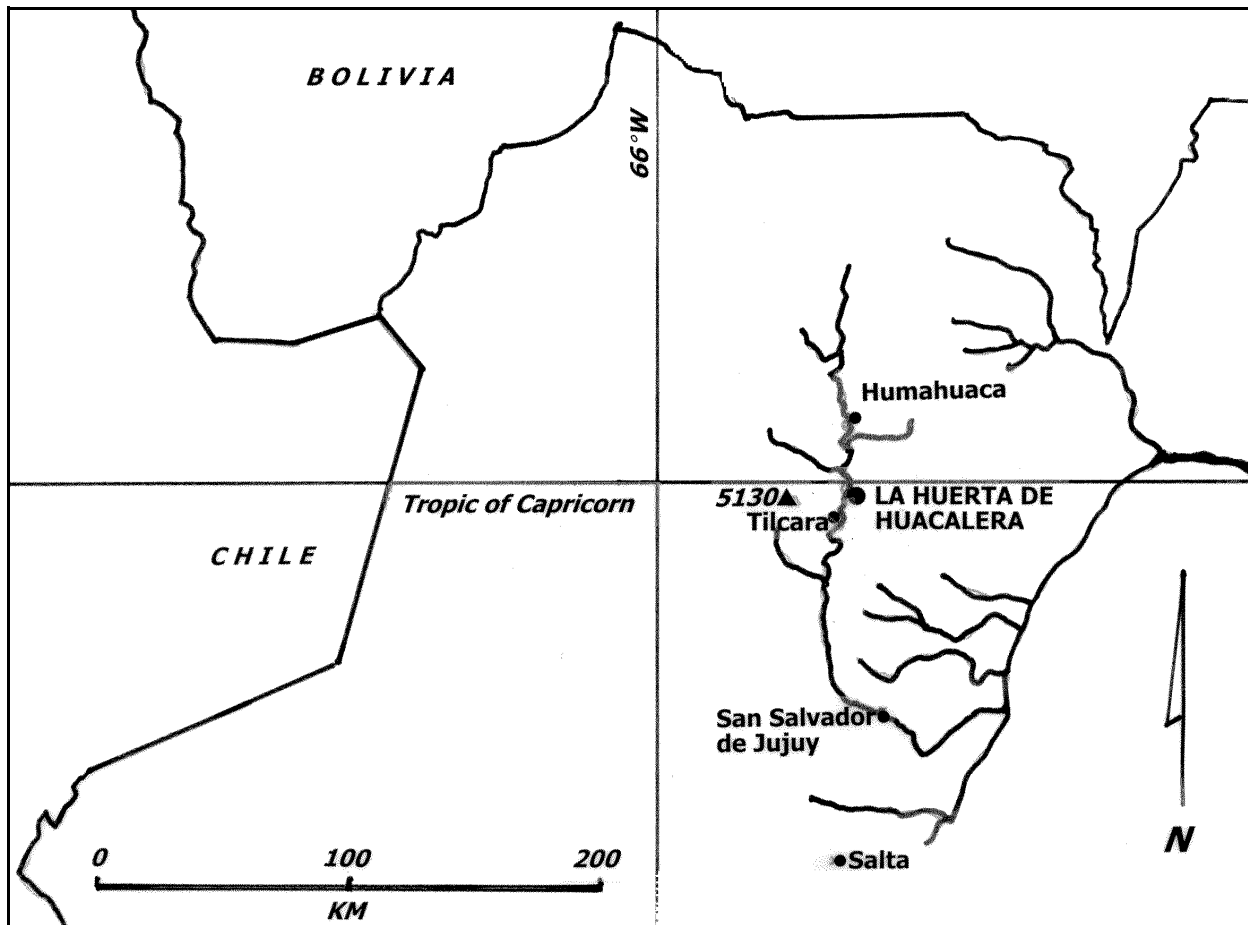


Figure 1. Regional map of northwestern Argentina to show location of La Huerta de Huacalera within the Quebrada de Humahuaca. Heights are in meters above sea level.



Figure 2. Cactus in the Quebrada de Humahuaca.



Figure 3. General view of the Quebrada de Humahuaca, showing local vegetation and topography.

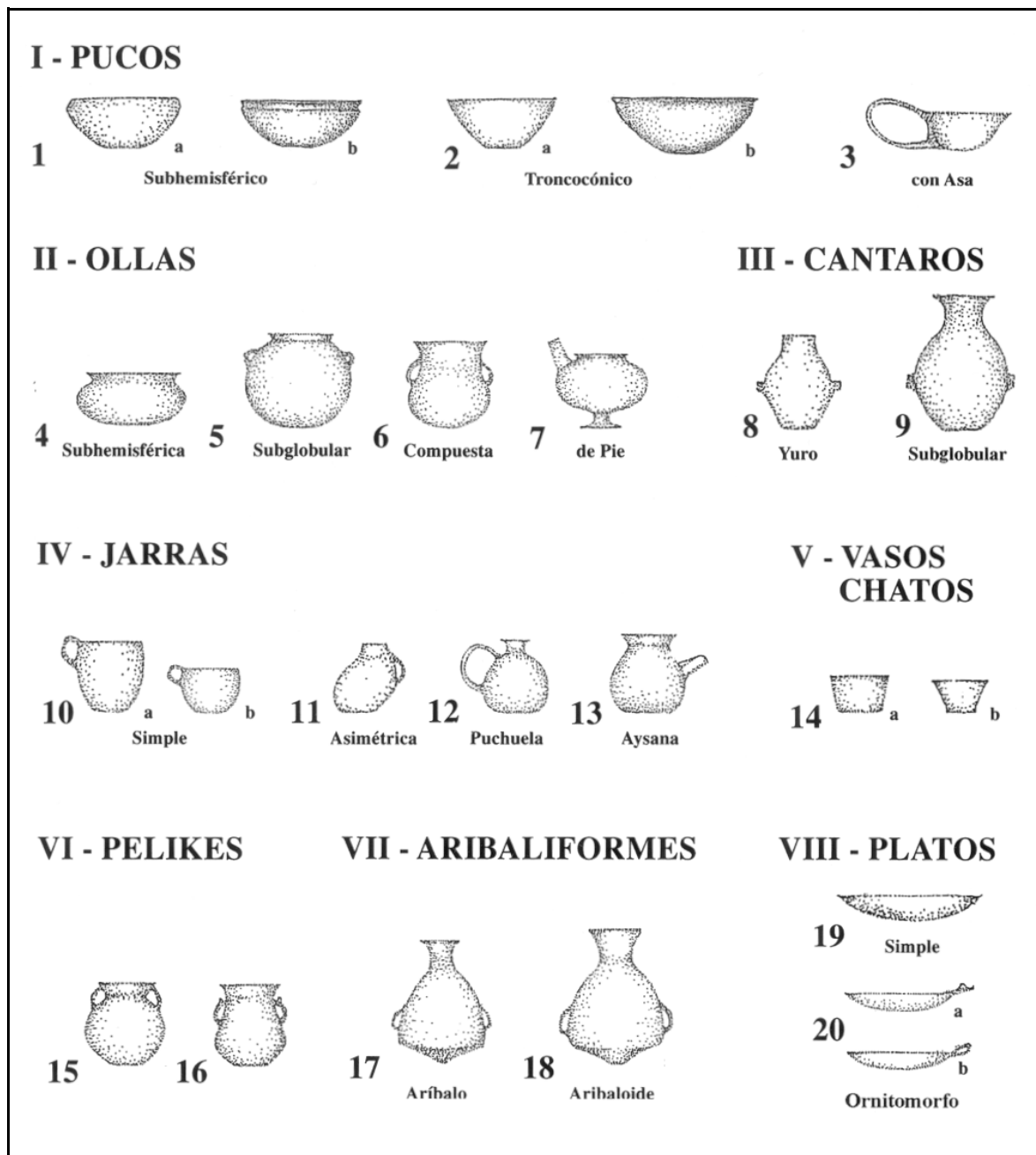


Figure 4. La Huerta de Huacalera – local ceramic morphology.

I – Bowls (*pucos*): 1a-b, sub-hemispherical; 2a-b, truncated conical; 3, with handle.

II – Pots (*ollas*): 4, sub-hemispherical; 5, sub-globular; 6, compound; 7, footed.

III – Pitchers (*cántaros*): 8, chicha vessel (*yuro*); 9, sub-globular.

IV – Jars (*jarras*): 10a-b, simple; 11, asymmetric; 12, *puchuela*; 13, basket-form (*aysana*).

V – Flat-bottomed vessels, 14a-b (*vasos chatos*).

VI – Wide-mouthed handled storage jars, 15-16 (*pelike*).

VII – Aribaloforms (*aribaloformes*): 17, aribalos; 18, aribaloide.

VIII – Plates (*platos*): 19, simple; 20a-b, ornithomorph.

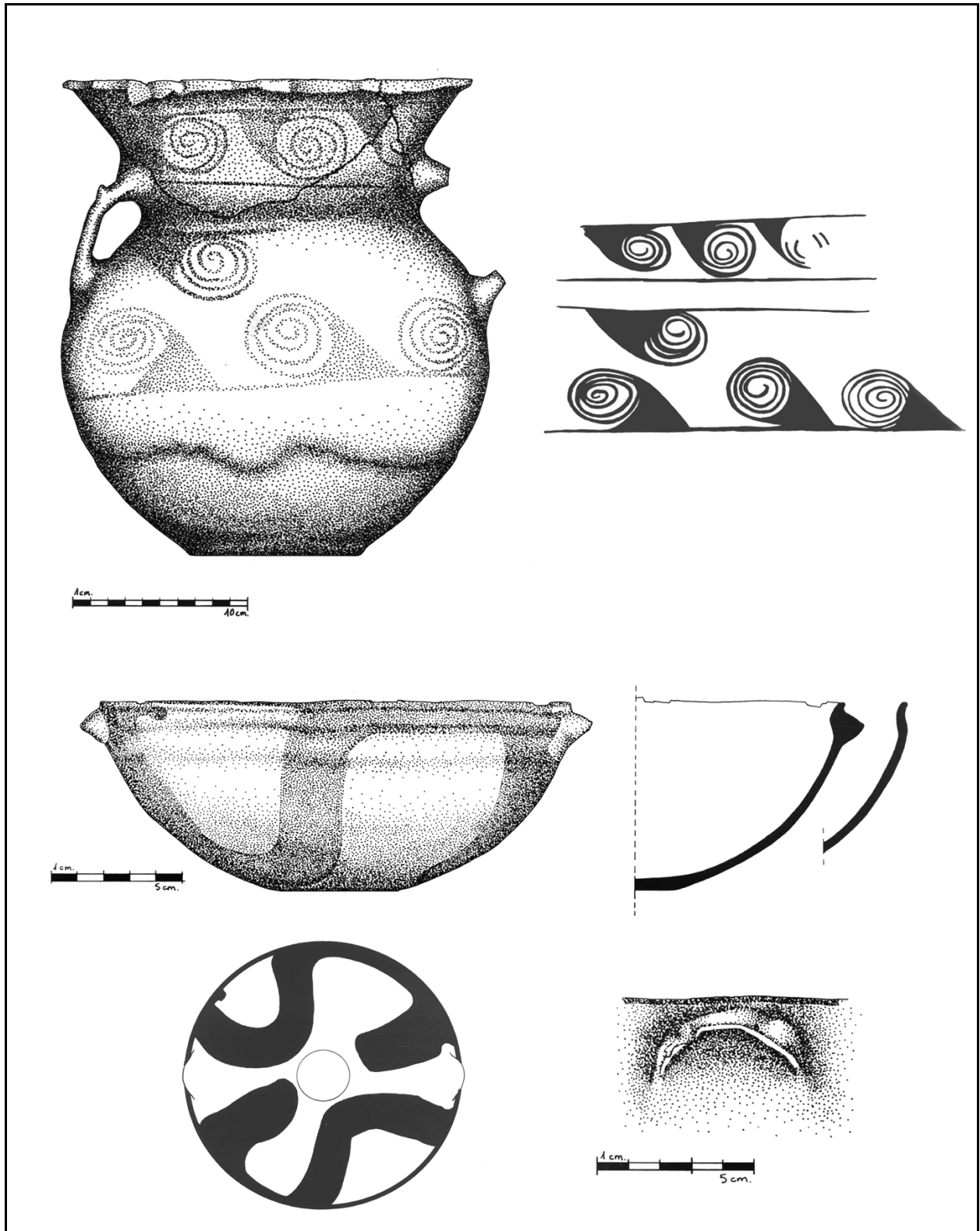


Figure 5. Examples of Reddish Polished Ware ceramics.



Figure 6. *La Huerta de Huacalera*; the site is obscured by the cactus in the center of the photo.

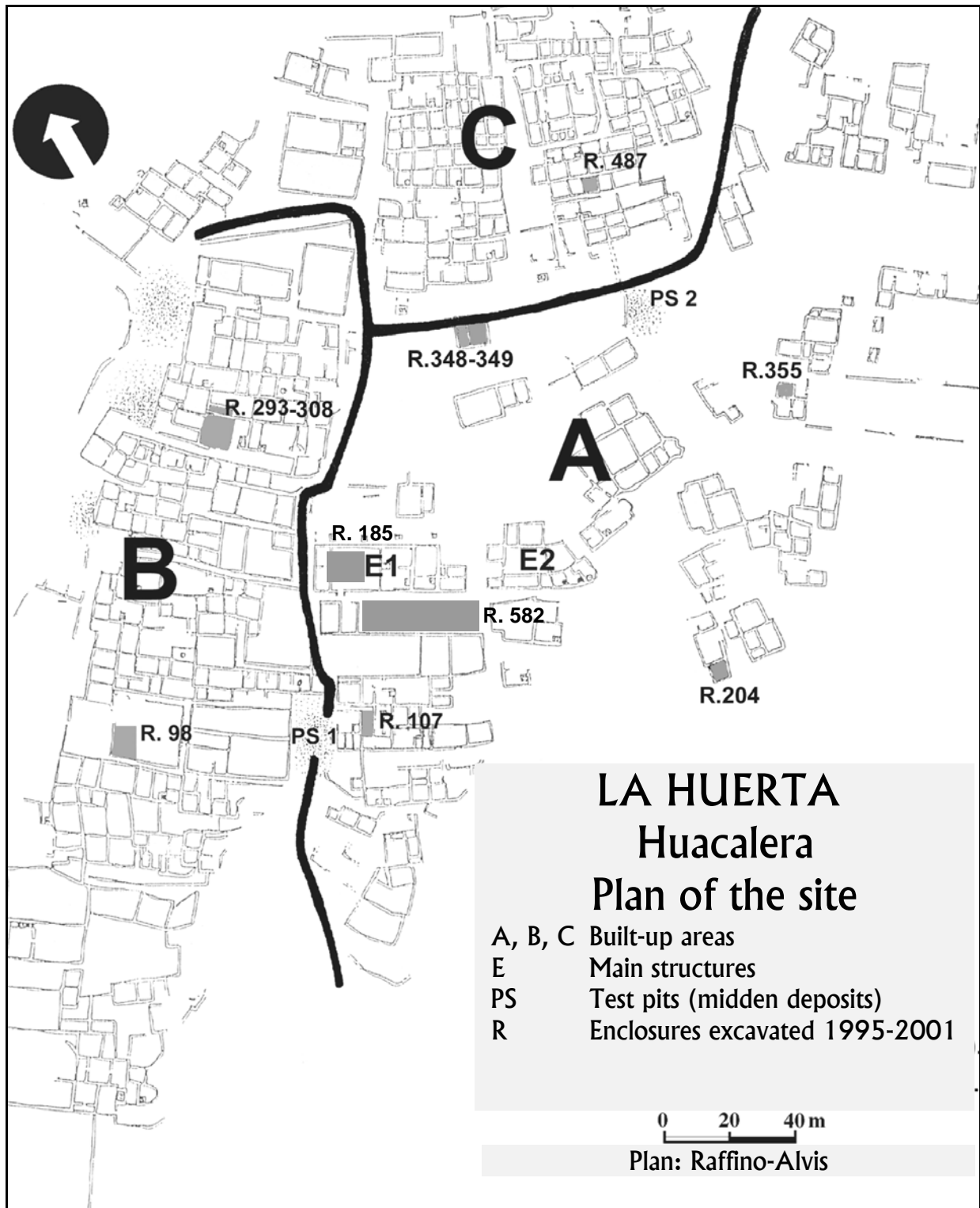


Figure 7. Site plan of La Huerta de Huacalera.

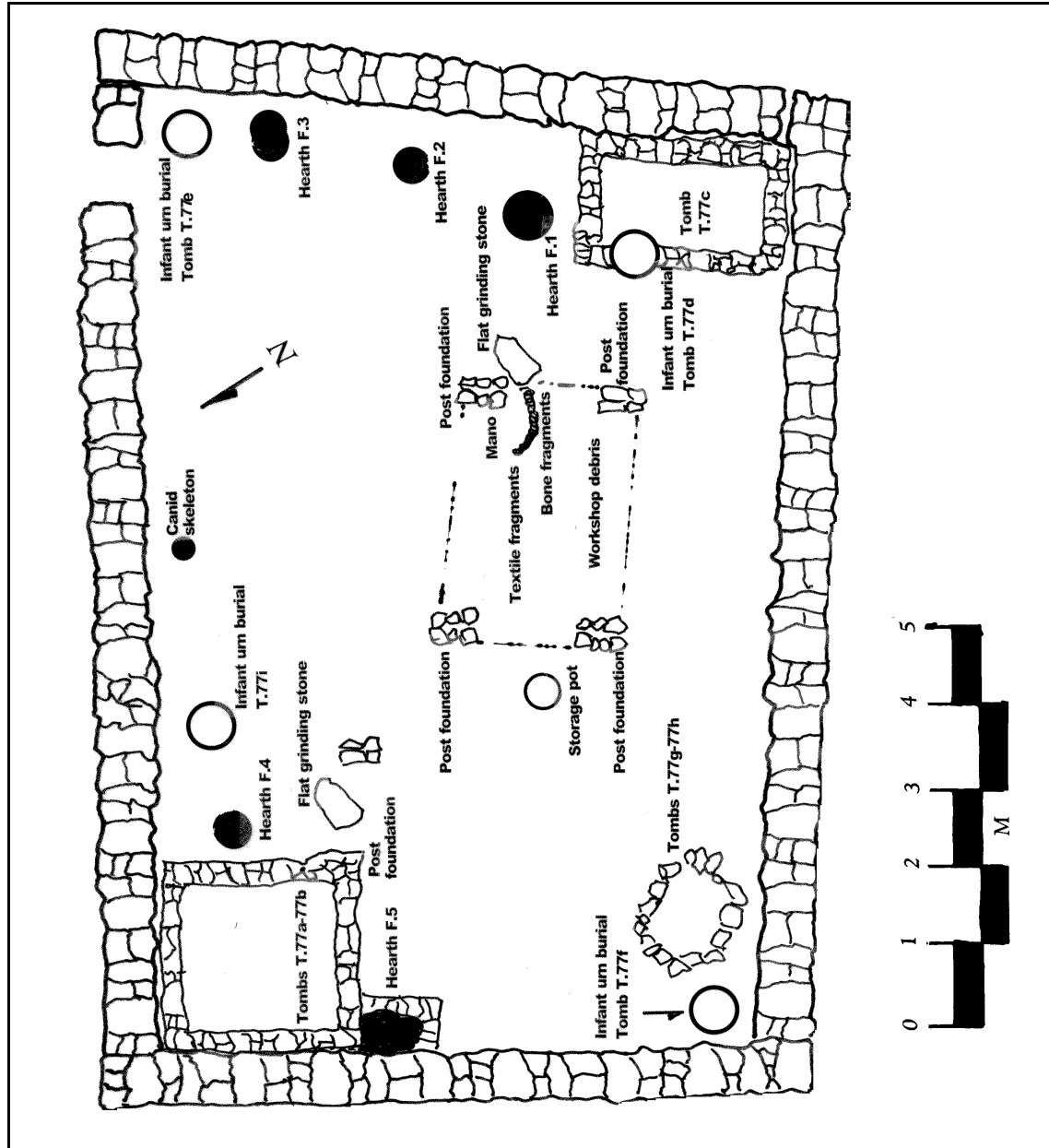


Figure 8. Plan of excavations in Enclosure R.293, La Huerta de Huacalera.

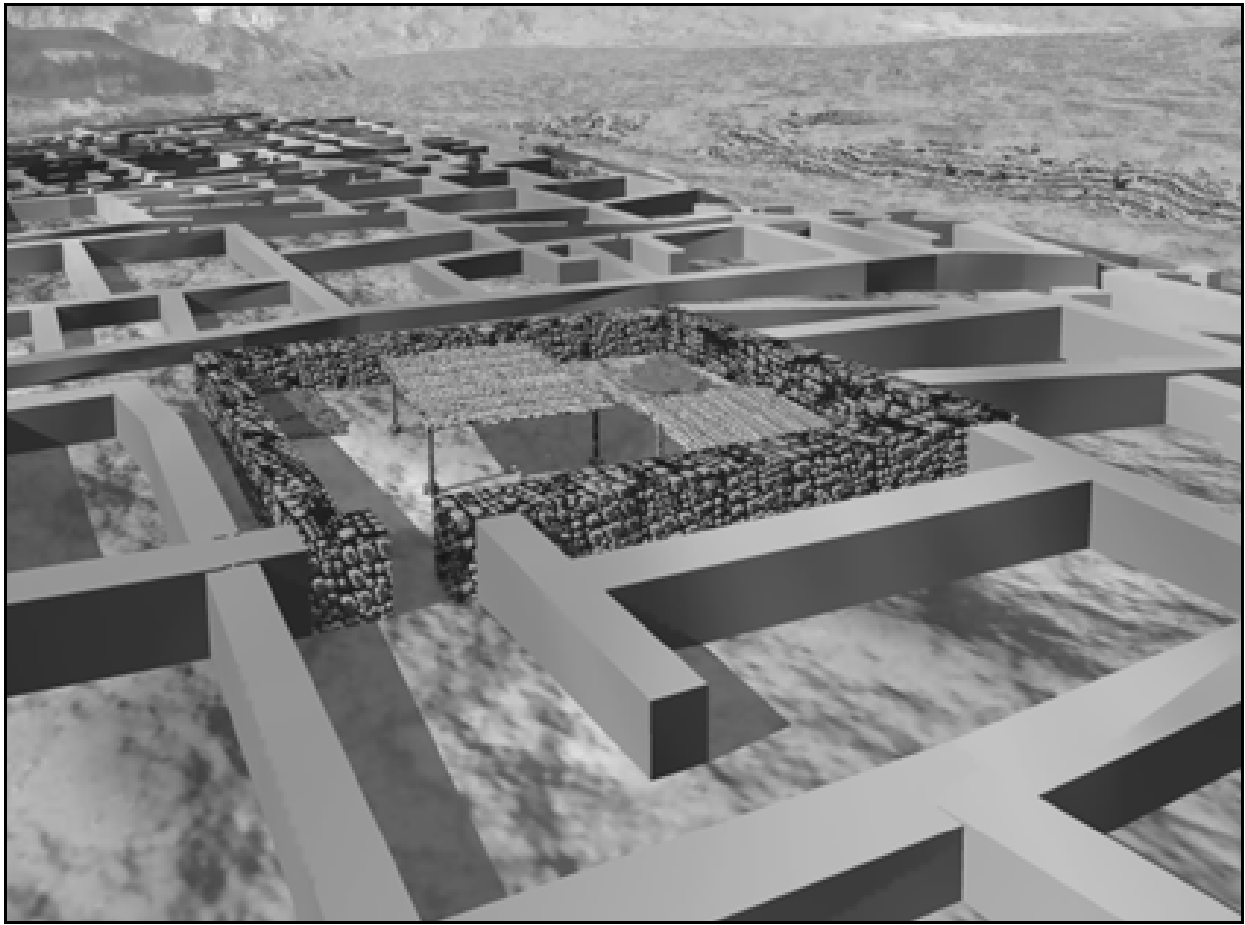


Figure 9. Computer-aided reconstruction of structure in Enclosure R.293, La Huerta de Huacalera.